

A CONSPECTUS OF LETTERS TO AND FROM SIR HENRY SPELMAN (1563/4–1641)

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Sir Henry Spelman, a founding member of the Society of Antiquaries of London who may be considered the doyen of English antiquaries, made a substantial contribution through his many publications, particularly his Glossarium of 1626, his Concilia of 1639 and, together with his son John, the Psalterium Latino-Saxonicum of 1640. He pioneered the methodical study of historical documents, compiling a guide to the abbreviations and contractions found in medieval manuscripts, and, because some of the documents are in Old English, he made a plan to prepare an Anglo-Saxon grammar and established a lectureship in Anglo-Saxon at the University of Cambridge. After his death his books and papers were dispersed in stages, many of them being bought by subsequent antiquaries. The printed part of this paper surveys the history of his books and papers, with particular attention to his letters, which have never been listed or presented in an organized form despite calls for this to be done since 1930. The supplementary part (online) offers a conspectus of the letters in chronological order with indications of where they are found and of their more important contents. They throw considerable light on how he worked and on his relationship with those who helped him. Themes running through the letters include Spelman's publications and the preparations for them, the Glossarium, the Concilia and the Anglo-Saxon Psalterium, the reading and transcription of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the preparation of an Anglo-Saxon grammar and dictionary and various scholarly enquiries.

Sir Henry Spelman (fig 1) was a founding member of the Society of Antiquaries in its earliest form; from his record and contribution he could be considered the doyen of English antiquaries. Born at Congham, near King's Lynn, Norfolk,¹ he came from a good family, one that had a strong association with the law. He was educated at Walsingham grammar school and graduated BA from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1583. While studying law at Furnival's Inn, and then Lincoln's Inn, which he entered in 1586, he became interested in the history and antiquities of England. Along with men such as William Camden, Richard Carew, Sir Robert Cotton, William Lambarde, John Stow and Francis Thynne, Spelman helped to found the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, which met regularly between 1584–86 and 1606–08.²

1. For a pedigree of the Spelman family, see St George 1883, 257. For a pedigree of the Spelman family of Congham and Holme beginning with Sir Henry, see Bysshe 1934, 204. For a pedigree of the Spelman family beginning with Sir John Spelman (d. 1546), see Baker 1977–8, I, xvi. The following brief summary of Spelman's life and career draws on the account by Stuart Handley in the ODNB (Handley 2005), but some new points are added.
2. There is a list of members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries in Norwich: Norfolk Record Office, MS 7198 (formerly Gurney xxii(1)), fol 65.



Fig 1. Portrait of Sir Henry Spelman, after Cornelius Johnson (Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen), 17–19th century based on a work of 1628. Oil on canvas. 756 × 552mm. © NPG, image no. 962; reproduced by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Returning to Norfolk, on 18 April 1590 he married Eleanor (d. 1620), daughter and co-heir of John L'Estrange of Sedgford, Norfolk. They had four sons, John, Henry, Francis and Clement, and four daughters, Dorothy (m. Ralph Whitfield), Anne (m. Thomas More of Shropshire), Katherine and Alice (m. John Smith of London),³ most notable among whom were Sir John Spelman (1594–1643), the eldest son, and Clement Spelman (1598–1679), who became cursitor baron of the exchequer. Through his wife's inheritance, Spelman secured the wardship of Hamon L'Estrange, son of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange (d. 1591/2), his wife's cousin.⁴ This allowed him to reside at the L'Estrange property of Hunstanton, Norfolk, where, living as a country gentleman, he wrote several works on subjects such as armorials and the pros and cons of political union. Knighted in 1604 he served as sheriff of Norfolk from November 1604 until February 1606⁵ and as justice of the peace until 1616. His acknowledged expertise on the historical records of Norfolk (and Suffolk)

3. Family sizes among the gentry tended to be larger than among the populace at large: see Oestmann 1994, 170–3.

4. For a pedigree of the L'Estranges of Hunstanton, see Oestmann 1994, 13 (for the position of Hamon as a minor, cf p 26). See also the pedigree in Harvey 1891, 271–3. For a pedigree beginning with Sir Hamon Le Strange, see Bysshe 1934, 122–3.

5. Le Strange 1890, 21.

was such that he wrote the description of Norfolk printed in John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*.⁶ In 1612, when Hamon L'Estrange's minority had ended, Spelman moved his permanent residence to Tothill Street in London.

Having been named in 1617 as a commissioner to determine unsettled titles to lands and manors in Ireland, he made three visits there. In July 1620 he suffered the death of his wife, a son and a grandson. The same year he became a member of the New England (Guiana) Company (treasurer, 1627), thereby becoming involved in legal battles with the rival Virginia Company. Beginning as an assistant to the privy councillors appointed as members of a commission set up by James I in 1622 to investigate the fees taken in civil and ecclesiastical courts, he became a full commissioner in 1623, attending meetings and writing several reports. In 1625 he was elected MP for Worcester, but relinquished the position the following year in favour of his son John.

