

ART. VII. – *Contrasting Clerics: two Tudor bishops of Carlisle*

BY MARGARET CLARK

ON New Year's Eve 1559 the last Marian bishop of Carlisle died under house arrest in London. A decade later, on 22 May 1570, the first Elizabethan bishop died of the plague at Rose Castle. Both were Yorkshiremen. There the resemblance ends. In background, outlook and career pattern they could hardly have been more dissimilar. Yet they had charge of Carlisle diocese at a critical juncture, and they highlight the contrast between old and new at the watershed of Reformation history.

Owen Oglethorpe, the last Marian, appeared to have every advantage. By birth education and career pattern he was designed for significant ecclesiastical preferment. The Elizabethan John Best, without antecedents and almost without recorded history, was a reluctant compromise candidate from a regime struggling to find any remotely suitable Protestant for the see. Yet it was Oglethorpe who left little mark on the diocese, of which he can barely have taken stock before the change of monarch, and Best who was able doggedly to set his stamp on a reluctant clergy and resistant laity.

But for the seesaws of Reformation history, Owen Oglethorpe's career might never have taken him to Cumbria. The third son of George Oglethorpe of Newton Kyme, near Tadcaster, Yorks., he was born about 1503 into comfortable circumstances which his academic career only enhanced. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was already a Fellow in 1524, graduating B.A. in 1525 and M.A. in 1529. Appointed lecturer in logic in 1529 and in moral philosophy in 1534, he gained his theology qualifications in 1536, the same year as his appointment to the Presidency of his college.¹ Such rapid progress up the academic ladder bears witness both to ability and social background. He was evidently destined for a comfortable career in academe, well supported by a plurality of benefices scattered across the kingdom, and by honorific appointments from Crown and university alike.

It was not immediately apparent that 1536 was the beginning of a turbulent time for clergy with no interests beyond the traditional ones of the political and academic elite. Canon of Lincoln in 1536, of St George's, Windsor in 1540, of Ripon in 1542 and also of King Henry VII College, Oxford, Oglethorpe was acquiring wealth and influence commensurate with his dignity as President of Magdalen. By 1544 he was a Kings Chaplain; there seemed no obstacle to his progress.²

The obstacle was, however, enormous: the shifting politics of Tudor ecclesiastical history. The first serious effect on him was the dissolution of the monastic foundation of King Henry VIII College in 1545, reducing his income from this source to a pension. Oglethorpe held no brief for the Reformation but passively accepted this change. The storm clouds gathered after the death of Henry VIII in January 1547, and the accelerated pace of change suddenly made a great difference to his prospects. From being a pillar of the establishment, the President of Magdalen

was transformed into a conservative obstacle to reform, which the new men sought actively to undermine. He had hoped for the succession to Thomas Magnus in the influential and lucrative post of Archdeacon of the East Riding, but by the time of Magnus' death in 1550, it became a choice between his Presidency and the Archdeaconry. A letter of May 1550 to one of the Continental reformers remarks casually that, "Your friend Oglethorpe as I hear is imprisoned for superstition, and is about to lose, it is said, the Presidency of Magdalen".³ Oglethorpe had already realised that it was necessary to cultivate the acquaintance, if not the theology, of the reformers, making contact with Bullinger as early as 1548, but his superficial interest in reform deceived nobody. By September 1550 one William Turner was cultivating Cecil for the Presidency, were Oglethorpe to lose it.⁴

In the eyes of the reformers he certainly deserved to. They had been gunning for him since the autumn of 1548, when they complained to Protector Somerset that Oglethorpe had "dissuaded them from accomplishing redress of religion" – code for obstinate refusal to change. Oglethorpe protested that he had no dispensation to change that to which the College was bound by oath and statute, sweetening the refusal by an assurance of obedience, as nothing would be ordered by the Protector which was ungodly. He assured Somerset that he had indeed been using the new order for communion, and not High Mass, in the college chapel, and denied having expelled any fellow or scholar, as the activists averred.⁵ He duly acquiesced in the sale of college plate in 1549, and the removal of the altar in 1551, but none of it served in the end to avert his own removal. In 1552 the Presidency he had held for sixteen years was lost. Cecil noted in July that Oglethorpe was content to surrender Magdalen to the Kings visitation,⁶ and all he could then do was to haggle over the terms of the redundancy package with which he was to depart.⁷

