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Histories of Cultural Materialism

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as Collector, Traveler, and Witness*
by Stephen Bann



UNDER THE SIGN

John Bargrave as
Collector, Traveler,
and Witness

BY

STEPHEN BANN

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FOR JOHN
born
three centuries
after

is placed in the right-hand column, has the effect almost of a litany. It hardly recreates the verbal felicities that the laconic form of the inscription makes particularly poignant: "Generosa Bargrauiana Terra," "Stetit et cecidit FAMILIA," "Haeres a ruinis in Ruinas." Not even a transcription of the Latin characters into typographic form could, moreover, convey some of the subtle inflections that the epigrapher's chisel has been able to introduce. There are three John Bargraves featured here, and yet each of them is minutely distinguished from the other. John the Elder, "founder of Bifrons," has the full Latinate form of his name: Iohannes. John the Heir is identified by the contracted form: Iohan. John the writer of the inscription, finally, has the contracted form embellished by cursive strokes across the top and bottom of the *I*, which seems appropriate to the character of a signature.

These various aspects of the Bargrave memorial, which indeed show it to be a more sophisticated if less showy product than most of the other memorials placed in Kent after the Civil War,¹ do not however clarify the enigma that it presents us with. It is the extraordinarily sweeping nature of the message that disconcerts us – even the paradoxical nature of the claim that is being made. How and when did the "Family" die? As opposed to the conventional type of English church monument that records, in grandiloquent detail, the qualities, alliances, and public actions of the individual or family in question, this inscription gives the impression of a sudden, catastrophic blow that has annihilated all such particularities. John the Elder both founded the armigerous family and built the great house of Bifrons – that much is plain – and the two words *Bifrontis* and *Familia* are the only ones capitalized in the text. But what are the stakes of the surviving Johns – John the Heir, whose chances of reviving the family and plucking something out of the "ruins" are being written off so definitively, and John the Prebendary, whose voice resonates throughout the entire text?

On one level, of course, the memorial inscription is a witness to a social and economic process that was taking place throughout the county of Kent in the feverish years that followed the Restoration of King Charles II. Families that had staunchly de-

fended the Royalist cause, and laid low throughout the Commonwealth period, were faced with a stark choice of alternatives: either to sell up their estates and pay off their accumulated debts or to petition the king for some restitution of the resources that they had used in his service.² The Bargraves were no exception. Henry Oxinden, their neighbor and relative by marriage, recognized the plight, which he himself shared, when he wrote in a letter dated 9 December 1661: "Bifrons, a house that was my brother Bargrave's, beside Bridge hill, was lately sold; and now I doubt not but mine will follow."³ But Oxinden is also witness to the comparative success with which John Bargrave, after hurrying back to England from his fourth and last visit to Rome, succeeded in relaunching the career that had been brutally cut short by his expulsion from Peterhouse in 1644. On 12 November 1660, he was made a Doctor of Theology by royal mandate and, on 23 December 1660, ordained priest by Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, in the Barbican Chapel, City of London. All this was simply a prelude to the preferment that Bargrave really desired, and which is recorded in a further letter by Henry Oxinden, from September 1662:

Dr. Bargrave is newly chosen Prebend of Canterbury in roome of an old Prebend lately deceased and is now upon going to Argiers to redeem some Captives. I met him at Lambeth upon Tuesday last.⁴

So, within two years of the Restoration, John Bargrave had succeeded in breaking out of his peripatetic life and ensuring a comfortable future. He could add to his name, as in the book presented to the Peterhouse library, "Dottore in Teologia 1661," and then again "Canonico della Chiesa Cathedrale di Cantuaria."⁵ He was to go on one more foreign journey, the most far-ranging and certainly the most perilous of his life. But this was at the express wish of His Majesty and a signal mark of royal favor.⁶ On his return, in 1663, he could afford to devote a little time, and perhaps even a little money, to the setting up of a suitable memorial to the members of his family who had suffered and died in the Civil War. He could also begin to install, in his newly acquired prebendal lodgings, which were held for life, the accumulated objects of his collection.

convert) never used the Calvinist Jan with which successive Dutch authors have demonstrated their perhaps unconscious concern to "bring him closer to the mainstream of Calvinist culture."

Bargrave, who is on most occasions content to sign himself with the English John, reserves for his Latin inscriptions the appropriate Latinate form of Iohan. What is inscribed in stone requires a more universal mark of subjectivity. But John and Iohan, not to mention Joannis and Giovanni, partake of a common identity, which is their link, in the Roman and the English churches, to the saint credited with the authorship both of the fourth Gospel and of the Book of Revelation. "And I John saw these things. . . ." ³¹ It would be an enigmatic motto for the painter who so skillfully concealed his intermediacy in the process of scenography and optical registration of the image. For John Bargrave, it would be no more than the claim made by a traveler and collector who demanded also to be accepted as a true witness.

ONE
RISE AND
FALL OF THE HOUSE
OF BARGRAVE

Enter the late Norman parish church of Patricbourne, about two miles southeast of Canterbury in the Dover direction, and you will find, just on the other side of the main South Door, a large black marble memorial stone lying in your path. It is out of place, having been removed from the adjacent family chapel (one supposes) at the behest of one of the more recent proprietors of the nearby Bifrons estate, and its abraded edges are set quite crudely into the diaper-patterned tile floor. But its inscription, and the swirling coat of arms above, have not suffered so much as to become illegible (fig. 7). I translate the text as follows:

Through the whole of this vault There is scattered	}	The gentle earth of the Bargraves
Of which armigerous family John the founder of BIFRONS And his heir Robert beneath this Marble together with their wives	}	Lie
In the Civil War on the King's side The FAMILY stood and fell	}	Amen
Grieving he wrote this their son and brother John	}	Prebendary of the Church of Christ Canterbury
John the Heir from ruins to ruins placed this stone	}	Year of our Lord 1663

The English translation does not, of course, reproduce the rhythms and cadences of the Latin or do justice to its curious antiphonal structure, which, especially when the one word *Amen*

Yet there can be no question of drawing a line, at this stage in Bargrave's life, between the past and the future. Bargrave was working out his period of mourning ("Lugens scripsit") in these years and, as Freud has reminded us, after a great catastrophe, the libido eventually starts to attach itself to new objects, as a substitute for the old.⁷ But his identity was still the one that had been forged in his early years, in and around Canterbury and subsequently at Cambridge. The message that is condensed in the Patrixbourne inscription conveys that this is a family that has risen and fallen, in the space of two generations, as a result of a public calamity. But it does not convey the fact that the rise and fall of the Bargraves took place, for the first time, over the short span of John's own childhood and that the Civil War only re-affirmed, on the macrohistorical scale, the ruin that had already come close to unseating the house of Bifrons. This story, in outline, still needs to be told.



The surname of Barger (also written as Bargar and, occasionally, Bargrove or Bargrave) is to be found in the area in and around Canterbury from the late medieval period onward. The inventory of church goods belonging to St. Andrew's, Canterbury, which was made in 1485, refers to a vestment donated by "Syr Deder [i.e., Didier, or Desiderius] Barger sumtyme parson."⁸ A century later, numerous names appear in church court records and other official documents that indicate that families of this name were established in two main areas: the village of Willesborough, near Ashford, where Robert Bargar is recorded as possessing a tannery in 1599,⁹ and that of Bridge, in the vicinity of Canterbury, where Arnold Bargar is recorded as living in 1570.¹⁰ The Bargrave variant of the name occurs extremely rarely, as with Elizabeth Bargrave, of Willesborough, who was excommunicated around 1560 for being "with child by Robert Torfer of Chartham a servant of Robert Stede of Hinxhill"¹¹ (see fig. 8).

The father of the builder of Bifrons, and grandfather of the collector, seems to have used two different orthographies in the spelling of his name. The marriage of Robert Bargrave, of Bridge, and Joan Gilbert, of the Parish of St. Peter's, Sandwich, is re-

corded as having taken place on 1 February 1568.¹² The will of "Robert Bargar, yeoman," of Bridge, is proved, however, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1600. No special significance should be attached to these changes in orthography, which were common in families belonging to the yeoman class. It was only when Robert's eldest son, John, acquired a grant of arms in September 1611 that the surname became standardized in its more euphonious form.¹³

Robert Bargar was a yeoman farmer and tanner of some wealth, who justified the truth of the traditional rhyme:

A Knight of Wales
A gentleman of Cales [Calais]
A laird of the North Countree
A Yeoman of Kent
With his yearly rent
Will buy them out all three.¹⁴

If Bargar shared in the general prosperity that was to make Kent "second or third place" in wealth among the English counties by the mid-seventeenth century,¹⁵ he was also no doubt helped by the dowry of his wife, who came of a wealthy Sandwich family and may have brought him the property in nearby Nonington that he bequeathed to the parish in 1600.¹⁶

Certainly the provisions that Robert Bargar made for his male children were in no way different from those that Dorothy Gardiner establishes as "routine" for "the family of an East Kent landowner":

University training for his eldest son, beginning perhaps at fourteen, followed often by a call to the Bar; for one other son, the second, if gifted enough with brains, Oxford or Cambridge likewise, ordination to the Church's ministry, and to crown all, a family preferment. . . .¹⁷

Their firstborn son, born in the early 1570s, is almost certainly the "John Bargar . . . perhaps of Kent" who matriculated as a fellow commoner from Clare College in 1588 and was later admitted to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn on 7 November 1590. For the second possibility – the son who was to make his name in the church – the yeoman of Bridge seems to have been willing to take

every chance that was offered. Thomas, born next after John, must have had a good education, though no record of it remains; in 1614, he was presented to the living of Sevington, yet he was to die, in distant Virginia, in 1621. Richard, the third son, was almost certainly a King's scholar at the King's School, Canterbury, between 1598 and 1601, but must have decided against an ecclesiastical career and chose instead to serve as a soldier.¹⁸ Finally, Isaac, the youngest of six sons, emulated his eldest brother in gaining his B.A. degree at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1606–7 and his D.D. degree from Clare in 1621.¹⁹ When Thomas was presented to Sevington, he conveniently made over his previous living of Eythorne, near Dover, to his younger brother. Isaac was to make rapid progress up the ecclesiastical hierarchy, becoming Dean of Canterbury Cathedral in 1625.

It might well be asked how the Bargar family succeeded in achieving these goals, which seem far beyond their yeoman status. How, in particular, did they manage to secure the ecclesiastical patronage dispensed by the close-knit group of local gentry? The answer must be that they were helped by their close connection, eventually ratified by marriage, with one of the leading families of Kent – and one that faithfully reflected the Kentish pattern of endlessly ramifying branches, extending over a large section of the county. When Thomas Bargar exchanged his living of Eythorne for that of Sevington in 1614, he remained within the sphere of patronage exerted by the ancient family of Boys: Eythorne adjoined Fredville, the seat of the redoubtable Sir John Boys – still “frowning hard” (as the Pevsner guide puts it) from his effigy in the North Aisle of Canterbury Cathedral – while Sevington was the parish in which cousins of Sir John completed the building of their “Boys Hall” around 1616.²⁰

What can have been the original connection between the Boys and Bargar families? Willesborough, home of the scapegrace Elizabeth Bargar and the tanner Robert (surely a relation of Robert of Bridge if not the selfsame person) is next door to Sevington. It looks as if the entry of John and Isaac to Clare may already betoken a link with this grand local family, as John Boys became a fellow of this college in 1592. All in all, it seems more than likely that there had been close contact for a number of

years, when the seal was set on the relationship by the marriage of John Boys (of the Eythorne branch) with Ingel, or Angela, Bargar, daughter of Robert, on 4 October 1604.²¹

With this marriage alliance, contracted four years after the death of Robert Bargar of Bridge, the family became members of the close-knit group of gentry, mostly of medieval Kentish origin, who dominated the life of East Kent, and regarded its ecclesiastical, as well as its civil, offices to be within their own gift. For Isaac Bargar, the youngest and most able son, who was thus able to take particular advantage of his family's ascent, the path to preferment lay open. He cannot have resided much at Eythorne and, in 1615 (the year after his appointment to the living), was still in Cambridge, performing a leading role in the Latin play *Ignoramus* before King James I.²² He spent the years 1616–18 in Venice, as chaplain to the English ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, who was himself of the ancient Kentish family that had produced the first dean of the Cathedral Foundation, Nicholas Wotton.²³ On 1 October 1618, after his return from Venice, he married a cousin of the Wottons, Elizabeth Dering. The following year, his brother-in-law, John Boys, was elected Dean of Canterbury, an office in which Isaac was to succeed him only six years later (figs. 9 and 11).

But to follow Isaac's career in the church is to neglect the no less remarkable rise of his eldest brother, John, a decade before. Laslett states that: “The gentry of Kent had always been peculiarly closely bound to the city of London.”²⁴ John Bargar followed the pattern by marrying, in 1597, the daughter and coheir of a prosperous London haberdasher, Giles Crouch (or Crowche) who lived in Cornhill.²⁵ The Crouch family was, however, armigerous, and Jane Crouch's other two sisters married into the gentry, her youngest sister, Anne, marrying “Henry Archer of Gray's Inn, Midx., Gent.,” and her middle sister, Sarah, Sir Anthony Hungerford, of an illustrious Berkshire family that was to provide both Royalist and Parliamentary commanders in the Civil War.²⁶

John Bargar, or Bargarve (as he was definitively to style himself from 1611 onward), is the first figure in this family's history from whom it is possible to retrieve a little interiority, a dimension of

his seven remaining children, after Robert, were baptized at Patricbourne, Sarah (fifth in line) was baptized at Tilmanstone in 1607 and John, the future collector, at Nonington on 18 November 1610. These two villages, together with Eythorne (the seat of John Boys's family and future parish of both Thomas and Isaac Bargrave), form a triangle just north of the Dover road and suggest a continuing connection based on landholding and links with the local gentry (see fig. 8).

