INVESTIGATION of the provenance of a seventeenth-century music manuscript recently acquired from Richard Macnutt led into some unexpected by-ways of literature and history, both English and Italian. At first sight, apart from a fine binding, there is little to distinguish this manuscript from other collections of contemporary Italian music. It contains solo cantatas to Italian words and is written in the hand of a professional Italian copyist. The title-page (fol. 1) is, however, unusual in drawing attention to the authorship of the words rather than that of the music: 'Parole di Gio. Patritio Carey messe in musica da Diuersi Autori.' This title is followed by a note in a different hand, ‘per Guglmo Reymes’ (fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Title-page. Add. MS. 58853, fol. 1

The contents of the volume are:

1. ‘Di mio cor è ver che tu hai tradito.’ By Carlo Rainaldi. fols. 2–7b.
2. ‘Non replicarmi Amor.’ By Carlo Rainaldi. fols. 8–21b.
3. ‘Pupillette ben si avvede il mio Cor.’ By Carlo Rainaldi. fols. 22–25b.
4. ‘Clorinda al mio ritorno.’ By Carlo Rainaldi. fols. 26–35b.
5. ‘Facciamo i conti horsù.’ By Vincenzo Alberici. fols. 36–41b.
The musical settings are for soprano solo, presumably for a quality of voice which few people living today have heard, that of the castrati singers who enjoyed particular favour in Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The settings are typical baroque cantatas consisting of several sections, mostly beginning with accompanied recitative and followed by an arietta in two or three stanzas. The voice part is accompanied by a figured bass and there are occasional ritornelli. So far the only concordances appear to be a copy of no. 4 in Bologna and two imperfect copies of no. 11, lacking the second stanza, in an English manuscript of the second half of the seventeenth century.

The manuscript is of oblong duodecimo format and the leaves, which were cropped by the binder, now measure 97 mm x 260 mm. The contemporary binding is of red morocco with elaborate gold tooling, including fan corners and a number of small solid or pointillé tools (fig. 2). The style of the binding and position of the clasps identify it as Italian, probably Roman, of the mid-seventeenth century or earlier. Such an elaborate binding suggests that the manuscript was a valued personal possession or, possibly, a presentation volume.

Who was ‘Giovanni Patritio Carey’, the author of the Italian words, and why were his poems set to music and expensively bound? As Richard Macnutt pointed out, if we assume the name to be an Italian version of John Patrick Cary we might connect the writer with the minor English poet, Patrick Cary, younger brother of Lucius, 2nd Viscount Falkland, whose literary and philosophical circle at Great Tew and dramatic death at the first battle
of Newbury, 1643, are now more often remembered than the poems of his younger brother. Patrick Cary lived in Rome for a number of years, and, as will be seen, there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Italian poems in this manuscript may be a sizeable addition to his known literary work. The following account of Patrick Cary’s life is derived partly from letters written by him in 1650 to Edward Hyde (later Earl of Clarendon), preserved in the Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian Library, but some details have only recently come to light from other sources. One minor point may be settled immediately, the form of Patrick Cary’s name in his letters agrees with that on the title-page in the cantata manuscript: the family name is spelt ‘Carey’ and ‘Patrick’ is preceded by some form of ‘John’ or ‘Giovanni’.

The Cary family was divided by the religious dissensions in England in the early seventeenth century. Patrick Cary’s father, Henry, 1st Viscount Falkland, remained a staunch Protestant, but his mother was a secret convert to Roman Catholicism and openly proclaimed her adherence to Rome in 1626. Her declared conversion and ensuing separation from her husband resulted in her younger children, two sons and four daughters, being removed from her care, for she lacked the financial means to support them. The account of her life probably written by one of these daughters (who all became nuns) is filled with her concern to regain control over her children and their education. She feared particularly for her two youngest sons, Patrick and Henry, after her husband’s death in 1633, when they were brought by their eldest brother, Lucius, under the rationalist influence of the apostate Catholic William Chillingworth. In the spring of 1636 Lady Falkland contrived the escape of the two boys, then aged about twelve and ten, from their brother’s house (presumably Great Tew, Oxfordshire) to London, where they lay concealed for several weeks, while their mother suffered interrogation by the court of Star Chamber. The boys were subsequently put in the hands of two priests and smuggled over to France in defiance of the existing legislation against the education of children abroad in Catholic seminaries. Looking back in 1650 on this momentous event, Patrick Cary wrote briefly: ‘Being made, in secret, of my Mother’s Religion ... that I might continue in it, and be taught what it was, I was stolen into France, and after a stay there of three years transported into Italy; where I lived twelve. My Brother took my flight in such ill part, that never after did I hear from him ...’

