

Biography & Epitaph of Ralph Sheldon c.1537, d.1613

Early Years

Ralph, son of William Sheldon and Mary Willington, was born around 1537, the eldest son and fifth child. His life before his marriage to Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton Court, in 1557, is shadowy.¹ According to the epitaph, supposedly composed by his son but almost certainly very much later in date, placed above the tomb Ralph built for himself in Beoley church, Worcestershire, he attended Oxford university, travelled abroad ‘in France and other parts’ and spent some time at the Queen’s court.² The records of Oxford University, however, contain no entry of his matriculation while lists of Oriel College admissions do not include his name.³ Only one, ambiguous, reference suggests he might have travelled, briefly on the continent; it was the words of the epitaph which led E.A.B. Barnard to offer the unsubstantiated suggestion that his companion was Richard Hyckes, later manager of the tapestry venture for which William Sheldon set out provisions in his will.⁴ Ralph’s attendance at Court remains both unrecorded and improbable. The one fact about his youth that is documented, his attendance at the Middle Temple, which he entered in

¹ Ralph was said to be aged 33 in his father’s inquisition post mortem TNA C 142/159/87; his marriage was arranged on 16 May 1557, TNA WARD 7/ 13/135, exactly reflecting Birmingham Archives and Heritage (BAH), Barnard Miscellany 77/D/1 quoting deeds copied by Rees Price at Coughton Court, no. 811. The original is no longer in the Coughton papers at Warwickshire County Record Office, CR 1998. The marriage was to take place before the 30 June following; the dowry was to be 700 marks and the trustees were named as Edward Plowden, Francis Savage, Anthony Pollard and Robert Brayne, the sons-in-law of William Sheldon. The trustee lands were the manors of Brailes, Beoley, Combe Baskerville, Over and Nether Westcott and Weston and lands in Weston and Long Compton, for 60 years should Anne live so long; she died in 1603.

² E.A.B. Barnard, *The Sheldons*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 41, (reprinted 2013).

³ J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 3 vols, London 1892; Oriel College Admissions.

⁴ E.A.B. Barnard & A.J.B.Wace, ‘The Sheldon Weavers and their work’, *Archaeologia*, vol.78, 1928, p.259. Reference to ‘young Sheldon’ occurs in letters of 1555, *Cal State Papers Venetian* 1555-56, nos 284-5. The identification with Ralph is not absolutely clear and should be treated with caution.

1556 and where he is likely still to have been in 1558, was omitted from the tomb inscription and is not mentioned in any biography.⁵



Whatever the truth, one way or another Ralph received at least part of the standard education of gentry sons. His marriage in 1557 into an old-established landed family, staunch Catholics, can only have enhanced his own social standing at least locally. His father's astute gauging of the changing political scene on the accession of Queen Elizabeth (1558) and his second marriage around 1555, to the mother of the first wife of Ambrose Dudley, younger brother of Robert, later earl of Leicester, ensured useful political contacts at the highest level. They would have replaced those lost when Nicholas Heath, Ralph's relative through his grandmother, was deprived in 1559 of the Chancellorship and of the see of York.⁶ One of Ralph's first tasks was to bring about his own father-in-law's resignation from the post of keeper of Warwick castle and hand the office over to Robert Dudley.⁷ Ralph took his father's place when he was elected knight of the shire for Worcestershire in 1563.⁸ He was secure enough in Dudley's favour to be able to call on his influence as Chancellor of Oxford University in 1566 when Ralph sought the lease of the manor of Dean, Oxon., from the Fellows of Oriel College. It was granted to him because of Dudley's intervention.⁹ Little else is known about Ralph's activities for the rest of the decade; he was, presumably, still overshadowed by his father.

His independent, and his public, life began at the age of 33 on the death of his father in December 1570; the will laid down elaborate precautions for the preservation, as for the division, of the estates between the two sons, Ralph and

⁵ Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, ed. H.A.C. Sturgess, 3 vols, London 1949, vol. i, sv anno 1556.

⁶ William Whorwood, in S.T.Bindoff, *Members of the House of Commons 1509-1558*, HMSO 1982; Nicholas Heath, *ibid.*

⁷ S.L.Adams, 'Because I am of that Countrye and Mynde to Plante Myself There'; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and the West Midlands', *Midland History*, 20, 1995, 21-74.

⁸ P.W.Hasler, *Members of the House of Commons 1558-1603*, sv Sheldon; this entry contains several inaccuracies.

⁹ The Dean's Register of Oriel College 1446-1661, ed. G.C.Richards and H.E.Salter, *Oxford Historical Society*, vol. lxxxiv, 1926, p. 156.

William, for the portions allotted to his daughters and to Margaret their step-mother.¹⁰ Licence to enter on his lands was granted on 9 March 1571 and almost immediately thereafter Ralph became involved in the day to day administration of Worcestershire. He had already served on the commission of musters in 1569 for Worcestershire and, in the same county, on post mortem commissions.¹¹ In 1573 he was named along with a member of Leicester's household, John Tracy of Toddington, as an arbitrator in an inheritance dispute in a family to which he was related, the Catesbys; the next year he was amongst those ordered by the Privy Council to 'take some paines' to end the controversy between Sir John Conwey of Arrow and others about common land belonging to Sir John.¹² In 1576 Ralph was pricked as sheriff of Worcester and served on further commissions.¹³

The Complications of Conviction

The question of Ralph's religious beliefs remains unclear. His early upbringing was more Protestant than Catholic; if he had been truly a Catholic, it is curious that he was sent abroad in 1555. There is no reason to think, as is often said, that he converted on his marriage in 1557, when in any case it would have been politic to profess Catholicism; mixed marriages were far from unusual throughout the C16 and at least in the early years of Elizabeth's reign it was unnecessary for any man to reveal his true convictions.¹⁴ It is perfectly possible that, like his father, he never made his position clear. Exactly when, and even if, his beliefs came to matter is unknown; his problems as a Catholic did not follow either the arrival in England of

¹⁰ TNA PROB 11/53/79.