Oglethorpe's deposition however lasted less than a year, thanks to Edward's premature death and the reversal of policy under his sister Mary. With the conservative star once more in the ascendant, the kind of appointment to which Oglethorpe had been accustomed under Henry VIII once more came his way. Restored to his Presidency, he became successively Dean of Windsor and Registrar of the Order of the Garter in 1554-5. Resigning at last his Presidency on this promotion, he was elected to the bishopric of Carlisle in July 1556 and consecrated on 15 August, receiving the temporalities in October 1556. His career was back on track.⁸

He might perhaps have wished for, or looked for an exchange to, a wealthier see: a previous President of Magdalen, Richard Mayew, had had a much more cosy time at Hereford (1504-16). He was however following Robert Aldrich, a humanist scholar of note and former Dean of Windsor, at Carlisle, and his appointment showed how seriously Henry and his daughter were taking the lesser sees at the extremes of the kingdom. Mary's bench of bishops was perhaps the best qualified of any period, prepared *in extremis* to stand in honour by their beliefs, and frustrated by her brief reign in their potential to have spearheaded a Catholic reformation in England.

Oglethorpe's episcopate lasted a bare two and a half years, hardly long enough to have achieved anything of substance in his diocese. Owing to the gap in Carlisle diocesan records, little evidence survives. Correspondence exists in the Fleming papers between himself and John Dudley of Yanwath, who was complaining that a

delayed grant of probate was detrimental to the interests of the orphans. Oglethorpe's reply to this routine matter was officially anodyne.⁹

Of his relations with the Dean and Chapter nothing is known, and there would probably be nothing to record. Like Oglethorpe, Dean Salkeld had been deprived as a conservative and restored to his position by Mary, and had a similar vested interest in the continuance of the *ancien régime*, which left the Dean and Chapter a free hand with the Cathedral finances, as Bishop Best was to discover.¹⁰

Episcopal finances certainly needed support, and this he received in November 1558, when the emoluments of various Cumbrian livings were granted to him. More important was the Marian grant of the advowson and collation of the four prebendal stalls in the Cathedral, which should have given him the opportunity to make "grave and catholic" appointments in due course. Sadly for any such vision, his sovereign's death all but coincided with the grants, and it was his Protestant successor who was to benefit from the royal gift.¹¹

The Queen and her Archbishop of Canterbury died within hours of each other in November 1558, and the ecclesiastical future hung in the balance. The vacancy of Canterbury meant the coronation should be conducted by York, but as both he and Tunstall of Durham pleaded, with some justification, age and infirmity, it fell to the bishop of Carlisle as the only other bishop of the Northern province, to conduct the service. They probably also had theological qualms about doing so; Oglethorpe had shown himself sufficiently pragmatic in such circumstances before. Thus he found himself conducting the new queen's Christmas Eucharist, as well as her coronation in January. This pinnacle of his career had ominous undertones. The Queen walked out at his elevation of the host during the Christmas Mass, making her own theology abundantly evident, and suggesting that Oglethorpe's seniors had gauged correctly the turn of events. Bishop Bonner of London loaned him the appropriate coronation regalia: "all the apparel customary at the coronations of our illustrious kings".¹² There has been some question as to whether, after his experience at Christmas, he was the celebrant at the coronation Mass, and the evidence is equivocal as to whether the Queen communicated.¹³ She certainly never forgot the bishop to whom she owed her crowning. When in 1598 she appointed Henry Robinson to Carlisle, she told him that she was resolved to appoint a worthy man to Carlisle, "for his sake who first set the crown on her head".¹⁴ The act which legitimated her reign, whatever theological construction might be placed upon it, was not to be lightly forgotten.

