ANTHONY WOOD AND THE CATHOLICS

by NICOLAS KIESSLING

Anthony Wood (1632–1695), the Oxford biographer and historian, was accused of being a 'papist' from the early 1670s until his death on 29 November 1695. These accusations were given credence because Wood had many Catholic friends and acquaintances; had a genuine affection for manuscripts and monuments of the pre-reformation past; wrote bio-bibliographies of many noteworthy Catholics who were graduates of Oxford colleges or were associated with the university; had a view of the reformation that Gilbert Burnet, later the bishop of Salisbury, saw as 'unseemly'; and never joined any campaign against Catholics before or after James II reigned in Great Britain. This essay deals with Wood's relationships with Catholics and his attitude towards Catholicism.[1]

There is no question of Wood's religious affiliation because Arthur Charlett, the master of University College and an acquaintance of Wood, wrote a memorandum describing Wood's wishes as he stated them shortly before his death. Wood 'ordered' that his will contain the statement that he died in the communion of the Church of England. He also asked that Church of England prayers be said to him and that the sacrament be given him by his friend, the Church of England priest, Nicholas Martin. To prevent any rumour that Wood was a secret Catholic who received unction on his deathbed, Charlett concluded his memorandum with: 'There was no papist or reputed papist that visited him during his last illness'. Charlett wrote much the same in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison, dated 1 December 1695. All of his information was second-hand, for he had left town on 23 November and did not return until 30 November, the day after Wood's death. Thomas Tanner, who was often with Wood during his final days, revealed mild concern about Wood's religious state in a letter of 24 November to Charlett: 'He seems to be very sensible that his time is short, tho' truly he spends his spirits more in setting his Papers in Order, than in providing for another World'. As if to assure Charlett, he added in a postscript that 'Mr. Wood in his will professes himself a member of the Church of England, and intends to die in the communion of it'. Wood died in the arms of the Church of England, but it is also clear, and not only from Tanner's observations, that religion was not central to his life during his final days.[2]

Religion had never been a primary concern of Wood. As a young man he was not interested in becoming a cleric. His mother, Mary Wood, recognized this and would have 'set him out', that is, apprenticed him,

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to a family friend, the Catholic attorney John Theyer, then living in London. Anthony showed no interest in this profession, either. She then, no doubt in frustration, proposed to him 'the trade of a tinner or tin-man, or a man that makes kitchin-ware, lanthorns', since, as Wood recalled in his autobiography, 'she found him to have a mechanical head'.[3] An easy alternative was to prepare for entrance to the university in September 1646 with instruction provided by his brother, Edward, then at Trinity College. Edward was a vigorous taskmaster and a budding theologian and in the following year saw to it that his younger brother was matriculated at Merton College with himself as his formal tutor.[4] The tutorship of Edward lasted until February 1650 when both agreed that a change was necessary. As Anthony later, in his autobiography, remembered the parting, Edward 'was pevish and would be ever and anon angry if he [Anthony] could not take or understand Logical notions as well as he. He would be somtimes so angry that he would beat him and turne him out of his chamber'.[5]

To the chagrin of his brother and mother Anthony found delight in what they considered to be the idle and unpromising pursuits of music and violin playing and in reading historical and heraldic studies such as William Burton's *Description of Leycestershire* (1622) and John Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* (1st ed., 1610).

His great awakening came in the summer of 1656 when he opened William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* published earlier in that year. From looking through that book, he later wrote, his 'tender affections, and insatiable desire of knowledg, were ravish'd and melted down'. Music and rare books made his 'life at this time and after,... a perfect Elysium', and he began serious study of the history of his university, his city, and his county.[6] During the late 1650s Wood travelled extensively throughout Oxfordshire, visiting churches and recording monumental inscriptions in the hope of producing a history such as that of Burton or Dugdale.

Wood's first response to Catholic traditions in his almanac diary occurred on 21 May 1657. He was surprised by an inscription of 1566 beneath a brass plate in the chancel of the Stanton Harcourt parish church: 'Of your charity pray for the soule of Elen Camby late the wyff of John Camby...', because he had not expected to find the Catholic idea of prayers for the dead in a protestant context. 'Tis strange that such an inscription should be put on a grave stone, after religion had been reformed 7 yeares'. That is, about seven years after Queen Mary's death and the succession of Queen Elizabeth.[7] His youthful observation was naive, and he would soon notice that Catholic monuments were frequently erected in Anglican churches even in his own day.[8] In 1663, Wood's inquiries led him to his own Catholic heritage when he discovered that his great grandfather, Richard(?) Wood, was a 'strong Romanist' of Croston parish near Preston, Lancashire. He was reported to have taken

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priestly orders after the death of his wife, was jailed after the accession of Elizabeth when he refused to take the oath of supremacy, and died in jail in 1568. In Wood's own home, Postmasters' Hall, his tolerant mother rented out two rooms in October 1665 to the Catholic Henry Jermin who had, as a guest, a Major Clancie, also a Catholic. Clancie was described, in the title of a book Wood owned, as 'the grandest cheat of this age' (authored by Elkanah Settle and published in 1680). Wood wrote on a blank leaf in his copy of Settle's book: 'Henry earl of S. Alban's, ... would be present at mass with [Clancie]' in his room at Postmasters' Hall. If this mass had taken place in 1680, when the book by Settle was published, the Wood family would have been in serious trouble with the law.[9] This recognition of his own Catholic heritage and his knowledge of the Catholic mass celebrated in his own home were not enough to preclude some intolerant statements in his almanac. On 27 November 1666 Wood noted that 'Papists at this time very insolent in most parts of the nation; appeare in publick; contrive the massacring of many ... ring bells publickly to mass in Lancashire ... Papists frequent in Oxon, frequenting scholers' company at the coffeehouse'. Later comments about Catholics in his almanac diaries or in his autobiography were relatively mild. In the latter he called the Irish rebel, Philim O'Neale, 'a bigotted Papist'; a land owner in Warkworth, Northants., Philip Holman, 'a melancholy and begotted convert', and his friend Ralph Sheldon, a 'zealous Papist'. His descriptions of the other major sects, e.g., of the 'sniveling saints', the Independents and Presbyterians, were less tolerant. In the beginning of his 1667 almanac he wrote, 'An age given over to all vice—whores and harlotts, pimps and panders, ... corrupters (proctor Thomas infected with the pox while proctor)—aggravated and promoted by presbyt[ery]'.[10]