It was, however, to be at Patricbourne that John Bargrave would establish the official seat of his family, when he received a grant of arms from Camden in 1611. It is worth mentioning that this was a particularly timely moment for the Bargrave (alias Bargar) family to become armigerous. On 11 December 1609, the Stuart court had celebrated an elaborate show of chivalric ceremony known, after the Prince of Wales and heir to the throne, as "Prince Henry's Barriers."³² The "House of Chivalry" was shown both ruined and restored, in what has been called an attempt "to revitalize English knighthood."³³ But is there any reason to suppose that this country landowner, who spent his summers as a soldier and his winters as a student of "public business," would have been affected by this brief attempt to lend the monarchy a chivalric mystique, which was to be halted abruptly by the death of the prince in 1612?

We can keep this question in suspension for the moment, while noting the fact that Bargrave's newly granted arms seem to have signaled, with a certain surprising transparency, the different sources of his fortune and fame. The heraldic description is: "Or, on a pale gules a sword erect argent, hilted and pomelled gold, on a chief azure three bezants. Crest: on a mount vert a pheon gules between two laurel branches proper."³⁴ The symbolism of the coat of arms that the younger John was to flaunt so proudly, in his portraits painted at Rome and Siena, was thus overridingly warlike. The "pheon" of the crest is an elaborately styled conventional arrowhead, bordered with the laurels that were customarily granted for military services. The erect sword, though present as a "sword of maintenance" in civic arms such as those of the cities of London and Haarlem, suggests in the personal context a direct evocation of martial valor. The

golden bezants, though they have been interpreted as referring to booty or ransom money taken in the course of Bargrave's campaigns, could just as well be an allusion to the ample dowry of the city merchant's daughter, Jane Crouch.

It may appear whimsical to interpret a coat of arms in this way, given that the symbols of heraldry are, by definition, conventional terms, whose purpose is primarily to achieve differentiation and recognition, rather than to broadcast the armigerous holder's self-estimate to the world. John Bargrave's connection with the herald Camden, secured through Sir Henry Wotton, may have helped to obtain the grant in the first place, but it is hardly likely (it may be held) that he would have determined the heraldic scheme. Against this point, it can be argued that John Bargrave the Elder was more than usually attentive to the power of signs. Pomian's semiophore-man, discussed in the previous section, is qualified to mediate between the Visible and the Invisible precisely because he withdraws objects from their utilitarian purpose and constitutes them as semiophores. But the question arises: Who is qualified to be a semiophore-man in a society in which the feudal hierarchy is yielding to the hegemony of bourgeois capitalism? Bargrave the Elder, I would suggest, saw his passage from yeoman to gentle status precisely in these terms. As a gentleman, he was qualified, indeed obliged, to express himself by converting the utilitarian into the semiophoric.

The chief evidence for this suggestion lies, however, not in the arms as such, but in the great house that Bargrave built for himself in the parish of Patricbourne, and which he called by the name of Bifrons. The house itself, after leaving the Bargrave family's possession in 1661, passed through the hands of a number of families, underwent successive remodelings, and was finally demolished in the 1950s.³⁵ Its only vestige, apart from the ground plan still visible in the Bifrons park, is the splendid painting in the collection of the Yale Center for British Art, which was originally thought to be of seventeenth-century origin but is now labeled "British School" and dated circa 1705-10.³⁶ Bargrave's building may have been enlarged and embellished by John Taylor, who bought the estate in 1694 and is credited in his memorial inscription with having "Rais'd a Beautiful Garden to

self-revelation and perhaps self-fashioning that redeems the rather arid catalogue of names and dates. And yet it is with the name, and its standardization, that we are first of all concerned. In the lists of arms granted by Camden, the noted historian and herald, who was a close friend of Sir Henry Wotton, there are five records of the grant made in September 1611 to "Bargraue alias Bargar" and to "John Bargraue alias Barger of Patricksborne in Kent."²⁷

What then was involved in this choice of name, which quickly displaced its alias? In its etymology, the surname Bargar, or Barger, is probably related to *barge* and so has lowly and strenuous connotations (perhaps recalling one of those "Gravesend barges," essential for journeying from Canterbury to London, which the collector Bargrave uses to compare with an Italian *felucca* in his *College of Cardinals* [38]). Bargrave, or Bargrove, is more likely to be derived from a place name, and there are several cognate examples of localities going under the same or similar names in East Kent. In the *Visitation of the County of Kent*, conducted in 1619 when the elder John's prosperity was at its height, he is listed in Philipott's genealogy as "Johannes Bargrave, de B'grave, in p'chia de Patricksborne" – John Bargrave, of Bargrave, in the parish of Patrixbourne – as if the proper name was derived from a house or estate.²⁸

Another curious factor in the overdetermination of this name is John's connection, through his marriage to Jane Crouch, to a well-born and weighty scholar known under the name of John Blagrove, who died in the year that Bargrave received his grant of arms. John Blagrove, son of John Blagrove of Bullmarsh, near Sunning in Berkshire, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford, had written treatises on navigation and (most recently) *The Art of Dyalling*, or setting up sundials, published in 1609.²⁹ He described himself on the title page of this last work as "John Blagrove of Reading, Gentleman, and Mathematician."

Whether or not John Bargrave the elder was influenced by the prestige of his distant family connection, there can be no doubt of his wish to appear a scholar, in addition to his primary vocation as a soldier, which he must have taken up several years after his marriage to Jane Crouch in 1597. The evidence lies in the

preamble to an extraordinary letter that he wrote to Lord Treasurer Middlesex in December 1623, which deserves to be quoted in full:

Right hoble after 10 yeares service in the warres in the summer time, and in my study in the wynter, whereby in some measure I informed my Judgment in publiq[ue] buisnesse, and 7 yeares since now latelie spent in observing the abuses of the Virginia Company, and studdying the meanes to rectifie them, being forced and necessitated to be an earnest follower, and studdyer of the same by losse of my Estate, I may now Claime to myselfe the right of being Maister in that art, Challenging all others that shall oppose what I write, and making it good that it is impossible for any one (that shall newly enter into the buisnesse) to be able to settle this Plantacon. I will take this proposicon for the ground of my maisterpiece, and proue by right reason (wch Plato saith is the ground of pollicie) That honors, liberties, and freedomes, togeather wth returne of profit, ordered to the Workeing of out pollitique Ends, would plant Virginia, and worke those effects wee all aimed at.³⁰

This revealing preamble, which immediately lets us into the mind and the predicament of the elder John Bargrave, also enables us to make a tentative chronology of his (and his family's) rise and first, albeit temporary, fall. The division of his past life that is made in the preamble seems to date his war service, doubtless as a mercenary in Flanders, to the years 1605 to 1615, and his anxious preoccupation with the fortunes of the Virginia Company to the years 1616 to 1623. This chronology was, however, interspersed with a further sequence of events that marked the ascent of the Bargraves to their apparently firm position within the minor gentry of East Kent.

John Bargrave the Elder's marriage to Jane Crouch, with the consequent accession of wealth, was in 1597, followed either in 1598 or in 1600 by the birth of their first son, Robert.³¹ The death of his father released a further amount of wealth in 1600, though the Kentish tenurial system of gavelkind meant that he did not, as eldest son, inherit the whole estate, and he may at this point have received the land in Patrixbourne, while his brothers and sisters acquired the land and tannery in Bridge. Although five of

John Bargrave the Elder was, of course, participating in a well-established, though by this date somewhat old-fashioned, custom of ornamenting grand facades with mottoes and texts: the verses from the Bible, also in Latin, which adorn Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire and date from 1624, are thought to be the last major example. It does indeed appear that Bargrave was himself freely adapting a biblical text for the purposes of architectural display. The King James Bible translates Proverbs 14.1 in the following way: "Every wise woman buildeth her house: but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands." But to identify the source of the motto is not to explain it. What did Bargrave mean by it? Was he, as with his armorial bearings, endowing a symbolic convention with a potent personal significance?

The implication of the motto is that Jane Crouch's dowry built up again what had earlier been "devastated." One piece of evidence suggests that this was indeed a literal description of what had happened. Lawrence Stone mentions a letter written to Sir Robert Cecil in the last years of the sixteenth century, in which "John Bargar . . . claimed to have spent nearly £2,000 as gentleman volunteer in four expeditions under the Earl of Essex."⁴¹ The dates undoubtedly fit the career of our John Bargrave, who could well have begun military service as a volunteer in the period between his call to the Bar (1590) and his marriage to the well-endowed Jane (1597). If so, and even allowing for the exaggeration that Stone detects as a feature of such begging letters to the Crown, it must be amply clear that the wealth and pretensions of the Bargar/Bargrave family went back more than a generation beyond John. Such a fact would accord with the otherwise puzzling feature that not only John and his male heirs, but also his siblings, soon began to bear the arms that he was granted in 1611. The grant made at that time is no longer on record at the College of Arms. But such a use could have been justified if the patent was worded as a confirmation – and hence as an acknowledgment of gentility that had already been recognized at some stage in the past.⁴²

That Jane Crouch's dowry saved the situation in 1597 seems probable. Yet it could not play this role a second time. For Bargrave's letter of December 1623, sent to the Lord Treasurer,

denoted a situation in his finances that was already close to desperate and would continue to deteriorate. It is not easy to determine at what stage John Bargrave the Elder began to invest heavily in the Virginia Company. But his connections with the City of London and the County of Kent must have inclined him in that direction. Laslett notes that, from the foundation of the company in 1606, the Kentish gentry had begun to recreate their "interrelationships . . . in the area of the James river."⁴³ Of John Bargrave's brothers, Thomas, as mentioned previously, spent a large part of his life as a church minister in Virginia,⁴⁴ while a further brother, George, married the daughter of an important ship owner and pioneer planter, Captain John Martin. The records of the Virginia Company contain a letter, dated 11 June 1618, "concerning the venture of a pinnace to Virginia with John Bargrave."⁴⁵ An entry of 17 May 1620 records a patent of indentures for land in the Southampton hundred made out to "Cap. John Bargrave and his associate."⁴⁶

It may well be that Bargrave's substantial commitment to Virginia was only undertaken at this late date, even though he had "observed the abuses" of the company since 1616. If so, he could not have plunged in at a worse time. Around 1620, the affairs of the company had resulted in a growing polarization between the "court" and the "liberal" factions, the latter of which was to gain ascendancy after Sir Edwin Sandys was reelected treasurer, to King James's great displeasure.⁴⁷ Sandys was to encourage the Pilgrim Fathers to choose Virginia as their place of settlement in 1620, and his dominance was antagonistic not only to the theological but also to the financial interests of John Bargrave, who was forced to bring a lawsuit against the company "with references to losses . . . by being prohibited from free trade in Virginia according to his patent."⁴⁸ The year 1622 was a black date in the history of the colony, since a massacre of the settlers by a group of Native Americans led to a general crisis of confidence in the future of the territory. But by this stage, Captain Bargrave (as he is styled in the documents) was involved in a worsening sequence of claims and counterclaims that necessitated his attendance at the Court of the Virginia Company in February 1622 and led to him being recorded as in debt to the company one year later, for the sum of "£512-10-0."⁴⁹

Bifrons." On the other hand, as the memorial makes no mention of architectural additions, it may well be that the house in the painting remains substantially as Bargrave built it. In any event, no one but Bargrave gave it the name that it was to retain throughout its history: the enigmatic and possibly significant name of Bifrons (fig. 10).

What was the origin and meaning of this name? The Latin word *bifrons* simply means "double-fronted" – an architectural term cognate with the "quadrifrons," or triumphal arch facing four ways, which the Romans had erected at Richborough, near Sandwich, as a monument to their landing in Britain ("Accessus Britanniae"). Although the painting obviously only shows one facade in full, it is possible to deduce from it that John Bargrave the Elder's fine new house had two contrasting facades, one opening onto a garden and the other no doubt providing access for coaches.³⁷ But it is worth pursuing this interpretation further. Bifrons was a customary epithet for the Latin deity Janus, the door to whose temple was traditionally closed when the Roman Empire was enjoying a universal peace. This was a meaning well understood by Bargrave's contemporaries; the poet Thomas Carew celebrated Charles I's peace with Spain in 1629 with a poem incorporating the following lines:

But, Byfront, open thou no more,
In his blest raigne, the temple dore.³⁸

Given that John Bargrave the Elder had ceased his "10 yeares service in the warres" around 1615, it seems more than likely that he chose to invest the term *Bifrons* with this special significance. It was to be not only a house of original design but one whose design and name bespoke the fact that the soldier who had won his coat of arms in 1611 was retiring from the wars and devoting himself to more peaceful pursuits. I have to admit that there is no evidence that *Bifrons* was ever interpreted in this way. Nonetheless, when the younger John Bargrave and his traveling companions visited that paragon of modern house design, Palladio's Villa Rotunda near Vicenza, their account records how inappropriate it was to compare it to the Pantheon: "in my opinion it more resembles the Temple of *Janus Quadrifrons*, for it hath foure faces and foure Gates" (MI 225). It is no surprise that the three

travelers who were all familiar with the splendid new house at Patricbourne would have had this particular comparison ready to mind.