During his residency in London, Spelman worked on a project to document all the church councils held in England. Assisted in this by the Revd Jeremy Stephens and others, he published the first part dealing with councils up to 1066 under the title *Concilia* in 1639.⁷ Many of the documents Spelman wished to consult were in the possession of the University of Cambridge and some of them in Anglo-Saxon, so Spelman began discussions with the university about the establishment there of a lectureship in Anglo-Saxon, to which Abraham Wheelock was appointed in 1638. The lectureship was held in conjunction with the vicarage at Middleton,⁸ which Spelman himself restored, having persuaded his uncle to give up the rectory at Congham on the grounds that lay rectories tended to the defrauding of the Church.⁹

Spelman died on 1 October 1641 at the house in the barbican of his daughter, Dorothy, and her husband, Sir Ralph Whitfield.¹⁰ He was buried in Westminster Abbey by the door of St Nicholas's Chapel, opposite Camden.

Spelman was a remarkable scholar.¹¹ He correctly explained modern 'rune' as coming from OE *ryne* 'mystery' or 'secret'.¹² In his *Archaeologus in modum Glossarii* (1626), or *Glossarium*, Spelman refutes the false etymology of the word 'gospel', wrongly supposed to be from 'Ghost-spel', and cites OE *godspel* 'good story' (never **gastspel*) as conclusive evidence.¹³ In the field of legal history his achievement was to recognize that the Norman Conquest imported continental feudal tenures into English society, and this recognition led to the imposition of periodisation, pre-feudal, feudal and post-feudal, onto English history.¹⁴ His methodology was painstaking. To deal with the problems he had in reading medieval documents, he compiled a list of abbreviations and contractions, the *Archaismus Graphicus*, anticipating Capelli by nearly 300 years.¹⁵ His *Archaeologus in*

6. Speed 1611. See Lucas 2018, 225–7. All other English county descriptions in Speed's work were derived from Camden 1607, or from the English translation, Camden 1610.

7. Spelman 1639.

8. On the church and parish, including Wheelock's incumbency, see Blomefield and Parkin 1805–10, IX, 30–2.

9. As noted by Wade-Jones 1994, 62.

10. For a pedigree of the Whitfield family, see St George 1883, 348.

11. For some account of Spelman's contribution to scholarship, see Powicke 1930, and Parry 1995, 157–81.

12. See Seaton 1935, 225–7.

13. Spelman 1626, sig. 2D3r (p 319).

14. Pocock 1987, 119.

15. For copies of Spelman's work on abbreviations, see the Bibliography below under Manuscripts; cp Capelli 1899.

modum Glossarii, covering the letters A–G, which, although arranged alphabetically in the form of a glossary, was more a series of commentaries on the meaning of words for ‘usages, offices, ranks, ceremonies and rules in the medieval church and law. . . . Studying language for the sake of law, he approached the English past as part of the history of Europe’.¹⁶ As is reported by his son while visiting Angers, Spelman was known in France as ‘Varro Anglicanus’, ie the English equivalent of Marcus Terrentius Varro, considered the most learned of Romans.¹⁷ In his acknowledgements, French, German and Dutch scholars outnumber the English and Scots by twelve to seven.¹⁸ His correspondence shows him consulting these European scholars about his work, which showed enterprise and innovation. He was genuinely a man of vision, who saw what needed to be done, and who made a real contribution towards doing it.

Back in 1930, in an impressive paper, Powicke considered Spelman ‘one of the main founders of English philological study’, someone who stood out ‘among the scholars of his time by his wise furtherance of the subject and the encouragement he gave to others’. Powicke considered that a ‘critical edition of those [letters that refer to manuscripts] would be of considerable interest’.¹⁹ One of the reasons that so little has been done to address the needs identified by Powicke is that Spelman’s papers and library have been dispersed widely since his death, many manuscripts being divided up and sold on separately, so that finding where items are now, how they got there and how they fit together is a challenge.

After his death most of his papers were evidently kept at Hunstanton.²⁰ Access to them must have been granted occasionally, for example to Sir William Dugdale (1605–86; *ODNB*) when he revised Spelman’s *Archaeologus in modum Glossarii* (1626). As mentioned above, the first edition covered only the letters A–G, but Spelman left his own draft for most of the rest of the alphabet (certainly to R), so Dugdale’s work in completing it was editorial and only partly that of second author.²¹ Dugdale, still a young man, met Spelman in 1637 and Spelman encouraged Dugdale by recommending him to Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel (Junius’s patron), for service of the king in the College of Arms.²² Spelman also introduced Dugdale to his collaborator-to-be, Roger Dodsworth.²³ Dugdale’s revision of Spelman’s *Glossarium* was by arrangement with Charles Spelman (Sir Henry’s nephew),²⁴ as seen in Letter CXXXIII (19 June 1662) and the agreement signed 29 November 1662.²⁵ In Letter CXXXV (12 April 1664) Charles

16. Pocock 1987, 95.

17. See Supplementary Material, letter dated 15 Mar 1630/31.

18. As noted by Pocock 1987, 95.

19. Powicke 1930, 364, 366, 375.

20. For some remarks on what happened to Spelman’s books and papers, see the article by Powicke 1930, plus Collins 1937 and Wright 1972, 310. For much pertinent information, see Keynes 1989, 234–5; I am most grateful to Professor Keynes for passing on further pertinent information. According to Lyons (1987), the library at Swaffham includes a copy of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*, published at Cologne in 1601, annotated by Sir Henry. Swaffham received the books of Clement Spelman, a relative of Sir Henry but a different person from Sir Henry’s son Clement.

