

THE STEWARD GENEALOGY AND CROMWELL'S "ROYAL DESCENT."

By WALTER RYE.

In this article I propose to examine critically the Steward genealogy, which was contributed by me to a previous number of the *GENEALOGIST* (New Series, vol. i. pp. 150-157). To do this it will, I think, simplify matters if I summarize here the whole pedigree as stated in the MS., in Noble's "Memoirs of the Protestant House of Cromwell," (ii. p. 192), in the Herald's 'Visitation,' and in Add. MS. 15,644.

1. "*Sir Alexander Steward, the Fierce*," who killed the lion with a club, and in 5 Chas. VI. (1385) had an augmentation to his arms—displaying this singular feat—granted him by King Charles VI., of France, who witnessed the performance. Of this grant no less an authority than M. Michel has, as we have seen, given it as his opinion that it is spurious,¹ while of Alexander the Fierce, Mr. J. Bain (*Arch. Journal*, xxxv, p. 399) says, he is "an entirely fictitious person." However, he is credited with being the father of²

2. *Sir John Steward, Knight*, [A]³ said to have been attendant⁴ to the prince afterwards James II. of Scotland, and to have been taken prisoner with him in 1405, the ship which was to have taken them to France having to put into England through stress of weather. Afterwards served Henry IV. of England, and was nick-named "Scot-Angle," and is said to have been knighted 10 Hen. IV. [1409], for distinguishing himself at a tournament at Smithfield,⁵ and to have married Mary Talmash, or Tollemache, maid of honour to Queen Joan.⁶

There is little doubt that he is the same person as the Sir John Steward, who, with four men-at-arms and twelve foot-archers, accompanied the king to Agincourt in 1415, and distinguished himself at Harfleur and elsewhere. (*Nicolas' Agincourt*.)

¹ It is a singular fact that the three documents of 1462, 1469, and 1472, the genuineness of which I also doubt, are all in Norman-French.

² Noble (p. 193) makes him also have a son, William, slain at the battle of Verneuil [1424], but this is not in the Chronicle, and is probably a mistake for the John Steward [D] who was undoubtedly killed here. See note 3 below.

³ He must have had at least three "doubles"—all Sir John Stewards or Stywards:

(i.) His brother (?) *Sir John* [B] the Sheriff of London.

(ii.) *John Steward or Styward* [C] who was an esquire in 1414 when he petitioned Parliament for naturalization, stating he was born of *Welsh* parents; before 1419 had a grant from W^m Clifford of an interest in Hickling (Close Roll, 7 H. V.)—in 1430 a C^r of the King; in 1434 was a Knight and Master of the Horse to Hen. VI. [Acts of Priv. Coun. iv, p. 216], and in 1442 paid rent for the manor of E. Wrotham, in Norfolk; and

(iii.) *Sir John Steward* [D] who was "a noble man of Scotland who came to the aid of Charles" and was slain at Verneuil in 1424, when the French were defeated by the Duke of Bedford. Whether careful enquiry might not roll some two or three of these Johns into one, remains a question.

⁴ Noble, blundering again, says the Prince's attendant was *Walter Steward*.

⁵ This is corroborated by *Engl. Chron.* (Cam. Soc.) p. 35.

⁶ Corroborated by the will of John Steward [E], speaking of his aunt Alice Talmache.

He is said by the 'Chronicle' to have died in 1448 or 1458; but, if there is any truth in the rest of the story, this is clearly a mistake; for the writer goes on to say that his son, his father being dead, was taken charge of by the Duke of Bedford, and knighted in 1420, being then hardly of age. Probably this John [A] was killed at Agincourt.

He had issue—

(i.) Sir John Steward [E], of whom hereafter.

