The Genealogist.

# THE ORIGIN OF THE STEWARTS AND THEIR CHESNEY CONNEXION.

## Alan Fitz Flaald the First.

Since the publication in my last book[1] of the paper on "The Origin of the Stewarts," certain additional facts have come or been brought to my notice. I propose in the following pages to put these together as supplementing the information there given.

The chief novelty produced in my paper was the appearance of a "Float filius Alani dapiferi," as a "baron" of William Fitz Baderon, the Breton Lord of Monmouth, together with the explanation that I offered for their appearing in conjunction. I showed that the Lords of Monmouth came from the two adjoining *communes* of Epiniac and La Boussac, close to Dol, while the family of Alan Fitz Flaald were *dapiferi* of Dol, and that the two families are found, in England, as benefactors to the Abbey of St. Florent de Saumur, which had enlisted the sympathies of the Lords of Dol. It was at the dedication of Monmouth Priory as a cell of that abbey that William Fitz Baderon and "Float filius Alani dapiferi" appear in conjunction.[2]

Now a charter relating to the nunnery of St. George of Rennes, which was granted by William's father Baderon, has "Alanus filius Flaaldi" for its first witness. Here then we have not only the two families brought into conjunction in Britanny as in England, but, it would seem, the respective fathers of the men named in the Monmouth charter.

Anno 1040.

. . . Baderon villam Beren cum filia sua Sancto Georgio tribuit, in cujus servitio pro salute ejus anime illam monialem dedicavit, annuente Guillelmo ejus filio, in presentia Rivalloni filii Johannis, Radulfi Filicensis, ex quorum dominio terra erat. . . . Huic dono sunt testes: Alanus filius Flaaldi; Herveus pincerna; Juhellus filius Urvodii; Aufredus cervus; Bernardus; Rivallonus dulcet et filius ejus; Hubertus; Herveus filius Huberti; Briencius nepos Fulconii; Obertus nepos Gurhaudi; Garinus presbyter; Bernardus nepos Ricaladri.[3]

It will be observed that William Fitz Baderon, the Domesday Baron, gives his consent to his father's donation, and that those

[1] *Studies in Peerage and Family History.*
[2] *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, No. 1136.
[3] Société Archéologique d'Ille et Vilaine, vol. xi, pp. 251-2.

in whose presence it is made are the Lords of Dol[1] and of (Pleine) Fougères in the north-east corner of Britanny. Further, among the charters I selected, when in France, as throwing light on the origin of the Stewarts, we have one, which I date *circa* 1080, concerning tithes at Pleine Fougères, which has among its witnesses "Badero; Guillelmo (*sic*) filius ejus; . . . Herveus pincerna," while another, which is actually dated 23 December 1086, is witnessed by "Radulfus de Filgeriis;[2] Alanus dapifer: Herveus botellarius." Yet another, which I also date *circa* 1080, has for its first two witnesses "Alanus siniscallus; Badero."[3]

Although the editor of the above charter gave its date as 1040, he did not mention from what source this date was derived, and putting together the evidence I have given, we shall be strongly disposed to date it as *circa* 1080—1090. But the all-important question is—Who was its "Alanus filius Flaaldi"? I am forced to the conclusion that he must have been the man whom I placed at the head of the pedigree as "Alan Dapifer (Dolensis)."[4] If I am right in this conjecture, he was the grandfather and namesake of the well-known Alan Fitz Flaald *temp.* Henry I, and the name of his father carries the pedigree a generation further back.[5]

Before leaving the ancestors of the Stewarts I should like to add one detail to the information in my book. I there explained that Jordan Fitz Alan, Lord of Tuxford, Notts, and *dapifer* of Dol, held some land in Lincolnshire (pp. vii, 127). This land I have now identified as at Broughton-on-Brant (to the east of Newark-on-Trent), which is found in the hands of his granddaughter Olive, wife of Roger de Montbegon (*Testa*, p. 369). Two fines relate to this estate in Mr. Massingberd's Lincolnshire *Final Concords* (pp. 97, 176), and the first of these records the exchange, by Olive, of the advowson of Tuxford for that of Broughton.[6]

### The Second Marriage of Avelina, Wife of Alan Fitz Flaald the Second.

Mr. Eyton was aware that Alan Fitz Flaald was survived by his widow Avelina, daughter of Ernulf de Hesdin, although he identified her with (as I have shown[7]) an entirely different person, Adeliza, wife of Hubert Baldran, and mother of Sybil, Lady of

[1] "Rivallonius dominus Doli castri, filius Johannis archiepiscopi" gives his consent to a charter of 1095 (see my *Studies*, p. 122).

[2] The Ralf "Filicensis" of the document in the text. He occurs as a tenant-in-chief in Domesday at the same time.

[3] *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, Nos. 1152-4.

[4] See my *Studies*, p. 129.

[5] In this case it would be he, and not the crusader Alan of 1097, who occurs as "Alan dapifer" in the documents of *circa* 1080.

[6] As this Broughton was in Loveden Wapentake, we are enabled to connect it directly with her grandfather Jordan Fitz Alan by an entry on p. 113 of the Pipe Roll of 1130:—"Idem Vicecomes debet xx marcas argenti pro pace facta in Lovendene Wapentac de hominibus Radulfi de Albini et Jordani filii Alani."

[7] *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 128-131.

Wolston (Warwickshire), which Sybil he made accordingly a daughter of Alan Fitz Flaald.[1] Since then it has been discovered that his widow Avelina became the wife of Robert Fitz Walter, who joined with her in confirming to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucestershire, in 1126, the church of (Chipping) Norton, Oxfordshire, which had been given long before by her mother Emmeline, wife of Ernulf de Hesdin.[2] At this point our knowledge stopped. But a striking confirmation can now be adduced. Ernulf de Hesdin's Oxfordshire possessions consisted, in 1086, of Norton (15¼ hides) and Ledwell (1 hide) in the north of the county, and Black Bourton (5 hides) in the south.[3] Now the list of remitted contributions to Danegeld in 1130, under Oxfordshire, is headed "Roberto filio Walteri xxxii s. et vj d."[4] This represents the amount due on 16¼ hides, which was *exactly* the joint total of (Chipping) Norton, and Ledwell. Black Bourton, we see, is omitted. Why? Because, as the *Testa* proves, it belonged to that portion of Ernulf's lands which passed to Patrick "de Cadurcis." Nothing could well be neater.

