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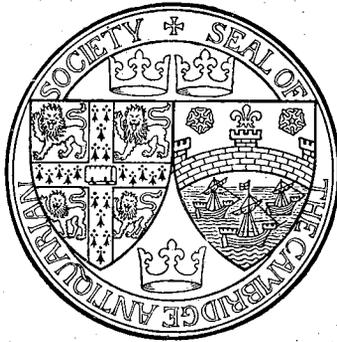
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
PROCEEDINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS

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CROMWELL'S STUART DESCENT.

By SIR HENRY STEWARD.

A short paper by Dr J. Horace Round contributed in 1893 to the *Genealogist* (N.S., Vol. x, p. 18) was entitled "Oliver Cromwell and his 'Stuart' descent," and opened in these words: "One of the most important papers that has appeared in the *Genealogist* is 'The Steward Genealogy (and Cromwell's Royal descent),' by Mr Walter Rye (N.S., Vol. II, p. 34, 1885), in which the spurious pedigree claimed by the maternal ancestors of Oliver Cromwell was finally disposed of." In the following sentence Dr Round observes that Mr Bain had discussed the subject in 1878 in the *Archaeological Journal* (xxxv) and had held that though inaccurate as to details the pedigree "might be true in the main; Mr Rye destroyed it root and branch."

After such vigorous language the next sentence suggests caution, as Dr Round continues: "But neither of these eminent experts was aware, so far as I can find, of the quarter from which this spurious, but really ingenious descent, was derived. From the collections of Augustine Steward (Add. MSS. 15644, Br. Museum) it has been naturally concluded that he was as Mr Rye wrote (p. 40) 'The compiler or concocter, which you will, of the family history....' But the true originator of the legend would seem to have been Robert Welles, alias Steward, last Prior and first Dean of Ely" and the date 1522; as authority for this correction Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (1691) is cited, showing that Prior Robert with his contribution to the History of the Bishops and the Priors of Ely (as printed in *Anglia Sacra*) had included his own genealogy.

A perusal of this MS. volume of Augustine Steward of the Inner Temple (1564) (Add. MSS. 15644), referred to above, will tend to confirm the impression to be gathered from his record that Augustine was a man to inspire confidence rather than mistrust, competent by education and by experience, who

TABLE

showing the descent of Elizabeth Steward of Ely (mother of Oliver Cromwell) from John Steward otherwise called John Scotenglish (Scotanglis) Knt., brought captive to the Court of Henry IV in 1405 (or ?1406) in the company of James Prince and Steward of Scotland (who became King James I, de jure 1406, de facto 1424).

1.	Born	Died	1213-4	1283	1. <i>Alexander the Steward</i> of Dundevale (otherwise Dundonald)
2.	c. 1278	c. 1350			2. <i>Andrew Styward</i> , Knt. of Scotland, 1341 with a ragged staff belaboured Edward Baliol: killed in France
3.	1329	c. 1394			3. <i>Alexander Stuart</i> , Knt. of France, 1385 In the service of the French Kings: died in Scotland
4.	1387-8	1408			4. <i>John Steward</i> , otherwise <i>John Scot-english</i> , Knt. of England, 1408 Captured with Prince James; swore allegiance to King Henry IV
5.	c. 1407	1447			5. <i>John Steward</i> , Knt. of the Bath, 1421 of Calais and of Swaffham
6.	c. 1426	c. 1485			6. <i>Thomas Styward</i> , mariner, of Calais, Swaffham and Wells (Upwell and Outwell)
7.	c. 1448	c. 1478			7. <i>Richard Styward</i> of Wells (educated at Ramsey Abbey, Hunts.)
8.	c. 1466	1498			8. <i>Nicholas Steward</i> of Wells & the Middle Temple
					Richard of Wells and Norwich
					Geoffrey of Guestwick (near Norwich) d. 1544
					Robert Last Prior and First Dean of Ely d. 1557
					William of Bozeat, Northants d. 1529
					John of Pattishall d. 1577
					Nicholas of Pattishall and the Middle Temple d. 1628
					Richard, D.C.L. Provost of Eton &c. d. 1651
					Thomas (?) of Frankfort, and later of Ely, Priest d. 156-
					William of Ely d. 1593
					Elizabeth d. 1654
					Oliver Cromwell d. 1658
					Geoffrey Sheriff of Norwich 1500
					Augustine Mayor of Norwich 1534, 46, 56; M.P. 1541
					Nicholas of Ely d. 1558
					Robert Edward Mark John Thomas <i>Augustine</i> Symeon Nicholas of Lakenheath etc. d. 1568
					Robert Edward Mark John Thomas <i>Augustine</i> Symeon Nicholas Margaret Alys
					John of Lakenheath 1554
					James V d. 1512; d. 1542
					Mary Queen of Scotland, and Queen of France (1559-60) married (2nd) <i>Henry</i> <i>Stewart</i> Earl of Darnley
					James VI and I of England (1603) b. 1566; d. 1625
					James I of Scotland b. 1391; d. 1437
					James II b. 1430; d. 1460
					James III b. 1453; d. 1488
					Robert III b. c. 1336; d. 1406
					James the Steward eldest son b. 1243; d. 1309
					Walter the Steward b. 1293; d. 1326, married <i>Margery</i> , daughter of King Robert the Bruce
					Robert II of Scotland b. 1316; d. 1390
					John of Bonkyl second son d. 1298
					one of his descendants was Henry Steward, <i>Earl of Darnley</i> , father of King James I of England
					<i>Candora</i> wife of R ^d . Brooke
					Magdalen

In the above Senescallus in Latin has been translated Steward, Styward, Stuard, etc. as by use may be appropriate to the person in question; "Scotanglus" is translated Scot-english, because it is so written in the margin of the official copy of Sir John's will—1447, and though in documents of later date the name appears as "Scotangle," it is more likely that "Scotenglish" was the name actually used 1406—1408. In Andrew de Wynthoun's *Cronycle*, Bk. viii, Ch. 23 (for 1326), is found "Robert, that cald be swrname wes Stwert," and a few lines lower "This Robert Stwart his ayre suld be"; the final "t" became generally characteristic of the Scottish use, the middle "u" of the French, and the final "d" of the English form; *Styward* disappears after about 1600.

took great pains to be accurate. Though a lawyer and a genealogist he was not infallible, and got into occasional difficulty where the same names related to different persons.

This production is of considerable intrinsic interest, and gives much detail of the family history; parts of it are in Latin, and parts in English, and some in the Anglo-French dialect.

The middle pages (probably transcribed by an amanuensis) contain a family history in fifteen generations compiled by Symeon Steward (father of Augustine and brother of Prior Robert) when a student at Cambridge, 1511, about fifteen years old; with armorial blasons and with a few interpolations and marginal notes in the hand of Augustine.

Symeon's verbal introduction of himself into the genealogy is (translated):

Symeon Stewarde son of Nicholas, still an ungrown youth while these are being written, applying his mind to liberal arts at Cambridge University, from whose imperfect age there is as yet nothing that I can relate to his posterity save that he seems to be apt enough for, and well-disposed to, whatever may be deserving praise either in peace or in war.

Symeon explains in the text that he has had to guide him seven separate rolls of genealogy (four of them in names only), but especially two; one of them made out with much detail and description for the young Sir John in the reign of Henry V by a Scottish herald (probably therefore at the time when he was made a knight of the Bath), and another attributed to John Moore alias Norrey (formerly Windsor Herald), King of Arms in 1484, which was seen by Clarencieux in 1558 ("ex pulcro rotulo mihi ostenso"); a third was adorned with medallion portraits of twelve generations down to Thomas, to which company Symeon added with his own hand the portraits of his grandfather, his father and himself; "cui sodalicio ex meo ingenio ceteri tres viz.: Ricardus, Nicholaus, et juvenis hic Symeon predecessoribus suis associati sunt."

In the body of his narrative Symeon set out three documents: (1) a grant of arms by the French king in 1385; (2) a "safe conduct" issued in May 1322 by the same French king in favour of Jehan Stywarde anglois (translated):

servant and knight of our very dear and fair daughter the Queen of England, grandson of Alexander Stuart, knight, of Scotland, formerly our servant;

and (3) a receipt for the payment of 4000 saluti on account of the ransom of 25,000 saluti for

messire Thomas Stywarde et Jehan Stywarde chivaler son père à Ponthoise prises.

The youth of Symeon at the time of writing displays itself in some exuberance of style, though the restraint of age would perhaps have taken from it some of its natural humanity.

The opening pages of Augustine's MS. are taken up with copies of "sondry ould charteres remayning in my possession," and of the will of Thomas Steward of Swaffham Market, 1511 (Norwich Reg. 28: Johnson); the narrative of Symeon ends in this year 1511 and was brought up to date by the additions of Augustine himself; in the few remaining pages at the end, he crowded in copies of other documents then recently coming to his knowledge, with notes.

Dr Round reverts to the subject in the first number of the *Ancestor*, April 1902, writing on page 194 that "the descent of the Ely Stewards from the Royal Stuarts of Scotland" was "exposed long ago by Mr Walter Rye from the English, and Mr Bain from the Scottish side"; he added "The introduction (in Burke's *Peerage*) of this known imposture was pointed out and denounced by me more than a year ago in *Studies in Peerage and Family History*"; and he had prefaced these remarks by writing of the descent in question, "there is perhaps for instance no grosser fiction in the field of English Genealogy."

It may be noted that in their references to the subject both Dr Round and Mr Rye make a feature of the Royal Stuarts, and also of Oliver Cromwell, an association which imports some piquancy of historical interest; the connection of Cromwell on his mother's side (she was Elizabeth Steward of Ely) is, however, adventitious and subsequent to the genealogical questions raised, and as to the Royal Stuarts no pretention of any such descent was then nor has ever been suggested on the part of the family; the common origin of the main branch which became the royal family of Scotland, and of the cadet branch of the family to

which Cromwell's mother belonged, is found in the person of Alexander FitzWalter of Dundevale, the Steward of Scotland who died in 1283; inasmuch as the grandson of his eldest son James ascended the throne as Robert II in 1371, and the grandson of his youngest son Andrew settled in England in 1405 (or perhaps 1406), and was called John Steward otherwise John Scot-english, knight.

As to "the English side," Dr Round bases his own conclusions admittedly and entirely upon Mr Rye's article in the *Genealogist*, 1885.

