

HENRY SACHEVERELL (1548–1620) OF OLD HAYS, RATBY; MORLEY AND HOPWELL HALL, DERBYSHIRE; AND NEW HALL, WARWICKSHIRE: RECUSANT CATHOLIC OR REFORMED PROTESTANT?

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Henry Sacheverell of Old Hays, Ratby; Morley and Hopwell in Derbyshire: and New Hall, Warwickshire (see Fig. 1) was a member of a wealthy and influential family, with a strong Roman Catholic background. Between 1600 and 1603, he moved to the moated farm of Old Hays, Ratby, in order to live with his mistress, Elizabeth Kayes (Keyes; Kaies) and their children. This paper considers his life, the background to his move to Old Hays, and an examination of his religious allegiance during this time of great turmoil between Catholics and Protestants. No evidence of recusancy was established, but it would appear that he retained his Catholic faith, albeit in a cautious and covert way.

INTRODUCTION

The name Sacheverell is an important part of the history and landscape of Ratby. In his will of 19 September 1616,¹ Henry Sacheverell of Old Hays, Ratby left £100 for the benefit of the poor of Ratby. After his death in 1620, this money was invested in the purchase of Cottage Close, a 14-acre field at Botcheston, adjacent to Old Hays Farm. The rent from this field has been used ever since, to provide help for the sick and poor of the parish.² In recognition of this, the name *Sacheverell Way* was given to the new road between Ratby and the A50 road to Leicester. Who was Henry Sacheverell, what was his connection with Ratby, and what part did his religious allegiance play, if any?

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Henry Sacheverell was born in 1548 at Morley in Derbyshire, the only child of John Sacheverell and Katherine, neé Fitzherbert. The family tree can be traced back to Sir

¹ National Archive, PRO11/135.

² Blackman, Rev. P., *The Story of Ratby Parish Church* (The Church Publishers, Ramsgate, 1967), p. 13.



Fig. 1. Tomb of Henry Sacheverell in Ratby Church (© the author).

Patrick Sacheverell, who was knighted during the reign of Edward I (1272–1307). The family was granted lands in Derbyshire, first at Hopwell (from the heiress of Roger de Hopwell) and later, c.1475, at Morley, from Henry Statham's daughter, Joan, who married John Sacheverell, son of Ralph Sacheverell of Hopwell. John was killed at the Battle of Bosworth, whilst supporting Richard III.³

During the late fifteenth/early sixteenth centuries, the Sacheverells acquired considerable land in Leicestershire. Sir Richard Sacheverell (?–1534), the head of the family at the time, and his wife, Mary, neé Hungerford, were childless, and his only brother John had been killed at the Battle of Bosworth. Therefore, by his will of 29 March 1534,⁴ he gave 'all that he had of his father' to his nephew (Sir) Henry Sacheverell (1475–1558), High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1531 and 1541,⁵ the great grandfather of Henry Sacheverell of Old Hays, Ratby. Sir Richard Sacheverell's many landholdings in Leicestershire were enfeoffed, on his death, to other friends and

³ Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. II (1800), p. 394.

⁴ Nichols, J. (1800), op. cit., p. 508.

⁵ Nichols, J. (1800), op. cit., p. 394.

relatives.⁶ As testimony to their close connections with Leicester, both Sir Richard Sacheverell and his wife, Mary, were buried in the Collegiate Church of St Mary in The Newark, Leicester.⁷

Sir Henry Sacheverell's son had pre-deceased him, so on his death (1475–1558) his lands were inherited by his grandson, John Sacheverell of Morley (1518–93). John was the father of the Henry Sacheverell (1548–1620) who was later to live at Old Hays, Ratby.

EARLY LIFE HISTORY OF HENRY SACHEVERELL (1548–1620)

There are few references to Henry Sacheverell's early life. He was educated as a member of the aristocracy and became proficient in Latin, sufficient to write his own epitaph in that language just prior to his death in 1620 (see Appendix 1). His father was strongly Roman Catholic, so much so that, in about 1570, he left the country without license to avoid crippling recusancy fines and the threat of imprisonment. A letter reporting the case was sent from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Queen Elizabeth I on 16 August 1572. The result was that John Sacheverell 'forfeited the revenue of his lands...' in Derbyshire and Leicestershire ... 'for going and remaining beyond the seas, contrary to Stat. 13 (1571)'.⁸ These lands were subsequently leased by the Crown to George Rolleston in 1573.⁹ There is evidence that the young Henry Sacheverell supported his father's religious protest, as in 1568 he was suspended from St John's College, Oxford, for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy demanded on matriculation. Like his father before him, Henry entered Gray's Inn the same year, aged 20 years.¹⁰

Henry had been left in a seriously vulnerable position by the disappearance of his father. However, in March 1573, his father wrote to Lord Burghley, requesting him to obtain the Queen's favour on his behalf and thanking Burghley 'for the kindness shown to my wife and son'.¹¹ Consequently, by patent of 20 Jan. 18 Eliz. 1576, Henry received a lease on his father's lands at Morley and Hopwell 'during his father's life at £200 a year, paid to the Exchequer'.¹² Evidence that the Earl of Shrewsbury purchased the Auld Hall in Buxton from Henry Sacheverell in 1578 indicates both the extent of Henry's properties and his return to normal economic life after 1576.¹³

⁶ These included the manors of 'Sadington, Lubbesthorpe, Braunstone, Sapcote, Stony Staunton, Congelton, Broughton, Sutton, Thurlleston, Shulton, Ibstock, Wigeston, Wimeswold and Countesthorpe'; also the manor of Ratcliffe-on-Soar in Nottinghamshire, which he had been awarded in 1516.

⁷ Nichols, J. (1800), *op. cit.*, p. 508.

⁸ Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. II (1800), p. 509.

⁹ Lodge, E., *Illustrations of British History*, vol. 2 (London, 1791), as quoted in Turner, H. L. (2012), 'Which Henry Sacheverell ordered the Tapestries showing his arms?' (<http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info>).

¹⁰ Foster, J. (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500–1714* (Oxford University, 1892); Foster, J., *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn* (London, 1889).

¹¹ Lodge, E. (1791), *op. cit.*, pp. 73–4.

¹² Nichols, J. (1800), *op. cit.*, p. 509.

¹³ Turbutt, G., *A History of Derbyshire*, vol. 3 (Merton Priory Press, Whitchurch, Cardiff, 1999), p. 1367.

