THE EXILE OF TWO KENTISH ROYALISTS DURING THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

MICHAEL G. BRENNAN

In the early-summer of 1647 two members of the Bargrave family of Kent broke off their separate travels abroad to enjoy a two-week rendezvous at Siena, a city then especially favoured by English visitors for its architecture, wines, and horseriding, as well as for the clarity of its spoken Italian. John Bargrave (*c.* 1610-80), having been ejected in 1643 from his fellowship at Peterhouse, Cambridge, had been travelling through France and Italy since May 1645.[1] The younger man, Robert Bargrave (1628-61), was just beginning an adventurous life of international commerce and travel. The two men were first cousins and already knew each other well. Robert was the son of Dean Isaac Bargrave (1586-1643) of *Eastry Court* and Canterbury Cathedral while John was the son of Isaac's elder brother, John Bargrave of *Bifrons* and Patrixbourne (d. *c.* 1625).[2] In April 1647 Robert had left England on board the merchant ship *London* with his employer, James Modyford, an experienced Levant trader, and was bound for Turkey with the party of Sir Thomas Bendish, the new ambassador to Constantinople (Istanbul). After sailing from the Downs, the *London* arrived at Leghorn (Livorno). The young Robert was determined to cross from there to Siena in order to meet up with his cousin John. They were able to spend some two weeks exploring Siena before moving on to Florence where John devoted five days to guiding his cousin around the major tourist landmarks. Robert then travelled on alone for a further three weeks, rapidly acquiring a basic proficiency in the Italian language, before meeting up again with his party at Leghorn, from where they sailed on to Smyrna (Izmir) in Turkey.[3]

The travels abroad of John and Robert Bargrave are of interest to historians of the Civil War in Kent for several reasons. Firstly, unlike most other members of the Kentish gentry who withdrew - either discreetly or in more perilous flight - from England to the Continent during the 1640s and 1650s, these two have left unusually extensive

written records of both their experiences abroad and their condemnatory views of the political developments in their home county. In addition to his travels in France (and later in the Low Countries, Poland, and Germany), John Bargrave also made at least four separate perambulations through Italy: in 1646-47 as tutor to two young Kentish men, Alexander Chapman and John Richards (or Rycaut),[4] who were also accompanied by Bargrave's nephew, John Raymond; in 1650 as tutor to Philip Stanhope (later second Earl of Chesterfield)[5] and William Swan;[6] in 1655 with William Juxon, the nephew of William Juxon, then Bishop of London and (from 1660) Archbishop of Canterbury; and again in 1659-1660 with unknown companions for a final visit to Rome.[7]

During this entire period, John Bargrave was an avid collector of small antiquities and other travel mementoes, which still fortunately survive along with his manuscripts as an integral collection at Canterbury Cathedral Archives.[8] He compiled an extensive catalogue of this cabinet of curiosities (Lit MS E 16), laced through with various anecdotes of his travels both in Italy and in other locations such as Leyden, Utrecht, Paris, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Vienna, Prague, and Innsbruck. On his last visit to Italy, John also purchased at Rome 'The Pope, and Colledge, or Conclave of Cardinalls' (Lit MS E 39a-c), an extensive set of prints of Pope Alexander VII and his cardinals (edited by James Craigie Robertson as *The College of Cardinals* in 1867, see note 5). He then heavily annotated these portraits with his own comments on both the individuals represented and papal history, as well as numerous incidental and fragmentary memoirs of his own travels abroad - thus rendering them, in this respect, as another kind of sporadic and disordered travel diary. In addition to these surviving manuscript collections, Anthony à Wood first suggested (and recent scholarship has tended to agree) that John Bargrave also played a major (and perhaps predominant) role in the compilation of the most famous English guidebook to Italy of the Civil War period, *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage Made Through Italy, in the Yeare 1646, and 1647* (1648).[9] Although this slim volume bore on its title-page the initials of John Raymond (who was, as already noted, Bargrave's nephew and one of his young charges during his 1646-47 residence in Italy), it seems likely that Raymond's manuscript was compiled with full access to John Bargrave's own notes.[10] Furthermore, John Bargrave's own manuscript diary of his travels through France from May 1645 until February 1646 with John Raymond and Alexander Chapman, crammed with his incidental observations, jottings, sketches, and reminiscences, has also recently surfaced in Canterbury Cathedral Archives (U11/8).

Robert Bargrave's travels abroad between April 1647 and March 1656 are no less well documented since he compiled a lengthy autograph diary (now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford) of four separate voyages undertaken at this period as a merchant trading in the Levant and other Mediterranean countries. The first account (April 1647-September 1652) describes his journey by sea from England to Constantinople and his often perilous experiences as a merchant in Turkey. The second account (September 1652-March 1653) records his arduous travels home overland from Turkey to England. Robert's third voyage (November 1654-February 1656) took him to Spain and then on to Venice; and his rapid progress home overland from Venice to England (February-March 1656) is described in the fourth account. Interspersed with Robert's accounts of various commercial and diplomatic incidents, are also examples of his own poetry, including a masque with musical settings, and his general observations as a tourist and exile from his own country.[11]

When drawn together, the various manuscript remains of John and Robert Bargrave offer an informative insight into the personal circumstances and political views of two Kentish men, who, like many others of their generation, were displaced abroad in the mid-1640s by the developing civil dissent in their home county. Although neither John or Robert Bargrave was an especially remarkable man in any way, each was clearly preoccupied with analysing and recording for posterity the significance of their own experiences as travellers; as well as asserting - for whatever readership was ultimately envisaged for their manuscripts - their own unwavering position in the ongoing struggle between Parliament and the English monarchy. As will be outlined below, the Bargraves could claim various personal royal connections, most notably through Robert's father, Dean Isaac Bargrave, who had served at Westminster from 1622 until 1625 as a personal chaplain to Prince Charles.[12] Isaac Bargrave was also on intimate terms with the prince's elder sister, Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, whom he had visited at Heidelberg in 1616.[13] Hence, as travellers abroad on the same continent as the temporarily (at least to their eyes) displaced royal family and their various entourages, John and Robert Bargrave found in the concept of the exiled royalist Englishman a powerful and poignant expression of their nation's constitutional dilemma during the 1640s and 1650s.

John and Robert Bargrave as Royalist Emigrés

The way in which both John and Robert Bargrave sought to utilize the various written memorials of their travels between 1645 and 1660 as

implicit statements of their personal loyalty to the English monarchy is well illustrated by an example from John Bargrave's scholarly annotations in his *College of Cardinals* to the portrait of Cardinal John Charles de' Medici, whom, by his own account he had often seen in the flesh at Rome and Florence. In a note jotted down in 1679 onto the portrait, John recalled:

> I remember that one of the times that I was at Florence, in the Great Duke's most famous gallery, I found Cromwell's picture hanged up amongst the heroes (which vexed me); and I, after a day or two, having audience of the Great Duke (father to the present), he asked me how long it was since I was there last. I told him about 5 years. 'Then,' said he, 'I have added much to my gallery since you saw it last.' To which I answered, that there was one picture added, which was Cromwell's, that spoyled all the rest. At which he stopped, and did not know well how to take it; but, at length, said he, 'On occasion it is as easily taken down as it was hanged up'.

Stephen Bann has provided an interesting reading of the techniques of literary self-presentation inherent in this apparently minor scrap of marginalia added by a then old Canterbury cleric to an ephemeral collection of ecclesiastical prints, designed over two decades earlier for the tourist market at Rome:

> Several things emerge, and are intended to emerge, from this fragment of Bargrave's biography, penned in 1679, the year before his death. First, there is the concern ... to present himself as a seasoned traveller, familiar with the sights of Italy, on speaking terms with the great men, and notable collectors, of his time. But then there is the wish to demonstrate, in his exchange with the 'Great Duke', that he is willing to overstep the boundaries of conventional politeness in order to defend the political cause that he holds dear, which indeed is inseparable from his identity as an English (and Kentish) gentleman.[14]

When viewed in this light, John Bargrave's biographical jotting is transformed from being a merely incidental travel memoir into a politicized interpolation on the role and duty of the royalist English traveller abroad, who, if necessary, should be willing even to correct Italian princes if the cause of his displaced king so requires.