21. Spelman, ed Dugdale, 1664. On Dugdale, see Douglas 1939, 31–59.

22. See Hamper 1827, 9–11, also Letter XI (5 June 1637) on p 166. On Howard, see Richard Ovenden in Baker and Womack 1999, 155–63.

23. Evans 1956, 23.

24. Charles Spelman’s books were sold on 23 May 1728 by D Browne without the Black Swan (Browne 1728). However, he left some books/manuscripts to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

25. In Hamper 1827, 358–61.

Spelman approves the dedication,²⁶ which was to Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon (1609–74; *ODNB*). It may have been through Dugdale that a letter from Johannes de Laet to Spelman, dated 1 August 1640, together with collations of two early Anglo-Saxon laws in Lambarde's *Archæionomia* (1568) with the version in the *Textus Roffensis*²⁷ came to be available to print in George Hickes's *Thesaurus* (1703/5);²⁸ the original letter has since disappeared.²⁹

Another scholar who must have had access to Spelman's study was Edmund Gibson (1669–1748; *ODNB*), later bishop of Lincoln (1715–23) and then London (1723–48), whose *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ: The Posthumous Works of Sir Henry Spelman Kt relating to the Laws and Antiquities of England, Publish'd from the Original Manuscripts* evidently used manuscripts that have since become dispersed.³⁰ He could also have been the medium through whom the letter from de Laet passed to Hickes. Gibson, well known by Anglo-Saxonists for his edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,³¹ was very much part of Hickes's Oxford circle.

In 1702 Spelman's papers were still in Hunstanton when Thomas Tanner (1674–1735; *ODNB*) wrote to Peter Le Neve (1661–1729; *ODNB*) asking for his good offices in gaining access to Spelman's study.³² Presumably Tanner was successful as his papers, now in the Bodleian Library, contain at least four copies of letters to or from Spelman. Tanner also possessed a letter from Ussher dated 6 November 1638 together with his notes on a draft of Spelman's *Concilia* (1639).³³ Tanner was in the nick of time. Spelman's books and papers were soon to be dispersed and are now 'to be found in various libraries'.³⁴ By 1709 nearly 300 volumes featured in a sale by the bookseller John Harding (fl 1678–1719), of which there is a catalogue.³⁵ Unfortunately this catalogue is an amalgamated list of books not only from Spelman's library but also, and apparently principally, from the library of the physician Sir Edmund King (1630–1709; *ODNB*), who had just died. Some items stand out as coming from Spelman, such as no. 89 on p 57, the 'Liber Psalmorum. Ling. Lat. & Sax. [Pergam.]', which he used for the *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus* 'put forth by'

26. Hamper 1827, 363.

27. Kent County Archive, DRc/R1, fols 1–5.

28. Lambarde 1568; Hickes 1703/5: De Laet's letter appears in the 'Dissertatio Epistolaris', which is dated 13 Aug 1701. For Lambarde's use of the *Textus Roffensis*, see Bremmer 2008, 154. See further the entry for this letter at 1 Aug 1640.

29. Dugdale's papers were left to the Bodleian, so if he was the conduit he presumably handed over the letter to Hickes or one of his associates and it was not returned.

30. Spelman, ed Gibson, 1698.

31. Gibson 1692.

32. Nichols 1817–58, III, 412–13.

33. Bodleian, Add MS C.301, fols 48–51. As noted by Powicke (1930, 371), these pages would appear to belong in Add MS 34600 after fol 133.

34. Ricci 1930, 17 and n. 1. These libraries include BL; Bodleian; CUL; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC; Harvard Law School Library, Cambridge MA; John Rylands University Library, Manchester; Norfolk Record Office, Norwich; Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich; University of Kansas Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Lawrence KS; University of Texas Library, Austin TX; Yale University Beinecke Library, New Haven CT. Details of the movement of some manuscripts formerly in the Gurney collection to their present whereabouts are given in Anon 1982, 28, sn Gurney. Of course, not all the Gurney manuscripts were from Spelman's library. The history of these manuscripts is complicated because many of them were broken up into separate lots that then went to different destinations: an example is described by Beadle 2016.