(ii.) Sir John Steward [B], said by the 'Chronicle' to have been sheriff of London, and mentioned in his brother's will, dated 1447. There certainly was a Sir John Steward, knight and sheriff of London in 1457 ('Maitland,' p. 1202; 'Fabyan,' p. 631), whom I take to be the same as the Sir John Steward, who by his will, dated 1448,¹ wishes to be buried in All Saints, Staying, London. The will of Lady Alice (d. 1456) widow of John Steward, is proved in Reg. Stockton 26; and no doubt this John and Alice are identical with the Sir John Steward and Alice his wife, who had a grant of the manor of Cresbroke, in Herts, in 1434 [Close Roll, 13 Hen. VI.], and who are buried together in St. Dionis Backchurch. But it must not be forgotten, however, that there were London Stewards much earlier—*c.g.*, John Steward [F], who was sheriff of London in 1343.

(iii.) Candora.

3. *Sir John Steward* [E]—"his father being dead" was taken charge of by the Duke of Bedford. Knighted the day before the coronation of Katherine, Queen of Henry V. [1420], being then hardly of age, on which occasion he acted as sewer. Said to have had, at her instance, a grant of rent from the Archbishop of Canterbury (fo. 12a). Was made captain of Rysbanke, a castle of Calais ['Chronicle of Calais,' p. xxvi] and appointed his deputy in 1430; married the daughter of Sir Thomas ["John" (*Noble*)] Kiriell.² In 1438 received wages from the constable of Bordeaux. In 1441, being then of the King's household, had Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, who was accused of necromancy, committed to his charge. In the same year, with his son Thomas, who was then a boy, taken prisoner at Ponthoise, and ransomed with 24,000 crowns. In 1442 he and his son Thomas had grant of annual rent, fo. 12. By will, dated 20 May, 1447 [Prerog. Court of Canterbury, Reg. 'Luffnam,' fo. 33], desires to be buried in Calais church;³ bequeaths to his eldest son Thomas all his harness of war and his ship, the "Grace de Dieu," which his master, the Duke of Bedford, gave him, together with his lands, in the Marches of Calais. To Sir Thomas Criell [his father-in-law] he gives a diamond ring, which the Duchess of Gloucester gave him, "while she lived with me as my prisoner." To his aunt, Alice Talmashe, the gilt cup, which Queen Catherine gave him on the day of her coronation; and his lands in

¹ At which date the will of a Sir John Steward was proved in the Prerog. Court of Canterbury, Stafford, 22.

² Sir John Kyriel of Kent, Inq. p.m., 7 Hen. VI. [1428 and 1466]; Sir Thomas Kiriell, K.G., beheaded *circa* 1461.

³ I cannot help thinking that most of the antecedents of this Sir John Steward, whose will is a genuine one, may be fictitious. On the French Roll, 28 Jan. 1421, there was a protection to Thos. Stouarde of Calais, yeoman in the retinue of John Denebande; and on the same year a similar protection to John Steward going to France in the retinue of Sir John Cornewail.

Norfolk and his mansion house at Soffham to his son Robert. He also refers to his "aunt," Alice Talmache, and his "brother" Richard Brooke.

He is said by the 'Chronicle' to have had issue—

- (i.) Thomas Steward, his eldest son, as mentioned in the will, and under age in 1447.
- (ii.) Robert Steward, to whom was left his father's "mansio" at Soffham.
- (iii.) Magdalene, mentioned in will.

4. *Thomas Steward* [A] "was renowned and the most skilful in sea matters of all English or Frenchmen." Noble says he "settled at Swaffham market, in Norfolk;" but we shall see later on that there were Stywards at Swaffham as early as 1378.

He is said to have married twice—first, the daughter of Sir John Hamerton.

In 1459 he and his son Richard are said to have had a grant of an annuity from Beaulieu abbey.

In 1460 he is said to have had a release from Beaulieu abbey for a loan of monies, and to be described therein as "Thomas Steward, of Norfolk, son of Sir John Steward, Scotangle."

