ART. X. – The later career of Richard Leake. By B. L. KENTISH and EDWARD M. WILSON, M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A.

Read at Kendal, April 2nd, 1977.

APAPER entitled "Richard Leake's plague sermons" appeared in a recent number of these *Transactions*. Their author was born at Dent, educated at Sedbergh School and at St Catharine's College at Cambridge, after a brief membership of Caius College in that University. He took his B.A. in 1588/89 and his M.A. in 1593. He was ordained deacon at Rose Castle in 1590, but we do not know when or where he was priested. After holding a curacy at Halton near Lancaster he moved to Killington, where he preached the sermons published in London in 1599. At an unknown date he went to East Yorkshire, where in 1615 he was described as "Preacher of Gods worde and Mynister of the parish of Lyth". And a year or two later he was to become a prebendary of York Minster.

The source of the information about the ministry of Leake at Lythe was sent by a former vicar of that parish to BLK in 1967. According to an old history of the parish the following record was contained in a collection of similar material referring to the North Riding:

Helmsley, 9 January 1615 [?1614/15]: – Forasmuch as uppon the certificat of Mr Leake, preacher of God's worde and Mynister of the parish of Lyth, and the testimony of Mr Haslam, Steward to Lo. Sheffield, yt doth manyfestly appeare that John Challoner, of Myckleby, is a person of turbulent spirit, and a common mover and styrrer up of suytes and contentions amongest his neighboures.²

Fortunately John Challoner does not recur in our story; we have not found any other record of Leake's ministry at Lythe.

After the death of Francies Nalton, prebendary of Grindal in York Minster, that prebend was collated to Richard Leake on 6 December 1616; he was duly installed three days later.3 There can be no doubt that he resided for some years at Lythe, as he left possessions there which were later mentioned in his will. His son John (we do not know the date of Richard's first marriage or the identity of his first wife) was educated at Christ's College (Cambridge) and took his B.A. in 1615/16 and his M.A. in 1619. On 20 December 1618 he was ordained deacon at York and received priest's orders on 23 May 1619.4 The day after he received deacon's orders he was instituted into the rectory of Kildale. He died young and intestate, and on 20 January 1624/5 administration of his goods was granted to Richard Leake of Lythe, clerk, his father.⁵ There is nothing to prove that the Richard Leake of Lythe was not the Richard Leake who wrote the sermons. His will again supports the theory, for it mentions a Leake grandson, but it does not mention a son. He twice returned to Dent to remarry. In 1611 he married Agnes Procter, who died some time before 1626 when Elizabeth Smorthwaite became his third wife. We do not know which of his wives was the mother of either of his daughters Eunica and Hannah.

Years later he returned to the Lune valley, for we find that during the vicariate of

Charles Jones at Kirkby Lonsdale (1637-1640) "and probably before – a Mr Richard Leake was 'lecturer' in the parish church, doubtless at the cost of Mr Henry Wilson of Underley, who left him a legacy in 1639". George Brown succeeded Charles Jones in 1640; his advent was unfortunate for Leake, because from 25 March 1641, the new vicar was appointed by the feoffees the "Wilson lecturer" in preference to Richard Leake. R. Percival Brown, our authority here, suggested that Leake was the prebendary of York, instituted in December 1616; he suggested also that the "Mr Leake" put in charge of Kendal church by the royalists in 1643/4 might have been the same Richard Leake.

A new and rather repellent character now appears on the scene. Henry Masy, a presbyterian, was appointed lecturer at Kirkby Lonsdale in August 1642; perhaps the feoffees had grown weary of the discourses of the Revd George Brown. In the same year Henry Hall, vicar of Kendal, gave Masy his life interest in that vicarage; but in the following November Masy was detained by the royalists in Kendal, released under sureties in February 1642/3 and later fled to Scotland, whence he did not return until October 1644. In the following February he informed Lord Wharton that his election by the fellows of Trinity College (Cambridge) to the living at Kendal was invalid, because the number present at the meeting was insufficient to provide a quorum for his nomination, which therefore needed to be confirmed. In 1646, thanks probably to the intervention of Lord Wharton, Masy received institution and officially became minister of Kendal. It seems probable that Richard Leake preceded him as vicar, but we must now take another document into account.