Oglethorpe's last action for his diocese occurred on his way south for the coronation: the consecration of the chapel of ease of Watermillock, in Greystoke parish, for the Ullswater parishioners.¹⁵ This routine bit of diocesan business must have seemed a world away from the ecclesiastical politics of 1559, so reminiscent of the beginning of the decade when he had fought off the Edwardian onslaught on his college at Oxford. Now it was his see, not his college, that was at stake. Then he had conformed in all kinds of ways to try keep his post, introducing the required changes in college and "recanting" at the preaching of Peter Martyr in 1552.¹⁶ Now he stood with the rest of the bench of bishops in defence of the Roman obedience, taking a regular part in debates in the House of Lords in March and April 1559, and refusing, like his fellows, to take the oath of supremacy.¹⁷ The licence to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle to elect his successor, as the see was void by deprivation,

was dated 27 March 1559.¹⁸ Despite appearing on the Pardon Roll of January 1559, he was assessed for a fine of £250 in May, nearly double that exacted from the bishop of Chester, a friend and ally.¹⁹ Formal deprivation followed in June.²⁰ Thereafter he was effectively under house arrest in the custody of the new bishop of London, Edmund Grindal. That Grindal was another bachelor and a Cumbrian born and bred can hardly have been much consolation for the loss of diocese and income. The future must have looked black.

It was certainly unsure. In November 1559 Oglethorpe drew up his will, anxious to secure the legal foundation for the grammar school and almshouses he had sought to found, not in his diocese but in his native Tadcaster.²¹ Their foundation rested only upon a Marian grant, and, uncertain of its validity in the new scheme of things, he sought to make it legally watertight in his meticulously detailed will. The foundation came as near as was still possible to a gild or fraternity, providing for twelve almspeople and twelve poor scholars in a carefully designed and securely financed institution, to be known as Christ's Hospital. The grammar school, under a generic name, survived for four hundred years, to fall victim at last to the comprehensive demolition of the grammar school system. Even in that attenuated form, pupils of the late twentieth century still boasted proudly of Bishop Oglethorpe as the founder of their school.

Not surprisingly, in view of his many lucrative appointments over the years, Oglethorpe's will shows him to be a man of some wealth. For the provision of an adequate salary for the schoolmaster, lands with an annual income of £40 were set aside – a provision many a northern parson would have envied. £500 was earmarked for the construction and further endowment of the school itself: it was to be a fitting monument to Oglethorpe. There was still plenty left to bequeath to his siblings, with generous personal bequests of silver or cash to family and friends. Cuthbert Scott, the deprived bishop of Chester, fared most generously, with £5 and “the ringe with thre diamonds on my finger”. Sister Alice was left a gown and a cow at one of his manors or four marks to buy one; even John Green the kitchen boy got four marks. The library was divided between William Oglethorpe, priest, and Owen Oglethorpe, his nephew and godson. Decidedly Oglethorpe was a man of greater substance and influence than might have been expected as diocesan of Carlisle, a man well able to support the lifestyle of a senior cleric, as President of Magdalen or Dean of St George's Windsor. That his life impinged upon Cumbria at all bore tribute to the zeal of a Catholic sovereign for making high quality appointments to all her bishoprics.