This anecdote was added to John Bargrave's *College of Cardinals* almost two decades after the restoration of King Charles II; and the truth of his apparently bold encounter with the Duke of Florence sometime in the 1650s is now impossible to decipher. But John Bargrave's diary of his experiences in France in 1645 and 1646 (Canterbury Cathedral Archives, U11/8), is undoubtedly contemporaneous with these travels and bears testament to his awareness that fellow-travellers from other countries would often seek to define an

Englishman abroad during the mid-1640s in relation to his adherence to either king or parliament. Having crossed from Dover to Calais on 23 May 1645 (or, as John Bargrave himself notes, 2 June 1646 New Style), with three young companions, John Raymond, Alexander Chapman, and John Richards (or Rycaut), his party began to make its way towards Paris. At Beauvais a serious altercation broke out between John Bargrave and a group of eight Germans with whom he was travelling, four of whom had crossed the Channel with him on the same packet boat from Dover. Speaking in Latin (their one common language), one of the Germans explained that he was a 'noble mans sonn' who had innocently visited England 'only as a traveler to see it'. But, as Bargrave learned, officials at London had roughly confiscated from him various 'bookes, beads, crosses, and the like', fanning his hostility towards the English, of whom John Bargrave appears to have been little more than a conveniently vulnerable representative. Seeking retribution, the belligerent German persistently threatened Bargrave, ominously warning him that he was now 'not in England'. The situation suddenly became much more dangerous when Bargrave's own patience finally snapped:

> upon which I told them that they shold know thay were not in Germany, and that I had hands and a weapon as well as he which was violent; and because he had thretned to be my death on the way to Paris, I desird him to goe single with mee and end the quarrell there, which his companions perceiving, thay tooke him from his violence, and desiring to know my affections in the difference that was betweene the King and his subiects: I told them I was of no party, but by my Oathes I was bound to be obedient to my Sovereign and all the iourny after thay were my very good freinds, and Tres humbles Servitures but I had an ey to the shavers pistolles. (fols. 5^{v}-6^{r})

As with the account of his conversation with the Duke of Florence, John Bargrave is also clearly concerned in this passage with his own self-image as a bold and resolute traveller abroad. But, here, the defining moment in the heated interchange is seen to be Bargrave's plainly expressed allegiance to his sovereign, a simple gesture of such apparent potency that the aggression of the Germans immediately melts away (even though the ever-cautious Bargrave still keeps a wary eye on their pistols). As it stands, the passage reads as a striking, if slightly stage-managed, assertion of an essential aspect of Bargrave's sense of himself abroad, not only as an Englishman but also as an exiled royalist.

Such a self-image was firmly founded in reality since from the second decade of King James I's reign the fortunes of the Bargrave family had in no small measure been determined by their personal

involvements with the monarchy and the established Church of England. In 1663 John Bargrave placed in Patrixbourne Church a large black marble memorial stone to the memory of the Bargrave family which eloquently records (in Latin): 'In the Civil War on the King's side / The FAMILY stood and fell' and mournfully concludes: 'John the Heir from ruins / to ruins placed this stone / Year of our Lord 1663'.[15] The cause of this post-Restoration elegiac lament was, of course, the impact of the Civil War in Kent, the execution of the king in 1649, the loss of the Bargrave family fortunes, and the resulting dispersal of several members of the family abroad.

Three decades earlier, the Bargrave family had been very much in the ascendant in their home county. John Bargrave's father, John (d. *c.*1625) was the eldest son of Robert Bargrave (d. 1600), who had owned a tannery at Bridge in Kent. The financial means for rising above this respectable but unremarkable trade seems to have come from John's fortunate marriage in about 1597 to Jane, the daughter and co-heir of Giles Crouche, a wealthy London haberdasher. John's imposing family seat, *Bifrons* ('two-faced'), where our John Bargrave would have spent much of his childhood, gave monumental expression to the family's new-found status in county society.[16] In 1611 John Bargrave (d. *c.* 1625) received his grant of arms from William Camden ('Or, on a pale gules a sword erect argent, hilted and pomelled gold, on a chief azure three bezants. Crest: on a mount vert a pheon gules between two laurel branches proper'), marking, as Stephen Bann has noted, the family's smooth 'passage from yeoman to gentle status'.[17] While travelling abroad John Bargrave was particularly aware of the public potency of his status as an English gentleman, ensuring that the family crest was prominently incorporated into two portraits of him painted at Rome and Siena. In his French travel diary (Canterbury Cathedral Archives, U11/8) John Bargrave also recorded how in October 1645 at Bourges he and his charges, were then studying under the language master, Monsieur Mondon:

> It is the Coustome in France for gentlemen to give either theire armes or name, or both, to the severall Masters of excersice. Which Monseiur Mondon my Master of the language desiring of mee, hee left a handsome booke with mee wherein were diverse coates and names, in which I writt as followes. (fol. 44^{r})

The resulting coat of arms, which Bargrave proudly sketched into Monsieur Mondon's album - and then took the trouble to copy into his own diary - powerfully states the dual commitments of an exiled member of the Bargrave family during the mid-1640s: 'Fear God. Honour y^{e} King' (**Fig. 1**).

Fig. 1: John Bargrave's family coat of arms. Canterbury Cathedral Archives, U11/8, fol. 44^r. Reproduced by permission of Canterbury Dean and Chapter.

While the family of John Bargrave of *Bifrons* was steadily ascending into the levels of the wealthiest Kentish gentry during the reign of King James I, his younger brother, Isaac (the father of our other traveller, Robert), was enjoying comparable success in securing both court and church preferment. After studies at Pembroke College and Clare Hall, Cambridge, Isaac Bargrave was ordained at Peterborough on 10 May 1612.[18] From April 1616 until July 1618 he served as chaplain to the English ambassador at Venice, Sir Henry Wotton; and on 1 October 1618 he married Elizabeth Dering, a daughter of Wotton's sister, Elizabeth. Wotton's influence assisted Isaac in 1622 to a prebend's position at Canterbury and further honours came his way when he was appointed to the living of St Margaret's, Westminster, which involved serving as one of Prince Charles's personal chaplains. When his brother-in-law, Dean John Boys, died in September 1625, Isaac Bargrave succeeded to his position as Dean of Canterbury Cathedral on 16 October 1625. Soon after his marriage in 1618 Isaac Bargrave had probably taken up residence at *Eastry Court* in the village of Eastry, where his fourth son Robert (b. 1628) would have spent much of his childhood. With a growing young family to support during the 1620s and 1630s (Isaac and Elizabeth Bargrave had ten children, with four dying in infancy), Isaac proved an active, and sometimes interventionist, Dean of Canterbury but one who usually sought an essentially pragmatic line in matters of church and court politics. Above all, he maintained an unwavering public loyalty to his former royal charge; for example, preaching a sermon from I Samuel 15:23 before the king on 27 March 1627 which offered a resolute confirmation of the divine right of kings and (more implicitly) seemed also to lend its support to the collection of that year's arbitrary loan.[19]

However, following the opening of the Long Parliament on 30 November 1640, Isaac Bargrave experienced a series of rapid and ultimately fatal shifts in his personal fortune. In 1641 the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral had agreed to the sale of some church plate and embroidery 'for the relief of the poor Irish protestants'. The phrasing of the order was probably drafted by Isaac Bargrave himself and its opening statement left no doubt over his own loyalties:

> Whereas the bleeding estate of the Kingdom of Ireland together with the lamentable condicon of this Kingdome of England do call for the help and assistance of all his Maiesty's loyall and obedient subjects, We the Dean and Chapter being willing to expresse ourselves therein according to the utmost of our power ...[20]

Soon afterwards a bill for the abolition of the deans and chapters was

introduced to the Long Parliament by Sir Edward Dering, Elizabeth Bargrave's first cousin (once removed), and Isaac was eventually fined £1,000 as a prominent member of convocation. Following the failure of the Battle of Petitions it seemed probable that Kent would staunchly support the position of the king. The Commission of Array was set up in the county before the parliamentarian Militia Ordinance and on 16 July 1642 a 'great meeting' of several of the Kentish gentry families was held at the Deanery at Chartham, one of Dean Bargrave's houses.[21] The consequences of this meeting for Isaac Bar- grave were catastrophic: in the following month, during the Dean's absence, Colonel Edwyn Sandys visited Canterbury and in retribution attacked the Deanery, grossly threatening Elizabeth Bargrave and other members of her family. Frustrated at not finding the Dean himself, Sandys hastened to Gravesend where he caught up with Bargrave, instigating his confinement in the Fleet Prison for three weeks without trial before being released without charge.[22] Seriously weakened by these experiences, Isaac Bargrave died in January 1643 and was buried in the Lady Chapel at Canterbury.