¹¹ TNA SP12/63; *CPR 1569-1572*, no.2191, 3002, 3036.

¹² *CSPD 1547-80*, 458; *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed J. Dasent, viii, p.313, November 15 1574.

¹³ B.Lib. Harleian Ms 1043, f.52-53; *CPR 1575-78*, no.353 (5.11.76); *Inquisition post mortem* nos.242,1922.

¹⁴ Ralph's 'conversion' based on his marriage was first suggested by Barnard, *op.cit.*; see also S.L.Adams, "Because I am of that Countrye..", note 7; Turner, Hilary L., 'Ralph Sheldon (1537-1613) of Beoley and Weston : cloaked in conformity?' *British Catholic History* (2019), vol. 34(4), pp. 562–586;

http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/ralph_sheldon_15371613_of_beoley_and_weston_cloaked_in_conformity.pdf

Mary Queen of Scots in 1568¹⁵ or the papal bull *Regnans* (1570), which declared Elizabeth excommunicate and released her subjects from obedience to her, but may have prompted deeper thought. Accidentally omitted from the surveys of recusants ordered in 1577, the arrival of the Jesuit mission caused him to be summoned in August 1580 to appear before the Privy Council at Oatlands, implying he was already suspect.¹⁶ Also summoned were the catholic Lords Paget and Compton and Thomas Throckmorton of Coughton, his brother in law. Ralph was sent to the Marshalsea prison from which he was removed in November after his wife's plea of sickness. He was placed in the care of the Dean of Westminster, Gabriel Goodman, who had been instructed to talk to Sheldon and bring him to the right way of thinking; in other words, house arrest and persuasion was to be used to bring him into the Anglican church. In early January Sheldon promised 'to yield himself dutiful and to repair to church.'¹⁷ A later, catholic, account records the circumstances of his submission along with Paget's; Sheldon's decision to conform was, supposedly, celebrated in the streets of London by a libellous rhyming couplet which attributed his lapse from the faith to his liking for worldly wealth - 'Sheldon is fallen and do you know why/Through oves and boves and pecora campi' - 'sheep, cows and the herds of the field'.¹⁸

Quite what prompted his decision to conform at least outwardly is unknown; it may well have been dictated by expediency.¹⁹ The depth of his beliefs must remain in doubt, though the suspicion that he quietly supported Catholics hung over him for the rest of his life, sometimes little more than an insult, sometimes a serious threat to his way of life. In December 1583, caught in the arrests made as part of the Arden plot, a

¹⁵ Reference to a Mr Sheldon as an agent of Mary Queen of Scots soon after her arrival in England - *CSPD Addenda 1566-1579*, p.236, HMSO 1871 - is almost certainly to a member of another family, possibly that living at Ashbourne, Derbyshire; a Sheldon family was in the service of the earl of Shrewsbury there, *Catalogue of Shrewsbury Papers in Lambeth Palace Library*, ed. E.G.W.Bill, 1966, *Derbyshire Arch Soc Record Series*, 1965, Ms 704, ff.104-110.

¹⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council*, xii, p.166, henceforth *APC*.

¹⁷ *APC 1580-81*, p. 254-55, 301-02.

¹⁸ *Catholic Record Society*, Miscellanea II, 1906, The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, ed. Rev J.H.Pollen, p. 27 ; *CRS*, IV, 1907, p.5.

¹⁹ A letter of 1579 sometimes said to be addressed to Sheldon from the priest George Williams then in France asking to be told if there were any ships that could transport him to Ireland or to Scotland, was actually directed to a Mr Shelton at Rouen, *CSPD 1547-1580*, p.633, SP 12/132, no. 10, f.22.

priest, Hugh Hall, confessed that he had said mass at Sheldon's house and had for the past fourteen years been living in turn there and with John Talbot of Grafton, Sir John Throckmorton at Feckenham and Lord Windsor at Hewell Grange.²⁰ Two years later, Sir John Russell of Strensham, former husband of Sheldon's eldest daughter Elizabeth, threw the charge of Catholic practices at him. Unafraid, Ralph answered, in court as he claimed to have done in life, that he was unashamed of his beliefs and thought himself as good a man as any other.²¹ Russell's plan to ambush his father in law had misfired; only by abusing him as a papist Russell could even hope the authorities might take notice. They did not and Russell's challenge did not result in any penalties. Late in 1586 a Worcester clothier, Thomas Morley, voiced his fears that the family had too much influence locally in a letter to the privy councilor Sir Francis Walsingham.²² Early in 1587 Ralph was presented to the Assizes as a suspected recusant; in mid-June he was once again before the Privy Council; payment to the clerk to testify to his appearance is recorded in his personal account book.²³ In September he was formally convicted as a recusant, partly because the jurors were browbeaten.²⁴ Yet though he was the target of government attention he suffered only brief penalties and no restrictions. His only experience of house arrest was in 1580-81 and he was not amongst those 'interned' at Ely, Banbury, Wisbech and Broughton at

²⁰ *CSPD 1581-90*, pp. 128,129, 138, 142. Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, Yale 2005, p.115, notes Hugh Hall as the author of a gardening treatise, British Library, Ms Royal 18.C.III. Hall, supposedly a monk at Bordesley, is not listed amongst the monks at the Dissolution, *VCH Worcestershire*, ii, 154 and Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, 'The Recusancy of Sir Thomas Cornwallis', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, vol. xxviii, 1961, 226-271, esp. p.244-47. In a similar context, it seems unlikely that Ralph was ignorant of the presence in Brailles around 1600 of Anthony Sherlock, the Appellant priest who betrayed Father Garnett, Philip Caraman, *Henry Garnett 1555-1606*, London 1964, p.342-3.