The restitution of land meant that the Crown could again make financial demands upon Henry's estate. On 11 January 1589, along with other Derbyshire landowners, he received an order under the privy seal, requiring him to donate £100, as a loan to the Queen. He asked to be discharged from this obligation, arguing that Lord Shrewsbury was mistaken about the value of his estate, thinking that his father, John Sacheverell, was already dead. In fact, the latter did not die until 23 October 1592 in Brussels.¹⁴ The list of non-payers summoned for contempt included Henry Sacheverell, but he was excused on appeal. In 1591 another loan was demanded by the Crown, this time for £240. Despite the fact that his father was still alive, Henry was one of those who paid.¹⁵

MARRIAGE

Meanwhile, circa 1576, following the improvement of his financial status, Henry married Jane Bradburn, also known as Bradbourne (1557–1624), daughter of Sir Humphrey Bradburn of Hough (Hulland) and other estates in Derbyshire. They had four sons: Jacinth (bap. 2 June 1578), Jonathas (bap. 16 April 1583), Victorin (bap. 9 May 1584) and Oswalwa (?); and four daughters: Elizabeth (bur. 10 June 1583), Abigail (bap. 23 Aug. 1580), Jane (bap. 2 May 1582) and Omphale (?).¹⁶

It is highly significant that Henry married into a strongly Roman Catholic family. On the tomb of Jane's father, in Ashbourne Church, there is a carved dagger on the sheath of which is the insignia of Katherine of Aragon, the pomegranate of Granada. Entitlement to wear this badge had been given by King Ferdinand of Spain to Sir Humphrey Bradburn's great grandfather John for services in the Crusades.¹⁷

Jane Sacheverell's will of 15 January 1624 provides further evidence that Henry had married into a devout Catholic family.¹⁸ She left 'to my said executor's wife, all my black veils [?] and [?] which I use to wear upon my head'. Such veils were traditionally worn by Roman Catholic women when attending church. The adoption of this form of dress in church would have been a sign of rebellion against new Protestant orthodoxies.

THE BABINGTON CONNECTION

Jane Sacheverell's will reveals that her servant was James Babington. Although not yet proven, James may have been related to Anthony Babington of nearby Dethick in Derbyshire, who was executed in 1586 for his role in the Babington plot by Catholic rebels against the life of Queen Elizabeth I. For a servant, James Babington was exceptionally well rewarded in Jane's will. He was given the princely sum of

¹⁴ Nichols, J. (1800), op. cit., p. 509.

¹⁵ Turbutt, G. (1999), op. cit., p. 930.

¹⁶ Bradburn, M., 'The Bradburns of Derbyshire, Pt. II', *Derbyshire Family History Society Branch News*, Issue 77 (1996), pp. 34–5; and Baptism Transcripts of St Chad's, Wilne (1540–1723).

¹⁷ Bradburn, M., 'The Bradburns of Derbyshire, Pt. II', *Derbyshire Family History Society Branch News*, Issue 77 (1996), p. 35.

¹⁸ National Archives PROB/11/15.

£120, compared with the derisory 10 shillings left to her son, Victorin. He also received:

all my household stuff, both linen and woollen. And all my pewter and brass, bedding and bedsteads and all other my household stuff whatsoever necessary for housekeeping. He is to gather in my debts ... for which I do give unto the said James ... my horse to ride upon about the said business. My daughter, Abigail Packington, shall entertain my servant, James Babington, with meat, drink and wages ... for one year ... after my death, allowing his diet and other necessaries at her charge for following my suits of law and gathering in of my debts.

Significantly, in 1606, Abigail (1580–1657) had married Humphrey Packington, of Harvington Hall in Worcestershire: he was a strong supporter of the Catholic cause whose house ‘boasts more priest’s holes than any other house in England’.¹⁹ Abigail was charged with recusancy in 1632.²⁰ Her portrait hangs in Coughton Court, Warwickshire, a house implicated in plots against Elizabeth I: the Throckmorton Plot in 1583 and the Gunpowder Plot in 1605.

These links between the Bradburns and Babingtons can be traced back to the early 1480s, through the marriage of Isabella Bradburn, daughter of Henry Bradburn of Hough, to Thomas Babington of Dethick.²¹ The Babington family also had close ties with the Sacheverells. Anthony Babington was the grandson of Katherine Sacheverell, daughter of Sir Henry Sacheverell of Morley (1475–1558) and wife of Thomas Babington.²² Anthony Babington’s direct line of descent included both Isabella Bradburn, his great-great-grandmother, and Katherine Sacheverell, his grandmother. He was a blood relation of both Henry Sacheverell and Jane Bradburn. Nevertheless, at his trial in 1586, there was no evidence that he had received help from either the Bradburns or the Sacheverells.²³ The Babington Plot did great damage to the reputation and status of their family, causing them to sell Dethick and leave the county.²⁴ This may explain why James Babington was offered and accepted the low status role of servant to Jane Sacheverell: a case perhaps of the extended family coming to the rescue.

There was clearly a long history of rebellion against the new Protestant Church of England in the Sacheverell, Bradburn and Babington families, almost certainly dating back to the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s. It is not surprising, therefore, that William Harrison, a Jesuit priest, was ‘reported at the house of Henry Sacheverell at Hopwell Hall, Derbyshire about 1581’.²⁵ It is also claimed that Henry ‘entertained the Jesuit priest, Edmund Campion, S.J. on his travels in the north’, circa 1580–81. Henry was ‘arrested after Campion was taken, took fright and not only conformed but became an informer’.²⁶

¹⁹ Jenkins, S., *England’s Thousand Best Houses* (Allen Lane, London, 2003), p. 851.

²⁰ Webster, L. Anderson, ‘Unrecognised Recusant’, *The Tablet* (18 May 1957), p. 9.

²¹ Nichols, J. (1800), *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. II, p. 954.

²² Nichols, J. (1800), *op. cit.*, p. 394, footnote 11.

²³ Turbutt, G., *A History of Derbyshire*, vol. 3 (Merton Priory Press, Whitchurch, Cardiff, 1999), p. 989.

²⁴ Turbutt, G. (1999), *op. cit.*, p. 952.

²⁵ Anstruther, G., *The Seminary Priests*, vol. 1 (Woodchester, 1968), p. 35; *Catholic Record Society* 53, p. 187.

²⁶ Webster, L. Anderson, ‘Unrecognised Recusant’, *The Tablet* (18 May 1957), p. 9.

MARITAL BREAKDOWN AND IMPRISONMENT

Henry Sacheverell's will of 1616 reveals that his fortunes deteriorated dramatically in the early 1590s following the breakdown of relations with his wife, Jane.²⁷ This was almost certainly related to the birth in 1593 of a son, Manfred, to his mistress, Elizabeth Kayes (see Fig. 2).

