

‘Specially trusted by the Parliament’: Thomas Carne of Brocastle, a lost Civil War Commander

Stephen K. Roberts

In March 1652, a little over three years after the trial and execution of Charles I, the chancery court of the fledgling republic considered a petition from the trustees of a young girl of two years old. The little girl, Mary Carne, was an only child and had lived privately near Ogmore Castle with her widowed mother. The trustees were her uncles, together with an experienced estate steward who lived nearby at Lampha, near Colwinston, and they were evidently motivated by concern that the re-marriage of Mary’s mother would jeopardise the education and standard of living of their infant ward. Slender in family support the Carne mother and daughter may have been, but they bore the name of a gentry family seated at Ewenni Priory, powerful in the district south of Bridgend. In arguing their case in London, the trustees impressed on the court how the child’s late father, Thomas Carne, had been said to be worth £10,000, a fabulous sum, and how he had been ‘one who was specially trusted by the Parliament’.¹ He had during the civil wars of 1642-8 been the effective governor of the Isle of Wight. Had the trustees thought to dilate on Thomas Carne’s war career, they might also have spoken of his special mission to south Wales in 1645 as a leader of Parliament’s campaign to recover the region from the supporters of the king, and of his short-lived aspiration to become a member of the Long Parliament that paid his salary. Even in 1652 it was necessary for them to recover from oblivion something of Carne’s achievements, and posterity has been no kinder to his memory. Thomas Carne has found no place in any biographical dictionary, and in modern accounts of the Carne family he has been confused with others of his surname. One historian

THE CARNES OF EWENNI, 1600-1650

Thomas Carne m.

(1) Eleanor Wyndham (2) Joan, wid. of John Newton of Sandhill, Withycombe, Som.
and of Charles Wyndham

Sir John m.

Joan, da. of Sir Walter Hungerford
of Farleigh, Wilts.

Thomas

John m.
Blanche,
da. of
Sir William Morgan
of Tredegar

Edward

Thomas

Anthony

Elizabeth
m.
Lewis Thomas

Joan
m.
Humphrey
Wyndham

Mary
m.
John Eliot
of Perbeck
Pembs.

Edward

Eleanor m.

(1) William Thomas
of Llanmihangel
(2) Christopher
Turberville of Sker

has confidently assigned him to oblivion as a fictional figure, a creation of historians' errors, and another has very recently thoroughly muddled him with a close relative.² But as well as offering us another example of the fickleness of fortune and the fragile nature of fame, Thomas Carne's lost career illustrates a number of important aspects of patronage and allegiance in the civil wars, and provides an interesting case study of how a region which produced many adherents of the king could also fling up a partisan of Parliament whose career was developed away from his own home territory.

Thomas Carne was born sometime between 1594 and 1600, the third son of John Carne of Ewenni and the grandson of Thomas Carne, MP for Glamorgan in 1586 and 1589.³ Though the family had been rooted at Ewenni since the dissolution of the monasteries, its children had frequently secured marriages with gentry families beyond the confines of Glamorgan and indeed beyond the principality. Both marriages of Thomas Carne the grandfather had been to Somerset women, and John Carne was doubtless able to exploit his maternal family background to find himself a wife, in the shape of Joan or Jane Hungerford, daughter of Sir Walter Hungerford of Farleigh Hungerford, on the Somerset-Wiltshire border. The pedigree of the Carnes of Ewenni is given in tabular form (opposite), with Thomas, the subject of this article, in bold.

In the marriage settlement of John Carne and Joan Hungerford of 1576, the patrimony of the Carnes was detailed: it consisted of the mesne manors of Ewenni, Colwinston, Llangan, Llystalybont (near Cardiff), Lampha, Wick, Llangeinor, Llandyfodwg (Glynogwr), St Brides Major and Oystermouth.⁴ Most of these were sub-manors of the lordship of Ogmore and were, by virtue of this relationship with the lordship, properties of the duchy of Lancaster. Since the 1320s the lordship of Ogmore had been in first the earldom and then the duchy of Lancaster.⁵ It was crown property, but the farmers of the duchy properties in Ogmore were successive Herbert earls of Pembroke, whose main seat was at Wilton, near Salisbury. Distant the earls may have been from their south Wales properties, but the close relations between the farmers of the lordship and their feudal tenants remained a significant force: indeed this relationship between the Herbert earls