Between 29 April and 3 June 1643 Richard Leake wrote a petition to an unnamed body in the following terms:

The humble peticon of Richard Leake clarke Mr of Arts, Prebendary of the Prebend of Grindall, sheweth whereas he, the said Richard Leake, being banished from the place of his former residence in Dent in Yorkshire by the disaffected to the king's cause now in hand, is now come to his grandchildren in Stillington and finding that the vicarage of Ampleford is now left by the vicar, gone from hence and now residing in Beverley, is desirous (if this honourable court soe please) to be admitted to the said place, glebe, tithes and customary rights, belonging to the said vicarage of Ampleford, discharging the cure and all suits to his Majesty. And the said Rich: Leake shall pray, etc.

On 3 June, 1643 the following decision was reached by the gentlemen whose signatures appear below it:

We desire Mr Dr Easdall to take this gentlemans case into his consideration, and if he think it fit, to sequester the vicarage of Ampleford, and discharge it to this gentlemans vse, he discharging the cure of soules there and the assessments. G. Culter, Wm Wentworth, ffra. Moncton, [R.] Rockley.¹¹

Apparently the petition was unsuccessful, but Leake's connections with Ampleforth do not end here, as we shall shortly see. The document tells us that Richard Leake was the prebendary of Grindal and a native of Dent. An earlier editor of the document tells us that after the Restoration another man was presented by the crown to the same prebend, vacated by Leake's death. But we do know that John Ullathorne, Richard Leake's grandson, became vicar of Ampleforth in 1644 and that Richard Leake himself was buried there in 1644/5.

A Mr Leake returned to the North West to become the vicar of Kendal under the protection of the royalist forces. This must have occurred during Masy's imprisonment

and exile. His letters to Lord Wharton, carefully transcribed by Nightingale, tell us fragments of the story. (In our quotations we punctuate the letters and resolve the abbreviations.) In his letter of 5 October 1646 he tells Wharton:

the Earle of Newcastle with o[the]r Commission[e]rs of Array sent & settled one Mr Leake in Kendall Church, who had all the p[ro]fits of one yeare & part of anoth[e]r, whiles I was, through the insolence of the Commission[e]rs of Array, forced to fly for shelt[e]r & safety into Scotland & lost all; the p[re]misses considered, me thinks at [sic] is very reasonable that the payement of p[ar]t of first fruits behynde should be remitted & not sued for, whenas I lost all that should have payd, and rath[e]r to be exacted (by some p[ar]liamentary course) & recov[e]red of the foresayd Mr Leake & and his executours; he is indeed dead, but hath left land in Yorkshire aboute Dent w[hi]ch may sufficiently pay it, the p[ar]ties who have the land remayneing malignants to this day.¹²

Another reference to the same affair occurs in another letter by Masy to Wharton, dated "Kendall this 17th of Aprill 1648":

half a yeare before it [?the first fruits] came due & payeable, o[u]r troubles in & aboute Kendall were such by the Kings p[ar]tee, that no dues coulde be gotte, nay not demanded, of the p[a]rishioners; & after I was soone enforced to fly to Edenburgh where I continued 16 months for safety; & all that tyme a Chaplayne of the Earle of Newcastle was sett into the Vicaradge of Kendall & tooke all the p[ro]fitts. & after my returne w[h]ich was in October, I gotte not one peny till 6 monethes after...¹³

"Mr Leake" must surely have been our Richard Leake of Dent, although the authors of a work later than Nightingale's supposed that he might have been John Leake, vicar of Tunstall; but Percival Brown pointed out that at that time John Leake was back at his vicarage, where he died in May 1664. Richard, in view of the facts outlined above, would have been in Kendal for something over a year between November 1642 and the summer of 1644, but he was at Ampleforth at least during the spring of 1643. There can be no doubt that in fact he lived for some time in Kendal; the evidence is to be found in the will he made at Ampleforth on 24 December 1644, proved at York in 1644/5.