If Owen Oglethorpe was a surprising choice for the see of Carlisle, John Best must have seemed an even more unlikely candidate. Little is known of his career before his elevation to the see of Carlisle. Slender evidence connects him with Halifax: the known existence of another early Protestant of that surname in the town, and reference in his widow's will of 1574 to “all such stuffe as came to hallifax in a Tronke of myne”.²² Best was at Oxford in the 1530s, being B. Gram. in 1534 and probably chaplain of King Henry VIII College in 1538-9,²³ not, fortunately, overlapping with Oglethorpe. He was in trouble for eating meat in Lent and encouraging his students to do the same, and soon after for preaching an inflammatory sermon.²⁴ Where he acquired either the M.A. he held by 1559 or the B.Th. claimed by 1561 is unknown, though Oxford granted him D.Th. *in absentia* in

1566. These known dates allow scope for his identification with a monk of Selby who, in 1535, fell foul of the Archbishop of York for mocking the discipline of fasting. The monk Best had his preaching licence revoked until he were “waxed sadder”.²⁵ It sounds very similar in tone to the objector to church discipline at Oxford: the kind of evangelical enthusiasm for reform that was later typical of a Christian Union member, with a good dose of Yorkshire tactlessness.

Best’s movements in the 1540s are unknown. He took advantage of Edward’s reign to marry, at a date and place unknown, one Elizabeth Somner, whose antecedents are as obscure as his own. In 1574 three of their four surviving children mentioned in her will were still under age, so he is unlikely to have been married before 1550. Towards the end of Edward’s reign he received ecclesiastical promotion as a Canon of Wells and prebendary of Wedmore, of which, as a married Protestant, he was deprived by Mary in 1554.²⁶ How he eked out a living during her reign is uncertain, but he was perhaps in hiding on his native heath. He does not figure among the Marian exiles, and is probably to be identified with one Master Best, mentioned by Foxe as one of four preachers occasionally smuggled in to minister to a Protestant conventicle in Manchester.²⁷

With the accession of Elizabeth there was at last a useful role for an outspoken Protestant preacher to undertake, and promotion to match it. During 1559 he was one of the Select Preachers in the North, supported financially by the restoration of his canonry and by the rectory of Romalldkirk, often linked with Carlisle but actually held by Oglethorpe since 1541.²⁸ It was not until 2 March 1561 that he was actually consecrated bishop of Carlisle. Edwin Sandys had turned the see down, as had his cousin Bernard Gilpin, who preferred his Northumberland parish with its good income. Of other Cumbrians, Grindal was already at London, and Horne restored to his deanery of Durham, so finding someone prepared to take on this most distant diocese, barely touched by the Reformation, perhaps made the Crown grateful for the existence of an obscure Northerner with a rough tongue.²⁹

The Cumbrians may have been very wise to refuse Carlisle diocese; it was a job to make anyone “wax sadder”. Unlike Oglethorpe, Best was in post long enough to make a difference to the see; unlike him also in that he sought to do so, and that his career as diocesan is well documented. Given the political and theological difficulties in his path, he was bound to have a rough ride. His clergy, especially the Dean and Chapter, were obstinately unreformed, the laity no better. The political situation on the Border was fraught, due both to the upheavals in Scotland in the 1560s and to the equally politico-religious upheavals in his diocese, centred on the house of Dacre. A reformation north of the Border was just beginning when Best came to the diocese and for most of the 1560s the international situation remained precarious. At home, Lord Dacre reigned supreme in Cumberland, as did the Clifford Earl of Cumberland in Westmorland, both as inimical to reform as Mary Queen of Scots. Best’s report to Cecil in July 1561³⁰ painted a gloomy picture. Of Dacre he wrote, “he is somethyng to myghtie in this contrey as it were a prynce”, too friendly with the Scottish Marcher Warden, conniving at cross-border raiding and backing the overt Catholicism of the border parishes: “at Stapleton sundry of the other have yet masse openly, at whom my lorde and his officers wynk”. The non-subscribing priests at his visitation had all belonged either to Dacre or Clifford. Surprisingly, he thought Wharton “a worthie wise man in the contrie very well loved”, though by the time of his 1564 report he had got Wharton’s measure.