35. *King/Spelman Sale* 1709. This catalogue contains printed books and manuscripts, but apparently no letters.

his son Sir John Spelman in 1640;³⁶ the item occurs again in the Walter Clavell sale of 1742 as lot 18.³⁷ Happily, a much more helpful ‘Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Sir Henry Spelman sold by Auction by John Harding who [had] bought them. December 20, 21, & 22. A.D. 1709’ was produced by Humfrey Wanley,³⁸ where 203 items are listed in Wanley’s hand.³⁹ They are all manuscripts (plus a few printed books) rather than collections of papers or letters. A number of these manuscripts were acquired by large collectors such as Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755; *ODNB*) and Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753; *ODNB*), who gave them to the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, respectively.⁴⁰ Others were acquired by private collectors for their own use or pleasure; for example, Thomas Thynne, the first Viscount Weymouth (1640–1714), acquired up to thirty manuscripts.⁴¹ There were probably some letters among the collection as a whole, as Tanner’s collection includes some thirty-two letters in addition to the four copies mentioned above; these letters are found scattered in no particular order among Tanner’s collection.

The Revd Cox Macro (1683–1767; *ODNB*), antiquary and Church of England clergyman of Little Haugh Hall, Norton (Sf),⁴² owned several Spelman manuscripts, and they were inherited by his daughter Mary, who allowed some dispersal before the final sale in 1820. Eighteen folio volumes from Spelman’s library are listed in the Macro sale catalogue, including three volumes of ‘*Epistolæ Miscellanæ*’, the first containing 142 letters including Spelman’s correspondence with Peiresc, Wormius, Rigault, Meursius, Ussher, Camden and others, and the second 193 articles including Spelman’s correspondence with Jeremy Stephens, Ussher, Wheelock, De Laet and many others. The third volume contained 180 letters, but they were not necessarily correspondence with Spelman.⁴³

Later in the nineteenth century many of Spelman’s books and papers were in the collection of Hudson Gurney, antiquary, banker and verse-writer of Keswick Hall, Norfolk (1775–1864; *ODNB*), and so appear in the sale catalogue made for the dispersal of books by his son, John Henry Gurney, where 125 manuscripts are cited.⁴⁴ Others, particularly the letters, were bought by Dawson Turner (1815–58; *ODNB*), antiquary, banker and botanist, who shared Gurney’s interest in antiquarian books and corresponded with him. After the death of his first wife in 1850 he auctioned off many of his volumes in a sale of 1853, with a final sale in April, May and June of 1859.⁴⁵ For example, lot 8 in this sale, containing some of Spelman’s material on Anglo-Saxon grammar, subsequently became item 21538 in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872). It was sold as lot 1090 in one of the Phillipps sales in 1899 to the British Museum. Four volumes of Spelman’s papers and letters that were item 442 in the sale of June 1859 (pp 188–9) came to the British Museum in

36. The manuscript, now MS Stowe 2, was used for Spelman 1640 (STC 2369).

37. *Clavell Sale* 1742, 83.

38. Now BL, Harley MS 7055, fols 232–8.

39. This catalogue deserves to be edited and published.

40. For example, item 135 is ‘The Life of St Catherine, in English Verse, by John Capgrave. Paper’, now Bodleian, Rawlinson poet 118, where on fol x there is an autograph preface by Spelman. On this manuscript, see Lucas 1997, 141–65.

41. See Harris 2000, 237–8.

42. On Macro, see Beadle 2016: for Spelman’s manuscripts, see esp 68–9.

43. *Macro Sale* 1820, esp 8–12, nos 104–21.

44. There is a notice in *Gurney Sale* 1936, 135.

45. *Turner Sale* 1859. The catalogue entry also occurs in Waller 1859, vi. See also McKitterick 2007. Many papers in Turner’s collection were removed by William Fitch while they were in Helmingham Hall or Ham House: see Freeman 1997.

1863 and 1894.⁴⁶ According to the sale catalogue entry, these volumes included correspondence with Méric Casaubon, but only one letter survives from Méric Casaubon to Spelman (6 May 1636) and it is now in Edinburgh. It is possible that this letter became detached from the volumes now in the British Library. The collection of David Laing (1793–1878; *ODNB*), now at University of Edinburgh Library, contains five other letters besides the one from Casaubon.⁴⁷ As for the collections of letters between Spelman and Wheelock in Cambridge University Library, it is not known whence they came into the library.⁴⁸

The letters to and from Sir Henry Spelman that survive can be only a fraction of those written. From what follows it will be evident that many are replies to other letters that do not survive; and the letters listed only start in 1600, when Spelman was already about thirty-six years of age. This conspectus records all those that I have found (over 300);⁴⁹ no doubt more may turn up. The letters are given in chronological order; a few where the date is uncertain are assigned a probable date in the sequence. First the sender and recipient are noted, then the date, then the address of the sender and recipient if recorded on the letter, and finally the manuscript and the folio/page therein where it is found; in the few cases where the letter has been printed, reference is given to the relevant edition.⁵⁰ The beginning of each letter is transcribed usually omitting the form of address (as this is often somewhat long) so that the letter is clearly distinguishable from any other, a necessary precaution because some letters exist in more than one version, and with varying dates;⁵¹ in these transcriptions a vertical stroke signifies a line | division. A brief indication of the contents is given where feasible or useful,⁵² although usually not for letters that have been printed.