In the record there is a discrepancy regarding Manfred Sacheverell's age and the date of his death. According to one version of the inscription on his gravestone,²⁸ he died on 3 March 1625, aged 22 years, which would indicate that he was born in 1603, around the time that Henry Sacheverell moved to Old Hays, Ratby. Alternatively, in the family tree of Henry Sacheverell,²⁹ Manfred Sacheverell is described as Henry's 'eldest natural son, died 1615'. A recent examination of the tomb slab in Ratby Church (Fig. 2) confirms that he was 22 years old at his death in 1615, which means that he was born in 1593. This also explains why Manfred was omitted from Henry's will of 1616 (below).

On the death of his father in 1592, Henry, as the only son, inherited the family estate. Jane's family immediately brought claims against him to secure her dowry entitlements. As a consequence, in 1593, Henry was imprisoned in the Fleet in London. To save his life 'in that great plague and time of infection' and to deliver himself 'from the wicked practises of her [Jane's] allies', he paid £2,120, which was 'drawn or extorted [from him] by the powerful means of the imprisonment of my body to discharge and recompense all jointures or dower, to which she was entitled on his death'.³⁰

After this ordeal, Henry returned to Morley in Derbyshire. His status appears to have been unaffected by his imprisonment. In autumn 1595 he was appointed Commissioner for the Wirksworth Hundred, to assess the half-yearly subsidy.³¹ He also conformed to the demands of the local authorities by contributing 'two lances and one petronell' to the Morleston and Litchurch Hundred in 1595,³² and horses for service in Ireland in 1599.³³

These events in the early 1590s may reflect a change in Henry's religious views. Following the Campion episode in 1580–81 (see above), it is claimed that he began to conform to the rules of the new Church of England and had even become an informer. This must have brought him into conflict with the Bradburns and may have been a factor in his estrangement from his wife. His relationship with Elizabeth Kayes also suggests a disregard for Catholic marital rules. His appointment as commissioner of the Wirksworth Hundred in 1595, and his contribution to the Irish campaigns of 1595–96 and 1599, suggests that, at least in public, he was prepared to conform to the demands of the protestant authorities. It was perhaps as a reward that, in 1602, he obtained a grant of 'divers lands in Derbyshire'.³⁴

²⁷ National Archives, PRO 11 135.

²⁸ Nichols, J. (1811), *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 884.

²⁹ Nichols, J. (1800), *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. II, p. 509.

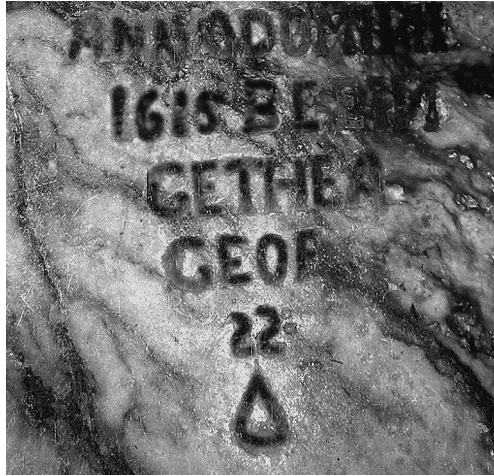
³⁰ Henry Sacheverell's Will, 1616. National Archives, PRO 11 135.

³¹ Turbutt, G. (1999), *A History of Derbyshire*, vol. 3 (Merton Priory Press, Whitchurch, Cardiff, 1999), p. 929.

³² *Derbyshire Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 17 (1895), p. 32.

³³ *Derbyshire Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 17 (1895), p. 40.

³⁴ Nichols, J. (1800), *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. II, p. 509, footnote 3.



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Fig. 2. Section of the tombstone of Manfred Sacheverell on the floor of the chancel in Ratby Parish Church (© the author).

HENRY SACHEVERELL AND OLD HAYS, RATBY

In 1600–01, in the name of John Kayes, Henry Sacheverell bought Old Hays in Ratby, Leicestershire.³⁵ Probably after some rebuilding (see below), he went to live there (circa 1603) with Elizabeth Kayes and their two sons, Manfred and Ferdinando, and daughter, Frances. How did Henry Sacheverell come to take up residence at Old Hays, Ratby?

Old Hays, Ratby is an isolated moated farm, situated about a mile west of the village of Ratby in Leicestershire. Hoskins considered it to be the best surviving example in the county of an isolated farmstead, which belonged to no village system.³⁶ It was established by Roger de Quincy, Lord of the Manor of Whitwick in the mid-thirteenth century, as part of the policy of clearing waste on the eastern margins of his large manorial holding.

Moated farm sites have been identified within or adjacent to medieval deer parks in Charnwood Forest at Quorn, Bradgate, Beaumanor and Bardon.³⁷ Old Hays was probably first established as the park keeper's lodge for the adjacent deer park in Ratby Burroughs, called 'Burgh Park'.³⁸ The earliest known name for Old Hays was

³⁵ ROLLR DE311/22/8.

³⁶ Hoskins, W. G., *Leicestershire: the History of the Landscape* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1957), pp. 16–17.

³⁷ Squires, A. E. and Humphrey, W., *The Medieval Parks of Charnwood Forest* (Sycamore Press, Wymondham, Leicestershire, 1986).

³⁸ Ball, M., 'Burgh – a small mediaeval park' in *Trans. Leicestershire and Rutland Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 1984–85, vol. LIX, pp. 90–1; and Squires, A. E. and Humphrey, W. (1986), op. cit., pp. 130–1.

‘Loundres-hey’, otherwise ‘Lundershay’ or ‘Londoner’s Hay’.³⁹ Walter Finchfield, a Jewish gold merchant from London, had acquired the property circa 1580, in lieu of a debt owed to him by Roger de Quincy. When the Jews were expelled from England in 1290, the land was acquired by Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham. He bequeathed it to Leicester Abbey on his death in 1311.⁴⁰

Old Hays stayed in the possession of Leicester Abbey until its dissolution in 1538, after which it was acquired by John Reynolds, who sold it on 30 May 1552 to Francis Cave, a Commissioner of the Crown with responsibility for disposing of monastic lands.⁴¹ The property stayed in the Cave family until 1600/01 when William/Henry Cave sold it to John Kayes, gentleman of Smalley, Derbyshire, in trust to Henry Sacheverell.⁴²

On 29 July 1603 the deeds of Old Hays were transferred by John Kayes to Henry Sacheverell of Morley in Derbyshire, and Elizabeth Kayes, his sister.⁴³ Elizabeth was named alongside Henry Sacheverell as owner of the property, presumably to protect her future rights. She has proved to be an elusive figure. She was the sister of John Kayes, gentleman of Smalley in Derbyshire, and another brother, Thomas. The Kayes family were established members of the late sixteenth/early seventeenth-century Derbyshire gentry,⁴⁴ with a pedigree dating back to 1300.⁴⁵ Otherwise, no evidence of her date and place of birth or death has yet been uncovered; nor is there any written evidence of her religious affiliation or of that of her brother; nor has any link been established between her and Robert Keyes of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot. However, there is circumstantial evidence that the Kayes family were Roman Catholics (see below).

