

THE TRAVEL DIARY OF
ROBERT BARGRAVE
LEVANT MERCHANT
(1647-1656)

Edited by
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Travel Diary (1647–1656) of Robert Bargrave Levant Merchant is the first fully annotated and complete old-spelling edition of the entire text of the autograph English journal of Robert Bargrave (1628–61), recording his extensive travels as a merchant between 1647 and 1656. This manuscript, probably compiled in the late-1650s and now Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C 799, ff. 193, describes four separate journeys made by Bargrave, variously, by sea and overland: 1. from England to Turkey (April 1647–September 1652); 2. from Turkey to England (September 1652–March 1653); 3. to Spain and Venice (November 1654–February 1656); 4. from Venice to England (February–March 1656). The introduction considers the political, religious, and personal affiliations of the Bargrave family during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with special reference to their experiences of overseas travel. It also provides an assessment of the historical, literary, and geographical importance of Robert Bargrave's journal; a survey of Robert Bargrave's musical interests; and the first detailed account of the provenances of both MS Rawlinson C 799 and a now lost earlier draft of this journal, identified here as the Eastry Court Manuscript. The edition includes seventeen illustrations, Bargrave family trees, and a selective bibliography of primary and secondary sources consulted.

My attention was first drawn to the Bodleian Library manuscript of Robert Bargrave's travel diary, MS Rawlinson C 799, by John Walter Stoye's reference in the first edition of his *English Travellers Abroad 1604–1667* (1952), p. 464, to a proposed edition of this manuscript for the Hakluyt Society by J. N. L. Baker. Although this edition was recorded in the Society's minutes as being under preparation between 1944 and 1949, it was never completed and by 1956 had been removed from the list of titles in preparation. (I am grateful to Mrs Alexa Barrow, formerly Administrative Assistant to the Hakluyt Society, for this information.) Only brief excerpts from Bargrave's diary have previously been included in publications by Edward Spencer Curling (1836–7), Albert Rode (1905 and 1927), Sir Richard Carnac Temple (1907 and 1925), Stanisław Kot (1935), Franz Carl Heinrich Babinger (1936), John Walter Stoye (1952), Michael Tilmouth (1972), and Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott (1980). Full details of all of these works are given in the Bibliography.

This volume, incorporating many of the findings of these scholars, seeks to provide the first annotated edition of Bargrave's travels in the Levant and Western Europe as recorded in MS Rawlinson C 799. My access to relevant materials, particularly on travel writings of the period, has been greatly assisted by Christopher Sheppard, Sub-Librarian of the Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds, and Geoffrey Forster, Librarian of the Leeds Library. All the illustrations to the text of this edition have been drawn from the major holdings of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century travel writings held in the Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds. In making this selection, Christopher

Sheppard's advice and guidance has again proved invaluable. I am no less indebted to the technical skills of David Bailey (Media Services and Photography) who produced the photographs for these illustrations, often from delicate and imperfect originals. I have received prompt and always useful advice on MS Rawlinson C799 from the staff of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, especially Mary Clapinson (Keeper of Western Manuscripts) and Julie Ball, Tricia Buckingham, Kathleen Firkin, Steven Tomlinson, and Michael Webb. I am also grateful for guidance in tracing and consulting primary sources to the staff of the British Library, the Essex Record Office (Chelmsford), the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Leicestershire Record Office (Leicester), the Public Record Office, and the Probate Sub-Registry (York). The staff of Canterbury Cathedral Archives, especially Dr Michael M. N. Stansfield, Charlotte Hodgson, and Sheila Malloch, have been especially helpful with both their advice and assistance in consulting materials. No less valuable has been the information provided by the staff of the Centre for Kentish Studies, especially M. Carter and Richard Leonard. In compiling this edition, I have received much helpful advice and direction to relevant sources on the Turkish section of Bargrave's first voyage from Sonia Anderson, Assistant Keeper, Historical Manuscripts Commission. The following individuals have also provided helpful advice on specific queries: Peter Brears (Leeds), James Brennan (Liverpool), Terry Bridger (Havant), James Collier (Welbeck), Barbara Harrad (Leeds), G. G. Harris (London), Almut, Dietrich and Reinhard Mast (Ammerbuch), Margaret Meserve (London), and David Sturdy (Oxford). I am grateful to Professor Stephen Bann (University of Kent at Canterbury), not only for answering my queries about John Bargrave and sending me a draft of his revised entry on Isaac Bargrave for the *New Dictionary of National Biography* but also for inviting me to the richly informative 'Bargrave Study Day' held at Canterbury Cathedral Archives on 24 October 1998. Papers given by Arthur MacGregor (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and Dr Martin Henig (Institute of Archaeology, Oxford) were especially thought-provoking and helpful to my own work on Robert Bargrave. Paul Pollak (The King's School, Canterbury) also sent me valuable information concerning members of the Bargrave family who attended The King's School, as well as copies of his own notes on the genealogy of the Bargraves. I am grateful to the following present and former colleagues at the University of Leeds who have generously assisted my research: Professor Martin Butler, Professor David Fairer, Dr Frank Felsenstein, Professor Paul Hammond, Dr Elizabeth Haresnape, Professor Michael Holman, and Professor Lynette Hunter. My colleague, David Lindley, generously found time in his busy schedule as Chairman of the School, to produce computerized versions of the musical settings included in Robert Bargrave's diary. Dr Richard Rastall also provided valuable expert advice on the interpretation of these settings. Elizabeth Paget has been a constant source of good advice over computer problems and produced the final disk and typescript drafts of this edition. I am also especially grateful to Dr Will Ryan, my series editor, and Mr Stephen Easton, technical adviser, for their meticulous and expert advice on the typescript and production of this edition. Finally, I am happy to acknowledge a Small Research Grant from the British Academy and financial support from my own department towards research and travel costs involved in the compilation of this edition.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

BL	British Library
CSP Dom.	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
CSP Ven.	<i>Calendar of State Papers Venetian</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
ERO	Essex Record Office
HMC	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> . 2nd edn. Prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols, Oxford, 1989
PRO	Public Record Office
STC	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland ... 1475-1640</i> , completed by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd edn. revised & enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer, Vol. I, A-H, 1986, Vol. II, I-Z, 1976, Vol. III, 1991.
Wing	<i>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700</i> , compiled by D. Wing, 3 vols, New York, 1945-51; revised edn. New York, 1972-88.

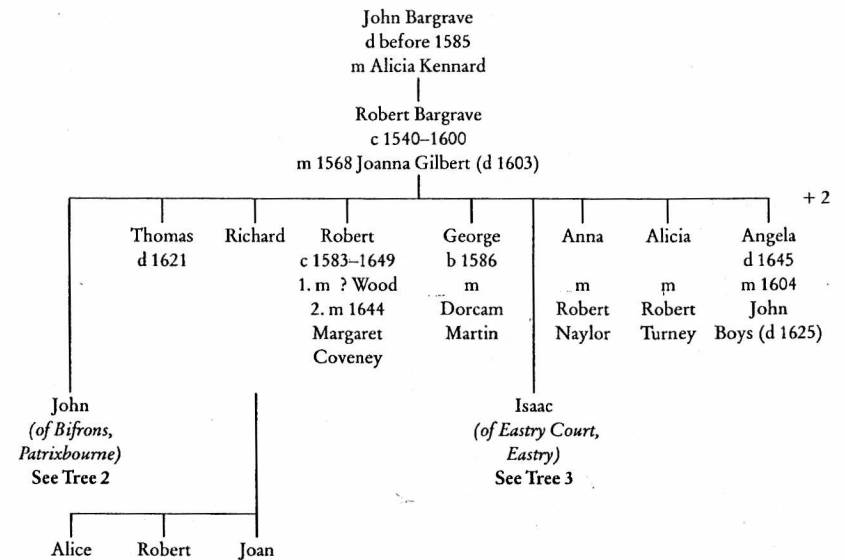
Full titles of all other works cited are given in the Bibliography, with abbreviated titles used in the footnotes. When a pre-1700 source is cited for comparative purposes with Bargrave's own account, approximate dates of composition and/or publication for this source are also supplied – e.g. Raymond, *Itinerary*, 1648.

In the introductory materials and footnotes, I have generally adopted the old place names (e.g. Constantinople and Smyrna) as used by Bargrave rather than their modern equivalents (e.g. Istanbul and Izmir). The spelling of proper names, other than in the text itself, has been modernized (usually to the forms used in the *DNB* or other standard works of reference). I have referred to Charles Stewart (later King Charles II) in references before 1660 as 'Charles II' and after 1660 as 'King Charles II'.

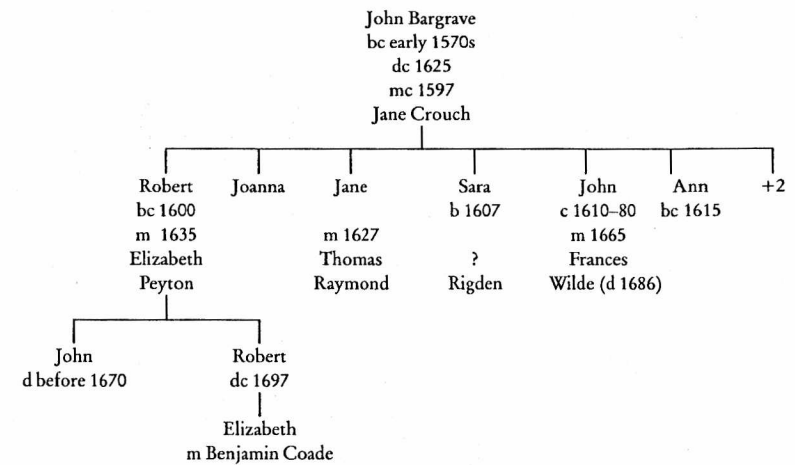
When abroad at this period, English travellers generally used the new-style (NS) Gregorian calendar of 1582, as opposed to the old-style (OS) Julian calendar, still followed in Protestant Britain (except Scotland). The new-style continental system, adopted by all other European countries (except Russia), was ten days in advance of the old-style. Under the Julian calendar, 25 March (Lady Day) was regarded as the first day of the new year. The Gregorian calendar was not formally adopted in Britain until 1753. As befits a merchant involved in international trade, Robert Bargrave follows the new-style Gregorian calendar throughout his diary.

In the edited text of Bargrave's diary, the paragraphing, sentence structure, punctuation, capitalization, spelling and (often erratic) use of accents in foreign words and place names of the original manuscript have been retained where possible. All substantive matters of scribal commission or omission are recorded in the footnotes. Catchwords at the foot of the pages have been omitted, since they are used in the manuscript irregularly. Bargrave also sometimes added approximate calculations of mileage covered in the left-hand margins of his manuscript. Since these figures were neither consistently added nor always accurate, they have been omitted. Square brackets are employed in the conventional manner to enclose editorial comment or addition. Folio references contained in square brackets within the text indicate the folios of the manuscript.

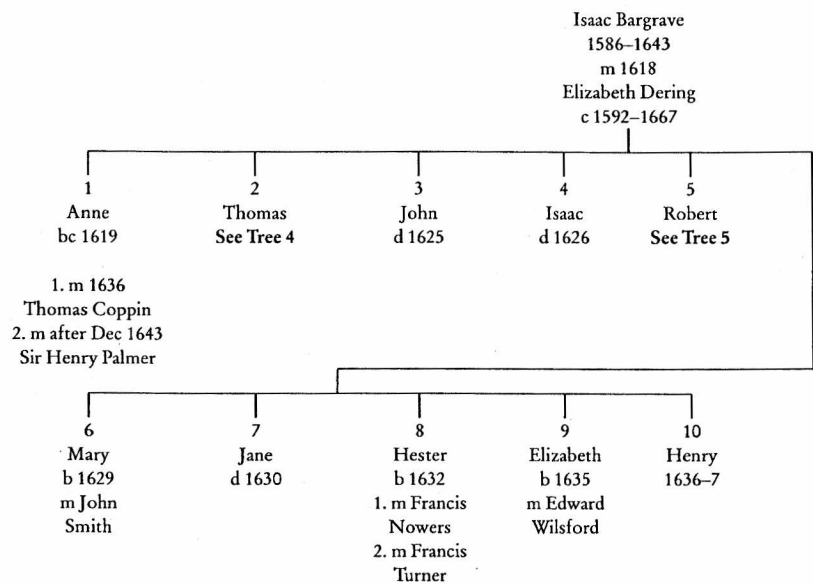
FAMILY TREE 1: THE BARGRAVES OF BRIDGE



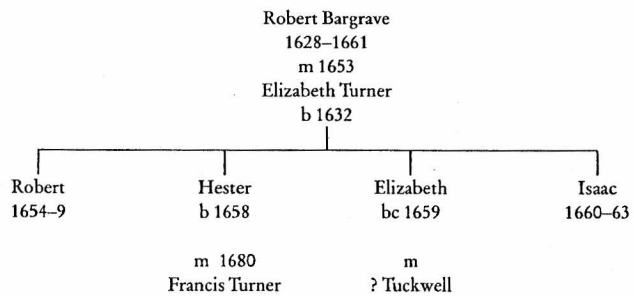
FAMILY TREE 2: THE BARGRAVES OF BIFRONS, PATRIXBOURNE



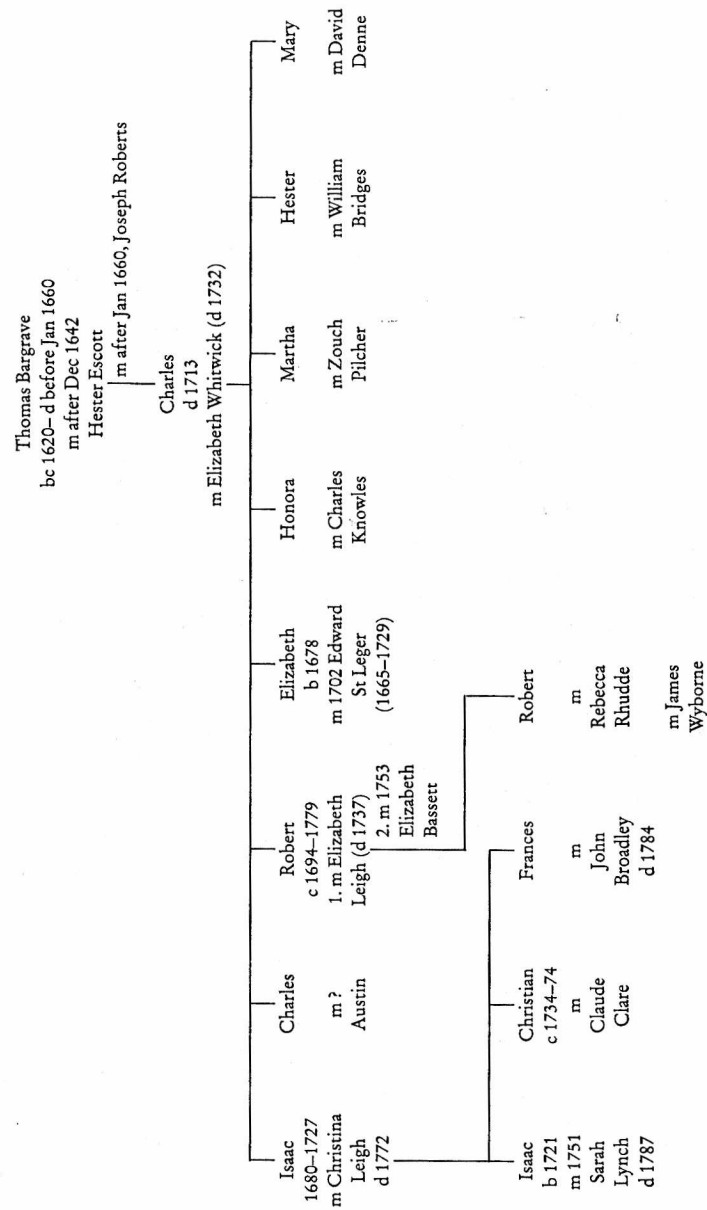
FAMILY TREE 3: THE BARGRAVES OF EASTRY COURT



FAMILY TREE 5: ROBERT AND ELIZABETH BARGRAVE



FAMILY TREE 4: THE BARGRAVES OF EASTRY COURT



INTRODUCTION

1. THE BARGRAVE FAMILY

The Life of Robert Bargrave

Robert Bargrave, the author of this diary, was born on 25 March 1628 into a Kentish family of considerable prominence in royal and ecclesiastical service.¹ His father, Isaac Bargrave (1586–1643), had served between 1616 and 1618 as chaplain to the English ambassador at Venice, Sir Henry Wotton, who became and remained a close friend. This prestigious overseas posting was followed by a period from 1622 until 1625 in London at Westminster as personal chaplain to Prince Charles. Following the accession of Charles I in 1625, Isaac Bargrave's loyal service was rewarded by his appointment (in succession to his brother-in-law, John Boys) as the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral. (See Family Tree 1 and 3.)

In 1642 Isaac sent Robert, his second surviving son, to be educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, although Robert transferred to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the following year.² From April 1647 until March 1656, as recorded in Robert's first-hand

¹ Robert Bargrave's exact date of birth is recorded in BL Sloane MS 1708, f. 107.

² Although the *DNB* states that Isaac Bargrave 'was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated BA and MA', *Alumni Cantabrigienses* indicates that he graduated with a BA (1607) from Pembroke College, was awarded an MA (probably from Clare Hall) in 1610, and received the degree of DD from Clare Hall in 1621. His BA and MA degrees were incorporated at Oxford in 1608 and 1611. *Alumni Oxonienses*, however, erroneously states that his Cambridge BA was taken from Clare Hall in 1604 (and was presumably the *DNB*'s source). These errors are corrected in Stephen Bann's revised entry for the *New DNB* (forthcoming).

Robert Bargrave was admitted pensioner of Clare College, Cambridge, on 23 March 1642 (*Alumni Cantabrigienses*) and then matriculated from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 10 May 1643, aged fourteen (*Alumni Oxonienses*). Both of these sources state that he was the Robert Bargrave admitted to Gray's Inn on 14 August 1640 (citing Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889*, 1889, p. 22) when he would have been only twelve years old. Albert Rode doubted that this Robert was Isaac's son since he would have been much younger than the usual entrant and a period of study at the Inns of Court usually followed, not preceded, time at either Oxford or Cambridge. However, Robert's elder brother, Thomas, was certainly admitted to Gray's Inn on 14 August 1640 after studying at Eton College. Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of ... Robert Bargrave', pp. 144, 158, suggests that both Thomas and Robert were admitted to Gray's Inn to take part in some of its masques and dramatic entertainments for which it was then renowned.

Nothing is known about Robert's schooldays, although several members of the Bargrave family attended The King's School, Canterbury. A Robert Bargrave is listed in the Cathedral Treasurer's records as being a King's Scholar in the latter two quarters of 1642 (after our Robert's departure for Cambridge). This other Robert may have been the son of Robert Bargrave, the brother of John Bargrave (c. 1610–80). (See Family Tree 2.) Our Robert, of course, may have attended The King's School as a commoner (who were not listed in the Treasurer's records. Alternatively, he may have been sent to another school, such as Eton College, where his elder brother, Thomas, had been a pupil. (See Family Tree 4 and p. 13, note 4.)

her personal secretary.¹ Isaac Bargrave's contact in 1616 with Princess Elizabeth was clearly a defining influence in the importance attached by his son, Robert, to his own visit forty years later to Heidelberg in March 1656, when he was granted an interview with the Palsgrave Charles Louis (her son), who warmly recalled his parents' friendship with Isaac Bargrave and expressed his own 'peculiar Affections to any that had Relation' to him. (MS Rawlinson C 799, ff. 185^v-186^r.)

Leaving Heidelberg, Wotton and his party moved on to Basle but found the usual Swiss passes into Italy were closed because of a contagion. They were, therefore, obliged to undertake a perilous journey across the Savoy mountains ('by such rocks and precipices as I think Hannibal did hardly exceed it when he made his way') in order to reach Turin on 24 May, where Wotton was scheduled to discuss the proposed league between the northern Protestants and Savoy.² At Turin Isaac Bargrave may have witnessed the spectacular arrival of the French Ambassador, the duc de Béthune, with his grand entourage of some two hundred officials and servants. He may also have heard reports of Wotton's lengthy (but inconclusive) meetings with Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy. Departing from Turin on 31 May, Wotton finally reached Venice on 9 June and took up residence in the Grimani della Vida Palazzo overlooking the Grand Canal. He and the other English members of his party were formally received by the Venetians three weeks later at the island of S. Giorgio in Alga. In his public speech, Wotton expressed his personal delight in returning to Venice and promised to live more as a philosopher than a courtier, and that his household would seek peaceful relations with all the citizens of Venice.³

During the time of Wotton's first embassy to Venice (1604-12), there was considerable hostility among the Venetian nobility and governing classes towards the power of the Pope. Wotton tacitly acted as an unofficial focus for discussions over a Protestant counter-attack in northern Italy against the Papacy; and in 1609 his then chaplain, William Bedell, compiled a document, detailing Wotton's actual propaganda plans for introducing Protestantism into Venice. It was into this world of subversive and potentially dangerous religious intrigue that Isaac Bargrave found himself introduced in 1616. Less than two months after his arrival in Venice, the news broke that the distinguished Roman Catholic prelate, Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, had renounced his allegiance to the Pope and fled to England to become the most important convert to Anglicanism of the Jacobean period. Although the credit for this coup was rightly awarded by Wotton to his predecessor as ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, Bargrave would certainly have been close to the action as Wotton's personal Anglican chaplain. Similarly, Isaac Bargrave would have had intimate dealings with the scholar and Servite friar, Paolo (Pietro) Sarpi, described by Wotton as 'the most deep and general scholar of the world', who had recently completed his renowned historical work, the *History of the Council of Trent*. Wotton had cultivated Sarpi during his first embassy,

¹ Wotton, *Life and Letters*, I, p. 145, II, pp. 87-94. Wotton wrote a renowned poem on the Queen of Bohemia, 'You meane beauties of the night', pr. Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia*, pp. 213-14.

² In a passage reminiscent of Winchelsea leaving the dying Robert Bargrave behind at Smyrna in 1661, Wotton recorded how, departing from Heidelberg: 'I have left one of my principal servants behind me sick of a dangerous fever, the want of whom, because he was a practised man, hath much incommodated me'. Wotton, *Life and Letters*, II, pp. 94-5.

³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 147, citing the *Esposizioni Principi*, Archivio di Stato, Venice, 27 June 1616.

even though Sarpi's official position as theological counsellor to the Republic prevented their open intercourse. Instead, Wotton's chaplain, William Bedell, regularly met with Sarpi each week, nominally under the pretext of teaching him English but also to debate the major controversies of Catholicism and Anglicanism.¹ Bargrave undoubtedly took over Bedell's role and came to know Sarpi well during his time in Venice.