In 1669 Wood became acquainted with a number of London Catholics who shared his antiquarian interests and whom he found to be extremely valuable for his research. These friendships became more important to Wood when he directed his attention to the history of the university. The person who guided Wood in this enterprise was John Fell, the dean of Christ Church and the rigorous director of the Sheldonian Press. On 25 August 1669 when both Fell and Wood were in London for a ceremony to install the new chancellor of the university, James, the duke of Ormond, Fell could introduce Wood to the archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon, as the author of an important book on the history of the university.[11] Flushed with this success, Wood, on Sunday morning, 29 August, contacted Hugh Paulinus (Serenus) Cressy, then living at Somerset House, the centre of London Catholicism. Cressy was a former fellow at Merton (1626–9), and, before he became a convert to Catholicism, had been a member of the Great Tew circle of future statesmen, theologians and academics who regularly met at the house of Lucius Cary, the second Viscount Falkland, in Great Tew, some 12

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miles north of Oxford. Falkland's death in the first battle of Newberry in September 1643 ended the study group. Cressy must have known of the Catholic conversion of Elizabeth Cary (later Viscountess Falkland), the mother of Lucius, and of her Catholic daughters, and he himself became a convert to Catholicism in 1646 and professed in 1649 as a Benedictine. In 1669 he was serving as a chaplain to Queen Catherine of Braganza. In his first meeting with Cressy, Wood 'found not my expectations satisfied' with Cressy whom he later described as 'reserv'd ... clouded and melancholy', though he seems to have discoursed with Cressy on the next day, Monday, as well, and visits and correspondence continued thereafter. Cressy authored a number of books of which Wood owned three, including two having to do with conversion to Catholicism. Wood told Cressy some of the problems that he was having with John Fell before the publication of his *Historia*, and Cressy repeated what he knew in a letter, dated 13 July 1674, to John Mallet, a Benedictine in the service of Ralph Sheldon. In this letter, Cressy stated that Fell did not wish 'Letters and Elogies' [i.e., Eulogies] of 'Rebelles and ... infamous persons' to be 'recorded by the University', though Fell maintained that he made no change 'for any matter of Antiquity'. If Fell's latter statement were not true, Cressy thought that Wood might 'make a Collection of all alterations of which use may be made hereafter'. Wood's portrait of Cressy in his *Athenæ* was positive, and he defended him against the censures of those who criticized his inclusion in his *Church History of Brittany* of 'many miracles and monkish stories', for 'he doth mostly quote his authors for, and leaves, what he says to the judgment of the readers, [therefore] he is to be excused ... and commended for his grave and good stile, proper for an ecclesiastical historian'. In his lengthy portrait of the relentlessly anti-Catholic, William Prynne, Wood gave the final word to Cressy, quoting Cressy's severe evaluation in his *Church History* of Prynne's anti-Catholicism.[12]

On the same Sunday morning at Somerset House Wood met with his acquaintance, William Rogers. Rogers had been a neighbor and acolyte in religion and historical studies of John Theyer, then of Brockworth, Glouc., and Wood had first met Rogers, through Theyer, in 1665 when Rogers was a student at University College. In 1669 Rogers was a member of Lincoln's Inn and well acquainted with the leading Catholics in the city. Eleven of Rogers' letters to Wood, written between 1671 and 1687, survive in the Wood manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. These letters reflect the undisciplined nature of Rogers' intellect, full of scattered bits of information presented in an unmethodical way. His conversation must have followed a similar pattern. Ralph Sheldon described Rogers to Wood in 1676 'as hot in the head as ever'. Nevertheless, a lukewarm friendship between Wood and Rogers lasted until Wood's death. Wood cited him in several biographies in the *Athenæ* as 'the Roman Catholick' who gave him information. Rogers also gave Wood three books which

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are still in his collection. His name appears only in the *Fasti* as 'a zealous proselyte for the Roman Cath. cause' who spread abroad *A Letter from a Gentleman* in 1676 for which he was 'brought before the king's council'.[13]

Still on the same Sunday morning Rogers introduced Wood to the Catholic scholar, Christopher Davenport (alias Francis Hunt; name in religion, Franciscus à Sancta Clara), also living in Somerset House. Davenport was a former student at Merton and Magdalen Hall (1613–4) and in 1669 served as a chaplain of the queen. Wood found the 'vivacious' seventy-four year old scholar to be 'a complaisant man, very free and discoursive. Which made him when he went afterwards to London, to visit him often'. Indeed, on his next trip to London, in May 1670, Wood describes a delightful meal with Davenport at Somerset House, 'It was Friday, and they had a good Fish-Dinner and whitewine; William Rogers was with him, there was hearty welcome, and good Discourse and Freedome'.[14] Davenport supplied him with information on various persons, e.g., Edward Bagshaw, Godfrey Goodman, and Jeremy Taylor, as Wood acknowledged in the *Athenæ*. Davenport gave Wood five of his publications before he died in 1680, and Wood returned the favours with a very positive portrait of him in his *Athenæ*.[15]

During this visit of 1669 Wood did not see a fourth Catholic antiquarian, Thomas Blount, who spent several months each year in London, because Blount was at his family home in Orleton, Herefordshire. Wood had spoken with him in Oxford earlier in the summer of 1669, but knew of him as early as 1660, by way of printed items by Blount that he had acquired. After 1669 Wood met Blount in London at least twice and in Islip or Oxford at least seven times when Blount was traveling between London and Herefordshire. Blount proved to be a significant source of information to Wood and 118 of his letters written between 1669 and 1679 survive. Blount responded promptly to Wood's queries about particular individuals, tried to help Wood to be appointed to a Herald's position, passed on Wood's queries to William Dugdale and William Rogers, and verified information that Wood received from others.[16] In turn, Wood found an Oxford publisher for Blount's *Animadversions* (1671), introduced a 'dear and intimate acquaintance' and antiquarian, Nicholas Lloyd, to Blount, supplied words for his law dictionaries and antiquarian books and information on early Oxford and Cambridge. Though Blount was not educated at Oxford, Wood found a way to include two positive vignettes of him in his *Athenæ*.[17] All four of these writers supplied him with information about Catholic authors that Wood might not have been able to find elsewhere.

