

THIS Society had the honour of publishing the first real intimation of the antiquarian activities of the Headmaster of Appleby Grammar School from 1583 to ?1612.¹ Haverfield's paper was primarily concerned with a volume (Cotton Julius F.VI) then in the British Museum, now the British Library, in which is preserved much information on, particularly but not exclusively, Roman inscriptions sent by various correspondents, including Bainbrigg, to William Camden. Haverfield made the points that the volume was ultimately in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, and that Emil Huebner was the first, and at that date, the only researcher who had made any real use of its contents, specifically in the preparation of the British volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, which he had edited and which was published in 1873.

Haverfield also went some way to researching the life of Bainbrigg, who was, it has become clear, one of the pioneers of the study of Roman archaeology in Britain.² He travelled the length of Hadrian's Wall twice, and, unlike Camden, does not seem to have omitted the central sector, with its lawless "moss-troopers" (the seventeenth century name by which, anachronistically, the border raiders of Elizabeth's reign have become known³) and he also penetrated Redesdale and provided Camden with his first knowledge of a number of inscriptions from there.⁴

Despite Haverfield's paper, which drew some attention to Bainbrigg, he has received comparatively little attention since. He appears, of course, as a source for Camden in Eric Birley's *Research on Hadrian's Wall*⁵ and is shown, in a splendidly imaginative reconstruction at Birdoswald Museum, recording Hadrian's Wall.

His propensity to collect Roman inscriptions or to have copies made of them led to the existence of a small collection of inscriptions built into a wall near the site occupied by Appleby Grammar School when he was Headmaster. To these Haverfield alludes, and to them the present writer devoted a recent paper⁶ which summarised the available information on Bainbrigg as an antiquarian, and included a description of the inscribed stones at Appleby for which he was responsible. Further information on Bainbrigg has come to notice since the publication of that paper in the memorial volume for Professor Barri Jones.

One of the six copies of Bainbrigg's will mentioned by Hinchcliffe⁷ has been in print for three quarters of a century.⁸ It was recovered from the probate copy deposited at the York Registry in 1613. It disposes of several myths, while raising other problems. For example, Bainbrigg's college is made certain by the words *collegio Regine ubi educatus eram*, to which he left *quatuor coclearia de arginto cū indo nōie* (four silver spoons with his name on them). The Provost, Sir Alan Budd, tells me (*in litt.*) that the spoons are no longer at the college, adding that, "we lost almost all our silver during the Civil War (in support of the Royalist cause)". The copy of the will printed by Brown was made for the York Registry, he says, "by someone who did not know Latin"⁹ and who also was careless enough to leave out one or more lines of the original from which he was copying, which lines defined the

southern boundary of Pear Tree Garth, left by Bainbrigg to his successors. The substantial accuracy of this text is proved by the copy among the Hothfield papers at the Cumbria Record Office, Kendal,¹⁰ which shows only minor verbal inconsistencies, apart from a few words omitted by Brown's copyist at one point.

Brown¹¹ quotes Nicolson and Burn¹² to the effect that "the bequest of [Reginald Bainbrigg's] library to the School was subject to a payment of £6 to his executors." Such a stipulation does not occur in the copy of the will Brown himself prints nor in the Hothfield copy. Hinchcliffe, however, says "His last wishes were finally put into effect by an indenture of 23rd February 1613/14, when his executors made over to the Governors all the legacies mentioned in his will in consideration of the sum of £6".¹³ As to the reason for the lengthy period between the drawing up of Bainbrigg's will in 1606 and the issue of probate in 1613, there was, of course, a tendency for wills at that date to be drawn up when the testator was "sick in body but whole of mind and memory", or some such phrase, and thus often closely preceding death, but this was not invariable. It was for long taken to indicate that Bainbrigg died in 1606, and Brown suggests that the delay was accounted for because "he died away from home and the Will was discovered years afterwards".¹⁴ The probability of Bainbrigg's having died away from Appleby is supported by the lack of a record of his burial there, and possibly by probate having been granted to a man from near Hawes. Hinchcliffe does not make the situation much clearer by citing a deed, probably a draft, but "in Bainbrigg's hand", dated 3 April 1612, and conveying possession of various "burgages, houses, and closes [etc.]" to the governors, which, Hinchcliffe says "does no more than corroborate the terms of his will", but, by implying that he was still alive in 1612, would explain both Bainbrigg's possession of books published later than 1606 and the late grant of probate.¹⁵