Bargrave also maintained his own correspondence with some influential individuals back home in England. On 17 April 1617, for example, he wrote to the Earl of Suffolk, informing him that Wotton had received a 'grave and serious letter' from one Stanislaus, a Polish knight (who later turned out to be Tomaso Cerronio, the Jesuit Superior at S. Fidele in Milan), detailing a plot to assassinate the English King.² In July 1618 Isaac Bargrave was sent back to England, carrying a letter to King James I from Wotton (whose embassy did not end until April 1619), recommending Bargrave's 'discretion and zeal' and explaining that he would be raising with the king a matter 'of singular consequence to the Christian world'.³ This business, detailed in a surviving letter of 5 July 1618 from Wotton to Bargrave himself, concerned the establishment of Protestant seminaries, to be supported by the English king and the princes of the northern Protestant Union.⁴

On 1 October 1618 Isaac Bargrave married Elizabeth Dering, a daughter of Wotton's sister, Elizabeth. Wotton wrote a letter (without date or address but probably to Sir Robert Naunton, formerly the Master of Requests and then Secretary of State) thanking a friend for his offer to help Bargrave obtain a prebend's position at Canterbury, noting:

we are conjoined, not only as before in the best friendship, but now also in near affinity, for he hath married one of my nieces, the daughter of a right good sister; which hath been on both their parts a match, rather of virtue and love than of fortune, so there is room left for your honourable kindness.⁵

In 1622 Bargrave was duly awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge and became a prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral. Further honours came his way when he was appointed to the living of St Margaret's, Westminster; and he served as a personal chaplain to Prince Charles until his accession. He would presumably have been 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 Queen Henrietta Maria, who had landed only two days previously at Dover.⁶ Dean Boys died in the following September and Isaac Bargrave succeeded him as Dean on 16 October 1625, a position he held until his

¹ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 87, 89-92, 149. See also Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 53.

² Wotton, *Life and Letters*, II, pp. 115. Bargrave's letter to Suffolk is listed in *HMC Montagu House MS*, p. 198.

³ Wotton, *Life and Letters*, II, pp. 143, 148. Wotton's letter of reference for Bargrave to King James is printed in Wotton, *Letters and Dispatches*, p. 26.

⁴ Wotton, *Life and Letters*, II, pp. 148-51. For other letters to Isaac Bargrave from William Leete, Wotton's steward, see II, pp. 144, 157, 471. Wotton also wrote to Bargrave in the autumn of 1618, asking him to seek from Sir Robert Naunton an assurance that Wotton's long-time Italian Secretary, Gregorio de' Monte, might be allowed to discharge the ambassador's duties while he was away in England in 1619.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 462.

⁶ Shipdem, 'List of Forty-five Vicars of Tilmanstone', p. 112. Bann, *Under the Sign*, pp. 30-31, examines the importance of the Boys family to the Bargraves' ecclesiastical promotions.

Cathedral. A moving inscription to these children was placed on the pavement near the junction of the north aisle and the south-west transept:

HERE (AMID Y^E ASHES OF HIS FATHERS
BROTHERS IOHN ISAC & HENRY AND
HIS SISTER IANE BARGRAVE) LIES
BVRVED ROBERT SONN OF ROBERT
THE ONLY SONN SVRVIVING OF D^R
ISAC BARGRAVE LATE DEANE OF THIS
CATHEDRALL WHO ON Y^E 28 OF AVG
1659 (BVT NEWLY 5 YEARES OLD)
LEFT HIS SAD PARENTS THVS
BEWAYLING HIM

FAREWELL SWEET BOY & FAREWELL ALL IN THEE
BLEST PARENTS CAN IN THEYR BEST CHILDREN SEE
THE LIFE TO WOOE VS VNTO HEAVEN WAS LENT VS
THY DEATH TO WEAN VS FROM Y^E WORLD IS SENT VS

HERE LIETH ALLSOE AT THE RIGHT SIDE
OF THIS CHILD ISAAC BARGRAVE HIS
BROTHER WHO DIED THE 10 OF IULY 1663¹

Only Robert and Elizabeth Bargrave's two daughters survived into adulthood: Elizabeth (b.c. 1659) marrying a Mr Tuckwell, and Hester (b. 1658) marrying in Canterbury Cathedral on 5 February 1680 a Mr Francis Turner (very probably a relative on her mother's side). (See Family Tree 5.)

Isaac Bargrave and Sir Henry Wotton

Throughout the seventeenth century, the fortunes of the Bargrave family were in no small measure determined by their personal involvements with the monarchy and the established church. As a large black marble memorial stone to the Bargrave family (erected by John Bargrave, c. 1610–80) in Patrixbourne Church eloquently records in Latin:

¹ This memorial is reproduced in Cowper, *Memorial Inscriptions of Canterbury*, p. 41. For the burial dates of Robert senior's siblings, John, Isaac, Henry, and Jane, see 'Family Tree 3'. In the first part of the memorial, Robert senior is described as 'THE ONLY SONN SVRVIVING OF D^R / ISAC BARGRAVE', implying that this section was carved before Robert's death at Smyrna in 1661. If so, then the four-line poetic lament on Robert junior may well have been the work of his father, Robert. (Cf. his longer epitaph on the death of Thomas Bendish, MS Rawlinson C 799, ff. 14^v–15^v.)

It should be noted here that Sir Sidney Lee, the author of the *DNB* article on Isaac Bargrave, provided a confused reading of this memorial, misinterpreting the relationships of those mentioned: 'Another son, Robert, was the father of John, Isaac, Henry, Joan, and Robert Bargrave, who, with their father, lie buried in the north aisle of Canterbury Cathedral'. As explained above, John, Isaac, Henry, and Joan (i.e. Jane) were the brothers and sister of Robert Bargrave (d.1661) not his children. This memorial was formerly located near the junction of the north aisle and the south-west transept. When the floors of the nave and the south-west transept were relaid in 1993, this and other memorials were removed. In August 1998 they were in temporary storage in the open court formed by the Treasury, the Infirmary cloister, the Dean's Steps, and the north quire. I am grateful to Dr M. M. N. Stansfield for this information.

In the Civil War on the King's side
The FAMILY stood and fell.¹

In particular, the experiences of Robert's father, Isaac – as a royal chaplain at Westminster and as a prominent Anglican churchman at Canterbury – would have played an important role in formulating Robert's own political outlook as he began his career with the Levant Company. Furthermore, Isaac Bargrave's period of service as chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton's embassy at Venice would have also provided Robert with an informative model for how a young, ambitious man might combine the challenges of overseas travel with the first-hand observation of high diplomacy and political intrigue abroad.

Following his education at Cambridge (see p. 1), Isaac Bargrave, the sixth son of Robert Bargrave (who owned a tanhouse at Bridge in Kent) was ordained deacon and priest at Peterborough on 10 May 1612.² (See Family Tree 1.) He was appointed in 1614 as rector of Eythorne, a position which he held until his death in 1643.³ He also maintained his University connections and performed the role of a Portuguese pandar in George Ruggle's Latin comedy, 'Ignoramus', staged before King James I on 8 March 1615.⁴ In the following year, he left England for Venice to serve as chaplain to the English Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, who was about to begin his second embassy there. As with the travels of his own son, Robert, in the entourage of Sir Thomas Bendish during the 1640s and the Earl of Winchelsea in 1660, Isaac gained a wealth of diplomatic experience from his membership of an official embassy. In fact, it seems likely that Isaac's own experience of continental travel would have prompted him to become a firm supporter of Robert's youthful ambitions to gain a similar kind of practical education through trade and diplomacy into the ways of foreign countries.

Wotton's party crossed from Dover to Dunkirk on 3 April 1616 and then made their way via Antwerp to Cologne, where four days were spent making inconclusive investigations into the authorship of a libellous mock-panegyric of James I, *Corona Regia*, recently printed at Louvain. Travelling on to Heidelberg, Wotton was occupied for six days at the Elector's court with official business. King James had instructed him to propose to the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, the formation of an anti-Spanish league between the northern Protestants and the Duke of Savoy, which Venice and the Dutch might also be invited to join. The Elector (chosen King of Bohemia in 1619) approved of this plan and Wotton's personal influence at his court was confirmed both by his close friendship with the Elector's wife, Elizabeth (King James's daughter, whom he had married in 1613), and by the appointment of Wotton's nephew, Albertus Morton, as

¹ This memorial is translated and reproduced in Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 25, figure 7.

² Blake, 'The Builder of Bifrons', p. 270, notes that earlier in the 16th century the Bargrave (or Bargar) family 'were of somewhat humdrum station in Willesborough'. He suggests that 'wealth may have come through John's [dc. 1625] marriage to Jane, the daughter and co-heir of Giles Crouche, of London, about 1597'. (See Family Tree 2.) Robertson, 'Patrickbourne Church, and Bifrons', pp. 169–84, 173, speculates that the name Bargrave, or Bargar, may have been derived 'from a manor, in Bridge parish, called Baracre, Beracre or Bargar'. Bann, *Under the Sign*, pp. 28–9, provides a succinct account of the early history of the Bargrave family.

³ The *DNB* states that Isaac became rector of Eythorne in October 1611 but this date precedes his ordination as a priest.

⁴ Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First*, III, p. 52.

The 23 Friday. [November 1660] The wind W.S.W., rainy weather, but the two secretaries [Bargrave and Rycaut] went ashore with the Consul, being fully instructed to treat with the chief, who demanded next day to call his Divan or council, it being the Sunday. Mr. Bargrave returned to give my lord this account and left all his articles and new demands to be translated by their dragoman into Arabic.

24 Saturday. Mr. Bargrave, myself and Mr Hill with some others went ashore to the Consul's. A very strong gale of wind at W.S.W., that we were above two hours in coming ashore. And about one of the clock we went to the Divan, to hear the King's and council answer, where they met in their rude manner, the King having first discoursed with Mr Bargrave and Consul debating the business before the rude multitude came together. And they in their customary way put themselves into two ranks. The King was the lowest of the second rank and a Turk in a green habit the upper man in the first rank; and after an article by their penman then he spoke and all the council agreeing to it spoke until it came to the King. Then he began another speech that went upward and so they passed every article.¹

Ultimately, the Algerines proved unwilling to renounce their right to search British ships since they feared that every passing vessel would simply fly the red ensign and claim immunity from search. The British party were obliged to withdraw from the discussions at this point, claiming that they needed to refer the matter to Ambassador Winchilsea, back on board the *Plymouth*.² Throughout these negotiations, most of the paperwork and official documents required by Winchilsea were compiled by Rycaut and Bargrave, suggesting that the two men were already developing a productive working relationship.³ (See Figure 2.)

After passing by the coast of Sardinia and Sicily through gusty and variable winds, the *Plymouth* stopped briefly at Messina from 2 until 9 December and then sailed on, reaching Smyrna on 14 December, where the ship's company planned to enjoy their Christmas and New Year celebrations. Several English merchants at Smyrna came aboard and on 19 December they took Ambassador Winchilsea and some of his party on a local sight-seeing tour, including the cemetery of Santa Veneranda, St Polycarp's tomb, and the local baths. (See Figure 9.) On the following day Winchilsea took part in a hare-coursing party, followed by boar-hunting on Boxing Day. On 7 January the *Plymouth* pulled out of Smyrna harbour for Constantinople, only to be caught by yet another violent storm and then hit a submerged reef. But these problems were no longer of any concern to Robert Bargrave. During the turn of year festivities, he had been laid low with 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:

¹ Allin, *Journals*, pp. 6–7.

² Winchilsea's own account of this debating procedure, addressed to the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas (PRO SP 71/1 pt ii, f. 185, from Algiers, 26 November 1660), was penned by Bargrave. (See Figure 2.) This letter is printed in Playfair, *Scourge of Christendom*, p. 81. Winchilsea's harsh but realistic view, backed up by Captain Allin, was that intimidation would provide the only way to persuade the Algerines. PRO SP 71/1 pt ii, f. 195 (from Messina, 3 December 1660), repeating much of the contents of Winchilsea's letter of 26 November in case it had gone astray, was also compiled by Bargrave.

³ Examples of official documents in Bargrave's own hand, now in the Public Record Office, are discussed later in this introduction. See p. 38.

Your servant m^r Bargrave is dead & buried at Santa Venáranda whither wee all accompanied him; his wife most disconsolate & to be admired for her love & care of him—¹

Paul Rycaut was appointed in June 1661 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.² 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. On 12 March they reached Smyrna, where Bendish went ashore to dine with Consul Baker and the merchants from the Company Factory. After waiting for favourable winds, the *Plymouth* finally set sail from Smyrna on 29 March, in the company of Captain Chamblett's *Prosperous* and Captain Swanley's *Eaglet*, all bound for England.³ With her husband's body laid to rest in the cemetery of Sante Veneranda, Elizabeth Bargrave also joined the convoy for her journey back home to Kent.⁴ (See Figure 9, no. 20: the English cemetery.) 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 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. As the ships made their eight-month voyage towards England, Bendish's mind, like Elizabeth Bargrave's, would also have dwelt upon the high personal cost sometimes paid by those families who braved the perils and contagions of the Levant. Amidst an especially valuable and diverse load of merchandise, 'the richest ship that hath gone home in many years' Allin noted, the *Plymouth* also carried a more sombre cargo – the exhumed body of Sir Thomas Bendish's wife, Lady Anne, whose death in 1649 from the plague had been reported by Robert Bargrave in his diary.⁵ After calls at Zante, Messina, Leghorn, Alicante, and Malaga, the *Plymouth* finally arrived in the Downs on 26 August 1661.

In July 1663 the only surviving son of Robert and Elizabeth Bargrave, the two-years old Isaac, also died and was buried alongside his elder brother, Robert, in Canterbury

¹ *HMC Finch MSS*, I. p. 93, now at Leicestershire Record Office, DG.7 (Box 4982), Consul Richard Baker to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchilsea, Ambassador to the Grand Signor, 9 February 1661. Although the specific nature of Bargrave's final illness is not known, during the *Plymouth's* voyage to Turkey, Captain Allin recorded other examples of severe sickness and mortality among the ship's company between October and December 1660. On 9 November 'Mr Seale was carried ashore [at Lisbon] very sick' and on 22 November he noted: 'We buried my Lord's under butler this morning'. Allin, *Journals*, pp. 4, 6.

² Anderson, *English Consul*, p. 26, citing PRO SP 105/152, ff. 3, 21. Rycaut may have been involved in the compilation of a strongly supportive account of the success of Winchilsea's Turkish embassy, covering events from 1 January 1661, that was published later in the year at London as a *Narrative of the Success of His Embassy to Turkey. The Voyage of the Right Honourable Heneage Finch from Smyrna to Constantinople*, 1661.

³ Allin, *Journals*, pp. 24–5. On 12 July 1661 after leaving Leghorn, Allin also refers to sailing in the company of Captain Peach's *John* and Captain Wild's *Charity*.

⁴ Captain Allin records in his journal for 21 August 1661 that the *Plymouth's* boat was hoisted 'to send our surgeon to look at Mrs. Bargrave's maid, who returned in an hour's time', although he does not specify which of the other ships was carrying Elizabeth Bargrave. Allin, *Journals*, p. 48.

⁵ Allin, *Journals*, p. 24. The cargo was so described by Consul Baker. The shipping of Lady Bendish's body back home to England is reported in Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, p. 56, which states that she was reinterred at the family home, Bower Hall. See also p. 80, note 1.

account of four voyages made as a merchant trading in the Levant and other Mediterranean locations (now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C 799), he acquired a useful grounding in international commerce, diplomacy, and politics, as well as immersing himself in the history, architecture, social practices, and culture (especially musical) of the countries through which he travelled. Between his return to England in March 1656 and the accession of 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 near Sandwich (successively, the home of his father, Isaac, and his elder brother, Thomas) or Bifrons in the parish of Patixbourne (the seat of his cousin, John Bargrave).¹ (See Family Tree 2 and 4.) Robert's career prospects were significantly enhanced by his appointment at some point before the Restoration as a personal secretary to Heneage Finch, 2nd Earl of Winchilsea (c. 1627–89). This biographical information is known only because a joint petition from Robert Bargrave and John Pownell (probably written soon after the Restoration) has fortuitously survived in which Bargrave is described as Winchilsea's secretary. Both men were requesting confirmation of grants made to them by the Earl before the Restoration for the important posts of Clerk of the Castle Court (Bargrave) at Dover – Winchilsea was then Governor of the Castle – and Sergeant of the Admiralty (Pownell).² Robert Bargrave was also presumably in the process of compiling, during spare moments, a written account of his experiences as a merchant between 1647 and 1656, perhaps from a collection of existing notes and papers, supplemented by his usually (but not entirely) reliable memory of specific journeys and events. (See p. 39, and Figures 1 and 4.)

Some months after his return to England from Constantinople in March 1653, Robert had probably married Elizabeth Turner, the daughter and heiress of a wealthy Canterbury gentleman.³ As he set out on his third voyage in November 1654 to the Straits of Gibraltar, Robert bitterly lamented the loss of his wife and first child: 'And now I began my second unpleasing banishment from my Dear Relations; rather from the necessity of my Fate, then the Bias of my affections.' (f. 102^v) – his eldest son, Robert, had been born just over two months previously on 25 August. Robert senior's return to England in March 1656, was followed by the birth of a daughter, Hester, in January 1658, and another daughter, Elizabeth, was born probably in 1659. But in August of that year, only a few days after his fifth birthday, Robert junior unexpectedly died, and was buried alongside other family members near the junction of the north

¹ At the time of his death in January 1643 Isaac Bargrave was the lessee of the manorial estate of Eastry, near Sandwich, and it remained in the possession of his descendants for the next century and a half. See Chalklin, *Seventeenth-Century Kent*, p. 62, and Collinson, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 194. A description of the house in 1675 made by John Bargrave (d. 1680), as part of his duties as a canon of Canterbury Cathedral, is printed in Woodruff, 'A Seventeenth-Century Survey', pp. 29–44, 43–4. In 1675 the house was occupied by the widow of Isaac Bargrave's eldest son, Thomas, who married a Mr Joseph Roberts. (See Family Tree 4.) See p. 48 for the occupancy of Eastry Court by the Bridger family.

² *CSP Dom. 1660–1*, p. 103, item 180.

³ At the beginning of the account of his first voyage Robert Bargrave makes an oblique reference to what may have been his early relationship with Elizabeth Turner: 'I once more took leave of my indifferent mistress, & my affectionat Alliance, & began anew my Love=Pilgrimage' (MS Rawlinson C 799, f. 5^r, May 1647), when Robert would have been nineteen and Elizabeth fifteen years old. However, his affections appear to have been placed elsewhere during the voyage to Constantinople, when he ruefully refers to Philip Williams, who married Dorothy Bendish, Sir Thomas' eldest daughter, at Leghorn, as one who had 'robbd me of my Mistris' (f. 8^r).

aisle and the south-west transept of the Cathedral. Another son, Isaac, was born a year later and baptized in the Cathedral on 14 August 1660. (See Family Tree 5.)

The birth of Isaac coincided with a new and distinctly upward turn in the fortunes of Robert and Elizabeth Bargrave. For several years, Heneage Finch, Earl of 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 in a third-rate ship, the *Plymouth*, under the command of Captain Thomas Allin, along with two Levant Company ships, the *Prosperous* and the *Smyrna Factor*, and a pinnace loaned by the Duke of York. Also on board the *Plymouth* was Winchilsea's new private secretary, Paul Rycout, and Robert Bargrave himself, who at the age of thirty-two had recently been appointed (probably partly through Winchilsea's influence) as the new secretary to the Levant Company.¹ 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 of \$600 or £150 sterling 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 (and perhaps with their surviving children, Isaac, Elizabeth, and Hester), must have held high hopes for a long and distinguished career in commercial and public service. The voyage out, however, was itself not without incident. Caught in a storm off Cape Finisterre, the *Plymouth* was forced to make an unscheduled stop at Lisbon for urgent repairs to what had turned out to be a totally rotten mainmast, 'split from the upper deck to the lower'. As the captain and crew soon discovered, the ship was in a desperate state of repair and Allin observed in his journal: 'I never saw so much breaking and a ship so ill fitted out, by old standing officers, whose care it ought to be to see for better'.² Fortunately, at that moment Portugal was keen to solicit English help against Spain (a match between Catherine of Braganza and Charles II was also under discussion), and Paul Rycout, who was sent ashore, was rapidly able to obtain the new mainmast and other required supplies. On 7 November Winchilsea was granted an audience with the King of Portugal and it seems likely that he would have been accompanied to this major diplomatic event by both Bargrave and Rycout.

After two weeks, the *Plymouth* was able to set sail again on 19 November, only to be caught up in another storm which prevented them from putting in at Málaga as planned. Reaching Algiers on 22 November, Bargrave and Rycout went ashore to negotiate an emendment to Admiral Blake's 1655 treaty with the Algerines over the right of free passage for British merchant ships and their passengers. Captain Allin outlined the ensuing discussions in his journal:

¹ See *CSP Dom. 1660–1*, p. 270, 'Articles of agreement between the Levant Company and the Earl of Winchilsea, going ambassador to Turkey'. The Company agreed to pay 'his expenses thither, with a suite not exceeding 30 persons', in addition to £300 already granted to cover his costs.

² Allin, *Journals*, p. 3. My account of Winchilsea's voyage out to Constantinople draws extensively upon that in Anderson, *English Consul*, pp. 24–6.

death in 1643.¹ His mentor and friend, Sir Henry Wotton, would have warmly approved of Bargrave's appointment, a position once held (1541) by his own great-uncle, Nicholas Wotton (c. 1497–1567), a distinguished ambassador, secretary of state, and churchman.

The Bargraves and the Civil War

Described as a 'conservative opportunist' by one historian, Isaac Bargrave actively involved himself in political matters in Kent after his appointment at Canterbury.² Predictably, his three published sermons directly addressed matters of concern to Charles I and he was accused by his own cathedral clergy of using his powers of patronage to reward his own supporters.³ But in neither case does Bargrave's behaviour seem particularly remarkable for a man who had himself risen through the ranks of the Anglican Church by means of the personal patronage of Sir Henry Wotton (and probably also of the Dering family, Sir Robert Naunton, and the Duke of Buckingham) to become a royal chaplain and a Dean of Canterbury Cathedral. While there does seem some evidence to suggest that his manner could be somewhat autocratic, the *DNB* is incorrect in stating that he fell out with Archbishop Laud by pressing for a harshly repressive approach towards the Wallow congregation at Canterbury.⁴ Similarly, Bargrave seems to have been willing to risk public disapproval for his apparently tolerant line towards Catholics in East Kent.⁵ During the 1630s, then, it seems that Bargrave sought an essentially pragmatic line in matters of church and court politics, but one always loyal to his former royal charge.