In July 1671, Wood gained several new Catholic friends. On 7–8 July, Timothy Nourse of University College, a long-time acquaintance and a Catholic, introduced him to two Benedictine monks, John Huddleston and Thomas Vincent (*alias* Vincent Sadler), who were staying at

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Amsterdam Court in Oxford to witness the Encaenia. Huddleston recounted to Wood the escape of King Charles II from Worcester while he himself was in the king's company. Wood then urged him, 'for posterity sake', to 'committ to writing what he knew of that affaire'. Much later, in February 1685, Huddleston gave extreme unction to Charles II shortly before his death. Wood would later meet Thomas Vincent at Weston House, the Warwickshire home of the 'Great' Ralph Sheldon, and would view a catalogue on the writings of English Benedictines and an obital book of Benedictines written by Woodhop (*alias* Thomas White) and continued by Vincent.[18] Two weeks later, on 21 July, Wood met for the first time Ralph Sheldon, when Sheldon spent two days at the Mitre Inn in Oxford. Cressy had told Sheldon about Wood and his forthcoming volume on the history of the university and when Sheldon showed interest in meeting the author, Cressy made the arrangement by having Sheldon deliver a book to Wood. Sheldon and Wood got along well together from the very first, and Sheldon offered to supply woodcuts for the *Historia*. Their common interests in antiquarian studies led to Wood's first visit of 26 days at Weston House, from 7 August to 3 September 1674.[19] Sixteen further visits, over half lasting two months or more, took place before Sheldon's death on 24 June 1684. At Weston, Wood arranged and catalogued Sheldon's extensive collections of books and his 300 manuscripts, 'besides very many parchment rolls and pedigrees'. Most of the manuscripts had been collected by Augustine Vincent and went from him to his son, John, who bequeathed them to Ralph Sheldon in 1671. For his labours Wood received a salary, food and lodging at the magnificent estate, enjoyed convivial conversation with Sheldon and his many antiquarian friends, mainly Catholics, received two dozen books and some manuscripts relevant to his research, and gained the promise of monetary help for the publication of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*.[20] Two visits by Wood to Weston House went on for too long: the first, 4 July–6 Nov. 1679, was a visit of 124 days; and the second, 12 Aug.–27 Nov. 1680, a visit of 116 days. Sheldon, in frustration, had to pretend to leave so that there would be no reason for Wood to stay. After Wood left for Oxford, Sheldon suddenly reappeared at Weston House, free of his guest.[21] Still, it is clear that Wood found a friend, employer, and benefactor in Sheldon. The Sheldons also regarded Wood as a friend and at times asked him to help them. In November 1672 Ralph Sheldon gave Wood thirty-six copies of François Veron's *The Rule of Catholick Faith* translated into English by his uncle, Edward Sheldon, a monk at Douay, to disperse in Oxford, and Wood did so. When Ralph Sheldon died, his heir and executor, Ralph Sheldon of Steeple Barton, asked Wood to organize the elaborate funeral service at Weston and to arrange for a large cortege to convey the embalmed body to the parish church at Beoley, Worcs., for a second service and burial. In his will, Sheldon left 40 pounds for Wood to transport his

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manuscripts to the College of Arms. Wood was the perfect choice for these tasks, which took him two months to complete. Wood continued his friendship with the second Ralph Sheldon, and his final visit to Weston, from 16 August to 11 September 1695, was less than three months before his death.[22]

On 10 August 1674 Wood recorded the death of Serenus Cressy in a commonplace book. He knew that he had lost a vital source for his portraits of Catholic writers and important non-Catholic political figures. Cressy had, according to Wood, 'many [friends], several near his majesty'. By chance, or by design, Wood, while in London on 6 October 1675, went to the Ordnance Office in the Tower to see the Catholic Edward Sherburne about the history of his family. Sherburne was also a poet, a translator, and a book collector, and had a wide circle of acquaintances. Sherburne was not in his office but immediately wrote a letter to Wood, and their correspondence lasted until Wood's death in 1695. Sherburne provided biographical accounts of over a dozen poets and government officials, not all of whom were Catholics. Thirty-six letters survive in Wood's collection.[23]

Wood's friendships with Catholics at Weston, in Gloucestershire, and in London were known to many, and his first meeting with Sheldon at the Mitre Inn had attracted the attention of the university community. The Mitre served as a stopover place in Oxford for Catholics because it was managed by a family of that faith. Wood was well aware of the dangers of consorting with Catholics and after the first meeting with Sheldon, wrote in his almanac diary: 'And seeing the person sought after him and desired my acquaintance, I could not in conscience and civilitie draw back'. In his autobiography (1694–5) he recalled the problems that followed his friendship with Sheldon: 'being a zealous Papist, and AW afterwards being often in his company, must be esteem'd a Papist also, as he was by many sniveling Saints, who make it a most horrible thing to be seen in the company of any one of them'.[24]

Even Wood's relatives and friends suspected him of being a Catholic. His brother, Christopher, told him of a 'report that I was generally taken for a Papist, but told me noe body that would impeach me'. John Aubrey, introduced to Wood at an Oxford bookshop on 31 August 1667, soon discovered their mutual antiquarian interests, and two years later wrote to Wood, 'I never was more happy in any one's company in my life'.[25] Some 300 of their letters survive and the correspondence continued until the year of Wood's death in spite of a severe quarrel which threatened to destroy their relationship in 1692. When, in 1671, Aubrey had lost his home at Easton Piers and was from then on almost continually in danger of arrest for debt, an escape into antiquarian studies provided relief, as did thoughts of retreating to a Catholic monastery. If this latter option was no more than a pipe-dream, he mentioned it to various people. In a letter of 23 Sept. 1671, Wood wrote

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to Aubrey that Richard Hine, a fellow at Merton and a drinking partner, 'told me that you were turned priest and were gone to France to enter yourself into a Monasterie'. That news was a perfect cover for the debt-ridden Aubrey, and he responded to Wood on 27 October 1671, 'tell Br[other] Bathurst and his godly Lady that you have received a letter from Bononia [Bologna] and that I am in Heaven upon earth. Tell'em fryar John remembers him to them and also to Mr. Hine...' Ralph Bathurst had been the president of Trinity College, Aubrey's college, since 1664. Wood's letters were rarely so revealing, but he was intrigued by Aubrey's story of the monastery and responded with unusual candor on 10 November 1671. He assured Aubrey that 'the report goes on here still of your being beyond the seas and that you are reconciled to the Church of Rome, which being pleasing to you, is to me also. The truth is, nothing is more delightfull to me than retiredness, and were I in your condition, I should take the same course that you have or are like to doe'. Wood momentarily lost himself in the romanticism of a solitary life of study where one could live without a concern for earthly values of money and reputation.[26] Eventually Aubrey screwed up enough courage to ask Wood, in a letter of 23 February 1674, 'Are you turned Rom. Cath. or no? You know that I am no Enemie to them...That you are so was reported at the Vice-chancellors table (Mr. Bathurst) that by the Deane himself'. We do not have Wood's answer to this question, but we know that Bathurst and his 'godly' wife and daughter did not hide their suspicions of Wood even from Wood himself. Earlier in the same month, he was a dinner guest at their home, and their treatment of him angered him to the core:

