

ART. VI – *Lancelot Salkeld – Last Prior and first Dean of Carlisle c. 1490 to 1560*

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DURING the two hundred and fifty years of warring and cross-border raiding, from the late thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries, Berwick-on-Tweed to the east and Carlisle to the west were front-line outposts of England's defence against the Scots. The events in the west are covered in State Papers and have been dramatically documented by George MacDonald Fraser and more recently by Henry Summerson.¹ There were also "wars within and without", in the church and in the royal household, the unsettling effects of which would have been very real social determinants. To that already turbulent period came the English Reformation, Henry VIII's break with Rome, and Lancelot Salkeld, who was to be translated from being Carlisle's last Prior to its first Dean. A number of researchers have included references to him in their writings on other and wider issues. This is an attempt to bring together and to rationalise such information as we have in the hope of obtaining a clearer picture of the man, his life and of the situation into which his parents (whoever they were) brought him.

Lancelot must have been born around 1490 and according to past historians,² was "a younger son of the Salkelds of Corby Castle". While neither proof of the year nor of his parentage has been found it may be helpful to record what I believe was the basis of their contention:

Catalogus Decanorum – Ecclesiae Cathedralis et Collegiatae de Carliol.

XXXII. – Lancelotus Salkeld, ex Salkeldorum Prosapia Ortus Christophoro Priori successit ad añum 24 Hen. VIII: Hic erat Ultimus Priorũ et Decanorũ Primus nam cum ille Conventui praefuit, Henricus VIII Año Regni XXXI per Comissionarios Walterum Yenlis et Alios ad id Deputatos, per Consensum Parlamenti Dissolvi jussit et in manus suas sursam reddi.³

Two branches of the main Corby-Salkeld line already prospered; the one at Whitehall and the other at Rosgill, both of which arose from the 14th century marriage of Hugh Salkeld to Christiana, daughter and heiress of Sir John de Rosgill. While descent through the eldest male in each line is well established, as C. Roy Huddleston shows,⁴ there are considerable gaps in our knowledge of the cadet families, so that a distinct possibility exists that Dean Salkeld descended from a younger son of the Gowbarrow line. The lack of a male heir at Corby Castle was resolved by the marriage of Katherine (eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Salkeld and Lady Jane Vaux), to Thomas Salkeld (great-great-grandson of Hugh and Christiana) in about 1480 and while that union appears to be too early to have parented the last Prior he could well have been a grandson.

Setting dates and attributing families to even the main Salkeld line in this period has proved immensely difficult.⁵ Of some assistance, as far as Lancelot is concerned, may be two entries appearing in the records at York, the one reading: "Lancelot Salkeld of Carlisle diocese to title of Monastery of Shap by letters dimissory subdeacon" and dated May 1507.⁶ The other reads "Lancelot Salkild of the diocese of Carlisle, that See being vacant to title of Shap, 18 September 1507" (This from a list of ordinands to the rank of Deacon).⁷ While the progression of this Lancelot

Salkeld to become Prior at Carlisle is almost unassailable no positive connection to Carlisle Priory has been traced. At that time Carlisle was without its 27th Bishop (Roger Leyburn, who died in 1508),⁸ and the ordination, which took place at the Carmelite Brothers' church at York was listed in a "sede vacante" Register. Unfortunately most of the Shap records, for that period, have been lost and no evidence of Salkeld's service there has been found.

Although the Abbey controlled the church at Shap, probably until the 16th century (taking the tithes and supplying the service of canons), from 1514 when Alexander Ynglish was in charge the church seems to have had a measure of independence. Of possible significance are, firstly, "the arms of the Cliffords and Salkelds of Rosgill, in the east window". Secondly, from 1473, when Richard Redmayne, Abbot of Shap, had settled a long running land dispute between the Curwens and Salkelds "the iteration of annoyances developed into a sort of feud but the Abbot's settlement had directed that, alle the payments abofe taxid at the days assygned sal be payde to my handys or, in mine absence, to my prior in our abbey of Schapp".⁹ It does not over-stretch the imagination, therefore, to see deacon Lancelot as the son of a Rosgill father (who may have been also at that time, 1507, Lord of Corby) with an eye to the solution of the Curwen problem. The entry of Lancelot Salkeld into Carlisle's Augustinian Priory must have been later than the Visitation instigated by Archbishop Thomas Wolsey in 1521 in which he was not listed,¹⁰ but he was a canon in the 1534 Muster, and Prior by 1537, the year when the young Prince Edward was born.¹¹