²¹ TNA STAC 5/R12/34; STAC 5/S15/38; STAC 5/R41/32; L.J.Hotson, *I, William Shakespeare*, London 1937, pp. 29-34.

²² *CSPD 1581-1590*, no.35, p. 369.

²³ *APC 1587-88*, vol xi, p. 137; Sheldon's personal account book for the years 1586-88, Sotheby's London, 15 December 1987, lot 228, is at Warwickshire County Record Office WaCRO CR 2632 f. 76.

²⁴ Alan Davidson, 'The Recusancy of Ralph Sheldon', *Worcestershire Recusant*, vol. 12 Dec. 1968, 1-7 told this story but omitted the evidence for coercion of the jury recorded in TNA SP 12/206, f.175, no.83.

the time of the Armada or later;²⁵ only between 1587 and 1589 are there any records of payment of fines for recusancy.²⁶ He more than complied with the orders that Catholics should supply at their own cost arms and a man for the defence of the realm, at least in his own county; he was less happy to fulfill the obligation on a house at which, he claimed, he was only briefly staying.²⁷

The greatest question mark about Sheldon's loyalty was the allegation that he would be willing to finance a plot which came to light late in July 1594 when the confessions of Henry Young and two malcontents in the armies in the Netherlands, Richard Williams and Edmund Yorke, claimed that Sheldon was in touch with the influential Cardinal Allen. One of Sheldon's servants, Edward Williams, was said to have left England on pretence of fetching hawks from Ireland to deliver letters. The plot extended to killing the Queen and offering the throne to the earl of Derby. Sheldon was examined and his house searched. The articles for Sheldon's interrogation included questions about his contacts with English fugitives, what books and libels against the state he had in his hands, what he knew of his former servant Williams to whom he is supposed to have declared that he wished the catholic religion restored, about priests at his house and the celebration of mass there.²⁸ It was noted

²⁵ In saying Sheldon was regularly under house arrest Jonathan Bate and Dora Thornton, *Shakespeare Staging the World*, London 2012, p.61 misquote Brendan Minney's now dated 'The Sheldons of Beoley', *Worcestershire Recusant*, vol. 5 May 1965, pp.1-17; Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, London 1960, p.421.

²⁶ TNA E 401/1842-1846, 1587-89, Pells Rolls; a payment is recorded in WaCRO, CR 2632, f.185.

²⁷ Sheldon served on the Worcestershire muster commission in 1569 (TNA SP12/65) but not on that for 1588 as Hasler, *The House of Commons*; BLib, Lansdowne, 56, f.168; he was, however, one of the six highest Warwickshire contributors of arms in August 1588 when he provided a man and 3 lance and 2 light horse, together with £50 in cash, TNA SP12/214, WaCRO CR 2632, fo115, 207, 208. An idea of his own small arms also emerges from those accounts, fos. 31, 45, 64, 83; John Smith, *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire 1608*, Alan Sutton 1980, p.84. Both Griffith and his brother Robert Jones, keeper of the accounts, later tutored Edward's children, BAH Ms 3061/Acc1901-003/167982, receiving lands in Beoley, Ms 3061/Acc1901-003/167697. Protest against the levy from Molesey, Surrey, LM/COR/3/419, 421, 427, 428. In 1600 and 1601 he was again required to furnish a horse and man, *APC* 30, 439, *APC* 32,282. The following year he contributed to a 'loan' requested by the queen to defray the enormous expenses of the previous year, SP 12/223/ ff.56-57.

²⁸ *CSPD 1591-94*, p.531-2, 540-548, 554, 555, 559, SP 12/250 f.1r-1v, 3r-3v. For a full account see Hilary L. Turner, 'Ralph Sheldon (1537-1613) of Beoley and Weston : cloaked in conformity?' *British*

that he came to church; his servant Williams said that Sheldon had succeeded in quashing his conviction of 1587 by appealing to Lord Chancellor Hatton who attested to Sheldon's sighting at church in London.²⁹ Others in his circle were also named including Thomas Throckmorton his brother in law and William Bishop at nearby Wolford. The case collapsed; no charges were pursued and no penalties were imposed, least of all demands for payment of recusancy fines as so often said³⁰ his name is absent from the Recusant Rolls.³¹

It was not the last of Ralph's brushes with the law. In August 1603, close to the time of the visit of the Spanish ambassador Taxis, charged with making peace, Sir Richard Lewkenor, Chief Justice of Chester, was shown letters taken by an over-zealous bailiff at Ludlow from Francis Plowden, Sheldon's nephew. They seemed to the Justice, because they were 'somewhat misticall and dark', to indicate another plot. If one existed, nothing is known to have come of it and, six months later without any further problems, permission to travel abroad was given to Plowden and to Sheldon's grandson, William.³² More probably, and like many others, Sheldon may have had high hopes of a change in policies with the accession of James VI and had been involved in the manoeuvrings towards greater toleration. Though it was the distantly related Robert Catesby who conceived the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 neither Ralph nor any member of his immediate family was ever mentioned in connection with it; Jane Tasburgh, Ralph's second wife, however, was examined.³³

Catholic History, (2019), vol. 34(4), pp. 562–586;

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²⁹ *CSPD 1591-94*, p. 545 for his supposed links to Lord Chancellor Hatton and p. 548; Alan Davidson, 'Edward Williams of Oxford: a Sheldon servant', *Worcestershire Recusant*, vol. 25, June 1975, pp.2-4. No evidence substantiates the relationship as nephew of Sheldon; it was a courtesy title.