But who was this Robert Fitz Walter, the husband of Alan's widow? He was a man of some consequence, who enjoyed the favour of Henry I. One of the few real students of early feudal genealogy, Mr. H. J. Ellis, of the British Museum, has drawn my attention to the cartularies of Castle Acre Priory and of St. John's Abbey, Colchester. The former contains a charter granted by William Bardulf "pro anima Alani filio Flahaldi et pro anima (A) Roberti filii Walteri et (B) Johannis filii ejus et pro anima (C) Willelmi de Chaineto,"[5] which is confirmed by "Willelmus filius Roberti filii Walteri."[6] The Colchester cartulary contains mention of Robert Fitz Walter and Aveline, his wife. I shall hope to combine this evidence below.

[1] *Shropshire*, vii, 221—223, 228.

[2] I subjoin the relevant passages from the charters in vol. ii of the Gloucester Cartulary (Rolls Series):—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Emelina uxor Ernulfi de Hestink pro salute domini mei et mea et patris et matris et antecessorum meorum dedi Deo et Sancto Petro et monachis Gloucestrie ecclesiam de Northona, etc. . . . (p. 45).

Robertus Dei gratia Lincolniensis episcopus . . . Notum sit quod concedimus et episcopali auctoritate confirmamus donationem quam fecit Emelina uxor Ernulfi de Hesdino abbati et monachis Sancti Petri Gloucestrie, scilicet ecclesiam de Northona (p. 46).

(1126) Ego Rodbertus filius Walteri et Avelina uxor mea concedimus Deo et Sancto Petro et Willelmo abbati et conventui de Gloucestria ecclesiam de Nortuna . . . sicut Emelina mater Avelinæ eis donavit (p. 48).

Stephanus rex Anglorum Roberto filio Walteri et ministris suis salutem. Precipio quod juste resaisiatis abbatem de Gloucestria de ecclesia sua de Northona de terris et decimis, etc. . . . sicut fuit die qua rex Henricus novissime mare transivit ad eundem in Normanniam. Et nisi feceris Walterus archidiaconus de Oxonia faciat ne inde amplius clamorem audiam pro penuria pleni recti (p. 46).

[3] Domesday, fo. 160.

[4] Rot. Pip., 31 Hen. I, p. 5.

[5] Harl. MS. 2110, fo. 8. I have inserted the bracketed capital letters for identification.

[6] Ibid., fo. 12 d.

Let us meanwhile turn to another quarter, where I find definite evidence on Robert Fitz Walter and his sons, namely the Norfolk *Carta Baronum* of 1166.

*Carta Roberti Filii Walteri.*

Robertus (A) filius Walteri tenuit Mor et Fileby dono Regis Henrici anno et die que ipse Rex Henricus fuit vivus et mortuus per servitium j militis et Johannes (B) filius ejus post eum; et postea Willelmus (C) . . .

Et Willelmus (C) habet, de dono domini Regis, Blieburcum in Suthfolcia per servitium j militis.[1]

The persons named have not, so far as I know, been identified, nor has it been pointed out that the heading of the return is misleading, as Robert Fitz Walter lived in the days of Henry I and was dead many years before 1166. Now when we compare the three names in the Castle Acre charter above with the three in this return, we find that the order is the same, for they are, I may add, identical. And this identity is clinched by an entry in the *Testa de Nevill*, which records that Henry II gave Blyburgh to William "de Kesnet," the William of the above *Carta* of 1166.[2]

Let us now turn to another source. In the Ramsey cartulary (i, 148) we have a document of "1114—1133," which shows us Robert (A) Fitz Walter acting as Sheriff of Norfolk, and one of the witnesses to which is John (B), his son. With this clue we at once recognise Robert Fitz Walter as Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in the Pipe Roll of 1130, where we find he had gone out of office at Michaelmas 1129 (p. 90). That he lived on into Stephen's reign is shown by a charter of that king being addressed to him.[3] His son John is subsequently found in possession of his office of Sheriff, a fact which we learn from "The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich."[4] He died in or about 1146—by the judgment of God, it was alleged, for protecting the Norwich Jews.[5]

### William de Chesney, Avelina's Stepson.

William de Chesney, the next brother, who succeeded to the lands of the family, is found as Sheriff[6] from Easter 1157 to Michaelmas 1163. He must have received Blyburgh about Christmas 1157, for the Michaelmas Roll of 1158 shows that he had been in possession of it for three quarters. Now Blomefield says that the charter granting it passed at Lincoln, and as Henry II, we know, was crowned there at Christmas 1157, the evidence fits to perfection. In addition to the small fief which William held *in capite*, as recorded in the *Carta* of 1166, he was an under-tenant

[1] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 402.

[2] "Bliburgh fuit dominicum domini Regis H. patris domini regis J. et dominus Rex Henricus dedit manerium illud Willelmo de Kesnet per servicium feodi unius militis et modo tenet Robertus filius Rogeri manerium illud per idem servicium" (Return of 1212 in *Testa*, p. 294).

[3] See p. 3, note 2 above.