In 1462 he is called *Sir Thomas Steward*, of Norfolk, and is said to have entered into an alliance with Duncan Stewart, of Scotland, under a penalty of £10,000, the latter of the two high contracting parties being described as "cosine au dit Duncane par John Stward chivaler ayell au dit Thomas que dit Jehan in la court dengleterre fut surnosme Scotangle."

In 1464 he is said to have had a bond for £1,000—for submission of "Sir Roos of the Haukhead," Scotland—given him "for his services in the narrow seas."

In 1467 he is plain Thomas Stewart, of the Temple, London [Add. MSS. 15644, fo. 11] who has a son Richard, and a grandson Nicholas, all alive (?), and grants land in Palgrave, a place in which Thomas Steward was enfeoffed in 1425; but in 1469 he is called *Sir Thomas Styward* again, and is said to have contracted to convey five king's ships from Bristol [fo. 5]. This also is in Norman-French.

In 1470 he and his son Richard and John Fitz-Nicol, the parson of Swaffham,¹ are said to have given a bond for £200 (fo. 10). Their seals are said to have been: Thomas, "cum leone oppresso a baculo nodato locat. super fessam seacatam;" and Richard, "fessa seacata simplex sive in scuto quod fuit Regis Caroli augmentatio." (fo. 10.)

His widow is said (fo. 11) to have been *Alice*, who held (in dower?) a messuage called Kingshall, in Outwell, and was living in 1486.

5. *Richard Steward*, stated above to be living in 1459 and 1470, and in 1477 when he is said to have paid the Prioress of Blackborough £10 for his grandfather's ransom. He is said to have married the daughter and heiress of *John Boreley*, and to have been father of

6. *Nicholas Steward*, of (Out) Well(s), esquire (Blomefield's *Norf.* viii. p. 384), but said at folio 11 to be of the Temple, London, who married Cecily, daughter and heiress of — Baskerville, esq., father of

- (i.) *Robert*, "ancestor of the Stewards of Wells" [Noble].

¹ John Botwright was then rector. He was presented by the *Duke of Bedford* and died 1474.

(ii.) *Nicholas*, of Ely, had a lease of rectory of Ely in 1548 granted him by his brother Robert. Buried at Ely Cathedral; married Elizabeth Lucas, of Wells, and by her had—

(a) *William*, of Ely, tithe farmer, who, in 1574, had the wonderful glass window¹ made. Buried 1593, in Ely Cathedral. By his second wife, Katherine, daughter of Thomas Payne, of Castle Acre [buried at Swaffham, with 6 quarterings], he had (*i.a.*) Elizabeth, who by her second marriage with Robert Cromwell, was mother of

OLIVER CROMWELL.

(iii.) *Richard*, of Upwell, who married Elizabeth Comyn, of Upwell (Blomefield's *Norf.* viii. p. 222), and had issue—

(a) Geoffrey Steward, who was ancestor of the Guestwick family. He died 1544, and his tomb called him "Jefery Styward." His descendant Arthur, also buried at Guestwick, was called "Arthur Stewart."

(iv.) *Robert Styward*, alias *Wells* [no doubt from the place of his birth], last Prior and first Dean of Ely. Died 1557, and buried in Ely Cathedral. Said to have had a confirmation of arms and pedigree from Wriothlesley, Garter in 1520.²

(v.) *Simon*, of whom hereafter.

(vi.) *John*. (vii.) *Thomas*. (viii.) *Agnes*.

7. *Simeon Steward* married Jane, daughter and co-heiress of Edward Bestney, who had (*i.a.*)—

(i.) *Sir Marcus Steward*, buried 1603, in Ely Cathedral, with an inscription setting out all the whole story for many generations (Bentham's *Ely.* App. 48*b*), and a coat of twenty-three quarterings.

(ii.) *Augustine Steward*, of the Inner Temple. The vagabond who, I suspect, concocted the whole pedigree in 1567.