Henry and Elizabeth probably took up residence at Old Hays after the transfer of deeds in 1603. They already had two sons: Manfred, their ‘eldest natural son’ (see Fig. 2),⁴⁶ and Ferdinando, born about 1599;⁴⁷ and a daughter, Frances.⁴⁸ In the 1603 Declaration of Trust between John Kayes and Henry Sacheverell, Henry explicitly included provision for his children by Elizabeth Kayes, using the following words: ‘(the property) shall be inherited by the said children ... (Manfred, Ferdinando and Frances) ... of the said Henry Sacheverell, which he hath begotten of the body of the said Elizabeth Kayes’.⁴⁹

Henry and Elizabeth were to have two more sons: Valence (b. 1604) and William (date of birth unknown). There is no mention of William in Henry Sacheverell’s

³⁹ Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. IV, part 2 (1811), p. 888.

⁴⁰ *Charytes Rental*, Leicester Abbey documents, fol. cxxiv, c.1313 (see Nichols, J. (1811), op. cit., p. 877).

⁴¹ ROLLR311/22/1.

⁴² ROLLR311/22/5, 6, 7.

⁴³ ROLLR311/22/8.

⁴⁴ *Papers of the Holden Family of Aston Hall, Aston-upon-Trent* (1606), Derbyshire Record Office, Ref. No. D779/T613.

⁴⁵ Craven, M. and Stanley, M., *The Derbyshire Country House*, vol. II (Landmark Publishing, Ashbourne, Derbyshire, 1984), p. 52.

⁴⁶ Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. II (1800), p. 509.

⁴⁷ Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. IV, part 2 (1811), p. 888.

⁴⁸ Nichols, J. (1800), op. cit., p. 509.

⁴⁹ ROLLR311/22/8.



Fig. 3. North-east wing of Old Hays Farm in 2000 (© the author).

will of 1616, which suggests that he died in infancy. According to the Ratby Parish Registers, all the children took the Sacheverell surname.⁵⁰ Jane Sacheverell's strict adherence to the Roman Catholic Church meant that there could have been no divorce and re-marriage.

Before Henry and Elizabeth moved into Old Hays, it had been a very modest dwelling (see Fig. 3). Therefore, they 'bestowed much cost in repairing the house and adding new buildings thereto' (see Fig. 4).⁵¹

The north-east wing is the oldest part of Old Hays Farm (Fig. 3), probably located on the site of the thirteenth-century deer park warden's cottage. Originally it was probably a timber-framed, single-storey hall house with a central open fire. Note the ridge on the front wall, which marks the base (i.e. wall plate level) of an earlier roof structure. Before occupying the property, Henry Sacheverell may have rebuilt the cottage using local Charnwood stone (e.g. evidence of an interior north-facing wall). The original hall was divided into two rooms. Behind the entrance door, there is a baffle wall adjoining the dividing wall between these two rooms at right angles. In the eighteenth century, long after the Sacheverells had gone, a dairy was added behind the right-hand door (Fig. 3). At the same time, the roof was raised and the stone walls replaced by brick (covered by rendering in Fig. 3).

Before occupying the house, Henry Sacheverell probably also added the two-storey, south-facing frontage and west-facing wing to the house, also in local Charnwood stone (see Fig. 4).

In Fig. 4, the original cottage is on the left, masked by the overhanging tree. The new two-storey building added by Henry Sacheverell is in the centre-right. The stone wall of the original c.1603 building has survived on the north-facing

⁵⁰ Wilshire, J., *Ratby Parish Register Transcripts and Reconstructions, 1624–1812* (Chamberlaine Music and Books, Leicester, 1989).

⁵¹ Nichols, J. (1811), *op. cit.*, p. 888.



Fig. 4. Old Hays from the north-west in 2000 (© the author).

wall of the north-west wing. The third floor in the upper gable was added in the eighteenth century, when most of the stone was replaced by brick. This brick has recently been exposed following the removal of the rendering in 2005. The edge of the moat is in the foreground. Its retaining wall was built with stones from local glacial boulder clay. Note the survival of the original segmental arch in the ground-floor window.

It is a measure of Henry Sacheverell's great personal wealth that, in 1606, he sold 'Saddington Manor and 500 acres of land, besides 100/- rent there and in neighbouring villages' to Sir John Bale.⁵² In 1610 he added the moated manor house of New Hall in Sutton Coldfield⁵³ to his existing properties in Morley, Hopwell Hall, Old Hays, Callow and the many smaller holdings named in his will (see below). He embarked upon improvements to New Hall at considerable expense (see Fig. 5). A secret oak-panelled room next to the Great Hall was discovered when a passage known as 'The Screens' was removed.⁵⁴ This may have been used as a priest's hole, but there is nothing to link it specifically to Henry Sacheverell.

The left-hand range is medieval. The right-hand range is Jacobean and thought to have been built by Henry Sacheverell. A banqueting hall was added behind the solar window, which overhangs the moat on a stone corbel (see Fig. 5).

The size and quality of some of Henry Sacheverell's properties might lead us to question how much time he spent at his modest house at Old Hays. In his will of 1616, Henry refers to himself as Henry Sacheverell of Morley in Derbyshire. A memorandum of 3 May 1619 refers to him as 'Henry Sacheverell esquire, Lord of

⁵² Hoskins, W. G., 'The Leicestershire Farmer in the 16th century', *Trans. Leic. Arch. and Hist. Soc.* 22 (1941), p. 63.

⁵³ Salzman, L. F., 'The Borough of Sutton Coldfield', in *A History of the County of Warwick: Vol. 4: Hemlingford Hundred*, Victoria County History (1947), pp. 230–45.

⁵⁴ Described in a booklet on the history of New Hall, published by the current hotel owners: Handpicked Hotels.



Fig. 5. New Hall, Sutton Coldfield in 2013 (© the author).

Morley’,⁵⁵ and in his will of 1618, Victorin refers to his father as Mr Sacheverell of New Hall in Warwickshire.⁵⁶ It is unclear as to why he bought Old Hays. Was it for himself or perhaps for Elizabeth Kayes? Perhaps it was to secure the future of their son? What was the intention when he purchased New Hall?