Even from the incipits, the character of the writers emerges. Spelman is always courteous but could be quite firm, as when he writes to Sir Simonds D'Ewes saying that his own proposed Anglo-Saxon dictionary is more advanced and superior to the one D'Ewes is proposing (17 April 1640). He could be legally precise, as on the subject of tithes (10 April 1624). His editorial assistant, Jeremy Stephens, is absolutely devoted to supporting Spelman and even encouraging him, and much concerned with matters of health, usually Spelman's, but on one occasion he reports that he himself is having to take 'physick'. Abraham Wheelock, his lecturer in Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, is equally devoted but in a more obsequious way, hardly ever demurring except when Spelman suggests he should travel (27 May 1640), an activity that did not stir his enthusiasm.⁵³ Most of the family letters

46. Now BL, Add MS 25384 (1863) and BL, Add MSS 34599–34601 (1894).

47. EUL also possesses a copy of Spelman's 'Archaicus Graphicus An 1606', previously lot 39 in the sale of the Lauderdale library: *Lauderdale Sale 1836*. David Laing was one of the editors of *The Bannatyne Miscellany*.

48. I am grateful to Dr James Freeman, medieval manuscripts specialist at CUL, for this information.

49. For 42 of his letters or those to him preserved in the Bodleian, see the EMLO website: <http://www.emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>. The EMLO entry also includes two letters not to or from Spelman but containing reference to him (accessed 1 Dec 2017).

50. A few letters occur in printed form, but I have not found them in any of the manuscripts. They may be preserved in manuscripts that survive abroad in Copenhagen (Olé Worm), Dublin (Ussher) or France (Peiresc).

51. I follow the convention in Lem and Rademaker 1993, although they limit the incipit to just five words.

52. For these I have been able to draw where possible on those provided by the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts* in CUL (Anon 1856–67) and by EMLO (which availed of card entries made earlier by Colin B Hunt, as I am kindly informed by Miranda Lewis, digital editor of EMLO).

53. Cf. Lucas 2003/4, 341–2.

are to and from his eldest and evidently favourite son, John, and show paternal care and concern blended with practical advice and humour. Themes running through the letters, apart from family and business matters, include Spelman's publications and the preparations for them, the *Glossarium* (1626), the *Concilia* (1639) and the Anglo-Saxon *Psalterium* (1640), the reading and transcription of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the preparation of an Anglo-Saxon grammar and dictionary and various scholarly enquiries.

THE LETTERS

Language: English except as otherwise stated.

Status:

- o = original
- a = original written by an amanuensis
- d = draft
- c = copy
- s = summary
- p = printed (by)
- t = translated (by), translation

Document: [Institution,] class-mark, fol nos (art no.).

Family:

- Spelman, Sir Henry (1563/4–1641); *ODNB*
- Spelman, Clement, son, cursitor baron of the exchequer (1598–1679); *ODNB*
- Spelman, Henry, nephew (1595–1623)
- Spelman, Sir John, eldest son (1594–1643); *ODNB*
- Spelman, Roger, grandson (1625–78)

Correspondents:

- Andrewes, Eusebius (1606–50), barrister, secretary to Arthur, 1st Baron Capell of Hadham; *ODNB*
- Barkham, John (1571/2–1642), antiquary, rector and dean of Bocking (E); *ODNB*
- Barret, William (fl 1624), of Wells-next-the-Sea (Nf)
- Bedford, see Russell
- Bignon, Jérôme (1589–1656), French lawyer and author, French royal librarian (1642–56)
- Borough (Burhuh), Sir John (d. 1643), antiquary and herald; *ODNB*
- Boswell, Sir William (d. 1650), ambassador to the Netherlands at The Hague; *ODNB*
- Bray, William (d. 1643), chaplain to Archbishop Laud (responsible for licensing S's *Concilia* of 1639); *ODNB*
- Camden, William (1551–1623), historian and herald; *ODNB*⁵⁴
- Carey, Henry (1580–1666), 1st earl of Dover; *CP* iv.445–6