Before we can discuss the provisions of this document we must bring forward some facts about Leake's family. His son John died in 1624/5; the will mentions a grandson, also named Richard Leake. John appears to have been the older Richard Leake's only son. There were two daughters: Hannah, who married Richard Thistlethwaite, yeoman of Dent, who had daughters named Rebecca, Margaret and Mary; Eunica, the second daughter, married Thomas Ullathorne, yeoman of Lythe. Their daughter Mary married twice: 1. John Forrest of Egton on 18 June 1635; 2. Richard Beamount, clerk, later vicar of Stillington, at Dent in 1638. The Ullathornes appear to have been a local family, for there is a farm in the parish of Middleton-in-Lonsdale called Ullathorns (O.S., 89, SD 629 864). Eunica died in 1644; Thomas, her husband, had died before her. John Ullathorne their son became vicar of Ampleforth; perhaps his grandfather's petition had after all been successful, and the grandson reaped what Richard Leake sowed.

The Venns mention a Richard Thistlethwaite, born 1635, admitted sizar at St John's College in 1653, son of Richard, yeoman of Dent. He too was born at Dent, educated at Sedbergh. He took his B.A. in 1656/7 and was nominated headmaster of Pocklington School in 1657; apparently he declined this appointment.

The Ullathornes had the following children: John, vicar of Ampleforth, 1644 to 1690; Richard, born 1628 at Lythe, died at Ampleforth in 1645; Tymothie, born at Lythe in 1631, buried there in 1633; Mary, whom we have already mentioned; Thomas; and lastly Fairfax, born at Lythe in 1633.

The later history of this family is worth mentioning. Two great-great grandsons of Richard Leake, John and Richard Leake, became vicars respectively of Kirkthorpe near Wakefield and of Helmsley. The great grandson of John Ullathorne, vicar of Ampleforth, John of Easingwold (baptised at Ampleforth in 1725), married Mary Bynks, who came of a recusant family; her mother Ann belonged to the More family of Barnborough, Yorkshire, the representatives in the male line of Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor to Henry VIII. From that time the Ullathornes became Roman Catholics (thus had the pendulum swung full tilt), who gave to their Church a goodly number of priests and nuns right up to the present day. Perhaps the most noteworthy was William Bernard Ullathorne, 1806-1889, monk of Downside Abbey, chief usher at Ampleforth, Vicar-General in Australia, Bishop of Birmingham (1850-1888) and Archbishop of Cabasa (1888-1889). Not all the branches of this prolific family adhered to the Roman faith; an exception is the Revd W. A. C. Ullathorne (born 1902), Hon. Canon of Bury St Edmunds, whose mother brought him up in the Church of England.

To return to Richard Leake's will, of which we have used two xerox copies, sent to us from the Borthwick Institute at York. There are five holes in it, the largest of which (in the middle) measures 8.3 by 3.9 centimetres; its right-hand side is obscured by dirt, and the ink has been rubbed off too in several places. The hand also is crabbed. Nevertheless the document helps to confirm some details already given and to tell us more about his private life. His wife was then dead; references to a grandson imply also that a son had died before 1644. The five supervisors of the will were: Francis Beamount, vicar of Stillington, his grandson-in-law; John Ullathorne, minister of Ampleforth, his grandson; Richard Thistlethwaite, husband of his daughter Hannah Leake; John Tennant, clerk, of Dent; and his grandson Richard Leake. His real property included "all my lands, grounds, houses, tenements, farms, mills sett lieing in the manor" within the Lords-land in Dent and in Depdaile (Deepdale). This estate in six years from the date of his death "I give & assign & set over to Richard Leake", and he mentions also a John Leake his brother; if these men should "dye without issue of their bodies lawfully begotten" the lands, etc., "shall be & remain for the issue of my daughters".