and the Carnes of Ewenni was to provide probably the most important mainspring of Thomas Carne's career. The Carnes were not simply bound to the Herberts by a time-honoured feudal relationship alone; in the 1590s a pedigree was drawn which showed how the two families were intertwined by genealogical descent.⁶ Nor were the Carnes alone in adhering clannishly to the Herberts; a branch of the ubiquitous Morgan family of Monmouthshire stood in similar relationship to the earls of Pembroke, among them Thomas Morgan of Rhiwperra, grandson of Thomas Morgan of Machen, one of the stewards of the Herberts in Thomas Carne's childhood. The Carnes and the Morgans, whose families were later linked by the marriage of Thomas Carne's eldest brother, were intertwined further by their parallel obligations to Wilton.⁷

Rather like Oliver Cromwell, whose private life turned into a public career only when he was in his forties, Thomas Carne probably lived privately as a gentleman farmer until a few short years before the civil war. As a third son, he enjoyed no special provision made for his future subsistence. Unlike Oliver Cromwell, Carne did not attend university. In his grandfather's will of 1602 he was left a farm at Clemenstone, near Wick, and would have been able to claim it as his own when he came of age.⁸ The gift was limited to three lives (his own, that of any last wife, and any future eldest son) and was thus a tenancy for lives only, which he could not in turn freely bequeath before it reverted to the Ewenni estate. We know that Carne contemplated marriage in the early 1620s. Had a contract of marriage been concluded, Carne would have enjoyed the manors of Llandough and St Marychurch, both near Cowbridge, after the deaths of his eldest brother, John Carne, and his wife Blanche, the daughter of Sir William Morgan of Tredegar.⁹ But this, like the Clemenstone bequest, would have offered no immediate security or satisfaction to a third son. Nothing came of it, in any case: the deed remained unexecuted, and one can only assume that Carne's marriage plans remained unfulfilled.

By 1631, Thomas Carne had settled at the farm with which he was to be associated for the rest of his life: Brocastle, in the north-west corner of the parish of Colwinston. In a survey of that year, he is identified as the free tenant of 'Frough Castle' in the lordship or

manor of Ogmore, under the farmer, Philip Herbert, 4th earl of Pembroke.¹⁰ Carne probably also held Golden Mile farm, as both properties were re-let to his widow after his death.¹¹ Brocastle sits at the bottom of Crack Hill still, though ever encroached upon by the rising tide of the Waterton industrial estate; until the late nineteenth century (when it was demolished) Golden Mile Farm was situated at the top, south-west of Twmpath Farm.¹² Both holdings were within a short ride of Ewenni. At the end of the fifteenth century, Brocastle extended to 250 acres; its proprietor in 1500, Jankyn Thomas, enjoyed a farm of the revenues of Ogmore lordship. There is a suggestion that Thomas Carne, too, may have profited from wider employment as an agent for the earl and perhaps for the crown. In 1632 a man of his name signed a grant of lands in Afan Wallia by the king to Anthony Mansel of Briton Ferry, of a family to which the Carnes were related.¹³

Thomas Carne's life as a farmer was disrupted for ever when in 1640 he became an army officer, under Sir John Meyrick. Meyrick was a Pembrokeshire man, and the regiment he raised in 1640 contained many Welshmen. Not only were there junior officers of his own kindred, such as Ensign Gelly Meyrick, but there were other Glamorgan men besides Carne, as the surnames in the officer list of Aubrey, Herbert and Button attest.¹⁴ The cause to which Carne and his compatriots were committing themselves was that of Charles I against his rebellious subjects in Scotland. In what became known as the bishops' wars, the king twice raised armies to face down the Covenanters, who had taken arms against the alien religious innovations pressed on them by Charles's principal ministers. On two occasions, in 1639 and 1640, forces were raised from the shires, and it was to the second of these levies that Carne was engaged under Meyrick. In Glamorgan, as elsewhere, it was the imposition of this second round of conscription that was the heavier, and provoked 'heavy groans' among the inhabitants.¹⁵ Meyrick's regiment was a unit in the army whose commander-in-chief was Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland. Meyrick was a professional soldier in the 1620s, and one can see how in 1640 his regiment would have been constructed under his supervision as levies of soldiers were assembled across south Wales in a west-east movement before the march through England to the northern borders. Was it possible that Carne, too, had previous professional military experience?

