

## NOTES

### **Geophysical Survey in Carlisle Cathedral Close 2000**

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#### **Editorial Introduction**

**F**OLLOWING excavation in 1985 of a series of test pits along the south and west sides of Carlisle Cathedral (McCarthy, 1987; Keevill, 2008) and a rescue excavation in 1988 on the site of the new Treasury (Keevill, 1989; McCarthy, 1996), Carlisle Archaeology Unit commissioned a geophysical survey of various parts of the Cathedral Close. The results of this survey were difficult to interpret and the existence of this report was, until recently, not widely known. Nonetheless, one area, the gardens of Nos 3 and 6 The Abbey, revealed highly significant results which deserve wider dissemination. The purpose of this note is twofold: to draw attention to the existence of the geophysical report and to publish the data about the possible pre-Norman structures beneath the gardens of Nos 3 and 6 The Abbey.

Copies of the full report (Hamilton & Schmidt, 2000) are in the Dean and Chapter archive and with the Heritage and Environment Section of Cumbria County Council. The following summary is extracted from the full report and is followed by our commentary on the remains in the gardens of Nos 3 and 6.

#### **Introduction**

The Department of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, carried out geophysical surveys at the site (approximate O.S. grid reference NY 3989 5595), under License CU546 from English Heritage and by permission of the Dean and Chapter. Fieldwork was carried out between 14-18 August 2000 by Ken Hamilton of the University of Bradford and Rachel Grahame of Carlisle Archaeology Unit.

The site consists of a precinct comprising several Grade 1 listed buildings, including the Cathedral itself, in an area of 2.08ha (5.15 acres), with gardens, tarmac roads, and grass verges in between. The site overlays up to three metres of archaeological deposits, spanning the Roman through to the medieval periods. Excavations within the Cathedral Close showed traces of Roman buildings, overlain by soils characteristic of Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian periods. From the twelfth century onwards, the site was occupied by an Augustinian Priory, along with the parish church of St Mary's. The Priory remains were extensively modified in the seventeenth century when the Cathedral was reduced to its current size.

The objectives of the survey were to identify elements of the layout of the Roman town, to identify the position of buildings possibly associated with the Anglian monastery

of St Cuthbert, to identify the position of the Anglo-Scandinavian church, and to shed further light on the layout of the Priory and precinct in the medieval and post-medieval periods.

Ground penetrating radar and earth resistance surveys were carried out on the site. The choice of methods was based on the need for a survey technique able to penetrate a variety of ground surfaces, and to give information on the relative depth of features.

### Survey area

Six areas were surveyed (the Deanery Garden, the Cathedral Gate area, the Cloister area, east of the south transept, behind the Fraternity, and the gardens of Nos 3 and 6 The Abbey) and are shown in Figure 1.