54. See Smith 1691.

- Casaubon, Isaac (1559–1614), classical scholar from Geneva, came to England 1610; *ODNB*⁵⁵
- Casaubon, Méric (1599–1671), son of Isaac, French/English classical scholar based in Canterbury; *ODNB*
- Collins, Samuel (1576–1651), DD, provost KCC, prebendary at Ely; *ODNB*
- Cornwallis, Sir Charles (c 1555–1629), courtier and diplomat; *ODNB*
- Cotton, Sir Thomas (1594–1662), clerk of the process of Star Chamber, son of Sir Robert Cotton
- Coventry, Sir Thomas (1578–1640), lord keeper, 1st Baron Coventry of Aylesborough (Worcs), who in 1625 settled a case in chancery relating to property leases acquired by S; *ODNB*; *CP* III.476–7
- D'Ewes, Sir Simonds (1602–50), antiquary and politician (MP 1640–8); *ODNB*
- Dover, see Carey
- Drury, Sir Anthony (c 1576–1638), of Besthorpe (Nf), sheriff (Nf) 1617–18, MP (Nf) 1625
- Eden, Thomas (d. 1645), master THC, chancellor of the diocese of Ely; *ODNB*
- Ferrou, John (1578–?), of Gressenhall (Nf)
- Flick, Nathaniel (1594–1658), rector of Creeting St Peter (Sf);⁵⁶ Venn, II.151
- Foulke, Robert (1579–1650), rector of St Clement and prebendary of Norwich cathedral
- Fuller, William (c 1580–1659), dean of Ely; *ODNB*
- Gawdy, Sir Bassingbourne (1560–1606), of West Harling (Nf); *ODNB*
- Goad, Matthew (1575–1638), son of Roger Goad, provost KCC (1570–1610); Venn, II.225
- Hakewill, William (1574–1655), lawyer and politician; *ODNB*
- Harcourt, Francis, of Middle Temple, brother of Sir Simon Harcourt (1603–42)
- Hare, Sir Ralph (c 1566–1623), lawyer of Stow Bardolph (Nf), sheriff 1605–6
- Hares, Thomas (1573–1635), rector of Gaywood (Nf) 1598–?; Venn, II.306
- Howard, Henry (1540–1614), courtier and author, earl of Northampton; *ODNB*
- Justel, Christophe (1580–1649), Secretary to Henri IV of France; *BU*, XXI: 361
- Laet, Johannes de (1581–1649), Dutch merchant and scholar; *ODNB*⁵⁷
- Le Marchant, Tussanus of La Rochelle (fl 1640–60)
- L'Estrange, Sir Hamon (S's ward; 1583–1654), of Hunstanton; *ODNB*; Venn, III.76
- L'Estrange, Sir Thomas (?1608–55), (?)nephew of Sir Hamon, of Castlestrange, Co Roscommon
- Lindenbrog, Friedrich (1573–1648), German scholar of older Germanic languages and laws⁵⁸
- Lisle, William (1569–1637), antiquary, cousin to S; *ODNB*
- Lydiat (Lydyate), Thomas (1572–1646), chronologist, rector of Alkerton (Oxon); *ODNB*⁵⁹
- Maundeford (Moundeford), Edward, DD (1550–1630), rector clerk of Congham (Nf)

55. Casaubon's letters are collected in van Almeloveen 1709; with selected letters of Méric Casaubon.

56. See Matthews 1988, 267.

57. See Bekkers 1970, xv–xxvii; Bremmer and Hoftijzer 1998.

58. See Hetherington 1980, 77–9.

59. See also Boran 2015, III, 1180–1.

- Meursius (van Meurs), Johannes (1579–1639), Dutch classical scholar and antiquary at Leiden, in Denmark from 1625⁶⁰
- Montagu, Edward (1562/3–1644), 1st Baron Montagu of Boughton (Nth); *ODNB*; *CP* IX.104–5
- Montague, Richard (1575–1641), bishop of Chichester 1628–38; *ODNB*
- More, Richard (c 1575–1643), of Linley, Shropshire, S's brother-in-law; *ODNB*
- Morris, John (d. 1658), antiquary; *ODNB*⁶¹
- North, Roger (1588–1652/3), soldier on Amazon expeditions; *ODNB*
- Northampton, see Howard
- Palgrave, S (fl 1624), unidentified
- Palmer, Edward (c 1555–1624), antiquary and numismatist; *ODNB*
- Peake, Thomas, minister at Westhorpe (Sf) 1644/5⁶²
- Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri, Seigneur de (1580–1637), Conseiller du Roi au Parlement de Provence (at Aix);⁶³ *BU*, XXXII: 374–8
- Rigault, Nicolas (1577–1654), French classical scholar, librarian to Louis XIII; *BU*, XXXVI: 26–7
- Risdorff, Dom. à, agent of the Elector Palatine in England
- Rosencrantz, Palemon (Palle Axelsen, 1587–1642),⁶⁴ Danish envoy in London
- Russell, Francis (1587–1641), 4th earl of Bedford; *ODNB*; *CP* II.78–9
- Sarson, Laurence (fl 1628–45), fellow of ECC
- Schort, Johannes Jacobus (fl 1630–6), Dutch cartographer
- Scott, Sir Edmund (?), of Rattlesden (Sf) (1562–1642)
- Smith, unidentified⁶⁵
- Spratt, Edward (fl 1631), of Ingoldisthorpe (Nf)
- Stephens, Jeremy (1591–1665), rector of Wotton (Nth); *ODNB*
- Stephens, Philemon, bookseller (fl 1622–65), brother of Jeremy
- Thorowgood, Thomas (1595–1669), rector of Grimston (Nf) 1625–69⁶⁶
- Tompson, John, unidentified⁶⁷
- Ussher, James (1581–1656), archbishop of Armagh; *ODNB*⁶⁸
- Walden, John, S's factotum
- Watts, William (c 1590–1649), author, vicar of Barwick (Nf); *ODNB*
- Wheelock, Abraham (c 1593–1653), S's lecturer in Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge; *ODNB*
- Worm, Ole (Olaus Wormius) (1588–1655), Danish physician and antiquary⁶⁹