Predictably, the Kentish Rebellion of 1643, following the parliamentarian attempt to administer the Covenant in the county, attracted the support of several members of Isaac Bargrave's own immediate circle. Most notably, his nephew, William Jarvis of Sturry, and Sir Thomas Peyton, whose sister had married in 1635 Robert Bargrave, the son of Isaac's eldest brother, John (and brother of our traveller, John Bargrave). As the situation steadily worsened in August 1643 Sir Thomas Peyton's three small children were sent to the relative safety of *Bifrons*, where Sir Thomas himself joined them in May 1644.[23] In the previous year, as already noted, Isaac's nephew, John Bargrave, had been ejected from his fellowship at Peterhouse, Cambridge, on account of his high-church beliefs and, very possibly, simply on account of his kinship with Dean Bargrave. Now bereft of both his Cambridge fellowship and a secure family home in Kent, John Bargrave's decision to absent himself from England in May 1645 was very probably the result of having no other viable options. It also seems certain that his cousin Robert Bargrave's own discreet departure abroad in April 1647 with the embassy of Sir Thomas Bendish was primarily motivated by a similar necessity.

The King's Loyal Subjects

Although when he left England in May 1645 John Bargrave knew no French, the international language of Latin proved an effective means of communication, especially when inspecting churches and other

notable civic monuments.[24] By the mid-1640s there was also the expectation that an Englishman arriving at the French capital would be able to make reasonably easy contact with the growing community of English emigrés and fellow travellers who either already resided there or were in transit to other destinations.[25] John Bargrave's account of his first few weeks at Paris confirms just how readily such advice could be found by someone newly arrived in France:

> [fol. 6^{v}] About 5 at night wee came to Paris, alighted Au Croix de Ferr Rue Saint Martin (the Iron Cross in S^{t} Martins streete) but (being directed by young M^{r} Skinner)[26] went to the signe Au Ville Du Venice[27] in the Foburg of S^{t} Germins, where the first man I met with was M^{r} James Newman,[28] who saluted mee by my name: he was then lately come from Rome and the other parts of Italie. On Saturday the last of May I had an opportunity to talke above an howre with the Marquess of Newcastle,[29] and after that with the Earle of [*space left for name*] and the Lord German[30] whoe for the memorie of my uncle the Deane of Canterburie used me exceeding courteously. M^{r} Cooly of Trin Coll Camb.[31] was the secretarie to the Lord ... [fol. 7^{r}] On Sunday I went to S^{r} Richard Browns[32] lodgings whoe was Agent for his Maiesty of England, where wee had read the English liturgie, and an English sermon by M^{r} Crowder, chaplaine to the Lord Germie Earle of Yarmouth;[33] which being ended, wee received the sacrament in the forme appointed by the Church of England. On this day I mett with Dr Cosins[34] att the Loover (or Court) whoe is Master of the same Coll: whereof I am a [member *deleted*] fellow. viz. S^{t} Pet Coll Cantabrig.
>
> On munday the 12 of June I went to visit S^{r} Thomas Stanly and his Lady[35] ... [fol. 7^{v}] ... In the afternoone S^{r} Thomas Stanley and his sonn caryed us to see the Pallace Roy[all?], the Arsenall (or towre) the Magazine ... [fol. 8^{r}] The rest of the weeke was spent in seing the English Nunnerie, (whether I ledd the Lady Stanley to Church and there left her and her daughter) and other places of the City, as the Loouer, the severall bridges, the Twileries, some Colleges &c. The Sorbon, Jesuits &c.
>
> On Sunday we had an English sermon at S^{r} R: Brownes logings, preached by Dr [*space left for name*] Bishop of Derry[36] in Ireland.[37]

Apart from providing newly arrived English travellers with help in finding accommodation and local contacts, the emigré community also circulated among themselves news from back home in England. By September 1645 John Bargrave had travelled from Paris through Épernon, Étampes, Artenay, and Pierrefitte, before arriving at Bourges. There he met:

> an English gentleman that attended on the Prince of Condie, whoe came to Bourges that day: he said his name was M^{r} Lambrone a Westmorland man, whoe told mee how his Lord the Prince of Condie had heard the state of

> England stoode at that time, of which I had not heard a word 10 weeks before. (fol. 35^{r-v})

The last events recorded in John Bargrave's French travel diary are dated February 1646 when he was resident at Orléans, having left Bourges on 31 January after a residence there of some eight months (fol. 64^{v}). Although no written account of his experiences during the next year is known, it is known from John Raymond's *Itinerary* that their party continued their perambulation southwards through France before crossing by sea from Antibes to Genoa.[38] They must have been resident at Siena some time before Robert Bargrave met up with them in the early-summer of 1647 since Robert was certainly aware of their presence there (although he does not specify how) as soon as he himself had landed at Leghorn:

> Being arrivd, & having a nett Porrent from England touching our health, we soon had prattick & went to Shoare; but having no acquaintance there of mine own, his Lordship very kindly ordred me handsom accomodation, as for one of his own retinue: Yet out of my Ambition for the Language, as to see my Cousins mr John Bargrave, & mr John Raymond then at Sienna, I put my Viaticum in my purse; & all alone adventurd thither, which is about 80: miles within the land. (fol. 6^{r})[39]

While Robert Bargrave was undoubtedly a much less experienced man than his older cousin John, both self-consciously presented themselves abroad as members of the dispossessed royalist gentry forced to earn a living overseas. While John had lost his Cambridge fellowship, Robert had lost his father and, with him, a previously secure and prominent position in Kent society. As he sailed out to the Levant aboard the *London*, he considered it important enough to note in the very first sentence of his travel diary that he had joined the party of 'Sir Thomas Bendyshe, with a double Commission as well from K. Charles then reigning as the Parliament then sitting, to succeed Sir Sackvile Crow in the Embassy at Constantinople'.[40] Robert's pointed reference to Bendish's 'double Commission' implies a clear awareness of the complexity of an English ambassador's position in 1647. Bendish himself had already suffered greatly for the royalist cause through his close association with the Kentish Petition of 26 July 1642 that sought to establish a peaceful solution to the disputes between the Crown and Parliament. Instead, Bendish found himself serving two years in the Tower and had his estates in Essex sequestrated.[41] When he was released in 1644 he was fined £800 and banished from his home county, although these restraints were lifted in 1646 and soon followed by his appointment as English Ambassador to the Porte. While retaining his credibility with King

Fig. 2: Mattio Bolognini's portrait of John Bargrave (centre), Alexander Chapman, and John Raymond. Canterbury Cathedral Archives, MS Lit E16, fol. 77^{r}. Reproduced by permission of Canterbury Dean and Chapter.

Charles I, and ultimately returning to England in honour after the Restoration of King Charles II, Bendish's experiences between 1642 and 1646 taught him a harsh lesson about the power of Parliament and the need to be circumspect in how he presented his support for the monarchy.[42] As Robert Bargrave records in his diary, Sir Thomas Bendish, who travelled out to Turkey with his wife, eldest son, and five daughters, was himself, in accepting the embassy to Constantinople, also undertaking - like John and Robert Bargrave - a form of political and personal exile from England.

