

HUMFREY WANLEY ON HOW TO RUN A SCHOLARLY LIBRARY

Michael Murphy

Humfrey Wanley (1672—1726) was the first Keeper of the Harleian library, which became one of the great building blocks of the present British Library. He was a scholar-librarian whose Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts remained unsurpassed for 250 years, and is still useful. He also thought about and grappled with the problems of the scholarly library at a period when, it appears, some other librarians slumbered over their task. This article publishes for the first time a long memorandum in which Wanley sets out for a trustee of the library of St. Paul's Cathedral the results of his mature thinking about how a scholarly library should be run.

There are both footnotes and endnotes in this paper. The endnote numbers within the text are in square brackets.

A Foreigner's View of English Libraries in 1710

In the year 1710 Zacarias Conrad von Uffenbach, a German of scholarly tastes, considerable means, and a good opinion of himself, made a visit to England, mostly to see the libraries. He kept a journal of his visit that might well have appeared as "The Diary of a Supercilious Man," but it has been published under the more sedate title of *Cambridge under Queen Anne* [1 endnote].

It is not easy to gauge the exact value of Uffenbach's comments about English libraries and librarians. How much was lofty disdain, how much accurate reportage? But if his observations are even close to the truth, then the state of the English repositories of learning in the early eighteenth century was often deplorable.²

² There is some confirmation of the truth of Uffenbach's remarks in the comments of Burman, a Dutchman who also visited some of the English libraries about the same time. They are also printed in [1]. Some of Wanley's own comments at various times, though nowhere so damning, are quite critical of the way libraries were run. See, for example, [2].

[p. 146] Here is a representative selection from Uffenbach's comments about some of the libraries he visited in Cambridge:

Magdalene: "All the books, with hardly one single exception are entirely overgrown with mould" [1, p. 139].

University Library: The printed books are "very ill-arranged, in utter confusion" [1, p. 140].

Emmanuel: "The books (as usual in England) stand in entire confusion, so that I could neither review them by the printed catal. MSS Angl., nor yet by the written one which lay upon the table" [1, p. 166].

St. John's: "The librarian is a very friendly and learned man" [1, p. 140].

Oxford fared somewhat better, though not much, in the estimation of the German bibliophile:

Christ Church: "A good collection in good order" [1, p. 382].

Merton: "The library is tolerably extensive" [1, p. 385].

St. John's: "The books in the library are in tolerable number, and well arranged" [1, p. 389].

Lincoln: "Few books and those ill-arranged, as they are in most college libraries" [1, p. 387].

Bodleian: "Without special leave you cannot touch a book in the Bodleian nor see anything but what the under librarians choose to shew you for a tip. But, as it costs 8 shillings and some trouble, most visitors are content with a superficial view. Every instant visitors come in, even, which is amazing, boors and women, who stare at this library like a cow at a new gate, and make such a clatter as to disturb everyone else" [1, p. 374].

Ashmolean: "After spending the morning in the Bodleian, we wished to devote the afternoon to the Ashmolean; but the sublibrarian went to the races, it being the third and last day" Ill, p. 387].

His impressions of the London libraries were scarcely better:

Cotton: "The librarian, still a young man, was very courteous, and allowed us to look about for more than two hours" [1, p. 369].

Sion College: "The books are well-arranged, chained, but scarce to be touched for smoke and dust; indeed whenever I examine London books I make my ruffles as black as coal" [1, p. 362].

Westminster Abbey: "The librarian was deaf, and looked like a sweep. But to my surprise, he spoke Latin fairly" Ill, p. 361].

St. Paul's: "He who has charge of the library is an Englishman, that is one who

troubles himself little about it" [1, p. 353].

But there is one glaring omission in Uffenbach's account of London libraries and librarians. He has no report on the Harleian library nor of its great keeper, Humfrey Wanley.³ It is impossible that he should not have known of both. Harley's was already one of the great private libraries in the kingdom; and any possible doubt of Uffenbach's awareness

[147]
of Wanley is dispelled by his references to George Hickes's *Thesaurus* for which Wanley had compiled the great Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts [6]. Moreover, Uffenbach actually visited Hickes, and they "spoke of various Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and books" [1, p. 369].