60. See Meursius, ed Lami, 1741–63; the letters are printed in vol II (1762).

61. See Bekkers 1970, xii–xv.

62. Matthews 1988, 343.

63. See Gassendus 1657, Delisle 1889, and Gravit 1950, with a catalogue of Peiresc manuscripts at pp 31–55. See also Van Norden 1948–9, and Lindsay 1979.

64. See Bech 1979–84, s.n. Rosenkrantz, Palle.

65. If a local squire, one possibility is Richard Smith of Brampton (d. 1657). Another possibility is John Smith, his son-in-law.

66. For a pedigree of the Thorowgood family, see Bysshe 1934, 220, where Thomas Thorowgood, BD, appears as the second son of William Thorowgood (d. 1625).

67. For many of this name, see Venn and Venn 1922–54, IV, 225. There was also a bookseller of this name: see Plomer 1968, 178.

68. See Ussher 1847–64, and Parr 1686; the letters printed in this book are a selection. Some Ussher letters (and a few by Spelman) are printed in Thibaudeau 1883–92. For a comprehensive edition of Ussher's letters, see Boran 2015.

69. See Worm 1751. See also Schepeleern 1965–8, where the letters are translated into Danish.

Locations for S:

Barbican Sir Ralph Whitfield's house (S's son-in-law) in London
 Congham Congham, nr King's Lynn (Nf)
 Hunstanton The L'Estrange residence at Hunstanton (Nf)
 Middleton Middleton, nr King's Lynn (Nf)
 Narborough Narborough, nr King's Lynn (Nf)

LETTERS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Available in the online supplementary material.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

All material relating to the letters themselves, text (incipits, sketch summaries, etc), manuscript location, whether printed and if so where, is to be found in the online supplementary material at [10.1017/S0003581522000026](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581522000026).

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Add	Additional
BL	British Library, London
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>BU</i>	<i>Biographie Universelle ancienne et moderne</i> , ed J F Michaud, 45 vols (repr Bad Feinbach, 1998)
<i>Concilia</i>	Spelman 1639
<i>CP</i>	Cokayne 1910–59 [rev Gibbs <i>et al</i>]
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DD	Doctor of Divinity
ECC	Emmanuel College, Cambridge
EMLO	Early Modern Letters Online (Bodleian website)
EUL	University of Edinburgh Library
<i>Glossarium</i>	Spelman 1626
KCC	King's College, Cambridge
L	Latin
ML	Morgan Library (formerly Pierpont Morgan Library), New York
MP	Member of Parliament
Nf	Norfolk
Nth	Northamptonshire
<i>ODNB</i>	Matthew and Harrison 2004: cited to indicate an entry for the relevant name

OE	Old English
QCO	Queen's College, Oxford
Oxon	Oxfordshire
<i>Psalterium</i>	Spelman 1640
RCL	Rochester Cathedral Library
RIA	Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
<i>s</i>	<i>saecula</i> , as in <i>s xvii</i> = seventeenth century
S	(Sir Henry) Spelman (1563/4–1641)
SAL	Society of Antiquaries of London
SC	Madan <i>et al</i> 1895–1953
Sf	Suffolk
s.n.	<i>sub nomine</i>
STC	Pollard and Redgrave 1976–91
THC	Trinity Hall, Cambridge
Venn	Venn and Venn 1922–54
Wing	Wing 1982–98
Worcs	Worcestershire

Manuscripts⁷⁰

Letters

Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine Municipale, Carpentras (Vaucluse), 1876, fols 204r–210v, contains copies of ten letters by Peiresc to Spelman dated 11/09/1619 to 25/06/1625⁷¹

Bibliothèque Méjanés, Aix-en-Provence, 212 (vol 12 of MSS 201–15 being copies of Peiresc's correspondence)⁷²