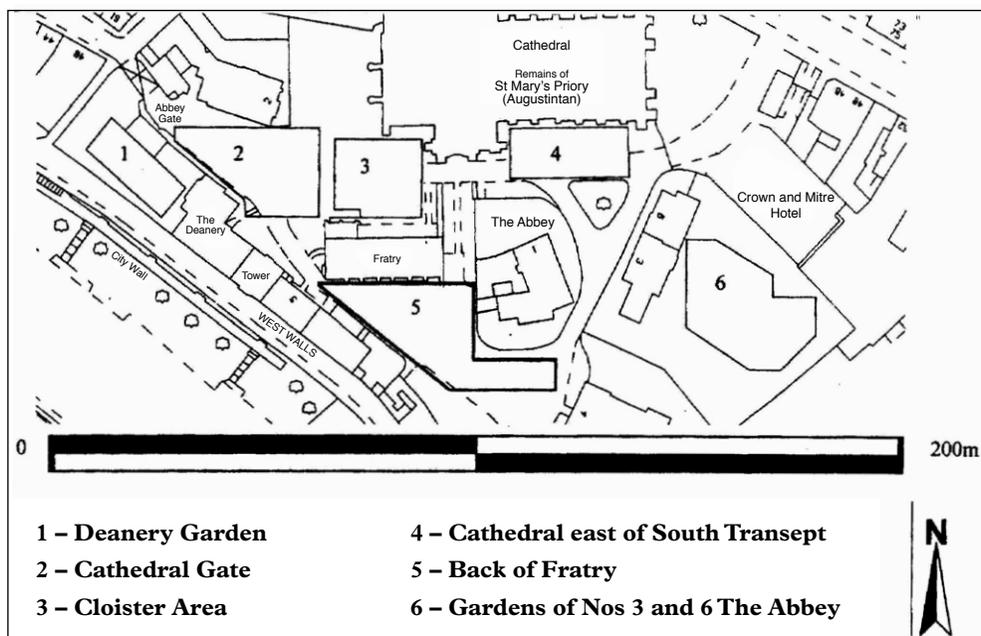


FIG. 1. Carlisle Cathedral survey locations (after Hamilton & Schmidt 2000, Fig. 1).

### Results

In summary the results showed traces of archaeological activity in all areas. In the main this activity was impossible to interpret, however, due to the fragmentary nature of the remains. Elements of structural remains were discovered in the Deanery Garden, the gardens of Nos 3 and 6, and in the Cloister area.

#### Gardens of Nos 3 and 6 The Abbey (Ian Caruana and David Weston)

The one area where the survey results are not too confusing for sensible comment lies in the gardens behind Nos 3 and 6 The Abbey. Here the survey shows a series



FIG. 2. Survey results interpretation diagram: note especially those in the gardens of Nos 3 and 6 The Abbey (after Hamilton & Schmidt 2000, Fig. 76).

of features at right angles to each other running NE-SW and NW-SE. (Fig. 2) One of the lines does reflect the recent (1960) internal division between Nos 3 and 6 and could be seen as an external boundary between the two houses, although this is very unlikely. However, it is also clear that these features all run at 45 degrees to the orientation of the Norman Priory and Cathedral structures which generally follow the E-W orientation of the Cathedral itself. Moreover, they show none of the multiplicity of alignments which make other survey areas so confusing.

Since the excavations in 1977-78 on the site of the Marks and Spencer food hall in Blackfriars Street (McCarthy, 1990), it has been apparent that the forerunners of Blackfriars Street were of considerable significance in the Roman town. The excavations revealed a series of buildings covering at least three properties which were continually rebuilt over the life of the Roman period from the late first century and into the fifth century. Both the density and intensity of occupation here contrasts with much sparser civilian occupation in other parts of the Roman town, such as The Lanes, and appears to indicate that the line of the Roman arterial road from the south followed the line of Blackfriars Street rather than English Street, as happens in the modern street plan.

It has also been noted that St Cuthbert's Church, at the north-west end of Blackfriars Street, is not orientated east-west but takes its alignment from the Roman street and lies end on to the road (McCarthy, 1990). Virtually nothing is known of the early history of St Cuthbert's Church (the present building dates from 1778) but there is a strong suspicion that it was laid out very early in the life of the town when the influence of the Roman street pattern was very dominant. At Blackfriars Street there were two periods of probable Anglian date, the first remains of a building which cut across the line of the Roman buildings and was in turn cut by a pit lined with timber felled in the seventh century A.D. These features no longer respected Roman property boundaries

but it is likely that they were alongside the Roman road, albeit set back from it (*ibid.*, Fig. 240). It should also be observed that the Priory precinct, dating from the time of Henry I, cuts across the line of Blackfriars Street, reducing its function as a major thoroughfare and turning it into the comparative backwater that it remains to-day.