While at Siena with John Raymond and Alexander Chapman, John Bargrave commissioned a painting in oils on copper of the three of them together by a (presumably) local artist, Mattio Bolognini (**Fig. 2**).[43] John Bargrave stands at the centre of the picture with his family arms clearly hung from a wall behind them and his two young charges on either side of him. They each hold with one hand a large map of Italy while John Bargrave, cast in the role of instructor, points to Siena as the centre of their intellectual and cultural pursuits. On an obvious level relating to their travels, the portrait endows itself with a provenance by literally indicating a particular point of geographical progress. But also, more implicitly, it may be read as a representation of three displaced Kentish exiles coming to terms with their asylum in a foreign country. In this sense, Bargrave's finger points not just to a traveller's chosen destination but also to an especially peaceful and provincial Italian location where an English stranger fleeing civil dissent at home could happily dwell in exile. As John Raymond himself notes in his *Itinerary*, Siena was then renowned for its hospitality to strangers and its natives were:

> very curteous, a great deale suiting to the humours of foreigners, and besides the purity of the *Italian* language, is here profest, and spoken, these and the like conveniences make it much frequented by Travellers, and indeed mov'd us to settle our selves there, for some Moneths ... In a word, I found *Sienna* the most commodious place a stranger could pick out to live retiredly, and make his time beneficiall.[44]

Although Robert Bargrave was only in the company of John Bargrave and John Raymond for some three weeks, it is clear from his own travel diary, which describes several of the sights and buildings as detailed by Raymond in his *Itinerary*, that both the memory of their meeting and Raymond's volume were very much in his mind as his compiled his own accounts of Siena and Florence in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C 799. It is even possible that Robert's need as a tourist in 1647 for basic information about such locations as Siena and Florence first prompted John Bargrave and John Raymond to pen

their invaluable guide for inexperienced English travellers in Italy.[45] However, when it reached print in 1648 Raymond's volume no longer merely presented itself as an innocent handbook for those interested in Italian geography and culture. It opened with a fulsome dedication to 'the Most Illustrious Prince Charles, Prince of Great Britaine':

> It is humbly conceiv'd the duty of all the youth of ENGLAND to dedicate themselves and their endeavours to your HIGHNESSE: not only in regard of your Native but Acquired Greatnesse, which drawes the eyes of all Good Men upon Your HIGHNESSE Person and Actions. This Sir Makes me humbly beg leave to lay my first fruits at Your HIGHNESSE feet, which (without farther Presumption) is the utmost Ambition of
>
> Your Highnesse
> most humble and
> most faithfully devoted
> John Raymond (sigs. A3^{r}-A4^{r})[46]

In his preface immediately following this dedication, Raymond claimed: 'My intention was to confine this wanderer to my Closet and no farther, till the advice of some familiar, and command of Superior Friends prest mee to exchange a single Manuscript for more Numerous Prints' (sigs. A4^{r-v}). It seems particularly strange, then, that the name of his relative, tutor, and friend, John Bargrave, was not given at least some gracious mention in the preliminaries. Unless, of course, it was John Bargrave himself who explicitly desired that any references to the Bargrave family should be suppressed in the printed version. It seems feasible that Bargrave might have wished to protect his young charge from any public association with either himself, effectively a figure banished from Cambridge in disgrace, or his uncle, Dean Isaac Bargrave, driven from a position of prestige at Canterbury to an early death on account of his loyalty to the king. Furthermore, as Stephen Bann has explained, the fact that the *Itinerary* was 'prefaced by a highly inflammatory pro-Royalist statement, by the Cavalier propagandist and exile John Berkenhead, is sufficient proof that it was not simply being published as an innocent travelogue'. Berkenhead, writing of Amiens, addressed the reader of Raymond's *Itinerary* with an unequivocal gesture of loyalty to the beleaguered monarchy. He began his comments with the quip that such a guidebook was 'usefully done, since now so many of us are doom'd to wander, not like *Cain* for drawing blood, but for asking Peace'. He then offered both actual travellers and the armchair reader of Raymond's volume a memorable dissection of the dislocated state of England in 1648:

> Now you are come home, you'l have stranger sights then any abroad; you'l see *Great Brittaine* a *Floating Island*, and the most vertuous *Monarch*

> under Heaven cast into a small Isle as on some plank in a great Ship-wrack ... Sir, when you behold a Kingdome without a King, a Church without Clergy, a University without Scholars, you'l grant wee have a *thorough Reformation*. But two houres since I saw a better sight then *Italy* affords; 'tis His Highnesse the Prince of *Wales*, who for Soule and Body is sure the most hopefull Prince in the Christian World; whose comming hether this afternoone brings a flood of businesse (as well as joy) on all the English in this Towne. [pp. 11-12]

Through its printed preliminaries John Raymond's *Itinerary* was, in effect, translated from a mere travelogue to a full-blown statement of pro-royalist propaganda of especial appeal to those Englishmen driven abroad by their loyalty to the king.[47] Furthermore, with hindsight there is something disturbingly sombre about the coupling in the opening pages of the *Itinerary* of the young Raymond's hopeful dedication and the older Birkenhead's satiric prefatory address, both of which insistently depict Prince Charles as the real hope for the future, a tacit (and perhaps not even entirely conscious) admission of the impotence of the king's own position in early 1648 (following the vote of 'No Addresses' by Parliament in January and the outbreak of the Second Civil War in April).

The Kentish Rebellion of 1648 was a far more extensive affair than that of 1643 and is generally regarded as the last great local insurrection in English history. Sir Thomas Peyton, along with the Bargraves of *Bifrons*, Sir Henry Palmer (who had married Isaac Bargrave's widowed daughter, Anne), and several other influential local families, led support for the petition in their neighbourhood. As negotiations proceeded at Dover, the fleet then anchored in the Downs suddenly declared their allegiance to Kent and the king. Their mutiny had been encouraged by Sir Henry Palmer, a former naval officer, and by his close associates, Robert and Richard Bargrave, the elder brothers of Isaac. Palmer and Robert Bargrave were among those who flatly turned down Parliament's attempts to resolve the situation peaceably and in the second week of June they crossed over to Holland to secure Dutch support. They returned in July 1648, according to one report with 1,500 Dutchmen, just as the revolt in Sussex finally erupted.[48] By December, however, the tide had turned against them and on 11 December 1648 Robert Bargrave and Sir Henry Palmer, having fled abroad, were obliged to confess their involvement 'in the late commotion in Kent' and sought permission from the Committee for Compounding to return to England.[49] Six weeks later, however, on 30 January 1649 Parliament's monumentally dramatic gesture at Whitehall of the execution of King Charles I confirmed the irrevocable dislocation of the Bargraves from

their former world of family prosperity and public patronage. Robert Bargrave of *Bifrons* (the elder brother of our John Bargrave the traveller) also died in 1649 and Sir Thomas Palmer's estates were sequested in 1651.[50] One Thomas Bargrave of Eastry, almost certainly the elder brother of the diarist Robert, had also been involved in the rebellion of the fleet, as the entry in the *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding* makes clear: '[Thomas Bargrave:] Compounds for delinquency. Was captain of a frigate in the Prince's fleet, in the last summer's engagement at sea against Parliament. 9 August 1649. Fine £59'.[51]

'the deplorable Tragedie of our King in England'

When news of the execution of the king finally reached Constantinople, Robert Bargrave had been in exceptionally good spirits,

Map. 1. East Kent locations mentioned in the text

having just been involved, as a break from commercial concerns, in the staging of 'two or three Comedies, with the reward of great Applause: Nor was our whole Conversation other then a various Scene of Mirth' (fol. 13^{v}). Suddenly, 'the Tide of our Joy, turnd into a Streame of Grief first by the deplorable Tragedie of our King in England' (fol. 14^{r}), compounded by the death by drowning of Sir Thomas Bendish's eldest son, Thomas, when his ship, the *Talent*, on its way to Jerusalem was attacked by a French boat.[52] On his third voyage, Robert Bargrave's ship picked up at the Morea another member of the Raymond family, Thomas (*c.* 1610-*c.* 1681), an almost exact contemporary of John Bargrave, who was either a brother or cousin of John Raymond. This Thomas Raymond's autobiography has fortunately survived (Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 1150), and it indicates that he knew well the family of Dean Isaac Bargrave and had been accustomed during the 1630s to visiting them at Canterbury.[53] Thomas Raymond's response to the royal execution was as horrified as Robert Bargrave's. In his autobiography, most (if not all) of which was probably penned after the Restoration, Thomas Raymond recalled, with undisguised delight, one telling incident:

> Soone after our most gratious King Charles the First was by hellish miscreants sonnes of Belial put to death, it was my chance to be in London at sermon in St. Mary Alder-Maryes Church, it being death then for any man and especially ministers to speake in vindication of that good King. The preacher fell to aggravate the great synnes whereof we were guilty and haveing instanced in severall greate and crying ones, 'Nay,' said he, 'wee have put to death our King, our most gracious and good King' - at which he made a little pause (the people amazed and gazing aboute expecting the preacher should be pulled out of the pulpitt) but he added – 'the Lord Jesus Christ by our sinnes and transgression'.[54]

Similarly, in his notes to the portrait of Cardinal Bernardino Spada, John Bargrave recorded how Dr Gibbs, an English physician at Rome in the retinue of this cardinal, had given him a Latin hexastichon, which Bargrave pointedly translated and added sometime after 1662 to his *College of Cardinals* - as one of the very few items of verse included in this collection:

> Of the King of England's Death, and the Kingdom Turned into a Republic. An Epigram of Cardinal Spada's.
>
> The axe is for the private subjects' necks,
> And not for kings. O horrid monstrous sects!
> The kingdom with the king in sunder's cut,
> As from the other world the island's shut.
> That Commonwealth with ill birds doth begin,
> Where th'axe is made by them a common thing.[55]

Such resolutely condemnatory (but, of course, post-Restoration) comments by the Bargraves and Raymonds also raise the issue of exactly when Robert Bargrave compiled the Bodleian Library Rawlinson C 799 manuscript of his travels between 1647 and 1656. The meticulously written manuscript was clearly intended as a 'fair copy', presumably drawn together from either an earlier draft or compiled from various notes and diary records jotted down during his four voyages. If the Bodleian Library polished draft of these memoirs were written up as a purely private document soon after his return home to England in March 1656, then Robert's frequent gestures of royalist devotion may simply be regarded as an honest - but also potentially risky - committing to paper of his personal adherences in the period either immediately before or during the second Protectorate Parliament (September 1656-June 1657). But if, as is entirely possible and perhaps more likely, he compiled the manuscript in the months immediately after the Restoration of King Charles II, then his account of his travels may also be regarded as an implicit attempt to document early in the new reign his own personal credentials as a loyal royalist and man of international affairs.

Whatever the case, one of the most noticeable aspects of Robert Bargrave's diary is its insistent commemoration of its author's personal contacts with emigré royalists during his travels. Throughout his European travels, he enjoyed a privileged access to exiled members of Charles II's entourage and to former supporters of King Charles I. At Danzig, for example, he was hospitably entertained by George Cock, formerly treasurer to William Cavendish, later Duke of Newcastle (fol. 79^{r}). While at Hamburg he met up with his cousin, Charles Dering, a member of another staunchly royalist Kentish family (fol. 86^{v}); and at Madrid he struck up a friendship with 'Colonell Waters' (fol. 147^{v}) who, from his title and presence in Spain, was almost certainly another royalist exile. But the first of what were Robert Bargrave's two most important meetings with royal emigrés took place at The Hague in February 1653 where he met Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (the daughter of King James I); the renowned Lady Jane Lane, who had assisted Charles II in his escape from England, disguised as her manservant, after the Battle of Worcester in 1651; and Lady Stanhope, Catherine Kirkhoven (d. 1667), formerly the governess of Charles I's eldest daughter, Mary, the Princess Royal. In 1641 Princess Mary had married William, son of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, and her court had become an important focus of support for Charles II and his brother, James, until contact was forbidden by the Dutch States on the outbreak of the war between England and Holland in 1652. Lady Stanhope, 'the greatest Beauty

there', as Robert Bargrave admiringly calls her, had only recently returned to The Hague, after being arrested and tried in England on account of her royalist connections (fols. 94^{r-v}).

On his fourth and last journey in March 1656 Bargrave arrived at Heidelberg, where he was warmly welcomed at the court of Elizabeth of Bohemia's son, the Palsgrave Charles Louis, who introduced Bargrave to various members of his own family, including his renowned brother, Prince Rupert and his sisters, Elizabeth and Sophia (fols. 185^{v}-186^{r}). Heidelberg was the capital of the Rhine Palatinate and, as Bargrave records in his diary, the contact enjoyed by his father, Isaac, with the court of Frederick and Elizabeth at Heidelberg in 1616 was fondly recalled by the Palsgrave himself:

> After church, the day following our arrivall, I was sent for to the Palsgrave, when having all of us kissed his hands, he honourd me with about an howres discourse after which the Palsgrave, with Prince Rupert, and the Palsgraves Sonn, his Princess (daughter to the Landtgrave van Hess) together with Princess Elizabeth and Princess Sophia (his Sisters) sate doune to Dinner: Being sett, by the Palsgraves order I was made sitt at the table with them; when the Palsgrave soon ask'd me if I were related to Doctor Bargrave dean of Canterbury; which having heard from me, he straight after drank to me, and discoursed with me much of dinner time. (f. 185^{v})

This conversation, which continued after dinner, provided one of the highlights of Robert Bargrave's journey home from Venice to England. The Palsgrave Charles Louis freely expressed his affection for the Bargrave family, and after hearing about Robert's earlier experiences in Turkey, requested (perhaps somewhat disappointingly for Robert Bargrave who may have been hoping for a more politically relevant commission from the Palsgrave) 'a description of the great Turkes Seraglio' (f. 186^{r}). Robert was clearly deeply moved by the hospitality shown to him at Heidelberg and by how the memory of his father, Dean Isaac Bargrave, was still honoured within this Anglo-German royal family. On departing Heidelberg, he neatly expressed his sentiments in the Latin epithet: '*Quam Faelix est, virtuoso Patri Filius, esse*' ('How happy it is to be the son to [i.e. of] a virtuous father'). It was especially poignant that such a patriarchal benefit could, of course, now only be enjoyed by Robert Bargrave abroad.

The rest of the party's journey home was largely uneventful. Leaving Heidelberg on 10 March, they arrived at Frankfurt on the following day, passed through Mainz on the 12 March, and hoped to reach Cologne by the next evening. But bad weather restricted movement on the Rhine and they were forced to put up overnight in a small unnamed village: 'where the only enjoyment we had, was to lodge in the house where the King of England, the Duke of Yorke and

Prince Rupert had all lodged but newly before us' (fol. 188[r]). Robert Bargrave's pointed emphasis here on naming Charles as 'the King of England', whether written in 1656 or 1660, is entirely unequivocal. Four days later, he visited Henry Stewart, Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Cambridge (the third surviving son of King Charles I), who was then resident at Cologne with Sir Gilbert Talbot and Admiral Sir John Mennes, the commander of Charles I's navy in 1645 (fols. 189[r-v]). Still hampered by bouts of bad weather, they headed on through Düsseldorf, Wesel, Rheinberg, Rees, Emmerich and Nijmegen, reaching Dordrecht on 24 March. From there they made rapid progress to Flushing, where Bargrave agreed terms with a Captain Bunker, the commander of a convoy ship, for his party's passage to England. They reached Thanet on 29 March 1656 and braved mountainous seas in a small landing craft so as to hasten their family reunions.

The Bargraves and the Restoration

On this final journey home, prior to his visit to the court of the Palsgrave Charles Louis at Heidelberg, Robert Bargrave had visited Augsburg. He was both surprised and delighted to meet up with his cousin, John Bargrave, and his young charge, William Juxon, who were then resident there. Once again acting as Robert's travel guide, John Bargrave filled the next three days by taking him to see the great Fuggerhaus at Augsburg, the city's watermills and fountains, and various displays of fine local metalwork. In particular both men were fascinated by intricate examples of the 'incomparable watchwork' produced by the skilled craftsmen of the city. Together they pored over various mechanical musical boxes, miniature orchestras, and, most remarkable of all, a mechanical coach 'which by Engines within-inside, (governed by those who sitt in it) has been driven round the Streets of Agosta, so that it seemd to the Spectators to goe of its own accord' (fol. 182[r-v]). Regretfully leaving 'the enjoyment of m[r] Juxon & *my Cousin mr Bargraves* Company', Robert Bargrave and his party pressed on to Ulm, which they reached on 5 March.

Sadly, this may have been the last time that the two men were able to meet. Between his return to England in March 1656 and the accession of King Charles II on 29 May 1660, Robert probably spent some time either at Canterbury or at one of the Bargraves' Kentish residences, such as *Eastry Court* or *Bifrons*.[56] His career prospects were significantly enhanced by his appointment at some point before the Restoration as personal secretary to Heneage Finch, second Earl of Winchilsea (1628-89). For several years, Winchilsea had been a powerful force among Kentish royalists and his loyalty was rapidly rewarded by King

Charles II with the Lord-Lieutenancy of the county, the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and finally the embassy to Constantinople. On 20 October 1660 Winchilsea sailed from the Downs on the *Plymouth*, along with two Levant Company ships, the *Prosperous* and the *Smyrna Factor*. Also on board the *Plymouth* was Winchilsea's new private secretary, Paul Rycaut, and Robert Bargrave himself, who at the age of thirty-two had recently been appointed (probably through Winchilsea's influence) as the new secretary in Constantinople. The holder of this post, a position of considerable prominence and responsibility in Turkey, was elected by the general court of the company in London and received the then considerable salary £150 a year. Bargrave's major duty would have been to serve as chancellor of the company's factory at Constantinople but his new role was also of no small diplomatic importance since he would have been expected to deputize for Winchilsea, in the case of the ambassador's absence, illness, or death.