By the next January Best's view was even more gloomy: "every daye men looke for a change and prepare for the same . . . the rulers and justices of the peace wyne at alle thynges". Best dared not speak openly of his opinion that "so longe as the highe Authoritie is in hys handes that now hathe it, godes gloriouse gospell cannot take place here". The daily expectation of a French or Spanish landing in the North-west alienated men's hearts, and the greatest were worst.³¹

Gradually, as the decade wore on, matters improved. The Lairds of Convention gained the upper hand in Scotland, culminating in Mary's defeat at Langside in 1567 and flight to England, whereat she was speedily removed from the excitable Borders to the safer Midlands. The Dacre line suffered extinction, Lord William's death in 1563 being followed by that of his eldest son, Thomas, in 1566 and his grandson George in 1569. Thomas's widow married a Howard and her daughters were safely married off to his offspring. Leonard Dacre, the second son of Lord William and heir general, continued to be a threat in the Borders until the abortive "Dacre's Raid" of 1570, even being behind a plot to assassinate Best and take control of Carlisle. Best rose to the occasion and the danger passed, and his successor never had to face the same political dangers as bishop.³²

Nor did he face Dacre's obstinate support of the unreformed clergy. The early pages of Best's register are largely concerned with his efforts to remove Hugh Hodgson, the deprived Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, from the rectory of Skelton, and then to prise him from Dacre's safe-keeping at Kirkoswald.³³ He eventually succeeded, but Dacre promptly presented a Marian ordinand, one Henry Dacre, to the living, who survived until 1597. The Rector of Greystoke was Lord William's half-brother John Dacre, as obstinately traditional as his brother; the priests in the border parishes of the barony of Gilsland were Best's "wicked ympes of Antichrist . . . very ignoraunte and stubberne paste measure".³⁴ Yet by 1568 it was possible for the Crown to collate by lapse a Protestant preacher to Greystoke, who before the decade ended could boast of the Protestant zeal of some of his parishioners.³⁵ The tide, political and religious, was turning.

After Lord Dacre, Best's greatest problem was his Dean and Chapter. Dean Salkeld had fortunately died during the interregnum, but his successor was the noted Protestant politician, Sir Thomas Smith, who had held the post under Edward. Smith was often absent on government business, exercising little influence over his conservative chapter, and did not get on well with Bishop Best. At the time of the crisis over chapter finances in 1564, Smith was complaining to Cecil of "that busy bishop of Carlisle", and wished the bishop had as much wisdom and goodwill as he had tongue. Best's complaints seem to have been well grounded, and Smith had no idea how far the wool had been pulled over his own eyes, for he went on to praise one of the ringleaders in bankrupting the Chapter for his efforts to bring things about.³⁶ A thorough investigation showed all the old prebendaries deeply involved, but it was their deaths rather than any remedial action which solved most problems.³⁷ Best was then able to make good use of the Marian grant to Oglethorpe, appointing staunch and reliable Protestants, who altered the tone of the Chapter and were able to set about cleansing the Augean stables. One of his choices was McBray, a Scot and Marian exile, who had learned German while abroad and was thus able to double as a preacher to the immigrant mining population of Keswick, quelling the ethnic tension which had added to the disquiet of the diocese. By the time Best

wrote to Cecil in 1567 for an extension of his *commendam* of Romalldkirk, necessitated by the financial stringency in Carlisle, he was able to say “god be thanked the prebendaries that now be are good husbands [of resources]”.³⁸