There is as yet no evidence of it. He may have become a soldier through the influence of Philip Herbert, 4th earl of Pembroke, who was a privy councillor and *custos rotulorum* of Glamorgan (though not, it should be noted, lord lieutenant); it may have been an act of solidarity with Carne's brother, a much put-upon sheriff of the county in 1639-40. On the balance of evidence unearthed so far, it was more likely to have been local considerations of status and loyalty that impelled Carne into arms, rather than professional military expertise.

We know that Carne did go north with his regiment, as he later petitioned Parliament for arrears of pay. It was a march to an inglorious conclusion, as Northumberland's army was ineffective and failed to prevent the Scots from occupying Newcastle-upon-Tyne.¹⁶ It was at least not a bloody war, and most of those who fought in it returned home, as Carne must have, perhaps to farm quietly at Brocastle for a year or so, perhaps to act as a magistrate: he was included in the commission of the peace for the first time in June 1640.¹⁷ After the Long Parliament assembled in November 1640, an event made inevitable by the failure of the English army to curb the Scots, the business of Carne's arrears of £82 made occasional, brief appearances on the crowded agenda of the Commons. Even as England and Wales slid into civil war, Carne could draw upon support in the House for his case, notably from Sir Robert Pye and William Wheler, of two families associated with the earl of Pembroke.¹⁸ It was aristocratic patronage that kept the grievance of this rather obscure army officer before MPs during the gravest political crisis that anyone of them could remember; and it was the same ties that by November had taken Carne once again from Brocastle, this time to the Isle of Wight as deputy governor under the earl himself. Carne's personal history illustrates how probable it must have been that he should fight for Parliament. He continued the earl's man.

Pembroke was appointed governor of the Isle of Wight on 4 August 1642, and the Commons approved a commission to Carne as his deputy on 29 November.¹⁹ Nearly a month before then, however, Carne gave a receipt for £500 he had received from the MP for Petersfield in Hampshire, Sir William Lewis, who was later to be associated with Carne in parliamentary business. It seems likely that this was money

made available for the defence of the island, and on the day that Carne's appointment was formally approved in the House, a further £750 was ordered to be allowed him for the same purpose.²⁰ Here again, the Pembroke influence is visible; John Glynne, one of the MPs given responsibility for supplying Carne, enjoyed the profits of a legal office by a grant of the earl.²¹ By the end of 1642, Carne was in effect governor of the Isle of Wight.²²

Carne's name is not to be found among the lists of officers in the armies of Parliament.²³ As a garrison commander, he derived his authority from the earl and of course from Parliament, but stood outside the control of the main field armies. Garrison governors were notoriously unpopular in the civil wars, as the military presence in the towns, manifested in repeated demands on the local populace for money and matériel, as well as in periods of martial law, in curfews and in conscription, was bound locally to be attributed to them in person. Furthermore, it has been argued that among them 'general peculation and abuse were common'; in south Wales the case of Col. Philip Jones, governor at Swansea and Cardiff successively, later became notorious.²⁴ Thomas Carne seems to have begun his work on the island by building up the garrisons, with his own headquarters at Sandown, and by working with a committee of gentry islanders.²⁵ Moreover, Carne seems to have been conciliatory towards the local gentry and was no ideologue. In May 1643, he wrote to Sir John Oglander, himself a former governor and the most senior figure among them, to ask for his support in assembling the gentry to consider plans to repel a large royalist force massing on the Hampshire coast, so that the islanders should not 'be surprised nor murdered in our beds'. Carne wrote to Oglander as his 'worthy friend', but his cooperation was not forthcoming.²⁶ The following month, Carne felt obliged to arrest Oglander and took him up to London as a suspected royalist.²⁷