THE WILL OF HENRY SACHEVERELL

In his will of 19 September 1616,⁵⁷ Henry carefully safeguarded the inheritance of his three surviving illegitimate children by Elizabeth Kayes. John Kayes of Smalley in Derbyshire was again named in trust to convey Old Hays unto Henry’s and Elizabeth’s eldest surviving son, Ferdinando, with remainders to Valence and Frances. Ferdinando was also to inherit ‘all lands, tenements and hereditaments in Hopwell in the County of Derby (see Fig. 6) and in Hambleton in Leicestershire’... ‘Two cottages in Wigston, in the occupation of widows Orme and Langton’ were also bequeathed to Ferdinando, as were ‘a tenement and land in Draycott in the County of Derby, late in the occupancy of Nicholas Dicking and his son and now in the tenancy of Bartholomew’.

⁵⁵ Kerry, Rev. Charles, ‘Notes on the Registers of Morley and Smalley’, *Journal of the Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 1 (1879), p. 85.

⁵⁶ National Archives, PROB/11/174.

⁵⁷ National Archive, PRO11/135; and Stock, S., ‘Sacheverell and Keyes of Hopwell and Morley, Derbyshire and Ratby, Leicestershire’, *The Derbyshire Family History Society Branch News* 82 (1997), pp. 34–7.



Fig. 6. Hopwell Hall, Derbyshire, rebuilt 1720, P. Gauci, c.1850. (With permission of Derby Local Studies and Family History Library.)

Elizabeth Kayes was to have ‘full liberty, power and authority to take and use all such household stuff, goods and chattells which shall be in my house of Oulde Heaye in Leicestershire: Ferdinando to receive them on her death’. His son, Valence, aged only 12 years, ‘was to be left to the care of his mother to be brought up in virtue and learning like a gentleman, according to his calling’. At his maturity, aged 18 years, he was to receive ‘all that my Manor House or capital messuage with appurtenances called Newall and all lands, tenements and hereditaments thereunto belonging’. Valence also received the ‘Manor Lordship of Callow (near Wirksworth) and one sheepwalk in Brassington Moor’ (near the village of Bradbourne, Derbyshire). Elizabeth Kayes’s three surviving children were also to receive Henry’s ‘plate and wearing apparell, together with all my money and coyn to be divided amongst them except such money and coyne which shall be put in bagge for my Executor’. Significantly, Henry willed that his other executors were to have no ‘medlinge power or authority over land, plate, goods, chattells or premise, mentioned by or in several deeds of gift given or appointed to them, the said Elizabeth Kayes, Ferdinando, Valence and Francis (sic) Sacheverell’.

Whilst protecting the interests of his children by Elizabeth, Henry Sacheverell also provided for his legitimate children. He had already, by indenture (24 December 1611), ‘assure(d) (his) land in Morley, Smalley and Ridesley unto Jacinth’. Now, according to his will, Jacinth ‘shall have and enjoy the same’. He also received ‘three geldings and one bason and ewer of silver’.

Similarly, Jonathas by Indenture (23 March 1614) had received ‘all my freehold and copyhold lands in Kilburn, Horsley and Horsley Woodhouse, lands in Chaddesden, one horse and gelding going in Hopwell Park’. His other son, Victorin, had been bound apprentice, and £400 had been bestowed for this. The will reveals that there had been disagreements between Henry and Victorin, such that

‘notwithstanding his disobedience shewed to me in several respects, I do give unto him twenty pounds’ (a trifling amount, similar to the ‘ten shillings’ bequeathed to Victorin in Jane Sacheverell’s will). Henry’s daughter, Abigail, had already married Humphrey Packington (see above) and her portion had already been discharged to her husband.

To protect the interests of Elizabeth Kayes and her children, Henry stated that if his wife, Jane, or her children, Jacinth, Jonathas or Victorin, attempted to procure any of their inheritance, then they would forfeit their own benefits to Ferdinando, Valence and Frances.

Finally, £100 was bequeathed to purchase land, the rent from which was to be given to the poor of the village where his body was buried (see Appendix 2). Ever since his death, the villagers of Ratby have benefited from this charity. However, the origin of the choice of Ratby, as his place of burial, remains uncertain. Was his burial place chosen ‘as my executors shall think meet’ ... (or was it located) ... ‘in such place and order as I shall appoint in my lifetime’.⁵⁸ No definitive answer to this question has been found, but it seems probable that he and his executor, John Kayes, decided that his tomb would be better cared-for in Ratby Church (see Fig. 7), only one mile away from Elizabeth Kayes’ family at Old Hays.

The churchwardens of Morley received £5 ‘for the benefit, use and reparation of the church’. Wood, timber and trees in Morley Hays were to be sold to pay Henry’s legacies and funeral charges, with any ‘overplusage’ to go to Ferdinand.

Henry’s will shows that he was a man of deep Christian convictions, expressed with High Church overtones, e.g.: ‘First I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, my only maker and Creator, that through the bloodshedding and passion of his son, Jesus Christ, my only Saviour and Redeemer, I shall be made partaker of his Heavenly Kingdom’.

He was completely silent about his exact religious affiliation. In revealing the pain of his imprisonment in ‘The Fleet’, there was no suggestion that he had been punished for contravening England’s religious laws or for promoting Roman Catholicism. All his bitterness was directed against the ‘wicked practices of her (i.e. Jane Sacheverell’s) allies’.

Shortly before his death, Henry took the unusual step of writing his own epitaph (see Appendix 1). It may be significant that, at this late stage in his life, he used Latin rather than English. It contains no celebratory reflections on his life, or on the social and religious changes he had experienced. He desired only peace from the ‘*false hope, doubtful laws and persistent sorrows*’ which life had inflicted upon him. The phrase ‘*doubtful laws*’ implies criticism of the new religion, albeit expressed with caution, despite his closeness to death. Perhaps he felt the need to protect the interests of his family, following his own experience of losing the Sacheverell landholdings, due to his father’s rebellion. His epitaph carries no endorsement of the controversial religious changes. Rather, it implies that a return to the comforts of his old religion was now only possible through death.

⁵⁸ Henry Sacheverell’s will, National Archive, PRO11/135, p. 1.