(iii.) *Nicholas Steward*, ancestor of the present baronets of Hartley Mauduit.

(iv.) *Robert Steward*, buried in Ely Cathedral, 1570, with nine quarterings.

(v.) *John Steward*, buried at Marham, 1603, with twenty-three quarterings (Blomefield's *Norf.* vii. 381).

So much for the interwoven fabric of fact and fancy shown in the "Genealogy" printed at pp. 150-157 (New Series, vol. i.)

Now let us see how the alternative pedigree of the Swaffham Stywards—formed from independent documents I have discovered, and from certain of those of Augustine Steward, which he does *not* work in with his lords and ladies—looks on paper.

1. *Alan Styward*, of Swaffham,³ was rated at 4*d.* in the Poll Tax Roll for 2 or 4 Rich. II., 1378-80, (Lay Subsidy $\frac{1}{5}+\frac{9}{3}$, P. R. O.)

2. *Thomas Styward* [A] of Swaffham. In 1409 and 1417-9 he was

¹ See ante, vol. i. (New Series), p. 151, note.

² 'Archæological Journal,' xxxv, p. 400, where its genuineness is doubted.

³ For the possible descent from the earlier Stywards of Watlington, see note 4, on p.

collector of Subsidies for Norfolk (Subsidy Rolls, Norf.) In 1425 he was with William Yelverton feoffee by fine¹ of the manor of Woodhall in Palgrave,² two miles from Swaffham [fo. 82]. In the same year he was feoffee of a manor in E. Bradenham [Feet of Fines, Norfolk, 4 Hen. VI, No. 21], where, in 6 Hen. VI, he appears on the Subsidy Roll ($\frac{15.6}{103}$) as owning property in Swaffham, Hale, & N. Pickenham.

In 1432 he enfeoffed trustees of Talbot Hall manor in Swaffham by deed, his seal bearing . . . a lion rampant *over all a bend sinister* [Dashwoods, "Seals at Stow Bardolph," ii, plate 5].

He may have been the Thomas "Stywarp" whose name occurs in the List of Norfolk Gentry in 1433 [Norf. Ant. Misc., ii, p. 394], the list including those who paid over a certain amount to the subsidy of that year. He may also have been the Thomas Steward [B] who was a creditor of the king in 1423 [Petitions to Parliament, iv, p. 210*a*]; and he may have been the Thomas Styward [C] of Swaffham, "dum vixit unus coronator' Dñi Regis in Com. Norf." [Norf. Ant. Misc., ii, p. 589], who had a daughter Katherine, who married John Spelman, by whom she had a son and heir; but as this son and heir was of age in 1479 this is unlikely, and the coroner was probably the father of this Thomas [A]. There was once a window in Swaffham church "representing him and his wife in close round gowns of blue and purple turned up with fur-coloured or." [Blom. Norf.] In 1427 he and his coparceners held $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Knight's fee in Pagrave of the heirs of Tho. Battisford.

His testament and will are dated 1433 [Reg. 'Surflete,' fo. 127; L'Étrange transcripts, i, p. 417], and are as follows:—

"Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in Cimiterio ecclesie Sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum in predicta Swaffham vel ubicunque Deo placuerit. Item lego summo altari ejusdem ecclesie—vj^s viij^d. Item lego cuilibet sacerdoti ad exequias meas existenti et pro me oranti—xij^d. . . . Item lego ad fabricam ecclesie predictæ—xl^s. Item lego Margarie Styward nuper uxori avunculi mei—x^s et unam vaccam.

Item volo ut habeam unum capellanum ydoneum post obitum meum videlicet Johannem Heylot capellanum pro quatuor annos ad divina celebranda in ecclesia de Swaffham predicta pro anima mea et pro animabus uxorum mearum patris mei et matris mei et principaliter pro hiis quibus maxime teneor et debitor sum. Item volo quod Cecilia uxor mea habeat totam carnariam meam, totam pistrinam, coquinam, totam aulam et boteriam cum omnibus pertinentiis in eisdem existentibus ad distribuendum ad libitum suum inter pueros nostros secundum voluntatem suam." He also leaves legacies to the churches of N. Pickenham and Sporle.