By mid-1643, the island gentry were dividing in their allegiance, despite Carne's efforts to ensure that they stayed loyal to Parliament. When he rode with Oglander to the capital, he personally reported to the Commons on the islanders' allegiances, and particularly those of local MPs, as a lever to extract a commitment from the House to fund

another 300 men. A parliamentary ordinance was drafted by John Lisle, a godson of Oglander but a radical in parliamentary politics.²⁸ Carne had no regrets about arresting Oglander, in order to 'keep him a while by the leg,' even though the latter proved in fact to be no ardent royalist. 'The place will be the better by his absence', wrote Carne to a less ambivalent supporter of Parliament, Sir Thomas Barrington, 'and some of the clergy (God willing) shall follow him'.²⁹ Barrington was a committed Presbyterian or conservative Puritan, and Carne seems here to be associating himself with that outlook, at the same time assuring Barrington that he would respect his property on the island. In mid-1643, Carne was evidently in bullish mood, and during the rest of the year was given further authority, money and resources, helped by men like Lisle and the secretary of the earl of Pembroke, Michael Oldisworth.³⁰ He played a part in the capture of Sir Edward Baynton in September; it is possible that he was involved in the struggle between Baynton and Sir Edward Hungerford the previous January; if Carne was, he was certainly on the side of his relative, Hungerford.³¹

He was soon faced with a local backlash. In March 1644, Carne was the subject of a hostile petition which was framed on the island and then found its way to the Commons and the principal executive committee of Parliament.³² Carne was accused of turning his back on the godly Protestants on the Isle of Wight, and asserting that 'those that carried the face of religion were the worst in the island and would afford the least help on any occasion'. He consorted instead with ungodly clergy, and other opponents of Parliament, to the point that 'such a fire in the island . . . will break out into a flame if not timely prevented'. He was critical of his employers, apparently voicing the opinion that 'the Parliament did do things headlong'. To complete their litany against the governor, the petitioners alleged that Carne was given to 'swearing, drinking and profaning'.³³ The complaints were taken seriously by the Commons. They were read in the House on 12 March, and on various occasions that month were addressed in committee.³⁴ Carne seems to have been in London when the attack on him was launched, and on 17 April the earl of Pembroke sent a message from the Lords to the Commons refusing to take further responsibility for the safety of the island if Carne were neither charged nor cleared.³⁵

On 20 April, Carne's fate was determined by a number of Commons divisions. His friends and enemies were much in evidence. John Lisle, the radical lawyer from the island, Carne's relative Sir Edward Hungerford, the Pembroke client Wheler, who had supported him in 1640, and Sir William Lewis all helped manage the division in Carne's support. His opponents included a Baynton, and a couple of MPs known to support radical causes, Sir Peter Wentworth and Gilbert Millington. According to the diarist, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Lisle spoke 'violently' in favour of Carne, who was duly cleared.³⁶ The whole episode seems to have sprung from local jealousies on the island: it was clear that Oglander played a part in fanning resentment of Carne as an outsider.³⁷ When exposed before the Commons, the petty grievances and insinuations took second place to debates which, to judge from the divisions, reflected conflicts between parliamentary factions: for and against the earl of Pembroke, between the parties in the Baynton-Hungerford rivalry in Wiltshire, and perhaps between Independents and Presbyterians. Carne's standing seems to have emerged undamaged. When islanders petitioned Pembroke next, in May, fearing invasion from France or Spain, they asked for local men to command but also for Carne, as an experienced soldier, to return.³⁸ In July, another ordinance passed Parliament for the defence of the island; in October, the Commons thanked Carne for his work there.³⁹

While Carne was governing the Isle of Wight for Parliament, his native county remained under the control of the royalists. Although various plans were mooted to advance a parliamentarian military force into Glamorgan, only after the defeat of the king's main field army at Naseby was an invasion force likely to prosper. On 7 July, Carne's name was included among a group of new south Wales committeemen approved by Parliament. A dependable of the earl of Pembroke, Sir Robert Pye, took the lists to the Lords.⁴⁰ As the parliamentarians limbered up for confrontation, the royalists of south-east Wales regrouped with Raglan Castle as their headquarters, and in mid July General Charles Gerard concluded an agreement with the Glamorgan gentry for 1,000 men; ominously, among those pledging support was Edward Carne, son of Thomas Carne's recently deceased eldest brother, and now the head of the household at Ewenni.⁴¹ The armies clashed in October, the mixed force of Glamorgan and Monmouth-

shire irregulars – at this point supporting Parliament – driving a royalist regiment out of Wales as far as Hereford. Thomas Carne had arrived in Cardiff to witness this, probably on the ship which on 22 October was anchored in King Road, the stretch of the Bristol Channel off modern-day Avonmouth. The naval commander wrote to the Commons to urge that a single field officer be imposed on the various military units in south Wales.⁴² His advice was followed, but hardly in the way he would have anticipated. By 7 November, the regional commander-in-chief was announced to be Bussy Mansel, a twenty-two-year-old turncoat, whose sole virtue was his solid gentry background and acceptability to the essentially royalist Glamorgan gentry.⁴³