³⁰ Hasler, *House of Commons*, biography of Ralph Sheldon.

³¹ Hugh Bowler, ed., *Recusant Roll No. 3 (1594-1595), and Recusant Roll No. 4 (1595-1596)*, CRS 61 1970.

³² *CSPD 1603-10*, p. 26, 27, 110. In 1608 William met with William Trumbull, the English agent in Brussels, who had been instructed to hand over to him a jewel left in his safekeeping, for which he was later thanked by Sir John Throckmorton, *Hist Mss Comm Report on the Mss of the Marquess of Downshire at Easthampstead Park, Berks*, vol. ii, 1936, ed. E.K.Putnell and A.B.Hinds, p. 68, 69, 196.

³³ Antonia Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot*, 1997, p.188.

Sheldon seems to have been sufficiently well regarded to be considered above disloyalty, despite the fact that he maintained contacts with Catholic circles, some of them incautious. One such contact, the money-lender and recusant Thomas Horde of Cote, Oxfordshire, dogged him for years, the story told in his will.³⁴ In 1580 bishop Whitgift estimated Sheldon's annual income at 1000 marks; he might well have been in need of ready cash. Certainly he became entangled with the Catholic money-lender Thomas Horde, normally resident in London, who entrapped Sheldon with false promises of future gains into loans over a period of some fourteen years. Each of the eight loans was guaranteed by a recognizance acknowledged in Chancery to third parties for Horde's 'better securitie'; repayment was by rent charges on Sheldon lands. The account book notes outgoings for the paperwork together with receipt and repayment of various sums.³⁵ Horde's aim was to increase his own income and to keep his own fortune and estates hidden. Sheldon also sheltered Horde at Weston for twelve years from 1588/89. Serious trouble began in 1599 when the parties quarreled and Horde departed. Next year, having long defaulted on his recusancy payments, Horde was finally declared a convicted recusant. Horde must have pressed for payment, possibly even have declared the long unpaid recognizances forfeit. Though repayments were agreed by the mediation of friends Horde repudiated the agreement; Sheldon took the case to Chancery. The matter came to the attention of Sir Edward Coke, Attorney-General, who then brought a case in the Exchequer Court against all the participants, arguing that Horde had attempted to defraud the Crown of revenues justly belonging to it and that, as a principle, recognizances should be treated as goods. They could then be seized from any recusant who defaulted on his fines, as Horde had, and be forfeit to the Crown.³⁶ Coke won his case. Sheldon's lands were taken into the king's hands and he was required to pay to the Crown the monies he

³⁴ Sheldon's version in his will, TNA PROB 11/121/ 345; for Horde, see *Victoria County History, Oxfordshire*, ed. A Crossley, vol. 13, p. 67, 1992 and *Recusant Roll 1592-3*, Catholic Record Society, vol 18, p.254; Whitgift's estimate Lambeth Palace, Carte Antique, IV, no.183, f.3.

³⁵ Payments in WaCRO 2632, f.103 et passim.

³⁶ http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=Sheldon#Ralph_Sheldon_.281537-1613.29_and_Thomas_Horde_.281533-1607.29

had owed Horde.³⁷ Payment of a composition of £2,600 was arranged in November 1612 and his lands returned.³⁸

None of Ralph's troubles seems to have dented his reputation or resulted in his being regarded as a serious threat to the realm. In 1596 Sir John Harington wrote in the *Apology for Ajax* that 'he heard one that was a great courtier say that he thought Sheldon one of the sufficientest wise men of England and fittest to have been made one of the Council, but for one matter' [his religion].³⁹ Sheldon's near neighbour, Thomas Habington, described him as a quiet, serious and studious man.⁴⁰ In 1603, for no immediately obvious reason, Sheldon wrote to Sir Robert Cecil thanking him for past kindnesses from himself and from his father, Sir William, Lord Burghley. A gift was offered which was, presumably, accepted; Sheldon did not say what it was, describing it as a 'trifle'.⁴¹ In the same decade Sir Thomas Bodley, through Sheldon's old friend Anthony Blencowe, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, obtained the services of Sheldon's chainman as the smith who would manufacture the chains to secure the books in Bodley's new library in Oxford to which Sheldon later made a donation of

³⁷ A brief account of the entanglement is outlined in Hilary L. Turner, 'An early map of Brailes', *Warwickshire History*, Summer 2001, vol.xi, no.5, 182-193.

http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/An_early_map_of_Brailes.pdf. It is hoped to give a longer account elsewhere; previous notices are incorrect because they have not made use of all the documents, Hasler, *House of Commons*, sv Sheldon; Vincent Burke, 'The Economic Consequences of Recusancy', *Recusant History*, vol 14, 1977-78, pp.71-77; J. La Rocca, 'James I and his Catholic Subjects, 1606-12: some financial implications', *Recusant History* 18 no 3 (May 1987), 251-262.

³⁸ *CSPD Addenda 1580-1625*, p.527 = TNA SP15/39/135; TNA CP 25/2/386/10JasIMic Double Counties. They were not sold to pay the debt as Hasler, *House of Commons* biography says.

³⁹ John Harington, *An Apology for Ajax*, 1596, ed. E.S.Donno, *Harington's Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1962, 240.

⁴⁰ Thomas Habington, *A Survey of Worcestershire*, ed. John Amphlett, *Worcester Historical Society*, 2 vols., 1895 & 1899, ii, 68.

⁴¹ *Hist. Mss Comm.* Salisbury xv, 60.