In the years preceding his appointment as Prior, important Reformation events in the region had taken place. In 1535, the enactment of *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, under which the Church would be taxed, together with plans for the dissolution of monasteries and convents, were ready to be imposed. In 1536, Anne Boleyn was beheaded and in the same year, clergy and gentry combined in revolt against both the enclosure of common land and the dissolution of the monasteries. Adherents to the Pilgrimage of Grace were gathered from among the many disenfranchised commoners as it moved northwards but an intended assault on Carlisle collapsed. The King promised clemency if the rebels dispersed but when they did, large numbers of them were rounded up and executed. That horrific deceit was probably the chief reason that Robert Aske's followers received only minimal support, from either the local people or the Church, at Carlisle.¹²

At this critical time Christopher Slee had been Prior for at least eight years, before being demoted to canon on a charge of incontinence in June 1536. Soon after, "Lancelot Salkeld, a canon defamed in the report of the Royal Visitation, was made prior of the house for the purpose of its surrender". That he was preferred ahead of a longer serving canon, William Florens, may indicate support from his family including perhaps the 40 marks which appears to have been the purchase price of the post.¹³

These would not have been the easiest of times for a new man to take over the administration of the Priory, nor to have to give account to Henry's Commissioners Layton and Legh. They were looking for as much fault as possible with immorality, whether true or false, as the chief charge in order to justify the Dissolution. Lancelot's personal life and his leadership both as Prior and Dean were not unblemished although any indiscretions, certainly at this stage, may have been over-

magnified. For the daughter he is said (later) to have fathered, he at least displayed a dutiful concern in his latter years by arranging her future maintenance with one of his prebendaries.¹⁴ Clearly he had taken on his new responsibilities by 1537 when he wrote the following ingratiating letter to Lord Clifford showing that strong elements of the old feudalism still remained:

Ryght honorabill and most synguler gud lorde, pleasitt your gud Lordshipe too be advertishitt that I desire your gud Lordshipe for Christe sayke that ye wilbe soo gud Lord unto me as to content and pay me the half yere rent off the teithe of Kyrklond, whiche is awyngne me. Yff your Lordship wold call too your remembrance, ye did pay unto my supprior the Thursday before Our Lady Day in Lent xⁱⁱ xⁱ for the half yere rent whiche was dewe unto me at Saincte Andrewe day [30 November 1536, when the Pilgrimage was at its height] before, as doith appeyre by your acqytance, the whiche your Lordship did receive by the hands of the said supprior; and thother half yere rentt whiche shuld have been paid to me at the Invention of the Cross[3.5. 1537]. I had none for that half yere, as I will answere God Almyghty God [sic] upon the day of jugement. The premisses consyderit, I trust that ye will be gud Lord unto me, as your Lordship haith beine before tyme. I am lothe to dysplease your gud Lordship, as knowith Almyghty God, who have you alway in his most blyssid tuycion. Att Carliell, this xxiiij day of Novembre, by your dayly orator and beidman at his litill power.

Lancelot, prior
off the same

[Endorsed, fo 2v] Too his ryght honorabyll and most synguler gud Lord, my Lord Erle off Cumberland, dyllyver this with [blank]¹⁵

It is possible that this letter was delivered by James Salkeld who had been employed by the Prior, earlier that year, as his “Squyre”¹⁶ (with his own stable and paddock); a sort of general factotum and possibly, bodyguard. Sir Richard Howthwaite (the sub-prior referred to in the above letter) had been involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace and was, by 19 December 1537, condemned for high treason along with John Humfrey for “bruiting that the commons were up in the South”. No mercy was shown and the execution took place the following year.¹⁷ It is also possible, indeed quite likely, that the letter was deliberately intended to remind the Earl of the new Prior’s presence and provide some insurance for the coming reckoning.

Tensions must have run quite high, for that day did not arrive until 9 January 1540 when the Commisioners of Thomas Cromwell (himself to be beheaded the same year) duly appeared, accompanied by a display of horse and spearmen. There to receive them was Sir Thomas Wharton, Warden of the Marches with an assembly of local gentry, and on that day Lancelot Salkeld duly surrendered the Priory together with all its possessions.¹⁸ His presentation of Priory issues was clearly found acceptable by the Commissioners, as he was given the transitional title of “guardyan” until the King and Council should deliberate.