Nevertheless, it does seem that Uffenbach did not visit Wanley or the Harleian over which he presided in sometimes lordly and proprietorial fashion, and it would serve no useful purpose to speculate about the reason for the obvious and strange omission. Wanley does make one reference to Uffenbach later, but his tone is purely neutral, and indicates no acquaintance with the man. The reference occurs in one of those instructions to someone going abroad who might be able to pick up something for Harley's library that Wanley liked to have ready. This time it was to Schumacher, Peter the Great's librarian, who had been on a visit to England, asking him to try to acquire a few items from Uffenbach's collection about which Wanley had learned from Schumacher himself [7].

Scholar and Librarian

Wanley was a busy scholar; and although he had never taken a degree (the chief reason why he did not get the librarianship at the Bodleian) he was a scholar of distinction—in some areas of study quite unmatched—in England at least. It is generally agreed that the catalog he provided for Hickes's *Thesaurus* is the most enduring part of that monumental work. When Neil Ker produced his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (1957), he handsomely acknowledged that 250 years later Wanley's was a hard act to follow: "A cataloguer of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon has the privilege and responsibility of following a great palaeographer." Wanley's catalog "is a book which scholars will continue to use, or neglect at their peril. His opinion will always be worth knowing" [8, p. xiii].

Nor was this work done in the quiet of scholarly seclusion. The catalog had been compiled under conditions that would have discouraged a whole committee of men. At Oxford, where it had been started, Wanley had writhed under the humiliating refusal of the university to grant him a degree by grace, and the consequent failure to become Keeper at the Bodleian, a job for which he knew himself to be the best qualified. The catalog was still in progress when he moved to London where he was compelled to take a job as secretary of the Society for the

³ There is no full-scale biography of Wanley. The best accounts are in [3—5].

Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), a post that gave him a living, an insufferable superior, and a vast amount of drudge work—“living meanly and

148

precariously writing as a hireling for bread” [9], as his old mentor George Hickeys called it. At one point Wanley claimed that with his work on the catalog, his letter-copying for the SPCK, and his minute-taking for the Royal Society he was putting in seventeen hours a day. At another he wrote to express regret for delay in conveying thanks to his hosts at Canterbury Cathedral where he had been cataloging manuscripts: “I have been employed ever since in three several businesses each of which, if duly attended, would take up an ordinary man’s whole time... . My necessary business did and still does keep me writing till 12 at night, and I return to it by candlelight every morning” [10].

Harley’s Librarian

This kind of intolerable slavery eased after he had finished the Anglo-Saxon catalog (1704) and especially when he threw up the job with the SPCK to become Harley’s full-time librarian (1708). Finally he was in his true metier, presiding over a great and growing library. One of the more pressing needs was a good catalog, and Wanley set about this with his usual thoroughness. He completed about 2,000 entries in the catalog of Harley manuscripts that is still used [11], and these are so elaborate that, as Thomas Hearne complained at the time with peevish accuracy, Wanley “took such an injudicious method that, had he lived many years longer, it would never have been finished” [12, vol. 9, p. 162]. Certainly Wanley’s successors on the catalog never made any real attempt to match his thoroughness.

In addition to the work of cataloging, Wanley had to run the day-today business of the library. As the keeper of the Harley collection he inevitably received large numbers of letters from people asking for his help or offering to sell material, and he had to devote a great deal of time to such correspondence. He haggled with booksellers and owners of manuscripts; he advised (and made transcripts for) scholars; he wrote to librarians, engravers, heralds, and music lovers; to classicists, orientalisists, saxonists, and celticists [13, 14, passim]. This was demanding work, but one gets the impression that Wanley loved it much of the time. He enjoyed the long struggle with Covell, the Master of Christ’s College, Cambridge, to acquire the old man’s magnificent library, some of which he finally got for Harley [13, vol. 1, pp. xxxiv—xxxv; vol. 2, p. 444; 15; 16]. One feels that he also got considerable pleasure from the fine display of his paleographic erudition in his long letter to John Smith demonstrating the superiority of the Moore manuscript of Bede [17], and from exhibiting his mastery of all aspects of library keeping in the unfinished draft letter reproduced below.