Robert Bargrave, as he embarked from the Downs with his wife Elizabeth, must have held high hopes for a long and distinguished career in commercial and public service. Through his appointment as Secretary at the Porte, his branch of the family seemed well on their way back to a restitution of their former fortunes and privileged royal connections during the reign of King Charles I. But as the *Plymouth* finally arrived at Smyrna for the Christmas and New Year season of 1660-1, Robert Bargrave was laid low by a severe fever and was too ill to travel on to Constantinople. He was left behind in the care of his wife but his subsequent death was reported on 9 February 1661 to Winchilsea, then safely arrived at Constantinople, in a brief note jotted down among other business and political memoranda from the English Consul at Smyrna, Richard Baker:

> Your servant m[r] Bargrave is dead & buryed at Santa Venáranda whither wee all accompanied him; his wife most disconsolate & to be admired for her love & care of him.[57]

Paul Rycaut was appointed in June 1661 to Bargrave's Secretaryship and for the next six years held this post in tandem with his own as private secretary to the ambassador. The Earl of Winchilsea had come to Constantinople to take over the embassy from the retiring ambassador, Sir Thomas Bendish, who boarded the *Plymouth* on 7 March for his return journey to England. Accompanying him was Robert Bargrave's widow, Elizabeth, beginning her sad journey back home to Kent. If she had with her a copy of her late husband's travel diary and perhaps sometimes browsed through it as a means of occupying the hours during the long sea voyage home, she would have been touched by the sad contrast in their respective sea journeys across the

Mediterranean in the company of Sir Thomas Bendish. Just as Robert in 1647 had first sailed out to Turkey on board the *London*, accompanied by the entourage of ambassador Bendish, who was then on his way out to take up his new embassy at Constantinople, so in 1661 Robert's widow, returning in mourning, found herself travelling home with Sir Thomas at the end of his long service in Turkey.[58]

John Bargrave was more fortunate than his cousin, Robert, in having some two decades after the Restoration during which to enjoy some of the fruits of the Bargrave family's unwavering loyalty to the monarchy. In his *College of Cardinals* at the bottom of the publisher's Latin dedication to Pope Alexander VII, Bargrave wrote in 1662:

> The College of Cardinalls when I was my fourth and laste tyme at Rome, I being then there when King Charles the Second was restored to his three crownes, and to my knowledge to the great greife of that triple crowne and that college, whoe thought to have binn masters of England, 1660.[59]

Following this joyful news, he seems to have made his way rapidly back to England, determined to secure some of the rewards which, with ample reason, he felt were due to himself and his family name. By 2 August 1660 his fellowship at Peterhouse had been recovered and in the following November he was recommended, by royal mandate, for the degree of Doctor of Divinity. On 23 December he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Sanderson of Lincoln at the Barbican Chapel, London. Now qualified for preferment in the Church, and doubtless through Archbishop Juxon's personal patronage, John Bargrave was appointed as a preacher at Canterbury Cathedral. He was also presented to the rectory of Harbledown in September 1661 and to Pluckley in July 1662. But one more preferment still remained in the restoration of the Bargraves to their former position of pre-eminence at Canterbury Cathedral.[60]

In May 1662 John Bargrave personally petitioned King Charles II for the position of a prebend at Canterbury. The exact phrasing of this document, recalling Bargrave's personal loyalty to the king and sufferings for his allegiance to the established church, is particularly evocative of his history as an exiled royalist:

> To the King's Most Excellent Majestie.
>
> The humble petition of John Bargrave, D.D.,
>
> Humbly sheweth,
>
> That there being a Prebendaries Place in y^e^ Cathedrall Church of Canterbury now voyd by y^e^ death of Doctor Paske, and your petitioner being of knowne loyalty to your Majestie and a true sone of y^e^ Church of England, for which he hath beene a great sufferer,
>
> Most humbly prayes that your Majestie wilbe gratiously pleased to conferr the said Prebendaries place upon him.[61]

This application, supported by Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, was successful and on 26 September 1662, in what must have been an especially poignant moment, John Bargrave was inducted into the fifth stall which had previously been occupied by his uncle, Isaac Bargrave, before his elevation to the Deanery.

The Bargrave family's wealth, however, could not be regained by a mere prebend of Canterbury and John Bargrave's family home, *Bifrons*, was sold to Sir Arthur Slingsby towards the end of 1661, as recorded by Henry Oxinden, a long-time neighbour and friend of the family: 'Bifrons, a house that was my brother Bargrave's, beside Bridge hill, was lately sold'.[62] From 1662 John Bargrave's home, which he held for life, was his prebendal lodgings at the Cathedral. Before settling into his new duties he undertook one more major trip abroad - but this time at the personal request of his king. A petition had been presented to King Charles II on behalf of some three hundred British subjects held in captivity at Algiers and, following a widespread appeal, some £10,000 had been raised to pay their ransom from captivity. John Bargrave and John Selleck, Archdeacon of Bath, were instructed in a licence dated 16 September 1662, to go to Algiers and to negotiate the release of as many captives as their gold could buy. With this mission completed by January 1663, John Bargrave made his way back to Canterbury. It appears that a significant number of slaves were released and Bargrave made a gift of a picture, drawn by an Italian slave, to 'his Ma^tie^ Charles the Second, who hanged it in his private closet'.[63] Two years later on 26 March 1665, John Bargrave, then aged about 55 years, married a financially well-endowed Canterbury widow, Frances Osborne. With his personal and ecclesiastical life now secure, one of John Bargrave's final acts as the guardian of the Bargraves' family history was to set up in 1679 an imposing memorial to Dean Isaac Bargrave in the Lady Chapel, with a painted portrait, probably taken during his lifetime, set into the cartouche, attributed to Cornelius Janssen (Johnson). This memorial, along with the 1663 memorial slab in Patrixbourne Church, reiterates John Bargrave's interpretation of the family's dual identity as martyrs through their loyalty to their monarch and the true church.[64] Less than a year later, on 11 May 1680, John Bargrave died and was buried in the north-west transept of the Cathedral.

Through their various writings, John and Robert Bargrave both found a means of recording their pre-occupations with royalist history and the fate of their own family, along with preserving their personal reputations as well-travelled men of the world. It is important to reiterate here that their various written records of travels and royal service span the period both before and after the Restor-

ation. John Bargrave's French travel diary was clearly compiled on a day-to-day basis during his actual travels in 1645 and 1646. John Raymond's *Itinerary* was also written and published, almost certainly using John Bargrave's own notes, in late-1647 and 1648. In contrast, John Bargrave's *College of Cardinals* and the catalogue to his collections were steadily augmented from the Restoration until 1679, the year before John Bargrave's death. Robert Bargrave's travel diary was probably written up from contemporaneous notes just after the Restoration, perhaps to mark his appointment as Secretary in Constantinople. This was a position of enough seniority, certainly to Robert Bargrave's own eyes at least, to merit the compilation of a biographical history of the youthful experiences abroad of its holder. At the same time, Robert was also able to confirm through these memoirs his pedigree as an ultra-loyal royalist and as member of a proud Kentish family who had suffered greatly for their king during the English Civil War. If he had not suddenly died at Smyrna in 1661, it seems very likely that Robert would have intended to continue his activities as a writer and historian. In fact, this role seems to have been appropriated by the individual who (innocently) gained most from Robert Bargrave's death - Paul Rycaut - who was rapidly appointed to Bargrave's company secretaryship and for the next six years held this post in tandem with his own as private secretary to the ambassador. During the next four decades Rycaut established himself as one of England's most important and prolific historians.[65] Although neither John nor Robert Bargrave deserved to be ranked alongside Paul Rycaut in terms of the academic importance of their historical writings, their written records remain a full and often moving testament to the sufferings of the Bargrave family of Kent during the English Civil War.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is very grateful to Dr M. M. N. Stansfield, former Archivist, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, and to Sonia Anderson, Assistant Keeper, Historical Manuscripts Commission, for their advice and assistance during his work on the Bargrave family.