The two boys were educated in the Benedictine monastery of St. Edmund’s in Paris, where the younger one later took orders. On the advice of Walter Montagu, a recent Catholic convert and adviser to Queen Henrietta Maria, Patrick Cary was sent to Rome to complete his studies. He carried with him the Queen’s recommendation to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the Protector of the English in Rome, ‘whose eminency incited by so powerful a recommendation and his own charity, showed him much favour’. He was placed in the care of Father John Wilfrid, Procurator in Rome for the English Benedictines; according to the Life of Lady Falkland Patrick Cary ‘being young and a stranger there, found in Father Wilfrid (who was intreated to have a care of him) so true and great a friend in all things, that he hath laid upon him and his friends a perpetual obligation’. Father Wilfrid is said to have been regarded by the Court of Rome as a saint and by his fellow
Benedictines as a courtier. He was well placed to introduce the young Patrick Cary to the best circles in Rome, and Cary through his connections and the devotion of his mother to the Catholic mission in England would have been a welcome visitor. The first record of his arrival seems to be an entry in the Liber Peregrinorum (The Pilgrims’ Book) of the English College in Rome, the chief Jesuit seminary for the training of priests for the English mission. He was evidently handsomely entertained at dinner in the College on 30 October 1638, when his fellow guests included Milton, who was obviously regarded as of much less importance: ‘pransi sunt in Collegio nostro Illustrissimus Dominus Noster Cary, frater Baronis de Faukeland, Doctor Holdingus Lancastriensis Dominus Noster Fortescue, et Dominus Miltonus cum famulo nobiles Angli. et excepti sunt laute.’

Cary’s name, in the form ‘D. Patritius Cary’, is recorded as a guest together with Father Wilfrid on other occasions (beginning of June 1643; 16 June 1647). Once he is noted as dining ‘in vinea’ (‘in the vineyard’) rather than ‘in collegio’ (27 December 1646) when his companion was ‘Dominus Crashow’, the poet, Richard Crashaw, who had arrived in Rome on 28 November 1646.

From the account given by Patrick Cary to Edward Hyde in 1650 of his years in Rome it is clear how much he benefited from his introduction to the most powerful members of the Barberini family. Cardinal Francesco was noted for his hospitality and charity to English residents and pilgrims and his patronage of literature and learning. But Cary also came to the notice of the Pope, Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini), who was a particular patron of poetry and the arts. He had himself cultivated the art of poetry from his youth and continued during his long pontificate (1623–44) to write Latin and Italian verse. His patronage of poets was so well known that a hostile English polemicist caricatured him, ‘as much a pretender to be Prince, and Oecumenical patron of Poets, as head of the Church.

In this cultivated circle Patrick Cary appears to have found particular favour. In his letter to Hyde of 18 March 1650 Cary gives details of the considerable benefits he had received from Urban VIII: ‘Whilst the Queen [Henrietta Maria] had wherewithal, I had a small but sufficient pension underhand from her Majesty; afterwards, I was better provided by the last Pope; who, upon her Majesty’s recommendation, conferred upon me an Abbey and a Priory in commendam; and besides, some pensions on other benefices; wherewith I subsisted well, and from the pity became the wish of many English travellers, as one that was disengaged from those tumults, and had a being, besides better hopes.’