There were also good reasons why the optimistic life plan and the symbolic program of John Bargrave the Elder should have both turned sour in retrospect, as the ascent of the 1610s was followed by a harrowing decline in the 1620s. The year of the heraldic Visitation of John Philipott, Rouge Dragon, 1619, marks the acme of his fortunes. The house was now built, and a copy of Philipott's documentation (transcribed in the hand of the eighteenth-century Kentish historian Hasted) records triumphantly under the genealogical entry of "Johannis Bargrave": "aedificavit Bifrons in Par. de Patricksborne Ar" (He built Bifrons in the Parish of Patricbourne. Armiger). More evidence of the heraldic splendor displayed in the new seat is contained in Sir Henry St. George's Visitation of London in the early 1630s, when the line of Bargrave's father-in-law, Giles Crouch of Cornhill, was also scrutinized. "Jane da. of Giles Crouch wife to John Bargrave of Bifrons" is listed and a note appended to the wealthy haberdasher's blazon records: "The Armes of Giles Crouch as they are impaled with John Bargrave who married his daughter which Mr. Phillipott hath seene."³⁹

Jane Bargrave, née Crouch, was also the recipient of a more direct tribute, and one that galvanized the attention of a scholar like Hasted, long after the estate of Bifrons had passed out of the hands of the Bargrave family. He notes in his *History of Kent* that "the builder of [Bifrons], in commendation of his wife, placed this motto on the fore front: *Diruta aedificat uxor bona, aedificata diruit mala*."⁴⁰ No material traces or (as far as can be determined) visual records exist of this striking inscription, which must have been placed (as Hasted implies) on the facade that remains invisible in the painting: A good wife builds up what has been devastated, a bad wife devastates what has been built up. Granted that the form of the text must have been to some extent determined by the binary symmetry of the facade, it is at the same time a slightly enigmatic, even disquieting, tribute to the ample dowry and sterling personal qualities of Jane Crouch. In what sense might she have been "building up what has been devastated?"

the armigerous status that he had acquired, with rising expectations, two decades before.

Yet there is one dividend, from our point of view, of John Bargrave's long and distressing ordeal. This is the series of treatises on the government of Virginia, no less than five in all, that he composed in a fruitless attempt to prevail upon the King to become more directly concerned in the government of the ailing colony. These works of political science, though far from unknown, have rarely been taken seriously. Charles M. Andrews refers disparagingly to Bargrave as a "persistent constitution-monger," in his history of the Colonial Period.⁵⁶ The biographer of George Sandys, a relative of Bargrave's opponent, describes him as "a minor Virginia planter . . . evidently personally quite eccentric."⁵⁷ In both of these cases, we might say, the historian's chosen subject leads them to dismiss Bargrave with scant attention: he was, as Andrews remarks, "an ardent believer in the divine right of kings."

But the fact that Bargrave was on the losing side, both in his disputes with the Virginia Company and in his prognostications for the future of the American colonies, should not blind us to the intrinsic interest of his proposals. His scheme for Virginia is the fruit of the long periods of retirement in his study, during the winter months, referring as it does to Plato and to examples from Greek and Roman history. But it is also the fruit of his military service in the Low Countries and his meditation on the fortunes of contemporary rulers. Of his central aim, which is to "tie Virginia as fast to England as if it were one Terra firma wth it," he states: "The hinte of it I had from Charles the 5th, and if he himselfe or King Philip his sonne, had vsed the like policie in the West Indyces, low Countries, Millaine, Naples, and the rest of his provinces to Mayntayne his Sovereignetye there, he had not spent so many Millions to keep Garrisons as he hath done, neither would his provinces be so readie to fall from him as now they wilbe if his plate fleet should faile him."⁵⁸

The essence of Bargrave's "polisie" is thus to annihilate the factor of geographical difference. His motto might have been: As in Kent, so in Virginia. Yet it is not merely an abstract principle that is being vindicated. Bargrave himself volunteers to lead "a

sufficient Number of men that haue good Estates here to plant in Virginia." His own interest as a virtual bankrupt is amply evident in his reminder that Junius Brutus, after the Battle of Cannae, "was forced for want of men to set at liberty all the prisoners indebted, and to discharge their debte on Condiscon, that they would serue the State. . . ." In addition, however, to offering "helpe for some industrious Gentlemen indebted; and decaying in their Estate," Bargrave proposes nothing less than a comprehensive form of government, whose indissolubility from the English Crown is secured through bold and experimental social policies. The key to his proposal is that enough "patriots" should be found, "having good estates in England," who will settle in the colony with a retinue of three hundred men each.⁵⁹ But, having crossed the ocean, the patriots and their dependents create a society in which merit, rather than preexisting privilege, is the prevailing norm:

. . . wee wish that the heires and eldest sonnes of the upper orders may marrie with the daughters of the lower orders, soe to rayse their wives fortunes. And that the daughteres of the upper orders being heires may marrye with the sonnes of the lower orders, making choice of the most vertuous, soe as vertue may advance both men and woemen to marriages, and that all degrees may bee thereby bound together in the bonds of love that none may be scorned but the scorner.⁶⁰

Bargrave's lengthy recommendations, which can only be briefly evoked here, range from Utopian social engineering, as above, to points of incongruously precise detail, such as the provision of large flat-bottomed vessels, "like those they tearme flutes in the Low Countries, that in transporteing our men they may laye drye in them till their houses are made or built." They even include provisions that betoken a certain knowledge of the mathematical sciences, as when he lists the sixty permutations of three terms that will ensure that "the same 3 men shall not in 5 yeares space meete together to bee presidentes" of the ruling council.⁶¹ But the fundamental feature remains the fact that this experimental, irenic community should in no way diverge from the monarchical government of Britain, as the Puritan faction was already tending to do. Bargrave stipulates:

How had Bargrave financed his Virginian enterprises? It seems likely that, after Bifrons was built, he had decided that an aggressive mercantile strategy was necessary to raise his family further in the social scale, as their splendid new house warranted. It is also probable that, by this stage, Jane Crouch's dowry had been entirely laid out, in the consolidation of the estate and the building of the house. Bargrave must have borrowed money, or entered into an agreement of deferred payment, to support his ventures, and, in the mid-1620s, the pigeon came home to roost. The "loss of my Estate" mentioned in the letter to the Lord Treasurer is quantified in a contemporary petition at the truly enormous sum of 6000 pounds. If this was the amount of Bargrave's counterclaim, calculated on the amount he had lost through miscarriages of government in the colony, the sum owed to the Virginia Company was both real and substantial.

The Court of the Company being unable to settle the dispute, the suit was passed on to the King's Privy Council, which initially commented "how weakly they found the same [complaint] grounded one the said Bargrave's parte" and ordered him to "forbeare from troubling any farther his Majestie or the Boarde with this cause."⁵⁰ Bargrave responded immediately with a "humble petition," which led them to modify their harshness: "shewing that by reason of greate losses and decay of his estate, whereunto he is fallen by misadventure and ill successe of some former good endeavours of his tending to publique service, [he] is now become farr indebted and much pressed by hard and greedy creditors, to the utter ruine of himself and his family."⁵¹ The point about the "publique service," which Bargrave had rendered in his Virginian ventures, was obviously received with some degree of sympathy by the council, who alluded to it in their judgment, together with a now astronomical estimate of the total losses:

Whereas John Bargrave, esquire, hath made humble suit unto us shewing that being growne into debt to the summe of 7500 li., for the discharging whereof and of his suerties he is willing to tender his whole estate liable to the said debt unto his creditors, and hath therefore bin a suitor unto us to write our letters unto some persons of qualitie, to call before them his creditors

and suerties, and to take order between them for the good of both the parties and satisfaction of his said creditors and discharge of his suerties out of his estate, which is in land; however we are very cautious to intermeddle in business of this kind, yet in regard that we have taken notice of the great damages which the said John Bargrave hath of late received in his estate, which he both adventured in courses in themselves verie commendable and tending much to the advancement of the publique good. . . .⁵²

The upshot of this wordy judgment is therefore that the demands of Bargrave's creditors, which must have become importunate, were staved off, so that the bankruptcy (since that, in anachronistic terms, is what it was) could be managed in an orderly way. Only as late as 26 June 1624 was the protection granted in the name of the king finally removed at the behest of one Willyam Wilkes, who was owed 200 pounds: "their Lordships have ordered that there shall be no further order bee entred for mooving his Majestie to renewe the said protection again."⁵³

How, if at all, did John Bargrave the Elder raise these large sums of money, secured against his landed estate? The revenue of Bifrons has been estimated at £190 per year,⁵⁴ and though this figure probably relates to a period two decades after the catastrophe, there is no doubt that payment in full of the sum of £7500 would have ruined him. Did he sell land that he had inherited from his father and maybe borrow from his newly acquired cousins among the gentry of East Kent? It is impossible to say. But what is quite certain is that the household at Bifrons, so cheerfully arrayed for Philipott's Visitation of 1619, must have been blighted by the events of 1622--24. It is doubtful whether John Bargrave the Elder can ever have recovered from the drastic reversal of his fortunes. The last occasion on which his name is mentioned in official papers is a pathetic one: on 31 May 1630, he sends his servant to the Privy Council to account for his failure to find "such Armes as he is charged with" and undertakes by proxy "to attend the Lord Chamberlaine, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Kent."⁵⁵ Whether because of continuing financial embarrassment or because he was a broken man, or for both reasons, John Bargrave had failed to live up to the obligation of

John Bargrave

that from the time that the patriot shall bee planted abroad, his estate of inheritance in England, together with his honoures titles and inheritance in Virginea, shall bee soe united and made one to him and his heires that he shall not sell the one without the other, and that sale to bee made by the consent of our councill of union in Virginea and our Virginea councill in England. . . .⁶²

Bargrave's proposal probably did not get past the Lord Treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, whose "practical and mercantile mind" (it has been suggested) would not have warmed to it.⁶³ The fact that it made any headway at all was due to the acrimonious debate within the Virginia Company around 1623, when Sir Nathaniel Rich, a kinsman of the Earl of Warwick, seems to have viewed the proposal as a useful weapon against the Puritan faction.⁶⁴ But this should not be allowed to obscure the historical interest of the elder Bargrave's vision of a New World, where "the heades of these colonies are sparkes derived from our hereditorie monarchie."⁶⁵ As his proposals have always been viewed in connection with the history of the Virginia Company, and thus proleptically as reactionary ideas with no relevance to the future development of the United States, their relevance to the immediate context from which they sprang has been neglected.

It is, indeed, in the article by Peter Laslett that has previously been quoted, that Bargrave's ideas find a special resonance, by virtue of the fact that they originated in early seventeenth-century Kent. As Laslett notes: "Patriarchalism and the patriarchal family did more than hold together the county communities: they bound town and country together and made possible emigration overseas."⁶⁶ Kent, during this period, was the paradigm case of a general rule that bound the county to the Crown, and the Crown, by way of the county, to the new communities being founded overseas. Of course, Laslett is making his case for the special patriarchal character of Kent in order to give a context to one of the most surprising and influential political texts of the seventeenth century, yet one that must have been, at the time of writing, as obscure as Bargrave's series of proposals – the *Patriarcha* of Sir Robert Filmer. He is explaining why a Kentish gentleman living in seclusion near Maidstone (surrounded, however,

by cousins and connections) should have produced a treatise on patriarchal government whose message rapidly took fire after the Civil War, when it became one of the main political alternatives to the contractual theory of government developed by Locke. He is outlining a far-reaching, and highly surprising, destiny for Filmer's analogy between the family and the state:

Such then were the gentry of Kent in 1640. The most characteristic thing they produced was the political thinking of Sir Robert Filmer and the most surprising was the society of the Old South in the United States.⁶⁷

It would be absurd to pit Bargrave's proposals for Virginia against Filmer's more sophisticated and intellectually coherent arguments. Nevertheless, the context outlined by Laslett applies to both Bargrave and Filmer. Indeed, the recent redating of Filmer's writings pushes them back, from the eve of the Civil War, to the period around 1630, which is only a few years removed from Bargrave's "constitution-mongering"⁶⁸ No direct connection need be proved between the two Kentish gentlemen. But at least it may be asserted that, in his defiantly patriarchal vision of Kent and Virginia, John Bargrave the Elder was no less "characteristic."



This is part of the story that lies behind the memorial inscription in Patixbourne Church, composed by John Bargrave the Younger. Being born in 1610, he must have witnessed the early splendor of the family: his father's return from the wars, and the gradual construction, over several years, of the great house of Bifrons. He must have been able to range over it and discover its innermost recesses, just at the time when a child leaves infancy and begins to explore the outside world for himself. He must have seen the heraldic shields of Bargrave impaling Crouch, the badge of his own armigerous status, and the perplexing inscription that recorded his mother's virtues across one facade of the double-fronted building. Then, as he began to enter adolescence, he must have observed the increasing disarray and disturbance at Bifrons: his father now more often than not absent, once again, as he pursued his suit in London, and his mother incapable, in these sad circumstances, of repairing the devastation of the House of Bargrave.