These demanding activities did not prevent him from pursuing his own scholarly interests. He devoted a great deal of time and energy to a

[p. 149]

number of scholarly projects, though none of them was ever completed:

a new life of Cardinal Wolsey; a new edition of Edmund Gibson's *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [18]; a volume of the unpublished parts of scripture in Old English; an edition of unpublished medieval English chronicles. ⁴ Moreover, he had time to found or refound the Society of Antiquaries, which still flourishes, and his outline plans for the society are ambitious in the truly grand style [19, xxvi—xxxii].⁵

Thoughts on Libraries

Apart from his scholarship, published and unpublished, Wanley's recorded thoughts on the business of keeping a library make it very clear that he had thought long and seriously about the profession that was his life. The draft letter reproduced here should be taken with other general statements of his about the conduct of libraries [2; 20—22] and with his diary [13] and correspondence. They show—with certain limitations—that he gave a good deal of thought to almost every aspect of librarianship. The limitations were imposed by the fact that he was never in complete charge of any library. At Oxford he was never more than an Under-Librarian; in London both Robert and Edward Harley were always very much in charge of their library, and made the decisions about aims. Wanley might and did make recommendations which were often followed, but he never had anything like a free hand to take the library in the direction he might choose.

Nevertheless, within these bounds, he was entrusted from the earliest stages with major decisions about acquisitions. A mere two years after his arrival at the Bodleian it was Wanley who decided which books from the large library of Edward Bernard the University library could usefully buy. "The list he made ... presents a striking contrast in its orderly presentation to the lack of method employed in handling [Bishop] Barlow's books" [21, p. 87]. In London even before he became Harley's

4. Two of the chronicles that Wanley had transcribed were indeed published, but ironically by his detractor 1-earne, who had accused him of theft, whoring, drunkenness, incapacity as a librarian, and whatnot. When Wanley died, Hearne asked Harley for the "drunkard's" transcripts of the two medieval chronicles that he could find, and recorded in his diary without apparent embarrassment that "Mr. Baker tells me that if I print the Chronicle of Dunstable from Mr. Wanley, he was so exact a man that his copies are next to originals" [12, vol. 11, p. 176]. In the next century the edition received unqualified praise from the historian Bishop Stuhbs, who commented that "the greatest part of the credit is due to Wanley, as his transcript alone was used, and Hearne's text is accordingly a very sound reproduction of the manuscripts" [3, p. 189].

5. His suggested projects included "a monasticon enlarged to 30 or 40 volumes," "a Dictionary for fixing the English language as the French and Italian," "a body of Saxon Laws and Homilies," and "a complete Anglo-Saxon bible."

librarian he found that Sir Simonds D'Ewes was willing to sell his fine family collection of books and manuscripts on English history, including a good deal of material in Anglo-Saxon, Wanley's specialty; and he earned Harley's admiration and D'Ewes's friendship in his conduct of the negotiations for the purchase, which "raised Harley's library to the first rank" [4, p. 267]. Thereafter, when he became Harley's full-time librarian, he was routinely given wide scope for his discretion in selecting books from the large consignments brought to Harley's attention by the booksellers.

At one point Harley was acquiring material so fast that the collection threatened to outgrow its home and he thought of erecting a special building for it. Wanley was, of course, consulted, and he wrote a memorandum sketching his ideas for the building: the major one was the modest notion that the new Harleian should be modeled on the Vatican library [22, p. 82].

The same memorandum shows Wanley's longstanding concern for the minutiae of library making: "In the middle may be a large chimney for a coal-fire, with cross bars within (to keep rogues from coming down)" [22, p. 83]. In his earlier years he had noted the curious defect in the system at the Bodleian of pasting the contents of the manuscripts on the backs of the codices: "the birds being invited by the sweetness of the pastie], pick them off again, and pick holes in the covers" [21, par. 7].

Some of the recommendations in the memorandum reproduced below had been voiced even in his prentice years. For example, how are books and manuscripts of a variety of sizes to be shelved? Wanley's answer did not change from his Oxford days: alphabetical order provided a situation "unsightly to the eye; to have little & big together spoils (and has already spoild) those great books which stand next to small ones, and looses room" [21, pars. 6 and 15] (and see the letter reproduced below). There were still the ubiquitous "loiterers, peepers and talkative persons" [22, p. 83]. At Oxford he had suggested they be shown one small section of the library where they would be "satisfied to the full with the sight of the fine written, painted & gilded books, exceeding their very thoughts and notion of them" [21, par. 21]. At St. Paul's they were to be discouraged by the necessity to pay a three-penny entry fee; at Harley's new library by a separate office for the Keeper, and "sines" to warn them off [22, p. 83; 5, p. 12 1—22]. And, of course, he was always and remained interested in encouraging benefactions [21, pars. 12 and 16; 22, p. 84; 23] (and see the letter below).