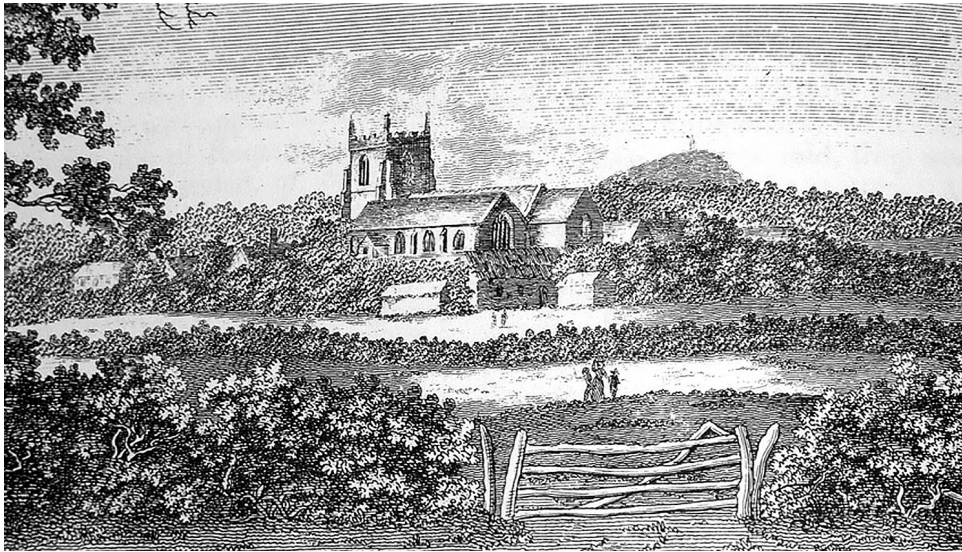


Fig. 7. Ratby Parish Church, c.1811. (Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. IV, part 2 (1811), pt. CLXI, p. 883.)

THE DEATH OF HENRY SACHEVERELL

The registers of Morley, Derbyshire record that in '1620 June 15 Old Henry Sacheverell Esquier Died'.⁵⁹ On his tomb in Ratby Church (see Fig. 1), the inscription states that he died at the precise age of '72 years, four months and twelve days'. His funeral certificate reveals no new information, its interest being mainly in its mistakes.

Henry Sacheverell was buried in a prominent position of high status next to the altar in Ratby church (presumably using Protestant Funeral Offices). This suggests that he had either become genuinely reconciled to the religious changes or assumed the pretence that he had converted. In 1632 a 'fair monument' (Fig. 1) was erected in the chancel in his memory, by his sons Ferdinando (who had already died in 1629) and Valence.⁶⁰ The tomb resembles the Sacheverell tombs in Ratcliffe on Soar, and may have used the same stone, quarried at Tupton near Chesterfield.⁶¹ The effigy is of alabaster. The inscription panel above the effigy is of Groby slate. The top and bottom panels are of slate and shelly limestone from Derbyshire, with fine sections through the shells.⁶²

Henry's wife, Jane, died on 14 March 1624, aged 67 years. There is a monument to her in the Lady Chapel in Ashbourne Church. It comprises a lozenge bearing the

⁵⁹ Kerry, Rev. Charles, 'Notes on the Registers of Morley and Smalley', *Journal of the Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 1 (1879), p. 84.

⁶⁰ Nichols, J. (1811), *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. IV, part 2 (1811), p. 888.

⁶¹ Report on the Tomb by Skillington Workshops, Grantham in the Ratby Church Archive.

⁶² Courtesy of Helen Boynton (personal communication with Horace Gamble).

Bradburn coat of arms beneath a tablet to Jane Sacheverell.⁶³ There is no reference to her husband, Henry Sacheverell.

FAMILY RECONCILIATION

There is no evidence of reconciliation between Henry Sacheverell and members of the Bradburn family. However, his marital breakdown did not completely sever relationships between the children of his two families. In his will of 13 July 1659,⁶⁴ Henry's son, Jacinth, left his brother-in-law, William Mucklowe, of Areley Regis in Worcestershire, £50 for being an executor. He also gave 'one half of all my plate to the children of my brother-in-law, William Mucklowe esquire, to be equally divided among them'. This, despite the fact that, in 1622, William Mucklowe had married Frances Sacheverell, daughter of Henry and his mistress, Elizabeth Kayes.⁶⁵ Also in his will, Jacinth gave 'unto Mr. William Keyes (sic), my godson, five pounds'. Jacinth was a profoundly committed Roman Catholic (see below). The fact that he chose a member of the Kayes family to be an executor of his will, and was asked to be godfather to William Keyes, suggests that the Kayes family were also Catholic.

In his will of 17 October 1618, two years before the death of his father, Victorin Sacheverell, who had been 'disobedient in several respects' (see above), described how he had received a lease on Kiddersley Park, which would come to him 'after the decease of my loving father, Mr. Henry Sacheverell of New Hall in Warwickshire'.⁶⁶ It is possible that Victorin, who was to receive only £20, might have used the phrase 'loving father' ironically.

THE CHOICE OF OLD HAYS AND THE VICAR OF RATBY

The question remains as to why Henry chose Old Hays, Ratby for his home with Elizabeth Kayes and their children? It has been observed that recusancy was mainly confined to rural and undeveloped areas of the country, where privacy and anonymity could be maintained.⁶⁷ Perhaps this was Henry Sacheverell's motive and maybe there was also a vicar in Ratby sympathetic to the Catholic cause?

The vicar of Ratby between 1580 and 1610 was William White. In 1603, James I instituted a National Survey of churches and their incumbents, to be carried out by a Parliamentary Visitation. Priests, churchwardens and parishioners were required to respond to questions about the facilities and support available to the incumbent; about his qualities and competence; whether he held controversial, even treasonable beliefs; and how far recusancy was present in the community.

⁶³ Bradburn, M., 'The Bradburns of Derbyshire, Pt. II', *Derbyshire Family History Society Branch News*, Issue 77 (1996), pp. 34–5.

⁶⁴ National Archives, PROB/11/367.

⁶⁵ Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 4, part 2 (1811), p. 888, footnote 9.

⁶⁶ National Archives, PROB/11/174.

⁶⁷ Welch, C. E., 'Early Non-Conformity in Leicestershire', *Trans. Leics. Arch. and Hist. Soc.* 37 (1961–62), p. 30.

William White, the vicar of Ratby, replied that there were 200 communicants in the parish and no recusants.⁶⁸ This suggests that Henry Sacheverell and Elizabeth Kayes, who were both resident at Old Hays, Ratby by 1603, were not recusants. Nor does Henry Sacheverell's name appear amongst the lists of recusants in Leicestershire⁶⁹ or in the Archdeaconry of Leicester.⁷⁰ Indeed, there were no male and only two female recusants named in the 1603 returns in the Sparkenhoe Deanery, which included Ratby.⁷¹ Simmons commented that, in the case of Leicestershire, 'there were few English counties in which recusancy was so negligible'.⁷²

A summary of the returns of the 1603 Parliamentary Visitation to Ratby⁷³ described William White as 'unlicensed' and a 'non-graduate'. It might be assumed from this that his license had been withdrawn, because of his Roman Catholic practices. However, it was not unusual for vicars to be 'unlicensed' and 'non-graduates'. In the Archdeaconry of Leicester, 50 preachers were licensed, whilst 89 were not licensed and 47 unspecified.⁷⁴ None of the preachers in the Archdeaconry of Leicester were identified as recusants.⁷⁵ Therefore, there is no evidence that Henry Sacheverell would have moved to Old Hays because of the religious preferences of the vicar of Ratby. Information from the 'Clergy List' in Ratby Parish Church shows that William White remained vicar in Ratby until his death in January 1610.