One small historical detail refers, obliquely, to his situation during these years. It comes from the last traveler's account that John Bargrave the Younger wrote, in 1675, when, as Receiver-General of the revenues of the Dean and Chapter, he set out to make a thorough survey of the Cathedral estates. With reference to the "Chartham Mantion or Deanery," which had traditionally been the country residence of the head of the foundation, he reminisced:

When my uncle Dean Boyne [sic] lived there, I used to goe thither on Saturday night and come back to School on Monday mornings. Then there was a large Pond and a handsome Moate rownd about the house full of Trowts, with a boate and a nett to fish the ponde, in which was kept 2 swans that had their nest among the Reeds, now that and the Moate is allmost all quite dry.⁶⁹

John Bargrave was at the King's School, in the close of Canterbury Cathedral, between 1623 and 1626, and his aunt's husband, John Boys, died at the end of 1625. The otherwise purely practical jottings of the Receiver-General here open up a little, so that through the chink we can observe an idyllic episode in his early adolescence. But why was the idyll so compelling? If John was the guest of his uncle and aunt at weekends, this can only have been because it was impossible for him to go home to Bifrons. Patrixbourne and Chartham are roughly equidistant from Canterbury, and both are within easy walking distance. The inescapable conclusion seems to be that, during these years of crisis in his father's fortunes, Bifrons was shut up, or at least a place where one further child would have been an additional burden. John had at least four sisters, some of them of marriageable age, and it is possible that they, and his mother, were boarded out on other relatives.

The Patrixbourne inscription, in its laconic generality, could be seen as subsuming this early experience of dispossession as well as the later, definitive sale of the estate. "Stetit et cecidit familia." Yet was it in fact the family's participation in the Civil War that caused its downfall? One of the most surprising things about the history of the Bargrave family is that, after the brief entry of 1630 relating to his failure to find arms, there is no

mention of John the Elder nor, indeed, of his wife. He would have been seventy in 1640, on the eve of the Civil War, and it is highly unlikely that he would have borne arms in the Kentish uprisings that led to the disastrous Battle of Maidstone in 1648. If he did linger on, through the 1630s and 1640s, it would have been as an old and, no doubt, broken man, taking little part in the great events of the times or, indeed, in the future of his family.

These speculations are underlined, if not positively confirmed, by the fact that the eldest son of the family, Robert Bargrave, did in fact noticeably take the helm and succeeded in restoring Bifrons and the Bargrave family to their respectable position, for a brief period. He did it, as his father had done before him, by going to the wars and by marrying a rich wife. A document of the Privy Council, dated 31 July 1627, shows him to be in command of "the good shipp, called the *Loyaltie*" and "appointed to goe to Plymouth for the embarqueing and transporting of 200 souldiers to be sent over to the Isle of Jersey."⁷⁰ Captain Robert Bargrave was thus involved in the ferrying and provisioning of troops that were making their way, via the English island of Jersey, to the ill-fated expedition against the French at Ile de Ré. Even in this assignment, it seems possible that he was benefiting from his Kentish connections, however, as the Governor of Jersey at this time was Sir John Peyton, a cousin of Sir Thomas Peyton of Knowlton.

In 1635, Robert Bargrave of Bifrons married Elizabeth Peyton, sister of Sir Thomas and daughter of Sir Samuel Peyton, in Canterbury Cathedral. The alliance with this ancient and illustrious family, which originated in the Isle of Ely and numbered no less than four baronets among the heads of its branches, gave the Bargraves a new cousinage among the prominent gentry of East Kent and must have brought at the same time a substantial dowry.⁷¹ On 13 September 1638, we find Robert writing to his sister-in-law, Anne Oxinden, at Denton House, with the news that he is and his wife are about "to make a Christian of a young man yt is come abroade into ye world," and inviting them to come to "a shorte Dinner" and celebrate.⁷² Perhaps this is also the boy child about whom he writes to the same correspondent in a rather more solemn vein, when the baby is "weake and

John was
the boy
Robert
Peyton

froward" and needs the continuing presence of the wet nurse found by Anne Oxinden.⁷³ If so, it could be the luckless John Bargrave of the Patribourne inscription, "haeres a ruinis in Ruinas," who was already showing his lack of robustness.

No mention is made of the elder John Bargrave, the founder of Bifrons, in this correspondence. Robert, who had taken the Christian name of his grandfather, the yeoman and tanner of Bridge, just as he was to give his eldest son his father's name of John, acts as the head of the family. By 1641, he is a Justice of the Peace, as we may judge from the long letter written to him by his brother-in-law, Henry Oxinden, recommending clemency for "Goodwife Gilnot," who has been accused of witchcraft.⁷⁴ In 1648, it must undoubtedly be Robert, and not his father, who plays a decisive role in the Kentish uprising in support of King Charles I. Matthew Carter's contemporary account tells how the insurgent Kentish men march to the coast, with the aim of establishing a liaison with the navy, "leaving in Deale Anthony Hammond, Esq. and Cap. Bargrave, who had formerly been an officer of the Navie; (both Justices of the Peace, and gallant discreet men) . . . as Commissioners for the managing of the businesse there, and in the Fleet."⁷⁵ Because of this prior assignment, Robert Bargrave probably missed the slaughter of the Battle of Maidstone.

It would, however, be a mistake to try to drive a wedge between the younger Captain Bargrave and his father, veteran of the Spanish wars and unsuccessful propagandist for a patriarchal Virginia. Even Robert Bargrave's negotiations with the navy, which hinged on the possibility that, at this crucial stage in the Civil War, the naval command might have made common cause with the disaffected Royalist gentry of the southeastern counties, must have been directed at the ambiguous person of the Earl of Warwick, their commander-in-chief and the leader of the faction with whom his father had ingratiated himself in pursuing his Virginian business. Robert's royalism was patriarchal, and the network of connections that he developed was evidently an amplification of his father's.

The most curious and unsettling aspect of the Patribourne inscription may therefore be accounted for, though much of the

reasoning behind my contention is inevitably based on speculation. No dates are given for the deaths of John the Elder and Robert or, indeed, for those of their wives: even the "Uxor bona" is without a name. The obvious point is that John Bargrave and his wife, Jane Crouch, had never had a conventional tomb erected as a memorial: their bodies had been placed in the Bifrons vault, which John (in the time of his prosperity) had purchased for his family, but the individual ruin of the family and the general ruin of the Civil War had prevented this public acknowledgment of their virtues and their parentage. If we suppose that they died as late as the early 1640s, then it is easy to see that Robert's brief period of prosperity, for less than a decade after his marriage to Elizabeth Peyton, would not have been adequate for the planning and construction of a monument to the founder of Bifrons.

It is therefore left to John the Younger to make a simple act of restitution, now that his brother and sister-in-law have also vanished, in the last years of the Interregnum. His inscription conflates the generations; it is written in the patriarchal mode, to which the fate of the women must be merely subsidiary. It condenses the boy's vivid and unsettling experience of his family's first overwhelming crisis into the man's more mature awareness of the long and devastating Civil War. Above all, it registers and laments the loss of Bifrons, with its impotent heir, from the point of view of a mourner who is also the writer of the inscription, and therefore confirms his own identity in the very act of mourning. In announcing that he, as mourner and writer, is also a prebendary of the Church of Christ at Canterbury, it deflects our attention, finally, from the abandoned House of Bifrons to the enduring monument whose Tudor tower is just visible in the eighteenth-century painting of the now alienated estate.

By 1663, then, John Bargrave the Younger's stake was not in the family estate but, rather in the community of the Dean and Chapter, eventually heirs to his collection. But he had made the choice many years before – and indeed the choice had already been made for him – when he was launched on an academic and clerical career. As mentioned before, with reference to his uncle Isaac, it was the custom of prosperous Kentish families to steer

the intellectually disposed younger sons in the direction of the church. Kent, with its traditional tenure of gavelkind, had been the exception among English counties in favoring a more equal distribution of family wealth without regard to primogeniture. But even in Kent, the tendency in the early seventeenth century was toward the "disgaveling" of land, despite the opposition of Parliament. John Bargrave the Elder's decision to establish his family seat in Patricbourne, rather than Bridge, may well have been influenced by the fact that the land in this parish was held in socage (i.e., by knight service) and so not liable to gavelkind.⁷⁶ Certainly, the crisis in his fortunes and the responsibility placed upon Robert to marry advantageously and establish the Bifrons line would have dispensed John the Younger from any continuing interest in the estate. After his period at the King's School, which ended in 1626, there is an unexplained gap of more than two years in his biography, during which he may well have begun his travels on the other side of the Channel.⁷⁷ But on 8 July 1629, he was admitted to Peterhouse, Cambridge; he was to remain there, gradually climbing the collegiate hierarchy, until his ejection in 1644.⁷⁸

Bargrave's fifteen years at Peterhouse require us to look more closely at the ecclesiastical politics of the period preceding the Civil War, in which the University of Cambridge was deeply implicated. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the ideological conflicts that he witnessed in that academic community were unrelated to the issues that were already resounding in his own family and that his father's strenuous defense of patriarchal government against the Puritan faction in the Virginia Company found no echo in the debates that divided the Cambridge scholars. Quite the reverse, the ideas defended by the elder Bargrave become comprehensible when they too are placed in a much wider intellectual and political context. The polarization of factions in the Virginia Company around 1620 was itself a symptom of a radical polarization that was taking place in those years not only in England, but in the whole of northern Europe, and particularly in those territories that the elder Bargrave's war service had familiarized him with. As Hugh Trevor-Roper has outlined, the year 1618 saw a gathering of "storm-clouds" first of

all in Central Europe and then, by inevitable contagion, in the Netherlands, where the moderate voices of Grotius and Oldenbarnevelt were overwhelmed in the growing cacophony of warring Catholics and Calvinists. The Synod of Dordt, in 1619, resulted in the ascendancy of the rigid Calvinists over the so-called Arminians, who had defended a middle way between the factions. It could not fail to have immediate repercussions in England, since the Elizabethan consensus was also essentially a middle way and therefore vulnerable both to the attacks of radical Calvinism and to the inevitable tendency of anti-Calvinism to acquire itself, in the acrimony of dispute, an extreme character.⁷⁹

Looking back from a period less prone to contention, at least in religious matters, T. S. Eliot praised and endorsed the "via media," which was for him "the spirit of Anglicanism," and associated its virtues with two figures in particular: Richard Hooker and Lancelot Andrewes.⁸⁰ There is good reason to suppose that Isaac and John, the two Bargrave churchmen, would have been permeated by the good sense and distaste for fanaticism that characterized these two substantial writers and teachers. Richard Hooker, indeed, had spent the last years of his life in retirement as Rector of Bishopsbourne, the village adjacent to Bridge. As Alan Everitt has put it, referring to two leading gentlemen of the Civil War period in Kent: "The appeal of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity . . . to history, law, and reason as well as the literal teaching of the Bible powerfully attracted men of the antiquarian cast of Dering and Twysden."⁸¹ Isaac Bargrave, of course, had married a member of the Dering family and, as we shall see, shared fully in the antifundamentalist ethos that Hooker had succeeded in diffusing throughout the English church, but especially in his own county.

Lancelot Andrewes was active in another sphere, ultimately as Bishop of Chichester and then Winchester, but for the first part of his life particularly in the University of Cambridge. H. C. Porter's account of religious life in Tudor Cambridge notes Hooker's memorable writings "on the theme of order" and points out that "such a conception of the Christian world picture was being . . . popularly expounded in the Cambridge of the early 1580s," when Andrewes was achieving intellectual maturity.⁸²

But if Andrewes's writings considered the orderly nature of the universe on a philosophical level, stressing (as Porter points out) the "correspondence of musical consonance and the harmony of God's universe," his views inevitably became associated with a more practical tendency in churchmanship, "which led to an enhanced ceremonialism in worship and high claims for episcopacy as the indispensable sign of a true Church."⁸³

Lancelot Andrewes was no longer at Cambridge when Isaac Bargrave went up to the university in the early 1600s. But his influence was still especially strong in Pembroke College, where he had matriculated in 1571 and held the office of Master for six years, ending in 1595. It was from Pembroke that Isaac gained his B.A. degree in 1606–7,⁸⁴ before going on to Clare in the steps of his brother-in-law, John Boys. It was also at Pembroke that Isaac formed a close friendship with the pupil and spiritual successor of Lancelot Andrewes, Matthew Wren, the future Bishop of Ely and uncle of the architect Sir Christopher. Their two careers ran parallel, at least at the early stages, with both becoming chaplains to the Prince of Wales (the future Charles I): in 1625, when Isaac Bargrave became Dean of Canterbury, Matthew Wren was elected Master of the adjoining college to Pembroke, Peterhouse. He was in office in 1629, when his friend's nephew, John Bargrave, was admitted, and remained until 1634, when he was made Bishop of Hereford.

Isaac Bargrave was therefore qualified, by virtue of his Kentish and his Cambridge connections, in the *via media* of Elizabethan Anglicanism. His horizons were, however, to be expanded to a European scale by the patronage of the Kentish gentleman and luminary Sir Henry Wotton, for which he was probably indebted (as he was for the living of Eythorne) to the Boys connection. Sir Henry, who was British Ambassador to the Republic of Venice for a large part of the first twenty years of the century, seems to have taken special care in his selection of young and promising clerics to add to his suite. His first choice, arriving in April 1607, was William Bedell, future bishop of the Irish diocese of Kilmore and noted Anglican divine.⁸⁵ Isaac Bargrave was chosen to join the embassy nearly ten years later and stayed till 1618, when he returned to marry Elizabeth Dering. A letter from Matthew Wren

to his "very faithful and dear friend," then spending time among the Venetians, is dated August 1616.⁸⁶

Isaac Bargrave's Venetian stay not only earned him the commendation of Sir Henry Wotton, who sent him back with letters of introduction to King James I, but also vividly illuminated the religious and political situation in Europe as a whole, which was to be the framework for his own, subsequent career in the English church. Bedell, the first chaplain, had been in Venice when, on 5 October 1607, the assassins sent by the Pope tried to murder the famous "Chiefe Counsellour of the Signory of Venice in Affaires Ecclesiasticall," Paolo Sarpi (usually known as Father Paulo). Sarpi, whose *History of the Council of Trent* had challenged the legitimacy and authority of the papacy of the Counter-Reformation, was a liberal churchman benefiting from the relaxed policies of the Venetian Senate, and he was also a close friend and ally of Sir Henry Wotton, who saw in the political and ecclesiastical autonomy of Venice a strong asset for British foreign policy.