[4] Ed. Jessopp and James (1896), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, 29, 46, 111-2.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 172.

on a very large scale. Of Robert de Stafford he held one fee, of Earl de Ferrers one, of Hascuil Musard a half, of the Abbot of St. Edmund's one, of the Earl of Hertford one, of Hubert de Rye one,[1] and of Roger de "Cheneteswelle" (as William de Chesney, "of Norwich") one.[2] But he was also known (from his office of Sheriff) as William "de Norwich" *tout court*.[3] It was under this name that he was entered on the rolls of 1168 and 1172 as paying scutage on the one fee that he held as a tenant *in capite*, and was also returned as holding, in 1166, one fee of the Bishop of Ely.[4] He is also proved by the Colchester Cartulary[5] to have held the valuable manor of Ling in Norfolk, which was Count Alan's in Domesday (ii, 147). This eventually passed to his eldest daughter, and was included in the $2\frac{3}{4}$ fees which her second husband Robert Fitz Roger was returned as holding (in her right, of course) of the Honour of Britanny in Norfolk and Suffolk.[6]

But all these holdings are insignificant as compared with the seven fees that he held of the Honour of Boulogne, six of them in Norfolk, and one in Essex.[7] All these passed, with his eldest daughter Margaret, to her second husband, Robert Fitz Roger, the Lord of Clavering, Essex. But this again gives us the clue by which to identify his even greater holding under the Honour of Eye. The second entry on the list of its knights, among the *Carte* in the *Liber Ruber* (p. 411)[8] is "Robertus filius Rogeri x milites," and these ten knights' fees must have been inherited by Robert from his father-in-law William "de Norwich."[9]

I have now traced William de Chesney as the holder of no fewer than twenty-seven fees or thereabouts, under sundry "honours" and barons, a fact which will explain the devolution of a goodly

[1] This entry is overlooked in the index to the *Liber Ruber*, so others also may have been overlooked.

[2] *Liber Ruber*, pp. 265, 339, 343, 393, 400, 404, 410. In these entries the name occurs as "Chainai," "Cheisnei," and "Cheisney," or (in its Latinised form) as "de Cai-neto," "de Chaisneto." It is found in an original return as "de Chesn[ei]."

[3] I have repeatedly called attention to this practice of Sheriffs taking their name from the chief town of their county.

[4] *Liber Ruber*, p. 365. The editor, being unaware of this identity, has indexed the name separately with no cross-reference.

[5] Printed for the Roxburghe Club.

[6] *Liber Ruber*, p. 479. But compare Gale's "Honour of Richmond," pp. 45, 47, where "the heir of Roger de Cressy" (her heir by her first husband) is returned as holding $2\frac{1}{4}$ fees in Ling, Fyncham, Nereford, Melcheham and "Swapham," while Robert Fitz Roger (her second husband) is entered as holding $1\frac{3}{4}$ fees in Rudham, Ling, and "Melcham." The account in "Blomefield" (viii, 249) of the descent of Ling down to the time of William's daughters, is very unsatisfactory.

[7] "Willelmus de Norwicho. modo Robertus filius Rogeri vij milites . . . in Norfolcia, scilicet, vj milites: in Chishulle in Essexa, j." (*Ib.*, p. 57ú.)

[8] It was, however, "a later addition," though found among the *Cartæ* of 1166. In 1196 the holding of Robert Fitz Roger is given as 11 (not 10) fees (*Liber Ruber*, p. 116).

[9] Cf. *Liber Ruber*, p. 142 (from Pipe Roll of 1211): "de feodo Roberti filii Rogeri de Mor, et Hilburgh[i] hereditatis (*sic*) uxoris sue, heredis Willelmi de Norwico."

number of manors. Of special interest among these are those which were represented by the ten fees he held of the Honour of Eye. For these can be traced back to 1086, when they were held of Robert Malet by his ancestor Walter de Caen (*Cadomo*) in the three eastern counties. His father Robert Fitz Walter is alleged to have been the son of this Walter de Caen, nor are their respective dates incompatible with this. But William de Chesney[1] lived late for the grandson of a Domesday tenant. The Pipe Rolls prove that he did not die till 1174.

In a paper destined to appear in the *Essex Archæological Transactions* (July, 1901),[2] I have dealt with the heirs of William de Chesney, and have shown that his eldest daughter Margery, with almost the whole of his land, was bestowed by Henry II on a favoured officer, Hugh de Cressi,[3] while the two younger daughters, Clemence and Sara, married Jordan de Sackville and Richard Engaine respectively. Oddly enough it is stated in the pedigrees of the Sackville and Engaine families that they were daughters of an Earl of Oxford! It is erroneously asserted in the "Founder's Genealogy of Horsham St. Faith's," as below, that both these sisters died without issue. Sara left heirs by her husband Richard Engaine, and the manor of Colne, which she had brought them, was named from them Colne "Engaine."

### The Family of Chesney.

Although the above William bore the name "de Chesney," he derived it not from his father, but from his mother Sybil. Early in the reign of Henry I. Robert Fitz Walter founded a Benedictine house at Horsham St. Faith's, Norfolk, adjoining his own chief seat at Horsford. His foundation charter proves that his wife was then Sybil, and their son and heir Roger.[4]

Ego Robertus Walteri filius et uxor mea nomine Sibilla edificavimus ecclesiam de Horsham . . . Sciatis insuper quod predicta Sibilla eisdem concessit terram suam de Rudham, quam pater suus dedit in liberum maritagium . . . ego Robertus filius Walteri, Sibilla uxore mea, Rogero, et ceteris filiis meis concedentibus, etc. . . .

In this case the "Genealogia Fundatoris" appears to be less untrustworthy than usual. The pedigree it gives is this :—

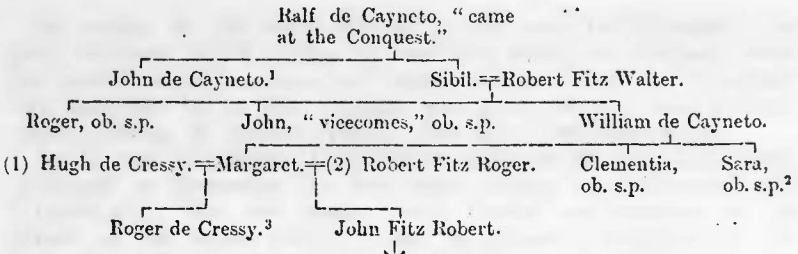
[1] There are three references to this William in the fragments of the returns to the Inquest of Sheriffs in 1170 (*Liber Rubeus*, pp. cclxxi, cclxxix, cclxxxi), but they are all erroneously indexed by the editor as referring, not to William, but to a "Walter" de Chesney.