> 6 February at night. I was at the Vicech[ancellor] dr Bathurst. He was very civil to me. But she [Mrs Mary Bathurst] said not one word, neither dranke to me, because shee thinks I am a papist, but shee is mistaken. Mrs Betty her daughter followes her...People avoid my company and shun, every one tells me I receive not the sacra[ment].[27]

Wood's reputation as a Catholic was strengthened by the publication of the *Historia et antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis* in 1674. Before the publication a friend of his, Henry Wilkinson, principal of Magdalen Hall and a non-conformist, wrote him a letter of advice much in line with that earlier given by Fell: 'I entrat you not to putt any such in your Catalogue, who were men unsound in theyr judgments or dissolute in theyre conversations: for such Dead flyes may marr a whole Bar[rel?] of pretious oynment. For instance I desire you to leave out alltogeather the name of [John] *Bidle*, [Thomas] *Hobbs, & Sancta Clara* [Christopher Davenport] whom Magdalen Hall esteems of no other wayes then Augustus Caesar did of his 3 Lewd daughters'. Wood ignored Wilkinson's advice and included all three. The *Historia* was a massive text that pleased his benefactor, John Fell, who took an active part in the production of the text, supervised a translation from English into Latin, and edited the text

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to Wood's great dismay.[28] If Fell was pleased with the *Historia* another more trenchant cleric, Gilbert Burnet, later bishop of Salisbury, criticized the 'many unseemly things', that is, what he considered to be derogatory comments of the protestant reformation. Burnet also, at least according to Wood's note in his almanac diary, supplied details of Wood's unorthodox interpretations to the master of the rolls, the inveterate anti-Catholic Harbottle Grimstone, who during the popish plot of 1678–1679, proclaimed in the house of commons 'the printing of Popish books at the Theater in Oxon', including Wood's 'Historia'.[29]

The popish plot made a bad situation for Catholics even worse, and Wood was caught in the anti-Catholic campaign because of his associations with them and his authorship of the *Historia*. The plot, generated in large part by the mendacious Izrael Tonge and Titus Oates and by those whom Wood call the 'phanaticks', was 'discovered' in September 1678. During that time Wood was at Weston and on 22 November, his host, Ralph Sheldon, was imprisoned in Warwick jail. Wood returned to Oxford on 28 November to find himself in danger. John Wallis, the university archivist, 'took away all my writings and registers that I have had in my keeping 18 yeares for feare that they should be seised on, he supposing that I might be in the plot because Mr. Sheldon was lately clapt up in prison.—A man that is studious and reserved is popishly affected'. Three days later, on 1 December, the vice-chancellor, John Nicholas, arrived at Wood's chamber to search for 'papers and writings relating to the plot'. Wood may not have overstated the gravity of the situation when he commented on the search: 'sorry he [Nicholas] seem'd to be because he could find nothing, that he could not please the parliament: he would [have] hanged me'.[30] Yet another dangerous situation occurred two months later, in February 1679, when the warden of Merton, Thomas Clayton, an old enemy, found his chance to make Wood squirm. The vice-chancellor had asked all college heads to name any person who might be a Catholic recusant, 'or so reputed'. Clayton was the single college head who had determined that a member of his college was suspicious: 'there is only Mr. Anthony Wood who hath been suspected to be Popishly affected'. Nicholas did not follow up on Clayton's response because the plot promulgated by Tongue and Oates was losing the centre stage, and King Charles II had prorogued Parliament in the preceding month.[31]

During the 1670s when various forms of test acts were passed by a parliament to curb Catholicism, Catholic priests were executed and sequestrations of Catholic properties were frequent. Wood's other Catholic correspondents suffered as much as Ralph Sheldon. In London, Thomas Bourne was apprehensive throughout the decade. Shortly after the 30 September 1673 marriage by proxy of the duke of York to the Catholic Maria Beatrice d'Este, there was ferocious anti-Catholic outcry of the fanatical parties in parliament. On 30 October

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Blount wrote to Wood that 'I was told one member movd that all Papists might wear a distinctive signe as the Jews once did'. William Dugdale, a correspondent with, and a friend of, both Blount and Wood, wrote to Wood after Blount's death on 26 December 1679: 'I saw him in London in Michaelmasse Terme, but very pensive, and not a little dejected, which I did attribute to the violent current of the time, looking with a bad aspect, especially towards those of his profession'. On 21 December 1673 Wood's Oxford friend and correspondent, Richard Reeve, lost his job as the master of Magdalen school and had to leave Oxford. Wood arranged with Thomas Blount that Reeve could stay with him in London. A few days later his Catholic acquaintance, Timothy Nourse, lost his fellowship at University College.[32] William Joyner (alias Lyde) of the Oxford suburb, Horspath, was a convert to Catholicism in 1644 and travelled extensively on the continent. On his return to London, he lived in quiet obscurity until the political situation in 1678 forced him to leave London and return to Horspath. Nicholas, the vice-chancellor, discovered his presence, and Wood described the situation on 7–8 January 1679: 'Joyner gave security: out of his wits: beg'd a lodging of me. John Nicholas prosecuted him closely but soon laggd when the parliament was prorogued... I granted it, but he was not privat'. Wood was concerned for his Catholic friends as well as for himself during the stressful time of the popish plot and wrote in his almanac diary, 'This plot will undo all what the Catholicks have endeavoured to do since the king's restauration'.[33] Wood acquired a large number of pamphlets about the trials, narratives, dying speeches, and executions of Catholics and about the popish plot of 1678–9. He was appalled at what he regarded as inaccuracies in many of these and often wrote in his copies such judgments as 'all false', 'a ridiculous and impertinent pamphlet', 'lies & ignorance'.[34] In a book on the trials of four Benedictines, he noted the injustices of two executions: 'July 19 an. Mr. Will Plessington a Romish preist suffered death for being a preist onlie, at Chester... Aug. 22 an. 1679 Mr. Franc. Johnston... a Romish preist suffered death at Worcester for being onlie a preist'. Wood owned pamphlets of the dying speeches of both.[35]