His care for the details of his profession was matched at the other end of the scale by the intellectual grasp that enabled him to outline such grand scholarly projects as the long-term agenda for the Society of Antiquaries [19, pp. xxvi—xxxii] and the unwritten *Res Diplomatica* that

[p. 151]

was to do for English manuscript study what Mabillon and Moutfaucon had

done for the Continent. The combination made him a rare and formidable talent. Is it any wonder that when he died, one man recommending a successor said simply that Harley “must not expect to find one equal to Wanley” [13, p. lxxiv]?

Wanley’s Letter on St. Pauls’ Library

The following letter is part of a collection of Wanley’s papers which passed to his employer, Lord Oxford, on his death in 1726, and which are now on extended loan to the British Library [10, no pagination]. The present owner, Lady Ann Bentinck, inherited the papers, and it is with her permission that the draft letter is published.

It is quite possible that the letter was never sent. Certainly the Keeper of Manuscripts at the Guildhall Library, which now handles the older manuscripts from St. Paul’s, knows of no finished version of the letter.⁶ The correspondent for whom the letter was intended is not known either, but he was probably one of the Commissioners for the Rebuilding, Finishing and Adorning the Cathedral Church of St. Paul’s. Possibly there is some connection between Wanley’s extended and detailed professional advice and the fact that four days after the date of the draft letter the Commissioners voted to pay him £60 for “some books wch are judged to be very proper and usefull for the Library there & wch are very valuable & hard to be met with” [24]. This was only the second purchase of books for the cathedral library, which was still very much in its beginning stages, as Uffenbach had noted. He estimated that there were scarcely 1,000 volumes there. Wanley seems to have been mi,taken in his assumption that the Commissioners had already chosen a keeper for the library, since it appears that there was no full-time librarian until 1722, presumably because the collection was not yet large enough to justify such a post [25]. Possibly Wanley’s correspondent is the man so superciliously referred to by Uffenbach, a person who had responsibility for the library but who was not a professional librarian.

I have allowed Wanley’s decipherable erasures to stand when they might be of some interest, even though this sometimes leaves slight grammatical or syntactical oddities. Such words and phrases are indicated by italics:

6. I am grateful to Mr. C. R. H. Cooper, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the Guildhall Library of the City of London, who supplied me with references [24] and [25] and photocopies of the relevant sections.

[p. 152]

Transcript of the Letter

September 16, 1710

Reverend Sir,

I have not forgott your late commands, whereby I am required to sett down in writing such hints as I conceive fitt to be put into practice for the preservation and enlargement of the new library at St. Paul's; and accordingly I do with as much frankness as submission, communicate to you the following hasty and indigested notes which show only my private and humble opinion and which I entirely submit to your grave judgment and disposal.

I look upon this library, nor only as a library belonging to the Dean and Chapter of a cathedral church, but as the chieftest public library in the metropolis (If I may say so) of Great Britain. As such I believe both natives and foreigners will take it; as such I would have it endowed and furnish'd and as such I would have its honor and reputation consider'd upon all occasions.

You was pleased to tell me the other night that the library is open'd and how the books are dispos'd from which I conclude that the Governors have already made choice of a library-keeper, who, to be sure, is a man of eminency, abilities, activity, industry, candor and integrity because with these qualifications shining in the chief officer on the place; its reputation will be best fix'd, and you the commissioners will also have the best hopes of seeing it flourish and answer the other parts of your costly and unparallel'd fabrick.

For the security of the library I would have the keeper and all servants employed therein, sworn to be true to their trust, not to imbezle or otherwise wilfully damnifle any of the books, and not suffer any wilful damage to be done to the same without timely discovery or apprehension of the offender, and generally to observe all the statutes of the library.

It will be an encouragement to your library keeper if his deputy or assistant and the sweeper by putt in by and depend on him; they will the better agree together, which will be an ease to em both in the discharging their duties.