Another minor problem has been the apparent discrepancy between the age of the Reginald Bainbrigg who matriculated at The Queen's College, Oxford in 1572 at the age of 24 and the date of birth deduced, by Haverfield among others, from Bainbrigg's own 1602 inscription¹⁶ which gives his age as 57, which would make him 27 in 1572. Since the inscription is in Arabic numerals, while the age recorded at Oxford in Roman numerals is xxiii, which might easily be a misreading of xxvii, it is possible to reconcile the two. The attribution of Bainbrigg to Peterhouse, Cambridge¹⁷ derives from an attempt at just such a reconciliation with the record of the matriculation of one – Banbrick at that college; he is identified with the Reginald Baynbrigg who later became incumbent of Steeple Bumpstead, Essex, and is mentioned only to be dismissed by Haverfield.¹⁸ Howarth presumably got the idea that Bainbrigg was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, from the fact that several men of this surname were indeed associated with Christ's in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁹ Brown isolates a number of separate Bainbrigg families in Westmorland and Cambridge.²⁰ In the family he calls "Bainbrigg of Hawkin Hall, Middleton", Christopher B. (1548/9-1604) was Fellow 1574-1584; Thomas B. (1573/4-1646) was Fellow 1599 and Master 1622-1646; and Edward B. (1526-1651) was B.A. (1646) and M.A. (1650) all of that College. The Reginald B. who was b.1558, B.A. of Peterhouse, Cambridge 1576 and vicar of Steeple Bumpstead, 1582, was a member of Brown's "Bainbrigg extension in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale" family. A somewhat different light, incidentally, is thrown on the sole provision of Bainbrigg's will which Howarth quotes ([he left] "a prize to the

Headboy of Appleby School; provided, that was, he could write verses in praise of Bainbridge in what the judges considered to be good Latin”) by the fact that Bainbrigg preceded his own name with those of Robert Langton and Miles Spencer.

Further, a paper on Appleby Grammar School by Budden,²¹ which does not otherwise add to our knowledge of Bainbrigg, is illustrated, *inter alia*, by photographs of two inscribed stones, one of which is captioned “? Lintel of his [Bainbrigg’s] School House doorway erected about 1606”, though the date on it appears to end with a clear 7. This was not seen on recent visits to the school. The other is of a stone now at the School,²² which shows that the inscription on the narrow side read **JACOBOR/MAG·BRIT**, presumably for Jacobo R(egi) Mag(nae) Brit(anniae).

Finally, three extremely interesting letters, not previously published, have come to light in the Cumbria Record Office, Kendal. Two are drafts, in Bainbrigg’s own hand, while the third relates to the problem of the “nobiles germanos” whose activities were described by Haverfield.²³ All three of these letters are printed as an Appendix to the present paper, and the notes appended explain most of the problems about the letters. It is worth noting, however, the lengths to which Bainbrigg was prepared to go in order to get information about Roman inscriptions.

In the first draft letter, having established on the ultimate writer’s behalf that Roman inscriptions have been found near the home of “cosen eaglefeild”, Bainbrigg’s questions about them follow like machine-gun fire: “how many, & when & wher how & by whom they were fond and if ther be suche, to send him some one inscription, as nere as you can gett wth as much possible spead as may be”.

The draft for the letter to Sir Robert Cotton shows Bainbrigg undertaking the sort of journeys which we make today without thinking, but which were a very different matter at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We do not know where he took his leave of Cotton, but he went thence to Bowes. Getting no satisfaction there (“I . . . delt both w[i]th my kinsman & other both by friend[shi]pp & monie to have had a sight of the stone . . . but neither the one nor the other could p[re]vaile”), a fascinating early version of “I couldn’t [achieve something] for love or money” as we say today) he rode to Carlisle. This is fifty miles from Bowes, a journey which must have involved at least one overnight stay. Thence he went to see Sir Thomas Metcalf who was presumably somewhere fairly near Bowes. He does not tell us a time-scale for these journeys, but they argue uncommon diligence and persistence, as does the visit to Thomas Braithwaite of Ambleside (forty miles from Appleby).