At this happy stage in his life John Evelyn was one traveller who encountered him. Evelyn arrived in Rome on 4 November 1644 and among those to whom he was specially recommended was Patrick Cary. Evelyn met him on 5 November and describes him in his diary as ‘an Abbot, and brother to our Learned Lord Falkland, a pretty witty young priest; but one that afterwards came over to our church’. Evelyn is to be forgiven for mistaking Cary for a priest. As Cary remarked to Hyde, he had ‘been bred up in the Schools, and in a long robe’, the normal ecclesiastical dress of those enjoying the education provided by the Roman colleges.

But Cary’s fortunes were insecure without the continuing power of the Barberini. Urban VIII died on 29 July 1644 and was succeeded by Innocent X (Giambattista
Pamphili) whose interests and abilities lay in other spheres. In November 1645 an investigation of the financial administration of the Barberini was ordered. Cardinal Antonio Barberini had already left Rome in September 1645, and other members of the family now planned their secret departure. In the Sloane Collection in the British Library is a fragment, the last leaf only, of a letter from Patrick Cary to an unidentified English correspondent, written in January 1646 shortly after the flight (on the night of 16/17 January) of Cardinal Francesco and his brother, Don Taddeo, to France. It is obvious from the tone of Cary’s letter that he had no premonition that this was to be a turning-point in his own fortunes. He relates the event as a gossipy news item:

Since this letter ther has happenned an accident, which my desire of satisfying your curiosiyte lett’s not mee passe in silence. Tuesday night Cardinal Barberin, D. Tadeo, his 3. sonnes and onely daughter fled hence, they departed about 8 ith’ night all afoot and disguis’d in poore men’s habits till they were gott out of towne where they mett w’th coaches and men to guard them, att sea side they were tooken upp, but w’th much difficulty by reason of y’ stormy weather, by a genovese fishing boate and soe conducted safe some twenty miles to y’ sea where 6. tall shippes, to witt 4. french and two genoveses received them, and this is what wee know of them yett; this businesse was carried with gallant clesonesse and if a fellow that bought fish at Porta had not discovered them their flight would have beene farre longer concealed, for D. Tadeo was thought to bee at Palestrina w’th his familye, and the Card’ fained himselfe indisposed; his Phisitian visited him duely, made caudles and phisicke be brought in his chamber, his meat, as use was, serv’d upp; his antecamera open; Valenzè, Grimaldi, Geffier, and Mazzarin’s father went to his bedside and kept themselfes their as talking w’th him whole howers, in fine all things was compleate that industrye could perfect though fortune had like to have spoil’d all, for had not the aforementioned cockeboate fortunately adventured to carry them a shipboard, the wheather was soe rough that ye’ had beene forc’ to have returned; D. Anna Colonna onely remaines here; living w’th her brother the Cardinal; the pope chid the governor for his small diligence, who nerethelesse fearing some such thing had not long since made vaine but rigorous search in certaine coaches who shutt upp departed hence.

This action has left us in a world of suspence every one curious to know the past, and politicke to prognosticate the future, forseeing the events of this, and relating the manner of what has allredy succeeded, variously; and as t’is ordinary, according to their inclinations or desires blame and applause, your more disinteres’t, & therefore sounder judgment will, I suppose, hold this escape as forc’t, since the perill sustained in the effectuating itt, and ticklishnesse itt puts ther fortune to, will permit none to thinke itt voluntarye; you will allsoe I immagine esteeme itt an impossible supinesse in the Pope or his Ministers soe well provided of spyes, not to have knowne thee Barberins intentions in this particular, and will iudge this flight, permitted, not unknowne . . .

The two Cardinals were later able to return to Rome but Cary’s fortunes began to fail. The first result of the flight of the Barberini was that he lost a pension of over £40 a year from Cardinal Francesco Barberini. ‘I thought it unworthy to exact ought from him who had given me all’ he wrote to Hyde from Brussels on 18 March 1650. And his letter continues with an account of his subsequent misfortunes:

Then an inundation in Sicily spoiled my Priory so, that, as fruitless, I made it away. Then a Canon died in Cambray, who paid me a pension of 25 pounds yearly; and since that time (the
space of upon 5 years) I have received nothing; and now am at law with his successor, in great likelihood of losing my suit. Lastly, the wars broke out in Naples; and such havoc was made of my Abbey, that, in great despair, I renounced it; where 300 Banditti had made their nest not only in the troubles, but almost ever since. From this Pope [Innocent X] all the while I had extraordinary fair words; but seeing he meant only to talk, I writ to Court [the exiled English Court], to crave leave to come away; for having been placed there by her Majesty, I held it my duty not to quit the place without her licence . . .