The only contribution to the controversy, for which Dr Round makes himself responsible, is his theory (in substitution for Mr Rye's proposition that Augustine Steward of the Inner Temple was "The vagabond who concocted the whole pedigree in 1567") that the true "originator" would seem to have been (his uncle) the last Prior of Ely (in 1522), with a further suspicion that "professional heralds had a hand in its concoction."

It is however the fact that the pedigree was on divers occasions ratified and confirmed by the proper authorities at the College of Arms, and no sort of justification for this insinuation is suggested.

As to "the Scottish side" having been "exposed," Mr Bain in fact wrote thus in *Arch. Journ.* Vol. xxxv (1878), p. 401: "From them the descent of the Ely Stewards seems clear enough, and no doubt the first Sir John was a cadet of the Scottish Stewarts." However, the real issue now is not what Mr Bain said in 1878, nor what Dr Round may have thought about Mr Bain's opinion; the question is what were the facts, and what is the truth?

1. *Alexander* (said in the family MS. to have been called "The Fierce")¹, Fitz-Walter of Dundevale (otherwise Dundonald),

¹ Alexander the First of Scotland (1107—1124) was called "The Fierce"—Fordun's *Chronica*, Bk. v, Ch. 28, "cognomine Fers"; it may be that Symeon's attribution of the same style to Alexander the Steward was a mistake; but in any case neither he nor the MS. was responsible for the transfer of this epithet to the latter's grandson Alexander. It will be seen that this mistake was made use of to the prejudice of Alexander the younger by Mr Bain and by Mr Rye.

the Steward of Scotland, was born 1214 and died 1283. He was notable in Scottish history, in which, however, but two of his sons are recorded, namely: James, born in 1243, who succeeded him as High Steward; and John of Bonkyl, killed at Falkirk in 1298. As his youngest son Andrew was not born before 1278, about thirty-five years after his son James, it is improbable that they were of the same mother.

2. *Sir Andrew Stywart* was of noted stature, trained to arms from early youth. He attached himself to the fortunes, good or bad, of William Wallace; he was closely associated with the warlike activities of his kinsman William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, and also served with Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and the Marches, being with him at the disastrous battle of Dupplin; at other times he fought by the side of Andrew Murray, and he was one of the company of 1000 hardy men who made, under Sir Archibald Douglas, the forced and secret march by night from Moffatt which enabled them to surprise Edward Baliol at Annan, and to rush his camp there at the dawning of the 16th December, 1332. On this occasion twice he encountered Baliol hand to hand, and the second time broke his sword, but snatching up from the ground a rough pole used by the carters for loading, he belaboured him so that he had made an end of him had not his brother, Henry Baliol, rescued him. Edward managed to make his escape over the border bare-legged on a bare-backed horse (? "barmé"—Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, Book VIII, Ch. 26—"Bot the Ballyoll his gat is gane, on a barmé hors with leggis bare"); his brother Henry is said (Fordun's *Chronica* &c.) to have been killed there; another account in Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, Book VIII, Ch. 26, has it that—

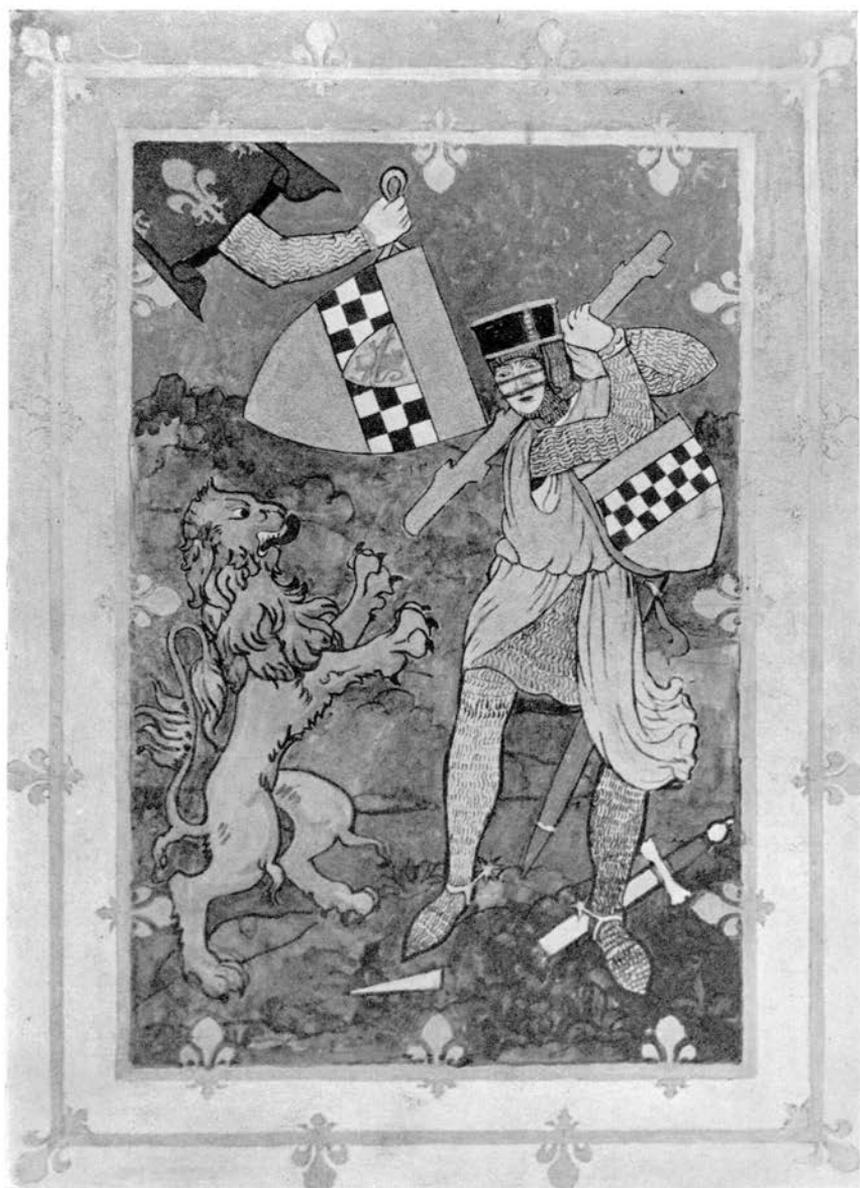
Schyre Henry the Ballyoll thame agayne.

Wyth a staffe fawcht sturdyly.

And dyntis delt rycht dowchtyly.

This reference makes it "historically" clear that some useful work was done with the staff on that occasion; it is possible that staves were used by both men; in any case it must be admitted that as between Andrew and Henry Baliol, the Baliol had the better. Others who are named as Andrew's comrades in arms are James ffoularton (with whom he was taken prisoner

Alexander Stuart: Paris, 1st July 1385



Andrew Stywart: Annan, 16th Dec. 1332

Reproduced from a copy of the marginal miniature upon a patent of arms granted by Charles VI of France: British Museum Add. MSS. 15644

in 1342 and ransomed for "mille regii census libris"), and also Thomas Bowde. These incidents as recorded (in the MS. fol. 39) serve to identify Andrew as the Stewart referred to in the following extract from Wyntoun's *Cronykil* for the year 1342:

And fyve knychtis in fycht were tane,
 Stewart, Eglyntoun, and Cragy, Boyde, and Fowlarton;
 Thyr worthy Ogill has had till his presowne
 And syne delyvered thame for ransowne.

It is recorded in the MS. volume that on four occasions Andrew went over to France; first with a mission, probably in 1323, to negotiate the renewal of an old treaty; second to conduct (in 1334) the boy King David to safety there; third as "administrator" of the party which crossed to escort King David back to Scotland in 1341 (when Andrew was made a knight); and fourth about 1346 when he went to give his services to King Philip. After the accession of King John in 1350 he was ambushed by bandits, adherents of the King of Navarre, by whom, though over seventy years old, he was beaten to death. His wife had died at the time of his absence in France in 1433, and he left one son only surviving him.

3. *Sir Alexander Stuart*, who was born in 1329, and was in France at the time when his father was killed, about 1350. He was taken into the service of the French King John, and became a "paymaster" at the court (possibly of the Scottish guard). In 1385, on his retirement and return to Scotland, the French King personally invested him with the insignia of knighthood and attached his royal seal to a patent in augmentation of arms, expressed to be in honour of his father Andrew's memory as well as in recognition of his own services, the coat showing a lion debruised with a ragged staff (representing respectively the "lion" of Baliol, formerly borne by the ancient lords of Galloway, and the knotted pole with which Andrew had driven him off, as related above).

The material words of this grant here follow (translated):

Charles by the grace of God, King of France, to all people of Scotland greeting. For the very dear love that we (bear) to Alexander Stuart our servant for the valorous deeds performed by him with so much judgment in our necessities of war, but in particular for the fine feats of Andrew Stywart knight his father the son of Alexander the son of Walter of

Dundevale, the Steward of Scotland, which said Andrew after many forays brought to shame and—finally by the main force of staff and of sword on the field of battle—hunted out of the double tressure of Scotland the false and factious usurper and coward Lion of Balliol,...He bringing his retinue to our grandfather John, in the base fight begun on behalf of the King of Navarre and suspecting nothing, was basely murdered. We regret his eminent attainments never rewarded; of our bounty therefore, we offer to and order Alexander our man—whom we have made a knight with our own hand and have now associated with our Admiral in the embassy to Scotland—that henceforward he himself and all the male issue of his blood in fair memory of the happy name of Andrew his father—the most expert in arms and the most valiant fighter for his King and Master in the world—do bear upon his fesse chequy (on a field of gold) on a small shield of silver a red lion beaten by a ragged staff,...given at Paris, the 1st day of July, the 5th year of our reign.

This following passage from p. 127 of the "Story of the Stewarts" (Stewart Society) is material in the foregoing connection:

The year 1385 was signalised by the landing in Scotland of a large body of French knights and their followers, under John de Vienne, Admiral of France, to assist the Scots against the common enemy of England:

It was in the capacity of a French knight that Alexander was sent to join the Admiral on this expedition, and it was no doubt thought that he might be useful as a liaison officer and interpreter, for the narrative continues:

The auxiliaries proved more troublesome than valuable however. Their gallantries irritated King Robert and his nobles, while their petulance and unconcealed disdain of the poverty of the country frequently brought them into conflict with the common people.

It is recorded in the MS. however that Alexander himself was well received.