Whether by his wife Cecilia or by a former wife, he had issue—

- | | | |
|--|---|------------------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Thomas, of whom hereafter 2. William 3. Richard (no doubt the debtor to the Church in 1457) | } | All mentioned in his will of 1433. |
| 3. <i>Thomas Styward</i> [D] married Agnes, and both of them, as well as | | |

¹ This fine is not now on the file.

² It will be remembered that in 1467 Thomas Styward, of the Temple, is said to have granted to his son Richard rent in this place.

the Thomas and Cecilia just named, are mentioned in the 'Black Book of Swaffham,' one of the oldest and most curious parochial records we have, which also refers to the gift in 1461 by Thomas Styward *the elder* of a psalter to the church. He must therefore have been the father of

4. *Thomas Styward* [E], alive in 1461, and who, there can be little doubt, is the same person¹ as the Thomas Styward, of Swaffham Market, gentleman, whose will was proved at Norwich in 1511 [Reg. 'Johnson,' 28. L' E. trans. iii, p. 167]. He mentions his wife Agnes; his daughter Margaret, wife of Walter Payne;² his nephew, William Stiward; and his son-in-law, Aveye Grigs.

As late as 1585 *Thomas Styward*, of Swaffham, was defendant in an Exchequer Suit [Exch. Dep. by Comm.].

It will be noticed that of these five very real and tangible people, no mention at all is made in the chronicler's pedigree; but the facts that there had been Stywards of Swaffham as early as 1378 and that there was a Thomas Steward in Swaffham in 1425 [a feoffee, and therefore of age], and bearing not the invariable fess cheeky of the Scotch Stewarts, but a lion rampant, abated by the mark of bastardy, sufficiently, I think, demolishes the theory that these Swaffham Stywards came from Sir John Steward [E], whose will, dated 1447, speaks of his mansion house at Soffham; unless, indeed, this Sir John Steward was really a low-born Swaffham man, and the forgery begins by making him out to be the son of Sir John Steward [A], the genuine fighter at Agincourt.

In any case, the chronicler's statement³ that from this Sir John Steward [A] undoubtedly sprang all the gentry of his name in England is clearly incorrect, as will be seen below.⁴

A very curious side question now arises. When these Swaffham Stywards began to believe themselves Stewards or Stuarts of royal descent—by the way, they did not change the spelling till King Jamie came to

¹ It is not probable 3 and 4 were identical, as the former was alive in 1433 and the latter in 1511.

² The occurrence of this surname in both the fictitious and the real pedigree is suggestive.

³ See *ante* p. 154 (New Series, vol. i).

⁴ There were Stiwards and Stywards in Norfolk long before Sir John Stewart was said to have been captured with his royal master in 1405. When the 'Hundred Rolls' were compiled (some time after 1272), Hugh le Stiward was of Gallow Hundred, and the name "Stiward" occurs in Forehoe Hundred without any prefix, and, apparently, as a personal name. In later years, Brother Richard Stewart was a legatee, under the will of William Wykham, rector of Irstead, in 1376 [Reg. Heydon, fo. 139]. Another Richard Styward, in 1394, married Cecily Palmer, a bondswoman by blood, of Thurgarton manor [Court Rolls, 18 Ric. II.] *Joan, the relict of William Styward, of Watlington, is mentioned in a deed dated 1392 [Seals at Stow Bardolph, plate 11], and John Styward was also of Watlington in 1417 [Fect of Fines, Norfolk, 5 Hen. V.].* Watlington is only a dozen miles or so from Swaffham, and these Stywards were very possibly the ancestors of those at Swaffham.