After the exile of King James II, Catholics again endured persecutions and prosecutions. Wood made a trip to Weston to check on his friend, Ralph Sheldon, the nephew and heir of the 'Great' Ralph Sheldon. Wood's entry in his almanac diary was brief but telling: 'Dec 30, 31 [1688] at Weston (3s to Dan. Web for an horse) to see how he did; [he was] troubled'.[36] In December 1688 in Oxford students broke the windows of the homes of known Catholics and also of the Mitre Tavern. College members who had supported and were supported by James II were, for the most part, thrown out, and that included Wood's acquaintance, Obadiah Walker of University College. Walker professed his Catholicism only in 1685, but he had been leaning in that direction

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for years and was a close friend of the Catholic intellectual Abraham Woodhead, also of University College. After Woodhead's death in 1678 Walker edited and published several of his works. Wood had first met Walker as a fellow passenger in the stage coach on his first trip to London in 1667 and over the years was impressed by Walker's scholarship, interest in antiquarianism, and in his commitment to religious principles. Wood's lengthy portrait of him in the *Athenæ* concludes with an appreciation of 'his philosophical and unpassionate temper, . . . his great love of a private and sedate life, joyned with a great hatred of idleness both in himself and others. This love of active solitude in him, was much improv'd and heightened by his afflictions (occasion'd by declaring himself a papist)'. When Wood learned in 1678 that Israel Tonge and William Shippen (Shepen), both associated with University College, were instigators of a move to turn Walker out from the mastership of University as a papist, Wood explained their motivation in his almanac diary: 'that either of them might succeed. Base Ingratitude! False Tonge was his freind, and formerly his servitor'. When James II ruled, all went well for Walker, but when the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange circulated in Oxford on 4 November 1688, Walker left for London and in December was captured and sent to the Tower. He had supplied Wood with details about a wide range of people, but after his release from the Tower in 1690 he was carefully watched and correspondence became inconvenient, if not dangerous, for him. He concluded his last letter to Wood, dated 11 April 1690, with: 'I beg your pardon that I dare not keep correspondence with you nor answer any more of your letters'.[37]

When Wood published the first volume of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* in June 1691, he recorded in his diary that he was attacked for 'Popery' and writing 'favourably of the papists'. When volume two appeared in July 1692, a friend reported to him that 'people say I am a Jacobite—favour the non jurors—a papist not come to church'. These accusations were harmless in comparison to the suit brought against him by Henry Hyde, the second earl of Clarendon and the high steward of the university, in the vice-chancellor's court in Oxford. The charge was slander against his father, Edward Hyde, the first earl of Clarendon who had died in exile in 1674. The court found Wood guilty, fined and banished him from the university, and ordered that his volume two be burned in the yard of the Sheldonian Theatre.[38] After his trial, he continued to work intensely on more than 500 new lives to be added to the second edition of the *Athenæ* (published posthumously in 1721). He defended himself in the public arena by preparing documents in which he tried to demonstrate that he was an independent, hardworking, modest, selfless antiquarian who 'aimed at no end but Truth' in his histories of the University and its members. In one of these, *A Vindication of the Historiographer . . . from the Reproaches of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury*, he

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returned to the old charge against him by the now bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet, that in writing the *Historia* (1674) 'he hath been visibly made a Tool by some of the Church of Rome, to Reproach all the greatest Men of our Church'.[39]

Wood died on 29 November 1695 while in the midst of writing an apologia in the form of an autobiography. He left behind Catholic friends with whom he had symbiotic relationships, though he had little if any intellectual commitment to the theology of the Catholics. Yet he understood and sympathized with them during the anti-Catholic campaigns and was emotionally involved with certain ideals which derived from the monastic traditions of the pre-reformation period. He could appreciate, for example, Obadiah Walker's commitment to a contemplative life, or John Aubrey's romantic views of a monastical life. In his unfinished autobiography, written after his humiliation in the trial of 1693, Wood mentioned again and again his 'melancholy' nature (he used the word eight times to describe his mental state) and his commitment to a solitary, contemplative, and peaceful life. From an early age these sentiments often overwhelmed him when he considered the monuments of the past. At Eynsham in 1657 'he spent some time with a melancholy delight in taking a prospect of the ruins of that place'. He was in awe of, and reverential toward, the pre-reformation ruins at Dorchester, Oxon.; the abbey at Abingdon, Berks., the Minchery (a nunnery south of Oxford); the property of the Knights Templars in Sandford, Oxon.; the Benedictine ruins at Pershore, Worcs., which he, and Ralph Sheldon, viewed 'with great regret'; and the late fifteenth-century church at Fairford, Glouc. He had often visited the ruins of the nunnery at Godstow and took Thomas Tanner for a tour less than two months before his death. Wood, on the one hand, was hard-headed, aggressive, judgmental in the almanac diaries, and 'never conceal'd an Ungrateful Truth, nor flourish'd over a Weak Place' in his *Athenæ*, yet he could also be romantic and sentimental when he immersed himself in the past.[40]

His Catholic friends, recognizing that he was genuinely concerned with writing biographies and bibliographies of all persons, including Catholics, associated with the University of Oxford, and knowing of his attraction to conservative religious traditions, were extraordinarily helpful.[41] They helped him materially by supplying him with over 40 printed items and gave him access to manuscripts for his perusal. Ralph Sheldon was Wood's major benefactor, giving him over twenty-five printed items, and Thomas Bourne gave him at least ten. The subject of most of these gifts was Catholicism and it is apparent that they believed that Wood might come to recognize that Catholicism was the correct path to salvation. Blount, for example, gave Wood Davenport's single sheet, *An explanation of the Roman Catholikes belief* (1656), and at some other time Davenport himself gave Wood an expanded version with the same