THE SUICIDE OF WILLIAM WHITE

Uncertainty about Henry Sacheverell's religious affiliation towards the end of his life is further compounded by his attendance, along with 'Henry, Lord Grey of Groby, Edward Gainsford of Bradgate, William Wattes, tailor of Bow Street, London and Anne Watts, his wife, John Stafford, gent. and others', at a trial at the Star Chamber following William White's death by suicide in 1610. The above were called to give evidence concerning the 'unlawful concealment of the goods of William White, vicar of Ratby, who committed suicide'.⁷⁶ The plaintiffs were Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely and the King's Almoner. The trial raises suspicion that certain objects were hidden to conceal evidence of William White's and, by implication, Henry Sacheverell's adoption of Roman Catholic religious practices. The result of the trial

⁶⁸ Moore, A. P., 'Subsidies of the Clergy in the Archdeaconry of Leicester in the 17th Century', in *Leicester Architectural and Archaeological Soc.* 27 (No date), pp. 445–95.

⁶⁹ Trappes-Lomas, T. B., 'Roman Catholics in Leicestershire', in Pugh, R. B., *The Victoria History of the County of Leicestershire*, vol. 2 (1969), pp. 55–73.

⁷⁰ Foster, C. W., *The State of the Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, as illustrated by documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln*, The Lincoln Record Society, vol. 1 (1926), pp. lxxvi–ii.

⁷¹ Foster, C. W. (1926), op. cit., p. 445.

⁷² Simmons, J., *Leicester Past and Present, Volume 1: Ancient Borough to 1860*, Eyre Methuen, London (1974), p. 62.

⁷³ Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 1 (1795), pp. xcvi–xcviii. (Nichols suggested a date of 1650 for this survey but William White, who responded on behalf of Ratby Church, died in 1610. Moore, A. P. (op. cit.) provides further evidence to suggest that the 1650 date was incorrect.)

⁷⁴ Foster, C. W., op. cit. (1926), pp. lvii.

⁷⁵ Foster, C. W., op. cit. (1926), pp. lvii.

⁷⁶ National Archives, STAC 8 2 43.

was inconclusive. No inventory of the concealed goods was identified, nor was Henry Sacheverell convicted of any offence. The idea that Henry Sacheverell chose to buy Old Hays because of the presence of a priest, sympathetic to the Catholic cause, is therefore unproven but still remains open. The remoteness and privacy of Old Hays is a plausible explanation.

HENRY SACHEVERELL: RECUSANT CATHOLIC OR REFORMED PROTESTANT?

The religious tumult of the late sixteenth century left many families bitterly divided. Even though the Sacheverell family was traditionally Roman Catholic, Henry Sacheverell's own children were split. Jacinth Sacheverell's epitaph in Latin, on his tomb in Morley Church, shows that he remained a devout Roman Catholic to the end⁷⁷ (Appendix 3). His sister, Abigail, was charged with recusancy in 1632.⁷⁸ In contrast, their younger brother, Jonathas, died a Protestant, reputedly the first of the Sacheverells to use the English prayer book. His epitaph (in English!) on his monument in Morley Church states that 'he was pious, charitable and a true lover of his friends ... who died a true Protestant in the faith of Jesus Christ'. Similarly, Henry's illegitimate son, Ferdinando, married Lucy Hastings, the granddaughter of Sir Edmund Hastings, a strong promoter of the Protestant cause in Leicester,⁷⁹ whilst Henry's grandson (i.e. Valence's son, George) became 'an enthusiastic Jacobite'.⁸⁰

Unfortunately, unlike Jacinth and Jonathas, there is no formal statement of Henry Sacheverell's religious affiliation. However, his refusal to sign the Oath of Supremacy, even at the cost of his matriculation; his marriage into a strongly Catholic family, the Bradburns; his support for Edmund Campion (1580–81); and the presence of William Harrison, a Catholic priest, at Hopwell Hall in 1581 all suggest that he retained his Roman Catholic faith throughout his early adult life. Nevertheless, even as early as the 1570s, he had experienced the heavy costs of rebellion when his father's land was forfeited to the Crown. During the 1580s, he was arrested for his faith and turned informer. He also witnessed the brutal punishments meted out to Edmund Campion and Anthony Babington. By the 1590s, despite being a member of committed Catholic families, including the Kayes (see above), he seems to have chosen to accommodate his behaviour to the new religious values. His involvement in many public duties, his absence from recusancy lists, and the lack of direct statements of religious affiliation in both his will and his epitaph, albeit the latter written in Latin, suggest that he had decided to adopt a pragmatic, 'schismatic' approach,⁸¹ by not revealing his true beliefs in public and by being guarded in his dealings with authority. He was probably one of the large

⁷⁷ Cox, J. C., *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire, Vol. IV, The Hundred of Morleston and Litchurch: and General Supplement*, Palmer and Edmunds, Chesterfield (1879), pp. 336–7.

⁷⁸ Webster, L. Anderson, 'Unrecognised Recusant', *The Tablet* (18 May 1957), p. 9.

⁷⁹ Simmons, J., *Leicester Past and Present, Volume 1: Ancient Borough to 1860* (Eyre Methuen, London, 1974), p. 62.

⁸⁰ Riland Bedford, W. K., *The History of Sutton Coldfield: 1850–1892*.

⁸¹ Trappes-Lomas, T. B., 'Roman Catholics in Leicestershire', in Pugh, R. B., *The Victoria History of the County of Leicestershire*, vol. 2 (1969), p. 58.

number of ‘church papists’ who, whilst not abandoning the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, conformed to the new religion by attending his parish church in Ratby. This, in return, provided him with a burial in its chancel. It seems that he had learned much from his father’s cautionary experience.