[2] "The Manor of Colne Engaine."

[3] It is of genealogical interest to note that this Hugh, who founded a baronial house, and whose parentage was unknown to Dugdale (*Baronage*, I, 708), names his father Roger and mother Eustacia, in a charter entered in the Blyburgh Cartulary (10th Report Hist. MSS., App. IV, p. 457).

An important charter relating to Margery herself will be found in *Rot. Chart.* I (1), 203. Its date is 22nd December 1214, and by it John grants her "jus in curia nostra de hereditate sua quam pater suus habuit die quo obiit et de tota hereditate quam viri sui dederunt aliis . . . castro de Norwico retento in manu nostra." This last clause must refer to the hereditary shrievalty.

[4] *Monasticon*, iii, 635-7. It was given as a cell to Conches.




Ralf "de Cayneto," who heads the pedigree, was clearly the Ralf who is entered in Domesday as holding at Rudham of William de Warenne. And it is my belief that the land which he gave there as a marriage portion with his daughter, and which she gave, as we have seen, to Horsham St. Faith's, is represented by St. Faith's manor (*alias* Northall) in West Rudham, which is known to have been held by that house. In "Blomefield," it is true, we are definitely told that this was the Rudham manor held in chief by Peter de Valognes in 1086, and that "it came to the Lord Robert Fitz Walter" as his heir (vii, 160), and was granted by him to Horsham. But I believe this to be wholly an error, based on confusion of two men bearing (at different epochs) the same name.[4]

Few families can have been the subject of such genealogical confusion as that of Chesney. The circumstance that in East Anglia it was borne by two families—of which one derived it through male and the other through female descent—would of itself be confusing enough, and yet is a mere accident; the real and quite incorrigible confusion is between the name of Chesney and that of Keynes derived, of course, from the Norman Cahagnes. It is Dugdale himself, I fear, who led the way in error by beginning his account of the Keynes family as follows:—

> *Ralph*, surnamed *de Kaineto*, who came into England with William the Conqueror, had issue two sons, viz., *Ralph* and *William* (Regist. Pr. de Rudham). Of which *Ralph* (the elder) took to wife the daughter of *Hugh Maminot*; and had, in Frank-marriage, with her, by the gift of King Henry the First, the Manor of Tarent (Testa de Nevill) . . . afterwards distinguished by the name of Tarrent-Keynes.[5]

[1] Founder of Coxford Priory on his portion of Rudham. But he was grandson, not son, of Ralf de Cayneto.

[2] This statement is an error (see above).

[3] It may be worth noting that in Foss' *Judges* (i, 228), we read, of Hugh de Cressi's widow, that "According to the Chancellor's Roll of 3 John, her second husband in 9 Ric. I was fined 100 marks for the marriage of the *daughter* and *heir* of Hugh de Cressi; but this is probably an error, substituting the feminine for the masculine, as he clearly left a son named Roger." There is no error on either roll, but the Record Commission's *index* to the roll of 3 John has erroneously extended "maritando fil' et herede" as "filia."

[4] By a similar confusion all the bearers of the name "Robertus filius Walteri" are grouped together in the Index to *The Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 1290). That Blomefield was mistaken is further shown by the Papal confirmation of 26th May 1163 (Aug. ii, 136) of "Terram de Ruddaham cum omnibus pertinentiis suis quam Sibilla uxor prefati Roberti vobis dedit."

[5] *Baronage*, i, 127.

So subtle is the error that it is not easy to distinguish the first sentence, which relates to our own family of Chesney, from the second which concerns the wholly distinct family of Cahagnes. We shall find below that Dugdale was guilty of the same mistake when dealing, in another place, with the same manuscript.

It is not wonderful that others followed in Dugdale's steps. Although in Domesday the two names appear as "Caisned" and "Cahainges," the two names were treated as identical in an article on the latter family;[1] and in Cussans' *Hertfordshire* we similarly read that the manor of Cheynes in Cottered took its name "from the family of Chahaignes or Cheyney" (i, 174). I have endeavoured to correct this confusion in a paper on the Charters of Lewes Priory.[2]

Let me now attempt to trace the origin of the house of Chesney, of which the Duchess of Cleveland wrote: "No name that I have had to deal with has puzzled my poor brains so effectually as this."[3] Of William de Chesney Mr. Stapleton observed:—

> Le Quesnai, near St. Saens, was apparently the fief from which this family had name, and was held by Geoffrey de Say at the time of the acquisition of Normandy by the French monarch.[4]

It seems doubtful whether he had grasped the fact that William was only a Chesney through his mother, or was aware of the Sai connexion; but his identification, whatever its ground, is of great interest if right. For wherever this Le Quesnai may be, Saint Saens itself is little more than four miles from Bellencombre, which is known to have been the head of the Warenne fief in Normandy.[5] And it was under William de Warenne that the founder of these Chesneys in England held his lands. Domesday shows us Ralf (*i.e.*, "de Caisneto") holding not only Rudham and its dependencies at Barmer, Houghton, Heydon, and Thorpe Market, but also Gayton, some ten miles south-west of Rudham, all of William de Warenne. He was an even larger holder in Sussex under William, and I have identified his manors in that county for the forthcoming volume of *Sussex Archæological Collections*.