That small confidence was to be tested on 1 May by a sometimes, vaguely recited incident. It concerned Master Hew Sewell, M.A., who had joined the Carlisle Priory shortly before the dissolution, and who now “informed” on his brothers to the local justices over the continued use of a banned book called “a legend”. Some versions of the story relate that the book had been taken by William Florence (Florens), chief chanter of the monastery, who had given it into the safe custody of a junior and had then disappeared.¹⁹

The civil authorities informed, were [Sir] John Lowther, Edw. Aglionby, Thos. Dalston and Lancelot Salkeld (most likely of the Whitehall family)²⁰ who wrote thus

to the King:

Master Hew Seweil, M.A., brought "one book called a legend" unto us as justices of peace in Cumberland, which, he said, was daily "occupied" in the church of the late monastery of Carlisle, and in which, contrary to the acts of Parliament, the service of Thomas Becket and the usurped name "papa" of the bishop of Rome were unrased. At Mr Sewell's advice we examined the subchanter and another brother of the late monastery, whose depositions and the book, we send herewith. Sir[,] Lancelot Salkeld, now guardian of the said monastery, did this day require the book of Edward Aglionby, by John Thomsone of Carlisle, and offered sureties for it, but we thought the matter too high for us to proceed in. Carlisle 1st May.²¹

Signatures copied.

Corrected draft, pp. 2 Headed: Copy of a letter to the King's Highness.

The book was therefore, not taken away by Florence; it was in official hands and had either been sent to the King or to Sir Thomas Wharton. No wonder then that the matter soon blew over for it was now withdrawn from Cathedral use. Salkeld's explanation, reported to Aglionby and Dalston on 4 May put it into its right context. "He knew of his [Florence's] going for he had sent him to Sir Chr. Dacre's for ad[vice] and money, he went to the parson of Melmerby for a letter [to] Dr Bellesys in his favour.²² And as we persave th[is?] day the said Florence is towards London."²³ This incident reveals not only the strains existing within the community of St. Mary's at this period but that the influence of certain new inmates was undermining good order. It has been suggested that the pestilence of 1538, with its consequential shortage of food, accounted for a quite steep reduction in Priory personnel by 1540 and their replacement by undesirable elements who were readily to be found.²⁴ While subsequent events bear this out they do nothing to diminish Lancelot's standing as a manager of church affairs which task he pursued for the following, uncertain, eighteen months.

In May 1541 the new Order was ready for the founding of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary, Carlisle under the Royal Charter of Deaneries. The last Prior would become the first Dean and canons from the old Priory would either receive pensions or be made Prebendaries of the Cathedral. This was cause for celebration for, after all the fear and apprehension, in reality only names and titles changed, yet, "the old leaven was still there", and "the canons of the priory submitted to the new state of things with bad grace".²⁵

It is hardly surprising that these men had difficulty in giving up the religious way of life which had been "inbred" over many generations. As in the case of another Augustinian, Martin Luther, if true change was to come it had to be by conviction, yet here in England the impetus to change was a mixture of motives, and many of them far removed from Christian ethics. While others of "the old order" had taken up the sword against the tide of reformation it is to his credit that Lancelot Salkeld, with the majority of his elder canons, stayed loyal to the spirit of the old cause, and yet "eschewed the evil" of violence. Here was one, not a man of letters, nor as far as we can assess, endowed with great spiritual gifts, yet one who could be relied upon to promote the best interests (as he saw them) of his Cathedral.

In Carlisle's past it had been an almost popular practice for the Prior to leave, for posterity, some artefact in his name. Gondibour (*circa* 1484-1505) was responsible for several screens, while Senhouse (1505-1520) had the ceiling of the drawing room in his residence decorated with roses, birds, escallops and family shields, and the

next Prior, Christopher Slee, built a gate bearing his name, on the north-west side of the Abbey precincts in 1528. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a Screen taking Salkeld's name was installed at Carlisle Cathedral, the history of which together with technical details of the screen have been well presented by Mr C. G. Bulman and Canon C. M. L. Bouch.²⁶ They are agreed that the side facing the choir (side 1) depicts the emblems of Christ's crucifixion together with the arms of Carlisle Priory. They also agree that the reverse (side 2), represents King Henry and his House, yet they differ as to the object of the screen's intended tribute. Its earliest date is established by the initials LSDK; the DK standing for Decanus Karliolensis, and Lancelot did not become Dean until the first week in May 1541.²⁷ These letters appear above and to the left of the central door on side 1, while on side 2 are other mysterious letters GSPE, which appear within the two scrolls on the shields at the top left and right. Mr Bulman identified these letters as meaning "God Save Prince Edward" and concluded that the screen celebrated the birth of the Royal son. Canon Bouch, however, was not sure that the letters were as claimed and felt certain that, given the circumstances obtaining in 1541, it must be in thanksgiving for the temporal salvation which the Dean and Chapter experienced when the king's decision was made known.