The publication of the third letter, from Crispin Gericke to the Revd Oswald Dykes, is peculiarly appropriate in this four hundredth anniversary year of the death of Queen Elizabeth and the succession of James I, to which latter event it refers.

APPENDIX

The three letters of which the texts are printed below are among the muniments of Appleby Grammar School, now at Cumbria Record Office, Kendal. The first two are drafts by Bainbrigg, and they show him going to considerable trouble to get sight of, or copies of, Roman inscriptions. The first, with its reference to “my maister”, was probably written for a pupil or,

more probably, a servant; a pupil would presumably have been able and expected to write his own letter. The second shows Bainbrigg acting for Sir Robert Cotton.²⁴ The third was written by Crispin Gericke, a German traveller whom Bainbrigg probably met²⁵ and is addressed to the Reverend Mr Dikes. It is incidentally interesting for its reference to the arrival in London of King James I and its effects. One would like to know how it came to be among Bainbrigg's, and thus the School's, papers. I am much indebted to Mr. Richard Hall, of the Record Office, for producing these for me.

Worshipful father, myne humble dutie remembered to your self / and my deare mother. wheras my cosen eaglefeild²⁶ was telling / of certaine stones wth Inscriptions, neare unto the place wher / he dwelleth when he was wth my mother at Applebie last / Therefore my maister desires you, to send him certaine word / if ther be anie suche, how many, & when & wher how & by whom they were fond / and if ther be suche, to send him some one inscription, as nere / as you can gett wth as muche possible spead as may be. Thus / humblie taken my leave, desiring your blessing, I bid you farewell / nona * noni indicij

Your Loving son
in all dutie

To S^r Robert Cotton

Right worshipfull sound and p[er]fect love takes small pleasure in faire and paynted speaches I think that / your kindness I have found, upon little desert, but wherein I can, command me I think / myself happie of your acquaintance²⁷

after our dep[ar]ture²⁸ the same daie i went to a kinsmā of myne²⁹ at the Bowes³⁰, wher I found / the imperfect Inscript of frontinus³¹ & delt both w[i]th my kinsman & other both by frend[shi]pp / & monie to have had a sight of the stone betwext the Floores³², but neither the one / nor the other could p[re]vaile with the pevishe fellow that kept the howse, / you know ther reasons, for thence I went to carolil³³ to one Railton³⁴ that owes³⁵ that / howse that he told me yt if Sr Thomas metcalf³⁶ ther steward were content I should / se it, I rode to sir thomas, who told me that he kept court ther the next day. / & that I should se it, & so he did, the stone had been cloven in the midst, & that / side whereon the inscrip was, was gone. I went to mr Thomas Braithwat³⁷ / of Ambleside, I told him what charg you had gyven me to send you those coynes / wth all expedition, he p[ro]mised me that he wold send them with his {his} letter / & in the same an exact plott of the decayed plaice, to me p[re]sentlie, or els he wold / send them from kendaile. & so I hope you have receyved them or³⁸ this. I wilbe / sure hereof verie shortlie. I heare of two inscriptions at Ravenglass³⁹ at one / m^r chambers howse, I desired him to send them wth the coynes. what I have done [altered to what care I had] /in the promisses I leave to your kyndness to consider and thus for this tyme I take / my leave, from App

Yours Assuredlie

[CRO(K) WDS 46/10/4]