As a senior military figure, Carne might have been expected to take command in Cardiff. On 25 October, those at Westminster with a particular interest in affairs in south Wales identified Carne and Michael Oldisworth, the earl of Pembroke's secretary, as key figures in their plans. But in a new round of committee appointments in the region announced on 17 November, Carne's name was omitted.⁴⁴ Carne did put his name to a letter which reported how the Presbyterian monthly fast was being implemented in Cardiff, but seems subsequently to have been reduced to the role of messenger between Cardiff and London.⁴⁵ He was, it seems, the victim of his own rootlessness; no longer enough of a Glamorgan gentry figure to appeal to the crypto-royalists, and not one who had endured the heat of the day under royalist persecutions enough to commend himself to the emerging hard-line committeemen led by Philip Jones. Had Carne been appointed commander-in-chief he might have been able to prevent the revolt led by his own nephew, Edward, which convulsed the region in February 1646.⁴⁶ It was essentially a revolt based on fear: of social upstarts, of the religious revolution set in train in Cardiff, of the New Model army. It was left to Rowland Laugharne – like Carne's former boss, Meyrick, a Pembrokeshire man – efficiently to snuff out the rebellion. Carne was left to return to the Isle of Wight, although in March he was given leave to journey to south Wales: it may have been in connection with the letters of administration of the estate of his late brother, father of the rebel Edward, which were granted to Thomas in May.⁴⁷

Towards the end of 1646, Carne emerged as a candidate in the parliamentary by-election to be held for Monmouth Boroughs. This was a period of the 'recruiter elections' to the Long Parliament, when embryonic 'parties' in the shape of Presbyterians and Independents fought keenly to augment their numbers in the House.

The victor at Monmouth Boroughs would need to court the earl of Pembroke in order to harness the Herbert interest to his cause. The earl not only approved of Carne's candidature, but also indicated to those with an interest in the Monmouth district that Carne should enjoy their electoral support. But Sir Trevor Williams of Llangybi set his cap at the seat, and in calculated fashion set about winning over the important players. He sent up horses to two of the earl's men in the Commons, Thomas Pury of Gloucester and John Glynne, and encouraged his uncle, Sir John Trevor of Trefalun, Flintshire, to persuade the earl of Williams's complete loyalty. Once the earl was sure of his devotion, Williams reasoned, those with political influence of their own who served him would be the more readily engaged. Williams's father-in-law, Thomas Morgan of Machen (described by a contemporary as among the 'creatures of the house of Pembroke') was already committed to supporting Thomas Carne because of the family connection between them, but Williams sent a friend to ask Carne whether he really wanted the seat. Carne readily retreated, declaring that he cared n[ot] for the place'. The letter which provides our sole evidence for this episode is damaged; in it Williams reported how Carne voiced only one concern: that there should be – and here the manuscript is damaged – either *no* Independent or *an* Independent elected.⁴⁸

Even now that much more of Thomas Carne's career has been uncovered, it remains hard to be sure whether he was for or against the Independents at this point. Those whom Williams mentions as worth courting, Pury and Oldisworth, were of that group; another two, Trevor and Glynne were not: the latter, in particular was regarded by New Modellers as hostile to their interests. The earl himself was notoriously fickle in politics. On balance, however, it seems more likely that Carne would have counted himself a critic of the Independents rather than an ally of theirs. He held no commission in the New

Model; in Cardiff he had been shoved aside by ambitious Independent committeemen like Philip Jones and there is nothing to suggest that he shared the progressive (by the standards of the day) interest in religious toleration of the leaders of that grouping. Whatever Carne's views were, the seat of Monmouth Boroughs did indeed go to an Independent, Thomas Pury junior of Gloucester, and Williams's electoral aspirations were dashed. Carne continued to be named to Glamorgan tax commissions, but the Monmouth by-election was his last missed opportunity to acquire power in south Wales.⁴⁹