Isaac Bargrave's association with Father Paulo, who luckily escaped his assassins, is celebrated in a manuscript sketch of his life that also catalogues its future successes and its final sad irony. Here he is described as "a Gentleman of an unwearied study, great travels, intimate acquaintance with Padre Paulo of Venice, who told him that the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England were Ye most primitive of any in the World."⁸⁷ In this expansive claim, made by the Venetian historian, scientist and antipapal propagandist to the young English embassy chaplain, we can gauge the ecumenical promise of those years, before the Synod of Dort, when the Anglican conception of a *via media* seemed to find responsive echoes throughout Europe. We can sense the real, though elusive, attraction of a view of contemporary politics and statecraft that relegated simultaneously the predatory designs of the post-Tridentine papacy and the narrow preoccupations of militant Calvinism. If Isaac was to be captivated by this vision in his youth, his nephew John, who reached intellectual maturity at a time when the Anglican position had been thoroughly undermined by events in England and Europe, turned it into an image of mythic fixity. As we shall see, it betrays

itself in the fact that, however strongly he repudiates the Puritan regicides, he places them no higher in his demonology than the emissaries of Rome.

To the young John Bargrave, the brilliant ecclesiastical career of his uncle Isaac must have appeared, as he attended school and university, a fortunate counterexample to his father's financial imbroglio, though he must also have been increasingly aware of the hostility to Isaac's style of churchmanship. To quote from the manuscript memoir again: he was "of great esteem with the Parliament 1622. 1623. 1624. 1626. 1627. 1628. who took the sacrament constantly at his hands at St Margaret's Westm[inster] where he was many years the faithfull Minister; and Advice from his mouth often at Convocation whereof he was several times an eminent and active member."⁸⁸ True to the example of Lancelot Andrewes, and to his brother-in-law and patron Dean John Boys, Isaac was a powerful speaker of sermons, who must have been particularly at home in the parish church of the two houses of parliament. Even though his brother John, in the early 1620s, was pursuing his fruitless vendetta against the Puritan faction in the Virginia Company, Isaac had learned enough in Venice to recognize that the covert plans of the Catholic party posed no less a threat to the integrity of government. As the memoir claims: "He had suffered for his zeal in a sermon before the Parliament 1623 . . . against Papery, Evil Counsellors, and Corruption." The price of this outspoken sermon, which (unlike other contemporary ones) seems not to have been authorized for publication, was no doubt the high displeasure of the old King James I, who did not appreciate such direct and uncompromising advice.

Isaac Bargrave's credit was saved by the change of monarch, and the accession to the throne of Charles I in 1625 secured a sudden acceleration in his career. Not only had he been chaplain to the young king, but he was connected, through the Derings, to the family of the mother of the royal favorite, the egregious Duke of Buckingham.⁸⁹ This makes the contemporary accusation that he obtained the post of Dean of Canterbury, in 1625, by bribing the duke more than plausible; even if no financial transaction took place, it is certain that Buckingham's credit with the King

would have been drawn on for all that it was worth, in order to secure his succession to the office unexpectedly vacated by his brother-in-law. Once installed, Isaac Bargrave took care to frame his warnings against popery – no less necessary since the Queen, Henrietta Maria, had become a focus of Catholic intrigue – in a more positive fashion than previously. In a sermon preached before King Charles on 27 March 1627, later published "By His Maiestie's Speciall Command," he declared himself unflinchingly in favor of the divine right of kings:

*Kings are Gods Christs on earth (as the Psalmist calls them). They are neither from Pope nor people, as some would have it; but hold in Capite immediately from God. . . . No man hath learn'd to disobey his King, but he had learn'd before to disobey his God. Oh, let us all therefore take heed, That while we flye from Idolatry, we runne not into Rebellion.*⁹⁰

Yet Dean Bargrave's forthrightness did not prevent him from coming under attack from the very quarters where he hoped to gain favor. In acquiring the Dean's office, he had consolidated the position of his family within the Kentish gentry and was qualified to be a spokesman of that fiercely traditional and unfeignedly Royalist group. Sitting by right as a magistrate at the county court of Maidstone, he held civil as well as ecclesiastical power.⁹¹ When it was a question of a member of Parliament for Kent, to serve in the Short Parliament of 1640, he was to use his influence successfully in promoting the cause of his relative Sir Edward Dering.⁹² But Bargrave's local power was limited by the fiercely intrusive policies of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England, who seems to have sought out the occasions to meddle in the affairs of the Dean who bore his own territorial marker. In 1627, Isaac Bargrave was assigned the living of Lydd, on the South Kent coast, by "Abbot's collation"; another candidate, however, was presented by the King, and Laud, assisted by the bishops of his persuasion, after several months quashed "the admission of the said Bargrave."⁹³

Laud may have had a genuine interest in vindicating the royal authority on this occasion, however injurious his method. But it is difficult to defend his action in a further confrontation with the Dean, when Laud launched an attack on the foreign churches

servicing the various non-English communities in towns like Canterbury and Sandwich. Laud made no secret of his view that these churches were “nests and occasions of schism” and ordered Dean Bargrave and his chapter to enforce the principle that all foreigners born in England should be obliged to attend only English churches. Bargrave attempted a conciliatory posture, when the injunctions were delivered, mildly suggesting to the foreign ministers that “they might go down into the [dean’s] garden and there talk and communicate together.”⁹⁴ But Laud was not to be dissuaded, and the protestations of Dean and Chapter, Mayor and Corporation, not to mention the gentry and justices of the peace, could not delay the execution of his policy.

It is ironic that, in the entry on Isaac Bargrave in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, this incident is recounted back to front, with the Dean pressing for the foreign churches to come into line, and the archbishop showing his disapproval of the Dean’s “high-handed orders.”⁹⁵ Isaac Bargrave did indeed acquire a reputation for autocratic behavior, while the evidence of a confrontation like this suggests that he was altogether on the side of reconciliation, especially when the good order and traditional customs of his county and city were involved. What is beyond doubt is that Bargrave’s *via media* – the Anglicanism deriving from Lancelot Andrewes, whose ecumenical significance had been endorsed by Father Paulo – proved an increasingly arduous route to follow, as the Laudians and the Puritans polarized opinions in the English church.

Throughout the 1630s, however, Isaac Bargrave continued his tenure as Dean, in relative tranquillity. He seems to have retained the taste for the theater, which he had already shown as a young fellow at Cambridge, and maybe it was a repeat performance of Ruggle’s *Ignoramus* that Henry Oxinden was noting when he wrote to Katharine Oxinden on 6 February 1637: “There is a Comedie acted tonight in Lattin at the Deanery.”⁹⁶ In line with the ceremonialism and musical analogies of Andrewes, he also made liturgical innovations in the cathedral itself. The “fayre organ, sweet and tunable,” which was heard in the cathedral by a visitor from Norwich in 1635,⁹⁷ was quite possibly the instrument whose case remains, a mere shell, in the cathedral library. It

bears, on one side, the arms of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury and, on the other, those of Dean Bargrave (fig. 12).

The Bargrave arms also occur in a more prominent, and unexpected, location – high in the medieval vault of the ancient cloister, just above the entrance into the chapel of the Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket (fig. 13). Once again, Isaac’s unjustified reputation for autocratic behavior has led to the unproved imputation that he was showing the manners of an upstart when he arranged for the placing of these recently acquired armorial bearings in a setting otherwise confined to medieval heraldry. The real explanation appears to be a simple one, and it is by no means discreditable. The probability is that the damage caused by a falling pinnacle in 1639 was repaired by the Dean, quite possibly at his own expense, and the new shield, as part of the restoration work, was a necessary embellishment to the cloister.⁹⁸ Patrick Collinson has reminded us that it is only in the revised statutes of the cathedral, delivered by Charles I in 1637, that the actual architecture of the building – “*fabrica illa pulcherrima*” – becomes a legitimate concern of the Dean and Chapter.⁹⁹ Isaac Bargrave’s work of restoration, as indeed his other provisions for the musical and liturgical life of the foundation, indicate his devotion to the cathedral both as a place of community and as a consummate work of architecture and art.

There is no reason to doubt that John Bargrave the Younger, climbing the academic ladder at Cambridge, would have shared his uncle’s attitudes and deplored the tendency of the Laudian faction to stir up issues of controversy. Matthew Wren, the old friend of his uncle and Master of Peterhouse until 1634, was originally Laud’s agent in Cambridge and, as such, helped to engineer the election of the Duke of Buckingham as Chancellor of the university in 1627. He also supported Laud’s insistence that the colleges should have their own chapels and contributed at his own expense to the building of the prominent chapel, which still exists; according to Trevor-Roper, “he introduced a service in Latin, with the correct Laudian ceremonies, but he was content with a simple building and plain glass windows.” His successor, however, was not so restrained in his tastes. Although Wren had tried to arrange for the succession of his brother

Christopher (the father of the architect), the college was obliged by the Bishop of Ely, acting under Laud's instructions, to accept the "most active, the most extreme and the most aggressive of all the new 'Arminian' clergy," the former Archdeacon of Durham, John Cosin.¹⁰⁰

Although John Bargrave the Younger continued at Peterhouse under Cosin's mastership, becoming a fully fledged fellow in 1637, he must have bitterly resented the way in which the college was made to set the pace in provocative Laudian innovations. He cannot have wholly approved of the splendid refurbishment of Wren's chapel, so successful that, it was alleged, undergraduates of other colleges flocked there "to learn or practise popery."¹⁰¹ He perhaps looked askance at the arrival from Pembroke of the poet Richard Crashaw, who wrote Latin verses to solicit funds for the new decorations. On his first visit to Rome in 1647, he was to meet "four revoltors to the Roman Church that had been fellows of Peterhouse in Cambridge with myself," and the number included Crashaw (CC 37). If the slide to Rome was already apprehensible in the 1630s, as the liturgical observance at Peterhouse became hotter and more hectic, John Bargrave would certainly have kept his distance.

It is hardly surprising that, in these circumstances, John Bargrave should have fallen back on the connections that meant most to him, his links with the clergy and gentry of the county of Kent. In the admission book of the college, he is recorded as having had a whole sequence of Kentish men under his tutelage: Thomas Bargrave, his cousin and son of Dean Isaac, from 1636; Anthony Aucher, of the Bishopsbourne family, from the same year (the one who was originally, and no doubt inappropriately, allocated to Crashaw!); Edward Wilsford, who was to take a leading part with Sir Thomas Peyton in welcoming the return of Charles II to Dover in 1660¹⁰²; Edwin Sandys, of Lancashire, who seems like an exception to the rule but was presumably a member of the far-flung family of the former Archbishop Sandys, like Edward Wilsford's mother; both of these were allotted to John Bargrave in 1637. The list continues, one of the last being Johannes Rayment (alias John Raymond), Bargrave's nephew and the winner of a Foundation Scholarship in January 1643; he

was to be one of Bargrave's two traveling companions in 1646-47 and the ostensible author of the *Mercurio Italico*.

If John Bargrave maintained his Kentish clientage, his uncle Isaac stood out as a defender of the traditions of the University of Cambridge, when the Long Parliament began to wreak their vengeance on Laud and his adherents. At the parliamentary session of 12 May 1641, when a bill for abolishing the episcopacy was debated, the Dean "delivered a letter from the university of Cambridge, and a petition from them, and a petition from the almsmen and officers and other members of the cathedrall of Canterbury, and another petition from the tenants of the same cathedrall."¹⁰³ Isaac Bargrave's sheaf of petitions was unavailing, and he was also unable to impede the passage of a bill in the same session that proposed the unilateral abolition of all deans and chapters throughout the kingdom. In 1642, the pace of events quickened further. In March, the Kentish gentry marched en masse to Westminster to present a petition of its own to parliament, a show of strength on behalf of the King that must have unsettled the Roundhead majority. The ensuing resignation of the Lord Lieutenant of Kent, the Earl of Leicester, who was unable to enforce his orders, in the absence of royal authority, caused a further crisis. On 16 July 1642, there took place a "great meeting" of the leading East Kent gentry in the Chartham deanery of Isaac Bargrave. By this stage, the King had set up his standard at Oxford, but rumors circulated throughout the summer that he would march into Kent and join his loyal supporters.¹⁰⁴ Parliament decided on a punitive expedition to stem this incipient revolt, and, in mid-August, Colonel Edwyn Sandys (one of the rare Puritan sympathizers among the East Kent gentry) raised troops in London to chastise and frighten his county neighbors.