Unfortunately there is no inventory of his books. But he gave Beamount and Ullathorne "all my books at Lyth to be devided betwixte them"; and "as for my Apparell & books in Dent & Kendall (excepting Peters [sic] Martyrs15 works) I give them to my daughter Hannahs youngest Children & to two of Nellie Leakes to be sold & equally devided among them". Also, "to my grandsonn John Ullathorne my great Bible16 which was my wives [sic] wheresoever it be". Besides gifts of money to various Beamounts, Thistlethwaites and Ullathornes, he left "my horse bridle & sadle" to "my grandson Rich: Leake"; to Margaret Ullathorne (a granddaughter) "ten shillings to buy her a ring"; "all my apparel about me as coat, doublet & bretches to John Ullathorn... Wastcoat to Rich: Leake & a cloak at Ampleford"; "to my granddaughter Hellen Shepherd a red cow now in her possession"; "as for the bed close [i.e. clothes] here at Ampleford (saveing the great coverlet which is my daughter Hannahs) I give to John Ullathorn as alsoe the bedstead at [?Hacraw] kitchen loft"; "I give to my daughter Hannah my shopp in Dents churchyard during her life to buy her spices & pinns against Xmas" he also left money to "the poor widdows at Charke [House]". And in a post-script he added: "My chest at Kendall & chaire at [?Hacraw] I give to Margret Thistlethwaite if the chair he got from Kendall not els".

Dent, Lythe, Kendal. Leake left furniture, clothes or books in all of them. The facts might imply that he left these places in a hurry. He told us that the disaffected to the king's cause made him leave Dent; there were troubles at Lythe, where Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, was a strong parliamentarian; in Kendal "Mr Leake" was merely a visiting vicar; does not all this help to confirm that Richard Leake was indeed the man mentioned by the presbyterian Masy? To assume that Richard Leake was Mr Leake involves us in no contradictions of fact; it remains the simplest explanation of the evidence before us.

The preamble to the will contains also the only theological statement by Leake which we have found after the sermons in 1599. It makes, perhaps, a fitting close to this paper. Under the date which heads the document he expresses a firm protestantism that might be described as more Lutheran than Calvinist:

In the name of God Amen. I Richard Leake Minister &c & unworthy servant of Jesus x'st, though sick in body yet perfect in memorie prais'd be God doe make this my last will & testament in manner & forme following; provided alwayes that this my last Will by me made shall disannull & make void all former Wills by me formerly made, first & principally I Commend & bequeath my soule to Almighty God into the hands of his mercies freely & absolutely thereupon building my everlasting happiness even upon God in X'st my saviour & sole redeemer. Counting all things but losse & Dung soe that I may gaine X'ts & his Excellence & to be found in him not haveing mine oun righteousnesse which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of X't the righteousnesse which is of God by faith.

Appendix

Here follows the text of the remainder of Leake's will which Miss E. Leedham-Green, Assistant to the Keeper of the Archives of the University of Cambridge, kindly transcribed for us. We have replaced the thorns by the letters th; [] represent words deleted; / words inserted; italics – letters supplied by expansion of abbreviations or in certainty; (« ») gap in the MS; < >unsupported guesses.

AND for my worldly estate which God hath bless'd me withall my desire is that my just debts be paid & my Legacies dischargd & to that end & purpose I give & grant assign & sett over unto Francis Beamount Vicar of stillington to John Ullathorn Minister of Ampleford to John Tennant of Dent Clarke to Richard Thistlethwaite & to Richard Leake my Grand-sonn all my Lands Grounds houses Tenements farms Mills sett lieing & being in the M«a»nor, by what Tytle soe ever they be Call'd to enter vnto possesse & Injoy from the 2d day of February immediately after my death, for this end & purpose following, & for noe other Intent & purpose that is to say that they the said F. Beamont John Ullathorn John Tennant Rich: Thistlethwaite & Rich: Leake shall therewith sell the yearly crops of my lands within the Lords Land in Dent & the yearly crops & estate of my Land in Deepdaile for ever & therewith & all the summs of money comming [illegible deletion] with the same. shall pay & discharge all such debts as I ow to any person whatsoever. & Namely Margret Thistlethwaite & Mary Thistlethwaite, Daughters of my sonn Rich: Thistelthwaite the sum of ten pounds given them by my wife at the day of her death, & alsoe five Marks being use of it since goeing in seven years, Alsoe to Elizabeth Ullathorn five marks which was given her at the Death of my wife & alsoe all such summ or summes of monie as formerly hath been given to my Daughter Eunica Ullathorn her Children being deceased to be paid to hir