¹ Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of ... Robert Bargrave', p. 158, cites Sir Anthony Weldon's claim that Isaac Bargrave corruptly purchased his preferment through the Duke of Buckingham. In fact, Isaac's wife, Elizabeth Dering, belonged to the family of Buckingham's mother and it seems likely that the Derings would have freely supported Isaac's candidature. See Bann, *Under the Sign*, pp. 54–5. Collinson, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 187, n.194, quotes a letter from Sir John Hippisly to Buckingham, dated 24 September 1625, in which Bargrave is strongly recommended for the post of Dean. After this appointment Bargrave also received the vicarage of Tenterden (1626) and Chartham (1628), as well as the benefice of Lydd (1626), although this last appointment was shortlived.

² Clark, *English Provincial Society in Kent*, pp. 326, 468. The dominance of ecclesiastical matters at Canterbury by a small number of powerful Kentish families, including the Boyeses and Bargraves, is examined in Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, p. 49.

³ For Dean Bargrave's handling of the Cathedral clergy and appointments, see Woodruff, 'Some Seventeenth Century Letters', pp. 93–139, 98; and 'The Parliamentary Survey of the Precincts of Canterbury Cathedral', pp. 195–222, 200. See also Cowper's *Lives of the Deans of Canterbury*, p. 84ff.

Isaac Bargrave's sermon from I Samuel 15: 23, preached before Charles I on 27 March 1627 as a resolute confirmation of the divine right of Kings, also seems to have been intended as propaganda in support of the collection of that year's arbitrary loan. See Birch, *Court of Charles I*, I, pp. 214–15 and Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 55. Bargrave's two other published sermons (from Psalms 26: 6 before the House of Commons, 28 February 1624, and from Hosea 10: 1 at Whitehall, 1624) were both delivered while he was chaplain to Prince Charles.

⁴ See Everitt, *Community of Kent*, p. 58, and Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 56, for persuasive corrections of the *DNB*'s claim that Bargrave brought Laud's disapproval upon himself by insisting upon the conformity of foreign churches in Kent. Nevertheless, Laud was far from being a personal supporter of Isaac Bargrave. Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 55, cites a telling example of how in 1627 Laud personally vetoed the appointment of Dean Bargrave to the living of Lydd on the south Kent coast (citing BL Additional MS 6096, f. 1232). Bargrave's dealings with Archbishop Laud are also examined in Woodruff, 'Some Seventeenth Century Letters', pp. 93–118, and in Collinson, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 187–8, where Bargrave is described as 'another wobbly plank, in Laud's perception'. See also Stephen Bann's revised entry in the *New DNB* (forthcoming).

⁵ See *CSP Dom.* 1628–9, p. 314. In view of Bargrave's time at Venice, it is interesting to note that Sir Henry Wotton's half-brother, Edward Lord Wotton (d. 1628), a former Lord Lieutenant of Kent, was very probably a secret Catholic. See Loomie, 'A Jacobean Crypt-Catholic: Lord Wotton', pp. 328–45.

However, from the time of the opening of the Long Parliament, Isaac Bargrave found himself under sustained personal attack. In 1641 the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral had issued an order, probably drafted by Bargrave himself, to sell some church plate and embroidery 'for the relief of the poor Irish protestants'. The opening sentence of this order left no ambiguity over Bargrave's own loyalties:

Whereas the bleeding estate of the Kingdom of Ireland together with the lamentable condition of this Kingdom 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 ...¹

The bill for the abolition of the deans and chapters was introduced to this Parliament by Sir Edward Dering, his wife's first cousin (once removed), and Bargrave was eventually fined £1,000 as a prominent member of convocation. On 12 May 1641 he led the presentation to the House of Commons of petitions from both Cambridge University and Canterbury Cathedral against Dering's bill. Dering's behaviour must have been a bitter blow to Bargrave since he had been one of Dering's staunchest supporters during his election to both the Short (April 1640) and Long (November 1640) Parliaments.² After the failure of the Battle of Petitions, it seemed for a time likely that Kent would fall in behind Charles I. The Commission of Array was set up in the county before the parliamentary Militia Ordinance and on 16 July 1642 a 'great meeting' of the leading families of East Kent was held at Dean Bargrave's house, near Canterbury, in order to promote its execution.³ But the situation markedly worsened for the Bargraves in August 1642 when Colonel Edwyn Sandys visited Canterbury and in retribution attacked the Deanery in Isaac Bargrave's absence, leaving his wife and children cruelly treated.⁴ Once again, Bargrave's persecutor was ignoring a previous debt of gratitude since Sandys had once owed the preservation of his life, when facing a charge of rape, to the intervention of the Dean.⁵ Sandys then moved on to Gravesend where he found Bargrave and arrested him, leading to his confinement for three weeks without trial in the Fleet Prison before being released.⁶ Weakened by these experiences, Isaac Bargrave died in January 1643 and was buried in the Lady Chapel at Canterbury.⁷ No new Dean came

¹ Woodruff, 'Church Plate in Kent. Canterbury Cathedral', pp. 145–55, 145–6. See also Woodruff, 'Some Seventeenth Century Letters', p. 117.

² Everitt, *Community of Kent*, pp. 72, 78; Jessup, 'The Kentish Election of March, 1640', pp. 1–10, 2, 6; and Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 59.

³ Everitt, *Community of Kent*, p. 109, citing BL Additional MS 28000, f. 213. This meeting may have taken place in the Deanery at Chartham. See M. J. Sparks and E. W. Parkin, 'The Deanery', Chartham', pp. 169–82, 173–7. See also Paske, *The Copy of a Letter*, 1642, and Culmer, *Cathedrall News from Canterbury*, 1644.

⁴ Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 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, Isaac's sister and the widow of Dean Boys, had some gold coins confiscated, although they were later returned. See also Collinson, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 195–6.

⁵ Everitt, *Community of Kent*, p. 114.

⁶ Hasted, *Kent*, IV, pp. 593–4.

⁷ Isaac Bargrave's will is at the Probate Registry at Canterbury, C.187 (1642). See Plomer, *Index of Wills*, p. 545. His monument in the Deans' (or Lady) Chapel was erected in 1679 by his nephew, John Bargrave, then himself a Canon of the Cathedral. This cartouche memorial bears a portrait, attributed to Cornelius Jansse (Johnson) which may have been taken during Isaac's lifetime. See Collinson, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 524–5.

to Canterbury until 1660 and the Bargrave's Deanery was let to Mr James Kent, who took down some of the building's timbers and carted them away to London, to build the Falcon Inn in Purple Lane, near Gray's Inn.¹

The Kentish Rebellion of 1643, following the parliamentary attempt to administer the Covenant in the county, was led by several individuals drawn from the old families of East Kent, including William Jarvis of Sturry, one of Dean Bargrave's nephews.² Another staunch royalist, Sir Thomas Peyton, was related by marriage to the Bargraves through his sister, Elizabeth, who in 1635 had married Robert Bargrave, the son of Isaac's eldest brother, John. (See Family Tree 2.) As civil disruption increased in August 1643, Sir Thomas's three small children were sent into the safe-keeping of his sister's home at Bifrons; and he himself joined them there in May 1644.³ Other members of the Bargrave family also suffered from their opposition to Parliament during the mid-1640s. Most notably, Robert Bargrave of Bifron's younger brother, John (c. 1610–80) was ejected from his fellowship at St Peter's (Peterhouse), Cambridge in 1644 and, as discussed later, fled the conflicts at home by travelling extensively on the continent.⁴ It seems certain that Robert Bargrave's own discreet departure abroad in April 1647 with the embassy of Sir Thomas Bendish was partly motivated by similar reasons.⁵

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 the St Augustine's region, situated south of Canterbury. 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.⁶ (See Family Tree 2 and 3.) Palmer and Robert Bargrave were among those who flatly turned down Parliament's attempts to resolve the

¹ See Sparks and Parkin, "The Deanery", Chatham, p. 173.

² Everitt, *Community of Kent*, pp. 190–91.

³ *The Oxinden Letters*, ed. Gardiner, pp. 23–4, 30, 46–9. Bifrons ('two-faced') was built by Isaac Bargrave's brother, John (dc. 1625), and was sold by his grandson, John, in 1662 to Sir Arthur Slingsby. (See Family Tree 2.) His son, Sir Charles Slingsby, alienated it in 1677 to Thomas Baker. At Baker's death, it passed to William Whotton, who in 1680 passed it to Thomas Adrian, who alienated it in 1694 to John Taylor (1655–1729), whose second son, the Rev. Herbert Taylor, resided there until his death in 1763. He left the house to Mary Wake and it was then inherited by her first cousin, Herbert Taylor (d. 1767). Herbert's younger brother, Edward, succeeded to the house which he rebuilt. The Jacobean mansion was rebuilt in 1767 by the Rev. Edward Taylor. This early Georgian style house was almost entirely pulled down and replaced with a new house in 1863/4 (itself demolished in 1948). The Bifrons estate was sold to the Conyngham family in 1830. See Hasted, *Kent*, III, pp. 721–2; *The Oxinden Letters*, ed. Gardiner, pp. 258–9; Robertson, 'Patrick'sbourne Church, and Bifrons', pp. 174–6 (providing some variant details of the descent of the house to the Taylors); Strong, Binney, and Harris, *The Destruction of the Country House*, p. 189; Cross and Allen, 'Interim Report on Work Carried out in 1989 by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust: Bifrons', pp. 327–32; and Bann, *Under the Sign*, pp. 27, 35–8.

⁴ John Bargrave had matriculated from St Peter's (Peterhouse), in on 8 July 1629 and was awarded BA (1633) and MA (1636) before being elected a fellow of the college (1637). Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 58, describes John's personal hostility to the Laudian reforms so keenly embraced by the college authorities.

⁵ See also Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus*, 1647.

⁶ See Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 134, note 18.

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.¹ By December, however, the tide had turned against them and 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.² Robert Bargrave of Bifrons died in the following year and Sir Thomas Palmer's estates were sequestered in 1651.³ One Thomas Bargrave of Eastry, almost certainly the elder brother of the diarist Robert (see Family Tree 3 and 4), 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 £59'⁴

Robert Bargrave the diarist also held strong royalist sympathies and freely expressed his horror when the news of Charles I's execution finally reached Constantinople in 1649 (f. 14'). Throughout his European travels, he enjoyed a privileged access to exiled members of Charles II's entourage and to former supporters of his father, King Charles I. At Danzig, for example, he was hospitably entertained by George Cock, formerly treasurer to one of Charles I's most important generals, William Cavendish, later duke of Newcastle (f. 79'); and at Hamburg he met up with his cousin, Charles Dering, a member of another staunchly royalist Kentish family (f. 86'). At Madrid he was befriended by a 'Colonell Waters' (f. 147'), who from his title and presence in Spain was almost certainly another royalist exile. Near Cologne, on his fourth journey from Venice to England in 1656, Bargrave was delighted to put up for the night in a house 'where the King of England, the Duke of Yorke and Prince Rupert had all lodgd but newly before us' (f. 188'). 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 resided at Cologne with Sir Gilbert Talbot and Admiral Sir John Mennes, the commander of Charles I's navy in 1645 (f. 189^v). But the first of what were Robert Bargrave's two most important meetings with royal émigrés took place at The Hague in February 1653 where he met Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (the daughter of King James I), Lady Jane

¹ Everitt, *Community of Kent*, pp. 240–44, 249–50, 268–9.

² *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, Domestic, 1643–1660, Part III*, p. 1878, 11 December 1648.

³ The will of 'Robert Bargrave, the elder' is at the Probate Registry at Canterbury, (A.R. 70/708, 1649). See Plomer, *Index of Wills*, p. 545. *Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money, Domestic, 1642–1656, Part III*, p. 1275, records that Sir Henry Palmer's estate was 'seized and secured, and the inventories sent up' on 6 November 1650. In October 1651 he was assessed at £400 for his one-twentieth. *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, Domestic, 1643–1660, Part I*, p. 457, 4 July 1651, records Sir Henry Palmer being assessed at £300 as a 'delinquent who compounded with the late County Committee of Kent for their delinquency'.

⁴ *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, Domestic, 1643–1660, Part III*, p. 2109, 18 July 1649. Robert Bargrave's elder brother, Thomas, had been a pupil at Eton College and was then admitted pensioner, aged sixteen, of St Peter's (Peterhouse) College, Cambridge, on 10 March 1637. He was elected fellow-commoner in 1638–9 and was admitted to Gray's Inn on 14 August 1640. According to the *DNB*, this Thomas was the subject of a petition from his father, Isaac, to Secretary Windebank in 1639, asking permission for the youth to study at Amsterdam. In 1675 Thomas was described as having lived in Holland, 'about 30 yeares since', and imported Abele poplar trees from there for the Eastry estate. See Woodruff, 'A Seventeenth-Century Survey', pp. 43–4.

Lane, who had assisted Charles II in his escape from England in 1651, and Lady Stanhope, formerly the governess of Charles I's eldest daughter, Mary (ff. 94^v). 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 (ff. 185^v–186^r). Even during the voyage to Smyrna in 1660 with the Earl of Winchilsea, the minds of Bargrave and his party inevitably sought out political parallels between the recent state of England and civil dissents abroad. At Algiers, for example, on 12 November 1660 Winchilsea reported back to Sir Edward Nicholas the recent execution of a rebel who had threatened the stability of the country. His choice of language, in a letter penned for him by Robert Bargrave, is especially pointed: 'we have newes that the Rebell Halil, who has lately Cromwelliz'd in those parts, is cutt in pieces by the People.'¹

Some two months after writing these disturbing words, Robert Bargrave was himself dead and buried in the cemetery of Sante Veneranda at Smyrna.

2. ROBERT BARGRAVE'S TRAVELS

The First Journey: April 1647–September 1652 (ff. 1^r–48^r, MS Rawl. C 799)

On his first journey Robert Bargrave travelled out from England to Constantinople with the entourage of Sir Thomas Bendish, the new ambassador to the Porte. This expedition offered a testing initiation into the world of business and political intrigue to a nineteen-years old recruit to the Levant trade. Almost as soon as it had set sail from the Downs, Bargrave's convoy, including his own ship, the *London* (under the command of Captain John Stevens), was drawn into a potentially dangerous encounter with a convoy of five Swedish men-of-war (ff. 2^r–3^r) and, a few days later, with three French men-of-war and two pirate ships (ff. 3^v–4^r). Flushed with the excitement of these encounters, Bargrave was also keen, as a trainee merchant, to familiarize himself on his outward voyage with the rudiments of seamanship. He enthusiastically noted down in his diary how he had been:

entertein'd with the diverse alterations of a Seae=life, in observing the Government of a Ships Comonwealth, in learning the easyer part of the Mariners Art, their usuall termes & Customes; & seeing the varieties that Stormes & Calmes do yeeld, the howerly hazards of the Seamens lifes, and the pretty Recreations they seldom leasure yeelds; besides the diversities of Fish & Foules ... (ff. 3^v)

Many of his recorded experiences, including chronic sea-sickness (f. 1^v), a cloud of locusts (f. 3^v), coming under fire from the north African shore (f. 4^r), and the threat of enslavement on the Morea (f. 9^v), were no more than typical of those commonly faced by other seventeenth-century English merchants who plied the Mediterranean trade routes. Even though the *London* seems to have been in a far more sea-worthy state of

¹ PRO SP 97/17, f. 296. These events are also discussed by Winchilsea in SP 71/1 pt i, f. 185^v.

repair than the *Plymouth* on which Bargrave was to sail in October 1660 for his final voyage to Turkey, conditions for the passengers aboard ship were sometimes extremely testing. As the *London* approached Majorca, for example, the heat and humidity played havoc with their remaining provisions: 'Our Fowles & Sheep rotted alive, and stunke before they could be killd ... our bread was full of wormes, our beere sower & our water putrified' (f. 5^r).

For most of the time, however, Bargrave remained in high spirits. Ever mindful of the need to gain commercial expertise as a merchant, he made periodic notes on the price of goods, such as fresh fruit at Majorca (f. 5^v) and general provisions on the Morea (f. 9^v). He also studiously commented upon the harbour facilities at Leghorn (f. 8^r), Messina ('wherein there is very great Trade driven by the English & other Nations', f. 9^v), and other ports of importance to the Levant Company. But as the *London* steadily worked its tedious five-months voyage across the Mediterranean to Turkey, Bargrave's preoccupation with such mundane commercial practicalities was increasingly relieved by a growing stream of invitations to participate in the entertainments enjoyed by Ambassador Bendish's party. As they approached the Straits of Messina, Bargrave happily recalled:

yet I cannot but note the great Jolity we had on board Ship, such as very few have mett with; there belonging to his Lordship's table (as I remember) 22: persons; among whom by his Lordship's favour I was now admitted: Not an hower of the Day, nor scarce of night, but was spent in mirth & feasting. (f. 8^v)

Although evidently pleased to be gainfully employed in a life of international commerce, Bargrave also appears to have viewed his early travels as a means of endowing himself with the kinds of experiences enjoyed by those young and privileged members of the aristocracy and ruling classes whose fathers were wealthy enough to send them on the kind of European itinerary later known as the 'Grand Tour'. Combining the roles of merchant and tourist, Bargrave was always keen to improve his knowledge of foreign languages. His Latin was already adequate enough for 'an howers discourse' with the Bishop of Majorca (f. 5^v) and some of his time at sea between Majorca and Leghorn was spent 'in great emulation for the obtaining the Italian tongue' (f. 6^r). On reaching the Italian mainland, Bargrave's 'Ambition for the Language' prompted him to make a trip to Siena, 'though I was a perfect Stranger, all alone, & no language to serve me' (ff. 6^v–7^r). Relying upon a combination of youthful enthusiasm and an apparently natural ear for foreign tongues, Bargrave claimed that 'by exposing my selfe to a necessity of speaking, I atteind in three weeks time a sufficiency in the Tongue' (f. 8^r). If this really was the case, then Bargrave's linguistic abilities were distinctly superior to many of those more privileged youths who aimlessly wandered through France and Italy, accompanied by their tutors, without ever making any real attempt to come to grips with the native language.

Robert Bargrave was also strongly motivated in his desire to acquire a competency in the Italian tongue by his plan to meet up with his 'Cousins mr John Bargrave, & mr John Raymond then at Sienna' (f. 6^r). He could not have wished for two more informed or able guides to the architecture and antiquities of Italy. John Bargrave (c. 1610–80), the younger son of John of Bifrons (Isaac Bargrave's eldest brother, see Family Tree 2),

had travelled through France, Holland, and Germany after being ejected from his fellowship at St Peter's (Peterhouse), Cambridge, for his high-church beliefs and, very possibly, simply on account of his kinship with Dean Isaac Bargrave.¹ Much of his time was also spent in Italy and he was there in 1646–47, with John Raymond, his nephew, as a travelling companion.² In 1650 he returned to Italy in the capacity of tutor to Philip Stanhope (1633–1713), later 2nd Earl of Chesterfield, and William Swan.³ In 1655 he accompanied William Juxon, the nephew of William Juxon (1582–1663), then Bishop of London and (from 1660) Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴ Although the identities of his companions are not known for his final trip to Italy in 1659, he certainly visited Rome, as he had done on each of his three previous visits.⁵

During his 1646–7 visit to Italy, John Bargrave stayed for two months in Siena to improve his Italian, and after travelling to Rome for the Easter celebrations, he returned to Siena for the summer. Along with his nephew, John Raymond, John Bargrave was also travelling with another Kentish gentleman, Alexander (or possibly Francis) Chapman – all three of whom, the sons of known royalist families, would have been travelling abroad primarily to absent themselves from the civil strife in Kent.⁶ This was the learned threesome, commemorated in a striking portrait of them examining a map of Italy, with whom Robert Bargrave met up after crossing from Leghorn to Siena in 1647.⁷ Their enthusiasms quickly rubbed off onto Robert and his commentary on Florence was certainly guided by the expertise of his cousin, John, as he recorded in his diary: 'From Sienna I was kindly accompanyd by my Cousin Bargrave as farr as to Florence, where he spent five dayes with me, directing me to All that is chiefly notable in & about the City.' (f. 7^v)

John and Robert Bargrave very probably also contributed to the compilation of parts of John Raymond's influential travel guide, *An Itinerary Containing a Voyage Made*

¹ See p. 11.

² In his *Diary*, III, p. 614 (under 13 May 1672), Evelyn described John Raymond in affectionate terms as 'my old fellow-traveller in Italy'. This phrase has sometimes been taken as evidence that Bargrave and Evelyn had met in Italy in the mid-1640s. However, Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 1, notes that there is no record of the two men having ever travelled together. Evelyn had already passed through the frontiers of Italy when Bargrave made his first entry in the last weeks of 1646.

³ Philip Stanhope (1633–1713) succeeded his grandfather, Philip (1584–1656) as Earl of Chesterfield. See Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh*, ed. Robertson, p. xi. On this trip John Bargrave had painted in oils on copper an oval, half-length portrait of himself, attributed to an assistant of Giovanni Battista Canini. See Sturdy and Hennig, *The Gentle Traveller*, item (l).

⁴ Juxon was presumably influential in John Bargrave's appointment as a canon of Canterbury in 1662. After the Restoration, Bargrave returned to England and was appointed rector of Harblesdown St Michael (1661) and of Pluckley (1662), and incorporated as a DD (1663) at the University of Cambridge.

⁵ Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, pp. 135–6, 151, 161–3. Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 5, 67, warns against regarding John Bargrave merely as a travelling tutor, who in many respects was little more than a hired servant.

⁶ John Raymond recorded how much of their time was spent in polishing their linguistic skills: 'I fill my books more with observations of the Languages, than of the people, City or Country' (*Itinerary*, p. 175; quoted in Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 135). Chapman may have been either the son or nephew of Alexander Chapman (d. 1629), formerly a prebendary of Canterbury. Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 141, note 6, also makes a persuasive case for Francis Chapman of Peterhouse.

⁷ Canterbury Cathedral archives, Lit Ms E 16, f. 77^v, 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 neighbor. draw'e at Siena / 1647. by the hand of Sig'r Mattio / Bolognini. as written on the / back = side'. See also Bann, *Under the Sign*, pp. 65–9.

Through Italy, in the Yeare 1646, and 1647 (1648).¹ (See Figure 6.) This handy and informative volume was extensively used during the Commonwealth and Protectorate both by other English travellers in Italy and by those who merely wished to learn something of the country from the comfort of their own homes. It was only finally superseded in 1660 by the publication of Edmund Warcup's *Italy, in its original Glory, Ruine and Revivall* (1660).² Although Robert Bargrave, unlike his cousin John, was only in John Raymond's company for a short period, it is clear from Robert's diary that both the memory of their meeting and Raymond's *Itinerary* were prominent in his mind as he compiled his own lucid and informed descriptions of Siena and Florence.³ It is also possible that Robert's need as a tourist for basic information about such locations as Florence and Siena first prompted John Bargrave and John Raymond to pen their invaluable guide for inexperienced English travellers in Italy.