Thus Cary finally ran out ‘both in purse and credit’ and was forced to leave Rome, where he had hoped to found his fortune, owing Father Wilfrid £400. Hyde evidently thought that his knowledge of Roman politics might suit him for a position as a Royal agent in Rome, but Cary resisted all suggestions that he should return, ‘not because the Heates there exhaust my health, or because I have an extraordinary aversion from that place’, but because, he says, the King’s interest would gain no more from his presence there than ‘a fayre intelligence and Correspondence’. As he realized, his advantages in Rome had vanished with the decline of the power of the Barberini. This emerges clearly from his letter of thanks to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, written from the estate of his nephew, Henry, 4th Viscount Falkland, at Great Tew, Oxfordshire, on 24 September 1649:

Il tempo ch’io vissi in Roma per lo piii fui mantennuto da i favori di Vra Em etc i quali da la sua munificenza m’erano così copiosamente distribuiti; che mentre Ella governava io non pensava di cercare altrove la mia fortuna che sotto la sua protettione; e se più durava in vita il, di gloriosa memoria, URBANO ottavo, credo certo (tanto m’affido nella sua propensione verso di me) ch’io non poteva trovar miglior’ ventura che nella sua Corte.

He goes on to explain that his previous silence was due to the fear that his thanks would be misinterpreted as a request for further help at a time when he knew the Cardinal’s own situation to be difficult. Now that he has resolved never to return to Rome he can recognize his obligations because no other motive will be found in his thanks than his desire to show himself grateful.

Cary’s ‘many very faire hopes of settling unto my selfe a Fortune’ after he left Rome came to nothing. ‘And really I thincke, none other then my selfe, but would have succeeded in some one of twentye plausible probabilityes . . .’ Reflecting on the cause of so much misfortune he was persuaded that it was a punishment for the neglect of a vow taken as a boy on his journey to Italy: ‘being where many of the company made vowes, I then made mine allsoe; and itt was to enter a Religious life under S. Bennetts habitt. The exequution of this I differred allwayes; and onely by fitts recovered any propension thereunto . . .’. His friends, including Father John Wilfrid, saw his difficulty and sought a dispensation for him, but too late, for Innocent X refused to grant it. Thus Cary resisted all attempts by his friends to dissuade him and obtained admission to the English Benedictine monastery at Douai in May 1650. His letter to Hyde continues, ‘The Quiett of this life is beyond measure sympathizing with my humour; but the fare (for the first yeare onely fish) in some 3. monthes and an halfe, hath cast mee downe into such a weakenesse that I am
forc't backe into England, least the winter should soe quite finish to decay my crazed health that I should ever after prove a tedious burden, and in noe way serviceable unto the Communitye. But he had the consolation that his vow was ‘by this tryall of my forces, in all Casuists opinions satisfied even in all rigour; and my Conscience, in that reguard, most safe’. By November 1650 he was staying at Wickham in Hampshire, the English Parliament having evidently granted him the permission for which he was hoping to reside with his married sister Victoria, the wife of Sir William Uvedale. In Hampshire he presumably met Sir William’s niece Susan whom he later married. His first son John was born at Great Tew on 30 October 1654 and baptized there (by the Anglican rite?) on 2 November 1654. This child, who presumably died young, would have been prospective heir to the Falkland title until the birth of a son to Patrick Cary’s nephew in 1656.

At Warnford, near Wickham in Hampshire, was written the small manuscript of English verse by Patrick Cary, the only source of his poetry previously known. This manuscript bears the inscription, ‘TRIVIALL BALLADS, writt here in obedience to MRS TOMKINS commands, by Patr. Carey, 1651, August the 20th’. Mrs. Tomkins was Lucy, née Uvedale, daughter of Sir William Uvedale, and the verses contain many identifiable references to the Uvedale family. The manuscript was later owned by Sir Walter Scott, who published the contents in 1819 and quoted from it in Woodstock, 1826. The manuscript is still preserved in the library at Abbotsford.