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title (1670).[42] Richard Reeve gave Wood two books, a Wynkyn de Word florilegium on the ten commandments printed in 1510, and the *The Passion of Dido for Aeneas*. The latter was not at all a proselytizing book, but has more to do with their close relationship and may have been a parting gift when Wood accompanied Reeve on his departure from Oxford in 1673. Reeve had been one of two translators of Wood's *Historia*, had a history of converting people to Catholicism, and apparently thought he knew Wood well enough to put some pressure on Wood to become a Catholic. That took place at Weston in 1678 and Wood's comment on it was brief, 'Mr. Tat. of Salf[ord] sollicited me much in M. Reev[es] his name'. Wood drew the line at conversion but relied on Reeve for information on a number of Catholic notables, including Augustine Baker, Oliver Plunket, John Sergeant, and Abraham Woodhead. Reeve died on 31 October 1691 and Wood gave him great praise in the *Athenæ*: 'a perfect philologist, good Grecian, and has been so sedulous in his profession of pedagogy, that he hath educated England and about 40 Rom. priests'.[43]

On his own, Wood assembled a large collection of printed items related to Catholics both pro and con, which eventually numbered over 450 items. Thirty-three of these are listed in the bibliography of the English Counter-reformation between 1558 and 1640 compiled by A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers. Twenty-one of the 450 items are very rare, that is, Wood's copy is the only one known to exist. One hundred and fifty are on the popish plot. He acquired whatever he could, whenever and wherever he could, mainly from booksellers in Oxford and London. Ralph Sheldon referred him to a Catholic bookseller on Fleet Street, James Vade, and he purchased pamphlets from Vade in 1679, mostly on executions of Catholic martyrs, of which Wood kept a record. He also acquired Catholic items from printers, from persons about whom he was writing, and from estate sales. His 17 ballads on Catholics probably came from street vendors.[44] One reason for his purchase of five catalogues on Catholic writers and on the popish plot was that he needed them to figure out the authorship and place of publication. Catholic authors commonly used pseudonyms to avoid detection, and Catholic publications often had foreign cities on the title pages so that the publishers could not be traced. Wood's almost monomaniacal pursuit of biographical and bibliographical information for his *Athenæ* was the major if not the sole reason for the assembly of his collection of printed items (over 7000) from books to catalogues to almanacs to all varieties of ephemera. His collections of Catholic ballads, Catholic trials, dying speeches, and executions, and of Catholic plots, no doubt offered him sensational reading, but even with these his focus was on material for bio-bibliographies.

Having friends among Catholics was practically inevitable for anyone living in England during Wood's life, and most antiquarians consorted with one other in spite of religious differences. Aubrey, Ashmole, and

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Dugdale had no qualms about exchanging information, and salutations, with the Catholic antiquarians, Blount, Cressy, Rogers and Sheldon. Wood, too, searched for people with common historical interests, and this common interest was more important to him than religious or political agreement. Certain of these friendships were also profitable in financial or material ways and while these returns were important to him, his primary goal was always to obtain information and to verify. Wood was neither an intellectual nor a theologian. He was no match for John Fell, Thomas Hearne, Abraham Woodhead, or Obadiah Walker, true intellectuals. He was a bibliographer, a bio-bibliographer, the first such person in England and therein lies his fame. He understood, perhaps better than any other non-Catholic in Oxford, if not in England, the importance of Catholics in his own family history, and in the history of his college, his university, and his county. He is often characterized as ill-tempered, abrasive, and a person who lost every one of his friends because of his argumentative nature and his judgmental writings. The most obvious refutation to that is found in his friendships with Catholics, almost all of which survived until either he, or his Catholic friend, died. Wood's portraits of most Catholics whom he knew and with whom he exchanged information were very positive. Thomas Bourne, Serenus Cressy, Christopher Davenport, Thomas Deane, Richard Reeve, Ralph Sheldon (frequently mentioned though without a major entry), Edward Sherburne, John Theyer and Obadiah Walker would have been flattered to read what Wood wrote of them in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*.[45]

NOTES

[1] Anthony Wood often signed his name, pretentiously, 'Anthony à Wood', after 1661. He signed his will simply 'Anthony Wood', the form used here. T. A. Birrell introduced the term 'bio-bibliography' and explains the importance of Wood's contributions to bibliography, 'Anthony Wood, John Bagford and Thomas Hearne as Bibliographers', *Pioneers in Bibliography*, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris (London 1988): 25–9. Any merit in this essay derives from the kind and rigorous mentoring of Tom Birrell.

[2] For the memorandum, see N. Kiessling, *The Life of Anthony Wood in his Own Words* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 2009): 16. Hereafter cited as *Life of AW*; and *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. Andrew Clark, v vols (Oxford Historical Society, 1891–1900): iii 499f. Hereafter cited as *L&T*. For Tanner's letter, *L&T* iii 502; in a later letter to R. Rawlinson, he wrote that Wood received the 'Sacrament on his death bed with seemingly great devotion', *ibid.*, note 1.

[3] *Life of AW*, 24; *L&T* i 129–131.

[4] Wood's stand on religion took place in 1647 when he grudgingly signed a loyalty oath. Later, when the document was in the university archives, he altered his name to 'Andrew Woodly'. For the document, see *Life of AW*, 29–9; *L&T* i 144; and for the alteration, A. Gustard, *Notes & Queries*, liv (2007): 83–5.

[5] For the peevish Edward, *Life of AW*, 33.

[6] For Burton and Guillim, *Life of AW*, 42; for Dugdale, 49.

[7] For Stanton Harcourt, *L&T* i 220.

[8] These were often in separate but contiguous chapels, in dedicated aisles, in parish graveyards, or even in chancels. Throughout England generations of Catholic families were known to support a local parish church or participate in church functions. The

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'Great' Ralph Sheldon presumably had certain rights of presentment which allowed the burial of his heart and entrails in the Long Compton church chancel and his body to be interred in a separate chapel in the Beoley church. Yarnton, Oxon., for example, had a dedicated aisle, *L&T* iii 73.

[9] Wood's record of his family is now MS. Wood empt. 26, pp. 1, 62; Clark transcribed it, *L&T* v 3, 17–8. For Jermin, *L&T* ii 49; for Settle, see N. Kiessling *The Library of Anthony Wood* (Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2002), entry 5849. Hereafter cited as *LAW*, followed by an entry number.

[10] On papists, *L&T* ii 93. For other comments, *Life of AW*, 7, 65, 126; Wood twice referred 'cabal of priests/papists at Somerset House', in his almanac diary, *L&T* iii 172, 176. For the saints, *Life of AW*, 126. The proctor was David Thomas of New College, *L&T* ii 125.