John Bargrave was an habitual collector of antiquities and curios on his various travels and, fortunately, his entire collection was donated in 1685 by his widow to the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, where it is still preserved.⁴ It seems possible that some of its items, such as a selection of coins from Eastern Europe, may well have been donated by Robert Bargrave, who could have collected them for his cousin on his overland journey home in 1652–3 from Constantinople, via Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Germany, and the Low Countries.⁵ Similarly, the horns of the wild mountain goat still in the collection at Canterbury seem very similar to the two pairs bought in February 1656 by Robert at Innsbruck from the Duke's huntsmen, as described in his diary (ff. 179^v–180^r).⁶ John Bargrave was also the author of *Pope Alexander VII and the College of Cardinals*, a pedantically detailed guide to the portraits of the pope and cardinals published by De Rossi in 1657.⁷

Robert Bargrave's brief sojourn with John Bargrave and John Raymond seems to have whetted his appetite as a diarist for interspersing the factual narrative of his travels

¹ Raymond's *Itinerary* is also commonly known as *Il Mercurio Italico* from the phrase used on its illustrated frontispiece. Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1692, Vol. II, col. 828, was one of the earliest sources to suggest that John Bargrave had a considerable hand in its composition. Sturdy and Hennig, *The Gentle Traveller*, item (b), confirm that Raymond's guidebook 'seems to have been based on Bargrave's manuscript journal, which is lost'. Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh*, ed. Robertson, p. xxi, also discusses John Bargrave's role in the compilation of the *Itinerary* and Bann, *Under the Sign*, pp. 109–11, considers his role in the design of the volume's frontispiece. John Bargrave's diary of his travels in France is in Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Lit MS U11/8.

² See Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 135.

³ As the annotations to the text of this edition indicate, Robert Bargrave frequently comments on items of historical and architectural interest also noted in Raymond's *Itinerary*. He may even have consulted this printed guide from time to time as he compiled his own diary.

⁴ John Bargrave had been educated at the King's School, Canterbury, with the son of another noted collector, John Tradescant, the elder (d. 1638). See Sturdy and Hennig, *The Gentle Traveller*, [p. 1]. But see Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 5, for a warning not to make too much of this tenuous link with the Tradescants. Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 201–4, provides a useful survey of similar 'cabinets of curiosities'.

⁵ I owe this suggestion to David Sturdy.

⁶ See p. 243, note 8. I am grateful to the Canterbury Dean and Chapter for being able to examine these and other items from the cabinet at the 'Bargrave Study Day', held in the Cathedral Archives on 24 October 1998.

⁷ Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh*, ed. Robertson, pp. xxii–xxvii, examines the sources, compilation, and contemporary readership of Bargrave's catalogue.

with incidental observations on the antiquities and natural landscape of his surroundings. As the *London* sailed on from Italy to Turkey, Bargrave recorded his vivid impressions of Mount Etna (f. 8^v) (see Figure 8) and the volcanic Aeolian islands of Lipari and Stromboli (f. 9^v).¹ His mind was also increasingly drawn to the world of classical literature as he mused over the supposed associations of Ovid with the island of Cerigo (f. 9^v) and Homer with Khíos (f. 10^r). But it was his actual arrival on the mainland of Turkey at the port of Smyrna (now called Izmir) that most excited his sense of the antiquity and political importance of the country in which he had come to work. He noted that the 'Seaven holy Churches of Asia' were easily reachable from 'Smirna in a Forth=nights travell' (f. 11^r) and made some preliminary observations concerning the antiquities of Smyrna itself.

From a merchant's perspective, Bargrave immediately observed how 'Smirna has of late so thrivd by the English, Dutch, & French Traffick, that it is restord to be a place of Consequence' (f. 10^r). Soon, however, Bendish's entourage resumed its journey to Constantinople, 'overland, in a Kieravan of about :100: english, together with theyr Servants' (f. 11^r) to Bursa (Broussa), renowned then, as now, for its natural mineral springs. After sampling the facilities of the local bathing-houses, Bargrave's party, still in the company of the ambassador, headed across the 'pleasant and fruitfull Plaines' to Mudanya, from where they embarked for Constantinople, following the river Scamander, 'not farr distant from Troy' (f. 12^r), into the Hellespont and so on to Constantinople, where Bendish's entourage finally made an entry on 26 September 1647. (See Figures 9, 10, and 13.)

From an historical point of view, some of the most informative material in Robert Bargrave's record of his first journey relates to his detailed observations of (1) the courts of Sultan ('Crazy' or 'Mad') Ibrahim and his successor, Mehmet IV;² (2) the political machinations of the English and French entourages then vying for influence at Constantinople, (3) Sir Thomas Bendish's own fraught dealings with Sir Sackville Crowe, the departing ambassador (who was far from keen to return home to England), and (4) the stratagems of Sir Henry Hide, the duplicitous agent of the future King Charles II. These sections of Bargrave's diary (ff. 12^r-13^v, 15^v-22^v, 31^r-38^r, 46^r-48^r) cannot be readily summarized here since they detail, from the perspective of an inexperienced but increasingly shrewd observer of human behaviour, the nuances of political protocol and intrigue at Constantinople. Nevertheless, it will be useful at this point to provide brief sketches of the chief protagonists in this complex political narrative: Sultan Ibrahim, Sir Thomas Bendish, Sir Sackville Crowe, Sir Henry Hide, and James Modyford (Bargrave's employer).

Sultan Ibrahim, a weak and ineffective figure popularly known as the 'Crazy' or 'Mad', ruled from 1640 until 1648. (See Figure 11.) Probably mentally deficient and certainly politically inept, Ibrahim dissipated much of his already enfeebled energies in the voluptuous pleasures of the seraglio: his 'Effeminacie was such as the wealth of his whole Empire could rather only feed then Satisfie', Bargrave dismissively noted (f. 17^v). When Sir Thomas Bendish arrived at Constantinople in 1647 the Sultan was much

¹ Later in the first section of his diary (ff. 39^v-40^r) Bargrave provides a memorable description of the effects of volcanic activity on the seabed near the island of Naxos.

² Bargrave also provides important first-hand descriptions of the Turkish fleet (ff. 19^v-20^r), the formal processions of the Grand Vizier (f. 20^r), the public Divan or Council (ff. 20^v-21^r), and the Grand Vizier's hunting parties (f. 30^r).

under the influence of his powerful and ruthless mother, Kösem, the first Kadın (principal wife) of Sultan Ahmet I, who had reigned from 1603 until 1617. Kösem had also been influential during the reign of Ibrahim's elder brother, Murat IV (ruled 1624-40); and there is good reason to believe that Ibrahim was deposed and executed in 1648 with the full connivance of his mother.¹ It is with ample justification that this period of Turkish history is sometimes known as 'the Rule of Women'.

Sir Thomas Bendish (c. 1607-c. 1674), the eldest son of Sir Thomas Bendish (d. 1636) of Steeple Bumpstead, has long been categorized as a firm royalist.² More recently, however, his political allegiances have been convincingly reassessed as more those of a 'pragmatic "neutralist"' – certainly, a wise stance for an ambassador sent abroad in 1647, as Bargrave notes, under 'a double Commission as well from K. Charles then reigning as the Parliament then sitting' (f. 1^r).³ Bendish was appointed in January 1647 to be Ambassador at Constantinople and, as Bargrave's diary records, his outward journey aboard the *London* took from April until September 1647.⁴ Bendish's shrewd handling of the problems engendered soon after his arrival at Constantinople by Sir Sackville Crowe and Sir Henry Hide reveal him to have been a sharp and resourceful politician; and one who was more than able both to assert his authority over the English merchants at the Porte and to handle the idiosyncrasies and inevitable frustrations of diplomacy with Turkish court officials. Bargrave was certainly impressed by Bendish's subtle responses to the almost constant rivalry between the English, French, and Dutch ambassadors in audiences with the Sultan and Grand Vizier. However, he was even more impressed when on one occasion Bendish found the French Ambassador occupying his designated seat at a formal audience and, for once eschewing his customary urbanity, Bendish pretended not to realise that the Frenchman was already in his seat, sat down on his lap, feigned surprise to find him there, and then promptly flung him out of the way by the scruff of his neck (f. 19^r). Having retained his ambassadorial position throughout the trial and execution of King Charles I, and then under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, Bendish was honourably recalled from Constantinople in June 1660, finally returning to England in March 1661 (in the convoy that also carried home the newly-widowed Elizabeth Bargrave and the body of Sir Thomas's wife, Lady Anne, who had died of the plague at Constantinople in 1649).⁵

Sir Sackville Crowe (d. 1683), a former MP and Treasurer of the Navy, had been nominated by King Charles I in November 1633 as ambassador to Constantinople, although he did not take up his post until October 1638.⁶ Crowe, however, proved an immensely

¹ See Rycout, *History of the Turkish Empire*, II, pp. 1-35.

² See, for example, Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, p. 56, which draws heavily on Morant, *The History of Essex*, 1768.

³ Fissel and Goffman, 'Viewing the Scaffold from Istanbul', p. 427.

⁴ CSP 1645-7, p. 519; ERO D/DHf 07-08, letters patent and warrant of Charles I.

⁵ Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 251; Bell, *Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives*, pp. 285-6. See also W. L., *News from Turkie*, 1648; Anon [Sir Thomas Bendish?], *A Brief Narrative and Vindication* [c. 1650]; David Lloyd, *Memoirs of Excellent Personages*, 1668, p. 559; and Wood, *Levant Company*, pp. 91-6.

⁶ Sir Sackville Crowe was the son of William Crowe of Sacketts in Kent. He matriculated in 1611 as a Fellow-Commoner from St Peter's (Peterhouse), Cambridge, and was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1613. He served as MP for Hastings (1625) and Bramber (1627-8). Royal instructions for his appointment at Constantinople were finally issued on 14 July 1638.

unpopular figure and, following petitions from members of the Levant Company for his removal, he was recalled in January 1647.¹ The company lent their full support to Bendish's appointment but were gravely concerned that their interests would be compromised when Crowe refused to accept the letter of revocation for his embassy presented to him, as protocol demanded, by Bendish. But, as Bargrave drily commented, the merchants were firm in their resolve 'to have but one Sunn in theyr Orb, & that Sir Sackville must for England' (f. 13'). An unseemly power struggle ensued between Crowe and Bendish (ff. 13^{r-v}) and the English merchants, losing patience with Crowe, complained to the Grand Vizier, who took immediate action. Without any further discussion or warning, on 23 November 1647 a Turkish official arrived at Crowe's house and roughly manhandled him, 'in too rude & savage a manner', to a small boat which immediately ferried him to Smyrna, where he was bundled aboard the *Margaret*, a Levant trader about to set out on its return voyage to England.² After his arrival back at London Crowe was sent to the Tower in April 1648.³ This affair proved an expensive one for the Levant Company since the Turks took full advantage of the power struggle between Bendish and Crowe, making the former pay heavily before he was recognized and received as the new ambassador.⁴ In all, it was calculated that the Company paid out some £80,000, in addition to other cash inducements, as Bargrave explains in his diary (f. 13^v), offered to Crowe in the hope of persuading him to leave quietly.⁵

Sir Henry Hide, an experienced merchant and Consul of the Morea from 1638 until he was dismissed from the post in 1643, was the self-styled agent of the exiled Charles II in Turkey. Hide's machinations, especially with some French merchants (and perhaps even with the connivance of the French ambassador himself), posed a significant threat to Bendish's own authority, whose private diary makes frequent references to Hide's subversive activities.⁶ In November 1647 Bendish had the satisfaction of seeing Hide sent back to England 'to answer sundry misdemeanures', on board the *Margaret*, in the company of Sir Sackville Crowe. On Hide's arrival at the port of London, the House of Commons ordered his committal to the Tower but he slipped ship and was eventually granted freedom on bond in the summer of 1648. After the King's execution, he jumped bail and fled to France in search of Charles II. He managed to make his way back to Constantinople in May 1650 and, following the failure of his schemes, was again shipped back to London, arriving there in early January 1651. He was executed on the following 4 March, still protesting his loyalty to Charles II and his country.⁷ Bendish deserves much of the credit for outwitting Hide but it is clear that the potential damage

¹ *CSP Dom.* 1645-7, pp. 460-70.

² Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 251.

³ Crowe died in the Fleet Prison in 1683. ERO D/DHf 016, 020/1; *Alumni Cantabrigienses; Complete Baronetage*, II, p. 29; Wood, *Levant Company*, pp. 88-92; Anderson, *English Consul*, p. 125.

⁴ Wood, *Levant Company*, pp. 91-2. ERO D/DHf 04, 09, 020/1.

⁵ *CSP Ven.* 1647-52, pp. 14, 16-22, 27-9. *CSP Dom.* 1649-50, pp. 87-90. In *CSP Dom.* 1650, p. 72, the total cost to the Company is estimated as above £100,000.

⁶ ERO D/DHf 04. See also D/DHf 024, 027, 028, 043, 044.

⁷ *CSP Dom.* 1649-50, p. 198; 1650, pp. 72, 226, 304, 458-60, 481, 586; 1651, pp. 2, 7, 9, 14, 28, 30, 33, 38, 46, 79, 95, 104, 290, 291, 292, 518; 1651-2, pp. 51, 270; 1652-3, pp. 119-20, 121, 122, 123; *CSP Ven.* 1647-52, p. 159; Hinde, *Sir Henry Hide's Speech on the Scaffold*, 1651; Fissel and Goffman, 'Viewing the Scaffold from Istanbul', pp. 421-48.

done by Hide's malicious accusations to his own reputation back home in England (and with the future King Charles II) weighed heavily upon Bendish's mind during the remaining ten years of his embassy in Turkey. On his return to England (or perhaps while he was still at Constantinople) Bendish had one of his clerks write out a detailed account of his dealings with Hide from the time of the latter's arrival back at Constantinople (9 May 1650) until his forceable removal at Bendish's command (16 June 1650). This manuscript defence, which predictably lays emphasis upon Bendish's integrity and patriotism, then seems to have been put into print soon after the Restoration, without any signs on the title-page of its origins or authorship, as *A Brief Narrative and Vindication of Sir T. Bendish Knight and Baronet, Ambassador with the Grand Seigneur; in Defence of Himself, in the Matter Concerning Sr. Henry Hide, for the Said Embassy* [c. 1660].¹

James Modyford (d. 1673 or 1679), Bargrave's employer, travelled extensively as a merchant in Turkey in his younger days and was later knighted during the Commonwealth when, though the influence of his cousin George Monck, first Duke of Albemarle, he developed extensive interests in Ireland.² After the appointment of his elder brother, Sir Thomas Modyford (c. 1620-79), as governor of Jamaica in 1664, he was employed as an agent for the colony in London. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the post of ambassador to Constantinople in 1666 but in the following year was appointed by his brother as lieutenant-general, deputy-governor, and chief judge of the admiralty court at Jamaica. Robert Bargrave's personal contact with James Modyford during their voyage out to Turkey was rarely even commented upon in his diary. But their relationship rapidly degenerated once they were at Constantinople and actively engaged in the day-to-day demands of trade.³ Bargrave complained of 'the unreasonable taskes imposd upon me by an unsatisfyd master', who was always taunting him 'for what I had left undone, while I had worne the Skinn off from my fingers & elbowes with incessant writing' (f. 22'). If Bargrave's account is to be believed, his employer was indeed a harsh and inconsiderate individual, concerned only with maximizing his own profits, if necessary at the expense of those with whom he did business and even of his own employees.

During his first year abroad, Bargrave had to cope with outbreaks of the plague, 'when the Streets were filld with infected bodies as well alive as dead' (f. 21'), earthquakes that 'made the Shippes dance on the Seae, & our houses over our heads' (f. 22'), and a brief but violent military confrontation between the Sipahis and Janissaries (ff. 15^v-16^r) - such vicissitudes being regarded by the English community as no more than the usual occupational hazards of trading in Turkey. But when the Janissaries exploited the Venetian siege of the Dardanelles (May 1648-May 1649) to force the removal of the Grand Vizier, Sofu Mehmet Pasha and to replace him in May 1649 with their own leader,

¹ The manuscript account of Bendish's dealings with Hide is in PRO SP 97/17, ff. 38-42. Fissel and Goffman, 'Viewing the Scaffold from Istanbul', p. 435, note 51, first suggested that the printed defence of Bendish (only surviving copy now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge) was published 'almost verbatim from this letter-book manuscript'.

² According to the *DNB*, he died in Jamaica in January 1673 but Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, states that he died on 2 September 1679.

³ Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of ... Robert Bargrave', p. 144, states that Bargrave was 'articled' to James Modyford. This assumption is probably correct, although I have been unable to trace any documents specifically detailing Bargrave's terms of employment.

Kara Murat Aga, the minds of Englishmen at Constantinople inevitably turned to contemplate the comparable political events back home in England. Bargrave himself viewed the Janissary-led rebellion against Sofu Mehmet Pasha as 'A very neer Paralell with the Rebellion in England' (f. 16^v) and was prompted to recall the communal sense of horror among the Levant Company merchants when the news of Charles I's execution in January 1649 had finally reached Turkey. The 'deplorable Tragedie of our King of England' (f. 14^r) was an especially poignant loss, in both public and personal terms, for Robert Bargrave, whose family fortunes had been so closely allied to royal service. This sense of political (and family) crisis, was compounded, on a more immediately personal level for Robert, by the tragic drowning (f. 14^r) on the way to Jerusalem of his friend, Thomas Bendish, the ambassador's son. This bereavement was followed in late-November 1647 by the sudden death from the plague of Thomas's mother, Lady Anne Bendish (f. 15^v).

Bargrave, like other Englishmen, would have been raised to believe in the popular image of the grotesque violence and cruelty of the Turkish infidel; and his experiences at Constantinople did little to temper the potency of this stereotype. Following the murder of Sultan Ibrahim in 1648, another Janissary-led uprising was rapidly quelled and the ringleaders condemned before the Divan. They were then 'hurried forth into the open Court, there strangled, & minc'd into mammock=pieces; One pulling out an Eye, another cutting off an Eare, a third a finger, till he was cutt out by retaile in satisfaction for personall Injuries' (f. 17^r). Deriving a kind of grim satisfaction from this eye-for-an eye form of judicial retribution, Bargrave pointedly compared the Turkish rebels' ignominious end with what he hoped might ultimately await the parliamentary rebels in England: 'Thus does the Paralell hold in the Act; & and it may do so in the Conclusion' (f. 16^v). Sultan Ibrahim's favourite mistress, known as 'Sugar=Bitt', was executed ('sayd to be put in a Sack & thrown into the Seae', f. 17^v), leading Bargrave to conclude that the Grand Vizier and his closest supporters 'are now grown so vitious in their Government that they droune all regards to Honour & the comon=wealth in the Streames that runn to theyr privat Gaine' (f. 18^r). He also developed, in common with other English visitors to Turkey, a morbid fascination with their process of justice, especially its most spectacularly barbaric punishments, including ganching (in which felons were thrown down walls onto upturned metal hooks, see Figure 12), staking (involving driving a sharpened stake through the body and then setting it upright in the ground), and the diverse range of hideously ingenious mutilations performed on convicts' bodies while they were still alive (ff. 30^v-31^r). The general level of violence in the streets of Constantinople was also a constant threat to English merchants attempting to carry on their lucrative trade. On one occasion Bargrave remembers how he himself was attacked 'by some desperat villaines' as he transported merchandise to a secure vault (f. 21^r). At other times, all Englishmen at Constantinople risked being 'stabbd by the drunken sotish Turkes' (f. 22^r) who considered everyone dressed in western habit to be Venetians (then besieging the Dardanelles).

In mid-1650 Robert Bargrave unwittingly found himself sucked into the political intrigues of Sir Henry Hide who was still actively scheming to regain his position as Consul in the Morea and, ultimately, to usurp Sir Thomas Bendish's own position as ambassador (ff. 31^r-32^r). Bargrave initially became personally involved with Sir Henry

because he had been a student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, when Hide's brother, James, held a fellowship there (f. 32^r). James was also in Constantinople in 1650 and probably fully involved in his brother's dangerous schemes, even though at their trial at London in 1651 Henry assumed full and sole responsibility for his actions, thereby saving James from the scaffold. Bargrave was soon completely out of his depth, although his wily employer, James Modyford, was more than a match for Hide. On one occasion, when Hide was pressing his claim to be named English ambassador in person to the Grand Vizier, Modyford burst into the meeting and denounced Hide in Turkish, which Hide did not understand (f. 32^v). Eventually, Hide was apprehended in August 1650 and placed under arrest on board a ship bound for England. Some of his allies concocted a desperate scheme to force the English merchants to release him, which apparently included, as an act of pure revenge for his intervention with the Grand Vizier, the seizing of Modyford and 'putting him privately to death' (f. 33^r).

A small party of Turkish officials came to where Modyford was staying with the intention of arresting him but Bargrave loyally (and, in retrospect, naïvely) masterminded his escape: 'I directed my master a privat way to escape, over a Street of houses into the house of his friend a french merchant' (f. 33^v). Frustrated in their attempts to seize Modyford himself, the Turks arrested instead Bargrave and another young English merchant, Jonathan Dawes, throwing them into a filthy prison cell (f. 34^r).¹ While Modyford then ignominiously fled 'in a womans habit to the Ambassadors house, where he took some weeks Sanctuarie', Bargrave was abandoned by his master to endure a period of incarceration (culminating in the unwelcome sexual advances of his Turkish jailor), followed by an especially uncomfortable transportation to Smyrna under an armed guard of Janissaries. To Bargrave's fury, the Turks even demanded that he should pay for his own travel costs on this journey. He was then delivered to the French at Smyrna as a negotiating pawn for the release of Sir Henry Hide (ff. 34^r-36^v). The French merchants were eventually obliged to hand Bargrave and Dawes over to the Turkish authorities, who promptly reincarcerated them at Smyrna Castle (see Figure 9, no. 15) inside what appears to have been some sort of charnel house into which the bodies of executed felons were thrown to rot (ff. 37^v-). Bargrave and Dawes were only finally released from their grim captivity when their English friends took some French merchants captive as a reprisal, thereby forcing the French to persuade the Turks to hand over their hostages.