Patrick Cary’s last move was a return to his birthplace, Dublin. Here a second son, Edward, was baptized at the church of St. John the Evangelist on 25 April 1656, and a daughter, Susanna Patricia, on 2 April 1657. By 15 March the following year, the coldest winter in living memory according to Evelyn, their father was dead; he can hardly have been more than thirty-five. His widow, Susan, died a few months later on 25 July 1658.

Let us turn again to the cantata manuscript. It seems more probable, now that we have reviewed the circumstances of Patrick Cary’s life, that he was the author of these Italian poems, and that this may be his personal copy of the musical settings which he had commissioned of them. By the time he had completed his studies in Rome and enjoyed several years’ social intercourse in the literary circle of the Barberini he would have acquired great facility in the Italian language, and would certainly have been encouraged to express himself in verse. But there is a problem: the manuscript looks like a work of the Barberini era but it cannot be dated so early as the Barberini pontificate. One of the musical settings (fig. 3) is by the young Vincenzo Alberici, born on 26 June 1631, who can hardly have composed it so early as 1644. And such a volume seems an expensive luxury in view of Cary’s increasing financial difficulties after the flight of the Barberini. However, as Cary told Hyde, the delay in paying his portion (presumably money due to him after the death of his brother, Lucius) meant that he ‘could att last make noe use thereof, but squander’d itt away in pretensions, or quitting as much as I could of Debts’.

The musicians who set the Italian poems were all connected with Rome, and one at least was associated with an institution familiar to Patrick Cary: Francesco Margherini,
who contributed three settings, was maestro di cappella (about 1650) at St. Thomas 'degli Inglesi', that is St. Thomas of Canterbury, the chapel of the English College. The largest number (five) of the musical settings is attributed to Carlo Rainaldi, who is known to have served at least one Duke of Bracciano (a title held by a branch of the Orsini family) as maestro di cappella. The reason for his employment to set so many of the poems is not yet clear. One would guess that he was connected with the family of architects, of whom Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi are the best known, who were much favoured in the building of churches and palaces in Rome at this time. The young Vincenzo Alberici was later in the service of Queen Christina in Rome and Germany. The most famous composer in the manuscript, Giacomo Carissimi, was from 1630-74 maestro di cappella at San Apollinare, the church attached to the German College, where the most splendid music in Rome was to be heard. The fifth and last composer represented in the manuscript is referred to simply as 'Signor Antimo'. He may very probably be identified as Antimo Liberati, who served as a choirboy in the Imperial Chapel in Vienna and returned to Rome to study law, literature, and music. He took minor orders in 1644, but continued with a musical career and is recorded in 1661 as a singer in the Papal chapel. At periods not exactly dated he held positions as organist and maestro di cappella at a number of churches in Rome, including Santa Maria dell'Anima, the German national church, Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, which was attached to the hospice maintained by the English College for English pilgrims, and the Chiesa delle Stimate (San Francesca da Ripa). Thus some of the composers represented are known to have connections with the centres of English and German Catholicism in Rome.

To strengthen the link with Patrick Cary we may just look at the Italian verse from another angle. Cary's English poetry contains many passages which are consciously autobiographical or topical. In the Italian poems, although the vocabulary is mostly conventional and the use of colloquial language appears to be skilful, certain passages remain
obscure; these may again cover topical references. What is also striking is the frequent use of financial imagery. Only a few quotations from the poems can be given here:

Non so per qual verso pagar il Desio,
spes’ho tutto il mio, e l credito ho perso

Non s’appaga l’avaro a patto alcuno
Se’l cambio non li va, mille per uno

Quando imprimia a te me n venni
Un vestito mi donasti
Fatto di speranza, il tenni,
In fin hor mai no’l cangiasti;
Io da me poi mi mantenni,
Mi cibai de sospir miei,
E il mio pianto sol bevei