For the remaining years of his life he was the close follower in arms and "fidus Achates" of Robert, Earl of Fife¹, bastard son of the King; he also engaged with the Earl of Angus for service

¹ Of Robert, Earl of Fife, afterwards Duke of Albany, Noble writes (*Genealogy of the Stuarts*, p. 35), "In 1385 he was so powerful that 3000 of the 50,000 francs sent by the French to be distributed in the Scottish Court were allotted to him." In his capacity of "stipendiarius" Alexander may have been much responsible for this distribution, which possibly made a basis for the subsequent consideration which Robert showed him.

against the Saracens, but compromised (1390) for this by paying for two knights instead; he died about 1394. It is recorded in Augustine Steward's MS. (Add. MSS. 15644) that Alexander's seal upon this document of 1390 (which was in Augustine's possession in 1567) was cut on the lines of the pictorial illustration of Andrew's aforesaid feat, as depicted in the margin of the original patent of Charles VI (1385). He married in 1386, and his elder son William is said in the MS. to have been killed fighting on the side of the French in an attempt to scale the wall at some siege, and to have left a son (posthumous); his second son

4. *Sir John Steward*, sailed from the Bass Rock¹ in March 1405 (or ? 1406) with Prince James, and was in his company captured by fishermen near Flamborough Head, and brought up to London to the presence of King Henry IV. One of Queen Joan's maids of honour was Mary Talmach (Tollemache of Helmingham) with whom John fell in love, nor did he (notwithstanding his misfortune and his nationality) displease her; a match was approved, he swore allegiance (with the consent of King James) to Henry IV, was given the name of John Scot-english (Scot-anglus)² by the heralds, and married the lady.

¹ *V. inter alia* A. de Wyntoun's "Orygynall cronykil of Scotland." Laing, 1872.

² The action of Scot-english in thus changing his allegiance was regarded very unfavourably by his few Scottish colleagues remaining in attendance on King James in his captivity (for such it was, although the party had freedom of movement within the walls of the court—? Windsor Castle); and young John, on his part, deeply resented this attitude, natural though it may have been. His resentment is said to have driven him rather in defiance to the other extreme, seeking to embrace his new nationality in all respects, and leading him to cultivate a corresponding change in his name, arms, manners, clothes and speech; he was off with the old love, which doubtless served to ingratiate him with his new King, his new wife, and his new companions.

As well as the squyer (William Giffarte) of Prince James, his governour the Earle of Orkeneye shared his captivity until after 1408. A "safe conduct" dated 13 Sept. 1407 was issued in favour of "Henrico de Sancto Clero" (Orkney) with 12 servants (horse or foot) crossing to Scotland to return by a secured date and surrender to John Duke of Bedford at Durham (Duresme) Castle; John (and also ? William) Seyntclere (Orkney's

The following record from the "letters patent" of the crown, relating to the capture of the Prince may be cited:

1406—April 30th—Westminster—*Grant*, to Hugh atte Fen, William Oxeneve the elder, and John Hacon, burgesses of Great Yernemuth and Nicholas Steyard of Cleye, who on Monday before the Annunciation last captured the son of the King's late adversary of Scotland and the Erle of Orkeney and a certaine Knyghte and others in their company at sea in a ship of Dansk called la Maryenknyghte (of which Henry Bereholt is master) freighted with wools hides and woolfells of the growth of Scotland, in consideration of their great costs in capturing the above and taking them to the King's presence, *of the said wools hides and woolfells* so that they shall answer for the price as assessed by sufficient merchants in case the King has to make restitution; and *Grant* that they may ship the same in the port of Great Yernemuth and take them to any ports without payment of custom or subsidy—By the King.

If the date on this letter be correct, the Prince was taken not in 1405, but in March 1406, when England and Scotland were definitely at peace together (which is borne out by the reference to "the King's *late* adversary" above); and the Prince succeeded to the throne of Scotland within a month of his capture, in accordance with the tradition that the news of it killed his father; Scottish historians have disputed the correctness of the date 1405 generally adopted.

In any case, at the date of this Grant to the Yarmouth fishermen, the news of the Scotch King's death had not reached London, nor does it affect this genealogy.

That John died in 1408 is recorded in the genealogies wherein it is also stated that he was buried at the Carmelite Friary; these events are corroborated in a curious way by another record from the letters patent of the Crown:

1409—January 9th—*Grant* for life to the King's esquire Richard Wydevyle and Joan his wife of all *the King's tenements in the town of Calais* lying between the tenement of John Mulso on one side towards the north and the inn of the King's son the prince on the other side towards the south and the mansion of the *Friars Carmelite* towards the west and the tenement of John Strete atte Lane towards the east, which *John Steward deceased had of the King's grant*, to the value of 20 marks yearly so that he answer for any surplus etc.

brother(s) took his place as hostage(s) during his furlough, and this was duly observed as is shown by the issue of another safe conduct admitting John Sinclair into England "on his own" in 1408.

From this it follows that John Steward died in 1408 and that his dwelling house at the time of his death lay next to the Carmelite Friary, so that he would appropriately be buried there; and further it may be inferred that he was in the King's service, under command of the King's brother, the Earl of Somerset, then captain of Calais.

The propinquity of the residence of the King's son may, or may not have been a factor in the sequel as to the disposition of his young family; but it happened that his elder son, John, was adopted into the care of Prince John (later made Duke of Bedford) and was brought up under his charge.

He was made a knight after a tournament at which he sustained a serious concussion, and shortly after succumbed to his injuries.

The Genealogies state that it was the famous Hainault Tourney held at Smithfield which is fully described in the "English Chronicle" (Camden Society, 1878, p. 35) for the tenth year of Henry IV, in which year also a "safe conduct" was issued for the protection of the Lord Steward of Hainault with one hundred horsemen in his company for two months from 16th April; this event would fall accordingly in 1409¹. It is certain that one of the successful combatants for the Earl of Somerset's side against the Steward of Hainault at Smithfield, was named John Steward; but he may well have been the Welshman of that name who became esquire to Henry V and accompanied him to Agincourt², after fighting with distinction at Harfleur; and later became knight to Henry VI, master of the horse, keeper of Leeds Castle (Kent), etc. and died in 1448.

If, in this confusion of names and dates, a conjecture becomes admissible, it may be that this joust in London, between the sides of the Earl of Somerset, Captain of Calais, and of the Steward of Hainault, was organised at Calais in 1408 (where a kind of "peace conference" was then being held in which Hainault was interested); it may also well have been that preliminary tilts took place at Calais between those of Hainault and the English, at one of which John Steward was hurt; and

¹ Rymer's *Foedera*, Vol. VIII, p. 570.

² Nicolas' *Agincourt* (1827).

that when the event came off in London his fellow in name was put in to take the place he would have filled.

By the time (about 1460) when the "Genealogy of Thomas and Richard his son" was compiled (with the aid of the heralds)¹, those who had taken part in, or could personally recall, the Hainault Tourney of 1409 were no more, and in the Heralds' rolls one "John Steward, Esquire," was the same as another; a mistake thus made might have remained without detection to this day (the more so perhaps that the Welsh Sir John does not seem, from his will (P.P.C. 1449: 22 Stafford), to have left any descendants).

It yet remains to offer some evidence that the augmentation of arms, granted in 1385 by Charles VI to Alexander the father of Sir John Scot-english, was in fact used by Sir John, and this comes to be afforded in a quite casual, but conclusive, way over two hundred years later. It appears in the following quotation from an authority on the laws of the land, Coke's *Reports*, Vol. VII, "The Case of Swans," as follows:

He who hath such swan-mark may grant it over; and thereof I have seen a notable precedent in the time of Henry VI which is such (translated from Latin)—Be it known to all men present and future that I, John Steward, knight have given and granted to Thomas, my first-born son and his heirs my swan-mark *from my arms* (as it is depicted in the margin at

¹ This was the genealogy a copy of which as made in 1572 by Somerset Herald (? from a copy made by Buddesworth in 1458) was contributed by Mr W. Rye to the *Genealogist*, July 1884.

It was compiled when Richard was at Ramsey Abbey before his marriage, and after the birth of his half-brother Geoffrey (of Norwich); the date 1458 is compatible with the entry as to his great-uncle John having served as Sheriff of London (1456/7). In this genealogy the grant of arms by the French king in 1385 is set out verbatim; in the copy of 1572 some shields of arms were added, said to be "per Johannem Moore" who was made Norroy King of Arms in 1484.

The Prior of Ely in his genealogy (1522) followed the terms of this "Thomas and Richard" version pretty closely, but not exactly, so far as it went; the said grant of arms of 1385 is identified by its opening words, and the purport is given, but the text is not fully set out; the Prior's original MS. is now in the Library at Lambeth. As mentioned by Dr Round (see above) in *Genealogist*, July 1893, the Prior's genealogy was incorporated with the history of Ely Priory and printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (1691).

the side) which descended to me by *hereditary* right after the death of *John Steward, knight, my father*, to be held by him and his heirs together with all swans and cygnets branded with the said mark of *the ragged staff* upon condition etc., etc. given at my dwelling house of Dartford on the vigil of St Dunstan in the 14th year of King Henry VI,

and the Chief Justice added

in the margent was printed a little ragged staff.

This was the "ragged staff" which came in handy for Andrew in 1332, and it seems to come in opportunely again for his descendants. Wm. Harvy alias Clarencieux in his official genealogy of Symeon's son Robert (1558) reports that Sir John Scot-english had the soubriquet of "fustiger" (ragged-staff-bearer) because he used that device as his "crest"—"nam fustiger erat cognominatus prout ex fideli relatu habeo." The first Sir John left two sons both called John¹, of whom the younger became a merchant of Bishopsgate Street, was Sheriff of London in 1457, later an Alderman, and died in 1472 (leaving daughters only and the bulk of his property to the Tallow Chandlers' Company for charitable and other uses); his (Scot-english) daughter Candora became the wife of Richard Brooke.

5. *Sir John Stuard*, the elder son of the first Sir John called Scot-english, was born about 1407 and died in 1447.

He was adopted in childhood by John, Duke of Bedford, in whose service, until the Duke's death (in 1435), he remained, and then in that of his brother (and successor as Captain of Calais and Lord Admiral) Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. In 1421 he was "bathed" a knight on the vigil of the coronation of Queen Katherine whose shield he bore; in 1425 he was given command of the Tower of Rysbanke, one of the defences of Calais; he married, about the same year, Matilda, daughter of Sir Thomas Kyriel of Kent.