Keeping, however, for the moment to Norfolk, we may note that a manor at West Rudham was held by "Lambert" of William de Warenne, and that he can be shown to have been identical with the "Lambert" who held of him at Waterden, a few miles away, and to have been named Lambert "de Rosei."[6] Now Rosay is a "canton of Bellencombre," and lies on the road thence to Saint Saens. Here then we must have another follower of William de Warenne at the Conquest settling down at Rudham by the

[1] *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. i.
[2] *Ibid.*, xl, 72-3.
[3] *The Battle Abbey Roll*, i, 257.
[4] *Rotuli scaccarii Normanniæ*, II, cxvii. He cites the record of 1220, to the effect that Geoffrey de Sai had owed "pro terra de Quesneto dimidium feodum."
[5] *Ibid.*, I, ciii.
[6] See the Castle Acre Priory Charter in *Monasticon*, v, 50, which mentions his gift of what became Castleacre Priory manor in Rudham (*Blomefield*, vii, 159) and of tithes at Waterden. And compare Domesday ii, 168 b, 169 b.

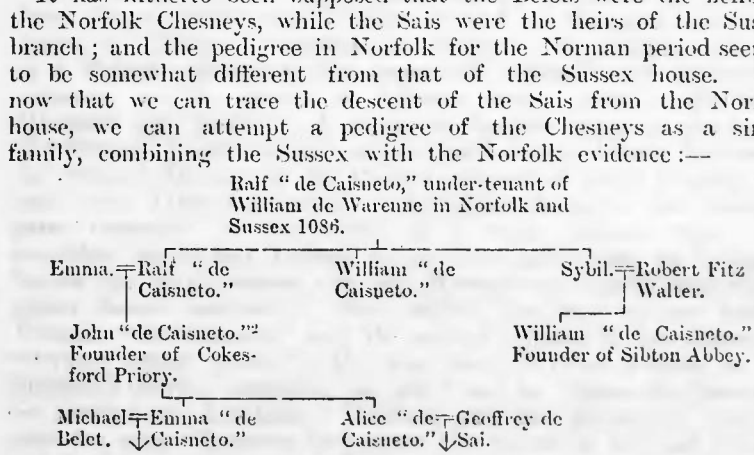
side of his old neighbour in Normandy. Moreover, Cressy (en Caux) also is a "canton" of Bellencombre, and I have seen it stated that Anselm and Gilbert de Cressy held Warenne land in England under Henry I. Perhaps, then, we may trace the Cressys also to a follower of William de Warenne.

I have stated above that the Ralf who held of Warenne in Norfolk is the Ralf who held of him in Sussex.[1] But the proof has hitherto been wanting (Mr. H. J. Ellis informs me), and Rudham went to the Belet family, while the Sussex lands passed to the De Sais. The missing link, however, I find in the cartulary of Cokesford (*alias* Rudham), the house founded by John de Chesney. Unfortunately, this manuscript seems to be known to us only from what Dugdale says of it. He cites it in his *Baronage* for these statements:—

> This last mentioned Geoffrey (de Sai) took to wife Alice, one of the daughters and coheirs to John de Cheney (*sic*), and confirmed to the Canons of Rudham in Com. Norfolk all those grants which William de Cayneto (*i.e.*, Cheney), and John de Cheney, nephew of that William, had made unto them; and for the soul of Alice his wife, and the souls of his ancestors, etc., did of his own gift add the church of St. Margaret at Thorpe (i, 511).
>
> This Michael (Belet) . . . left issue by Emma his wife, daughter and coheir of John de Keynes (*sic*), two sons, Hervey and Michael, which Hervey obtained from King John the grant of a fair yearly at East Rudham . . . and gave the manor of Rudham to the Canons of Cokesford . . . for the soul of Emme de Keynes, his mother, etc. (i, 614).

We here have Dugdale, unconsciously perhaps, actually giving the same name from a MS. which is one and the same, first as "Cheney" and then as "Keynes."

It has hitherto been supposed that the Belets were the heirs of the Norfolk Chesneys, while the Sais were the heirs of the Sussex branch; and the pedigree in Norfolk for the Norman period seemed to be somewhat different from that of the Sussex house. But now that we can trace the descent of the Sais from the Norfolk house, we can attempt a pedigree of the Chesneys as a single family, combining the Sussex with the Norfolk evidence:—




[1] The Pierreponts similarly held in both these counties of Warenne.

[2] The Lewes Priory evidence gives us, at Brighton, a John "de Chaisneto," son of Ralf (Cott. MS., Vesp. F. xv. fo. 119) and two Ralfs, father and son, who respectively married Maud and Emma. My *Ancient Charters* (Pipe Roll Society) gives us Ralf "de Querceto" and Ralf, his son, witnessing a Warenne charter to Lewes Priory.

The Cokesford evidence gives us Ralf and William as sons of the first Ralf, and it makes John speak of his grandfather Ralf and his uncle William.

It is clear that the Sais eventually succeeded to the Belets' share as well as their own, and that the Chesney inheritance in their hands was represented by more than a dozen knights' fees which they held under Warenne. Moreover, Mr. Stapleton's record implies that they succeeded to the Norman *stammhaus* of the Chesneys as well. It should be specially observed that neither they nor the Belets adopted the name of Chesney, though the son of Sybil, who was not (as alleged) an heiress, did so. Here then is a further illustration of the erratic Norman nomenclature.

### Robert Fitz Walter, Sheriff of Norfolk.

That Robert Fitz Walter had two wives, of whom Sybil (de Chesney) was the first and Avelina (widow of Alan Fitz Flaald) the second, is proved by an extract from the Thetford Register, to which Mr. Ellis has drawn my attention:—

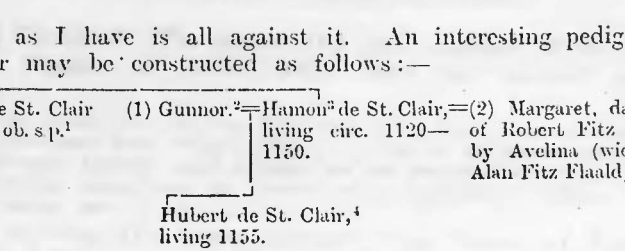
Ego Robertus filius Walteri pro salute anime mee et uxor[um] meorum Sibille et Aveline et infantum meorum.[1]