When the features in the gardens of Nos 3 and 6 are shown in relation to what is known about early Blackfriars Street (Fig. 3) it is immediately obvious that there is a *prima facie* case for suggesting that these remains belong to a period of activity which pre-dates the creation of the Norman Priory. Given that these results are derived from an earth resistance survey with a 0.5m electrode array (penetration depth of not more than 0.5-0.8m) we would suggest that it is more probable that they represent later rather than earlier archaeological features i.e. vestiges of the Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian period rather than the Roman (which should also follow the same orientation) since these would be higher up in the stratigraphic sequence. While we should be careful about making too precise a claim for the date or status of these geophysics results, we feel that they should be added to the body of evidence for early medieval occupation in Carlisle. We might also suggest that they offer one of the best locations for investigating the nature of the early ecclesiastical establishments widely

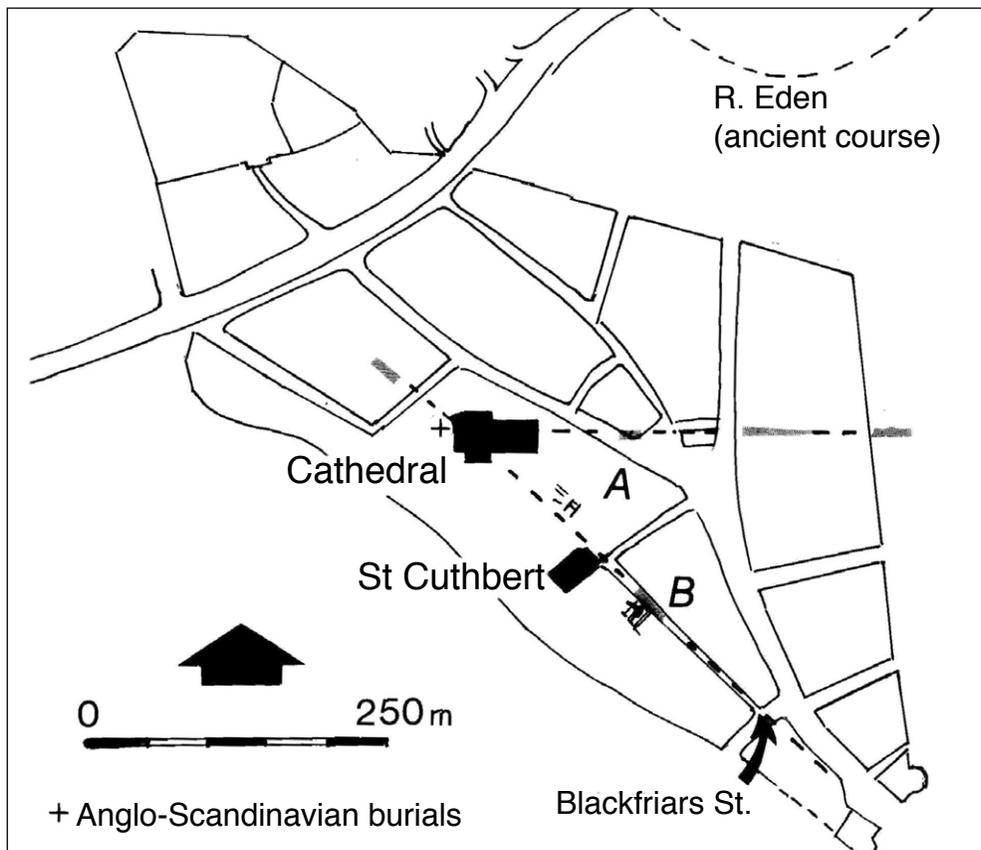


FIG. 3. Features in the gardens of Nos 3 and 6 The Abbey (*A*) shown in relation to other features of Roman and early medieval date. The excavation at Blackfriars Street is *B*.

believed, following Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* (chapter 27), to pre-date the institutions of the Norman period.

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## Who Ran Hadrian's Wall?