¹ Instances of brothers of the same Christian name in the same family and by the same mother are more commonly to be found than might be supposed; in the Stewart family Robert II had no less than four sons (of three mothers) of the name John, including his eldest son who nevertheless became Robert III, although he had a brother Robert (Duke of Albany). Of the other three Johns one was called the Red Stuart (of Bute), another the Black Stuart (of Dundonald), and the fourth was John Stuart of Kinlevin.

In 1435, on the death of Bedford, a commission to make a survey of and to muster the troops in France under his command was issued on 8th October to John Styward, knight, and Richard Wodeville, esquire (made on 1st Oct. 1435 lieutenant of Calais)—the same man to whom the King's tenements at Calais, formerly occupied by Sir John's father, were granted in 1409¹.

About 1440 Sir John's camp at Ponthoise was captured, he was wounded and taken prisoner with his son Thomas, and for both the ransom was fixed at 25,000 saluti².

¹ The occupation by Richard Woodville, esquire, of this particular tenement opens a side-light on an event which left its mark on English history. In June 1434 his son Richard Woodville, knight (who won his spurs at the great victory of Verneuil in 1424), came off-ship at Calais, with his retinue of twenty men-at-arms and sixty archers, to join the forces then collecting under the Duke of Bedford. The inn of the King's son at Calais lay next to the King's tenement occupied by Richard Woodville the father; there lodging in such propinquity at that time were young Sir Richard Woodville, in his father's house, and Jaquetta of Luxembourg, the second wife (1433) of John, Duke of Bedford, in her husband's house. In 1435 the Duke died and his young widow went off with the young Sir Richard and married him without the royal license; for which in March 1437 they were graciously pardoned, though Jaquetta had to pay a fine of £1000; this she could well afford, as among other of her husband's fortune she took a share in the estates and liberties of Richmond Castle. Sir Richard became Earl Rivers and it was Elizabeth Woodville, the issue of this romantic affair who, as the widow of Sir John Grey, in 1464 became the wife (another private marriage) of King Edward IV. Their unfortunate boys were to leave a tear-stain on the pages of our history as the little Princes of the Tower (cf. *King Richard III*, Act IV, Scene 3, also Scene 4); and their daughter, "the young Elizabeth," after a fortunate escape from the attentions of King Richard III was to become the mother of King Henry VIII.

² This was a princely price, "pretia et promissa que longe suas superabant vires," as Symeon puts it; and was far beyond his means; the machinery of ransom in the Middle Ages is laid bare in the MS. and it seems to have worked on similar lines to the "war indemnity" of the present day.

Sir John was severely wounded in the leg at Ponthoise and was lame thereafter; he and his boy "Thomas son jeune fiz necquere prisoners au dit Seigneur de Montasillant" were taken off loaded with chains, but as soon as able to move Sir John was allowed to go home to raise 25,000 gold

In July 1441 the Duchess of Gloucester on conviction of treason and necromancy was committed¹.

to the warde of sir Johan Stiward knyghte and of Johan Stanley squyer and othir of the kyngis hous for to be lad to the castelle of Ledis² there to be saffli kept unto iii wekis after Mighelmasse next thanne comyng.

"saluti," leaving Thomas (about in his fourteenth year) as a hostage. His father-in-law, Sir T. Kyriel, and his brother John, the merchant of Bishopsgate, took the matter up, and King Henry VI had a hand in it, subscribing 1000 marks (silver); loans were raised (from monasteries, etc.), farms and goods were sold. The first instalment (for which the receipt was preserved) of 4000 saluti was sent in 1442, through the agency of Walter Tyrrell in England and Robert Picot in France. The exchange in those days of hard cash was a matter of weight, and these gold saluti had to weigh 70 to the mark; the currency used was "rose nobles" at 35 to the mark; actually the coins fell short in weight by 16 saluti which had to be made up. [Roughly there was a little less gold in a salut than there is (or was) in half-a-sovereign; this anglo-gallic coin was first issued in 1421, apparently in connection with the marriage of Henry V and Katherine of France; it shows the royal arms of France joined to those of England with an image of the Virgin on the former, and of an angel on the latter; on the reverse a simple cross—whence the name, salut.] Both the name and the history of the salut must have seemed full of irony to Sir John in his straits, the more so that the exorbitant sum was probably attributable to his captor's knowledge of his connection with the courts of England and of France, coupled with his devotion to his young son Thomas; the Seigneur de Montassillant was out to "search his pockets." Sir John again surrendered himself in 1442 with all he could raise beyond the 4000 paid, and for the balance his knightly word was accepted; on the way home with his son they fell in with a party of French prisoners including Louis Boyle taken in Anjou by the Duke of Somerset, and at the instance of his creditors Sir John was able to effect an exchange of these prisoners against the balance of his debt. It is not stated how much had remained due; but it was a fortunate ending to an unfortunate affair.

¹ *v. Eng. Chronicle* (Camden Society), 1856, p. 58.

² Cf. *King Henry VI*, Act II, Scene 3. A *Hall of Justice*. Shakespeare here suppresses Sir John Steward, and possibly takes some other liberties with the facts. He makes *the King* sentence Eleanor to "3 days open penance," and makes her do them; and then ignoring the castles of Ledes, Chester, and Kenilworth sends her with John Stanley straight off to the Isle of Man.

Letters Patent of 9th August 1441 (Rymer's *Foedera*, Vol. x, p. 851) record: "Whereas Henry *Archbishop* of Canterbury on 25th July last in *the Chapel of St Stephens Westminster* decreed against Eleanor Duchess of

(A coincidence about this was that the other Sir John Steward (Henry V's esquire at Agincourt) was then keeper of Leeds Castle (in Kent).)

The Duchesses of Bedford and of Gloucester were not the only royal ladies with whose escapades Sir John was destined to be concerned; as Queen Katherine's knight he was formally called upon to repel suggestions of complicity in her adventure with Owen Tudor, which he seems to have succeeded in doing. His will (P.P.C. 1447: 33 Luffenham) is full of significant references¹; it will be well to set out a translation from the Latin (in small type, interspersed with comments):

In the name of God, Amen: 20 May, 1447. I, John Steward knight son of John Steward, otherwise called John Scot-english knight do make this my present testament in this manner.

This description of his father confirms the genealogy as to his origin, name and rank—

First I commend my soul to Christ my Lord and to Blessed Mary, His

Gloster for certain crimes etc. proceeding that she should remain in the King's castle of Ledes in the company of persons sworn to keep her, and, the Archbishop continuing his process against her, to appear in the said chapel on October the 1st next...."

This appointment does not appear to have been punctually kept, for on 14th October 1441 a Commission was issued to

"John Stuard constable of the Castle of Ledes [N.B. the Welshman] to provide wheat and other grain...and carriages and horses...to convey to London those persons who are in the castle by the King's command and thence back to the Castle."

On 26th October 1443 a mandate was issued to the constable of Chester Castle to bring "Eleanor Cobham" from the said castle to the castle of Kenilworth.

¹ A copy of this will is crowded into one of the last pages in the MS. volume, which indicates that Augustine did not know of its existence until late in his work; and it is evident that it was not available in 1511 for Symeon when compiling his narrative, because he wrote (MS. fol. 46 end) "*Quinquagenarius obiit; duos habuit filios Thomam et Robertum ac filiam Magdalei que dum lactaret occubuit*"; his will shows that Sir John died in 1447, therefore not 50 years old, but only 40; and also that his daughter Magdalen did not die in infancy for he left a bequest "as her marriage portion."

Consequently the story in the genealogies was independent of the evidence in corroboration of material facts, which this will affords.

Mother and to all the saints in Heaven and my body to be buried in the mother church of the town of Callais.

In which place his father was buried; after bequests of money and plate to the church and to his confessor—

Item: I bequeathe to Thomas my first-born son all my arms armour and military equipment and the ship with all her equipment called the "Grace de Dieu" which my most noble lord the Lord Duke of Bedford gave to me before his death to whose soul may God be gracious.

The Duke of Bedford was High Admiral and this was one of his great ships; it will be seen that Thomas became a noted mariner.

Item: I commit my said son to the ward of Sir Thomas Criell knight his grandfather to whom as a suppliant I appeal that he may think fit to undertake the charge and I will that out of the rents of my lands in the marches of Callais my son shall be honourably brought up in the household of his grandfather.

Sir Thomas Kyriel (Criell) was made a knight of the Garter (the 183rd) and was beheaded shortly after (1461); from him the name of Thomas came into the family. It may be mentioned that at the election for a new knight of the Garter held 13th May 1445¹ (according to the first extant "scrutiny" for such elections) Sir John was nominated from the class of knights by the Duke of Exeter (then senior knight of that order); his father-in-law Sir Thomas Kyriel, from the same class, received two nominations at this election—

Item: I bequeathe to Sir Thomas Criell a ring of gold with a diamond which the Lady Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester gave me when she lodged in my custody; item: I bequeathe to son Robert my mansion at Soffham and all my lands in Norfolk in England to hold to him and the heirs of his body begotten in wedlock.

How this house at Swaffham Market and the neighbouring lands came into Sir John's possession can be readily understood, but not precisely stated; in 1425, John, Duke of Bedford, came into possession of Richmond Castle² with all its liberties and seigniories comprising the Manor of Swaffham Market (then of the royal demesnes) with 20½ knights fees in the county of

¹ Ashmole, *Hist. of Order of the Garter* (1715).

² Blomefield's *Norfolk*, 1807, Vol. VI, p. 200.

Norfolk and rent out of lands in thirty-eight parishes. Nor can it be precisely stated at what time or under what circumstances Thomas succeeded to this property left by Sir John to his younger brother Robert in tail; in 1460 Thomas was described as being "of Norfolk," and in 1467 he was dealing, as owner, with the property. He may have been in possession of the house in 1461 when another Thomas Styward, belonging to an old local family at Swaffham Market, was described in a local register at Swaffham as Thomas Styward "the elder," perhaps to distinguish him from Thomas, son of Sir John. It will however be necessary to revert later to this point, as Mr Rye's case against the genealogy "on the English side" will be found to turn upon it—

Item : I bequeathe to Magdalen my daughter all my vessels of silver and my golden jewels as her marriage portion ; item : I bequeathe to Richard Brooke my brother my bed of green velvet embroidered with the lions and the golden ragged staves.