But the assignation of his children to these respective wives is a matter of great difficulty. There is no reason to doubt the statement in the "Genealogia Fundatoris" that his sons Roger, John, and William were his children by Sibyl de Chesney, and indeed the fact that William bore the name of Chesney confirms that conclusion. But the Colchester Cartulary contains charters which prove that he had several other children, of whom we cannot speak with certainty. In a charter dealing with his manor of Ling, to which William Bardulf[2] is the first witness, William "de Chaineto," as he there styles himself, mentions his brothers John, Roger, *Helyas*, and William, as well as Margaret, his sister.[3] Again, as William "vicecomes de Norwico," he mentions all four in a charter relating to his manor of "Hou,"[4] and among the witnesses to the charter is "Petrus frater meus." His sister Margaret goes further. A series of charters relate to the manor of "Stokes," which she gave at her death to St. John's, Colchester. As wife of Hamon de St. Clare (successor of Eudo Dapifer) she gave *circa* 1150[5] this manor "de libero mariagio meo michi a patre concesso" to the abbey, as a dying woman, "pro . . . animabus patris mei Roberti et *Aveline matris mee* et Johannis fratris mei et pro salute viri mei Hamonis qui michi hanc elemosinam facere concessit." She notified the fact to her brother William "de Caisneto," and the second witness to her charter is "Symon frater meus."[6] He was also the first witness to her husband's charter confirming the gift;[7] and as "Simon de Caisneto" he testified to Archbishop Theobald and the Bishop of Norwich that his sister Margaret had given the manor in her last illness.[8]

I find no evidence that Margaret left issue, and, indeed, such

[1] Lansdowne MS. 229, fo. 146.
[2] See p. 3 above.
[3] *Colchester Cartulary*, p. 180.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[5] William (cons. 1146) was Bishop of Norwich at the time.
[6] *Colchester Cartulary*, pp. 159—160.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 163. A writ of Henry II addressed "Willelmo de Caisneto de

evidence as I have is all against it. An interesting pedigree of St. Clair may be constructed as follows:—




### The Mysterious Simon.

But who was the above "Simon de Caisneto," who is brought, as we have seen, into close connection with his sister Margaret, Avelina's daughter, but whom William de Chesney appears to ignore in his charters? I look on the existence of this Simon as a fact of considerable importance. It would seem obvious from his styling himself, as above, "de Caisneto," that he was a son of Robert Fitz Walter by his first wife Sybil de Chesney. Yet this was not the case if, as I would suggest, we may identify him with the "Simon de Norfolk" of an extremely puzzling charter. We saw that his elder brother William was known both as William de Chesney and as William de Norwich, and the principles of Norman nomenclature were so peculiarly erratic that I should not be at all surprised if Simon also had both these styles. Passing, however, from conjecture to fact, we approach the charter in question, which fairly puzzled Mr. Eyton[5] and which subsequently

Norwico," bids him give the Monks of Colchester seisin of "Stokes" according to the fine "quem fecisti cum illis de terra de Stokes coram episcopo Norwicensi in Synodo suo (*Ibid.*, p. 41).

[1] Benefactor to Abbeys of Savigny and of St. John's, Colchester. See my *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, pp. 290, 299, and Colchester Cartulary, pp. 153-6.

[2] Colchester Cartulary, p. 156.

[3] Benefactor to St. John's Abbey. Placed in charge of Colchester, with Eudo Dapifer's other lands by Henry I (Pipe Roll 31 Henry I and Colchester Cartulary *passim*).

[4] He attests Margaret's charter, but not as her son. He was in charge o Colchester 1155 (*Red Book of Exchequer*, p. 651).

The name of "Hubert" is of special interest, because the "Hubert" who held Kingestone in Somerset of the Count of Mortain in 1086 was, according to Mr. Eyton, a Hubert de St. Clair. It is noteworthy that this manor was held in 1212 by Roger de Vilers (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 163), for in my *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* (Nos. 797, 798, 824) the William de St. Clair of the pedigree in the text is found making grants at "Vilers" (Villiers-le-Sec, Calvados) to the Abbey of Savigny, by permission of the Count of Mortain.

[5] Mr. Eyton wrote:—"Alan Fitz Flaald's interest in some of the places wherein he granted to Castle Acre, was not the sole interest. His grants, too, were afterwards confirmed and augmented by persons whom I cannot make out to have been descended from Alan. One of these, Simon de Norfolc, mentions his 'ancestors from the time of Alan Fitz Flaald,' speaks of his (Simon's) mother Avelina, and of the day when he (Simon) acquired (*conquisivit*) 'the Honour of Mileham'" (vii, 218 *note*). By "not the sole interest," he meant that in the Castle Acre charter, printed in the *Monasticon* (v, 51), Alan makes a gift at Kempston in conjunction with Adelina, his wife. I may note that "Adelina" is, in the cartulary, interlined over a simple "A." This is the charter confirmed by Simon de Norfolc (see Blomefield x, 17). The

puzzled Carthew.[1] The latter, who had examined it for himself in the Register of Castle Acre,[2] cited the essential portions thus :—

Simon de Norfolc, etc., etc., de feodo quod modo teneo,—terram illam quam *Avelina mater mea* dedit ecclesie predicte . . . Hec et alia omnia quæ sunt de meo feudo unde fuerunt vestiti et seisiti *die quo conquisivi honorem de Meleham* . . . præterea molendinum de Neutone unde haberent x solidos de dono Willelmi fratris mei (ii, 123).

How or when this Simon acquired "the Honour of Mileham," which had been held by Alan Fitz Flaald and was subsequently held by the Fitz Alans—no one has been able to explain. But as William and Walter Fitz Alan are found in attendance on the Empress Maud, it seems to me quite possible that we have here one of the incidents of the Anarchy, and that Stephen forfeited "the Honour of Mileham" and bestowed it on this Simon.[3]

But what I am immediately concerned with is the genealogical evidence. Here is Simon "de Norwich" occurring as a son of Avelina, while Margaret, the daughter of Avelina, was a sister of Simon "de Caisneto." Remembering that both are concerned with Norfolk, and indeed obviously connected with Avelina, wife of Robert Fitz Walter, we cannot well resist the conclusion that the two Simons were identical, and represent a son of Robert Fitz Walter, by Avelina, widow of Alan Fitz Flaald.