£50.⁴² He was also amongst the contributors to the cost of a new organ for Worcester Cathedral commissioned in 1612.⁴³

Artistic Endeavour

In this is seen the other side of the man. His interests, as also his social contacts, are revealed in tantalizing glimpses through the pages of the only surviving account books, for 1586-88; he requested the copying of the madrigals of Orlando Lassus, purchased virginals, and several books; books of music were later. Only one of the recorded titles can be identified, Robert Tanner's *Mirror for Mathematiques*. Its acquisition substantiates Sheldon's interest in surveying demonstrated by his repair of his 'dyall and glasse' and his expenditure of 40s. on a map, not described, in 1588.⁴⁴ His wider contacts began with his family alliances and his 'general knowledge' reached a high level. His aunt, née Margery Willington, had married as her second husband Sir Ambrose Cave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, responsible for the series of drawings of Duchy properties made in 1561/2.⁴⁵ Her daughter married into the family of Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the royal household, patron of the map maker John Blagrove and surveyor of Feckenham Forest, an area in which the Sheldons had land.⁴⁶ Another of Sheldon's relatives and near neighbours was Fulke Greville, father of the Fulke Greville who assisted John Speed and whose generosity

⁴² Alan Davison, 'Ralph Sheldon and the provost of Oriell', *Worcestershire Recusant*, no.21, June 1973, pp. 22-27; W. Wheeler, *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James*, Oxford 1926, 17,40,47,133,135,138; Sheldon's gift, W.D.Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, 2nd edition only, 1890, 37n.

⁴³ Michael Hodgetts, 'Recusant Contributors to the Worcester Cathedral Organ, 1613', *Midland Catholic History*, no. 1 1991, pp. 28-33.

⁴⁴ WaCRO CR 2632, ff. 184, 136,156,177, 84, 182; another book 'gran ludo' remains unidentified, f.174, although Arthur Freeman has suggested Luis de Granada as a possible author. His '*a memoriall of a christian life*' Rouen 1586, and '*of prayer and meditation*', Rouen 1584, were both translated by R. Hopkins. No five volume edition of Luis de Granada is known. See also Tanner Mss 285-6, Bodleian Library, cited by Jason Scott-Warren, 'News, sociability, and bookbuying in early modern England: the letters of Sir Thomas Cornwallis', *The Library*, seventh series, vol.1., no.4, December 2000. I owe this reference to Paul Grinke, studying the library of Ralph 'the Great' Sheldon, d.1684.

⁴⁵ H.M.Colvin, *The King's Works, 1485-1660*, vol.iii, pt.i, 179-180.

⁴⁶ S. Bendall, *Dictionary of Land surveyors and local Mapmakers*, 2 vols, British Library 1997, i, 24-26.

both Camden and Speed acknowledged in their accounts of Warwickshire.⁴⁷ Sheldon made purchases for him in London and attempted to negotiate a lease.⁴⁸ The landlords in the parishes adjacent to Weston were the Petres of Ingatestone, into whose family Sheldon would marry his grandson, descendants of Queen Mary's chancellor and patrons of the mapmaking family the Walkers of Hanningfield.⁴⁹ William Moulton, lessee of nearby Todenham, was another friend, and interested in maps.⁵⁰ Sheldon may also have been acquainted with Raphael Holinshed, editor and compiler of a *Chronicle*, steward of the Burdett family who purchased Packwood from Ralph's father.⁵¹

Ralph was an indefatigable correspondent, certainly not afraid to beard the powerful and make his views known. Thus he requested the Registrar of Worcester diocese, William Warmistry, to search records for evidence of his own rights to presentation to the living of Ditchford Frary;⁵² he offered a private explanation of the rights and wrongs of a case concerning his actions at Brailes in advance of its hearing by Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Court of Requests, not without the hope he might influence a decision in his favour.⁵³ At a more domestic level he expounded his ideas on the suitable stones to make millstones to his cousin Margaret Knollys, offering his help with this and in matters concerning the wardship of Thomas Bracebridge's children which he shared with her.⁵⁴ He was generous to his friends, sending his mason, the otherwise unknown Ralph Richmond, to Sir Edward Pytte of Kyre Park

⁴⁷ WaCRO, CR 2632, f.69 & British Library Add Ms 36583 f.1; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1598-1601*, 62.

⁴⁸ Greville, B.Lib Add Mss. 36583, f.1.

⁴⁹ Links to the Petres explored in Hilary L. Turner, 'Fit Symbolographie? An early estate map of Brailes', *Warwickshire History*, vol. xi, no 5, Summer 2001, 182-193.

http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/An_early_map_of_Brailes.pdf

⁵⁰ William Moulton see *VCH Gloucestershire*, ed. C.R. Elrington, vi, 1965, 250-258; Gloucester Record Office, D 1099/P 1; the seventeenth century copy, D 1099/P 2 enhanced the buildings. The written agreement is at D 1099/E3/1. Legal proceedings at TNA C 78/84, no 7, on AALT.

⁵¹ For Ralph Holinshed see *ODNB*.

⁵² Birmingham Archives and Heritage (BAH), Ms 3061/Acc1901-003/167885.

⁵³ B.Lib. Lansdowne 161, f.90.

⁵⁴ Knollys, B.Lib Add Mss. 36901, ff. 6,13, 28,33. WaCRO CR 2632 fos. 24,33,44,60,74,85, 90,94,134,158,165.