I would have the library-keeper and his deputy obliged to attend every day (except holidays) from eight of the clock in the morning till twelve at noon. In the winter time of the year, for the afternoon (since the town is then always full) from one of the clock till four; and in the somer season from two till five or six.

The library-keeper's business may be the disposing of the books and acquainting himself with them, entring benefactions and solíciting others, receiving strangers of the best quality, compiling the catalogue and fixing the same in his memory. And as the catalogue is the life of a a declaration of what is contained in a library, the library keeper should be the index to the catalogue; and not only help the student to the book he asks for, but readily direct him to others in the same way, which might not be thought of without his assistance.

The deputy may be always ready to accomodate the student with the books he wants: every student putting down the day and year, the marks of the book he wants, and his name in a paper book to be kept for that purpose, which name and marks may be cross'd upon the return of the book. He should also be ready to receive strangers; to shew them, if they desire it, the chief curiosities of the library; and to have a watchful eie upon all comers, least any thing be stollen.

And since there is most likely to be a great confluence of all sorts of people to this library, which if not prevented will absolutely debarre any mortall from studying there, by reason of the intolerable noise and confusion: I could wish that the governors of the place would appoint a person of known honesty constantly to attend, during library hours, at the bottom of the stairs, who should

[p. 153]

be oblig'd to admitt every gentleman of the clergy, or other noted student gratis; and keep out every body else who will not give three pence [to] be admitted. This money to be putt into a box as it is received, to be secur'd by several locks, and at appointed times to be opened by should be delivered to the governors; and if the library encrease in reputation and use, it may go a great way in paying of salaries and other incidental charges of the library. And for the justification of this servant insisting upon the payment of such money, a table may be putt up, wherein may be express'd in large letters, in English, Latin and French, that all persons who expect to have admittance into the library, must first give three pence to the servant there attending. Another table may be hung up at the door of the library, which the deputy should shew all persons at their coming in whereby they may be warned in the same 3 languages to forbear making a noise to the disturbance of the students, and refrain from handling or plucking any books or other thing out of place. The man at the bottom of the stairs who collects the money aforesaid may be the porter of the library and be oblig'd to sweep and clean the same dayly, or as often as there shall be occasion, out of library hours and to wipe and clean every book once in every three months.

I believe it might be for the convenience and benefit of all persons concerned in the library, if some standing orders or rules were made for the better government of the place, some of which might be among other things, whereby it might be for ever provided:

That no book be ever lent or carried out of the library upon any pretence whatsoever; unless it be to be bound (if there be no convenience for a bookbinder in the appurtenances of the library); in case of fire or such like emergency. By such an order the library will best keep its own, answer the expectations of such students who shall repair thither on purpose to consult it, and no person can be disoblig'd.

That no fire, lighted candle or lighted tobacco be ever suffer'd in the library.

That no eating or drinking be ever permitted there.

That no student be suffer'd to scribe or write notes in any book without the approbation of the library-keeper.

Since it is found that the placing of books according to their faculties and sciences takes up much more than sufficient room, and that by thus placing a small book next to a large one, the beauty of the library will be destroyed, the great books damaged, the library-keeper's labour doubled and even this method in process of time, thro' the accession of new books, become impracticable: tis proposed that books of a bigness be sett together without respect of faculty, Art of language, where being once entred into the catalogue, they may always remain, and by the same catalogue be always readily found.

And forasmuch as it is found by experience that chains (with their loops, iron rods, smith's work, etc) are a certain charge and burthen to a library; that they are not a sufficient security against a thief; nor even a direction for the putting a book into its own place: 'tis proposed that this expence be saved and the ratling, noise

and intanglement of chains, together with the marPug of books be prevented: since the deputie library-keeper's constant eye upon all students and comers who are warned by the table abovementioned not to medle with the books, is a sufficient security will keep them together.

The catalogue may be made like to that of the Bodleyan Library which is always known to half the students of the kingdom, and is the easiest in practice. The library-keeper might do well in making a general list of the books sorted according to the faculties, arts and other heads, which would be of singular use.

[p. 154]

Besides these, he should make another short list of all the books according as they stand, expressing the author only, or subject of each book or tract, together with its letter and number, in several small books to be called Visitation Books.