Such passages are woven into apparently conventional love poems. Knowing what we do of Cary’s increasing difficulties in maintaining himself during his last years in Rome it may not be altogether fanciful to see here reflected the exigencies of his personal life when his sources of income were failing. The conclusion of one of the poems may sum up the situation, ‘a poco a poco, finisce in ver, quel che comincia in gioco’.33

Whatever the original history of the volume it passed to another Englishman, who was himself a minor figure in the history of English literature. The name of William Reymes suggested that he might be the same person as the English translator of two Italian plays, whose autograph manuscript is preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington. Two facsimile pages reproduced by Helen Kaufman in her edition of one of the plays34 provided a sufficient sample of the handwriting to make the identification probable. Miss Kaufman’s further identification of the translator with William Reymes of Overstrand, Norfolk, who was born in 1629 and died in 1660, seemed to me unlikely. This William Reymes entered Caius College, Cambridge, in 1645; in 1648 he married and was soon encumbered with five children and many financial difficulties. He was not likely to have had the leisure to acquire the knowledge of Italian needed to translate these plays. Another candidate had to be found.

The Reymes family was extensive and there were a number of Williams. One seemed promising: William, younger brother of the Royalist Colonel Bullen Reymes.35 The inscription on a flyleaf of the Folger MS., ‘Guglemo & Bulleno Reymes’, tended to support this hypothesis as did Pepys’s reference to Colonel Reymes as a theatre lover: ‘Sat by Colonell Reames who understands and loves a play as well as I and I love him for it’.36 Bullen Reymes owned a considerable library which has now been dispersed.37 The William Reymes of the cantata manuscript owned at least one other manuscript now in the British Library, a collection of astronomical tables and observations bearing his signature in English.38 So far little has been discovered about the early life of Colonel Reymes’s brother, William. He was born before 1620 and is known to have been living with his uncle, Barney Reymes, of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers in Delft in
His marriage on 1 January 1654 is recorded in the register of St. Dionis Backchurch, London, where he is described as a gentleman, of St. Martin’s Outwich. At some date unknown he moved to Northpethory, County Wexford, Ireland; his will was made at Parkneshoge in the same county, and he died in 1685. The vital link necessary to prove the identity of William Reymes of Parkneshoge with the writer of the Folger MS and the owner of the cantata manuscript was to be found in the papers of Colonel Bullen Reymes (formerly at Zeals House, Wiltshire), where there is a letter from William Reymes to his nephew, the younger Bullen Reymes, written from Parkneshoge (near Gorey), 12 November 1679. This letter is in the same handwriting as the Folger MS and two signatures in the cantata manuscript. There is nothing of literary interest in the letter but it explains William Reymes’s presence in a remote part of Ireland as being for the sake of his son’s career. He inquires most anxiously after his son who had gone to visit his cousin in Dorset. If he should have died during a recent outbreak of fever he and his wife would give up their ‘late undertaken course of living (meerly for his sake, and without whome we will not continue it) and resolve to remove somewhere out of this friendless Country . . .’.

Did William Reymes meet Patrick Cary, and was this manuscript a present to him? The inscription ‘per Guglmo Reymes’ (‘for William Reymes’), in Reymes’s handwriting, suggests more than chance ownership. The time when Patrick Cary might have been giving away personal possessions was, of course, in the spring of 1650, just before he entered Douai. Was William Reymes still living in the Low Countries and did the manuscript come to him because he was known to be interested in Italian literature? It is difficult otherwise to explain his inscription in Italian.

There are many loose ends in this inquiry but this apparently modest acquisition of a music manuscript has led to a useful increase in detailed knowledge of the course of English literature, revealed a probable addition, albeit in a different language, to the works of an English poet, and brought some new music and a fine binding to the British Library. One could hardly ask for more.