There exist vivid descriptions, from both sides of the political spectrum, of the vengeance wreaked by Sandys and his troopers on the cathedral and close of Canterbury. Doctor Paske, the Sub-Dean, who published on 9 September 1642 his outraged account of the incident, tells how they "overthrew the communion table, toare the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly Skreen . . . violated the Monuments of the dead, spoiled the Organs, brake downe the ancient Railes and Seates . . . forced open the

Under the Sign

Cupboards of the Singing Men, rent some of their Surplices, Gownes and Bibles. . . ."¹⁰⁵ The Puritan minister Richard Culmer, who himself had been persecuted by Laud in the 1630s, wrote gloatingly in 1644 of this violent inruption: "They hewed the Altar rails in pieces and threw the Altar over and over down the three Altar steps and left it lying with the heels upwards." What for Paske is a profanation of the beauty of holiness is for Culmer a rooting out of the signs of abhorred idolatry. He delights in recounting the damage down to Dean Bargrave's musical embellishments: "the zealous troopers began to play on the organs or case of whistles which were never in tune since."¹⁰⁶

Sandys and his troopers did not spare the deanery. Isaac Bargrave being absent, they broke into his house in the middle of the night and terrified his family. The aged Angela Bargrave, widow of Dean Boys, who still resided there, had a cache of gold coins rudely confiscated, though this was later returned. The Dean's eldest son, Thomas Bargrave, had his sword broken by Colonel Sandys "before his face" and was sent off as a prisoner to Dover Castle. The Dean himself, who was hurrying home from London to comfort his family, was intercepted and arrested by the indefatigable colonel at an inn in Gravesend, arrested and taken to the Fleet Prison, where he remained for three weeks before being released, without having been charged or examined by the House of Commons. As a contemporary Royalist account puts it: "The old Dean, heart-broken with these injuries, soon after dyes. . . ."¹⁰⁷

John Bargrave the Younger, meditating on this further catastrophe to the House of Bargrave, may have conceived of the symbolic violence done to his family in terms of their armorial bearings: he may have considered wryly both the "old gold" that was wrested from his aunt and the "sword (which hung at his bed's head)" that was rudely broken before the face of his young cousin. Having commemorated his father and brother in 1663, in the Patribourne inscription, he was still to project a more splendid monument, next to the tomb of Dean Boys, to the memory of his unfortunate uncle (see fig. 11). Retrospectively, however, in the text of the ruinously expensive memorial put up by his

Rise and Fall of the House of Bargrave

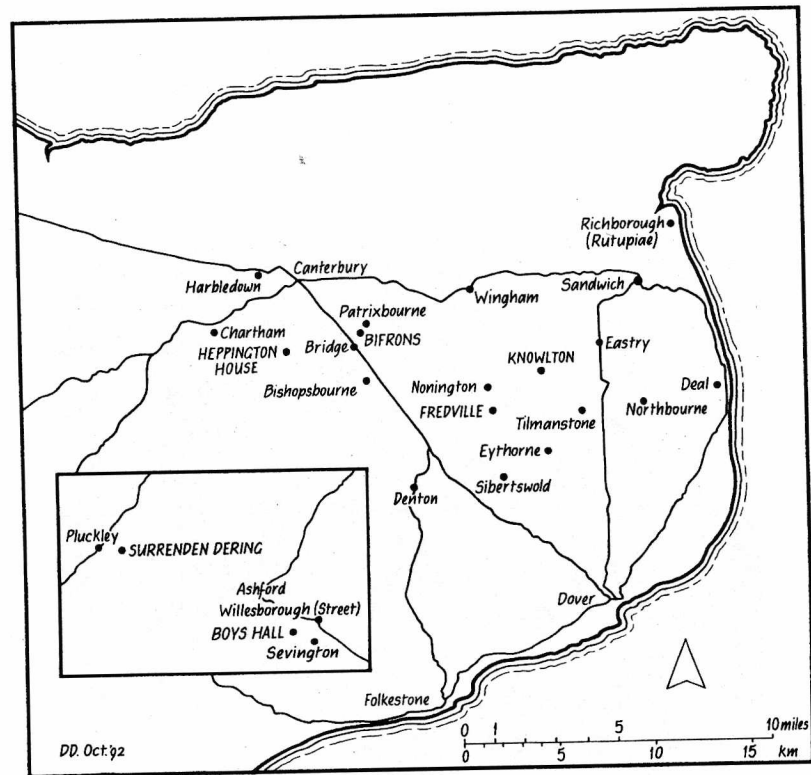
nephew, Dean Isaac Bargrave is assimilated to his Bifrons connections, being attributed an almost identical inscription:

In the Civil War on the side of King Charles the Martyr
He stood and fell.

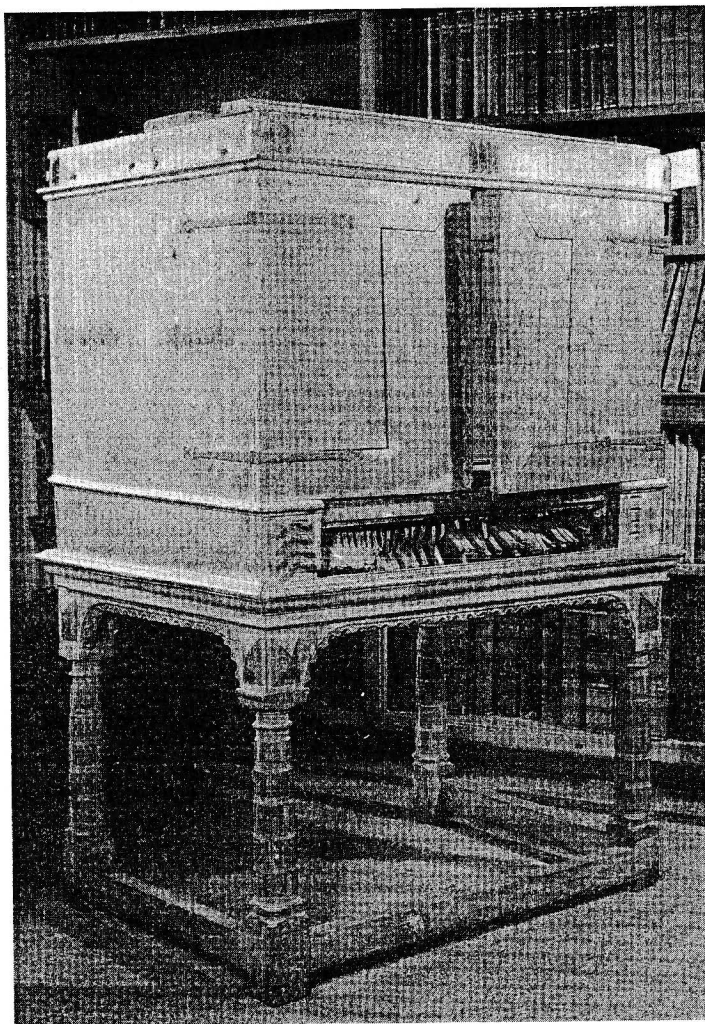
THE TRAVELER AND THE COLLECTOR

In one of the most celebrated passages in all modern historiography, Fernand Braudel focuses on “the death of Philip II, 13th September, 1598.”¹ This is the closing section, before the conclusion, to his monumental work on *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, and Braudel uses it to speculate on the insignificance of the individual human life in the context of the *longue durée*. Philip II is presented to us not as the all-powerful, all-knowing sovereign who swayed the destiny of the “age” to which he gave his name but, on the contrary, as an “enigmatic figure,” a compound of discordant representations of the “self,” to which we as readers and historians can have but a limited access.

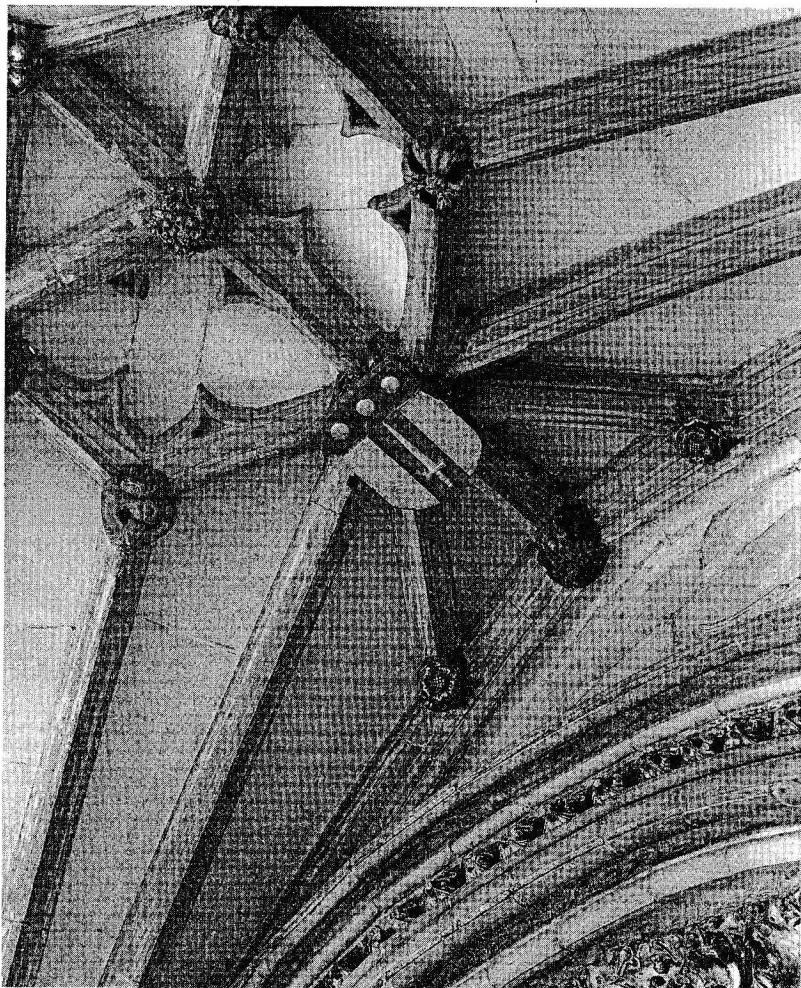
First, there is the religious self. The King dies a “public . . . social and ceremonious” death. Braudel opines that: “This man . . . whom his enemies shamelessly slandered with the most absurd calumnies . . . can only be understood in relation to a life of the purest religion.”² But then there is the sovereign, “the force of history symbolized by his name.” This is a very different proposition from the solitary and exemplary Catholic: “he receives us as he did his ambassadors, with the utmost courtesy, listening to us, replying in a low and often unintelligible voice, never speaking of himself at all.” Braudel communicates to us the fascination of this (so to speak) negative image of the King performing his regal duties. But then the positive image forces its way in again – or, rather, a succession of images, those that trace the outward physiognomy of the royal body over the course of a long and eventful life. “And Philip’s life was a long and disturbed one, from the painting by Titian of the prince in his twentieth year to the terrible and moving portrait by Pantoja de la Cruz which shows us the king at the end of his reign, the shadow of what he once had been.”



7. Left: Memorial inscription in St. Mary's Church, Patrixbourne (Photo by Bob Chaplin)
8. Above: Map of East Kent, showing towns, villages, and country houses mentioned in the text (Drawing by David Dobson, Canterbury Archaeological Trust)



11. Left: Memorial to Isaac Bargrave, Lady Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral (By permission of the Dean and Chapter)
12. Above: Organ case with the Bargrave arms on the left-hand door and the arms of Canterbury Cathedral on the right-hand door, early seventeenth century (Canterbury Cathedral Archive)



13. Left: Vaulting of the Cloister, by the entry into the Martyrdom, Canterbury Cathedral, showing the Bargrave coat of arms (By permission of the Dean and Chapter)

14. Above: Mattio Bolognini, *Three-quarter Length Portraits of the Young Alexander Chapman, John Bargrave, Aged 37, and His Nephew John Raymond, Aged about 17*, painted at Siena in 1647 (Chapman is probably on Bargrave's right and Raymond on his left).

Oil on copper, W. 13.5 cm., Bargrave collection
(Canterbury Cathedral Archive)

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8. *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1887), 17:150.
9. Joseph Meadows Copwer, *Canterbury Marriage Licences, 1568–1618* (Canterbury, 1892).
10. Arthur J. Willis, ed., *Canterbury Licences (General), 1568–1646* (London and Chichester: Phillimore, n.d.), 125.
11. Arthur J. Willis, ed., *Church Life in Kent . . . 1559–1565* (London and Chichester: Phillimore, n.d.), 52.
12. Cowper, *Canterbury Marriage Licences*.
13. For the possible origins, and connotations of the name Bargrave, see p. 32. I am not, of course, implying that euphony was the sole, or the dominant, consideration in this process of standardization.
14. Quoted in Peter Laslett, "The Gentry of Kent in 1640," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 9 (1948): 154.
15. See Alan Everitt, "The Community of Kent in 1640," *The Genealogists' Magazine* 14, no. 8 (December 1963): 233.
16. Edward Hasted, *History of Kent* (Wakefield: E.P. Publishing, 1972), 3:711. The Gilberts were a prominent Sandwich family, and John Gilbert held civic office in the town. In the chancel of the now disused church of St. Peter's, there is a brass recording the death in 1597 of a son of John, Thomas Gilbert, "who was Searcher of Kent" (transcribed in W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses* [London, 1988] 1: 101). The office of Searcher involved inspection of leather goods to verify their quality, and it is surely not irrelevant that the brother-in-law of Robert Bargrave the Tanner had achieved this responsible office. (I am indebted to Andrew Butcher for this information.)
17. Dorothy Gardiner, *The Oxinden Letters, 1607–1642* (London: Constable, 1933), xxiv.
18. He was to take an active part in the Kentish Rebellion of 1647–48, alongside his nephew Robert Bargrave of Bifrons. See Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640–1660* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), 250, in which his role in encouraging the navy to mutiny against the Parliament is mentioned; see also p. 125, for his survival after the Commonwealth period.
19. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), for entries on John and Isaac.
20. See John Newman, *West Kent and the Weald* (1969; reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), entry on Sevington.