Children, alsoe it is my will & mind that out of the same monie arising from the Cropps my Grandsonn Rich: Leake shall receive competent & necessarie Maintenance, & that my said suprovisors shall every yeare within A month after the 2d day of February, shall make a true «<Acco>»mpt for their receipts & their disbursements out of the crops of the ground yearly ariseing, & « <a>»n Accquittance therefore, & at the end of Six years a generall Accompt being made « » Acquittance to be made by the said Rich: Leake to them the said suprovisors, Item I give u«<nto Lea>»ke my Grand sonn the summ of one hundred pounds, Within four years next After my d«<ecease to>» be paid by my heir & Executor Rich: Leak & for want of true payment thereof I doe A« » Jno Leake to occupy from year to year so much of grounds & Lands in Dent as my said su«<rs Fran>»cis Beamont Jno Ullathorn John Tennant & Rich: Thistlethwaite shall think convenie«<nt >» to Rich: Ullathorn (?a premisse) as for fortie shillings to be paid at the expiration of wship, & to Rich: Thistlethwaite the younger and Jno Thistlewaite & Rebecca Thistlethwaite each« »shillings a piece & to Fairfax Ullathorn I give fortie shillings to be paid within seaven years aft«<er my decease>» alsoe I give to Francis Brown five pounds which is to be paid within 3 years & /in/ lew of all dues and demand« <i>>n full satisfaction of his servise to me & of all Claims which in any kind can be produced by him & I doe her« »nd to acknowledge himself abundantly satisfied, alsoe I give to all my great Grand Children to each of them 20s A« »be paid within seaven years after my decease, and also to Rich: & Mary Thistlethwaite to either of them 40s to be paid within seaven years after my decease, Item I give [all my books at Lyth to be devided] to my Grandson Rich: Leake my horse bridle & sadle, also I give to Francis Beamont & Jno. Ullathorne all my books at Lyth to be devided betwixte them, Item I give to my Grand-daughter Margret Ullathorne ten shillings to buy her a ring Item to Jane (?fishar) lasse a crown to be paid on Good friday nexte following, alsoe I give my to my daughters Hannah Thistlethwaite & Mary Beamont to be devided betwixt them, Item all my apparell about me as Coat doublet & Bretches to Jno Ullathorn & Wastcoat to Rich: Leake & Cloak at Ampleford as for my Apparell & books in Dent & Kendall (Excepting Peters Martyrs Works,) I give to 3 of /my/ daughter Hannahs youngest Children & to two of Nellie Leakes to be sold & equally divided amongst /them/ Item my casock to my sonn Beamounte alsoe I give to my Grand daughter Hellen Shepherd a red Cow now in her possession, Item I give to my Grandson Tho: Ullathorne five pounds in lue & recompense of a piece of ground at Dillikan as for my books & apparel being sold the price to be set forward with the forenamed Children alsoe I give Ellen Willan 20s & to Duke & Elizab: Hodgson 10s a piece, As for the bedclose here at Ampleford, (saveing the great Coverlet which is my daughter Hannahs) I give to John Ullathorn as alsoe the bedstead at Hacraw Kitchin Loft Item I give to my Grandsonn Jno Leake fortie shillings yearly untill his portion be paid, Item I give to Elizab: Mason Wife of Rich: Mason of Slack 20s to be bestowed upon her at the sight of the suprovisors as they and she shall think fitt, & all these Legacies above Mentioned to be paid within 4 years after my decease, Item I give to the Poor Widdows at Charke«<?Ho>»use to either of them 6s eight pence, Item I give to my 4 suprovisors M Beamount M Ullathorne M Tennant & R«<ich>» Thistlethwaite 40s apiece, & when my 2 sonns M Beamount & M Ullathorne come to Dent upon any occasion to have their charges allowed, Item I give to my sonn Rich: Thistlethwaite 40s to buy him a suite of Aparell, Item to my Grand sonn John Ullathorne my Great Bible which was my wives wheresoever it be, Item I give to my daughter Hannah my shopp in Dents church yard during her life to buy her spice & pins Against Xmas, & after her decease to Jane thistlethwaite to enter on Immediately after my decease, Item my Will pleasure is that at the expiration aforesaid of the 6 yeares assign'd formerly to my suprovisors, I give assigne & set over to Rich: Leake all my lands tenements farmes mills to him & his heirs forever set Lyeing & being within the Mannor of Dent. & alsoe doe constitute & appoint him executor of this my last will & testament And in further testimonie hereof in Consideration that he the said Rich: Leake my Grand sonn & Executor shall faithfully truely & really performe this my Will & testament Witnesse my hand & seal.