As for the lesser clergy and the laity, there was little cause to be sanguine. Best’s 1564 report on justices of the peace, a return made by all bishops, complains *inter alia* of the Cliffords’ perpetual sheriffdom of Westmorland, of papists passing unapprehended, of J.P.s making pretence only of furthering reform, and remote chapels still having Mass. Some few JPs were reliable, others timeservers, and in Carlisle itself far worse than that: “verie unfitt”, and “to be admonysshed”. It was the new men, names like Dudley and Bellingham, whom he could praise as “in Relligion good and wyttye men”.³⁹ He was not alone in his pessimistic view of northern laymen. Sir Thomas Gargrave, writing from the Council of the North in 1568, suggested that if letters were sent to the justices and other gentry to appear before the Council, so that they could be charged with their religious duties to confer with the people and persuade them, it might bring about a reformation.⁴⁰ These were the patrons and protectors of the parish clergy, who still included unbeneficed Henrician priests and former monks among their number. They continued to present and protect their kin in family livings, and even Crown appointments, like that to Kirkoswald in 1565, could turn out to be ignorant, by Protestant standards.⁴¹ The preaching ministry of McBray was exceptional. A grudging conformity was the most, in this first decade of official Protestantism, that Best could really hope for in the parishes.

As the decade closed in political uncertainty, financial stringency, and finally the plague to which Best himself succumbed, it must have seemed that his uphill struggle to reform the diocese had achieved nothing. Best had done more than he probably realised. His naturally sanguine successor waxed lyrical about the state of the commons, finding them a vast improvement on his previous flock in Nottinghamshire: “Praise be to the lord, who even in this utmost corner . . . has mightily prospered his gospel”.⁴² If the gospel had prospered indeed, the credit, humanly speaking, was Best’s.

What did the diocese make of its two Yorkshire bishops? The *Series Episcoporum Carliolensum*⁴³ sums up Oglethorpe as professor of theology, a gentleman born, of York diocese, bishop for three years and deprived by Elizabeth because he was a papist. Of Best it says merely that he was a professor of theology, diocesan for ten years [if one counts the interregnum], and buried at St Mary’s Carlisle. There is none of the praise given to one Henrician bishop, Kite, who governed the diocese “*Laudabiliter*”, or to Henry Robinson, the last Elizabethan appointee, praised as a reformer. Oglethorpe appeared to be more acceptable as a gentleman than Best, given no credit for reform at all. If the diocese cared less for Best, he took a dim view of his predecessor, who, gentleman or no, was responsible for dilapidations which had only made his own task the harder.⁴⁴ It is unlikely that Oglethorpe gave much thought to his diocese at all. His style of churchmanship, commonplace until the Reformation, tended to regard ecclesiastical preferment as a source of income to support the incumbent’s primary function as an academic, administrator, diplomat, or what not. It was no part of that function to interfere in the management of the diocese. Even a Protestant like Dean Smith could take the same view. A bishop who set out to pastor and reform his diocese, rather than to function at a national level,

was an unwelcome innovation. In part the change was due to the Reformation – Elizabeth made different demands on her bishops than her father and sister – but partly also to the different character of the two men. Oglethorpe’s previous career suggests a conservative with no deeply held theological convictions, willing to conform outwardly at least with change but obviously not much interested in it. Best’s past suggests an abrasive and single-minded evangelical approach. Nothing in Oglethorpe’s career had prepared him for a principled defence of orthodoxy, a stance which he only adopted in the last year of his life, in a last ditch stand against the Elizabethan settlement. Best always appears to have been questioning, deriding, and seeking to abolish the superstitious practices of a system he deplored as an obstacle to the truth. Carlisle diocese was quite used to bishops like Oglethorpe – both his immediate Henrician predecessors had been men of the same stamp. It was wholly unprepared for one like Best, unwilling to let sleeping dogs lie, be they civil or ecclesiastical, in his determination to advance a gospel of which a bare handful of either clergy or laity had even heard. Oglethorpe’s apoplectic death in 1559 was indeed a watershed from which there proved to be no turning back. When Cumbrians did eventually embrace the gospel, it was with an evangelical fervour more akin to their neighbours north of the Border than to Elizabethan conformity or Jacobean Arminianism. If that was not directly an achievement of John Best’s, it was something that he was the first Carlisle diocesan to make possible. Whether that was because he was a Yorkshireman, or just not a gentleman, is another matter.