The importance of this conclusion consists in the fact that it provides William and Walter, sons of Alan Fitz Flaald, with a *uterine* brother Simon. Now Walter's "brother" Simon is found as a witness in the Paisley Cartulary, and is claimed as the founder of the family of Boyd: and William's "brother" Simon, according to Mr. Eyton (vol. vii, p. 223) occurs in a charter of 1163. It has been assumed that this Simon was a son of Alan Fitz Flaald, but I pointed out in my last book that he might, quite conceivably, prove to be only a *uterine* brother of Alan's sons.[4] And this is exactly what he now turns out to have been.

We may now construct a tentative pedigree embodying the results of our enquiry.[5]

matter is further complicated by the place dealt with being Kempston, which only occurs in Domesday as held of William de Warenne by Wimer, his *dapifer*, who left heirs.

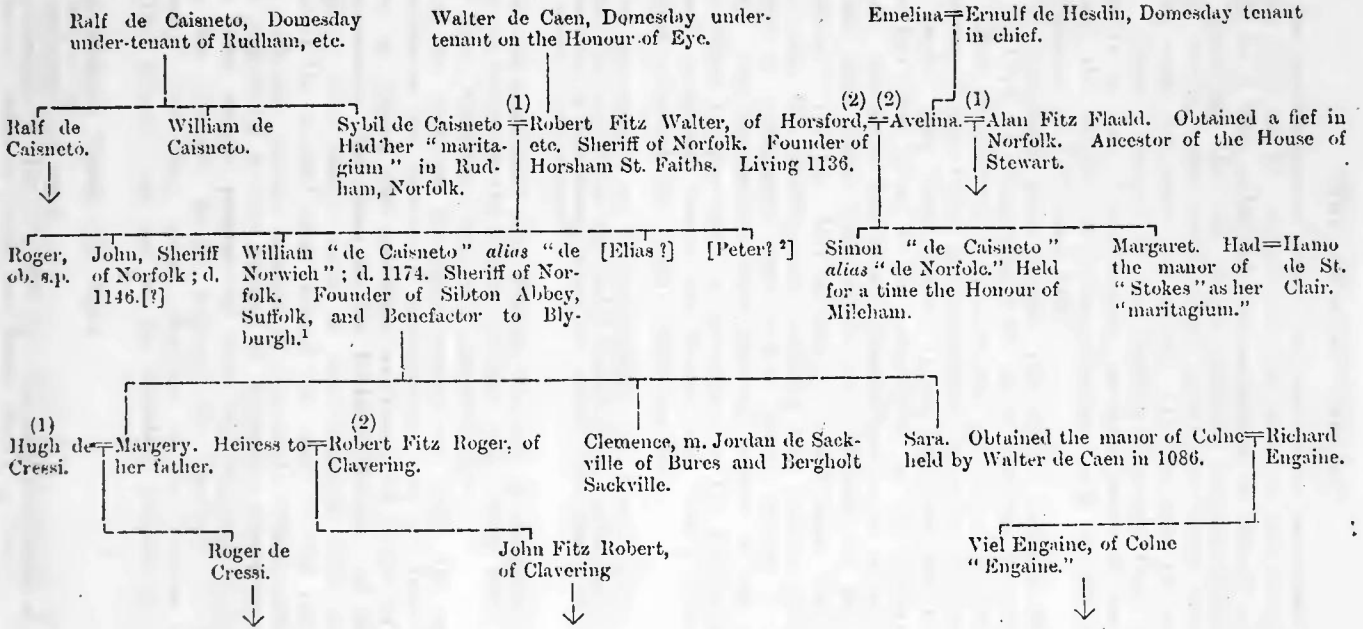
[1] See the opening pages of his *Hundred of Launditch* (1877), vol. i.

[2] Harl. MS. 2110, fo. 112.

[3] He must either have lost it subsequently or died without issue, for we do not find him again connected with Mileham.

[4] *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 125-6.

[5] I must not deal with a fresh problem at this stage of the enquiry, but as I have sometimes pointed out that no actual *proof* has been adduced that Ernulf de Hesdin left another daughter and coheiress Maud, I may mention that I have now found (*quantum valeat*) such proof in *Monasticon*, ii, 220, where, among the benefactions to St. Alban's, we read :—"Matildis quædam vidua, filia Ernuldi de Hysdyng (*sic*) dedit Sancto Albano dimidiam hidam in villa que vocatur Hara pro anima viri sui Willelmi" (*sic*). As this Matildis is now well recognised by genealogists to have been the wife of Patrick "de Cadurcis" (*i.e.*, de Sourches)—grandfather (as should have been obvious from the first) of Patrick, Earl of Salisbury—the mention above of her husband as "William," adds a fresh difficulty to those already surrounding Ernulf de Hesdin and his daughters.




[1] See 10th Report on Historical MSS., App. iv., p. 451.
[2] A Peter witnesses, as "brother," charters of William "de Caisneto."

### The Norfolk "Stewarts."

I now pass to another subject, on which much has already appeared in the pages of *The Genealogist*. So numerous are the quarters in which have been published communications on history, archæology, and genealogy, that one of the student's greatest difficulties is to avoid making discoveries which have been made already, and saying what has been said before. In the case, for instance, of the "bogus" descent of the Norfolk Stywards from the Royal Stewarts, no one, it would seem, has been aware of the fact that it was the subject of communications made to the Society of Antiquaries in 1775 and 1786.