It must be noted that Sir John's best bed was decorated with the French King's augmentation of arms, indicating, not only that he used them, but that he attached the same value to them that his father had shown when he took the "ragged staff" for his swan-mark—

Item : I bequeathe to Alice Talmache my aunt my gilt cup which my most excellent lady the Queen Katherine gave me on her coronation day.

This bequest confirms the genealogies both as to the position which he held at the coronation, and incidentally as to his father's marriage with Mary Talmach. It will be seen that under this will most of his prized personal possessions passed away from his male issue—the diamond ring, the silver vessels and golden jewels, the embroidered bed, and the coronation cup; from his books, however, at least one volume, containing Aesop's Fables, Eva Columba and some religious writings, inscribed as being a gift to him from the Duke of Bedford, was kept by his descendants until it was presented by Archbishop Sancroft to the library at Lambeth Palace (where it now is)—

Item : I bequeathe to John my brother twenty pounds sterling.

This was a substantial "remembrance" even to a merchant of Bishopsgate and a future Sheriff and Alderman; but the

elder John had been under some obligation to the younger John in the matter of raising his ransom in 1441. [Some at least was borrowed from religious houses, and a payment of £10 on account of it is recorded to have been made as late as 1477 to the Prioress of Blackborough.]—

Item: The residue of all goods not bequeathed I commit to the disposal of Thomas Criell aforesaid whom I constitute my sole executor.

His elder son was

6. *Thomas Styward*, born about 1426, died about 1485. It will be remembered that in his will the father expressed his anxiety that the grandfather of Thomas should look after him, indicating that there had been some trouble with the young man; Sir John's constant companion both by land and sea and the solace of his labours (*sudoribus dulce solamen*), his chances of education had been wasted in the wars; "juventute sine literis trita," as young Symeon (writing himself at Cambridge) sapiently laments; the father's instinct did not deceive him, for he proved hard to hold.

Thomas is described as a man of great talents and worth combined with faults, who always took the big risks both in warfare and in business; nor could his unflinching boldness yield to losses or to advancing years; nor to his last breath would he submit either to advice or to entreaty.

This sketch of him was doubtless composed by Symeon from the reports of those who remembered him personally; and it accords with the circumstance that neither his son Richard at all, nor his grandson Nicholas for long, was brought up in his household. Thomas is described in the genealogies as a noted mariner, and he inherited the great ship "Grace de Dieu" from his father, together with lands in the Marches of Calais. Certain events in his life are instanced in documents handed down to and copied out by Augustine in 1567; in a release, dated 1460, for a loan from Beaulieu Abbey (borrowed perhaps for his ransom in 1441) he is described as being the son of Sir John, and of Norfolk; in 1462 he entered into a bond at Berwick with a cousin, Duncan Stewart of Scotland, for mutual assurance (penalty 10,000 "livres"); in 1464 he secured the submission of Roos of the Haukeheide knight; in a deed dated

1467 he deals with lands at and near Swaffham Market, as owner, at which time in London he lodged at the Temple; and in 1469 he convoyed five King's ships from Bristol.

Mr Rye indicates certain reasons for which he rejects Augustine's documents referred to above; he states that Thomas was "called a knight in 1462," "drops his title in 1467," and "reassumes his knighthood in 1469," but these statements are unfounded as Thomas is not, in any of these documents¹, described as a knight, and in all cases as the son of John Steward knight; he ironically writes of the "magnificent penalty of £10,000" and asks why a "Norfolk merchant" should go to Berwick, and implies that Duncan Stewart was a myth (p. 41, note 1) because "I cannot trace him," but he converts "livres" into pounds sterling, and assumes that Thomas was a landsman and not a mariner; Roos of Hawkhead he regards as "an imaginary Scottish knight" (p. 41), but in fact Sir John Ross of Hawkhead in Renfrew was a noted fighting man of considerable position and importance².

Thomas was twice married; first to the daughter of Sir John Hamerton, the mother of his son and heir Richard, and again to "Alice," who survived him, claiming dower upon his house called King's Hall in Outwell; he died, about 1485, at the age of about 60. There is a certain element of mystery about the history of his son Geoffrey of Norwich, "by a second wife"; it may be that the whole of the facts about the mother of his great-uncle Geoffrey had not been imparted to young Symeon in 1511.

7. *Richard Stywarde* by the arrangement of his mother, whom he lost at an early age, was brought up at Ramsey Abbey in County Hunts, as the seafaring life of his father Thomas prevented a settled home; he was a favourite there and the Abbot "wrote him down" his heir. At first devoting himself to the literary, artistic and religious influences of the place, as he grew up he took eagerly its opportunities for

¹ This criticism of Mr Rye's is traceable to the printed Index to the MS. at the British Museum; but references to the text would have shown him the mistakes.

² See Crawford's *History of Renfrew* (1818), p. 515.

hawking, hunting and other forms of sport. It was thought advisable that he should marry young, and a match was arranged for him with Alice, one of the daughters and the ultimate heir of John Borely of Isleham in County Cambs, whose mother was daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Walkfare; John Borely was a layman holding high office in respect of the revenues of Ramsey Abbey and was also auditor of the accounts of Ely Priory. About his thirtieth year Richard put his affairs at home in order, and carried out a long-cherished wish to visit Scotland and his kinsmen there; he was received at the Court and entertained in the country; but on a hunting expedition got a chill and returned home painfully by slow stages to die, about 1478. He had three sons, Nicholas, Thomas and Robert, of whom Nicholas and Thomas survived him, as did also his father Thomas.

8. *Nicholas Stward* of Wells (Upwell and Outwell), son of Richard, was born about 1466 and died in 1498. About twelve years old when his father died, soon after he went as a student to Cambridge which was more suitable for him than the house of his grandfather Thomas, whose advancing years were attended with some decline of wisdom, and some irregularity of domestic conduct. From there he brought a reputation for scholarship to the Middle Temple where he became an accomplished lawyer. [An interesting relic of those days was handed down to his descendants, now preserved as one of the treasures at the Lambeth Library, in his 13th century MS. copy (decorated with his arms) of Bracton's *Laws of England*.] When still young he married Cecily Baskerville (a "heraldic" heiress) and had to divide his attention between his books and his children (*libris et liberis*); never strong, his health declined, and he died in 1498 leaving a numerous family; of his will (P.C.C. 1498: 28 Horne) one of the executors was his brother Thomas Stuard of Soffham, who took, through his grandfather Thomas, the property there which his great-grandfather Sir John left by his will. This brother, Thomas of Swaffham, died in 1511, and Mr Rye's case "on the English side" represents him to have been the son of Thomas Styward of Swaffham (in 1461 described as Thomas Styward "the elder") who was the son and heir of a

local landowner of Swaffham (of age and living there in 1405) named Thomas Styward and of Cecily his wife. To this Thomas (who died 1433) and to Cecily his wife a memorial window was placed in Swaffham Church; and if Thomas of Swaffham (who died in 1511) and Nicholas of Wells, his brother (who died in 1498), were in fact the grandsons of this local Thomas (who died in 1433), it is evident that they were not descended from Sir John of Calais, or any Scottish Steward. In support of his proposition Mr Rye brings no arguments and adduces no facts; he asserts that "there can be little doubt" and assumes that it "must" have been so¹; he ignores the fact that there were two families named Styward, owning land in Swaffham, at the same times (both before and after 1447); a coincidence which might lead to some natural confusion of identities in after years, but not *at the times* in question.

If the Prior of Ely was descended from Thomas of Swaffham who died in 1433, but nevertheless represented himself to have been descended from Thomas of Swaffham, the son of Sir John of Calais and of Swaffham who died in 1447, there can be no question that this was a lie and that he knew it. Nor was he the only person who knew it was a lie; his uncle, Geoffrey Steward (Sheriff of Norwich, 1500), son of Thomas, the mariner, and Geoffrey's son, the Prior's cousin, Augustine (M.P. for Norwich and thrice Mayor), would have known it too, and many of their friends and fellow-citizens:—Thomas of Swaffham, his uncle (who died 1511) and his issue then living at Swaffham, would also have known that it was a lie, and they, too, acquiesced in it and adopted it for their own. It could hardly have failed to arouse some surprise and some indignation when the people of Swaffham found the folk, whom they knew to be the descendants of Thomas and Cecily his wife, repudiating their old and respectable local origin in the place where they still were living, and denying their stained-glass ancestry in the very church where they confessed their sins.

Which of the Prior's relations at the home of his father Nicholas of Wells would not have known that it was a lie? His mother Cecily (Baskerville), his brothers, Richard and

¹ *Genealogist*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 39.

Nicholas and their wives (Elizabeth (Cossyn) and Elizabeth (Lucas)) and Cecily (Boys) wife of Geoffr y of Norwich, all of Wells, they must all have been in it too; his brothers Sym on (of Lakenheath in Suffolk) and William (of Bozeat in Northants) and Thomas (of Ely) and John; his nephews, Geoffr y (of Guestwick) and William (of Ely, grandfather of Oliver Cromwell) whose wife was Katherine (Payne of *Swaffham*), and his nieces and their husbands must all have known the truth.

In 1520 Garter King of Arms was

instantly required by Robert Steward of Ely Clarke son of Nicholas son of Richard son of Thomas son of Sir John Steward knight etc. to deliver unto him a true note of the bering and quartering of the armes of hys ancestors and made serch in his register and found indeed the same to have been very diverslye by divers of that name borne and used for some time.

and so forth; and in respect of this Dr Round (*Genealogist*, 1893, N.S., Vol. x, p. 19) extends his suspicions of the Prior to include the Coll ge of Arms, and suggests that the "heralds had a hand in the concoction"; so Garter and the heralds must be added to the list of those who knew it was a lie.

But what are we to think about Ely? Would this young clerk, Robert of Wells, have been chosen as the head and Prior of one of the most renowned and dignified of the religious houses¹ of England, if this lie had been known there? Was there among

¹ The mixed monastery of Ely, founded in 673 by Saint Audrey daughter of the King of the East Angles and wife of the King of Northumbria, was by her endowed with the principality of the Isle; King Edgar restored it in 970 for monks only; and in 1109 the Abbot was replaced by a Bishop and a Prior, the monastery church becoming a "conventual cathedral" built up to its magnificent beauty from the revenues of this princely palatinate. Its high reputation for hospitality was helped by the abundance in the surrounding fens of flesh, fish and fowl; not only of the "eels" to which the Venerable Bede attributed its name; an early poet wrote that to see a feast at Ely after a feast at another abbey was to see the day after the night.