---

1 Now numbered Additional MS. 58853.
2 See R. Eitner, Quellen-Lexikon, viii, p. 117.
3 Additional MS. 14399, fols. 43b–45.
4 I am indebted to Howard Nixon and Mrs. Mirjam Foot for advice on the binding.
5 See also Clarendon State Papers, ii (1773), pp. 535–9; Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, ii (1869), pp. 44–95 passim; D.N.B.
6 The Lady Falkland: Her Life (1861). The manuscript of this work, which was revised by Patrick Cary, is preserved in the archives of the Département du Nord at Lille.
7 Clarendon State Papers, ii, p. 536.
8 The Lady Falkland: Her Life, p. 112.
9 Ibid., p. 107.
10 Bennet Weldon, A Chronicle of the English Benedictine Monks (1881), p. 184. Father Wilfrid was also known as Father John Wilfrid, Father Selby, and Father Reade (or Rubeus).
11 I am most grateful to the Rector and Archivist of the English College in Rome for allowing me to consult the Liber Peregrinorum during a recent visit to Rome. The contents of the Pilgrims’ Book are published in summary form by H. Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, vi (1880), pp. 541–650.
12 Free translation: ‘There dined in our college the most illustrious Mr. Cary, brother of Lord Falkland, Dr. Holding of Lancashire, Mr. Fortescue, and Mr. Milton with a servant,
English nobility, and they were handsomely received.'

The vineyard was situated outside the Porta del Popolo. It had been purchased for the English College in 1583 by Gregory XIII for the recreation of the students. See Foley, op. cit., pp. 100-1.

Foley, op. cit., p. xxxiii.


Clarendon State Papers, ii, p. 536.


Sloane MS. 3299, fols. 177, 177b. Cary's use of 'u' for 'v' has been modernized but otherwise his spelling is retained. His English usage is not quite correct.

Cardinals Valençay and Grimaldi, both of the French party in Rome; Gueffier, a secretary of the French Embassy in Rome, and Cardinal Mazarin's father, Pietro Mazzarini, who for many years held an appointment in the Colonna household.

Clarendon State Papers, ii, p. 536.

Letter from Patrick Cary to Edward Hyde, Douai, 30 Aug. 1650, Clarendon Papers, Bodleian Library.

Vatican Library, MS. Barberini Lat. 8620, fol. 182. The extract may be translated: 'During the time that I was living in Rome I was maintained for the most part by Your Eminency's favours, which through your munificence were so copiously bestowed upon me, that while you governed I did not think of seeking my fortune elsewhere than under your protection. And if Urban VIII of glorious memory were still living, I am certain (so much confidence do I have in his propensity for me) that I could not have found a better future than in his Court.'

Letter to Hyde, 30 Aug. 1650, Clarendon Papers, Bodleian Library.


See G. Saintsbury, Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ii (1906), for details of earlier editions.

The church has been demolished but the registers were edited for The Parish Register Society of Dublin, 1906.

Funeral Entry Books, Ulster's Office, Dublin.

See Sir A. Vicars, Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland (1807), p. 80. Her will was destroyed in the explosion at the Record Office in Dublin in 1922. It mentioned a second daughter, Patricia, as living in 1658.

Letter to Hyde, 30 Aug. 1650, Clarendon Papers, Bodleian Library.

For details of these composers see the standard dictionaries of music, Eitner, Fétis, Grove, MGG.

'I don't know how to pay off Desire
I have spent everything and lost my credit'

'The miser is not satisfied with any agreement
If the exchange doesn't run a thousand to one in his favour'

'When at first I came to you
You gave me clothing
Made of hope. I kept it,
But you never changed it.
After that I maintained myself
Fed on my sighs and drank my tears'

'Gradually what begins as a jest, finishes as fact.'


Pepys, Diary, 24 Jan. 1668.

Part of the library of Bullen Reymes was presented to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1761. Most of the remainder was dispersed in three sales at Sotheby's, 27 July 1925, lots 172-193; 14 Dec. 1925, lots 1-105; 27 June 1927, lots 402-524.

Sloane MS. 514. A copy of Florio's Italian tutor, Florio his first Fruites (1578), formerly in the library of Colonel Bullen Reymes, also bore the signature of a William Reymes (see lot 39 of Sotheby's sale, 14 Dec. 1925).


Norfolk Archaeology, xxx, p. 63.

Sir A. Vicars, Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, p. 397. This will was also destroyed in 1922.

Wiltshire County Record Office, Deposit 865/467. I am most grateful to Mr. Maurice Rathbone, County Archivist of Wiltshire, for his assistance in tracing this letter.