Non dubito, Reuerende Dñe Dikes⁴⁰, quin in eas litteras a Dño Spenseo⁴¹ acceperis, in quibus petij, / ut de annulatis et perforatis istis lapillis plures ad nos mitteres. Coeteros enim Dño Cottono⁴² / tradidi, nec ullos mihi reseruau. Tu cum in vicinis habites, facile plures colligere poteris, et / mihi, ac meo Nobili qui rerum uariorum ualde anidus est, communicare. Dñs Cottonus, et Dñs / Cābdenus⁴³ bene valent, et a me petierunt ut te illo illorū nomine annie salutarem. Ego quoque / tuo no[min]e illis officiosam annunciam salutem, qui palam professi sunt, se ob multa beneficia / tibi multum debere. Ingressus regius⁴⁴ quam splendidissimus est futurus, iam multos impedit, / quo minus cū amicis conuersari queant. Nos hic tantisper commoraturi sumus, donec omnes / solemnitates peractos fuerint. Tu vero, Si vel lapillos, uel litteras ad nos dare uolueris, illos / Dño Daniel hochtattero⁴⁵ praesenti nuncio tuto committo. Io' operam habuit sedulam, ut singula ad / nostras in anuos perueniant, Nouit et hospitem et hospitium meum, habito apud Johannem / Dorperū⁴⁶, in vico vulgo Lumberstreat⁴⁷ vale

Tui obseruantissimus

Chrispinus Gericus.

[CRO(K) WDS 46/10/6]

Notes and References

- ¹ F. Haverfield, "Cotton Iulius F.VI. Notes on Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby, on William Camden and on some Roman Inscriptions", *CW2*, xi, 343-378.
- ² *Ibid.*, 345-349.
- ³ R. C. Bosanquet, and E. B. Birley, "Robert Smith and the 'Observations upon the Picts Wall' (1708-9)", *CW2*, lv, 168.
- ⁴ W. Hepple, "Sir Robert Cotton, Camden's *Britannia*, and the early history of Roman Wall studies", *AA5* 27, 8-9.
- ⁵ E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal, 1961), 278.
- ⁶ B. J. N. Edwards, "Reginald Bainbrigg, *scholemaister*, and his stones", 25-33 in *Archaeology of the Roman Empire; a tribute to the life and works of Professor Barri Jones*, BAR International Series 940, ed. N. J. Higham (Oxford, 2001).
- ⁷ E. Hinchcliffe, *Appleby Grammar School – from Chantry to Comprehensive* (Appleby, 1974), 35.
- ⁸ R. P. Brown, "Thomas Langton and his Tradition of Learning", *CW2*, xxvi, 231-233.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 184.
- ¹⁰ CRO(K) WD/Hoth/Box 33/Wills.
- ¹¹ R. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, 184.
- ¹² N&B, i, 331.
- ¹³ E. Hinchcliffe, *op. cit.*, 35.
- ¹⁴ R. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, 185.
- ¹⁵ E. Hinchcliffe, *op. cit.*, 33.
- ¹⁶ B. J. N. Edwards, *op. cit.*, No. 6.
- ¹⁷ C. H. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (1858-1861): J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1922): *D.N.B. s.n.*.
- ¹⁸ F. Haverfield, *op. cit.*, 347 and see below.
- ¹⁹ D. Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven and London, 1985).
- ²⁰ R. P. Brown, *op. cit.*
- ²¹ L. Budden, "Some Notes on the History of Appleby Grammar School", *CW2*, xxxix, 227-261.
- ²² B. J. N. Edwards, *op. cit.*, No. 18.
- ²³ F. Haverfield, *op. cit.*, 371-737.