It is my belief that both are right but that the royal birth in 1537 was the catalyst for the idea, at a time when everything would have to wait, conjoined with that tremendous after-shock of emotional relief when on the 6 May 1541 the immediate future was set free. The crucial element in this was finance, for when in 1540 the Priory with all its possessions was surrendered, included were its cash balances and income; and Dr Bellysis held the purse. The situation again changed when in May 1541 the leases, advowsons and tithes, and such possessions as the king had not taken, reverted to the Dean and Chapter. Now at last, thoughts could find expression, and plans come into action. The Screen was probably not at the top of the list, but it could not have been far down. Mr Bulman's comments show why. After describing it as "of surpassing interest" he says:

Our screen at Carlisle is, I think unique, and I do not know of another single instance of developed Renaissance detail of so early a date in the North of England. Prior/Dean Salkeld and his fellow canons seem to have been determined that the screen with which they wished to commemorate the Tudor heir should be of the best and newest design possible. It would appear probable they even removed a previous screen by Prior Gondibour in order to insert their new one. The older Gondibour screens were designed and executed outside England (not in Scotland) but overseas in Flanders, so the firm which made those would have been known to the canons and it is not impossible they also made Lancelot's screen. The changeover from old Medieval and Gothic art to Renaissance motifs was cut short by the Reformation. Foreign artists (French or Italian) were expelled or driven away so it is extraordinary that such well developed Renaissance type should appear in so remote a place as Carlisle.²⁸

A comment from these papers in 1866 supports the writer's impression that the wainscot panels had been re-cycled. John A. Cory wrote, "Lancelot, last Prior and First Dean, erected the cinque-cento screen on the north side of the choir, in which are inserted the remains of other screens".²⁹ Why should they not have been from one or more of Gondibour's screens and which may have graced the same spot earlier, as Mr Bulman suggests?

Between 1540 and 1543 Henry VIII married his last three wives; Anne of Cleves was quickly divorced, Catherine Howard beheaded, and Henry settled down to live

out his remaining days, with Catherine Parr and his son Edward. The screen was almost certainly in place before the death of Henry VIII, in 1547, whereupon the young prince Edward became King, with his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, ruling as regent. Both were ardent supporters of the Protestant faith with which the Deanery at Carlisle, under Salkeld, had still failed to come to terms.

Official records show that Lancelot had resigned by 1 January 1548.³⁰ It seems more likely that he was told to go in the same way that his successor Sir Thomas Smith, after a term of years “in the Office”, also resigned (according to the Official record) though complaining later, in his letter to Cecil of 9 September 1560, that he had not done so.³¹ The other view is that Dean Salkeld was removed but which ever way it was, he lost the post.³² If he did resign it may be that efforts were made to persuade him to return as Dean, for it was not until the end of 1548 that Dean Smith was appointed. We can say further, that if Salkeld went of his own volition it was very much a matter of principle because when the opportunity for his return came later (on the accession of Mary) he accepted without demur. We know very little of what occupied him in his “sabbatical” of six years and nine months. That he was quite well provided for is evident from Dean Smith’s own letters, complaining that he had to furnish Salkeld with £40 p.a. from the £80 p.a. which the post paid him.³³ Not only so but we find on “20 January 1549 a grant of Licence to Lancelot Sawkelt, vicar of Sowerbye, Cumb. to be non-resident from his said rectory (*sic*) and his other benefices, with cure or without and yet take the fruits, rents and issues during his life [Westminster]”.³⁴

The new Dean, an apparently eminent Doctor of Laws and Statesman may have had status and half a salary, but he was never “resident” in his Cathedral city, and at Carlisle matters became increasingly out of hand. Without firm leadership but with the lingering and wayward influence of Hugh Sewell together with newcomers such as Edward Mitchell it seems that, within a few years, the old orderly running of the Cathedral and its affairs had gone. The church’s outgoings soon exceeded its income, and the prebendaries, left to their own devices, found less than honourable means of balancing the books. The circle was squared by setting the chapter seal to blank sheets and forging thereon leases to dispose of certain of the Cathedral’s property.³⁵

Had he lived longer the young and learned Edward might have become a great monarch but his early death in 1553 was the cause of further upheaval as his half-sister Mary came to the throne and set about repealing the Protestant enactments and restoring Catholic institutions. In her first year, on 28 November 1553, she included in her Pardon Roll, “Lancelot Salkeld, late of Sourby, Co. Cumb., clerk, alias of Leverington Co. Cambridge”. The following year saw her marriage to Philip II of Spain and under their joint names “Lancelot Salkeld, Priest, presented to the Deanery of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Carlisle. by p.s.”.³⁶

Almost all those with whom he had worked six years before, were still there³⁷ as also, if our earlier theory is correct, would have been the Screen. If it was not already in place it is hardly likely that it would have been completed in its present form for Lancelot now owed far more to Mary than to Henry or Edward.