Worcestershire,⁵⁵ and generous also to his family, keeping in touch with his step-mother and visiting his sister Philippa Pollard.⁵⁶ He assisted the family of Ludovic Greville, condemned to death in 1587, who chose to be crushed to death under a stone to protect the inheritance for his young family rather than die as a traitor which would have led to forfeiture of his lands. Sheldon later acted briefly as one of several in a long line of mortgagees for Robert Catesby at Chastleton.⁵⁷

Ralph was also the builder of the new house at Weston in Long Compton, Warwickshire. Sir John Harington commended the house for its hill-top site, though he regarded its plumbing as sub-standard; nevertheless, it should clearly rate highly amongst the new edifices of the period.⁵⁸ Construction had begun before 1586. Payments were made to quarrymen at Chipping Norton for the stone and to two Burford freemasons and a third, Offley, and frequently to Ralph Richmond; 2000 ‘bordes’ were purchased secondhand from Sir Edwaard Pytte then rebuilding Kyre Park.⁵⁹ Nothing now remains; the house was demolished c.1827, though an

⁵⁵ Mrs Baldwin Chylde, ‘The Building of Kyre Park’, *The Antiquary*, xxi, 1890.

⁵⁶ WaCRO CR 2632; for his step-mother fos.34, 121,127,188; for Pollard see ff. 3, 8, 17, 54, 56, 58,60,122,169, 186.

⁵⁷ Ibid. fos. 126,129 for Ludovic Greville; for help to Fulke fos. 69, 190. For Sheldon’s part in arrangements of the sale of Chastleton, Hilary L. Turner, ‘Walter Jones of Witney, Worcester and Chastleton: rewriting the past’, *Oxoniensia* 73, 2008, 33-43; see <http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/WalterJones.pdf>

⁵⁸ John Harington, Apology for *Ajax*, 1596, ed. E.S.Donno, *Harington’s Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1962, 238-40. The eighteenth-century antiquarian Nichols recorded an otherwise unsubstantiated and unlikely visit by Queen Elizabeth in 1572 stating that in his own day an apartment was still called the Queen’s Chamber and that her coat of arms remained over the door. He too commented on the fine situation, now mapped by the OS as Weston Gardens; John Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. London 1823, I, p.xvii. The new edition, edited by Elizabeth Goldring and others points out that it did not happen, vol ii, 349 n.629, 358.

⁵⁹ WaCRO CR 2632, fos. 35,54, 56, 120; to quarrymen in May and June 1586; payments to Richmond, about whom nothing else is known, were made steadily from the start of 1588. Purchase of the ‘bordes’, see note 45. G. Tyack, *Warwickshire Country Houses*, 1994, pp. 216-219, and 264 for Skilts; this account made no use of the account book and so is incorrect in saying that purchase marked the start of Ralph’s building as is C. Dyer and C Richardson, eds., *William Dugdale, historian, 1605-1686: his life, his writings and his county*, Woodbridge, 2009, p. 237. Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire* 1656, incorrectly stated that the house was built by William, Ralph’s father.

assortment of decorative pieces survives. A fireplace is now in private ownership and an armorial shield is incorporated, half of it upside down, into the Victorian drinking fountain in Little Welford.⁶⁰



Shields in the Welford fountain, © Hilary L. Turner

The picture drawn by Henry Beighton in 1716, published in later editions of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, shows a three-storey house enclosing a courtyard with projecting wings on the façade, not unlike Chastleton.⁶¹ Its Long Gallery was said to be 160 feet long. The interior arrangement can be reconstructed from the room by room survey made for the auction catalogue of 1781; its layout makes it possible to suggest that the Elizabethan tapestry maps, each approximately 13 x 20 feet, showing Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire might very well have hung in the hall forming a panoramic view; quite how they found new owners is not clear.⁶² The tapestries seen in the eighteenth century, first by George Vertue in 1738, by John Loveday of Caversham in 1747 and by Horace Walpole in 1768, were Elizabethan Warwickshire and the seventeenth-century copies of Oxfordshire and

⁶⁰ Michael Warriner, *A Prospect of Weston in Warwickshire*, Roundwood Press, Kineton, 1978, p.24-5, and p. 30 notes also gateposts at Tidmington House, the altar frontal at Cherington. 'A Sheldon Mantel-piece', F Sydney Eden, *The Connoisseur*, vol. 100, no. 432, August 1937, 78-79, was rescued in 1934 from the demolition of the second Weston House, its site outlined now by the garden wall. Long Compton Manor House, now a guesthouse, has painted glass shields, commissioned in 1677 by Ralph the Great to commemorate the family marriages, Stratford Record Office, Bloom Collection, DR 41/108.

⁶¹ William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 1730 edition; see also <http://www.search.windowsonwarwickshire.org.uk/> and search Weston House.

⁶² Hilary L. Turner, *No Mean Prospect: Ralph Sheldon's Tapestry Maps*, Plotwood Press, 2010; <http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/WarwickshireTapestryMap.pdf>

Worcestershire hanging in the Great Drawing Room where they were listed in the auction catalogue of 1781.⁶³ Both Vertue and Walpole also noted there a set of portrait heads depicting English monarchs; they too were sold in 1781.⁶⁴ At much the same time that he built the house Ralph's portrait was painted by Hieronimos Custodis, one of several Flemish painters working in London around 1590; a much earlier portrait, painted in the early 1560s, is now in a private collection.⁶⁵

Sheldon's main occupation, after playing cards and 'mawe', (a piquet-like card game) was litigation and he was rarely out of the courts after his father's death. The story of his struggles against his tenants at Brailes is detailed elsewhere and lasted throughout his life; ironically he produced a highly decorative map of the parish.⁶⁶ His other long-running dispute was over lands at Ditchford Frary where he