In his few leisure moments before his imprisonment in 1650, Bargrave had gained some momentary relief from the pressure of trade and an inconsiderate master by immersing himself in a variety of poetical and musical pursuits, culminating in an epithalamion and pastoral masque to celebrate the intended marriage of James Modyford to one of Bendish's daughters, Abigail. Much to Bargrave's relief, the match was broken off soon after he had completed his compositions. He also enjoyed the occasional rural sojourn in a 'faire Country Pallace' set in the countryside outside Constantinople and regularly used by the English merchants as a retreat from the heat and dirt of the city (f. 29^v). After his release from captivity, Bargrave took time on his journey back from

¹ Sir Jonathan Dawes (1633-72), the son of a Gloucestershire clothier, served as treasurer of the Constantinople factory during Bendish's ambassadorship and in 1663 married his daughter, Anne. See p. 53, note 6. An inventory of his household has survived in Prerogative Court of Canterbury Records, PRO 4.5600. See Anderson, *English Consul*, pp. 82, 150, 169; and Woodhead, *Rulers of London*, p. 58.

Smyrna to contemplate what was then supposed (wrongly) to be the site of Troy, followed by a cruise back to Constantinople, via the Dardanelles (ff. 40^v). This first section of his diary concludes with a detailed and richly informative description of the city of Constantinople (ff. 40^v–44^r); an account of a lavish feast held by Modyford and two other merchants in honour of Ambassador Bendish and the English factors of Constantinople and Smyrna (ff. 44^r–v), much of which was actually planned and executed by Bargrave himself; and a survey of Turkish legal practices and social customs (ff. 46^r–48^r). By 1652, when it was time to return to England, the enthusiastic and somewhat innocent Robert Bargrave who had left England in 1647 had been tempered by the demands of commerce, political intrigue, and personal tribulations into not only a competent and resourceful international trader but also a much shrewder judge of the motives and characters of those around him.

The Second Journey: September 1652–March 1653 (ff. 49^r–101^r, Rawl. MS C 799)

The account of Robert Bargrave's second journey records his often arduous travels overland from Constantinople to England, via Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Germany, and the Low Countries. Modyford's and Bargrave's small party left Constantinople on 9 September, accompanied by two servants, a Janissary, and a luggage wagon (f. 49^r). On 16 September at Khassekeyi (Üsküb, Skopje) they teamed up with, slightly later than planned, a large caravan heading towards Lvov (Lemberg, Leopoldis) in Poland (f. 51^r). At first travelling conditions seemed reasonably good, largely due to the Turks' traditional hospitality towards travellers though their renowned khans, or posting inns: '... the turkes Charitie is chiefly exercisd in building of Canes & Fountaines, for convenience to Travellers: in memorie perhaps of theyr own advance, by wandring motions, when such Helpes as these were most gratefull.' (f. 50^v)¹

On 17 September they crossed the border into Bulgaria, where Bargrave found that the locals spoke a 'confused mixture of Turkish, Sclavonian & Greek' (f. 51^v). As their caravan worked its way northwards, Bargrave was struck by how the 'rugged Hills of Bulgaria' were strangely reminiscent of 'the barren parts of England' (f. 52^r). He was also clearly fascinated by the social structures and customs of the local villages, especially the strongly matriarchal organization of Bulgarian peasant communities. Writing about the region around Dervend (Düyük Derbenil), Bargrave described how:

The women here do almost all the worke, at lest theyr shares with the Men; having a masculine proportion, apted for it. Theyr Habit is a kind of Gowne without Sleeves, wrought round at the bottome; as are also theyr smocks; so ording the length of Either, that the workes on both do appeare: they weare Sylver Rings almost on every finger, Bracelets of black & white Beads or Shells upon theyr wrists, & great Collars of sylver Coines about theyr Necks (f. 52^v).²

Bargrave's relations with his employer, James Modyford, continued to deteriorate as

¹ Bargrave provides an interesting comparison of the design of Turkish khans with those in Dobrudja (f. 55^v).

² Cf. Bargrave's account of the markets at Provadiya (Provadia, Prawody): 'well customed by young Bulgare Wenches, in theyr gay wrought Smocks and Gounes, bringing to markt each theyr Groats worth of Eggs, Creame &c' (f. 54^r). Bargrave also provides a brief account of Romanian women and family customs (f. 58^r).

they were forced into even closer contact through the hardships of travel. Near Aytos, their wagon was found to be beyond repair and Bargrave was appalled when Modyford brusquely commandeered the wagoner's three best horses for the rest of the journey to Lvov, leaving their former owner abandoned with his broken wagon and 'two poore Jades' (f. 53^r). To Bargrave's disgust, Modyford later sold one of the commandeered horses to his own servant for a handsome profit, leading Bargrave to conclude ruefully: 'which Story is not so impertinent, but that it may Caution Travellers, not to adventure into savage Countrys under the Lash of any, whose humours they have not experienced' (f. 53^r).¹

Crossing into Dobrudja on 29 September (f. 54^v), the weather gradually began to change for the worse, heralded by 'a scotch Mist, which seemd to usher in Winter' (f. 56^r). By 5 October the caravan was able to travel by boat along the Danube, in rather more comfort than on land, beside the territories of the modern Romania. Earlier in the year an attack on Wallachia by Vasile Lupu ('Basil the Wolf'), prince of Moldavia, had failed at the Battle of Finta and Bargrave's narrative indicates that he heard all about this military conflict as he passed through the area (f. 56^r). The presence of the plague in local towns served to hasten their journey as they finally passed out of areas under Turkish control. As always sensitive to language, Bargrave noted that the Romanian tongue 'is now mixed, digressing from Italian, as Italian does from Latine; easy to be learned by him that understands either' (f. 57^v).

Arriving on the evening of 12 October at Jassy (Yash, Iași), the Moldavian capital and seat of Vasile Lupu, Bargrave's party was finally able to enjoy some brief respite from their strenuous progress northwards. Bargrave attended a church service in 'the vulgare Greek tongue' (f. 60^r) at Vasile Lupu's own chapel and took notes on their style of musical settings (see p. 136). Tactfully changing from Turkish into western garb, 'to be the better credited in our addresses' (f. 60^r) Bargrave's party, on the strength of a recommendation from an unnamed third party, were able to meet with the renowned Polish Jesuit, Stanisław Szczytnicki (d. 1667) and Vasile Lupu's personal secretary, George Kotnarski (d. 1653) (f. 60^v). These two influential individuals in turn facilitated an audience with the prince himself, who graciously granted them the invaluable gift of an official passport, freeing them (in theory) from all customs checks while travelling in his territories. The remainder of their brief sojourn at Jassy was occupied with a guided tour of the prince's palace and chapels (f. 61^r), and, on Bargrave's part, with making a commercial assessment of this important trading city, which had only two years earlier suffered a violent attack by Cossack and Tartar marauders (f. 61^v–62^v).

Before resuming their journey on 20 October, it was necessary to obtain the required currency – by 'changing Gold by Anti=chemistry into Brass' (f. 61^r) as Bargrave wryly put it – for the Polish stage of the trip as far as Danzig.² From Jassy, they were accompanied by a group of Scottish merchants, who at that period exercised a firm hold over

¹ Bargrave recounts (f. 59^v) another example of Modyford's inconsiderate behaviour, this time towards his own travelling companions, near Birlad (Bärlad). On a later occasion (f. 72^r), one of Modyford's other servants was apparently even willing to forgo all of his wages rather than to continue working for him. At Danzig Bargrave's dealings with Modyford came to a crisis point, with Bargrave himself threatening to return to England at his own expense (ff. 79^v–80^r).

² As befits a travelling merchant, Bargrave's diary keeps a detailed record of the currencies and rates of exchange then prevalent in the various areas through which his part was passing. (See for example, ff. 61^v.)

the local potash trade (ff. 63^v–64^r). Before reaching the river Dniester, they crossed over lands recently ravaged by the Tartar invaders and had great problems even in finding basic provisions and accommodation. So much so, that after a particularly hard day's travel through 'bitter Frost, and thick Mists' Bargrave's party were obliged to forgo supper and 'betake us to our Grandame Eves bed, the soft Earth; learning by sad experience, they must indeed be hardy Souldiers [who] can feed on the Tartars Reliques' (f. 65^r). Hoping for better fare at Jazłowiec (then polluted with contagion), they found themselves excluded from its fortified centre for fear that they were carrying 'some new infection' (f. 66^r), although the governor readily supplied them with provisions and freedom from customs' levies on account of Vasile Lupu's letter of recommendation.¹ Bargrave finally arrived at Lvov on 1 November (f. 67^r), where they rested for some eleven days.

Interspersed with some general sightseeing was Bargrave's momentous meeting, at the house of an Armenian merchant, with Krzysztof (Christopher) Korycki, who in 1645 had married Vasile Lupu's daughter, Maria. In a makeshift mixture of Latin, French, and Italian, Korycki informed the astonished Robert Bargrave (f. 68^r) that he had once visited his father's house at Canterbury. Life at Lvov continued to prove even more surprising when one evening a local Dominican prior, whose company Bargrave had sought out for some educated conversation, offered to procure for him the charms of 'a faire Polish Lady' (f. 69^r). Fortunately, more reputable means of seeking out female company were readily to hand and between 7 and 18 November Bargrave's party devoted themselves wholeheartedly to 'refreshments & Curiositie', including some lively banter with 'the Polish Exchange wenches; who for theyr persons, theyr wares & theyr witts, come little Short of Ours in London' (f. 69^r). Thanks to introductions by some Scottish merchants they also passed almost an entire night in the company of 'two young Ladies', amusing themselves with 'Crambo Playes, good musick, a Collation, & Dauncing' (f. 70^r).

On 18 November Bargrave's party, guided by a group of experienced Scottish merchants led by Mr Thomas Murray, left Lvov for the next stage of the homeward journey. Accommodation was still hard to come by and on one evening (f. 71^r) they only escaped a night out in the biting frost by pretending that Modyford was an English ambassador, the rest of the party his retinue, and Bargrave his interpreter – a ruse which provides further incidental evidence of Bargrave's skills in rapid language acquisition. The health of the party was also under constant threat with a virulent outbreak of the plague throughout the entire area. Just as they approached Lublin, they could hear from a neighbouring village:

the lamentable Cries of Men, women & Children; who being infected with the Plague, were thrown out into litle Hovells; and Dying miserably there, sang theyr own deplorable Dirges: we searchd diverse houses, whose late inhabitants the Plague had engrossd ere we could find a person alive; & those, when found, (alas) not enough to bury the dead. (ff. 72^v–73^r)

¹ This dispensation from customs levies was entirely ignored, much to Bargrave's annoyance, in those Polish villages where the authority over such tolls had been placed in the hands of Jews, who collected them with rigorous efficiency. This unusual level of racial tolerance, in Bargrave's eyes, caused unwarranted problems for gentile travellers: 'which horrid permission of the Polanders has in humane reason, pulld doune a more weighty Burden of miseries upon them' (f. 67^r).

At Belshize, a town once heavily populated by Scottish potash merchants, Bargrave and his travelling companions found less than twenty people still alive, including one Scottish family, 'the wife lying then sick, the husband howerly expecting his Call, & all theyr Children allready dead' (f. 73^r). But by the time they arrived at Kozienice (Kosenizy), which was also stricken by the plague, their party was on the verge of either starving or freezing to death. So desperate was their plight that they decided to enter the town, considering the plague 'hazardous' but their hunger and cold 'certein Death' (f. 73^r). The threat of the plague had necessitated avoiding such major cities as Lublin and Warsaw but this had also exacerbated their problems in finding even basic provisions, since all the outlying villages were themselves in a state of virtual famine. Eventually, as they approached Gostynin they began to sense that the plague might be abating and they began 'to hope for some accommodation befitting Men, after our long & bitter sufferance' (f. 74^r).

As the party passed over the famous wooden bridge across the river Wesil into Thorn, the hoof of Bargrave's horse went through a rotten plank, nearly throwing him into the icy, fast moving waters below. But, apart from this potentially fatal accident, travelling conditions gradually began to improve and Bargrave and his companions were able once more to enter the major cities in search of reasonable accommodation and food. He even resumed his habit of making brief observations on the major architectural and historical features of Thorn, Graudenz, and Neuenberg, until they arrived at Danzig (f. 75^v) on 6 December in the company of some Dutch merchants, with whom they stayed during the Christmas and New Year period until 18 January. Bargrave clearly relished his stay at Danzig and, in the manner of a young man on the 'Grand Tour', compiled a detailed description (ff. 75^v–80^r) of its major public buildings, churches, fortifications, and extensive trade. He also witnessed the lavish wedding entertainments of a local burgo-master's daughter, sledge races in the snow, and festivities laid on for them by a prominent English exile at Danzig, the royalist soldier, George Cock, who had served as treasurer to William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, during the English Civil War.

Heading out of Danzig for Hamburg on 18 January 1653, Bargrave's party made fast progress to Szczecin (Stettin) where on 27 January they passed by the rotting bodies of five criminals broken on the wheel (f. 81^r), a grim reminder of the casual brutality of the world in which they earned a living. By 2 February they had reached Lübeck, a major Hanseatic League port where they briefly rested by watching a 'stately dutch Comedie' (f. 84^r). Arriving at Hamburg on 5 February, their party recuperated there for six days during which time Bargrave made his habitual exploration of the city's antiquities, monuments, and curiosities. He was especially struck by a remarkable display of mechanical automaton, representing such tableaux as a lady playing a lute and the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (ff. 85^v–86^v). Leaving Hamburg on 11 February, they travelled to the port of Bremen and spent the next week heading towards the borders of the Dutch territories and the frontier town of Zwolle (f. 89^v).

At Amsterdam, where they arrived on 22 February and stayed for three days, Bargrave was able to absorb himself in a somewhat frenetic examination of the city's commerce, fortifications, and major buildings. But the highlight of the Dutch section of his travels home was undoubtedly his visit at The Hague to the entourage of several members of the exiled English royal family. Bargrave also enjoyed meeting there Mrs Barbara Palmer and several unnamed friends whom he had not seen for some years.

Through their influence, he was able to meet Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (1596–1662), the daughter of King James I and widow of Frederick V, Elector Palatine. As previously noted (see p. 7), Robert's father, Isaac Bargrave, had visited Elizabeth's court in 1616, as a member of Sir Henry Wotton's outward-bound ambassadorial entourage to Venice; and Robert was clearly moved to be able briefly to talk with Elizabeth and some of her children some thirty-seven years later (ff. 94^{r-v}). He was also genuinely excited to meet the renowned Lady Jane Lane (d. 1689), who after the Battle of Worcester (1651) had assisted Charles II's escape to France in disguise as her manservant; and the former Lady Stanhope, Catherine Kirkhoven (d. 1667), who had been the governess of Charles I's eldest daughter, Mary, the princess royal. In 1641 the princess had married William, son of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, and her court had become an important focus of support for Charles and his brother, James, until contact was forbidden by the Dutch States on the outbreak of war between England and Holland in 1652. Lady Stanhope, 'the greatest Beauty there' as Bargrave calls her, had only recently returned to The Hague, after being arrested and tried in England on account of her royalist connections (f. 94^r).

From The Hague, Bargrave's party reached Delft on 1 March 1653 (much of which was almost entirely destroyed in the following year by a power-keg explosion), and then travelled to Rotterdam and crossed to Dordrecht on 3 March. Within half an hour of setting sail from Dordrecht, their ferry became lodged on sands and Modyford's party had to be rescued by another boat, leaving Bargrave and some servants on board (at Modyford's command) to look after the horses and baggage. Furious at being abandoned by Modyford in this casual fashion, the ever-resourceful Bargrave nevertheless succeeded in having the boat dragged off the sands, only to find when he landed that Modyford and the rest of his party had already set out without him for Antwerp. Resentfully, he made his own way there and, although he had only two days in the city, he compiled as usual an informative account of its major landmarks and fortifications (ff. 96^r–99^r). Passing quickly through Ghent and Bruges, Bargrave sailed from Nieuwpoort to Dunkirk, arriving at the Downs on 13 March. After disembarking, he happily recalled how: '... joying at that long'd for hower, & reverently kissing my native Soile, I praised God for his inestimable kindness; through whose Protection I began my Journey so prosperously, perform'd it so safely, and finishd it so successfully.' (f. 100^r)

The Third Journey: November 1654–February 1656 (ff. 102^r–174^r, Rawl. MS C 799)

By the time of his third journey Robert Bargrave, now an experienced trader and a married man with a newly-born baby (see p. 2), was employed as supercargo on the merchant ship, *Thomas and William*, bound for the Straits of Gibraltar with a full cargo of corn. This post placed him in overall charge of managing the ship's load and all the commercial transactions of the voyage. He was also responsible for the welfare of the young Henry Palmer, the son of his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Palmer (see Family Tree 3), who was travelling with him both to gain commercial experience and probably to escape from the pressures of belonging to a prominent royalist family in Kent. As they left the Downs on 7 November, Bargrave was stricken with a severe bout of sea-sickness and knew little of the voyage until they had to put into Plymouth for repairs to some minor leaks (f. 102^v). Setting out again on 15 November, they made rapid progress past

Ushant, through the Bay of Biscay, and down the west coasts of France and Spain until they rounded Cape St Vincent and entered the Gulf of Cadiz bordering the coast of Andalusia. The winds had been so favourable that it had only taken just over seven days from Plymouth to the Straits of Gibraltar, a stark comparison to his previous voyage home when the same stretch of sailing had taken six weeks (f. 103^r).

Bargrave made some brief comments on the North African shoreline (ff. 103^v–104^r), before resuming his description of the eastern side of Spain as far as Alicante where they arrived on 26 November and stayed until 3 December. During this week Bargrave's time was filled both with commercial duties and with stirring reports of the recent exploits of Admiral Blake, whose fleet was then docked at Alicante (f. 105^r). Their own passage to Barcelona was also not without anxiety when, as they came into sight of the city, they mistakenly interpreted the Spanish flags ('the Black could not, at a Distance, be perceivd within the white: so that we thought them to be French, with whom we were now at warrs', f. 105^v) and only a surreptitious reconnaissance trip by a Plymouth bark sailing with them clarified the matter. Having docked safely, Bargrave spent some five weeks at Barcelona, occupying himself both with business and tourism. His description of the commerce of the city is informatively specific, detailing the prices of such staple commodities to the English merchant as currants, pilchards, eels, herrings, oil, and anchovies. Both for practical and cultural purposes, he also compiled a valuable profile of the city's major architectural landmarks, as well as its religious, political, military, and social structures (ff. 105^v–110^v). By early January Bargrave had managed to sell all of his corn, and had also sent the *Thomas and William* back to Alicante to collect another cargo of woollen goods for Venice. With his business affairs running satisfactorily, he made ready for a trip to Madrid to collect the payments due for the sale of his corn.

Leaving Barcelona on 12 January 1655, Bargrave stayed overnight at the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat and viewed its famous treasury and hermitages (f. 111^r–117^r). He continued to make his way across the monotonous plains (Llano d'Urgell) to the west of Barcelona, then infested with robbers ('to shew the Rumour was not vaine; the Quarters of a man lately executed were hung on a Stake by the Way side for a Memento', f. 118^r). During the Catalanian revolt of 1640, Lérida (where Bargrave arrived on 16 January) had chosen Louis XIII for its king. Outraged by this action, Philip IV came in person to the siege and defeated La Mothe, the French general. The French unsuccessfully besieged the town in 1644 and again in 1646 and 1647 and, as Bargrave noted in 1655, the surrounding countryside was still in a state of total devastation from these 'three severall Sieges of the French and Spaniard' (f. 118^v). As he left Catalonia and entered Aragón, Bargrave noted that the local language was 'much purified from the mixd Gallimofory of that Country, & refind to a Smack of Castilian' (f. 118^v).¹ He also

¹ Bargrave's spelling of local names and Spanish phrases (e.g. 'River Ghébu' = river Sebou, f. 103^r; 'in Passa tiempo' = *en pasatiempo*, f. 105^r; 'Santa Lulalia' = Santa Eulalia, f. 107^r; 'River ... Yobragatt' = river Llobregat, f. 111^r; 'Villa Rossa' = Vinaròs, f. 120^r) suggests that he managed to get by with a little basic knowledge and a good ear for conversational Spanish. Certainly, he was sensitive to changes in local dialects and pronunciations. Just outside Zaragoza, for example, he noted how the speech of the local peasants led him to speculate that 'the skirry whining tone of the Jewes, is derivd from the Spanish among whom they have livd' (f. 119^r). Similarly, at Messina, he noted: 'The Language of Cicilia is absurd Italian, nor is it betterd any whit by its being under the Spanish Command' (f. 157^r).

became increasingly irritated by Spanish regulations which forbade the local hostellers from providing food for their visitors. Instead, under 'that troublesom Law' each traveller was obliged to buy his own provisions, 'for which, Hunger and Cold', Bargrave commented, 'made me very angry with the Viceroy of Aragon' (f. 119^v).

After staying for two days at Zaragoza, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Aragón, Bargrave tried to resume his journey westwards. But at the city gate he was stopped by the customs officers, 'strippd to the Skinn, & searchd for fraud of Custome' (f. 122^v), under the regulation that no visitor could take gold out of Zaragoza. Three gold doubloons were duly confiscated before Bargrave was allowed to continue on his way. Following the river Jalón ('Crawling yet farther through the crookes of the mountaines, along the fierce Halone', f. 125^v), Bargrave made his way quickly along the well-trodden merchant's route from Zaragoza through Terrer, Arcos, Sigüenza, Hita, and Alcalá, arriving at Madrid on 28 January, where he spent some ten days absorbed in his business affairs. He then made a special visit to the palace of El Escorial (see Figures 15 and 16), which he described in considerable detail (ff. 128^v-133^v), passing the Palacio Real and the Retiro on the way. On 9 February he toured the grounds of the palace of El Pardo (ff. 133^v-134^v) before returning to Madrid. Bargrave's diary then offers a concise analysis of what he had managed to glean about the government of Madrid and Spain in general (ff. 134^v-136^v), followed by detailed descriptions of Madrid itself (136^v-138^v, 140^v-141^v) and the palace of El Retiro (ff. 138^v-139^v). As Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliot have observed, Bargrave's diary provides 'the best existing eyewitness account of the palace during the reign of Philip IV and brings its magnificence vividly before our eyes'.¹ This section was then rounded off by a long autobiographical poem addressed to his wife, Elizabeth Turner ('Fido to his Robina', ff. 141^v-147^v), recounting his exploits in Turkey and their marriage after his return to England in 1653. Bargrave departed from Madrid for Valencia on 2 March 1655 in the company of several English gentlemen (f. 147^v). On the way he visited the Palace at Aranjuez with its impressive waterworks, and arrived at Valencia on 7 March. After three days there, during which time Bargrave packed in his usual mixture of business and sightseeing, he headed off towards Alicante to meet up again with his ship, which was being laden with its cargo of woollens for Venice.