Carne's career was now entering its final phase. He remained on the Isle of Wight until March 1648, but his commission was in effect void once the earl of Pembroke had resigned his place as governor in September 1647. The island was the focus of political activity at the highest level when Charles I came there on 14 November 1647, but Robert Hammond was by then the governor, and Carne played no part in the momentous events that led to the king being taken from the island to London in November 1648 for trial and subsequent execution. It was on the island that Carne made money, however, as Oglander bitterly confided to his journal:

Colonel Carne got well in our island in 5 years. He was not thought to be worth £2,000 when he came into our island, 1643, to be my lord of Pembroke's lieutenant, and now, in 1647, he is thought to be worth £10,000. I yearly lost £100 per annum by this place.⁵⁰

It seems impossible to disaggregate Carne's own salary from the pay of soldiers at the garrison, but the total paid to him ran at over £1,200 a year between 1644 and 1648.⁵¹ Oglander's bitterness highlights the differences in terms of employment between his own pre-war unpaid governorship, deemed a social distinction and honour, and Carne's, regarded as a professional, salaried responsibility.

In February 1648, Carne was listed among the commissioners charged with disbanding the forces in south Wales.⁵² This move helped precipitate the so-called second civil war in the principality, which was put down ruthlessly by the New Modellers, Carne's involvement

being confined to committee work supervising the militia.⁵³ It was probably in 1648 that he moved to his last command, the governorship of Farleigh Hungerford Castle, on the Somerset-Wiltshire border, which he kept on behalf of his Hungerford relatives. The government fully approved of this posting, and in November urged him to hold the place until further notice.⁵⁴ But by then Carne had made his will, probably believing himself to be mortally ill, since the will was accompanied by measures taken by Carne to provide security for Mary, his wife, and the child they believed she was expecting. Mary Carne's maiden name has not yet been discovered for certain; perhaps she was the Mary Southcut who married a Thomas Carne on 1 October 1640 at St Botolph Bishopgate, London. Thomas ensured that any child born after his death would benefit from a trust fund of £3,000. If there were no child, there would be bequests amounting in total to £1,300 for the children of two of his sisters and of his niece at Nash Manor. It was the will of a man who despite his civil war postings in England retained affection for his family and friends in Wales. Only a bequest of £100 to Henry Wroughton, a fellow servant of the earl of Pembroke, hinted at a life lived across the Severn.⁵⁵

Carne's last days were probably spent at Brocastle. In January 1649, two weeks before the execution of the king and the inauguration of the republic, he presided at the court baron of Ogmores on behalf of the lord, the earl of Pembroke. He was standing in for some reason for his friend, Thomas Rees of Lampha. On 20 March Carne died, and was buried perhaps in Colwinston, or perhaps at Ewenni.⁵⁶ His daughter was born later that year. She and Mary Carne were secure enough in their tenancy of Brocastle, but more probably chose to live in the house at Ogmores that was set aside for them.⁵⁷ It may well have been near the modern-day Pelican Inn, whose name commemorates the arms of the Carne family, the 'pelican in her piety'. As property of the now abolished monarchy, confiscated by the state, Ogmores lordship was put up for sale, but was purchased by the earl of Pembroke. He died soon after Carne, however, on 23 January 1650. In February 1652, his executors acknowledged Carne's service in a payment to his widow of £53, for fees and rents unpaid to him.⁵⁸ But by then she had married again, to one John Jeffreys, whose history of debt alarmed the trustees of little Mary Carne into bringing a Chancery case to safe-

guard her interests. Further research would perhaps illuminate the life and fate of Thomas Carne's only child. As for the career of Thomas Carne himself, it illustrates the persistent importance of aristocratic patronage in military appointments. Like two Welsh parliamentary soldier colleagues of his, Sir John Meyrick and Rowland Laugharne, servants of the earl of Essex, Carne lived his life along a course shaped by family circumstances and a network of clientage. Not for him the political acuity of a Philip Jones or the hunger for power of a Sir Trevor Williams. In the final analysis, Thomas Carne, a man who could indeed be 'specially trusted', was motivated by loyalty more than by ambition.