NOTES

[1] John Bargrave had matriculated from St Peter's College (Peterhouse) on 8 July 1629 and was awarded BA (1633) and MA (1636) before being elected a fellow (1637).

[2] See Stephen Bann, *Under the Sign. John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler, and Witness* (Ann Arbor, 1994), 46, for John Bargrave's statement that as a pupil at the King's School, Canterbury, he used to spend weekends at the Chartham deanery, one of Dean Isaac Bargrave's residences.

[3] Robert Bargrave's account of his meeting with John Bargrave in Italy is recorded in *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave, Levant Merchant 1647-1656*, ed. Michael G. Brennan, The Hakluyt Society, 3rd series, no. 3 (London, 1999), 15-18, 60-5.

[4] Chapman may have been either the son or nephew of Alexander Chapman (d. 1629), formerly a prebendary of Canterbury. In his French travel diary (Canterbury Cathedral Archive, U11/8), John Bargrave describes John Richards as 'Young Mr Rickad Sr Peter Rickads sonn Of Kent in England' (fol. 26^{V}). This individual was probably, John, the third surviving son of Sir Peter Rycaut, who was knighted by Charles I in 1641 and held extensive estates in Kent. Another of his sons, Paul (1629-1700), travelled with Robert Bargrave to the Levant in 1661. See Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey. Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford, 1989), 298; and *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 35, 42-4, 54. Yet another of his sons, Peter (1615-85), travelled between 1644 and 1646 with Thomas Denne of Kent and Sir Clippesby Crewe through France and the Low Countries. See British Library, Additional MS 28,010, fols 55-8; and Dorothy Gardiner, 'Some Travel Notes During the Thirty Years' War', *History* ns 25 (1940-1), 14-24; and Anderson, *An English Consul*, 21-4, 248-9.

[5] Philip Stanhope (1633-1713) succeeded his grandfather, Philip (1584-1656) as Earl of Chesterfield. In his *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals*, ed. by James Craigie Robertson, Camden Society 92 (1867), 11, 16, Bargrave records how Queen Henrietta Maria, then in exile at Paris, wrote a letter of recommendation for him to Cardinal Capponi at Rome and another to her sister, the Duchess of Savoy, at Turin, who wrote on Bargrave's behalf to Cardinal Panzirola.

[6] In his *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, 11-12, John Bargrave describes this individual as 'now Sir William Swan, baronet' and the son-in-law of Sir Thomas Peyton. Another of Peyton's daughters, Elizabeth, married Robert Bargrave, the eldest brother of our traveller, John Bargrave.

[7] For further details of John Bargrave's travels, see *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, x-xi, xx-xxii; John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1605-1667. Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (Revised Edition, New Haven and London, 1989), 135-6, 151, 161-3; Bann, *Under the Sign*, 63-98; and *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 15-17, 31, 36, 50-1, 60-5.

[8] See Bann, *Under the Sign*, 3-7, 74-6, 82-3, and David Sturdy and Martin Henig, *The Gentle Traveller. John Bargrave, Canon of Canterbury and his Collection* (Canterbury, 1985).

[9] Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses ... To Which Are Added, The Fasti or Annals, of the Said University to the Year 1690*, 2 vols (London, 1691-2), II, col. 828. Raymond's *Itinerary* is also commonly known as *Il Mercurio Italico* from the phrase used on its illustrated frontispiece. After the Restoration its popularity among English travellers to Italy was superseded by Edmund Warcup's, *Italy, in its Original Glory, Ruine and Revival* (1660).

[10] For John Bargrave's possible role in compiling the *Itinerary*, see *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, xxi; Sturdy and Henig, *The Gentle Traveller*, item (b); and Bann, *Under the Sign*, 107-113, 132.

[11] The autograph manuscript of Robert Bargrave's travels (MS Rawlinson C 799) was deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as part of the bequest of Richard Rawlinson in 1756. Another, now lost manuscript of these travels was at *Eastry Court* near Sandwich, Robert Bargrave's childhood home, until at least the mid-1830s. See *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 43-51.

[12] Isaac Bargrave was presumably in attendance on 14 June 1625 when his brother-in-law, John Boys, as Dean of Canterbury preached in the cathedral before Charles I and Henrietta Maria, who had landed only two days previously at Dover. Bann, *Under the Sign*, 30-1, examines the links between the the Boys and Bargrave families.

[13] *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 1, 7-10.

[14] *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, 89. Bann, *Under the Sign*, 12.

[15] 'Stetit et cecidit FAMILIA ... Iohan Haeres a ruinis in Ruinas lapide posuit An: D^ni^ M DC LXIII'. The memorial is translated and reproduced in Bann, *Under the Sign*, 25, and figure 7.

[16] The early history of the Bargrave family is examined in more detail in Bann, *Under the Sign*, 28-45 and *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 6-7. See also Philip H. Blake, 'The Builder of Bifrons', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, cviii (1990), 270.

[17] Bann, *Under the Sign*, 34-5.

[18] In 1614 Isaac Bargrave was appointed as rector of Eythorne, a position which he held until his death in 1643.

[19] This sermon was printed as *A Sermon Preached Before King Charles* (1627). Isaac Bargrave's dealings with Archbishop Laud and other aspects of his church career are examined in *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 7-11. See also Stephen Bann's entry on Isaac Bargrave for the *New Dictionary of National Biography* (forthcoming). The author is grateful to Professor Bann for allowing him to see the typescript of this article.

[20] See C. Eveleigh Woodruff, 'Church Plate in Kent. Canterbury Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxviii (1909), 145-55; and *idem* 'Some Seventeenth Century Letters and Petitions from the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xlii (1930), 117.

[21] Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660* (Leicester, 1966), 109, citing BL Additional MS 28,000, fol. 213; and M. J. Sparks and E. W. Parkin, 'The Deanery, Chartham', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxxxix (1974), 169-82.

[22] Bann, *Under the Sign*, 60, recounts how Thomas Bargrave, the Dean's son, had his sword broken by Colonel Sandys 'before his face' and was placed in confinement at Dover Castle. Angela (Bargrave) Boys, the Dean's sister and the widow of Dean Boys, had some gold coins confiscated, although they were later returned. See also Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 4 vols (Canterbury, 1778-99), IV, 593-4; and *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, eds. Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks (Oxford, 1995), 195-6. In August 1642 Colonel Sandys had also arrested Sir Peter Rycaut who ended up in the Tower of London. See Anderson, *An English Consul*, 21.

[23] Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 190-1. *The Oxinden and Peyton Letters 1642-1670. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham, Sir Thomas Peyton of Knowlton and their circle*, ed. Dorothy Gardiner (London, 1937), 23-4, 30, 46-9.

[24] John Bargrave records, for example, that at Calais he visited the convent of the Minims: 'Wee being in the Chappell One of the order (an ancient man) being sweeping of it, came to mee and spake french, but I answered him in Latine (having not as yet the french Language) he replyed in Latine that I was welcome' (fol. 3^v^). Bargrave's acrimonious dispute with the Germans, discussed earlier, was also conducted entirely in Latin. As his proficiency in the French language increased, so Bargrave often 'mingled latin and french together' (fol. 53^r^) as did many of the Jesuits whom he met on his travels.

[25] Initial contact with other English visitors was often made with the help of the landlord of the inn at which the visitors were staying. Such a service was generally expected and, on one of the rare occasions when it was not forthcoming, at the '*Barrelet*' at Orléans, Bargrave commented: 'the Host of the howse saide the English men were good for nothing but to take Tobacco, and was very surly to us, so that wee cold not gett him to send a messenger for to speake with any English gentlemen to come unto us or shew us to them' (fol. 8^{v}).

[26] This 'young M^{r} Skinner' was perhaps a son or relative of Robert Skinner (1591-1667), Bishop of Bristol (1636-41) and Oxford (1641-63), who had been committed to the Tower of London in 1641. Alternatively, it may have been the physician, Stephen Skinner (1623-67), who took the degree of MD at Heidelberg in 1654 and spent much of his youth on the continent; or one of the Skinners, such as Edward (Jesus, matriculated 1641) or Joseph (Jesus, 1644), who were at Cambridge at about the same time as John Bargrave. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses ... from the Earliest Times to 1900. Part I. From the Earliest Times to 1751*, compiled by John Venn and J. A. Venn, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922-7).