On 22 March the *Thomas and William* sailed from Alicante and, following part of the route of his first sea voyage, passed by Ibiza, Minorca, Majorca, Sardinia, and the volcanic islands of Lipari and Stromboli, arriving eight days later at the Sicilian port of Messina. After a brief sojourn here, Bargrave continued his journey to Italy, briefly putting in at Ancona for provisions, before being admitted to Venice on 16 April. Lodging at the house of Signor Paolo Rodomonte, where John Evelyn had stayed some ten years earlier, Bargrave was detained at Venice until 2 July 1655, both by his business affairs and by 'the States Embargo' (f. 159^v). As had become customary by the mid-seventeenth century among English visitors to Venice, Bargrave referred the readers of his diary to the various printed accounts of Venice already available, and limited his own comments (ff. 159^v-163^v) to those buildings and facets of Venetian life – such as the

¹ Brown and Elliot, *Palace for a King*, pp. 107-9, trace Bargrave's progress through the palace against Carrier's plan of the main floor of the palace.

Grand Canal, the courtesans, the Piazza San Marco, the Lido, the Doges' Palace, and the Rialto Bridge – which (entirely predictably) captivated his interest. (See Figure 17.)

With some unaccustomed spare time on his hands, Bargrave also paid a brief visit to Padua (ff. 163^v-v), which he had last seen in the company of his cousins, John Bargrave and John Raymond (see p. 16). At Padua, he matriculated at the University and enjoyed the company of the thriving community of English exiles (including the renowned companions, Finch and Baines, 'two remarkable Patternes for Learning and Virtue', f. 163^v). Leaving Venice on 2 July, he was accompanied to his ship by a party of English gentlemen, 'to dismiss whom I made our Gunns speak theyr Adieu'. This amiable assembly of newly-made acquaintances also included his cousin, John Bargrave, whom he would later meet up with again at Augsburg (f. 181^v). The *Thomas and William* sailed out into the Gulf of Venice in the company of another English ship, the *Northumberland*, commanded by Captain Trenchfield, who had been of such signal service to Bargrave during his imprisonment at Smyrna (see f. 36^v). Passing by Corfu and Cephalonia, he arrived at Zante in the Morea and stayed at the house of the English Consul, William Fulke (Fowke). Bargrave was detained in Greece, where he intended to pick up a cargo of oil, for some ten weeks, due to a trumped up charge of malpractice foisted on him by some 'powerfull Villaines of the Toune' (f. 164^v). He only managed to escape through some adroit machinations of his own (ff. 165^v-166^v) and sailed on to Patras, where he was able to exchange cargoes surreptitiously with an English-owned vessel from Leghorn (f. 167^v), thereby entirely avoiding the usual customs charges. Having spent in all some five months trading in the Morea, Bargrave returned to Venice (f. 171^v) where his ship was quarantined for forty-three days, on account of one of its crew foolishly trying to smuggle onto land a small quantity of wool (regarded as a prime carrier of contagion). The eventual release of Bargrave and his companions onto shore in February 1656 coincided with the excitements of the great carnival at Venice (ff. 172^v-174^v), a welcome contrast to their previous tedium on board the *Thomas and William*.

The Fourth Journey: February-March 1656 (ff. 174^v-193^v, Rawl MS C 799)

Robert Bargrave's account of his fourth journey covers his rapid travels overland from Venice to England, via Austria, Germany, and the Low Countries. His travelling companions included Henry Palmer (his sister's step-son), Peter Annot (the surgeon from the *Thomas and William*), Tomaso Rodomonte (presumably a relative of the Paolo Rodomonte in whose house he had resided at Venice, see f. 158^v), and William Fuller ('my Trumpeter'). On 20 February 1656 at Mestre, Bargrave hired at a cost of about £7 10s. the services of a guide and horses to take them as far as Augsburg. His party passed through the fertile plains watered by the river Brenta around Treviso, Fanzolo, Bassano del Grappa, Primolano, and Borgo Valsugana, where they entered the territories controlled by the Archduke of Innsbruck. From this point, their journey became more taxing as the terrain began steadily to rise towards the Alps. By 23 February the party has reached Trento and Bargrave occupied himself with compiling a brief analysis of the

town's historical significance, architecture, fortifications, and produce (ff. 177^r-178^v). After resting overnight at Trento, they continued to make their way along this centuries-old trade and pilgrimage route, passing through Colma and Chiusa to Innsbruck, which they reached on 26 February.

Although the party only spent part of a day at Innsbruck, Bargrave crammed into his tight schedule as much sight-seeing as possible. He visited the Hofburg imperial palace, the emperor's renowned collection of wild animals, and the Hofkirche. He also heard with evident pleasure a concert given by William Young, then 'chiefe Violist to the Arch=duke' (f. 180^r) and the famous English actor-manager, George Jolly, offered to stage a private performance of a comedy for Bargrave's travelling companions. On the next morning, they left Innsbruck and crossed out of the territories of Charles, Archduke of Austria into those of Ferdinand Maria, duke of Bavaria. Passing within some twenty miles of Munich, they reached Landsberg on 28 February: '... and here we bid adieu to the Alpes, after seaven dayes travell through them from Bassan to this Place: in all which way we passd over but five great hills; the Rhode generally lying in the hollow valleys, which are walld in by the vast mountaines.' (f. 181^r)

Moving on to Augsburg, Bargrave was both surprised and delighted to meet up with his cousin, John Bargrave, and his young charge, William Juxon, who were then resident there. Acting as his guide, John Bargrave filled the next three days by taking Robert to see the great Fuggerhaus at Augsburg, the city's water mills 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 withinside, (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' (f. 182^{r-v}). Regretfully leaving 'the enjoyment of m^r Juxon & my Cousin m^r. Bargraves Company', Robert Bargrave and his party pressed on to Ulm, which they reached on 5 March.

The next major destination on their route was Heidelberg, the capital of the Rhine palatinate and the seat of Charles Louis, the son of Frederick V and his queen, Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. As Bargrave records in his diary, the contact enjoyed by his father, Isaac, with the court of Frederick and Elizabeth at Heidelberg in 1616 (see p. 7) 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 Landgrave 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 discoursd 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 '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 his father's memory 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'.

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 lodgd but newly before us' (f. 188^r). As the inclement weather briefly abated, they moved on down the Rhine to Bacharach, Boppard, and Coblenz, where they passed by the grim Ehrenbreitstein fortifications opposite the city. At Cologne, which they reached on 16 March, they visited Charles II sixteen-years old brother, Henry Stewart, duke of Gloucester and earl of Cambridge (1640-60), who was then resident there in the company of Sir Gilbert Talbot and Admiral Sir John Mennes (1599-1671), the commander of Charles I's navy in 1645 (f. 189^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 and braved mountainous seas in a small landing craft so as to hasten their family reunions. In conclusion, Bargrave calculated that his party of five travellers had covered some 930 miles from Venice to England at a total cost of £125 (f. 193^r).

Robert Bargrave's Dramatic and Musical Interests

Throughout his diary, Robert Bargrave reveals a keen interest in dramatic activities, not only as an observer but also as a performer and stager. While at Cambridge, his father Isaac had played the part of 'Torcol, portugallus, leno' in George Ruggle's Latin comedy 'Ignoramus', performed at the university before James I on 8 March 1615; and Robert may well have watched, or even taken part in, similar amateur university dramatics.¹ Isaac maintained his taste for Latin drama while at Canterbury and in February 1637 mentioned in a letter to Katherine Oxinden: 'There is a Comedie acted tonight in Latin at the Deanery', an entertainment which could also have been of interest to his university educated sons.² Experience of such pursuits both at university and in the family home would have stood Robert Bargrave in good stead when he first began to learn the skills of a Levant merchant. The Company tended to recruit young men of reasonably high educational attainments, who were well used to providing their own forms of cultural relaxation. Certainly, at Constantinople Robert's dramatic talents were well utilized by the local English community and he records how: 'we of the younger forme,

¹ Isaac Bargrave's performance is recorded in Nichols, *Progresses*, III, p. 52.

² BL Additional MS 27999, f. 282; quoted in Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 56.

under the pupillage of Mr: Samuel Rogers, represented two or three Comedies, with the reward of great Applause' (f. 13^v). On other occasions, watching a play or light dramatic interlude offered to the weary merchant a pleasant and undemanding form of relaxation. At Leghorn, for example, Bargrave recalled dining at the houses of various local tradesmen, and 'for digestion they had after meales Italian Comedies, on Stages built on purpose' (f. 8^r). Similarly, at Lübeck Bargrave and some of his companions went to see 'a stately dutch Comedie'; and the nature of his comments after the performance were indicative of the range of his already wide experience as a theatre-goer: 'the Actors wherein excelling the Italian Comedians as much in theyr Dress, as the English exceed them both in theyr Action' (f. 84^r). At Innsbruck, he was offered a private performance from 'm^r Jolly (an english Comedian)' (f. 180^r) but the cost of this staging seems to have been prohibitive and the offer was turned down. At Venice, however, he was captivated by the lavish theatrical events on offer during the Carnival:

The varieties of Carneval entertainments are as unconfind, as are mens Fancies, Every minute and every place affording new: But above All, surpassing whatsoever theyr Inventions can elce stretch to, are theyr Operas, (or Playes) represented in rare musick from the beginning to the end, by Select Eunuchs and women, sought out through all Italy on purpose: whose Persons are adorn'd as richly and aptly, as the best contrivers can imagine: theyr many various Scenes set out in rare painting, and all magnificent costlynness; intermixing most incomparable apparitions and motions in the aire and on the Seae, governd so by Machines, that they are scarce discernable from the reall things they represent; having also most exquisit Anticks and Maskings Dances, and whatsoever elce beseeming, that Art and mony can arrive to. One Opera I saw represented about 16: severall times; and so farr was I from being weary of it, I would ride hundreds of miles to see the same over again. (ff. 173^{r-v})

Bargrave was especially interested in the kind of entertainment, loosely coming under the generalized term of 'masque', which blended musical, dramatic, and poetic interludes with lavish costumes and sets. On his third journey, in the Casa de la Diputación (Town Council House) at Barcelona, for example, he witnessed: 'a noble Balla danc'd before Don Juan by his Favourite Ladies: whose Garments being costly, theyr Jewells very rich, theyr Persons handsome, and theyr meen mixt between French and Spanish' (f. 109^v). But it was during his residence at Constantinople in 1649 that Bargrave most often turned to the composition of such entertainments as a means of celebrating significant occasions. Following the death by drowning of Ambassador Bendish's son, Thomas, Bargrave penned a workmanlike elegy addressed to the grieving parents ('Art, Witt, & Nature, fallen at Strife, / which had most interest in the Life / of your prized Sonn'), in which he adorned a basic poetic narrative of the events leading up to Thomas's death with a lavish use of the standard topos of bereavement (ff. 14^r-15^v). Some time later a marriage was arranged between Bendish's daughter, Abigail, and James Modyford (Bargrave's employer). It seems that Bargrave was either commissioned to produce a series of poetic and dramatic commemorations of this union, or he voluntarily undertook the compilation of what amounted to a substantial body of writings.

Robert first penned an epithalamium on the intended marriage (ff. 22^r-23^v); and followed this up with two pastoral dialogues ('A Dialogue between Art & Nature in the habits of a Court Lady & a Shepheardess', ff. 24^r-25^v; and 'A Dialogue between a forward Lass & a Backward Lad, fitted to the Italian Fuggi, fuggi', ff. 25^r-26^v) both of

which were set to music. By far his most accomplished composition, however, was 'A Masque for Fower persons to be habited like the :4: Seasons of the Yeer' (ff. 26^r-28^v), which again included musical settings and even details of the intricate steps to be danced by the performers. Bargrave's masque provides an informative example of the kind of amateur dramatics with musical accompaniment staged at private houses and educational institutions, which were, as Michael Tilmouth has suggested, in many ways the 'poor relations in every sense to the opulent court entertainments on which they were modelled, but relations nevertheless'. The text of his 'Masque of the Four Seasons' as recorded in MS Rawlinson C 799 provides one of the few surviving examples of this genre and, as Tilmouth, concludes:

... it represents a kind of domestic musical activity generally overlooked in comparison with the doings of the mighty, though forming just as real a strand in the texture of the musical life of the time.¹

As someone who had already grown to mistrust Modyford deeply, Bargrave was delighted when the marriage was called off, even if it meant that his literary and musical effusions were no longer required. Instead, he satisfied himself with penning a joyful poem (perhaps best described as a kind of anti-epithalamium, f. 29^v) on the break-up of the match. Poetry, as with many of his contemporaries, also provided Bargrave with an evocative means of commenting on his own position, especially at times of personal duress. After his release from a Turkish prison at Smyrna (see Figure 9, no. 15), for example, he penned a poem set to music 'Upon Mr Dawes his & my Release from our Imprisonment in Smirna Castle Anno :1650:' (ff. 38^{r-v}), verses which served both to express his euphoria at his release and to act as a documentary record of his appalling treatment at the hands of the Turks. Similarly, in some spare moments at Madrid in the spring of 1655, he wrote a moving autobiographical poem, 'Fido to his Robina' (ff. 141^r-147^v), surveying his career as a merchant up to that point and expressing his love for his wife, Elizabeth.

While Bargrave's poetic and dramatic effusions may be categorized as the competent but unremarkable efforts of a well-educated amateur, his level of musical accomplishment was of a much higher order. Robert's father, Isaac, had been bequeathed Sir Henry Wotton's viol de gamba in his will and music clearly played an important part in the family life of the Bargraves at Canterbury.² There still survives in the cathedral library, for example, the carcass of an organ bearing the arms of Dean Bargrave on its side. This instrument was possibly the one heard by a visitor from Norwich in 1635 who described it as a 'fayre organ, sweet and tunable'.³ Roger Bowers has suggested that Isaac's own

¹ Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of ... Robert Bargrave', p. 158. See also Butler, 'Private and Occasional Drama', pp. 148-58.

² See Wotton, *Life and Letters*, I, pp. 215-19, for this bequest to Isaac Bargrave in Wotton's will (made 1 October 1637). Thomas Bargrave was named as one of Wotton's executors and Isaac Bargrave also received some of Wotton's Italian books. Roger Bowers notes: 'The lay clerks' chest of viols was kept ... in the Deanery, where it was probably intended primarily for the provision of elevated diversion and entertainment for distinguished guests'. Collinson, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 445.

³ This suggestion is made in Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 56. The most detailed study of this organ carcass is by Collier, 'Dean Bargrave's Organ at Canterbury' (forthcoming) who suggests (p. 4) that the organ heard by the visitor from Norwich was probably the quire organ and not Dean Bargrave's.

experiences abroad may have directly influenced his choice of music at Canterbury Cathedral:

It appears that Bargrave sought at first to make a mark on the Cathedral's music through initiatives that were prompted very probably by practices that he had encountered on his missions to Italy, and especially to Venice: he aimed principally at the enhancement of the actual tonal splendour of the impact made by the music of the services, through expanded participation of the available instrumental resources.¹

With such a background, secular music became for Robert Bargrave an essential ingredient of social intercourse. On his first voyage out to Constantinople in 1647 aboard the *London*, he recalled how the more youthful members of the ship's company entertained themselves when the seas were smooth: 'Nor did we want many handsom divertisements of musick & dancing, among our Academie of young Gentlemen & Ladies; for whom, if the Merchants at any time made a Banquett, we were repaid from the Ladies with Advantage' (f. 4').

Despite Bargrave's protestations of 'my litle skill on the viall', the level of his accomplishment on the instrument was such that he was invited at Siena to perform before some of Mattias de' Medici's own musicians. Furthermore, the complex series of musical settings of dances for his masque, written in honour of the proposed wedding of Abigail Bendish and James Modyford, indicate his proficiency in both composition and performance (since Bargrave himself presumably would have led the musical accompaniments to this dramatic pastoral interlude).

Throughout his travels, Bargrave found in music a route to pleasure, conviviality, and relaxation. At Siena, in the company of John Bargrave and John Raymond, he 'spent almost a fortnights time in the daily divertisements of Musique, horse=ridding, Ballone' (f. 6'). Elsewhere, for example at Lvov in Poland, 'Crambo Playes, good musick, a Collation, & Dauncing' (f. 70') provided the means of passing away several cold evenings. He also took the opportunity to listen to the music performed at a Polish wedding, noting that 'the musick of the Russes here, [is] much sweeter & more regular' (f. 70') than in other local areas permeated by Tartar influences. At Zwolle in the Low Countries he admired the elaborate carillons in the Grote Kerk:

in the Steeple are a sett of Chimes which (like them of Danzick) sound severall Tunes of Psalmes; & by the help of a man with hammers in his hands, strikes double noats, & play in division, both in tune and time, very much like an Organ; so musically that till I heare something equall it, I shall esteeme it Sans Pareille. (f. 89')

While at Amsterdam during the following week, Bargrave stayed at the 'Heren Logiamt' which possessed a 'glorious Organ' for the use of the residents (f. 92'). In fact, virtually anything of a musical nature tended to attract Bargrave's immediate attention. In terms of popular folklore, at Smyrna he studiously noted down the belief that the bite of a tarantula spider could be cured only by music (f. 111'); and while at Augsburg, again in the company of John Bargrave, he was fascinated by the local trade in mechanical musical boxes (ff. 181'-182'). Even the occasional turn of phrase in Bargrave's own

¹ Roger Bowers in Collinson, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 445. Isaac Bargrave, according to Culmer, *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury*, p. 11, also sang in the Cathedral choir.

prose style reflected his habitual way of thinking in musical terms. Following the news of Thomas Bendish's death, his closest friends at Constantinople tried to cheer themselves up after a due period of mourning. But 'Scarse was our cheerfull Praelude ended', Bargrave wrote, 'but a Pavan of fresh Sorrows oretook our intended Joyes' (f. 15'), when Lady Bendish unexpectedly succumbed to the plague.

As an accomplished performer on the viol, Bargrave was naturally interested in the technical skills of other string instrumentalists. At Danzig, one of the Scottish merchants, Peter Dunbar, laid on 'a gallant Banquett of musick, in a consort of a German Viall & Violine, with an Italian Lute and Voice; litle inferiour to the best I ever heard' (f. 79'). At Hamburg Bargrave heard with pleasure and increasing admiration the playing of the famous German viol player, Theodore Steffkins (d. 1673), who had been employed by King Charles I during the 1630s and had played in Ben Jonson's *The Triumph of Peace* (1634). Bargrave recorded in his diary how he did 'charme mine Eares, with his admirable Skill on the base Viol, which as I think it impossible to exceed, so I conceive it very difficult to equal' (ff. 86'-87'). But it was at the archducal court at Innsbruck that he met one of the most accomplished English instrumentalists then working abroad. With evident pleasure Bargrave recalled how:

I went to receive a most pleasing entertainment of Musique from m^r William Young, Groome of the bed=chamber and chiefe Violist to the Arch=duke; espetially on an Octo=cordall Viall, of his own Invention, apted for the Lira way of playing, farr beyond those with six strings only: to which favour he added his promise to give me his Lessons composd for that Viall, and his Aires for two Bases and a Treble which he intends to publish. (f. 180')

Bargrave was also always keen to assess the various kinds of church music accessible to him on his travels. At Majorca he was especially impressed by the preference for wind, rather than string, accompaniments to choral devotions: 'theyr cathedrall musique, which fortunung to be on a Festivall, was performed very solemnly, with Nunnes voices, & great varieties of wind=Instruments, better suiting with a Quire then any cordall Instruments whatever, in that they resemble a voice more lively.' (f. 6')

Italy, as John Stoye has explained, was renowned throughout Western Europe as a centre of excellence for devotional choral work.¹ At Venice Bargrave marvelled at the sheer technical skill demonstrated by the female voices at 'the two Nunneries of Beggars and of Bastards'. At the latter, he heard:

... a famous Nunns way of singing, I observd her excellency above others: first in a soft stealing Fall from 'd' through 'c' into 'b flat' 2^b: In Trilling, when usually she made first three Offers, and then quickned her Trills by degrees, beating strongest upon the highest halfe Noat, and rather slow then quick; in which she seemd to govern her voice by the motion of her tongue. 3^b. in Repicates, singing the first strong, the second Ecchoing, & the third very strong: falling at the close into a soft Trillo. 4^b. After a Pause, shee would rise in a third, drawing the Noat as in length so in Strength, and trilling at the last, 5^b. in falling a running Sixth, swift and Strong. 6^b. in drawing out a melting Noat from a strong to faint. 7^b. In the comon Close she often trilld, not in 'a' but in 'b' to end in 'g' and sometimes would begin to trill in 'b flat' and steale it insensibly into 'a' before she cload in 'g'.

¹ See Stoye, *English Traveller Abroad*, pp. 151-4.

Lastly in expressing of words by singing according to theyr sence: as Morire dolefully, Sospiri sighingly, & Ridendo laughingly. (ff. 162^v–163^v)

At Padua the feast of St Anthony was 'celebrated with most rare Musick, with adoration of his miraculous Reliques: and with a Show through the whole City, of Pageants & r^s, in nature of my Lord Maiors of London' (f. 163^v).

Even outside Italy, Bargrave found various opportunities to ponder the quality and stylistic differences in the various kinds of church music on offer. At Jassy, for example, in the chapel of Vasile Lupu, he heard 'Anthemes sung musically, but in a way rather like the Turkish, then Italian, Spanish, or Englishe manner' (f. 60^v). At a Jesuit church at Lvov, the sweetness of the music engendered a sudden bout of homesickness in Bargrave: 'which being rarely good, wrought in me, I know not whether more Joy of present, or more Grief that I should no more heare it in England' (f. 69^v). Similarly, at Madrid the excellence of the royal choristers quietly enhanced his own spiritual thoughts: 'the Musique pleasd mine Ears; performd by his Majesties Capellanes, with such Art and Solemnitie, as indeed struck devotion into the hearers.' (f. 140^v). Although Bargrave's appreciation of music was clearly incidental to his main business as a trader, the range and interest of his comments provide a valuable insight into the cultural sophistication of an English merchant of the mid-seventeenth century.

3. ROBERT BARGRAVE'S DIARY: BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD, MS RAWLINSON C 799

Composition

MS Rawlinson C 799 is penned in Robert Bargrave's own hand throughout (except for a few, later marginal annotations probably in the hand of his cousin, John Bargrave, as indicated in the notes to this edition). This may be shown by comparing its pages with the identical hand in several official letters penned during November and December 1660 by Bargrave, in his capacity as personal secretary to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchilsea.¹ (See Figure 1, 2, and 4).