70. For CUL manuscripts, see Anon 1856–67, esp vol 1, where brief summaries of each letter are given. For BL manuscripts, see Anon 1849. For manuscripts in the Bodleian, see Madan *et al* 1895–1953 [SC]; for the manuscripts of Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), see Hackman 1860. For her expertise in deciphering a few particularly difficult readings, I am most grateful to the late Dr Frances Willmoth (Cambridge). For his expertise in checking the correctness of the Latin in the relevant letters, I am most grateful to Dr Raymond Astbury (Dublin). I am solely responsible for any errors.
71. See Liabastres 1902; for his assistance regarding these materials at the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, I am most grateful to Jean-François Delmas, *conservateur général*. Six of the ten letters are found among Spelman's papers in London and Oxford: 11 Sept 1619, 24 Dec 1619, 13 Aug 1620, 14 Oct 1620, 21 Dec 1622, 25 June 1624. Spelman's letters to Peiresc span the period 11 June 1619 to 23 May 1628: Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine Municipale 1876. The copies in Carpentras are extremely difficult to decipher, sometimes impossible.
72. See Albanés 1894, 126. An index of MSS 201–15 was made by Etienne Rouard (former *conservateur* at Aix), now Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fonds français, nouv acq 1147, but this is superseded by website access: <http://www.ecorpus.org/search/search.php?search=search&page=1&q=Spelman&search=Rechercher>. For his assistance regarding materials at the Bibliothèque Méjanés, Aix-en-Provence, I am most grateful to Philippe Ferrand, *conservateur du fonds ancien*.

- Bodleian, Add MS C.301 (SC 30283), fols 23–48 (Ussher's notes on *Concilia* and his accompanying letter)
 BL, Add MS 25384, Letters 1619–38 acquired 1863, originally part of what is now Add MS 34599–34601
 BL, Add MS 34599–34601, Three volumes forming the core evidence of Spelman's correspondence, part of the Dawson Turner collection, partly subject to rearrangement

Others

- Bodleian, Rawlinson poet 118, John Capgrave, 'Life of St Katharine' (s xv)
 BL, Harley MS 7055, fols 232–8, Catalogue of Spelman book sale in the hand of Humfrey Wanley, 1709
 BL, MS Stowe 2, L/OE Psalter, formerly owned by Spelman
 Kent County Archives Office, Strood, Rochester, DRc/R1 (formerly RCL, A.3.5), Textus Roffensis
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- Macro Sale 1820. *A Catalogue of ancient manuscripts, chiefly antiquarian & historical, including the valuable collections of Sir Henry Spelman ...: the whole formerly collected by the Rev. Dr. Macro of Little Haugh (Norton), in ... Suffolk, which are to be sold by private contract, by Mr. [James] Christie, [London]*
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 BL, Add MS 28104, Miscellaneous letters & papers, fol 1
 BL, Add MS 28105, Miscellaneous letters & papers, fol 8
 BL, Burney 366, Letters to Isaac Casaubon (one from S on fol 194)
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 BL, Harley 7041, Letters copied by Thomas Baker
 CUL, Dd.3.12, Letters *s* xvii, mainly to Wheelock
 CUL, Dd.3.63, Letters *s* xvii, mainly from Henry Howard, earl of Northampton
 CUL, Dd.3.64, Miscellaneous letters and papers, *s* xvii
 EUL, La.II.423, Miscellaneous letters & papers
 EUL, La.II.645, Miscellaneous letters & papers
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 ML, MA2162 (Ussher to S 14 Aug 1639)
 QCO 280, Miscellaneous papers, fols 280–2 (Letter from S to Jeremy Stephens)
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 Bodleian, Rawlinson C.155 (SC 12019)
 BL, Harley 3929
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 BL, Lansdowne 207 (e), 785
 BL, Sloane 1059
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 Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 189, copied by John Walden from next, given by Charles Spelman, Sir Henry's grandson
 Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 415, a copy given by Charles Spelman, Sir Henry's grandson
 Dorset Record Office, Dorchester, Fox-Strangways (Ilchester) Archive D.124
 EUL, La.III.565
 SAL, 65–6
 Yale University, New Haven, Beinecke Library, Osborn Fb 1, dated 1606

Others

CUL, Ff.1.23, L/OE Psalter
 CUL, Hh.1.10, Ælfric's Grammar
 Trinity College, Cambridge, R.17.1, L/OE Psalter

Early printed sources

Minsheu, J 1617. ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ [HEGEMON EIS TAS GLOSSAS], *id est, Ductor in Linguas, The Guide Into Tongues. Cum illarum harmonia, & Etymologijs, Originationibus, Rationibus, & Deriuationibus in omnibus his*

- vndecim Linguis*, [Eliot's Court Press, completed by William Stansby, sigs A–S printed by Melchisidec Bradwood at ECP, sigs T–Z printed by Stansby, probably after 1615, subsidiary sig. ²A–N printed by another (unidentified), and all finished by Stansby, who added the preliminaries] for John Brown 2, London; STC 17944
- Spelman, H 1613. *De non temerandis ecclesiis*, J Beale, London; STC 23067, 23067.2, 23067.4
- Ussher, J 1639. *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, Stationers' Society, Dublin; STC 24548a
- Wormius O 1636. *[Runir] seu Danica literatura antiquissima, vulgò Gothica dicta / luci reddita opera Olai Wormii D. Medicinae in Academia Hafniensi profess. p. Cui accessit De priscâ Danorum poesi dissertatio*, Mechior Martzan, Copenhagen