Notes and References

- ¹ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, 1501-40* (Oxford, 1974), 423-4.
- ² Emden, *loc. cit.*
- ³ Rev. Hastings Robinson (ed.), *Original letters relative to the English Reformation* Parker Society (Cambridge, 1846), i, 187.
- ⁴ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Edward 1547-53* revised edn. (1992), no. 469 (PRO SP10/10/33).
- ⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, no. 163 (PRO SP10/5/12).
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 688 (PRO SP10/14/53).
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 694 (PRO SP10/14/58).
- ⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 2 Philip and Mary*, 301; *3 Philip and Mary*, 376; Emden, *loc. cit.*
- ⁹ CRO(K)/WD/Ry/HMC, no. 9
- ¹⁰ On Salkeld, see A. D. Salkeld, “Lancelot Salkeld, last Prior and first Dean of Carlisle”, in *CW2*, xcvi, 145-154, and M. A. Clark, “Hugh Sewell, Canon and Prebendary of Carlisle”, in *CW2*, xci, 91-99.
- ¹¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 4 Philip and Mary*, 439; *Victoria County History Cumberland*, ii, 60.
- ¹² *Acts of the Privy Council, Elizabeth 1558-70*, no. 42.
- ¹³ W. P. Haugaard, “The Coronation of Elizabeth I”, in *J.E.H.*, xix (1968), 161-70.
- ¹⁴ *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 60.
- ¹⁵ C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties* (Kendal, 1948), 196 and n.
- ¹⁶ J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (Townsend edn), vi, 298.
- ¹⁷ H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Prayer Book* (1902), 253; *The Elizabethan Clergy* (Oxford, 1892), pp. xviii, 8, 30.
- ¹⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1558-1560*, 447.
- ¹⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1558-1560*, 170; *Acts of the Privy Council of England 1558-70*, 102.
- ²⁰ A. B. Emden, *loc. cit.*
- ²¹ For this and the following paragraph see PRO PROB/11/43, f. 221-3,
- ²² PRO PROB/11/56, f. 335r-335v.
- ²³ A. B. Emden, *op. cit.*, 46.
- ²⁴ *Cal. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, xiv (i), 684, xiii (i), 845.

- ²⁵ *Cal. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, ix, 742.
- ²⁶ Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*, i, 185.
- ²⁷ J. Foxe, *op. cit.*, vii, 562.
- ²⁸ A. B. Emden, *op. cit.*, 46; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1558-1560*, 40; *Cal. Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, xvi, 603.
- ²⁹ A. B. Emden, *op. cit.*, 46; Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 241.
- ³⁰ PRO SP12/18/21.
- ³¹ PRO SP12/21/13.
- ³² *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Addenda, 1566-79*, 148-50, 238, 243.
- ³³ CRO(C) DRC/1/3, pp. 1-3.
- ³⁴ PRO SP12/18/21.
- ³⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Elizabeth, IV*, 262; A. M. McLean, (ed.), *The Registers of the Parish of Greystoke* (Kendal, 1911), *sub anno*.
- ³⁶ *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth 1564-5*, 980 (7).
- ³⁷ PRO SP12/100; see also SP12/44/6, 12/48/45, SP15/14/13; British Library Lansdowne 6/86, 6/125, 7/57. Summarised in Clark, "Hugh Sewell", 95-6.
- ³⁸ PRO SP12/43/58.
- ³⁹ *Calendar of Cecil Mss.*, Pt. 1, 1024/11; M Bateson, "A collection of original letters from the bishops to the Privy Council in 1564", *Camden Misc. IX*, Camden Society n.s. 53 (1895), 48-51.
- ⁴⁰ PRO SP12/14/17.
- ⁴¹ PRO E178/3247.
- ⁴² PRO SP12/74/22.
- ⁴³ British Library Lansdowne 721.
- ⁴⁴ British Library Lansdowne 6 f. 125.