That Prior Robert tried to keep up to this mark is indicated by such expenditure as £43. 11s. 11d. on the Lord Cardinal's (Wolsey) visitation in 1529; 20 shillings for the King's singers at the Feast of St Etheldreda (Audrey); and £60 for "sundry silver vessels boughte by the Lord Prior." (Stevenson's "Supplement to Bentham's *Ely*" (1817)). The Lord Prior's

the old monks none to remember young Richard Stywarde of Ramsey Abbey, son-in-law of John Borely¹, the auditor of Ely Priory? Would no rumour or tale have come to the ears of Nicholas West, the Bishop of Ely, and would he have suffered a man by report so false and so foolish to become his Prior? Would Thomas Goderich, who succeeded Nicholas West as the Bishop of Ely (later Lord Chancellor of England) have nominated Prior Robert (as he did in 1436) to be made a Bishop?

It is not necessary to pursue the argument; it has served to show the impossible position in which Robert would have found himself if he had wished and had tried to change the line of his descent in the life-time of those who knew his origin, and in the places where he was born and brought up, and where they were yet living. If any fact or facts were established which suggested that the Prior had not written down his genealogy in good faith, it would be another story; but until they were it was a mistake on the part of Mr Rye not to recognize that Dr Round had demolished his house of cards in 1893. Augustine could not continue in the rôle of "compiler or concoctor, which

expenses "rideing up to London and staying there from the 14th March to the 7th April," seem relatively moderate at £12. 11s. 5½*d.*

He had to fill a critical position in troubled times, and the fact that he sent a present (costing £12. 8s. 4*d.*) to Queen Anne (Boleyn) on her coronation in June 1533 (three months before the birth of Queen Elizabeth), prepares the mind to learn that he took his monastery over from the Pope to the King at the Reformation; this got him the Deanery with £120 a year, but also enemies and abuse. Richard Cromwell wrote to his brother, Lord Cromwell, that he found him "of a frowarde sorte," and Wharton in *Anglia Sacra*, acknowledging his services as a historian, complained that he was inflated with the pride of birth.

The report which lived after him in his family may fairly be set down (translated):

"As a man he was one of the most rare life, constant in watch and in prayer, his body contrite with fasting, aloof from worldly wealth and of honours disdainful. For himself needy and sparing, yet prodigal and rich for the poor and those in want; he was mindful of and grateful for all deeds done in his behalf, on the morrow forgetting any injuries done to him today; in fine you will not easily in many thousands find one like to him."

¹ John Borely was buried at Isleham, near Ely; his other daughter Anna (Stutfield) died s.p. about 1511.

you will, of the family history¹" in 1567 because, as Dr Round pointed out, it had certainly been compiled in 1522, twenty years before he was born; but Mr Rye did not allow that announcement to disconcert him. On the contrary in his *Norfolk Families* (1913), p. 862, he dealt with this *débâcle*, seeming gratified that "no less a man" than Dr Round had "adopted" his conclusions and had also "improved" them!

Dr Round certainly had adopted them, but without making any independent inquiry about the facts of the case, notwithstanding the ignorance of their subject, on a fundamental point, which he himself was then bringing home to Mr Rye and Mr Bain. Them he properly described as "eminent experts"; but however eminent a genealogist may be, he cannot come to a right conclusion without knowing the facts; and however expert he may be, he cannot know the facts without reference to the recognized sources of information.

Seemingly satisfied with the assumption that the genealogy was a fiction, they spared themselves the time and the trouble involved in deciphering and in translating the text of Augustine's MS. volume; though by the neglect of this course they ran the risk of finding themselves in a false position. It is less easy to comprehend why no one should have taken the precaution of inspecting the wills of the "relevant individuals" as Dr Round calls them; an expenditure of one or two hours of time and of four or five shillings in money at Somerset House² would have

¹ *Genealogist*, Jan. 1885, p. 40.

² The following references to wills in P.C.C. may be convenient:

- 1498: Nicholas S. of Wells: 28 Horne;
- 1558: Robert S., Dean of Ely: 13 Noodes;
- 1568: Symeon S. of Lakenheath: 10 Babington;
- 1571: Robert S. of Lincoln's Inn: 24 Holney;
- 1583: Joan S. of Lakenheath: 7 Butts;
- 1597: Augustine S. of Inner Temple: 45 Cobham.

The following will of the father of Joan S. wife of Symeon of Lakenheath may be worth setting out for the homely atmosphere which it breathes.

Edward Bestenay of Soham; P.C.C. 1540: 15 Alenger.

"Admors: Alice the relict, Margaret a daughter and her husband, Edward Barnys.

"To Alice my wife £100 in gold; eight bullocks; my black ambling nag,

established for them beyond doubt the order of descent in the generations between Nicholas of Wells (died 1498) and his sons Prior Robert of Ely (died 1557) and Symeon of Lakenheath (died 1568); and Augustine (died 1597) the son of Symeon.

But in ignorance of the indisputable facts Mr Rye and Dr Round and (following them) the writer of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "Robert Steward Styward (or Wells) first Dean of Ely," each evolved a separate and distinct account of the relationship—all three differing from the true account, and also from each other, as follows:

(a) In a note (on page 40), *Genealogist*, 1885, N.S., Vol. II, Mr Rye wrote:

I cannot but think that Augustine Steward of the Inner Temple—the compiler etc.—must have been descended from him (Geoffrey of Norwich), and not from Nicholas as alleged.

(b) On page 19 of *Genealogist*, 1893, N.S., Vol. x, and again

and my trotting gelding with the white face; also 40 combes of malt, etc.; also 80 ewes in Stontney flock and 60 hogs in Avys flock; also $\frac{1}{2}$ my household stuff;

"To the poor so much money as my exors and my son Barnes and my son Steward shall think necessary. To the poor of Barnwell 13/4; to every poor house in Soham 4d.; various sums to the poor of Wykyng, Fordham, Iselham, Frickynnham, Chypnam, Snaykelwell, Llanwade, Exenyng, Lakynheth, Barway and Stontney. If my exors and sons think that these towns have too much or too little they shall order everything as they think best;

"My wife is to have as much fuel as she shall spend at her pleasure;

"To each of Symyon's Steward children Robert, Edward, Marke, John, Thomas, and Margaret £6: 13: 4;

"To Edward Barnys, my manor of Netherhall Henny and Bugbeche;

"To the highways of Soham £20 and repairs of church £20;

"To my son Steward my farms of Stontney with the flock of sheep;

"To my son Barnes, all my sheep in keeping of Edmund Avice;

"To Alice my wife, all my holts and lakes beyond the mere, and all the holts and lakes this side the mere for her life, and after her death to my son Bernys;

"Mr Keldermyster to have one of my young horses;

"My hangings about the walls to remain with the house as well as a great coffer in the soler, the long table in the hall, the clock and the mill;

"Residue to deeds of charity.

"Witnesses—Edward Barnys, Symyon Stuerde, etc."

in his *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (1901), Dr Round set out

a brief chart pedigree to connect the relevant individuals

showing Symeon to be the *brother* of (his father) Nicholas, and the *uncle* of (his brother) Prior Robert.

(c) The article in the *Dictionary* has it explicitly that Prior Robert was

the eldest *son* of Simeon Steward and his wife Joan etc.

The writer in the *Dictionary* referred to the combined authority of Dr Round and Mr Rye for his version of Prior Robert's biography, which accordingly resolved itself into an attack upon his pedigree; but he found the matter rather confused (though for some of the ten to a dozen mistakes in half a page the writer was himself responsible)¹.

Those who have made imputations against a family, the members of which had been respected, and the history undoubted, for so long, will not be disposed to complain of fair criticism; but as in this case these charges have been brought

¹ The following passage is an example: "The family of which...Oliver Cromwell's mother was a later member descended from a Sir John Steward (d. 1448) (*sic*), a kinsman of the royal house of Scotland who came to England in Henry V's (*sic*) reign. Apparently however the Stewards of Norfolk were settled there long before the arrival of the somewhat fabulous Sir John, who is presumably meant to be Sir John Stuart or Stewart (1365?—1429) [q.v.] and the name was usually spelt Styward."

Having already four John Stewards to be identified in London as well as four Thomas Stywards to be distinguished at Swaffham, the writer unkindly introduces another Sir John Stuart or Stewart who died in 1429, and who, as he presumes, is "meant to be" the same person as Sir John Steward, who died in 1448 [N.B. this was the Welshman]; the epithet "somewhat fabulous" may therefore be assigned to the period of his existence between 1429 and 1448.

The writer makes the common mistake of regarding variants of spelling as significant; the same man's name is often found in those days spelt in a variety of ways, both by himself and by others, even in the same document; as a rule, nothing whatever turns upon such variants. Further it should be observed, that "Steward" etc. as a surname was widespread in various counties; a mistaken inference might be drawn from such a phrase as "the Stewards of Norfolk."

by men of high authority and of established reputation in their profession, it should readily be conceded that, although mistakes have been made, they were made in good faith, and that they do admit of some such explanation, as may here be afforded by the recent history of the subject.

In 1845 the British Museum acquired and indexed the MS. volume of Augustine Steward (Add. MSS. 15644).

In 1862 M. Michel's book *Les Ecosais en France* was published in which reference was made (Vol. I, pp. 91-2) to Sir Alexander Stuart and to his father Sir Andrew, and in the notes were set out as extracts from this MS. volume—(i) the terms of the deed of "release" between the Earl of Angus and Sir Alexander (dated 1390) to which his seal attached was said to have been in the device of a warrior on foot striking with a knotted club at a rampant lion, and also—(ii) the terms of the grant of augmentation of arms by King Charles VI of France, illustrated by a small picture of the same scene as painted in the margin of the original document.

The material words of this grant have been given above, and upon it M. Michel wrote (translated): "It is enough to cast the eye on these pretended letters of concession to recognise the patois of an Englishman little familiar with the language spoken at Paris at the end of the fourteenth century, and to doubt the fact asserted by the writer." With due respect to the authority of M. Michel, it was by no means "enough to cast the eye on" this grant before expressing any such opinion; it was necessary also to consider the circumstances under which it was made, the character and purpose of the grant, and the country in which it was to be used before deciding in what form of dialect it might be expected to run. The grant was addressed to the people not of Paris, but of Scotland to whom "the ffrensh of Parys was unknowe"; it refers to points of Scottish heraldry and to events and persons in Scotland long past or dead; it was probably drawn up on the instructions, if not at the dictation of Alexander himself, by some Scottish herald. When the French King put his seal to it it may have been present to his mind that this flattering recollection, and recognition, of services would be available to encourage other

Scottish soldiers of fortune to engage in service at the Court of the French Kings, where they were at that time in great demand.