⁶³ George Vertue, *Notebooks IV*, Walpole Society, vol 24, 1936, p.140; *John Loveday of Caversham* (1711-8), ed. Sarah Markham, London 1984, p. 374. Horace Walpole *Journals of Visits to Country Seats etc*, ed Paget Toynbee, Walpole Society, 1927-28, vol. 16, pp. 9-80, esp p.62; Christie and Ansell, Sale Catalogue August 28-September 11 1781, William Sheldon of Weston, Warwickshire, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁴ Several of the portrait heads said to be those from Weston have recently come to light. One, Richard III, is pictured in *600 Years of British Painting*, introduction by Roy Strong, Denver Museum of Art, 1998, p.56 and plate; sold Christie's, London, British Pictures 1500-1850, 1 December 2000, Sale 6397, lot 12; displayed Christie's King Street 30 May-1 June 2012; the other, king Edward VI, Sotheby's London 5 July 2012, lot.1095. A third, Cardinal Wolsey, is National Portrait Gallery, London, no. 32, Roy Strong, *Catalogue of Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, London*, plate 516. The basis of their attribution is the known sizes; there is no independent evidence. See also Hilary L. Turner, 'Glimpses of a Gallery: the maps and 'paynted pictures' of Robert Hare', *Bodleian Library Record*, vol 26 (1) April 2013, pp. 102-112 and Catherine Daunt (2015) *Portrait sets in Tudor and Jacobean England* Doctoral thesis (PhD), University of Sussex, 2vols, vol. 1,p. 124, vol 2, Appendix Table 6.

⁶⁵ Roy Strong, 'Elizabethan Painting: An approach through Inscriptions - II: Hieronimo Custodis', *Burlington Magazine*, vol 105, March 1963, pp.103-108; it hangs now in Warwickshire Museum. The earlier one is pictured in Roy Strong, *The English Icon*, 1969, p.126.

⁶⁶ See Hilary L. Turner, 'An Early Map of Brailes : 'fit Symbolographie' , *Warwickshire History*, Summer 2001, vol.xi, no.5, pp. 182-193, http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/An_early_map_of_Brailes.pdf. The map is owned by Warwickshire Museum but is stored in the Record Office, CR 3231; pictured in A.Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in England 1558-1625*, Yale 1997, 70, 73.

may have been pursuing the same enclosing policy he followed at Brailes.⁶⁷ He sought to exploit the advowsons of Tredington, one of the richest in the county, of Barcheston and of Stretton on Fosse, making use of Richard Hyckes, manager of the tapestry venture at Barcheston and the Queen's arrasmaker from 1569, as his representative in negotiations.⁶⁸ Like many other Catholics Ralph suffered from the malicious intentions of those who resented his wealth. His dispute with his son in law Russell has already been mentioned. A second instance where perhaps those who disliked his faith tried to get their own back on him is recorded in a Star Chamber case.⁶⁹ With his 'cousin' John Ashfield, Sheldon attempted to reclaim cattle which had been stolen, beasts which he had perhaps entrusted to Ashfield for safekeeping.

Sheldon, however, was not to be cowed and lived his life very publicly. The account books show him in nearly continuous motion, riding to London several times a year. He purchased property at Steeple Barton in Oxfordshire in 1596 close to his lands at Deddington, and around 1597 acquired a small estate and the right to the advowson at Whichford.⁷⁰ He does not seem to have felt any need to protect his own estates, and therefore his son's inheritance, by putting the lands in trust, though some documents have been interpreted this way.⁷¹ Conformity saved him from any serious trouble stemming from what were probably his true religious beliefs.

Even when he did not hold any county office, locally at least Ralph seems to have exerted influence and been a figure both respected and feared. In 1601 the Privy Council found it necessary to write to him and to his lifelong friend, John Talbot of Bromsgrove, also a Catholic, telling them not to meddle in the election of Sir Thomas Leighton as MP; rumours that there was likely to be 'some opposition made out of

⁶⁷ B.Lib, Add Mss 36583, f. 62, 65, 231; BAH Ms 3061/Acc1901-003/.

⁶⁸ TNA Req 2/66/15; Req 2/223/66, Req 2/121/32.

⁶⁹ TNA STAC 5/S58/35.

⁷⁰ Purchase of Steeple Barton 1596, *VCH Oxon* ed. A.Crossley, 1983, xi, 64; references to Deddington occur roughly every six pages in WaCRO CR 2632; also B.Lib Add Mss 36583, f.62 and TNA DL 42/117, ff. 78-90; Whichford in TNA C 78/110/11, available on AALT.

⁷¹ Michael Hodgetts thought that some of the many deeds in BAH, Ms 3061/Acc1901-003/ might conceal such an aim, 'Elizabethan Recusancy in Worcestershire', part I, *Trans of Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, third series, vol 1, 1965-67, 69-78, part ii, *Ibid.*, vol 3, 1970-72, 81-91.

faction' had reached London.⁷² Three years later, however, Sheldon again joined in the politicking in an unsuccessful attempt to get a Catholic candidate elected to parliament; though a candidate was found, his election was prevented by means not altogether fair by the sheriff who, as the electoral officer, controlled the entry to the voting process of the limited number of people who made up the franchise and, without warning except to known supporters, changed both the time and place where the voting was to take place, thus successfully excluding the opposition.⁷³

On 16 December 1603 his wife, Anne Throckmorton, was buried at Beoley.⁷⁴ He had already built a new chapel on the north side of the church there to house tombs for his ancestors including his parents, grandparents and his great-uncle; he now began one for himself and his late wife.⁷⁵ The unknown sculptor had considerable skill. His second wife was Jane, daughter of William Lord de la Warr, widow of the Protestant Sir Thomas Tasburgh, her third husband. It does not seem to have been a happy alliance and his choice of a wealthy widow soon turned sour; the couple was at law over the jointure provisions within a year of the marriage, which took place sometime around April 1604.⁷⁶ She received £100 in his will only on certain conditions.⁷⁷ There were no children and, at the time of his death on 30 March 1613, Ralph's first family, one son and nine daughters, were all married.⁷⁸

⁷² Acts of the Privy Council, 1601-04, 251.