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NOTES

- 1 The National Archives [hereafter TNA], C10/13/87.
- 2 P. Jenkins, 'Old and New Catholics in Stuart Wales: the Carne Family of Glamorgan', *Recusant History* XVII (1984/5), 364; P. Hooper, *Our Island in War and Commonwealth* (Chale, 1998), 131.
- 3 Thomas Carne's birth date estimated from the will of his grandfather and the details of his elder brother's matriculation at Oxford: TNA, PROB 11/101 f. 245v; *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714* ed. J. Foster (London, 4 vols. 1891-2), *sub* John Carne.
- 4 National Library of Wales [hereafter NLW], Penrice and Margam MS 1811.
- 5 Rice Lewis, *Breviat of Glamorgan* ed. W. Rees (South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society III, 1954), 97.
- 6 Glamorgan Record Office [hereafter GRO], D/D xgc 81.
- 7 Lewis, *Breviat of Glamorgan*, 94.
- 8 TNA, PROB 11/101 f. 245v.
- 9 NLW, Penrice and Margam MS 1852.
- 10 G. T. Clark, *Cartae et alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent* (6 vols., Cardiff, 1910), vi. 2190.
- 11 NLW, Tredegar (3), 56/175, 241.
- 12 I am grateful to the late R. Gwyn Thomas of Colwinston for information about these farms.

- 13 R. R. Davies, 'The lordship of Ogmore', in T. B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History, Volume III, The Middle Ages*, (Cardiff, 1971), 307; Clark, *Cartae*, vi. 2198.
- 14 E. Peacock, *Army Lists of Roundheads and Cavaliers* (1874), 81.
- 15 P. Williams, 'The Political and Administrative History of Glamorgan, 1536-1642', in Glanmor Williams (ed.), *Glamorgan County History, Volume IV, Early Modern Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1974), 194-5.
- 16 M. C. Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars* (Cambridge, 1994), 53-61.
- 17 J. R. S. Phillips, *Justices of the Peace in Wales and Monmouthshire* (Cardiff, 1975), 300.
- 18 Parliamentary Archives, Main Papers, 18 June 1642; *Journals of the House of Commons* [hereafter *CJ*] ii. 632b-633a, 689b, 719b, 728b. Biographical details for these and other MPs mentioned in the text are taken from draft biographies belonging to the History of Parliament Trust, House of Commons 1640-1660 section.
- 19 *CJ* ii. 870a.
- 20 TNA, SP 28/261 f. 460; *CJ* ii. 870a, 890a, 892b, 928a,b.
- 21 Hatfield House, Accounts 168/2, p. 2; East Sussex Record Office, GLY/554.
- 22 This corrects my statement elsewhere that Carne was not on the island before March 1643: S. K. Roberts, 'Patronage, Office and Family in Early Modern Wales: the Carnes of Nash Manor and Ewenni in the Seventeenth Century', *Welsh History Review*, XXIII (2), forthcoming.
- 23 *A Catalogue of the Names . . . as also, A List of the Army* (London, 1642, Thomason Tract E64.4).
- 24 H. M. Reece, 'The Military Presence in England and Wales, 1649-60' (Unpublished University of Oxford DPhil. thesis, 1981) esp. p. 198.
- 25 *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C. H. Firth, R. S. Rait (3 vols., London, 1911), [hereafter *A&O*] i. 124, 230; *Journals of the House of Lords* [hereafter *LJ*] v. 708a.
- 26 Isle of Wight Record Office [hereafter IoWRO], OG/BB/475.
- 27 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *Oxford DNB*]; IoWRO, OG/BB/474, 475, 477, 478A, 484; F. Bamford (ed.), *A Royalist's Notebook. The Commonplace Book of Sir John Oglander* (London, 1936), 110, 111.
- 28 *CJ* iii. 123a,b; British Library [hereafter BL], MS Harl. 164 f. 108v.
- 29 BL MS Egerton 2646 f. 277.
- 30 *LJ* vi. 125a, 338b; BL MS Harl. 165 f. 146.
- 31 *CJ* iii. 228-9; BL MS Harl. 165 f. 168; *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* ed. C. H. Firth (2 vols., Oxford, 1894), i. 442.
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