In May 1878, Mr Hartshorne, the secretary, exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland "A piece of painted glass within a genealogical tree of the family of Stewart" of which the centre panel was a copy of the picture in the margin of the "Grant" of 1385, and around it medallion portraits of the representatives of fifteen generations ending with William of Ely (the grandfather of Oliver Cromwell), dated 1574. It was unfortunate that the picture in question was then (see *Arch. Journal*, xxxv) wrongly described as representing "A traditional event in the life of Sir *Alexander (sic) Stewart*," and more unfortunate that the true history of the event and the explicit terms of the French King's grant should not have been known to the exhibitor, and most unfortunate that for the real reason of the grant should have been substituted the fantastic story that Sir Alexander (p. 302) killed a lion with a stick in the presence of King Charles VI, which so pleased his Majesty that he immediately granted him an addition to his arms!

In the next No. 140 of the *Arch. Journal*, 1878, Vol. xxxv, Mr J. Bain published some notes referred to above, on this painted glass, which supply a link in the chain of misunderstanding in this case. He knew the terms of the grant from reading them in M. Michel's *Écossais en France*, but he also had read the subsequent fantastic version of the event which has had a wide circulation and was cited from Noble's *Memoirs of the House of Cromwell* (1787), Vol. II, p. 192. He represented (on p. 400) that Augustine's MS. was primarily responsible for this rubbish, which it is not either directly or indirectly; and (on p. 401) he wrote

The MS. seems to contain evidence that Augustin Stewart concocted or discovered the French King's grant.

The fact is evident that he had read but little of the MS., and had read that little wrong; he writes

In the 6th of Elizabeth he (Augustin) procured from William Hervie
C. A. S. Comm. Vol. XXVII.

(Clarencieux) on the strength of some old writings" a confirmation of the debraised lion (MS. f. 70).

A reference to the text will show that what Clarencieux confirmed was Augustine's right to bear the debraised lion as his coat, and the roebuck as his crest, either alone or together with all the others of his hereditary arms; and he did this "on the strength" not of "some old writings," but (translated):

as abundantly appears both from a large number of very old Rolls of our records and in the official books of Arms and in our Armories that remain from ancient times, and also from divers other writings, which remain in the possession of the said Augustine shown to us and sealed with the seals of the emblems and of the arms of his ancestors.

That is a different story, and Mr Bain did not improve matters by continuing:

But in the 15th of Elizabeth he (Augustin) produced an "Auncyent Instrument or Charter made by Charles the French Kinge" to the then Clarencieux "Robert Cooke Esquyer" which officer, dazzled by its magniloquence, conferred the combatant knight and lion on Augustin Steward, etc.

Mr Bain cannot have read to the end of the document or he must have realized that what Augustine did was to deposit the original scroll of the French grant with Clarencieux, receiving from him in return an acknowledgment of his rights in the grant, and a certified office copy thereof; Mr Bain rather derides some moral sentiments of the "worthy herald," which he quotes, stopping however at the point where these words follow (MS. fol. 73):

And therefore having caused this trewe transcripce of this saide auncyent Instrument to be made, not varyinge or defferinge from the orrignall eyther in worde sillable or letter, which together with the figure or porturature in the margent of the said auncient charter I have here in this margent sett downe and depaynted, in all poyntes and partes thereof like unto answerable with the said *auncyent origynall itself*, as by the comparinge of this with it, *which remayneth in our office*, shall from time to time appeare; In Witnes whereof I the said clarencieux to theis patentes have subscribed my name and sette the seale of my office ycooven, the fourteenth day of februarye in the yere of the Reigne of our soveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of god Quene of Englande ffrance and Irelande, Defender of the faith, &c, the fyvethtenth

Roberte Cooke Clarencieux

Roy darmes.

If Mr Bain had known the facts of the case as to the life and death of Scot-english and of his son, Sir John, and that Scot-english had taken the ragged staff from his hereditary arms for his swan-mark, and that he had worn it on his helmet as his cognisance and was called "Fustiger" accordingly, and that his son Sir John had had his best velvet bed embroidered with the lions and the golden ragged staves, and so forth, he would doubtless have studied the MS. more carefully; and he would have realized that these "cadets of the Scottish Stewarts," as he believed them to be, used the French King's grant because they had cause to be proud of it; and that Alexander, who gained it, was proud of it too for the worthy and generous reason that it was given in honour of his own father, Andrew.

In July 1884 and January 1885 Mr Rye published the papers in the *Genealogist* which Dr Round has told us "finally disposed" of this "spurious pedigree" and destroyed it "root and branch." But Mr Rye set out, as will appear on reference to these articles, under the impression that he was "examining critically" (1885: p. 34) a fairy tale, written up in 1567, in which a vagabond lawyer, who "really sprang from a Norfolk family probably of illegitimate descent and certainly of no credit or renown, which had been settled at Swaffham long before" (*id.* p. 42), pretended instead to be descended from an entirely fictitious person, so fierce that he killed a lion with a stick, and so courtly that he performed the feat in the presence of the King of France (*id.* p. 34). And then this story was supported by such a wealth of ingenious and original forgeries that everyone living at the time, and since (even Mr Bain), was taken in; but, as not infrequently happens, "Luckily, he (the concoctor).....got mixed up.....(*id.* p. 41)!" Certainly it looks like that, as the French "grant" of arms, his *chef-d'œuvre*, gives the go-by altogether to Fierce Alexander and a real lion, and descants instead upon Father Andrew and a heraldic lion.

Admitting that somebody got mixed up, Mr Rye in 1885 said it was Augustine, and Dr Round in 1893 suggested Prior Robert as an amendment; but there was no question that Robert, or Augustine, could have made any mistake about the parentage of Thomas of Swaffham (died 1511); and if the

mind of Mr Rye had been free from the suspicion engendered by all these other misapprehensions, he would hardly have drawn the conclusion which he did from the coincidence (not in itself very strange) of two persons of the name of Steward owning land at Swaffham at the same time, e.g. in 1447.

This "exposure" in 1885 had all turned on the proposition that Augustine concocted the pedigree in 1567, and that proposition, at the instance of Dr Round in 1893, was abandoned; no attempt has been made to re-erect the argument on any other basis; nor does it seem anyhow practicable to do so¹.

There is another issue to be remembered in this controversy. If this family history were put together in good faith, it is a valuable as well as an interesting record; but apart from the matters of fact and of evidence, this question of good faith remains, and it should be dealt with in fairness to the memory of those whose characters have been vilified some centuries after they were dead.

The only testimony now available for them is such record of their lives as may yet remain, and that accordingly follows in some detail.

9. *Symeon Stewarde* of Lakenheath was an infant at his father's death in 1498. In 1511, when a student at Cambridge, he put together from available sources the family record which his son Augustine copied out more than fifty years later. He married (when about 28 years of age) Joan (about 17 years) daughter and co-heir of Edward Bestney of Soham.

With reference to the family arms in 1558 Clarencieux, after confirming

the auncient arms belonging to that house and family whereof he was descended

granted to Symeon

by way of encrease for his creaste and cognisance a Roo-bucke in his proper collers, a crowne about his necke;

¹ It should be stated that the information obtained in recent years on this subject has from time to time been notified to Mr Rye, and also to Dr Round. It is satisfactory to know that, notwithstanding the lapse of time, Mr Rye has the opportunity of considering facts previously unknown to him, and if so advised of reconsidering his conclusions.

it may be noted that this crest was adopted in memory of his ancestor, Sir Thomas Kyriel, K.G. (beheaded in 1461 after the battle of St Albans), whose cognisance had been a roe-buck's head. In the same year Symeon's eldest son Robert had, from the same King of Arms (for Suffolk), a confirmation of his genealogy.

With reference to the family estates in Suffolk, and the Isle of Ely, after the death of Symeon and of his eldest son Robert (his will P.C.C. 1570: 24 Holney), the widow Joan¹ held for life the manors of Lakenheath, Underly and Little Barton in Suffolk; and the manors of Stuntney, Manye, Thornye, Covenye, Wardye, Lyles-in-Chateris, and Tindall-in-Chateris, all in the Isle of Ely; and also the lands in Soham, Fordham, Chipenham, and Freckenham, which she had inherited. To them was added by purchase from Lord Howard de Walden (before 1581) his estate with the manor and the advowson of Braughing, Herts; this estate was settled upon her son John, whose sister Margaret had married Sir John Brograve of Hamelles in Braughing. [Braughing was finally sold out of the family in 1690; there were descendants of her son Sir Mark at Stuntney and of her son Thomas at Little Barton for nearly two hundred years.]

There was something of the patriarchal about the house of Symeon and Joan at Lakenheath; of children christened they had ten sons and three daughters; three died quite young and the boy Symeon at the age of 14.

The eldest son *Robert*, of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and of Lincoln's Inn, born about 1526, died in 1570, and was buried in Ely Cathedral²; he appears to have acquired a good deal of property by his profession in London.

¹ From 1570 to 1583 she administered this large and scattered estate to the advantage, and for the benefit, of numerous sons and daughters; she was doubtless helped greatly to these results by the circumstance that the head-bailiff or agent of the property was a man named Kitchener, whose descendants for succeeding generations flourished at Lakenheath.

A tablet recently fixed on the wall of the church, opposite to that which bears the memorial to Joan Stewarde, records the long connection with Lakenheath of the family to which Field-Marshal Earl Kitchener belonged.

² Bentham's *Ely*, Appendix, p. 48 (engraving), (1812): p. 49.

Edward, of St John's College, Cambridge, was twice married, but at his death (about ?1590) left only one daughter Joan, the wife of Sir Thomas Jermy, K.B.; his second wife was his cousin Helen, sister of Mrs Elizabeth Cromwell.

Sir Mark of Stuntney, of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, served as High Sheriff of Co. Hants in 1597, and on his death in 1603 was near eighty; he left a son, Sir Simeon, and a daughter Mary (wife of Sir William Forster, K.B.); and was buried in Ely Cathedral.