It has not been possible to establish conclusively whether the Rawlinson C 799 manuscript account of Bargrave's travels was written out at the same time as these letters (perhaps as a means of occupying spare time during the voyage from England to Turkey) or (probably more likely) at some earlier period between Bargrave's return to England at the end of March 1656 and his departure as the new secretary to the Levant Company on the *Plymouth* with Winchilsea's entourage on 20 October 1660.² But it

¹ PRO SP 97/17 f. 292 (from Lisbon, 6/16 November 1660), f. 293 (from Lisbon, 6/16 November 1660), f. 295 (from Lisbon, 12/22 November 1660); SP 71/1 pt ii, f. 185 (from Algiers, 26 November 1660) and f. 195 (from Messina, 3/13 December 1660). SP 103/1, pp. 280–87, 'A Narration of the Treaty of Peace with Algiers by commands and instructions of his Mat^{ty}' is written in a different hand, probably Paul Rycaut's.

² A comparison of the paper used in the SP letters and MS Rawlinson C 799 has proved inconclusive. It has usually been assumed that Bargrave produced MS Rawlinson C 799 when he was back home in England (e.g. 'a carefully written manuscript presumably compiled when he was back in England from more detailed notes made during the journeys abroad', Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of ... Robert Bargrave', pp. 144–5).

does at least seem certain that the Rawlinson C 799 manuscript was compiled either from a collection of notes or from an earlier complete draft. In some sections Bargrave also seems to have been writing from memory. Very occasionally, he makes careless errors over dates (e.g. f. 1^v: 'In the month of April Anno: 1646;' = April 1647; and f. 174^v: 'the :20th: of February :1655:' = 20 February 1656, although this latter example may simply be Bargrave uncharacteristically slipping into the old-style Julian calendar). At other points, such as his totally confused account of the route to Bursa (Broussa) followed by Sir Thomas Bendish's entourage (f. 11^v), he seems to have muddled two distinct journeys.


It is noticeable that Bargrave's diary is also riddled with references to his personal loyalty to King Charles II and his immediate family (see p. 33). Of course, if his travel diary had been intended as a purely private document and was compiled at some point between March 1656 and May 1660, then Bargrave's frequent gestures of royalist devotion may simply be regarded as an honest – but also potentially risky – committing to paper of his personal adherences. If, however, the MS Rawlinson C 799 draft of his travels was written up during the months immediately after the Restoration, then Bargrave's account of his travels may also be regarded as an implicit attempt to establish early in the new reign his own personal credentials as a loyal royalist and man of international affairs. This later dating of the manuscript would then offer a different level of reading for some of the key incidents detailed in the diary. Bargrave's delighted reference, for example, to his overnight sojourn in March 1656 at a house near Cologne 'where the King of England, the Duke of Yorke and Prince Rupert had all lodgd but newly before us' (f. 188^v) could be interpreted as a graceful sign of loyalty to his newly restored king rather than a boldly defiant gesture towards the Protectorate of 1656 back home in England. It should be emphasized, however, that a conclusive date for the compilation of MS Rawlinson C 799, beyond the broad parameters of March 1656 and December 1660, cannot be determined.

Why, then, did Robert Bargrave compile such a detailed account of his experiences as a trader between 1647 and 1656? Presumably, he was partly motivated by an impulse common to most writers of travel diaries to record, both for private recollection and the curiosity of family and friends, his personal experiences of the foreign, the unusual, and the historically momentous. In his study of the collections of Robert's cousin, John Bargrave, Stephen Bann notes that John 'was neither a great man nor an artist. He was, however, a person incessantly devoted to signifying, to making sense'.¹ The concepts of 'signifying' and of 'making sense' are also relevant to an understanding of Robert's motivations as a writer. As Michel Tilmouth correctly observed, as a diarist Robert was reluctant 'to duplicate what was common knowledge'.² Hence, an insistence upon the validity of his own personal experiences and perspectives is maintained with considerable determination throughout the diary.³ MS Rawlinson C 799 not only records an

¹ Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. viii.


² Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of ... Robert Bargrave', p. 143.

³ Bargrave was always at pains in his diary to present himself as exercising a high degree of discerning selectivity over what information might be included. In Spain, for example, he noted: 'To describe the Escorial all throughly might indeed employ a booke, so that I shall but briefly recite what I think most remarkable about & in it' (f. 129^v).

A Relation of sundry Voyages & Journeys
made by mee Robert Bargrave,
younger Sonne to Dr
Bargrave Dean of
St
of
Canterbury


In the month of April Anno: 1666. I embark'd on
the Ship London commanded by Cap. John Browne
when on my waye this was Mr. Thomas Beadpole, with
a double Commission as well from the King then
reigning, as the Parliament then sitting, or successively
Mr. Sackville (now in my Embassy at Constantinople)
with him went also his Lady, his eldest Sonne & five
of his Daughters: His chief Attendance was of these
following Gentlemen. Doctor Rogers (his Physician)
Mr. Hollis, Mr. Williams, Mr. Powell, Mr. Haggis, Mr.
Jennison, Mr. Doo, Mr. Jolly, Mr. Haines, Mr. Legat, & Mr.
Pubb; besides Mr. Doo (his Steward) & all his inferior
Officers: Mr. Vernon (his chief Interpreter) & Mr. Alluf

Fig. 1: The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave (f. 1^r), Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson C 799. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

Honourd S^r  185

The time of my departure from Algiers I sent you a full account by safe conveyance
of my returne, such as I presume may excuse my delay in writing you the 20th instant
we were velle directed by contrary winds, which most labour, and
perilous we endured six days, our vessel beinge stormt; when a furious storme
washed in by violent gusts, Day, & night, conquest of East, West, & blow in the
face of the Sunne, which we escaped with intentions to put in there, & to
stay till our Court Shippes, & velle, were ready to see us in the Bay, of which
safety we achieved in that port, we were forced to seek our security at sea, & to
goe for this place, where I had a speedy & safe arrival on the 22nd of this month
There, another daye, with the assistance of friendly, it was my fate to adventure, & fell
into the hands of these Barbunans, I sent my two Secretaries in charge, & employed
them, together with a Broker, & a great Anzahl of Slaves, to treat with the King
of this Kingdom, & the Chief Generall of a Pera, who were procuring Audiences,
had conference in the presence of their Divan, or Publick Council, before
whom were presented his all the Slaves, & also a Prodigall, I thought
fit to note in this dispatch, All which, with like difficulty, or longer time
might have been done, by which they should have ben returned from
the Shipp to some other place, under the English Colours, rather than to see their
Soveraigne from his all, which Privilege they desire, & wish to
renew, & to receive all England, & his Majesty's service, when
Sackville had been with them, & all my arguments, of his all
your Honor, a word of Honor, needed to treat them, & both of them in
I find it dangerous, & a positive danger, if they unreasonable, demand
in consequence of my former assurance, a breach would bring upon them, &
rather than to procure a permanent settlement, & a word that might be made (which
I could not see) with his all, should rather approve thereof, for order
a further treaty, whereby the Nation is for the recovery, & his all, the best
sure satisfaction, & a word of my former assurance, the hope of our agreement
with them, & that they have heretofore, or from a Broker, & should have
by it, promised by Liberty, & a word of my former assurance, a letter to his
all, & a word of my former assurance, & a word of my former assurance, a word of my former assurance, &
I should, in disputes, do those Conclusions made by Law, & Blak, & a word of my former assurance, &
will show, & other I have added, I hope no way pertinent, & had indeed
in those of Law made, they are only deny'd, to give satisfaction, & a word of my former assurance, &
at which, & they have given, & a word of my former assurance, & a word of my former assurance, &
then hee, & my opinion is, if nothing will avert their obstinacy, but
that of English, & a word of my former assurance, & a word of my former assurance, &
or if that fail, they shall make them feel, what they have done.

Fig. 2: Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea, from Algiers, 26 November 1660 (penned by Robert Bargrave). PRO SP 71/1. f. 185. Crown copyright material in the Public Record Office is reproduced by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

interesting (and often historically significant) itinerary of foreign travels but also documents the cultural and commercial maturing of an intelligent and sharply observant young man. In this sense it provides a more acutely subjective record of travels than many such diaries of the period, in which a heavy reliance upon secondary sources provided the guiding principles of composition. For Bargrave apparently trivial details (such as his disputes with Modyford, his activities as a private tourist, and his asides on the civil dissent back home in England) were no less important than his richly informative observations on more obviously important matters (such as the diplomatic procedures of the courts of Sultan 'Crazy' Ibrahim and Mehmet IV or his description of the palace of El Retiro). Inevitably, Bargrave's written style, especially in his account of the first voyage, evokes a sense of a young, self-conscious writer, striving to put together a lively and vivid delineation of his personal experiences. Sometimes, it has to be admitted, Bargrave's mode of writing lapses into the naive excesses of a juvenile diarist. The opening description of his sickness during his first experience of sea travel, rapidly lurches from literary elegance to euphuistic exuberance:

the wind grew exceeding boistrous making us fresh=water souldiers sensible of the sudden Change; so that we threw our very Galls in Neptunes face, & payd our Forfeits to the Fishes his hungry & dilligent Attendants ... I found my selfe in a strange world, the Seae beating sometimes into my very Cabin; & I tossd & tumbled, sometimes my bed upon mee, & sometimes I upon my bed now on my head then on my heeles, all wett & dabled, sick, hungry without sleep, & in a confusion of Torments; hapy only in my unexperience, which made me thinke t'was always thus at Seae: (f. 1')

But, in general, Bargrave adopts a form of writing in keeping with one who wished to preserve a factual and clearly written record of his personal experiences in Turkey and Western Europe, primarily for their historical and geographical significance.¹ In this respect, his purpose seems very close to that of Paul Rycout, who travelled out with him in 1660 to Constantinople on board the *Plymouth*. Sonia Anderson has clearly explained Rycout's youthful motivation in compiling his monumental *History of the Turkish Empire* (1680): 'From the first Rycout saw his official and his literary career as interdependent. "I resolved", he tells us, "from my first entrance into those Countries, to note

¹ Little is known about Robert Bargrave's own reading and I have been able to trace only one book definitely owned by him. There are two volumes of the *Discorsi* of Pietro Andrea Matthioli (Venice, 1604) in the library of Peterhouse, Cambridge, signed: 'Il Sign' Roberto moriendo a Smirna in Asia Minore'. These volumes were once in the library of Sir Henry Wotton who, in his will dated 1 October 1637, bequeathed them to Queen Henrietta Maria. It seems probable, however, that they never reached the Queen and instead were either given to Isaac Bargrave (who was the named recipient of all of Wotton's 'Italian books not otherwise bequeathed ... in which country I first contracted with him [Isaac Bargrave] and unremovable affection'. Wotton, *Life and Letters*, I, pp. 215–19) or to Isaac's son, Thomas, who had married Wotton's niece and was an executor of his will. (See Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 83.) Certainly, Thomas Bargrave owned them before leaving them to his close friend, Sir Henry Palmer of Bekesbourne. After Palmer's death, they were left to Robert Bargrave and, following his death at Smyrna, they were passed to his cousin, John Bargrave. (Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 83, states that John purchased them from Robert's widow.) Following John's death, they were donated to the library of Peterhouse. See Bargrave, *Pope Alexander VII*, ed. Robertson, p. xviii, and Wotton, *Life and Letters*, II, p. 486 and I, p. 217. Collinson, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 379–80, details Isaac Bargrave's role from the late-1620s onwards in developing the Cathedral Library and recording its muniments (although, in the latter case, probably more harm than good was done by amateur historians pillaging the Cathedral's holdings for documents relating to their own genealogical or local history interests).

down in a blank Book what occurred in that Empire, either as to civil or military affairs; with what Casualties and Changes befel our Trade, that so both one and the other might serve for Examples and Precedents to future Ages" (*History*, 1623–77, To the Reader). He lost no time in starting to collect his material. The voyage out to Turkey took three months and was packed with incidents that provided him with copy both for his projected history of the Turkish empire and for his first, anonymous publication.¹

It may have happened, on this long voyage out to Constantinople, that Rycout and Bargrave together decided to compile personal accounts of their experiences as travellers. Alternatively, it may even have been the more experienced Bargrave who first encouraged Rycout to begin recording his observations and reseaches into Turkish history. (See Figure 3.)

Posthumous Provenance of MS Rawlinson C 799

After Bargrave's death, the manuscript seems to have been owned by a female member of his family before being acquired in the eighteenth century by two notable collectors of manuscripts, John Murray (c. 1680–1749) and then Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755). The huge bequest of manuscripts to the Bodleian Library made by Rawlinson arrived there in 1756, where they have remained as a unified collection up to the present day. The miscellaneous group of documents drawn together under 'Rawl. C', mostly of a legal, historical or theological nature, were arranged and catalogued by Stephen Reay, a sub-librarian from 1828 until 1861. In his 1878 catalogue of the collection William Dunn Macray defined MS Rawlinson C 799 as: 'Codex chartaceus, in 4to, sæc. xvii. ff. 193' and, drawing on Rawlinson's own notes, recorded some evidence of previous ownership: 'Olim liber Elizabethæ Bargrave; postea, inter codices Joh. Murray, 633, cujus auctione emptus fuit, una cum cod. C. 63, pretio 6s. 3d.'²

The name, 'Elizabeth Bargrave' is penned in a clear hand on a strip of paper attached to the top of the inside front cover of the manuscript (immediately above where Rawlinson placed his own book-plate), either as the owner's signature or as a sign of ownership written by another hand.³ This Elizabeth is most likely to have been Robert's wife, Elizabeth (Turner) Bargrave, who was with him when he died at Smyrna in 1661, although it is also possible that this name may have been added to the manuscript by another Elizabeth, such as their daughter, Elizabeth (Bargrave) Tuckwell, before her marriage (see Family Tree 5) or Elizabeth (Bargrave) St Leger, the daughter of Robert's elder brother, Thomas (see Family Tree 4).⁴ It also seems likely that the manuscript was

¹ Anderson, *English Consul*, p. 26.

² Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, pp. 177–9. Macray, *Catalogi Codicum Manucriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ [Rawlinson MSS]*, pp. 408–9. See also Philip, *The Bodleian Library*, pp. 82–4, 93–8; and Enright, 'Richard Rawlinson, collector, antiquary, and topographer'.

³ The fact that the name 'Elizabeth Bargrave' is written on a strip of paper stuck onto the inside front cover of the manuscript may suggest that this signature originally belonged to another document. If so, then it is possible that someone (probably a family member) who knew that this Elizabeth Bargrave had once owned the manuscript, placed this signature here at a later date.

⁴ Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of ... Robert Bargrave', p. 144, incorrectly states that MS Rawlinson C 799 'bears the bookplate of his [Robert Bargrave] wife Elizabeth'. In fact, the only bookplate in the manuscript is that of Richard Rawlinson with the signature 'Elizabeth Bargrave' appearing above it on the inside front cover.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
Turkish Empire
From the Year 1623. to the Year 1677.
CONTAINING THE
REIGNS
Of the three last
EMPEROURS,
VIZ.
SULTAN MORAT
OR
AMURAT IV.
SULTAN IBRAHIM,
AND
Sultan MAHOMET IV. his Son,
The XIII. Emperour now Reigning.
By PAUL RYCAUT Esq; late Consul of Smyrna.
LONDON,
Printed by J. M. for John Starkey at the *Printers in Fleet-Street*
near Temple-Bar. MDCCLXXX.

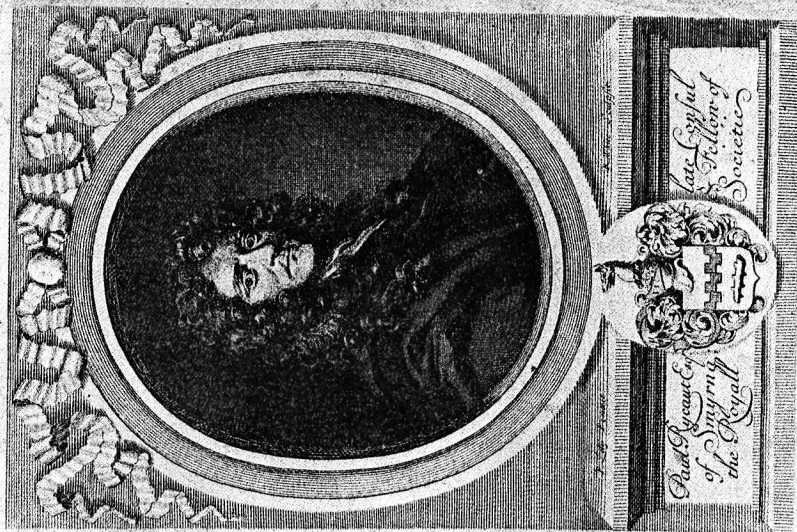


Fig. 3: Title-page and facing illustration of Paul, Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677* (1680). Reproduced by permission of the Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds (Trv.q.Rycaut).

once either in the hands of, or even owned by, Robert's cousin, John Bargrave (c. 1610–80), who appears to have been responsible for a number of later annotations on the manuscript:

- f. 1^r: Below the name 'Robert Bargrave' is added: 'Younger Sonn to Dr Isaacke Bargrave Deane of Canterbury'.
- f. 6^r: The name 'm^r John Bargrave' is underlined and a note added in the margin: '* Since D:D: and Canon of Christ church Canterbury 1662?.'
- f.181^r: The phrase 'my cousin M^r John Bargrave' is underlined and a note added in the margin: 'Since D^r: Di: and Canon of Christ Church Canterbury'.
- f. 182^r: The phrase 'my Cousin m^r Bargrave's Company' [i.e. John Bargrave] is underlined.

Comparison of these four sets of annotations with John Bargrave's own hand in the manuscript of his *The College of Cardinals*, now in Canterbury Cathedral Archives, seems to confirm that he chose to highlight his own presence in Robert Bargrave's manuscript diary. (See Figure 1, 4, and 5).

At some point, the manuscript passed out of the ownership of Robert Bargrave's immediate family and/or descendants and was acquired by the prolific collector, John Murray of Sacombe (situated between Stevenage and Hertford), whose name also appears on the manuscript (at the top of f. ii^r). Murray frequently travelled to London, Oxford, and elsewhere in the country to the great houses of the rich and famous in pursuit of historical materials but there is no evidence to suggest exactly where Murray may have acquired the Bargrave manuscript. As both a collector and, it seems, an informal dealer in books and manuscripts, Murray's reputation among the most noted bibliophiles of his generation was mixed. While Thomas Hearne affectionately referred to him as 'my Friend, M^r. John Murray, the curious Collector of Books, MSS^s and printed', Thomas Rawlinson, the elder brother of Richard, clearly despised him as an opportunist and social climber, dismissively describing him to Hearne as having been 'educated under his Houndsditch Pawn-broking Father'.¹ Murray concentrated mainly upon topographical, antiquarian, and historical materials but was also interested in writings about travel. Hearne, for example, records how Murray had supplied him with a copy of Leland's *Itinerary* around England for a Mr West who had promised to pay ten guineas for it; and how Murray had himself paid three guineas for a five-volume set of *Purchas's Pilgrims*, the large collection of voyages and travel writings compiled during the reign of James I as a continuation to Hakluyt's renowned volumes.² It seems likely, therefore, that Bargrave's travel diary (however obtained) would have fitted in well with Murray's own interests.

Thomas Rawlinson's hostility towards Murray as a book-collector, did not inhibit his younger brother, Richard, from being an active buyer at the sale of Murray's library in

¹ Hearne, *Remarks*, VIII, pp. 61, 407. Thomas Rawlinson's hostility to Murray may have been aggravated, Hearne suspected, by the rumour that he owed Murray £100, a debt which Murray was then actively pursuing. See also *ibid.*, VIII, p. 241, for claims that Murray was not only a collector but also a dealer in books; and VI, pp. 215–17, for a general description of Murray's literary collections.

² Hearne, *Remarks*, VIII, pp. 104, 283. Richard Hakluyt *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, I, 1589; rpt. 1598, II, 1599, III, 1600. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625, was originally published in four folio volumes. To this four-volume collection was usually added, as a fifth volume, the fourth edition of Purchas's *Pilgrimage*.

Church, in which beside many other Reliques is y^e bodie
of a famous S^{an}t in mummy, and so have endured 1000
years; but our best Deceit was their cathedrall musique,
which fortuning to be on a Festivall, was performed very
solemnly, with Quenes voices, & great varieties of wind
Instruments, better suited with a Quire then any cordall
Instruments whatsoever; yet they resemble a voice more
lively. The next day we provided a handsome Great on shore
in returne to y^e Gentlemen who had favoured us the day
before: when after our last course, came in from y^e Bishop
a very rich banquet; & thus we received from him the last
complement, as well as y^e first entertainment; only we
requited his Gentlemen with some English Regalies from
 aboard our ship. From Maiorca we sailed on to Legorne,
meeting nothing in y^e way novall, but spending our time
in great emulation for y^e obtaining y^e Italian tongue:
Being arriv'd, & having a new Portent from England touch
ing our health, we soon had pyracie & went to shore;
but having no acquaintance there of mine own, his Lord
very kindly ordered me handsome accomodation, as for one
of his own residence. Yet out of my Ambition for the
language, as to see my Cousins Mr. John Bargrave & Mr.
John Raymond when at Sienna, I put my biaticum in
my purse, & all alone advenc'd thither, which is about
100 miles within y^e land: In y^e way I saw many prett
places, especially Piza, which is chiefly famous for

1. Since
D.D. and
Canon of
Christ Church
Canterbu
ry-1662.

Fig. 4: The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave (f. 6^r), Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson C 799. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

The Pope, and Colledge, or Conclave
of Cardinales living, when I was my fourth
and laste time at Rome, wheare I bought
them in Shretes. An^o. 1660.

John Bargrave of Kent. D.D.
Canon of Christ Church Canturbury.

Fig. 5: A sample of John Bargrave's own hand.

1749, at which he acquired at least twenty-four manuscript and printed items.¹ As recorded in Macray's catalogue, Rawlinson also bought with Bargrave's travel diary another manuscript, MS Rawlinson C 63, a collection of papers relating to divorce of Lady Frances Howard and the Overbury murder case of 1613–16, paying 6s. 3d. for the two items together. There seems, however, no evidence of any prior connection between these two manuscripts before their acquisition by John Murray. Like Murray, Rawlinson had a special interest in some kinds of travel records, in his case Admiralty papers and sailors' log-books.² It is easy to see how Bargrave's detailed personal record of four long-distance journeys by both sea and land would have appealed to Rawlinson's collector's instincts as he attended the sale of Murray's collections.

The Eastry Court Manuscript of Robert Bargrave's Travels

Although Bargrave's MS Rawlinson C 799 text has the appearance of a neatly compiled final version of his travels, it seems that there may once have existed another manuscript account of his experiences. Between October 1836 and September 1837, Edward Spencer Curling published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* a series of extracts from Bargrave's first voyage.³ As a headnote to the first extract, printed in October 1836, Curling noted:

¹ Rawlinson recorded his acquisition of the following MSS from the 1749 sale of Murray's collections: Rawl. A 83, A 99, A114, A 168, A 282, B 19, B, 228, B416a, B517, C 337, C 368, C433, C470, C612b, C 799, C 907, C 941, D 133, D 144, D 385, D 692, D 704, D 1041, D 1258 (item 5). Rawlinson's own copy of the Murray sale catalogue is in the Bodleian Library (Mus. Bibl. III.8^o 57).

² Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, p. 170 (log-books from the 1670s), p. 172 (Samuel Pepys' Admiralty papers), p. 173 (dockyard account books from the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I).

³ *The Gentleman's Magazine* (October 1836), pp. 367–9 (December 1836), pp. 604–8 (April 1837), pp. 361–4 (July 1837), pp. 22–4 (September 1837), pp. 235–8. E. S. Curling was an occasional minor contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine* (see, for example, the May 1837 volume, p. 450) but I have not been able to locate any further biographical details. He may have been related to Henry Curling (1803–64), the novelist, physician, and captain in the 52nd Foot.

Mr. William Bridges, of Eastry Court near Sandwich, who married Miss Bargrave (a descendant of Dean Bargrave's), possesses the original: It is written in a remarkably plain and distinct hand, and at the house are several original and excellent portraits of the family, beginning in the reign of Elizabeth.

In the second extract, printed in December 1836, Curling corrected the owner's name to 'William Bridger, Esq. (not Bridges)'.¹ The Bargrave family had remained at Eastry Court until 1805 when through the marriage of a female member of the Bargrave family the house came into the possession of the Bridgers, who remained there until 1859. William Bridger is recorded as resident there in *Bagshaw's Directory* of 1845, although he died at some point during the next ten years.² William Bridger's widow was almost certainly the Christian Tournay Bridger of Eastry Court who made her will on 13 October 1855 and died on 9 September 1858, leaving all her property to be divided equally between her four daughters, Christian, Sarah, Mary, and Frances.³ I have been unable to trace the descent of the Eastry Court Manuscript of Bargrave's travels beyond this period.

Curling's extracts – in all five were printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* between October 1836 and September 1837, although the last ended with the unfulfilled promise '(To be continued.)' – were all taken from Bargrave's account of his first voyage to Constantinople with the embassy of Sir Thomas Bendish. In many respects, Curling's text is identical to that in MS Rawlinson C 799, and previous commentators seem merely to have assumed (if they considered the matter at all) that somehow he must have had access to the Bodleian Library's copy of Bargrave's diary during the compilation of his contributions to *The Gentleman's Magazine*. But Curling clearly states in 1836 that his source was a manuscript then in private ownership at Eastry Court, formerly the family seat of Dean Isaac Bargrave, Robert's father and still at that date in the hands of his descendants. If, as seems certain, MS Rawlinson C 799 would have been held securely in 1836 at the Bodleian Library (where it had been since 1756), then from what source did Curling derive his extracts?⁴

A detailed comparison of Curling's extracts with the corresponding passages of texts in MS Rawlinson C 799 suggests that he was probably working from a closely related but distinct manuscript of Bargrave's travels. Curling himself states that his source was written in 'a remarkably plain and distinct hand' (as is the holograph MS Rawlinson C 799) but his transcript throughout all five extracts contains numerous minor variations

¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1836), pp. 367, 604.

² I am grateful to Mr M. Carter of the Centre for Kentish Studies for this reference to *Bagshaw's Directory*.

³ *Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration made in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury* [for 1858]. I am grateful to the Record Keeper's Department, Somerset House, for providing me with a copy of this will. Christian Tournay Bridger's four daughters are described in this will as (1) Christian Bargrave Bridger, the wife of Thomas Harvey Esquire of Upper Deal, Kent – a captain in the Royal Navy (2) Sarah Bargrave Bridger, the wife of Augustus Charles May Esquire of Clifden, Co. Galway – a commander in the Royal Navy (3) Mary Bargrave Bridger – then unmarried (4) Frances Charlotte Bargrave Bridger, the wife of the Rev. Thomas Watkins of Llansaintfread, Co. Brecknock – a clerk.

⁴ I am grateful to Mr Steven Tomlinson, Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian Library, for confirming that there is 'no reason to believe that MS Rawl C. 799 was not part of the original Rawlinson bequest of 1756, nor is there any reason to think that it might have left the Library's possession after that' (private correspondence). Hence, the possibility of it being on some kind of loan to Mr William Bridger at Eastry Court in 1836 can be discounted.

in incidental details (especially abbreviations, spellings, paragraphing, and capitalization, as well as some individual words) from the text in MS Rawlinson C 799. The following comparative passages demonstrate the kinds of minor variations between Curling's transcript and MS Rawlinson C 799. In each case, Curling's extract is cited first following by the corresponding passage in MS Rawlinson C 799, with variations highlighted in bold in both texts:

In the month of April 1646, I embarked in the ship London, commanded by Capt^o. John Stevens, when in the same ship went S^r. Tho. Bendish, with a double commission, (as well from King Charles then reigning, as the Parliament then sitting,) to succed S^r. Sackvile Crow in the embassy at Constantinople. (p. 367)

In y^e month of April Anno: 1646: I embarkd on the Ship London commanded by Cap^t. John Steuens when on y^e same Ship went S^r Thomas Bendyshe, with a double Commission as well from K. Charles then reigning as the Parliament then sitting, to succed S^r Sackvile Crow in y^e Embassy at Constantinople: (MS Rawlinson C. 799, f. 1')

While it is possible that the variations in the usage of 'the' and 'ye' and in capitalizations may simply be due to Curling's preference for his own editorial practices, the variant spellings (especially 'Bendish' > 'Bendyshe' and 'embassy' > 'Embassy'), his omission of the word 'Anno', and his use of brackets in contrast to MS Rawlinson C 799's use of a single comma in the phrase about a commission from both 'King Charles' and 'the Parliament', are more indicative of a difference in copy-text. Of course, it cannot be entirely discounted at this stage that Curling was merely a remarkably inaccurate and perverse transcriber of his source material. But as one continues to compare his text as printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* with that in MS Rawlinson C 799, these kinds of minor, incidental variations remain apparent, as in the passage where Bargrave describes the dying down of a storm and the ships travelling in convoy with his own:

But now, Boreas' reign being spent, Zephir succeeded, and with his gentler gales gave us a more pleasing convoy.

With the ship London went the Unicorn (both general ships for the Levant Company), having made with each other a league of consortship; when after 2 days sailing, wee came in view of 5 men-of-war belonging to the Queen of Sweden, and giving conduct to a fleet of merchants' ships. (p. 367)

... but now Boreas Reign being spent, Zephir succeeded, & with his gentler Gailles gaue us a more pleasing Convoy. With y^e Ship London went y^e Vnicorne (both Gen^l. Ships for y^e Levant Company) hauing made with each oth^r a Legue of Consortship; when after two dayes sailing, we came in view of five men of warr belonging to y^e Queen of Sueden, & giuing conduct to a fleet of Merchant Shippes: (MS Rawlinson C. 799, f. 2')

These incidental variations in paragraphing, punctuation, spelling, and abbreviations, of course, cannot be taken as conclusive proof of the existence of two distinct manuscripts. Furthermore, Curling's transcript possesses one striking similarity with MS Rawlinson C 799 which, at first sight, would seem to suggest that he was indeed using MS Rawlinson C 799 as his copy-text. In a small number of instances (as detailed in the notes to this edition), marginal annotations, usually concerning the specific identity of individuals mentioned by Bargrave, were added to MS Rawlinson C 799 at some later

stage by an unknown hand. Two of these distinctive annotations, as detailed below, are also recorded in Curling's extracts in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. In the first, Robert Bargrave recalls how he travelled to Siena to meet up with his cousins:

Yet out of my ambition for the language, as also to see my cousins, Mr. John Bargrave * and Mr. John Raymond, then at Sienna, I put my viaticum in my purse, and all alone adventured thither,

* Since Dr. of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1662 (p. 604)

Yet out of my Ambition for the Language, as to see my Cousins * *m' John Bargraue* & *m' John Raymond* then at Sienna, I put my Viaticum in my purse; & all alone aduenturd thither,

* Since D:D: and Canon of Christ church, Canterbury 1662 (MS Rawlinson C. 799, f. 6')

The second margin annotation common to both Curling's printed text and MS Rawlinson C 799 comes in a passage from Bargrave's elegy on the death by drowning of Sir Thomas Bendish's son, Thomas:

God it seems too good for this,
Has rais'd him to a world of bliss,
And tho' the cursed hand of one, +
Who was the Devil or his son,
Dismiss his body to the deep,
There to take its early sleep.

+ Who cut a rope on w^{ch} my dear frend hung, begging to buy his life w^h a great ransome.
(p. 361)

God, it seems too good for this,
has raisd him to a World of Bliss:
And though y^e cursed hand of + One
who was y^e Devill, or his Sonn,
dismissd his body to y^e Deep,
there to take its early Sleep;

+ w^{ho} cutt a Rope on which my deare frend hung, begging to buy his Life w^h a great Ransome:- (MS Rawlinson C. 799, ff. 14^v-15^v)

Despite the minor incidental variants running throughout each of these two sets of parallel passages, the presence of these kind of marginal annotation does perhaps lend support to the possibility that Curling's source was indeed MS Rawlinson C 799. But at another point in his printed text, where Curling notes a similar marginal emendation, an examination of MS Rawlinson C 799 reveals that this correction has already been assimilated into its text of Bargrave's diary. In the description of Siena, Curling transcribes from his manuscript source:

The city [Siena] was once + a state of itself, but now reduced to the dukedom of Tuscany.
+ Formerly (p. 604)

However, MS Rawlinson C 799 simply reads (with no indication that the word 'once' had been revised to 'formerly':

The City [Siena] was formerly a State of itselfe, but now reduced to y^e Dukedome of Tuscany: (MS Rawlinson C 799, f. 6')

This kind of textual evidence supports the possibility that Curling had access to another (probably penultimate and perhaps holograph) draft of at least the first section of Bargrave's own account of his travels. At this period, it was common for manuscript copies of such documents to be made and Bargrave's own circumstances may well have encouraged him to ensure that there were in existence at least two copies of his record of his travels between 1646 and 1656. After all, if in 1660, as he embarked aboard the *Plymouth* to take up his Levant Company secretaryship, Bargrave chose to include among his luggage a manuscript of his own travel diary, then he would certainly have appreciated the wisdom of also leaving a copy of it at home with either relatives or friends. Alternatively, on the voyage out he may have occupied his spare time in copying out MS Rawlinson C 799 as a fair-copy from an earlier manuscript draft (perhaps the one used by Curling). The likelihood that Curling's text was taken from an earlier draft of Bargrave's travels, is suggested not only by MS Rawlinson C 799's silent revision of 'once' to 'formerly' in the above example, but also the generally neat appearance of MS Rawlinson C 799, with its regular hand and few deletions characteristic of the act of copying rather than the recasting and revisions inherent to actual composition. But in conclusion, it should be emphasized that the existence of two distinct manuscripts (one certainly holograph and the other possibly so) of Bargrave's travels – Curling's source and MS Rawlinson C 799 – can at this stage (i.e. until or if another manuscript is actually located) be regarded only as an intriguing possibility rather than as an established textual fact.

Recreo¹ was they cathedrall musique, which fortunung to be on a Festivall, was performed very solemnly, with Nunnes voices, & great varieties of wind=Instruments, better suiting with a Quire then any cordall Instruments whatever, in that they resemble a voice more lively.² The next day we provided a handsom Treat on Shoare, in returne to the Gentlemen who had favord us the day before: when after our last Course, came in from the Byshop, a very rich banquet; & thus we receiv'd from him the last complement, as well as the first entertainment; only we requited his Gentlemen with some³ English Regalios⁴ from aboard our ship.

From Majorca we saild onn to Legorne,⁵ meeting nothing in the way novall, but spending our time in great emulation for the obtaining the Italian tongue: Being arrivd, & having a nett Porrent⁶ from England touching our health, we soon had prattick⁷ & 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,⁸ & mr John Raymond⁹ then at Sienna,¹⁰ I put my Viaticum¹¹ in my purse; & all alone adventurd thither, which is about 80: miles within the land: In the way I saw many pretty places, espetially Piza,¹² which is chiefly famous [f. 6^v] for its crooked Steeple, built so out of designe, to the wonder of all beholders¹³:2:° the fower brazen gates of the principall Church, incomparably cast in historick worke:¹⁴ & :3:° theyr bridge very artificially

¹ The word is not written clearly but appears to be 'Recreo', perhaps recreation.

² The organ dated from 1437 and was renowned for its sweet tone.

³ 'such' deleted and 'some' added above the line.

⁴ Regalo, a present, especially of choice food or drink; a choice or elegant repast or entertainment. The erroneous form 'regalio' is common in the second half of the 17th century.

⁵ Leghorn (Livorno) was founded in 1571 as a port by Cosimo I (1519–74), Duke of Florence, and developed by his son, Ferdinando I (1549–1609).

⁶ Neat patent, denoting freedom from disease.

⁷ Pratique (originally spelt 'pratticke'), a licence to have dealings with a port, granted to ships after quarantine or on showing a clean bill of health. Sandys, *Journey* (1610), pp. 5–6, illustrates how these licences were used.

⁸ John Bargrave (c. 1610–80). See Family Tree 2 and p. 15. This name is underlined and "Since D:D. and Canon of Christ church Canter Bury 1662", has been added in the left-hand margin, probably by John Bargrave himself.

⁹ John Raymond's name appeared as sole author on *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage Made Through Italy in the Years 1646 and 1647* [*Il Mercurio Italico*], 1648. See Figure 6. He may have been the John Raymond (or Rayment) of Patribourne, Kent, who was admitted, aged 15, as a pensioner at St Peter's College (Peterhouse) on 3 March 1642/3 (scholar, 1643–4). He was admitted at Gray's Inn on 6 February 1644/5. On 22 May 1663 he married Elizabeth Clarkson of St Giles, Cripplegate. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. See also p. 232, note 2.

Since Robert Bargrave viewed some of the locations and buildings described in his diary in the company of Raymond, comparative descriptions from Raymond's *Itinerary*, 1648, have been provided in the notes.

¹⁰ Siena.

¹¹ Viaticum, a supply or official allowance of money for a journey.

¹² Pisa.

¹³ The Campanile, known as the Leaning Tower (Torre Pendente). Raymond *Itinerary*, 1648, p. 19: 'the Falling Tower ... 'Tis cover'd round with galleries & 7. rowes one above another of Marble Pillars, so that 'tis hard to bee imagin'd by what engines so great a structure should be supported, it being built so declining to one side, that all men which regard it, at the first expect its fall'.

¹⁴ The original bronze doors were by Bonanno da Pisa (1180). Almost all of the doors were seriously damaged or destroyed by a fire in 1595 and were replaced or remodelled by sculptors of the school of Giambologna. Raymond, *Itinerary*, 1648, p. 19: 'the Gates of Brasse its rarity'.



Fig. 6: Title-page of John Raymond, *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage Made Through Italy, in the Year 1646, and 1647* (1648). Reproduced by permission of the Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds (Tr.v.d.Raymond).

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BARGRAVE GENEALOGY

- John BARGRAVE (†<1585) of Bridge
 - =Alice KENNARD; she remarried John LUKYN of Fordwich in 1584
 - Robert (*~1540;will proved 1600) of Bridge; yeoman farmer and tanner
 - =1.2.1568 Joannah GILBERT (†12.1598); daughter of John GILBERT of Sandwich
 - |-**John** (*early 1570s;†~1625;↓south chapel of Patrixbourne Church);¹ granted arms 9.1611; built Bifrons <1618; owner of the ship *Edwin*²; plantation owner³
 - | =1597 Jane CROUCH (↓south chapel of Patrixbourne Church), daughter and co-heir of Giles CROUCH, armigerous haberdasher, of Cornhill, London
 - | |-**Robert** (*1600;↓south chapel of Patrixbourne Church); naval captain
 - | | = 1635, in Canterbury Cathedral, Elizabeth PEYTON (↓south chapel of Patrixbourne Church);⁴ daughter of Sir Samuel PEYTON and Mary ASTON
 - | | |-John (†<1670)
 - | | | = Frances TURNER of London
 - | | | |-Thomas
 - | | | |-Isaac
 - | | | |-Elizabeth
 - | | | | =1684 John FULLAGER of Langley, Kent
 - | | | | |-Jane
 - | | | | | -Robert (†~1697); of Doctors' Commons
 - | | | | | =Sarah
 - | | | | | -Elizabeth
 - | | | | | | =1715 Benjamin COADE of London
- |-Joan
 - | =1627, at Patrixbourne, Thomas RAYMOND; doctor of divinity
 - | |-John, who went on a Grand Tour with his uncle John Bargrave in 1646-1647 and published an account of it in 1648
 - | =Mr. HUSSEY; doctor of divinity
 - |-Jane (*1608)
 - | =Lodowick WEEMYS; doctor of divinity; Prebend of Westminster
 - |-Anne (*~1615;†in infancy)
 - |-Sarah (*1613)
 - | =Partridge LINCOLN of Lincolnshire
 - |-**John** (%18.11.1610,Nonington;†11.5.1680;↓at the entrance to the Martyrdom,Canterbury Cathedral);^{5,6} sold Bifrons 1661⁷
 - | =1665 Frances OSBORNE (†1686); widow; daughter of Sir John WILD
 - |-Thomas (†1621, Virginia); clergyman, presented to the living of Eythorne and later Sevington
 - |-Richard; 1598-1601 scholar at The King's School, Canterbury; soldier
 - | =?
 - | |-Alice (*1615)
 - | |-Jane (*1619)
 - |-Robert (†1649, aged 65); portrait recorded as having been hung in the chancel of Bridge church

DRAFT

| =Mrs. WOOD; widow
 | =1644 Margaret COVENEY
 | -George (*1586)
 | =Dorcas MARTIN, daughter of John MARTIN
 | -Isaac (*1586; †by 25.1.164²/₃, aged 56; ↓Canterbury Cathedral); B.A., D.D.⁸; vicar of Eythorne 1614; Canon⁹ and then Dean of Canterbury Cathedral
 14.10.1625^{10,11}
 | =1.10.1618 at Boughton Malherbe, Elizabeth DERING (†1667, aged 74);¹² the sister of Edward, 1st Lord WOTTON
 | -Anne (*~1619)
 | | =1636 Thomas COPPIN
 | | =>12.1643 Sir Henry PALMER
 | -Edward (†young)
 | -Thomas (*~1620; †<1.1660); of Eastry Court; scholar of The King's School, Canterbury 1634-1640
 | | =>12.1642 Honora ESTCOTT (†1682) who remarried after 1.1660 Joseph ROBERTS of Canterbury
 | | -Thomas (%1653)
 | | -Charles (%1651; †1713) of Eastry Court
 | | | =Elizabeth WITHWICK (†1732)
 | | | -Isaac (*1680; †1727); of Eastry Court
 | | | | =Christian LEIGH (*1698; †1772); daughter of Sir Francis LEIGH of Hawley
 | | | | -Isaac (*1721; †24.5.1800); of Eastry Court; eminent solicitor in London
 | | | | | =3.175⁰/₁ Sarah (*1724; †1780);¹³
 | | | | -Christian (*~1734; †~1774)
 | | | | | =Rev. Claudius CLARE of Hythe
 | | | | | -Christian (*1751; †26.9.1806)
 | | | | | =at Hythe, Robert TOURNAY (†19.5.1825) of New Buildings, then Brockhull, Saltwood and later Eastry
 Court¹⁴
 | | | | | -Christian (*1782; †9.9.1858)
 | | | | | | =William BRIDGER of Eastry Court
 | | | | | | -Bargrave
 | | | | | | -Christian Bargrave
 | | | | | | | =Thomas HARVEY of Upper Deal; Captain in the Royal Navy
 | | | | | | -Sarah Bargrave
 | | | | | | | =Augustus Charles MAY of Clifden, Co. Galway; Commander in the Royal Navy
 | | | | | | -Mary Bargrave
 | | | | | | -Charlotte Frances Bargrave
 | | | | | | | =Rev. Thomas WATKINS of Llansaintfread, Breconshire
 | | | | | -Sarah (*1784)
 | | | | | | =Richard HALFORD of Canterbury
 | | | | | | -Richard Bargrave (†1828, very young)
 | | | | | | =Sir Thomas STAINES, K.C.B. of Dentdelion, Kent; Captain in the Royal Navy

DRAFT

| | | | =Robert KIRK; Captain in the Royal Navy
| | | | |—Frances
| | | | | =John BROADLEY (†1784)
| | | | |—Charles
| | | | | =Sarah AUSTEN; of the Isle of Sheppey
| | | | |—Robert (†17.12.1779,aged 84;↓Eastry church)
| | | | | =5.1733 Elizabeth (†2.7.1737,aged 32); daughter of Sir Francis LEIGH of Hawley
| | | | | —Robert (†14.2.1774;aged 39); a Procter in Doctors' Commons
| | | | | =Rebecca RUDD (†2.11.1795,Deal); daughter of Dr. RUDD, Vicar of Westwell
| | | | | —Rebecca
| | | | | =James WYBORN of Hule, near Sholden
| | | | | |—Bargrave
| | | | | |—James
| | | | | |—Frances
| | | | | | =John MAY of Deal
| | | | | |—Eliza
| | | | | | =Captain DEAN of the Berkshire Militia
| | | | | |—Rebecca
| | | | | =1753 Elizabeth BASSETT
| | | | | |—Elizabeth (*1678,Eastry)
| | | | | | =1702 Edward ST. LEGER (*1665,Maidstone;†1729,Great Mongeham);¹⁵ surgeon, of Deal
| | | | | |—Honora
| | | | | | =1660 Charles KNOWLER
| | | | | | =Joseph ROBERTS
| | | | | |—Martha
| | | | | | =1714 Zouch PILCHER
| | | | | |—Hester
| | | | | | =William BRIDGES; of Sandwich
| | | | | |—Mary
| | | | | | =David DENNE
| | | | |—John (↓25.7.1625, Canterbury Cathedral)
| | | | |—Isaac (†young;↓18.11.1626,Canterbury Cathedral)
| | | | |—Robert (*25.3.1628;†1661, ■ zmir;↓St.Veneranda Cemetery, ■ zmir); scholar of The King's School 1642; Levant merchant
| | | | | =1653 Elizabeth TURNER (*1632;†1703;↓Kensington); only daughter of Robert TURNER of Canterbury
| | | | | |—Robert (*25.8.1654;↓28.8.1659,Canterbury Cathedral)
| | | | | |—Hester (*1.165⁷/₈;↓East Malling)
| | | | | | =5.2.1680, in Canterbury Cathedral, Francis TURNER of London
| | | | | |—Elizabeth (*~1659)
| | | | | | =Mr. TUCKWELL of London