[11] Fell had to be convinced that Wood was the person to undertake this huge project, and by the mid-1660s he came to recognize that Wood was qualified for the task, one which he very much wanted to see completed. For Wood's first visit to London, and for G. Sheldon and his third visit to London, *Life of AW*, 104–106, 116; and *L&T* ii 109–111, 168.

[12] For Cressy and Great Tew, *Ath. Ox.* ii 567: (for *Ath. Ox.* see next note) and in his vignette at iii 1011. For Cressy's books, *LAW* 2056–7. For Mallet, *L&T* ii 554. For the letter, MS. Wood F 40, f. 408. For Cressy on Prynne, *Athen. Ox.* iii. 853–4. Wood saw the 1668 ed. of Cressy's *Church History of Brittany*.

[13] For Rogers, MS Wood F 45, f. 23, and John Fendley, 'William Rogers and his Correspondence', *Recusant History* xxiii (1997): 289. John Theyer asked Rogers to deliver a letter to Wood in 1665. Wood, with Timothy Nourse, visited Theyer in 1668 to look at, and borrow, manuscripts, *L&T* ii 143. For Wood's source for e.g., John Sergeant and Abraham Woodhead in the *Athenæ Oxonienses... To which are added the Fasti* (hereafter cited as *Ath. Ox.*), ed. P. Bliss (London, 1813–20), iii 1159 and iv 672, see Fendley, 288. In one case Rogers gave Wood wrong information about a book he believed to have been written by Thomas White, but Wood was in contact with Sergeant, and Sergeant sent Wood a letter, dated 29 Nov. 1687, in which he stated that he had written the book. For Roger's mss. and books, Fendley 311–316; and *LAW* 2181, 2871, 4235(?), and 6721. For Rogers, *Ath. Ox., Fasti* ii 352, 'he was seized' for distributing the pamphlet but soon released.

[14] For a comparison of Davenport and Cressy, see *Ath. Ox.* iii 1224; *L&T* ii 169; and *Life of AW*, 117 (Wood wrote the second version of his autobiography in the third person); for the dinner, *ibid.*, 121.

[15] *Ath. Ox.* ii 390 and ii 864, and Taylor, iii 782. In Oct. 1670 Wood loaned him a manuscript by Thomas of Eccleston, *L&T* ii 203. Letters are in MS. Wood E 4 and F 41. Wood took material from Davenport's own letters for his portrait in *Ath. Ox.* iii 1224, see J. B. Dockery, *Christopher Davenport. Friar and Diplomat* (London, 1960): 79 and 108. See the plate after p. 48 for a letter, Davenport to Wood, 13 Aug. 1670.

[16] For the first meeting, Theo Bongaerts, *The Correspondence of Thomas Blount* (Amsterdam, 1978), 97, a letter from Blount to Wood, 20 Aug. 1669. For the 1660 items, *LAW* 50–51, 1009–1010, 2852; Wood received his first gift of a book from Blount in May 1670, *LAW* 6556. For the letters, including 26 sent in 1671 alone, see Bongaerts, p. 92. For the herald's position, letters 96–7, and 104. For verification of inscriptions earlier supplied by Blount himself, Elias Ashmole and John Aubrey, see letter 1a, p. 98, and letter 73, note 3, p. 278.

[17] *Animadversions* 'would not have been published without Wood's help', Bongaerts, 51–3 and letters 33–6, 39, 40. For Lloyd, *L&T* ii 197. For the dictionaries, letter 87a, 115a. For information on Oxbridge, Bongaerts, 52 and letter 88. For the *Ath. Ox.* iii 140 and iv 761.

[18] Timothy Nourse may have been Wood's 'cozen', *L&T* ii 189. Amsterdam Court was a passage between 25 and 26 High Street, now beneath a Brasenose quadrangle. See also *L&T* ii 165. For Worcester, *Life of AW*, 125; the event was written about also by Thomas Blount in *Boscobel*, see *LAW* 1015. For the apparent meetings at Weston, *L&T* ii 321; for the obital books, *Ath. Ox.* ii 357–8; and see also *L&T* iv 119.

[19] For the inscribed book, *LAW* 5831, and *Life of AW*, 125–6. Wood was invited to Weston during the summer 1673, but could not accept. M. Balme, *Two Antiquaries* (Durham, 2001), 35–6.

[20] For Wood's catalogues of the books and mss., see *L&T* ii 321. For the number of mss., 'about 300', see *Ath. Ox.* ii 218; Clark stated that there are 230 mss. listed in Wood's catalogue, see *L&T* ii 321, notes 2 and 3. Wood's salary is suggested by his comment when his visit of 4 July to 6 November 1679 was cut short: 'So there was 5 li lost'. *L&T* ii 467.

[21] *L&T* ii 467 and 493. A third such subterfuge may have occurred on 14 Sept. 1682 when Wood went to Weston and did not find Sheldon; be had absented himself to his home at Skilts.

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[22] For Veron, see *LAW* 6317; for the funeral, *L&T* iii 97–8 and note 8, above. For Sheldon's burial at Long Compton (where Cressy also was buried, *Ath. Ox.* iii 851), see note 8, above. For Wood's last visit to Weston, *L&T* iii 487f.

[23] The commonplace book is now in MS. Tanner 102. For Cressy's friends, *Ath. Ox.* iii 1013. The Sherburne visit to London was not recorded by Clark, *L&T* v 79. Wood made at least 13 other trips to London. For the 6 Oct. meeting, *The poems and translations of Sir Edward Sherburne*, ed., Frans Jozef van Beeck (Assen [Van Gorcum], 1961), xxxviii. For an analysis of Sherburne's large library, T. A. Birrell in *The Book Trade and its Customers, 1450–1900*, ed. A. Hunt, G. Mandeibrote, and A. Shell (Winchester, 1997). For the Sherburne letters, MS. Wood F 44, ff. 221–303 and *L&T* iv 229.

[24] The Mitre is still located on High Street just west of Lincoln College. For the quotation, *Life of AW*, 126; *L&T* ii 227.

[25] For his brother's report, *L&T* ii 275. For the first meeting with Aubrey, *Life of AW*, 108; and for the letter of 7 August 1669, Balme, *Two Antiquaries*, 24. Wood initiated the quarrel when he was under attack for certain statements in the *Ath. Ox.*, for which Aubrey was the source.