⁷³ See Ian D. Grosvenor, 'Catholics and politics: the Worcestershire Election of 1604', *Recusant History*, vol.14, 1977-78, pp.149-162; *The House of Commons 1604-1629*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, 2010.

⁷⁴ Worcestershire Record Office, Beoley Parish Registers.

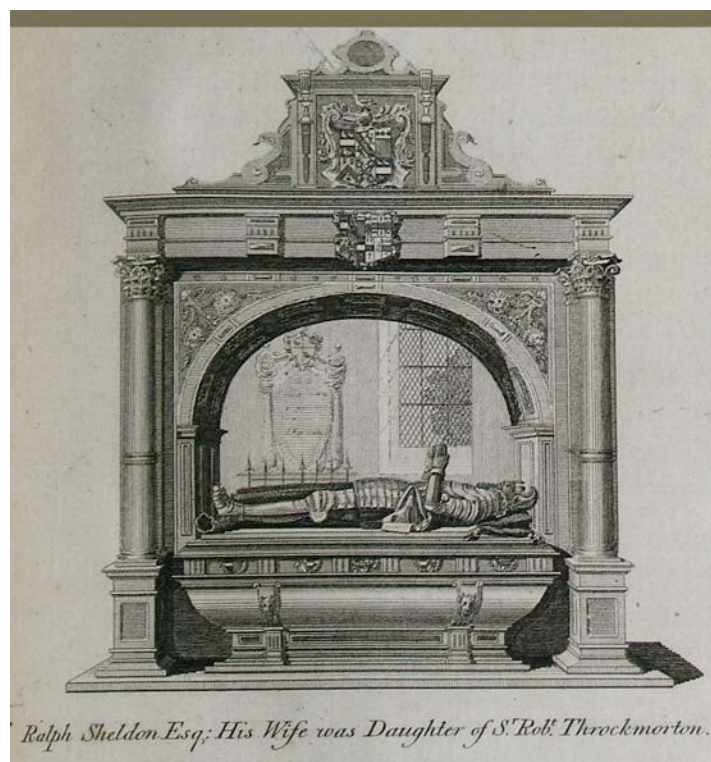
⁷⁵ An account of the church is to be found in *VCH Worcestershire*, iv, 1924, 12-19, especially p.16. The tale of the gift of a large stone altar to Sheldon from Pope Gregory XIII is repeated there, but no authority is cited, nor in *Associated Architectural Societies Reports*, xxi, 1891, p. li. The stone can scarcely be described as 'portable'. In any case, it is Ralph the Great who spent time at Rome, Ms Wood B.14, f. 50-66. Also Rees Price, Report on the Sheldon Chapel, Beoley Church, *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, vol. xlix, 1926, 54-56.

⁷⁶ Alan Davidson, 'The Second Mrs Sheldon', *Worcestershire Recusant*, December 1969 vol.14, pp.15-21 for some of her background. He did not know of TNA C 3/291/89 for their disputes; resolution of their differences was acknowledged, grudgingly, in Ralph's will.

⁷⁷ TNA PROB 11/121/ 345 (Raph Sheldon).Ralph's death and burial were recorded in Beoley Parish Registers on 30 March 1613.

⁷⁸ Ralph's son, Edward married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Markham of Ollerton Notts; Elizabeth married Sir John Russell of Strensham, 13 March 1574; Mary, baptized May 1560, married Walter

Many more details of documents concerning the management of Sheldon's estates are to be found by searching the Discovery Catalogue of The National Archives at Kew.



Ralph Sheldon Esq; His Wife was Daughter of S^r Rob^t Throckmorton.

Ralph's tomb at Beoley as shown in Treadway Nash, *History of Worcestershire*
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Fowler of St Thomas's Priory, Co Stafford; Muriel, baptized September 1566, married Francis Clare of Caldwell near Kidderminster, Worcs; Jane, baptized November 1567, married John Flower of Whitwell, Rutland; Margaret, baptized May 1569, married William Standen, later of Arborfield, Berks; Anne, baptized December 1571, married John Peshall of Horseley, Staffs; Katherine married Francis Trentham of Rocester, Staffs; Frances married Anthony Mayney of Linton, Kent; Philippa, born 1571, married John Sulyard of Wetherden, Suffolk.

Ralph's Epitaph at Beoley Church



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Text below translated by E A B Barnard

M.S.

To Ralph Sheldon Esquire

A man of great wisdom modesty, kindness

Remarkable for his gifts of knowledge and judgement (a rare mixture)

A generous and beloved citizen:

After he had spent his youth in studying at Oxford

He had visited France and other countries

And had lived at Court; then had married

The daughter of Robert Throckmorton Knight a wife who in

Her life set a remarkable example, by whom he begot one

Son and nine daughters, and from them were begat (more or less 130 descendants

He dedicated this Chapel to God (which) and built at Weston, with
great magnificence a house for himself as master and for his descendants,

Calmly falling asleep.

Edward Sheldon, instituted his sole heir, mindful of a

Dear parent (orphaned now by the death of so great a man)

To show his esteem and love, sorrowfully raised this

Inscription, such as it is,

He died A.D. 1613

Here is interred Ralph Sheldon. He lived supremely blessed, remote from ambition, and shunning honours, lord of himself and great in his own person, likewise a learned friend of learned men, and to his friends as patron and companion, pleasant, wise, restrained, steady, good loyal:

Kind without disguise, faithful, steadfast, true, he gave much help to many, and every help to all:

He injured none, and showed no first consideration for himself alone:

Not forgetful of life's end, this chapel for the burial of himself and of his kindred he had designed while alive, mindful of fleeting time and speeding death.