Another (perhaps the same) John Styward, in 1419 (7 Hen. V.), had a grant from William Clifford of an interest in the manor of Netherhall, in Hickling (Close Rolls).

Other later examples may be given *ad nauseam*—e.g., William Styward, of Rockland [administration 1424], John Styward, of Beccles [will proved 1435], Richard Styward, of Spixworth [will proved 1443, mentions his son John], and Thomas Styward, a legatee in will of John Aleyn, of Hokewold, dated 1453.

But, as Styward simply meant *Steward* [Prompt. Parv. "Styward"=seneschallus] it is obvious that there must have been hundreds of persons of the name in Norfolk from whom the Swaffham family could have sprung.

England—they always affected to bear:—(1) the Stuart fess checky; (2) a lion ramp., debruised with a ragged-staff; and to quarter: (3) Burly; (4) Walkfare; (5) Baskerville, and so on.

I can trace no legitimate descent from the De Walkfares¹ of anyone named Steward, but bearing in mind that the arms of Walkfare were . . . *a lion rampant* . . . (Seal of Sir Richard Walkfare, 1364, in Seals at Stow Bardolph, ser. ii., plate 2), that Thomas Styward [A], in 1432, bore *a lion rampant with a bend sinister* [ib. ii. plate 5], and that *both* deeds relate to land in Fincham, it seems to me almost clear that, when these Swaffham Stywards² sought to hook themselves on to the Scottish Stuarts, they adopted the Scottish fess checky in the first quarter, and taking their rampant lion turned his bend the other way round, and invented the cock and bull story of the lion to account for its being there at all.³

I think there can be little doubt that the Thomas Styward, who is said to have “settled at Swaffham,” and to have had a son Richard, must have been the same man⁴ as the Thomas Styward of Swaffham, whose will is dated 1433, and who did have a son Richard. We know the latter was alive in 1457, and the Richard of the pedigree is said to have been living in 1459 and 1470. But the compiler, in seeking to identify this Thomas Styward, of Swaffham, with the Thomas, son of Sir John Steward, mentioned in the latter’s will of 1447, has failed to reconcile the dates. For example, the knight’s son was a boy in 1441 when prisoner at Ponthoise, and not of age when his father made his will in 1447, and therefore must have been born *after* 1426. But our Thomas Styward, as he was a trustee and therefore of age in 1425, must have been born *before* 1404, the year before the presumed ancestor landed in England.

Indeed, the ‘Chronicle’ and the collections in the Additional MSS. seem very uncertain who and what this Thomas Styward was. We are

¹ See Rich. Walkfare’s Inq. p. m.—7 Ric. II., no. 81.

² A few words as to the Norwich Stewards may not be out of place. Geoffrey Styward, who was a grocer there in 1481, afterwards Alderman of Norwich, and who died 1504, is said to have been a son of the Richard Steward, of [Up] Well[s], already mentioned and said to come from the Swaffham family, by the daughter and co-heiress of John Borely [Notes to Norf. ‘Visitation,’ p. 20].

But I find earlier Norwich Stewards, viz., that one Thomas Styward, of St. Giles, Norwich, in 1471, married the fuller’s wife of S. Walsham, whose husband had been killed in the siege of Caistor (Paston Letters, iii. p. 19), and on the Norwich ‘Freeman’s Roll’ I find—

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------|
| John Styward | Draper | 1472 |
| Geoffrey Styward | Grocer | 1481 |
| John & Edwd. Styward | Shoemakers | 1481 |
| Thos. Styward | Grocer | 1492 |
| Wm. Styward (app. to John S.) | Draper | 1504 |
| Rich. Styward (app. to Geoff. S.) | | 1507 |
| Augustine Styward (app. to Geoff. S.) | Mercer | 1515 |

Geoffrey married Cecilly, daughter of Augustine Boice, whence the Christian name of Augustine was brought into the family, and I cannot but think that the Augustine Steward of the Inner Temple—the compiler or concoctor, which you will, of the family history—must have been descended from him and not from Nicholas, as alleged. The whole pedigree is a mass of inconsistencies.