[26] Aubrey in this letter also told Wood that he might find refuge in the Catholic colony of Maryland, *ibid.*, 31–2, 34. For more on the retired, solitary and melancholy Wood, see N. Kiessling, 'The Autobiographies of Anthony Wood, *Bodleian Library Record*, xix (Oct. 2006): 194ff.

[27] For Aubrey's question, Balme, *Two Antiquaries*, 55, and a reference to Wood's answer, 56. Bathurst was vice-chancellor from 1673–6. For the dinner, 6 Feb. 1674, *Life of AW*, 134; *L&T* ii 281.

[28] For Fell's advice, see above. For Wilkinson, MS. Wood F 45, f. 128r, 16 December 1671, and for Wood's kindly portrait, *AO* iv 285. Fell's most egregious editing concerned the portrait of Thomas Hobbes, see *LAW*, xxxii, and 3616–7, 6684–5.

[29] For Burnet, *L&T* ii 449, 455–6 and note; for Wood's final rebuttal of Burnet, see *A Vindication of the Historiographer*, written by E. D. (i.e., Anthony Wood) (London, 1693), 9, and note 39, below; and R. A. Beddard, *History of the University of Oxford*, iv (1997): 865. For Grimstone and Burnet, *Ath. Ox.* iv 439; *L&T* ii 449; *Life of AW*, 139–40. Another 'popish' book was Obadiah Walker's edition of John Spelman's *Life of Alfred*. See Beddard, *HUO*, iv 864.

[30] *L&T* ii 414, 423–425; *Life of AW*, 141.

[31] Beddard, *HUO*, iv 863–5. *Life of AW*, 141.

[32] Bongaerts 13, and MS. Wood F 39, f. 343. Bongaerts, 143, letter 71, 30 Oct. 1673, and note 3. Blount referred to Reeve as Wood's friend 'ad Pontem' because he lived near the bridge at Grandpont. For Reeves and Nourse, *LT* ii 275–6.

[33] *L&T* ii 433 and ii 428. For Joyner's letters to Wood, see *L&T* iv 229.

[34] Wood's judgments, see *LAW* 913 and 5276 and especially his notes on Robert Lister, the principal of Magdalen Hall, in *LAW* 2379. For executions of Jesuits, see *LAW* 570, 1429, 3040, 3164, 4140, 6558–6562. For the popish plot, see *LAW* 321, 322, 926, 1033, 1080, 2744, 2748, etc. In two catalogues of the plot, *LAW* 1599–1601, he made extensive bibliographical notes. In *LAW* 1601 he noted, by 'habeo', that he owned ten of the items listed in the catalogue, all now in the composite volume, Wood 426.

[35] For the trials, *LAW* 6383, and for the speeches, 3887 and 5274.

[36] *L&T* iii 291.

[37] For Tonge and Shippen, *L&T* ii 422. The last letter was about the Catholic polymath, Nicholas Hill, who died in 1610. See R. A. Beddard, 'The Source of Anthony Wood's Life of Nicholas Hill', *Archives* 29, no. 111 (Oct. 2004): 1–11; and MS. Wood F 45, ff. 77–8.

[38] For the early attacks, *L&T* iii 368, 396, 398. For Clarendon, see the account of the trial, *L&T* iv 1–50.

[39] He regained access to the university and the library and was also pardoned, see *Life of AW*, 156 and *L&T* iii 485. Two other defensive pieces are a predated introduction, 'To the Reader' to the *Athenæ*, and his autobiography. See Kiessling, 'The Autobiographies of Anthony Wood', 190–194. For the publication date of the *Vindication*, *L&T* iii 420 and *LAW* 6695 and note 29, above. For the charge of Burnet, see *Vindication*, 18–19.

[40] For Eynsham, see *Life of AW*, 55. For Dorchester, *L&T* i 223; Abingdon, *Life of AW*, 92; the Minchery and Sandford, *L&T* i 386, 403–4 and iii 343; Pershore, *L&T* ii 342; Fairford, *Life of AW*, 63; and Godstow, *L&T* i 330, 340–3, 347; iii 491. The last quotation is from the *Vindication*, 29.

[41] Wood's conservative tendencies can be seen in his annotations in *LAW* 5426, an attack upon Laud by William Prynne. There Wood refers to Laud as 'that blessed Martyr Dr.

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Will. Laud Archb. of Canterb'. Wood owned over a dozen items written by or about Laud (*LAW* 4045–4056, 5426–7, 5430). Laud's flirtation with the Catholic church is well-known and did not at all disturb Wood. See Dockery, 53–4. In *Ath. Ox.* ii 652, Wood approved of Robert Burton, the author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, for a conservative practice: 'to the parishioners... he always gave the sacrament in wafers'.

[42] Other gifts of books came from Christopher Davenport, Richard Reeve, Frances Sheldon (Ralph's niece and a maid of honour), George Sheldon, Marie Sheldon (Ralph's niece and a maid of honour), Ralph Sheldon of Steeple Barton, and John Vincent. To Sheldon in *LAW*, Appendix III, p. 689 should be added 941–2 and 5874–5; and 5346 should be 5347; to Bourne should be added 1011, 1013, and 3197 (see Bongaerts, 103). For Blount's and Davenport's gift, *LAW* 2175 and 2179.

[43] Reeve's books are *LAW* 980 and 6353. For the parting, *L&T* ii 280. For the attempt to convert Wood, *L&T* ii 401. For Wood's inquiries, *L&T* iii 295, 320, 350, and *Ath. Ox.* iv 386. Reeve also gave Wood at least one valuable ms., *L&T* ii 275.

[44] For Wood's printed items on the subject of Catholics, see *LAW*, Appendix VII, p. 704; to the 413 listed, please add: 50, 51, 299, 363, 987, 1012, 1452, 1453, 2008, 2177, 2178, 2181, 2182, 2871, 3056, 3249, 3300, 3663, 3925, 4235, 5201, 5222, 5577, 5585, 5729, 5928, 1618, 6027, 6202, 6556, 6557, 6721, 6722. For Vade, *LAW*, xvi, note 17; *L&T* ii. 181–3 and ii. 461, 464.

[45] Wood gave Timothy Nourse a more positive portrait than he did in his almanac diary; he marginalized his valuable but mildly erratic informant, William Rogers. See *Ath. Ox.* iv 448 (and *LT* ii 390), and *Ath. Ox. Fasti* ii 352, and text at note 13, above.

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