The remarkable glass window put up by William Steward of Ely in 1574, to commemorate the above descent, was exhibited by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, to whom it still belongs, to the Archæological Institute, 6 May 1878,[1] and commented upon, on that occasion, by Mr. Tucker, then Rouge Croix. It was explained that this painted glass had been given to his grandfather by Mr. Robert Masters, F.S.A., Rector of Landbeach, Cambridgeshire, in whose possession it had been when Noble wrote his "Memoirs of the House of Cromwell"[2] (1784). But no one, it would seem, was aware in 1878 that Mr. Masters had exhibited this painted glass to the Society of Antiquaries, and read a paper thereon, 7 December 1786.[3] His observations carry back the history of this interesting relic, which I reproduced, by permission, as the frontispiece to my recently published *Studies in Peerage and Family History*. Mr. Masters informed the Society that the glass

> "was discovered by me in Cambridgeshire, and obtained from a descendant of that [Steward] house, who said it came from an ancient seat of the family at Stuntney in that county, which was pulled down about the beginning of the present [18th] century."

He also mentioned that Thomas Stewart, of Stuntney, descended from an uncle of the above William, was living there in 1684. The glass, therefore, was well accounted for.

But this was not the first occasion on which the matter had come before the Society of Antiquaries. On 29 June 1775 the Dean of Exeter had exhibited an engraved ring, "of exquisite workmanship" belonging to Sir Richard Worsley, of the Isle of Wight.[4] The design upon it was identical with the centre-piece of the painted glass (though the shape of the ring required the encircling double tressure to be oval), which centrepiece is also reproduced in the margin of Augustine Steward's cartulary.[5] The Dean acutely pointed out that the ring had doubtless come into the Worsley family through the marriage of Sir James Worsley with Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Nicholas Stuart, of Hartley Mauditt, and not as the Worsleys believed by gift from

[1] *Archæological Journal*, xxxv, 302-3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 401.
[3] *Archæologia*, viii, 321-5.
[4] *Archæologia*, iv 176—181, with plate containing enlargement of the design.
[5] See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 139.

Henry VIII to a previous Sir James Worsley. This latter belief, by the way, illustrates the value of "family tradition."

The Dean having expressed a hope that some member of the Society would be able to throw light on the singular design upon the seal, Mr. Brooke, F.S.A., afterwards Somerset Herald, wrote from "Heralds' College, 4th July 1775," explaining the whole matter.[1] He observed that the pedigree of this "ancient family . . . was entered by Henry St. George, Richmond Herald, at his visitation of the county of Cambridge, as deputy to William Camden, Esq., Clarenceux in anno 1619," and that "a book in this office" contained "a large pedigree of the Stewarts of Cambridgeshire, which deduces them regularly in a direct line from Banquo, Thane of Lochaber, in the time of Duncan, King of Scotland." Moreover, we read:—

"in some books the following crest is given to the family which, before this ring was produced, could never be accounted for, viz., a sword broken in two, the pieces in saltire on a wreath, and surmounting a ragged staff erect, or."

This crest, of which a representation is given,[2] is that which Garter Wriothesley is alleged by Augustine Steward to have confirmed to the family as "a ragged staff standing upon a broken sword crossed saltirewise," but which, as I have shown, was eventually not allowed to the family.[3]

Mr. Brooke appended a sketch pedigree showing the descent of the Cambridgeshire family from the royal Stewarts, and added in language which to-day sounds strangely familiar:—

The arms given to the Stewarts of Harteley Mauduit in all the Baronetages are wrong, which shews what little dependence is to be had on such vague publications. In all the entries of this branch of the family in the Heralds' Office, whose records are of indubitable authority in these matters, their arms are the same as were given to Alexander Stewart by the French king, and as are represented on the seal . . . I must conclude with observing . . . that the Stuarts' pedigree, from Banquo Thane of Lochaber to Sir Nicholas Stuart, of Harteley, Bart., whose daughter married Sir James Worsley, of Pilewell, is regularly deduced by undeniable proofs in the registers of this office.[4]

Which, of course, is decisive.

When Mr. Masters exhibited his Stewart glass to the Antiquaries, he acknowledged the assistance he had derived from "Mr. Brooke, Somerset Herald," and appended a pedigree of the family from "Banquo."[5]

[1] *Archæologia*, viii, 182-9. Brooke was Rouge Croix 1773, Somerset 1777—1794.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[3] See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 141—143, and compare the glass window in the frontispiece for the origin of the device.

[4] *Archæologia*, iv, 187-8. Compare Betham's certificate to the descent of the Burkes from Charlemagne as proved by "numerous original documents of unquestionable authority" and "registered in the Archives of Ulster's office" (*Genealogist*, xv, 5). And see on the whole subject above my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 132—146.

[5] *Archæologia*, viii, 321, 325. It may amuse the readers of *The Genealogist* to learn that Banquo's ghost has not yet been laid. In *St. Andrew* (a Glasgow paper) of 16th May 1901, there is a lengthy communication from Mr. King Hewison (on whom see pp. 118—120 of my book) triumphantly maintaining

The present learned Dean of Ely, who kindly examined for me the MSS. of his predecessor, Dean Stewart, *temp.* Henry VIII,[1] has now been good enough to inform me further that "in the Hall of the Deanery, which is panelled with oak, evidently re-arranged, there occurs three times in the centre of an elaborately carved panel" the old coat of the Norfolk Stywards, quarterly of four, with no trace of the "augmentation" or the coat of "the royal Stewarts"; and twice also on the centre of a similarly carved panel the crest of "a Roebuck with crown collar," which crest, oddly enough, was not granted till just after Dean Stewart's death. He has also drawn my attention to a paper on the Lambeth MSS., by Mr. Montague James, in which we read that one of the two unfailing clues to "the identification of Ely books" is "the occurrence of the name Robert Stewarde [the Dean], which is usually accompanied by a sketch of the Stuart Arms." This completes the evidence against Dean Stewart as the person originally responsible for the now famous fiction of the Norfolk Stewarts' pedigree.

J. H. Round.