Sir Thomas Smith had, from a distance, given up the Deanship (and the provostship of Eton) in about May, of 1554, not voluntarily but only *quasi sponte* and the Queen was paying him a pension of £100 p.a.³⁸ For all the bones he made, and

his criticism of Salkeld, he was probably very thankful that Lancelot had returned to take responsibility for the past six year's lack of control but in retrospect it looks as if the damage done was irreparable. In fairness the blame cannot lie wholly with Smith, for repeated change in the Monarchy, Church and Government and in the ground rules of all three was likely to cause chaos. In the parlance of past Will makers, King Henry's men had taken most of the "moveables", and to meet running costs there was little option but to sell off the "immoveables". If, on his return to the Deanery, Lancelot joined in this practice, as has been suggested,³⁹ it may be that he too could see no immediate alternative, and in coming to a judgement we should remember that, in the Border Region in the sixteenth century, it was hard to survive by any means.

Losses suffered by the religious houses as a result of the Commissions in 1540 under Henry, and in 1549 under Edward, were considerable, and while Queen Mary sought to make some restitution she failed during her reign to gain the necessary enactment. Wetheral Priory had been dissolved in 1538 but the church's three bells were kept from the hands of the Royal Receivers and although, in 1541 the Cathedral Church of Carlisle was endowed with whatever remained of Wetheral's revenues, the bells became central to an inquiry in 1554/5. Lancelot was able to tell the Commissioners that one was giving an early morning call to the builders of Carlisle's new "cytydall", and the other two "remayne in a house in Wetherall for the Quenes mats use unbroken to be delyuered when it shall please her grace to comaunde".⁴⁰ Whatever hopes Carlisle Deanery may have entertained of a rescue under their Catholic Queen were dashed, however, when in November 1558, the decisively Protestant Elizabeth came to the throne. Having survived so many alarms and excursions Lancelot might have felt that the sword of Damocles was once more suspended over his head; but again the hair's breadth held. In 1st Queen Elizabeth I, the Pardon Roll reveals, "Lancelot Salkeld, clerk, dean of Carlisle".

His return to Carlisle as Dean had now been confirmed under two Queens, one Catholic and the other Protestant, so one might well ask, on which side of the fence was he now? Meanwhile Smith, as is evident from his correspondence with Sir William Cecil in 1560, was anxious to retrieve the Deanery which in 1548 had been listed to him as a life grant.

In 1559 though, nothing was straightforward, for the *Victoria County History of Cumberland* in a note by the editor, James Wilson, reveals "Hugh Todd was the first to start the theory of Dean Salkeld's ejection in 1559 for refusing the supremacy". This error was multiplied, "yet early controversialists such as Nicholas Sander, Bridgwater and Dodd did not claim Dean Salkeld as a papist, for his name does not appear in their lists".⁴¹ Dr Todd may have confused Salkeld with Oglethorp, then Bishop of Carlisle. He was the only Bishop prepared to crown Elizabeth, yet he opposed the passage of the Supremacy and Uniformity Bills, and in refusing to take the oath, was deprived on 21 June 1559. It is quite clear, however, that on 3 October 1559 in the capital message of the Cathedral Church of Carlisle:

Lancelot Salkeld, Clerk, deacon in the said church, appeared in person. And having undertaken to peruse the Articles of Religion himself, willingly and with a good heart subscribed. Whereupon the Master Commissioners will place on him the responsibility, on oath, of presenting to the commons the articles handed to him by this Visitation, and to exhibit them on the morrow, the second hour after midday.⁴²

So Lancelot did in the end espouse the new religion; whether “willingly and with a good heart” we will never be sure. Nor can we tell whether the open accusations and “Dictum de dicto”, which dogged him towards the end of his life and beyond, evidence the real man. He died on the 3 September 1560 and was buried within the Cathedral, although no tablet is known to have marked the spot.⁴³ That his Screen remains is memorial enough for such a central piece of Carlisle’s Cathedral jigsaw.