21. The entry recording their marriage in the Patricbourne Register is reprinted in the published version of Philipott's *Visitation of the County of Kent*; see *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1861), 4:252.
22. See J. R. Wardale, *Clare College* (London, 1899), 57.
23. Sir Henry Wotton was himself born at Boughton Malherbe, a short distance from Surrenden Dering, the seat of the Dering family.
24. Laslett, "The Gentry of Kent," 152.
25. See Chas. A. Bernau, *Sixteenth Century Marriages* (London: 1911), 15 (ref. to St. Mary Woolchurch Parish Register).
26. J. L. Chester, *Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Bishop of London, 1520 to 1610* (London: Harleian Society, 1887), 25: 258; see also William Berry, *County Genealogies of Berkshire* (London, 1837).
27. I am indebted for this information to Hubert Chesshyre, York Herald. He has also communicated to me an extract from *Herald and Genealogist* (1865), in which it is asserted that Bargrave was the name "of a hamlet in Patricksbourne parish" to which the family no doubt ascribed their origin (2: 429). Although I have found no other evidence of such a hamlet, this is an attractive possibility, which might explain the family's attachment to Patricbourne before the building of Bifrons. "Bargrove," derived from the Old English for "barley grove," was certainly a medieval place name, found in East Kent, for example, at Newington, between Folkestone and Hythe. See J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), 453.
28. See the previous note. As this pedigree was transcribed by Hasted, it is difficult to rely on such exact choices of phrasing, but this does at least seem to indicate some tenorial connection, before the building of Bifrons.
29. See *The Art of Dyalling in Two Parts* by John Blagrove of Reading, Gentleman, and Mathematician this year 1609 (published) at London. An impressive memorial to Blagrove is to be found in St. Lawrence's Church, Reading. The sister of Jane Bargrave (née Crouch) was herself the sister-in-law of the mathematician.
30. Susan Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, 1935), 4:435. The document exists in a number of manuscript copies, of which the text given here (in Sir Nathaniel Rich's hand) is in the Public Record Office. The version in the British Library (Add. Ms. 12, 496 ff. 454–55) omits this preface.

Under the Sign

Here the armor is preserved. Here the spoils are kept under observation as mementos. Here the stripped skin is kept safe for future use. In the proliferation of connoted meanings, Bargrave's life as a collector, traveler, and witness is placed under a final sanction and subsumed in a final release, barring the grave.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. John Evelyn, *Diary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 3:614.
2. For Bargrave's lodgings in the precincts, see Margaret Sparks, "The Monastic Infirmary and Choir House," *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, 1991, 29. The building, now substantially altered by an eighteenth-century facade, is currently occupied by Linacre, a boardinghouse of the King's School.
3. For further discussion of this book, the *Itinerary . . . through Italy*, or *Mercurio Italico*, see pp. 21–22, 77–78.
4. See Peter Vergo, ed., *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989).
5. See Elisabeth Landolt and Felix Ackerman, *Das Amerbach-Kabinett: Die Objekte im Historischen Museum Basel* (Basel: Historisches Museum Basel, 1991).
6. Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 153.
7. The words referring to his "gentle" status and his office as canon appear to have been added in a later hand, which presumably indicates that Bargrave inscribed his name on purchasing the sheets, and amplified it when he had them bound up in a volume, around 1662. The manuscript discussed here is classed E 39a, Literary Manuscripts, in Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Library. For convenience, references in the text are to the published version (see bibliographical note).
8. See Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clío: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 77–92.
9. See Stephen Bann, *The Inventions of History: Essays on the Representation of the Past* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 100–147.

31. Philip H. Blake gives the date as 1598 for the baptism of John's "eldest son" at Bridge (*Archaeologia Cantiana* [1990], 108:270). Philipott's *Visitation*, however, refers to Robert Bargrave as "Aet. 19" in 1619. The discrepancy may be explained by the possibility that the couple had a first child who did not survive.

32. See Norman Council, "Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones and the Transformation of Tudor Chivalry," *ELH* 47, no. 2 (1980): 260.

33. Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 66–70.

34. *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1861), 4:252.

35. It seems probable that the original structure did not survive the eighteenth century. According to one author writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bifrons was "taken down about thirty years ago, by the Rev. E. Taylor, who erected the present mansion, a respectable brick structure, nearly on the same site" (Edward Wedlake Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales* [London, 1808], 8:1097).

36. It was at one stage attributed to the Dutch painter Jan Siberechts, which would have implied a date in the late seventeenth century; the English painter John Wootton, whose earliest known works date from around 1718, has also been suggested. The details of costume indicate, however, that it is too early for Wootton, and the style appears to be quite different from that of Siberechts. Malcolm Cormack, of the Yale Center for British Art, who has kindly given me his opinion, feels that "it may turn out to be by someone like Adriaen van Dienst (1655–1704) who worked nearby in Kent" (letter of 30 March 1990).

37. This is the view of John Newman, who has studied the painting in relation to the history of the house. He holds that the interpretation of "Bifrons" as meaning an H-plan, with projecting bays on either side of the main entrance, is unlikely, as such a form was too common to inspire any such name. The front, with the UXOR BONA inscription, would therefore be the one facing away from us in the picture (letter of 21 May 1991).

38. Thomas Carew, poem dated 1 January 1630 (1), originally published in *Poems* (1640). See Rhodes Dunlop, *Thomas Carew: Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 89–90.

39. Sir Henry St. George, *The Visitation of London, Anno Domini 1633, 1634 and 1635* (London, 1880), 207.

40. Hasted, *History of Kent* (1800; reprint, Wakefield: E.P. Publishing, 1972), 9: 281. For evidence of Hasted's interest in the motto, see British Library, Add. Ms. 5507, f. 23. The Kentish antiquarian has inserted in capital letters, in a copy of Philipott's *Visitation of Kent*, the words UXOR BONA.

41. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 458.

42. I am grateful to Hubert Chesshyre, York Herald, for clarifying this matter. The Bargrave arms are impaled with the arms of Boys on the splendid monument that Angela (John the Elder's sister) put up to her husband, John Boys, in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral (see fig. 9). They are also borne by John Boys's successor as dean, his brother-in-law, Isaac Bargrave (see figs. 11–13). In a Bargrave pedigree in the British Library, which was copied by Hasted, the armigerous status of the family is pushed back two generations, with both Robert Bargrave of Bridge and his father, John, being given arms. This pedigree derived from one in the possession of the Bargraves of Eastry, descendants of Isaac, who appear to have been trying to authenticate their own right to the arms that were granted to Isaac's elder brother (see British Library, Add. Ms. 5520, ff. 40–43).

43. Laslett, "The Gentry of Kent," 160.

44. He is described as "Theologia Ministerius" in the Philipott pedigree (1619); this is the brother who made over the living of Eythorne to his nephew Isaac in 1614 and held Sevington till his death in 1621. Evidently, the Boys family, in presenting their absentee cousin to these livings, were supporting the work of the Anglican church in Virginia.

45. See Susan Kingsbury, ed., *Virginia Company*, 1:129.

46. *Ibid.*, 1:347.

47. See P. A. Bruce, *History of Virginia* (Chicago and New York, 1924), 1:117ff.

48. Kingsbury, *Virginia Company*, 1:154.

49. *Ibid.*, 1:219, 231.

50. *Acts of the Privy Council* (London, 1932), 1621–23, 396 (10 January 1622[3]).

51. *Ibid.*, 407–8.

52. *Ibid.*, 451 (25 March 1623).

53. *Ibid.*, 255.

54. See C. W. Chalklin, *Seventeenth-Century Kent* (London: Longmans, 1965), 197. As this calculation dates from "the middle of the century," it is possible that it takes account of some sale of lands as a result of John Bargrave's financial difficulties.
55. *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1629-30 (1960), 331.
56. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1935), 1:176.
57. Richard Beale Davis, *George Sandys: Poet, Adventurer* (London: Bodley Head, 1955), 109.
58. Kingsbury, *Virginia Company*, 4:436.
59. *Ibid.*, 4:435, 439, 416.
60. *Ibid.*, 4:424.
61. *Ibid.*, 4:430, 419.
62. *Ibid.*, 4:423.
63. *Ibid.*, 4:560. Introduction by Arthur Percival Newton.
64. As previously noted, the text of Bargrave's proposal, which is used here, is in the hand of Sir Nathaniel Rich. For further material on the position of Rich and his kinsman, the Earl of Warwick, in the conflict within the Virginia Company at this stage, see the entry on Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, in *Dictionary of National Biography*.
65. Kingsbury, *Virginia Company*, 4:422.
66. Laslett, "The Gentry of Kent," 150.
67. *Ibid.*, 163.
68. See Johann P. Sommerville, ed., *Sir Robert Filmer: Patriarcha and other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xxxii-xxxiv.
69. C. E. Woodruff, "A Seventeenth-Century Survey of the Estates of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury in East Kent," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 38:39.
70. *Acts of the Privy Council* (1938), January-August 1627, 457.
71. So, at least, we may conclude from the letter of her mother, Mary Peyton, to her sister, Anne Oxinden, which describes how Sir Thomas (the brother of the two heiresses) "would not believe" the portion allotted to her, but acquiesced when shown the will. There seems to be no reason why the other sister should not also have been generously dowered (Gardiner, *Oxinden Letters, 1607-1642*, 87).
72. British Library, Add. Ms. 27,999, f. 290.
73. Gardiner, *Oxinden Letters, 1607-1642*, 112-13.

74. *Ibid.*, 220-23.
75. Matthew Carter, *A Most True and Exact Relation of That as Honourable as Unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester* (1650), 66.
76. See C. Elton, *The Tenures of Kent* (London: James Parker, 1867), 354. For the general position of younger sons at this time, see Joan Thirsk, "Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century," *History* 54 (1969): 358-77.
77. Dean Isaac Bargrave arranged for his own son, Thomas, to study in Holland, during his period at the King's School. I am indebted to Paul Pollack, archivist at the King's School, for this information.
78. Bargrave was elected North scholar on 8 June 1631, received his B.A. degree in 1632, and became Perne Scholar on 28 February 1634, shortly before taking over as college librarian, in which post he served from 7 March 1634 to 23 June 1636. He received his M.A. degree in 1636 and became fellow, by dispensation, in 1637.
79. See the remarkable essay by Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Laudianism and Political Power," in his collection *Catholics Anglicans and Puritans* (London: Secker, 1987), 40-119.
80. T. S. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (1928; reprint, London: Faber, 1970), 12.
81. Everitt, *Kent and the Great Rebellion*, 50.
82. H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 395-96.
83. Trevor-Roper, "Laudianism," 47.
84. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 84.
85. For Bedell's experience in Venice, see *A True Relation of the Life and Death of . . . William Bedell*, ed. Thomas Wharton Jones (London: Camden Society, 1872), 104ff.
86. Cambridge University Library, Add. 103/5.
87. British Library, Lansdowne, DCCCCLXXXV, 9: "Memoir of Dr. Isaac Bargrave Dean of Canterbury who died in 1642."
88. *Ibid.*
89. For Sir Edward Dering's marriages and political maneuvers, see *Proceedings principally in the County of Kent*, ed. Rev. Lambert B. Larking (London: Camden Society, 1862), ix. When he was contemplating a third marriage, ten years later, Dean Bargrave was enlisted to press his suit with a city clergyman who had influence with the wealthy widow in question (xxx).

90. Isaac Bargrave, *A Sermon Preached before King Charles*, 27 March 1627, 18 and 20.

91. This close conjunction between civil and ecclesiastical power was an unusual feature of Kent before the Civil War. It has been pointed out that all but one of the deans of Canterbury up to this time “had been drawn from or had founded Kentish families,” and the untypically low number of livings in lay control helped to create “a society deeply permeated by anglicanism” (Everitt, *Community of Kent*, 49).

92. *Ibid.*, 72.

93. British Library, Add. Ms. 6096, f. 1232a. I am indebted to Peter Yorke for this information.

94. Quoted in Everitt, *Community of Kent*, 58.

95. Quoted in *ibid.*

96. British Library, Add. Ms. 27,999, f. 282.

97. Quoted by W. D. Caroe, *Archaeologia* 62 (1911): 365.

98. See R. Griffin, *The Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury* (Oxford, 1915), 453.

99. I am grateful to be able to reproduce this quotation from Patrick Collinson’s as yet unpublished essay on the cathedral in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

100. Trevor-Roper, “Laudianism,” 80, 83, 71.

101. *Ibid.*, 84.

102. Everitt, *Community of Kent*, 315.

103. J. Bruce, ed., *Verney Papers: Notes of Proceedings of the Long Parliament Temp. Charles I* (London: Camden Society, 1845), 76.

104. Everitt, *Community of Kent*, 109–10.

105. *The Copy of a letter sent . . . by Doctor Paske* (London, 9 September 1642), 4.