- ²⁴ W. Hepple, "Sir Robert Cotton", *op. cit.*
- ²⁵ F. Haverfield, *op. cit.*, 377.
- ²⁶ *cosen eaglefeild* – this is as close as we get to identifying the person on whose behalf the letter was drafted.
- ²⁷ Bainbrigg is experimenting with various phrases suggesting dependency and gratitude.
- ²⁸ *dep[ar]ture* – i.e. parting, the first meaning given in OED. If this gloss is correct, and Bainbrigg had met Cotton, the question immediately arises of when that meeting took place. Cotton toured the north country with Camden in 1599 (W. Hepple, "Sir Robert Cotton", *op. cit.*, 2), but Hepple also cites evidence that Cotton did, as Birley suggested (*op. cit.*, 235), make a second visit to the north after Bainbrigg had reported to Camden the inscriptions he had found in Redesdale in 1601. This second visit seems likely to have been short, and the dating evidence is inconclusive. 1615 is a possibility, based largely on the date of a letter from one Peter Riddell of Newcastle to Cotton, where the third digit of the year may be "0" or "1". Hepple, however ("Sir Robert Cotton", *op. cit.*, 14), inclines to the suggestion that "Cotton did make a second visit to Northumberland at some date between 1601 and 1607 [i.e. after the 1600 edition of *Britannia* and before that of 1607] . . . to locate the stones seen [in Redesdale] by Bainbrigg". . . Can we, perhaps, envisage Cotton arranging to meet Bainbridge at somewhere like Barnard Castle or even Piercebridge as he returned south?
- ²⁹ *kinsmā of myne* – no Bainbrigg is located at Bowes on Brown's (1926) "Bainbrig [*sic*] of Appleby" pedigree, on which the Headmaster appears. It must be said, however, that locations are sparse on these pedigrees, and frequently not readily associated with familiar place-names.
- ³⁰ *the Bowes* – It is very interesting that Bainbrigg uses the definite article, referring to "the Bowes". Early forms of the name cited in *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (English Place-Name Society, 1928) seem to make it certain that the origin of the name lies with OE *boga* or ON *bogr* – a bow or arch. The name is presumed to derive from the bends in the river, though the Greta is not hereabouts particularly well endowed with bends; one might expect the name in a meander belt. Nevertheless, a recent paper (M. A. Atkin, "Bows, Bowmen and Bowyers", *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 34, 5-14, suggests that some "bow" names derive from ON *bú* – "cattle", and refer to a stock farm. One or two of these names occur (Atkin, *op. cit.*, 6) with the definite article and/or a possessive preposition. Did Bainbrigg regularly use the term "the bow(e)/s" to mean a cattle farm and therefore refer to the site on Stainmore as "the Bowes"? I am indebted to Dr M. C. Higham for drawing my attention to Atkin's paper.
- ³¹ *Inscript of frontinus* – RIB 734.
- ³² *betwixt the Floores* – presumably of Railton's house.
- ³³ *caroliol* – Carlisle; no form with "o" before the first "l" is recorded in *The Place-Names of Cumberland* (English Place-Names Society, 1971), 41 (hereafter PNCu). It is probably a slip.
- ³⁴ *Railton* – a common name in north west Cumberland.
- ³⁵ *owes* – i.e. owns. "[T]he primitive sense 'have, possess' is not yet extinct in the dialects, which use *awe* or *owe* = *own* . . ." (OED s.v. *owe*).
- ³⁶ *Sr Thomas metcalf* – Bainbrigg calls him "steward", and I take this to mean steward of the manor (court). The manor of Bowes became Crown property in 1483; the reversion was sold by James I to the citizens of London, from whom it was purchased by trustees in 1656. Little documentary material survives from before 1660, and Sir Thomas Metcalf does not seem to be named in that which does. I am indebted to the Acting County Archivist of North Yorkshire (Judith Smeaton) and the County Archivist of County Durham (Jennifer Gill) for looking into this matter for me.
- ³⁷ *mr Thomas Braithwat* – he is said (M. L. Armitt, "Ambleside Town and Chapel: Some Contributions towards their History", *CW2*, vi, 24) to have begun a collection of Roman coins from Ambleside which eventually amounted to 322, and which was bequeathed in the seventeenth century to The Queen's College, Oxford. My thanks go to Professor D. C. A. Shotter for this reference. Like Bainbrigg's spoons today, the coins were untraceable at the College by 1906, but there is a strong suspicion that they never reached the College – which may also be true of the spoons.
- ³⁸ *or* – ere, i.e. before. See OED s.v. – sense C.1.
- ³⁹ *inscriptions at Ravenglass* – No inscription is recorded from Ravenglass, with the exception of that on the recently-discovered *diploma* (P. A. Holder, "A Roman Military Diploma from Ravenglass, Cumbria", *Bulletin John Rylands Library* 79.1, 3-41). RIB 795 records the discovery of an inscription of which the text was not recovered.
- ⁴⁰ *Reuerende Dñe Dikes* The Revd Oswald Dykes, rector of Wensley (Yks.). W. Hepple notes in "John