³ It is singular that another coat attributed to the Norfolk Stewards by Burke is—Ar. a lion ramp. Gu. within a bordure engrailed Or.

⁴ Both of them married twice.

told that he was a renowned mariner, but that he lived at Swaffham, an inland town. We are also told that in 1460 he is described in a deed as *son* of Sir John Steward Scotangle; whereas all the other evidence makes him out *grandson*.

In 1462 he is called a knight, and made out to be descendant, not son, of Scotangle, and is said to have entered into a bond of alliance with a Scottish cousin,¹ also descended from Scotangle, in the magnificent penalty of £10,000 to back one another up generally; though why a Norfolk merchant should go to Berwick to enter into such an extraordinary and unnecessary arrangement is not clear.

In 1467 he drops his title and reappears in a new character—plain Thomas Steward of the Temple, London, who has a son Richard and a grandson Nicholas, all alive; all which facts are, providentially for the pedigree, preserved in the *copy* of a deed. A man who was a grandfather in 1467, but who was born *after* 1426, would be a real wonder in rapid procreation, and as everything stands and falls by this deed of 1467, even if we admit it is not a clumsy forgery, it is evident the Thomas of 1467 can *not* be the Thomas, son of Sir John whose will is dated 1447.

This, I think, settles the whole matter, but I may as well return to Thomas [A], who, in 1469, re-assumes his knighthood and contracts to convoy the king's ships from Bristol. For his services in 1464 in the Narrow Seas he had been, we have seen, adequately rewarded by an assignment of a bond of an imaginary Scottish knight.

What was in the mind of the concoctor was, no doubt, this: Sir John Steward, by his will of 1447, gives his son Thomas, his ship, the "Grace de Dieu"; and to his son Robert, his lands in Norfolk, and his mansion house at "Soffham."² His chain of argument would run thus: "I know I am descended from a Thomas Steward, who came from Swaffham, and who bore a lion with a bend sinister over it. I will assume Soffham=Swaffham, and the two Thomases the same men. To connect them, I will put in my private chartulary copies of documents referring to my ancestor Thomas convoying ships, and doing good services in the Narrow Seas, which will naturally connect him with the owner of the 'Grace de Dieu.' I will make him enter into a bond alliance with an imaginary Scottish cousin, which will prove a Scottish origin, and also make him show his faith in Scotchmen by taking an assignment of a Scottish bond. I am not clever enough to counterfeit English archaisms, so I will write three of my documents in Norman-French, though giving them dates long after the use of it had gone out. To account for my ancestor Thomas bearing the disgracefully debruised lion instead of the Stuart fess checky, I will concoct the adventure of the lion and the walking-stick, and I will generally mix and muddle up my inventions with genuine wills and facts about the two real Scottish fighting knights, *père et fils*, and their doings. till I shall get careless readers to accept the whole for gospel."

Luckily, he proved a little too much, and has got mixed up in his

¹ I cannot trace Duncan Steward.

² I cannot find that our Norfolk Swaffham was ever called Soffham or that any Steward had a 'mansion' there. Swaffham Bullbeck in Cambridge was spelt Soffham. See will of John Segwyke, d. 1492 (Dogget fo. 21).

dates, as I think I have shown above, though it has been a hard job to wipe away so venerable a forgery.

I think, therefore, that I have succeeded in showing that Oliver Cromwell's "Royal Descent" which passed muster with Carlyle and other historians, who have made it a peg on which to hang reflections more or less ridiculous, is a fabrication; and that he really sprang, *ex parte materna*, from a Norfolk family, probably of illegitimate descent, and certainly of no credit or renown, which had been settled at Swaffham long before the alleged¹ Scottish ancestor is supposed to have landed in England with his Royal master and kinsman.