Acknowledgement

My grateful thanks to Mrs M. E. Bickford for help in translation and for her expertise on the interpretation of Ecclesiastical records.

Notes and References

- ¹ George MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets* (London, 1971) and Henry Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the late Eleventh to the mid-Sixteenth Century* CWAAS Extra Series XXV (1993).
- ² VCH *Cumberland*, ii, 141; *CW1*, ix, 264.
- ³ H. Todd, *Notitia Ecclesiae Cathedralis Carlolensis* CWAAS Tract Series 6 (1892), 7.
- ⁴ C. Roy Huddleston and R. S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* CWAAS Extra Series XXIII (1978), 290-2.
- ⁵ J. Grange Moore, *Salkelds through Seven Centuries* (Chichester, 1987), 40.
- ⁶ Borthwick Institute, York Archbishops Reg. 25 ff. 108v-141 (1501-1507).
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, BI Reg. 5a f. 580v.
- ⁸ Chancellor Ferguson (ed.), *John Denton’s Account of Cumberland* CWAAS Tract Series 2 (1887), 90-1 but note that N & B and Hutchinson both give the date as 1507.
- ⁹ Rev. J. Whiteside, “Shap Church”, *CW2*, ii, 126 and Rev. F. W. Ragg, “Two documents relating to Shap”, *CW2*, ix, 276-81.
- ¹⁰ Borthwick Institute, York Archbishops Reg. 27 f. 136v (1521).
- ¹¹ H. Summerson, *op. cit.*, 620, 623.
- ¹² George Watson, “Aske’s Rebellion, 1536-7”, *CW1*, xiv, 335-70.
- ¹³ VCH *Cumberland*, ii, 149.
- ¹⁴ H. Summerson, *op. cit.*, 620, 639. It must not be forgotten that St Augustine fathered a natural son before his conversion to Christianity and coined the phrase *Audi alteram partem* (hear the other side).
- ¹⁵ A. G. Dickens (ed.), *Clifford Letters of the 16th century* Surtees Society (1957), 58-9.
- ¹⁶ H. Summerson, *op. cit.*, 623.
- ¹⁷ *Cal. Letters and Papers. Foreign and Domestic. Henry VIII* [hereafter *Cal. Letters and Papers*], xiii (2), 463.
- ¹⁸ H. Summerson, *op. cit.*, 624.
- ¹⁹ VCH *Cumberland*, ii, 149-50.
- ²⁰ Lancelot Salkeld J.P. of Whitehall, often shown as “of Gawbarrow” who married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Huddleston. C. Roy Huddleston and R. S. Boumphrey, *op. cit.*, 292.
- ²¹ *Cal. Letters and Papers*, xv, 301, 304. On Hugh Sewell see *CW2*, xci, 93ff.
- ²² This was probably an early Bill of Exchange or Letter of Credit.
- ²³ *Cal. Letters and Papers* xv, 301, 304.
- ²⁴ H. Summerson, *op. cit.*, 623.
- ²⁵ VCH *Cumberland*, ii, 149.
- ²⁶ C. G. Bulman, “The Gondibour and Salkeld screens in Carlisle Cathedral”, *CW2*, lvi, 112-27; C. M. L. Bouch, “The Salkeld screen in Carlisle Cathedral: its date and motive”, *CW2*, lvii, 39.
- ²⁷ C. M. L. Bouch, *op. cit.*, 39 but note *Cal. Letters and Papers*, xvi, 419 which gives the date as 2 May 1541.
- ²⁸ C. G. Bulman, *op. cit.*, 118-9.
- ²⁹ *CW1*, i, 34.

- ³⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1547-1548*, 191.
- ³¹ *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 64.
- ³² Rev. H. Whitehead, "Church bells in Cumberland Ward", *CWI*, ix, 264.
- ³³ *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 59 note 1.
- ³⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1547-1548*, 354.
- ³⁵ H. Summerson, *op. cit.*, 636.
- ³⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1554-1555*, 205.
- ³⁷ H. Summerson, *op. cit.*, 638.
- ³⁸ *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 59.
- ³⁹ H. Summerson, *op. cit.*, 638.
- ⁴⁰ Rev. H. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, 264.
- ⁴¹ *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 63 note 4.
- ⁴² C. J. Kitching (ed.), *The Royal Visitation of 1559 Surtees Society 187* (1975), 33.
- ⁴³ J. Grange Moore, *op. cit.*, 172.