Dee, Harleian MS 473, and the Early Recording of Roman Inscriptions in Britain”, *Britannia* 33, 177, that although the normal spelling was “Dykes”, Camden used “Dikes”, and this probably accounts for Gericke’s use of this spelling. Hepple also (“Sir Robert Cotton”, *op. cit.*, 7), correctly, describes Dykes as “a member of the Dykes family of Cumberland”, citing (n. 32) G. Ornsby, *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle* (Surtees Society, 1877) 68, and C. R. Hudleston and R. S. Boumphrey, *Cumbrian Families and Heraldry* (Kendal, 1978). He also quotes Camden as locating his contemporary T. Dykes (almost certainly Thomas, though Boumphrey and Hudleston skip a generation hereabouts) at “Wardale”. The only place so named on current O.S. maps is in 1 km square SE 8570, east of Norton (Yks. N.R.). The resolution of the problem created when this fact is related to the clear indications in Boumphrey and Hudleston that the family was seated in NW Cumberland is as follows. Reference to the 1:63,360 O.S. map of 1965 reveals, in grid square NY 1437, the name “Wardhall Common” and in NY 1338, “Wardhall Guards”. In the same square, at NY 132 385, is “Hall [in Gothic type](site of)”. On the 1:126,720 O.S. map of 1913, however, the common is “Ward Hall Common”, while the hall is simply “Hall”, in Gothic type. The conclusion is clear – the seat of the Dykes family was Ward Hall, in the parish of Plumbland, sometimes rendered Wardale. In fact, Camden’s use of the form Wardale precedes any of those given in PNCu., which are later C17 and C18. The progressive “gentrification” of this name is instructive. From respectable, if unexciting, beginnings as ON varði-hóll (Beacon Hill), it passed through the Middle Ages as Warthole or variants of that form. By the seventeenth century this was changing to the more euphonious Wardale, which led, in turn, to Ward Hall. There was a branch line from this descent which resulted in Warthole Hall, by which name it was known when a sketch was made of it in the late eighteenth century (F. L. Price, “William Thackeray and Warthole Hall, Plumbland”, *CW2*, xcvi, 256), which seems to be the only indication of the building’s appearance prior to its demolition or collapse, which took place probably in the early twentieth century.

⁴¹ *Dño Spenseo* – presumably the poet Edmund Spenser, who was a member of the Cotton/Camden circle.

⁴² *Dño Cottono* – Sir Robert Cotton.

⁴³ *Dñs Cābdenus* – William Camden.

⁴⁴ *ingressus regius* – i.e. the arrival of James VI of Scotland and I of England in London. James had been informed by Robert Carey on 27 March of the death of Queen Elizabeth I in the early hours of 24 March. Carey had ridden, using relays of horses previously arranged, from London to Edinburgh in three days. The King left Edinburgh over a week later, on 7 April, and, travelling at the usual pace of a medieval monarch’s progress (an average of about twelve miles a day), arrived in London on 5 May, thereby missing the Queen’s funeral on 28 April. This reference thus indicates both the place from which the letter was written and its date i.e. London, probably some time in late April or early May 1603.

⁴⁵ *Dño Daniel hochtattero* – Daniel Hochstatter or Hechstatter (variations in spelling are legion) was the most prominent of the Germans who came to Keswick in 1576 to work the mines (G. Hammersley, *Daniel Hechstetter the Younger: memorabilia and letters 1600-1639* (Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Stuttgart, 1988). He had a son, also named Daniel. It seems curious that Gericke, himself a German, should omit the medial “s”, but the younger Daniel certainly journeyed to and from the North to London on the business of the mines, and would have been a suitable courier for this letter.

⁴⁶ *Johannem Dorperū* – Gericke had clearly found lodging with a fellow-countryman.

⁴⁷ *Lumberstreat* – ?Lombard Street. The expression “in lumber” (= in trouble) is said to be derived from Lombard = pawnbroker’s shop, itself derived from the money-lending activities of the Lombard family (Brewer’s *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (1900 ed).