Once a year, upon a constant day, in the somer-season the governors of the library would do well to visit the library and by the help of these Visitation Books, call over every book, that they may know whether any be imbezled, lost or damaged. At which time also, and at 3 other days, in the other quarters they might meet and consult about the state, improvement and other business of the

library; causing all minutes of their proceedings and all accompts to be entred into a book or books to be bought for these purposes.

And since it is very probable that in this great and populous city, there may be many generous and well-disposed persons who may be induced to give or bequeath books, medals, pictures, prints and other rarities natural as well as artificial, it might become the wisdom of the governors of the library to take this matter so far into their consideration as to provide proper repositories for such things beforehand, especially a cabinet for medals another for ores (?), fossills, and a very large paper book for prints, drawings, fine specimens of writing, etc. and no doubt but the first benefaction in any kind will be soon imitated.

And because it is found that a grateful remembrance of former benefactors does insensibly encourage "has an influence on" other to be so; A large book of velum should be provided, and always lie ready in the library wherein should be fairly entred the name of the benefactor and the particulars of his benefaction. The writing to be largely, beautifully and richly embellished in proportion to the benefaction. No person to be entred as a benefactor who does not give to the value of 40.~ If any person gives a single book, print or picture, etc. under that value, his name may be written thereon.

*Since it is not fitting that the library should be disfurnished by lending out the books, the students should be accomodated with tables, desks, chairs, etc.

Sir, I crave your pardon for this long letter tho' it contain only what at present occurs to my imagination. If I am obscure, and you shall desire me to explain my meaning, or if you would know more particularly my opinion how the cabinet, drawers, large books, etc. which I have mentioned, should be contrived, or anything else wherein I may be capable of serving the commissioners, you may depend on the ready service of

Sir, your most faithful and obedient serv

HUMFREY WANLEY

REFERENCES

1. Mayor, John E. *Cambridge under Queen Anne*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911.
2. Barwick, G. F. "The Foundation of the Harleian." *The Library* (1910), pp. 166—72.
3. Douglas, David. *English Scholars*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1951.
4. Sisam, Kenneth. *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.
5. Wright, Cyril E. "Humfrey Wanley, Saxonist and Library Keeper." *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1960), pp. 99—129.

[p. 155]

6. Hickes, George. *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionaliun Thesaurus*. 3 vols. Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1703—5.
7. Wright, Ruth C. "Letters from Hutfrey Wanley to Eric Benzelius and Peter the Great's Librarian." *Durham University Journal*, os. 1(1940): 185—97.
8. Ker, Neil. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
9. Bodleian MS Engi. hist. b. 2, f. 172, undated.
10. British Library. MS Loan 29/258, unpaginated, undated [1701, after July].
11. *A Catalogue of the Harlejan Collection of Manuscripts*. 4 vols. London: British Museum, 1808—12.
12. Hearne, Thomas. *Remarks and Collections*, edited by C. E. Doble et al]. Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1885—1921.
13. Wright, Cyril E. *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715—1726*. 2 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1966.
14. Wright, Cyril E. *Fontes Harleiani*. London: British Museum, 1972.
15. British Library. MS Harley 3782, dated January 5, 1716.
16. British Library. MS Loan 29/258, dated November 1716.

HUMFREY WANLEY

17. Bodlcian MS Engi. hist. c. 6, fols. 40—41, dated August 28, 1703.
18. Gibson, Edmund. *Chronicon Saxonicum*. Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1692.
19. *Archaeologia I*. 2d ed. (1779).
20. Barwick, G. F. "Wanley and the Harleian Library." *Library*, 2d ser. 3 (1902): 24—35, 243—55.
21. Gillam, S. G., and Hunt, R. W. "The Curators of the Library and Humfrey Wanley." *Bodleian Library Record* 5 (1954—56): 85—98.
22. Wakeman, Geoffrey. "Humfrey Wanley on Erecting a Library." *Private Library* 6 (1965): 80—84.
23. Heyworth, P. L. 'Humphrey Wanley and Friends' of the Bodleian, 1695—98." *Bodleian Library Record* 9 (1976): 2 19—30.
24. London. Gujldhall Library MS 25, 622/2.
25. Simpson, W. Sparrow. *Gleanings from Old St. Paul's*. London: E. Stock. 1889.