[27] The Hôtel (or Ville) de Venise, near the Pont Neuf in the rue de Bussy (Buci), was often recommended to English visitors between 1590 and 1650. See *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), II. 90; and *The Travel Diary (1611-1612) of an English Catholic Sir Charles Somerset*, ed. Michael G. Brennan (Leeds, 1993), 70.

[28] Bargrave does not supply enough detail to identify positively this 'M^{r} James Newman'. However, he may have been one of his contemporaries from Cambridge and/or Canterbury, perhaps the James Newman of Canterbury who matriculated at St Catharine's (1634), took an LL.B from Trinity Hall (1639), and entered Lincoln's Inn (1641). See *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (note 26).

[29] William Cavendish (*c.* 1593-1676), Earl (1628), Marquis (1643), and Duke (1665) of Newcastle, was one of King Charles I's most capable military leaders. After the Battle of Marston Moor (1644), he fled abroad to Hamburg (July 1644-February 1645), and then on to Paris (1645-8) and Antwerp (1648-60). He had acted as governor to Prince Charles from 1638 until 1641 and accompanied him back in triumph to London in 1660. See *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 13, 27, 153 n. 9.

[30] Bargrave is referring here to Henry Jermyn (d. 1684), who was created Baron Jermyn of St Edmundsbury in 1643 and Earl of St Albans in 1660. He was appointed as vice-chamberlain to the queen in 1628 and escaped to France in 1641 after the 'First Army Plot'. He returned to England in 1643 but crossed back to France with the queen in the following year. His coded letters written on her behalf to Lord Digby, the king's private secretary, were intercepted and published by Parliament. See *The Lord George Digby's Cabinet* (1646). Henry Jermyn was also informally known as the Earl of Yarmouth during the 1640s. See *The Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money, Domestic, 1642-1656, Part II*, 640, 17 November 1645, recording an assessment of: 'Hen. Jermyn, now Earl of Yarmouth (sic), £4,000'. In official terms, Sir Robert Paston (1631-83) was created first Earl of Yarmouth in 1679.

[31] No suitable individual named 'Cooly' (or Colley, Cooley, Coolie, Cooly) is recorded in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* as a member of Trinity College, Cambridge. However, a Mr 'Pooly' does appear in Henry Jermyn's correspondence in 1645. See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1645-7*, 31-2 (although no such individual is listed as a member of Trinity College).

[32] Sir Richard Browne (1605-83), was resident at the French court as the representative of King Charles I and Charles II, 1641-60. At Paris he provided a chapel for Anglican services, a refuge for displaced Anglican clergymen, and a cemetery for Protestants. John Evelyn married his daughter, Mary. See Evelyn, *Diary*, II.90.

[33] Probably Joseph Crowther, who was a fellow of St John's College, Oxford, from 1628 until 1648. He had been ejected as a prebend of St Paul's in 1642. He later became Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. See Evelyn, *Diary*, II. 564, III. 19, 37-8.

[34] John Cosin (1594-1672), a friend of Archbishop Laud, was the Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He became Vice-chancellor of Cambridge in 1639 and Dean of Peterborough in 1640. He was deprived of his benefices by the Long Parliament in the same year. After sending Peterhouse plate to Charles I in 1642 he was ejected from his Mastership. He served as chaplain to the Anglican royalists at Paris from 1642 until the Restoration.

[35] This was possibly Sir Thomas Stanley of Cumberlow, Hertfordshire, and Leytonstone, Essex, an ardent royalist, whose son, Thomas Stanley (1625-78) was certainly in France at this period and later gained some renown for his *Poems* (1647). In the *Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money, Domestic, 1642-1656, Part I*, 389, 15 May 1644, this Sir Thomas Stanley is described as wishing to 'stir abroad'. See also *Part III*, 1439.

[36] Dr John Bramhall (1594-1663) was consecrated as Bishop of Derry on 26 May 1634, later transferring to become Archbishop of Armagh on 18 January 1661. He was impeached by the Irish Commons for his opposition to the Covenanters and imprisoned but liberated through the influence of Archbishop James Ussher in 1641. He crossed to England in 1644 and lent his support to the royalists but later in the same year was forced to retire to the Continent.

[37] Elsewhere in his French travel diary, John Bargrave also records meeting 'M^{r} Ja: Brockman of Kent in England and M^{r} Wll. Johnson of Midlesex or Suffolke, my very worthy friends' (fols. 31^{v}, 40^{r}, 66^{v}); and 'Mr ... Richot [i.e. Rycaut] an English gentleman' (fol. 31^{v}).

[38] Raymond's *Itinerary* notes: 'There are but two ordinary passages out of *France* into Italy, the one over the Alpes, the other by the Mediterranean Sea, those commonly which goe by the first, returne by the second, and so contrary. We (November being quite expired ere we left France) for our owne convenience preferred a boate'.

[39] *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 60.

[40] *Ibid.*, 53.

[41] Peter Rycaut the younger was also imprisoned for his part in drawing up this petition. See Anderson, *An English Consul*, 21.

[42] *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-1660 [1643-6]*, 847. Bendish's diplomatic position is discussed in more detail in Mark Charles Fissel and Daniel Goffman, 'Viewing the Scaffold from Istanbul: The Bendysh- Hyde Affair, 1647-1651', *Albion*, 22 (1990), 421-48. See also *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 14-15, 18-22, 104.

[43] Canterbury Cathedral Archives, MS Lit E16, f. 77^{r}, described in John Bargrave's own catalogue: '67. To hang upon my Cabanet. my/Owne picture upon Copper, in little/and in Seculo, between my Nephe/and my neighebor, draw'e at Siena, 1647. by the hand of Sig'r Mattio/Bolognini as written on the/back-side'. Bargrave commissioned another portrait of himself at Rome in 1650, again giving prominence to his family arms. See Bann, *Under the Sign*, 65-9, 113-15.

[44] Raymond, *Itinerary*, 50, 56-7. Raymond may have had Robert Bargrave in mind when he wrote (sigs. B4^{r-v}): 'One of my Contemporaries [at Florence] discoursing with a Fryar, in a Complement protested he did reverence Clergy men *for that he was the sonne of a Priest in England*: which the Monke could not conster but either an *Irony* to his order, or Infamous to the Gentlemans owne descent'.

[45] *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 17.

[46] The following leaf is also signed as 'A4', perhaps indicating that the preliminaries

to the *Itinerary*, which were clearly intended to be controversial, had been censored in some way before publication. The volume was published by Humphrey Moseley (who had published the 1645 edition of Milton's *Poems*); and its licence had been granted by Nathaniel Brent, the Warden of Merton College, who in 1647 had presided over the notorious parliamentary visitation of Oxford University.

[47] Bann, *Under the Sign*, 107-111.

[48] Everitt, *Community of Kent*, 240-44, 249-50, 268-9. Bann, *Under the Sign*, 134, note 18.

[49] *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, Domestic, 1643-1660, Part III*, 1878, 11 December 1648.

[50] *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 13, note 3.

[51] *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, Domestic, 1643-1660, Part III*, 2109, 18 July 1649.

[52] *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 78.

[53] *Ibid.*, 232, 235. *Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire*, ed. G. Davies, Camden Society, 3rd series, vol. 28 (1917), 30, 46.

[54] *Ibid.*, 59-60.

[55] *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, 23-4.

[56] John Bargrave was back in England in the spring of 1658 when he left London for the Continent in April, but it is not known if he was able to meet up with Robert before his departure. *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, xii.

[57] *HMC Finch MSS*, I. 93; now at Leicestershire Record Office DG.7 (Box 4982). Robert Bargrave's eldest son, Robert, had died in August 1659, before his appointment as Secretary in Constantinople; and his only other son, Isaac, died in July 1663. See *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 5-6.

[58] *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 2-5.

[59] *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, 6.

[60] *Ibid.*, xii-xiii.

[61] This petition is printed in *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, xiii, from *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1661-2*, 394.

[62] *The Oxinden and Peyton Letters*, ed. Gardiner, 258, 9 December 1661. See *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Brennan, 12, for the later history of *Bifrons*.

[63] *Pope Alexander*, ed. Robertson, xiv-xvii, 138. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1661-2*, 488-90.

[64] See *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Collinson, *et al.*, 524, for this interpretation of Isaac Bargrave's memorial.

[65] A preliminary bibliography of Rycaut's published works is given in Anderson, *An English Consul*, 294-6.