John of Nicholas Hostel, Cambridge, and of Gray's Inn, later of Braughing, married Anne, daughter and heir of Humphrey Shouldham, through whom he took the manors of Marham and of Shouldham in Norfolk; he was buried at Marham in 1604, leaving five sons and six daughters.

Thomas of Gray's Inn and of Barton died after 1604, leaving several sons and daughters.

Augustine of the Inner Temple is referred to later.

Nicholas of Trinity College (1560) and of Trinity Hall (1564) was a Doctor of Law and M.P. for Cambridge 1604—1611. He purchased the manor of Hartley Maudit, Hants, in 1614; he died, aged 88, in 1633, and was buried at St Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Margaret was the wife of Sir John Brograve of Hamelles in Braughing (Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1583—1613); she died in 1593.

Alys was the wife of Thomas Bettes of Chatteris; on her death in 1573 she was buried in St Mary's Church in the Savoy, now called the Chapel Royal. (An engraving of her monument there is in Pinkerton's *Iconographia Scotica* (1797); in Stow's *London*, 1720, it is described as a "very fair tomb"; it was destroyed by fire in 1864.)

In bringing up his family, Symeon moved with the spirit of that age and gave them the advantages of education which he and his father Nicholas had enjoyed, in arts at Cambridge and in law at London¹. Joan survived her husband for fifteen years

¹ The connection between the Inns of Court and the near descendants of Nicholas Stuard of Wells (died 1498) of the Middle Temple was so close

and died in 1583, aged 75 or more; both are buried at Lakenheath. One item from Symeon's will (as above) should be quoted:

and so continued as to be of interest; the respective dates of admission are given.

At the Middle Temple: Nicholas was followed by a great-grandson, Nicholas S. of Pattishall, Northants (about 1580), and his two sons, George S. (1610) and John S. (1613).

At Lincoln's Inn: Robert S., son of Symeon of Lakenheath (1547), and Sir Nicholas S. (1st Baronet), great-grandson of Symeon (1634).

At the Inner Temple: Edward S., son of Symeon of Lakenheath (1549), and his brother Augustine S. (1564).

At Gray's Inn: Geoffrey S., of Guestwick near Norwich, eldest grandson of Nicholas (1532); Thomas S., son of Symeon of Lakenheath (1563); Symon S., son of Dr Nicholas S. and father of Sir Nicholas of L. T. above (1590); Sir Thomas S., uncle of Oliver Cromwell (1590); Sir Symeon S., grandson of Symeon of Lakenheath (1593); Augustine S., grandson of Augustine of I. T. above (1622); Thomas S., grandson of Thomas of G. I. 1563 (1630); to these must be added John Stywarde of Marham and Shouldham, Norfolk, and of Braughing, Herts, son of Symeon of Lakenheath who was admitted to Gray's Inn (1555) in the same year as Sir John Brograve of Hamelles in Braughing, Herts—for thirty years Attorney General of the Duchy of Lancaster—who afterwards married John S.'s elder sister, Margaret S. of Lakenheath. That their two families together owed a great debt to Gray's Inn may be illustrated by the names and dates of admission of their sons and grandsons:—

Of John Stywarde (1555), the sons were Humphrey S. (1604), Francis S. (1605), William S. (1614); the grandsons Hoo S. (1630), John S. (1649), and Humphrey S. (1654);

Of John Brograve (1555), the sons were Symeon B. (1589) and John B. (1593); the grandsons John B. (1612), Thomas B. (1617), Edward B. (1624), Augustine B. (1624) and Robert B. (1625); the great-grandsons Simeon B. (1652), and Thomas B. (1653), and finally Sir Thomas B., 1st baronet (1690). The ultimate relations between Hoo S. (1630) and the authorities of Gray's Inn made the end of this connection between the family and the Honourable Society not altogether happy. It was probably by way of a gracious recognition that Hoo should have been admitted in his tenth year (1630); he was called to the Bar in 1648; of the Grand Company of Auncients in 1654, and became a Bencher of the Inn in 1660. In 1664 his senior Sir Solomon Swayle refused (acting on some principle, not now recognisable) to take the office of Reader, was fined £100, and disbenched; Hoo according to his antiquity was told off to read instead, and for refusing was fined £100 and disbenched; in 1668 Swayle and Hoo S. and four others were fined each £100; and in 1671 Hoo again with others was fined £100 "for not reading." It now seems a pity.

I bequeathe to my son Robert my swan-mark of the ragged staff which was my father's Nicholas ; and to my son Edward my swan-mark of the stillatory which was my father-in-law's Bestney ; and to my son Mark my swan-mark of W.

The hereditary swan-mark of the "ragged staff" (see above)—taken from the French King's grant of arms—was thus transferred to Robert in the seventh generation from Sir John Scotchenglish the original owner, as the last link in a chain of direct descent of property ; so once again the ragged staff of Sir Andrew in the 14th century deals a shrewd blow on the "coart Lyons" of the 20th century.

10. *Augustine Steward*, born at Lakenheath 1542, a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge (1560), of the Inner Temple (1564); died 1597 ; he was twice married, first in 1577 to Lucy, daughter of Laurence Searle, second in 1580 to Anne, daughter of Thomas Argall, by whom of three sons and three daughters Augustine and Margaret survived him.

He lived in London and amassed there a considerable property presumably by practice of his profession. He was the intimate friend of his brother-in-law, Sir John Brograve, and his monument is placed with the Brograve family memorials in the chancel of the parish church at Braughing, Herts (where his brother John Stywarde was lord of the manor). His will contains the following entries :

To daughter Margaret, the farms of Wisbeck and of Barton, and lands in Ely ; for her life, the great gilt bason and ewer which had belonged to her grandmother, the Lady Alington ; also the household effects in my dwelling-house at Hogsdon (Horton) Middlesex.

To son Augustine, the income from lands at Great Hadham and Little Hadham, Herts towards his maintenance in learning ; also the site of the monastery of Barking with the grange, and the vineyard which he is to have from my brothers Marke and Thomas ; also my lands in Barking and the lease of my dwelling-house in Smithfield after his mother's death ; also my rings with my seals of arms and the great agate with a "morriour head" which I value at £50 and have worn for over thirty years :

To my wife, all other jewels and effects :

To Dorothy Argall, an annuity of £20 charged on the parsonage of Canewdon in Essex with remainder to my wife for life, etc.

To Thomas Sisley, an annuity of £50 charged on the lands in Upwell and Outwell (late Mr Alyn's) and on West Ferine farm, etc. with

remainder to my wife for life, etc. As witness, his brother-in-law, Sir John Brograve.

Here, for the present purpose, the story of the family may end, passing them out "by the same door wherein they went" at the beginning of the chapter; near the time when Oliver Cromwell came into the world and the Royal Stuart to England.

It cannot be precisely stated whether James VI of Scotland and I of England knew, or cared, anything about the origin of the Ely Stewards; on the day before his coronation he did, in fact, confer knight-hoods¹ upon Mark Steward of Stuntney and upon his son, Simeon; and in the following year upon Thomas Stewarde of Ely (the brother of Elizabeth Cromwell, whose boy, Oliver, was then just five years old). Further, in the Heralds' visitation of Co. Cambs in 1619 (Harleian Society—Clay, 1897) the Scottish connection was set out with more detail in reference to collaterals than was strictly requisite.

Charles I showed much favour to Dr Richard Steward (son of Nicholas Stuarde of Pattishall) who, in 1633, became his Chaplain in Ordinary and Clerk of the Closet²; in 1646 King

¹ Sir Mark died in November of the same year (1603), and upon his monument in Ely Cathedral his Scottish descent was set out, and his recent distinction referred to in a way which suggests that his son Simeon (who erected the tomb) had, whether rightly or wrongly, construed the distinction as implying a recognition by the King of descent from the same original stock as himself. (See Bentham's *Ely*, Appendix, p. 48 (1812).)

This Sir Simeon (of Magdalene, Cambridge, and of Stuntney) was something of a minor poet.

² The preferments and dignities of Dr Steward made a fine collection, though some of them he never enjoyed, and was finally dispossessed of all by the Parliament. He was christened at Pattishall, August 1595; left Westminster School for (Magdalen Hall) Oxford, 1609; fellow of All Souls', 1613. In 1630 he became rector of Mildenhall, near Little Barton (on the estate of Symeon Steward at Lakenheath, where his kinsman Thomas in 1630 was living); already a prebend of Worcester, he became Dean of Chichester in 1635 and also received an annuity of £100; in 1638 he was prebend of Westminster; in 1641 Dean of St Paul's (but did not enter into office); in 1642 prebend also of St Pancras, and in 1643 Dean also of the Chapel Royal; in 1645 Dean of Westminster.

In 1639 he was made Provost of Eton—under a special dispensation from the rule as to appointing only old Etonians.

In the abortive last effort at Uxbridge in 1645, to find a formula which

Charles wrote to the Prince of Wales, recommending Dr Richard as a trusty servant, to whose opinion he should defer in all things concerning conscience. This trust Dr Richard fulfilled faithfully, both towards Charles II and his brother James, sharing their exile in France; the King visited him twice when on his death-bed in 1651, at Paris. At the Restoration in 1660, Charles II bestowed a baronetcy on Nicholas Steward (Stuart of Hartley Maudit), great-grandson of Symeon of Lakenheath, who had suffered in fortune from his loyal attitude.

During this time Richard's kinswoman, Elizabeth Cromwell (full ninety years of age), had been (unwillingly enough) translated to Whitehall, passing her days there in uneasiness for Oliver's safety when out of her sight. She died in November 1654, and her body (her spirit again unwilling) was laid in Westminster Abbey, to which brief resting-place Oliver himself (he died 3rd September) followed her about 20th November, 1658.

The ceremonial of his obsequies¹ was exceptionally protracted and elaborate; among the Banner Rolls then displayed there was:

On the first, at the head, His Highness' arms, impaling Stuard (Steward): or, a fesse checquy argent and azure; on an escutcheon argent, a lion rampant gules debruised with a bend fretty or—

that is to say, the ragged staff.

might reconcile the King and the Parliament he was deputed to advise and to exhort the Commissioners; Whitelocke reported that he "spak very learnedly, but seeming *frowardly*" against Presbyterianism; this was the same term which had been applied (see note on Prior Robert above) to the other divine of the family, and it argues a characteristic; though it may be that men of their high calling were liable to have it more severely.

¹ See Noble's *Memoirs of House of Cromwell*, Vol. I, p. 282 (1787).