There is one final piece of anecdotal evidence from a former resident at Old Hays. Between 1913 and 1920, the farm was occupied by the Ernest Edward Hallam and his family. One day, his young daughter, Margaret, fell into the moat and hit her leg on a hard object. On lifting it out of the water, she discovered that it was a silver crucifix, together with other silver objects in a sack. According to the story, the objects were taken to Ratby Church, where her father was a churchwarden.⁸² As yet, no evidence has been found to confirm the validity or otherwise of this episode.⁸³

WHAT HAPPENED TO ELIZABETH KAYES AFTER THE DEATH OF HENRY

There are no references to Elizabeth Kayes after Henry’s death. Was she still alive when her eldest son, Ferdinando, died in 1629? If she was, did she continue living at Old Hays, did she go to live with Valence at New Hall, Sutton Coldfield, with Frances at Areley Regis, or with other members of the Kayes family at Hopwell Hall? There are no Kayes/Keyes entries in the Ratby Church registers,⁸⁴ neither does she appear amongst the Kayes/Keyes entries in the registers of St Chad’s, Wilne (see Fig. 8), which was used by the Kayes family of Hopwell Hall.⁸⁵

The terms of Henry’s will enabled Elizabeth to remain at Old Hays after his death. The births of Henry and Ferdinando Sacheverell, sons of Ferdinando, were recorded in Ratby Parish Registers in 1624 and 1627.⁸⁶ The burials of Ferdinando and his son Henry were similarly recorded in 1629 and 1632 respectively.⁸⁷ The last ‘Sacheverell’ entry in the Ratby registers records the death of ‘William, son of Ferdinando’ in 1641, after which there are no surviving church records until 1681. There is evidence that Elizabeth Kayes’s grandson, Ferdinando, aged 20 years, was still living at Old Hays in 1647, where he was receiving tuition from Peter Barwick.⁸⁸ This suggests that the Sacheverell family, possibly including Elizabeth Kayes, remained at Old Hays until at least 1647. She might have had an important role in helping to look after her two grandchildren, Ferdinando and Lucy Sacheverell, after the death of their father in 1629. If her death in Ratby occurred between 1641 and 1681, it would not have been recorded because of the Civil War. Parish records

⁸² Personal memories of Helen Rachel Hallam, sister of Margaret Hallam.

⁸³ Enquiries to Leicester and Leicestershire Museums and Ratby Church have drawn a blank.

⁸⁴ Wilshere, J., *Ratby Parish Register Transcripts and Reconstructions, 1624–1812*, Chamberlaine Music and Books, Leicester (1989).

⁸⁵ Henry and Jane Sacheverell’s children were baptised (1578–84), and Kayes Family births were registered in Wilne Church (after 1621).

⁸⁶ Wilshere, J., *Ratby Parish Register Transcripts and Reconstructions, 1624–1812*, Chamberlaine Music and Books, Leicester (1989), p. 1.

⁸⁷ Wilshere, J. (1989), *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸⁸ Nichols, J. (1811), *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 4, part 2, p. 888, footnote 5.



Fig. 8. St Chad's Church, Wilne, Derbyshire (© the author).

during that period were similarly neglected for 13 years at St Chad's, Wilne: 'Here hath beene 13 yeares of the Register Booke neglected.'⁸⁹ However, the full truth of her life after Henry's death may never be known.

The presence of Henry Sacheverell and his family at Old Hays, between 1603 and c.1647, brought the village of Ratby and its church to the centre of early-seventeenth century religious conflict in Leicestershire. Henry's life history shows that, at this time, relationships with authority, family and the community were fraught with danger, and had to be negotiated carefully in order to survive. His story also illustrates the complexity of religious and marital choices both within and between families. Henry Sacheverell's survival to the age of '72 years, four months and twelve days' is testimony to his resilience and survival skills in perilous times.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors wish to thank Michael Ball for his help in discovering evidence of the suicide of William White, vicar of Ratby (1590–1610).

⁸⁹ Entry in the Church Wilne Parish Registers.

APPENDIX 1
 EPITAPH OF HENRY SACHEVERELL:
*c.*1620 IN RATBY CHURCH

(Translated by Maureen Harwood and Charles Paterson)

'En tibi ludibrium Fatorum Sacheverellum
Here for you is Saxheverell, the sport of the Fates
 Dum vixit; cineres haec tegit urna brevis.
while he lived; this small urn covers this ashes.
 Victima curarum, Fortunae tristis imago,
The victim of cares, the sad reflection of Fortune
 Hic jacet Henricus Sacheverellus homo;
Here lies Henry Sacheverell; a man;
 Mutavi tumulo (felix mutatio) mundum;
I have exchanged the world for a tomb (happy exchange);
 Attingo portum quo mihi cursus erat.
I approach the harbour where my journey was leading me.
 Sic Deus indulisit finem curisque malisque,
In this way, God has made a soft end to cares and evils,
 Mortales lites sic jubet esse fori.
and so orders mortal laws to be set aside to be judged.
 Invide quid doleas mea molliter ossa cubare?
Do you envy that my bones now rest softly from what you suffer?
 Linquo tibi mundum. linque mihi tumulum.
I leave you the world; leave the tomb to me.
 Nam tumulum invidet si quis finemque laborum,
because anyone who envies the tomb and the end of labour,
 Talis cura sibi sit sine fine precor.
I pray may have such care without end.
 Praestitit hic tumulus requiem quam vita negavit;
This tomb provides the rest that life denied;
 Ergo nec plores, nec mea fata gemas.
Therefore do not weep nor bemoan my fate.
 Pace fruor; lacrymae procul hinc discedite tristes;
I enjoy peace; Sad tears be banned far from here;
 Hinc fletus, vivis convenit iste dolor.
That pain is right for the living.
 Spes fallax, dubiae lites, rigidique dolores,
False hope, doubtful laws, persistent sorrows,
 Clausa sub hae saxi singula mole jacent.
lie sealed beneath this single block of stone.
 Nil ultra Fortuna potest; nil cura laboro.
Fate can do nothing more; I suffer no pain.
 Sed neque vim mundus, mors ubi rexit habet,
The world has no power, once death has ruled,
 Flenda dies ortus, succedens flebilis aetas,
The day of birth brings tears, followed by a sorrowful life,
 Sola quiescendi tempora finis habet'.
The end is the only time of peace.

APPENDIX 2

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF HENRY SACHEVERELL
(1616) REGARDING THE SACHEVERELL FUND

‘and I Will and bequeath £100 to purchase land in fee simple to the value of £5 by the year or so much as shall conveniently be bought and I Will that after the purchase thereof the yearly rent, revenues, issues and profit thereof, shall be, forever, bestowed yearly upon the Feast Day of St. John Baptist upon the Poor of the said Parish where my body shall be buried and in the meantime and until such land may be so purchased I will that the yearly sum of six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence shall be so disposed and that such disposition shall be by such person or persons so shall succeed me in my principal house in the said Parish and by the Parson (or) Vicar and churchwarden there for the time being or the more parts of them’. (Henry Sacheverell’s will)

APPENDIX 3

EPITAPH ON JACINTH SACHEVERELL’S TOMB
IN MORLEY CHURCH

Ille
Papam humaniter Christum religiose colens,
Fidem Romanum orthodoxam charitatem tenens.

Worshipping the Pope as Christ’s representative on earth,
Holding the Orthodox Roman faith and love of God.

(Translation: Maureen Harwood)