Postscript:

My Chest at Kendall & Chaire at Hacraw I give to Margret Thistlethwaite if the Chair be got from Kendall not els Item I give to Agnes Barugh at Lyth ten shillings. to Geo. Leake 40s which is to be paid as the rest of the Legacies within 4 years, Alwayes provided this my full mind in this my last will & testament that if Rich: Leake & Jo: Leake his Brother dye without issue of their bodies Lawfully begotten that then the remainder of all my Lands in Dent unmorgag'd or sould by my suprovisors shall be & remain to the Issue of my 2 daughters according as I shall hereafter Appoint. This Postscription Was done by my sole Consent sealing hereof in the sight of these witnesses of this my last Will and testament the day & year above «<e mention>»ned.

«<Rich>»ard Leake

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Notes and References

- ¹ CW2 lxxv 150-173.
- ² Unfortunately we are unable to verify this quotation.
- ³ Letter from Dr David M. Smith of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, dated 17 October 1974 to EMW. Borthwick Inst. AB. 3, f. 480v; Inst. AB4, pp. 156-158. York Minster Library, AC. 1565-1634, ff. 516r-v. Richard Leake was of course deprived of the prebend during the troubles (John Walker, An attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy ... London, 1714, Part II. A list of some of the loyal and episcopal clergy... who were sequester'd... "The Cathedrals... York... Richard Leak, A.M.: Prebend of Grendale [sic]." p. 85b. Second pagination.)
- ⁴ J. & J. A. Venn, *Alumni cantabrigenses*, I, iii, (1924), 59; corrected in a letter to EMW from Dr David M. Smith, dated 5 November, 1974. Borthwick Institute, Sub. Bk 1, ff. 171v, 173; Inst AB5, p. 5A.
- ⁵ Dr Smith's letter referred to in note 3 above.
- ⁶ R. Percival Brown, "The vicars of Kirkby Lonsdale", CW2 xxix 179-180.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, footnote on p. 180.

- ⁸ Benjamin Nightingale, The ejected of Cumberland and Westmorland, Manchester, 1911, II, 877-878; F. Nicholson & E. Axon, The older nonconformity in Kendal, Kendal, 1918, 38-46.
- 9 Nightingale, op. cit., II, 881-883.
- 10 Nightingale, op. cit., II, 876.
- ¹¹ Dr Smith's letter referred to in note 3 above, together with a xerox of the document (Borth. Inst. DRP/CWP). See also W. Brown, "Royalist clergy in Yorkshire, 1642-5", Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, LXI (1920), 151-152.
- 12 Nightingale, op. cit., II, 901.
- 13 Nightingale, op. cit., II, 921.
- Nicholson & Axon, op. cit., p. 41; R. P. Brown, loc cit. Henry Masy died a few years later. On 12 April 1651 Anthony Preston, Mayor of Kendal, and others petitioned Trinity College (Cambridge) that William Cole be appointed vicar, upon the recommendation of Henry Masy, the last vicar, who is dead. (Trinity College, Cambridge, unnumbered catalogue reference to Box 40 in the Muniment room.)
- 15 I.e. the works of the reformer Peter Martyr (Vermigli), 1500-1562, possibly his Loci communes sacrarum literarum, Zurich, 1583 or the English translation of London of the same year.
- Presumably the Great Bible of Henry VIII, first printed in 1539; a number of editions followed during the reigns of Henry and Edward VI, and a few in the early years of Elizabeth I.