106. Richard Culmer, *Cathedral Newes from Canterbury* (1644), quoted in Caroe, *Archaeologia* 62 (1911): 359, 365.

107. Quoted in Abell, *Kent and the Great Civil War*, 84–85.

CHAPTER 2

1. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Fontana, 1982), 2:1234–37.

2. *Ibid.*, 2:1236.

3. There are two seventeenth-century Bologninis mentioned in the *Dictionario Enciclopedico dei Pittori e degli Incisori Italiani* (Turin: Bolaffi, 1972), 2:181. No work by Mattio (or Matteo) Bolognini exists in a Siense public collection.

4. Fabio Chigi was elected to the papacy as Alexander VII, in 1655, while Bargrave was at Rome for his fourth visit.

5. Robert Bargrave’s musical accomplishments are a further indication of the civilized life of the deanery in Isaac Bargrave’s time. We learn from his journal that he performed on the viol for the private singers and instrumentalists of the Medici prince. John Stoye has called him “the most important of all these travellers, for comments on the Italian music of his day.” See Stoye, *English travellers abroad 1604–1667: Their influence in English Society and Politics* (London: Cape, 1952), 219–20.

6. One “Franciscus Chapman, Cantianus” is recorded as entering Peterhouse in 1627, which would make him just the right age for Bargrave’s second fellow traveler. The name Alexander may have been given in error by Craigie Robertson (cc xi), since his father, or uncle, was Alexander Chapman, a canon of Canterbury who died in 1629. In his survey of the estates, dating from 1675, Bargrave records visiting “Mr. Alexander Chapman, grand nephew to Dr. Chapman,” at Boughton rectory. But the very fact that he makes no mention of a “fellow traveller” in this chatty document implies that this was yet a further relation of the canon. See Woodruff, “A Seventeenth-Century Survey,” 34.

7. See introduction to David Sturdy and Martin Henig, *The Gentle Traveller: John Bargrave, Canon of Canterbury and His Collection* (Canterbury Cathedral Library, 1985), unpaginated.

8. In particular, Bargrave acquired a superb octagonal marble table, decorated with scenes from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Lord Stanhope acquired a matching one at the same time, and a future Dean of Canterbury, who came from the Stanhope family, reunited the pair by leaving his own table to the Dean and Chapter in 1748.

The existence of these tables is directly responsible for the renewal of interest in Bargrave in the 1980s, since Christopher Gibbs was called in to advise on the repair of one of them and spread the word about the collection and catalogue. For this story, see the first contemporary article on Bargrave: John Harris, “To Oblivion and

Back: Dr. Bargrave's Museum of Rarities," *Country Life*, 30 January 1986, 278–79.

9. See Earl of Chesterfield, *Letters* (London, 1835), 9. Bargrave does in fact write of Chesterfield as being "under my tuition, 1650" (cc 16), but the young man's character seems to have been, in any case, resistant to learning. He appears to have escaped from Bargrave's custody in Milan, "from whence [in his own words] riding post, with only one servant, through Germany, I was robbed, and in very great danger of being kil'd" (quoted in *ibid.*, II).

10. See Stoye, *English Travellers*, 230. William Juxon the younger was the nephew and heir of the future Archbishop of Canterbury, whose patronage in 1662 was to help Bargrave to his prebendal stall. He became a baronet at the time of the Restoration.

11. Chaney, *The Grand Tour*, 49.

12. Stoye, *English Travellers*, 176.

13. See Albrecht von Haller, *The Alps*, trans. Stanley Mason (Zurich: De Clivo Press, 1987), for this new taste.

14. See Charles Dickens, *American Notes . . . and Pictures from Italy* (London: Mandarin, 1991), 450, for this description, which Raymond seems to endorse. He writes, "In returning, as we were tir'd in getting up, so wee went easily down, though almost up to the knees in ashes" (MI 162–63).

15. Louis Marin, "The Frontiers of Utopia," in *Utopias and the Millennium*, ed. Krishan Kumar and Stephen Bann (London: Reaktion Books, 1993), 14.

16. Hobbes is, of course, responsible for the well-known formulation that "the angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection," applying this principle to sounds, material bodies, etc. For this quotation, dated 1656, and for other useful data on "tours," or "towers," see O.E.D.

17. See *The Gentle Traveller*, Italy: Books, Manuscripts, Prints and Paintings, item j.

18. Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 2:1236–37.

19. See review by Peter Burke of *The Inventions of History*, in *History of Human Sciences* 4, no. 3:435–37.

20. Theodor Adorno, *Prisms*, trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber (London: Spearman, 1967), 239–40.

21. See *All England Law Reports* (1964), 89iff.

22. See J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present* (London: 1880), 2:43.

23. *All England Law Reports* (1964), 894.

24. See David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 191 and *passim*.

25. Sigmund Freud, *Art and Literature* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 289.

26. *Ibid.*, 290.

27. Everitt, *Kent and the Great Rebellion*, 250.

28. Abell, *Kent and the Great Civil War*, 252.

29. See *The Gentle Traveller: The Cabinets*.

30. See J. C. T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 302–3.

31. Raymond actually refers to it as a pyramid, but this must be an error. For a fascinating discussion about how the Earl of Arundel might have intended to use the obelisk – which was later erected, minus the pieces chipped off by Bargrave, in the Piazza Navona – see Howarth, *Lord Arundel*, III–12.

32. It is likely that this was a delicate compliment to Bargrave, though with a self-congratulatory aspect to it. Aristotle was celebrated in antiquity as having been the tutor to Alexander the Great.

33. Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*; reprinted as *The Complete Gentleman* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

34. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 12.

35. Michael Vickers, of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, writes that he is "reasonably sure that a . . . lamp listed in our 1836 catalogue as 'A circular lamp' is the one in question" (letter to the author, 21 June 1991). See *Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1836), 126, item 143.

36. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 30–31.

37. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 134.

38. Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 2:1236.

39. See cc xvii. Dargate is about four miles northwest of Canterbury, near the North Kent coast. Perhaps Mrs. Bargrave's former

husband was one of the “parochial organizers of the 1648 rebellion,” John Osborne, who had earlier been fined by Parliament. See Everitt, *Kent and the Great Rebellion*, 184, 245.

40. *The Gentle Traveller: The Cabinets*.

41. See, for example, the postface by Michel Conan to his edition of the seventeenth-century garden book by Salomon de Caus, *Le Jardin palatin* (Paris: Editions du Moniteur, 1981).

42. Desiderius Erasmus, *Pilgrimages of Saint Mary Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury* (London, 1875), 49.

43. Landolt and Ackermann, *Das Amerbach-Kabinett*, 37–49.

44. Richard Culmer, *Cathedral Newses from Canterbury* . . . (London, 1644), 7.

45. See Blaise de Montesquiou-Fézensac, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis: inventaire de 1634* (1973; reprint, Paris: Editions A. and J. Picard, 1974).

46. See Ronald Paulson, *Breaking and Remaking: Aesthetic Practice in England, 1700–1820* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), esp. 4–47, 203–45.

47. John Boys, manuscript poem in Canterbury Cathedral Library: Literary Manuscripts E32, f. 51.

CHAPTER 3

1. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 6 (1866): 331.

2. *Ibid.*, 330.

3. See Gordon J. Copley, ed., *Camden's Britannia: Kent* (London: Hutchinson, 1977), 59.

4. See Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

5. For a description of the Faussett Pavilion, see R. F. Jessup, “The Faussett Pavilion,” *Archaeologia Cantiana* 66 (1953): 1–14. See also the discussion in Bann, *The Inventions of History*, 100–21.

6. Jessup, “The Faussett Pavilion,” 6. The stone inscription from the pavilion, and several of the objects originally incorporated in it, are in the collections of the Canterbury City Museums.

7. *Ibid.*, 2. The incident is mentioned in Faussett's own *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, entry for 27 July 1772.

8. *Ibid.*, 8.

9. From “Concerning Geffray Teste Noire,” originally published in *The Defence of Guinevere* (1858). See William Morris, *Prose and Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), 257–58.

10. See Dorothy Gardiner, *Oxinden and Peyton Letters*, 18ff.

11. *Ibid.*, 23–24. Letter of Sir Thomas Peyton to the Earl of Elgin, then staying at Knowlton (1643).

12. Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 280.

13. Gardiner, *Oxinden and Peyton Letters*, 212–13.

14. It was described as “written by a Gentleman who was an eyewitness where this was really acted upon that bloody stage, the streets of Naples, 1647”; this evocative description was used on the title page.

I am greatly indebted for this reference, and for all the information about the representation of Masaniello's revolt that is given here, to Wendy Roworth, who kindly showed me the draft of her paper “The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello's Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples.”

15. The painting is in the Galleria Spada, Rome.

16. Translated and quoted by Roworth in “The Evolution of History Painting.”

17. Perhaps Raymond was fortunate in his timing. From 1647 Parliament “increasingly tightened its hold on the press.” See John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 1988), 49.

18. See George Ruggle, *Ignoramus*, ed. J. Hawkins (London, 1787), xxiv.

19. Isaac Bargrave, *A Sermon against Selfe Policy, Preached at Whitehall in Lent 1621* (London, 1624), 18.

20. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes*, 14.

21. Quoted in Andrew Ross, *The Failure of Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 36.

22. *Life and Death of William Bedell*, 109.

23. The portraits of Wotton and Donne are reproduced in *John Donne*, ed. Jean-Marie Benoist (Paris: L'Age d'Homme, 1983).

24. See Georges Didi-Huberman, “Le Grammaire, le chahut, le silence: pour une anthropologie du visage,” in *A Visage découvert* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 15–16. This publication relates to an exhibition held at the Fondation Cartier, Jouy-en-Josas.

25. Paul Pollack has drawn my attention to the fact that the earlier, triple portrait of Bargrave and his fellow travelers, painted at Siena in 1647, resembles in its figure composition the famous study by Van Dyck, *Charles I Seen in Three Positions* (1635–36). In particular, the right-hand figure of Charles has his cloak drawn back by the right hand in a similar way to John Raymond, on the left-hand side of Bargrave. As the triple portrait of Charles I was sent to Bernini in Rome, it is possible that it would have been a common point of reference for an Italian artist and a group of English gentlemen.

There still exists, in the North Choir Aisle of Canterbury Cathedral, a large portrait of Charles I as King and Martyr, which dates from the Restoration period. He is depicted with his left hand on his heart as in the frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* (1649).

26. See Georgina Masson, *Queen Christina* (London: Secker, 1968), 239. This seems, on the face of it, inconsistent with Bargrave's statement that the ceremony "was done with great solemnity, at which I was present, staying there a month for that purpose" (CC 69). But Bargrave may have overemphasized, in retrospect, the element of conscious planning in his decision to pass by way of Innsbruck on his way back from Italy. Or he might have been better informed, through his Roman sources, than Queen Christina's hosts.

27. *Ibid.*, 248, 288 (page facing). A precious indication of the origin of Bargrave's skill in portraiture and printmaking is provided by the manuscript discourses of another English traveler in Italy, Richard Symonds. Mary Beal has kindly brought to my attention a passage in which Symonds records a method "to take off Intaglios" (i.e., etchings) and writes "Mr Raymond learnt of Mr Bargrave to add Black Lead. They learnt in Germany" (see British Library, MS. Egerton 1636, f. 150).

28. *Ibid.*, 119.

29. Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 172.

30. *Ibid.*, 242.

31. Hamon L'Estrange, *Reign of Charles I* (1655), quoted in *ibid.*, 245.

32. Canterbury Cathedral Library, Literary Manuscripts, E. 39a, f. 4.

33. See Gregorio Leti, *Il Nipotismo di Roma* (Amsterdam, 1667), 1: 176.

34. Evidently, Bargrave had ordered the monument in the last year of his life but had not paid for it; this seems the most likely explanation of the phrase "Posterum Expensis" (at the expense of his posterity), which appears there. The ill feeling that resulted from this untimely commission can be detected in the will of Mrs. Bargrave, dated 26 July 1685, where mention is made of her payment of upwards of four hundred pounds in debts and funeral expenses. Instead of desiring to share his grave, she asked to be buried in the Nave of the cathedral, near her father (CC xx).

35. William Gostling, *A Walk about the City of Canterbury* (1777; reprint, Canterbury, 1825), 229.

36. See *A Visitation of the County of Kent*, Harleian Society, 54:79. Reference to the land leased by Richard Bargrave in Bridge can be found in the account books of the parish, a copy of which was kindly communicated to me by Maurice Raraty.

37. They are described as "lessees of this estate for many years past," in Hasted, *History of Kent*, 10:105.

38. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 10 (1876):95.

39. British Library, Lansdowne, DCCCCLXXXV, 9; the brief note is annexed to a longer passage on Isaac Bargrave, which has already been quoted (see pp. 53–54).

40. Gardiner, *Oxinden and Peyton Letters*, 275.

41. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 10 (1876): 97.

42. *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1660–1667* (London: Public Record Office, 1914), 430.

43. This is the version of the inscription given in Joseph Meadows Cowper, *The Memorial Inscriptions of the Cathedral Church at Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1897), cxvi. It differs very slightly from the version given in the manuscript source mentioned in the previous note and appears to be a more exact transliteration. Cowper lists the arms appearing on the slab as: "Effaced. Impaling, a chevron [remainder effaced]." From this, it would appear that Mrs. Bargrave's arms were "impaled" with those of Bargrave and that she was originally intended to share his tomb.

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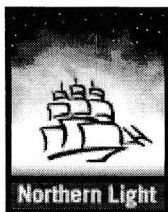
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