B. J. N. EDWARDS

**H**ADRIAN'S Wall has been the subject of academic enquiry for well over 400 years, a study which was, until recently, often treated as having begun with William Camden in the last quarter of the sixteenth century (See, e.g. Birley, 1961). It has recently been shown that such study began rather earlier (Edwards and Shannon, 2001). Shannon (2007) has further demonstrated that interest, in terms at least of literary and cartographic mention of the monument, never really ceased throughout the Middle Ages. Work on the Wall, particularly since the time of John Horsley (Horsley, 1732), had tended to concentrate on the anatomy of the Wall and its ancillary structures, but in the twentieth century some attention was drawn to the tactical use of the Wall (e.g. Richmond, 1947, repeated in Richmond, 1957 and 1965). The ideas then expressed about the tactical use of the Wall were to some extent dependent on ideas about its overall function, and both have undergone some considerable modification in recent years (See Dobson, 2008). One aspect, however, which has seldom been considered, apparently, is the day-to-day running of the Wall.

When the legionary builders had completed their work, they withdrew, and left the Wall to be run by the auxiliaries stationed on it. Arguments as to whether or not the Wall was a defence, a political statement, an economic barrier or whatever, do not here matter. What cannot be doubted, surely, is that it was *run* by the military. Who directed that running? Theoretically at least the answer is, ultimately, the Governor of the province; but he had many other things to run and he cannot have had any direct involvement in day-to-day affairs on the Wall. Now, it has often been said that the prefect of the *Ala Petriana*, stationed at Stanwix, was 'the senior officer on the Wall', and thus he must be a candidate to be considered as its 'commander'. Indeed, as the Commanding Officer of the sole milliary *ala* on the Wall, in some sense he had the highest rank (Breeze and Dobson, 2000). But really the word 'rank' is probably

misleading. To be an auxiliary prefect or tribune was something of a cross between what we mean today by a 'rank' and an 'appointment'. We are familiar with a man having the *rank* of Lieutenant Colonel and being *appointed* to be Commanding Officer of a regiment. The title of prefect or tribune in the Roman army carried something of both ideas; but the modern parallel does not entirely hold, for the Roman officer might well not be a career soldier (Birley, 1953). Given this situation alone, it is unlikely that the C.O. of the *Ala Petriana* could have 'run' the Wall in the sense of directing the activities of other units stationed on the Wall.

The subject is barely touched upon in the standard modern account of the Wall (Breeze and Dobson, 2000), where a paragraph of about a hundred words makes the point only that there is no evidence to support the idea that the prefect of the *Ala Petriana* might somehow have commanded the Wall garrison. It might be thought that the answer lay in the allocation of auxiliary units to the 'command' (in both the abstract and geographical senses) of a specific legion. We should bear in mind that Cheesman discussed this subject (i.e. legionary 'commands' of *auxilia*, not specifically in relation to the Wall) at some length (1914), adding, rather fiercely, 'The point is obscure and would not have been worth such a detailed discussion but for the unwarrantable facility with which it is usually disposed of'. This did not deter either Eric Birley (1953) or Mike Jarrett, the latter suggesting (1965) that, a couple of years after the inception of the Wall, all its garrisons were under the York command, with the remaining 'military' areas of the province parcelled out between the Chester and Caerleon commands. If true, this would mean that the man who ultimately directed what went on on the Wall at that time was the legate of *VI Victrix*. Given the distances involved, his command would have been only slightly less tenuous than that of the Governor, even if he was prepared to do quite a lot of travelling.

It is here that we might well digress at some length about the purpose of the Wall and its ancillary elements of milecastles, turrets and forts, to say nothing of the Vallum and the outpost forts. The answer to the implied question or questions about their functions will affect any thoughts about the day-to-day running of the Wall, and the everyday activities of the soldiers in garrison on it. Without, however, going into those questions, there are at least two obvious points to be made. First, a unit's immediate response to any change in the *status quo* in its area of responsibility would doubtless have had to be made without reference to a higher authority than its Commanding Officer, and certainly not to York. This is not to say that no such reference was ever made; recent research on signalling systems in the Wall area (Woolliscroft, 2001 and 2008) and elsewhere is relevant here. Woolliscroft has shown not only that communication by signalling was possible on Hadrian's Wall, but that certain of the structures on and around the Wall (milecastles, turrets and towers) were sited away from their expected measured positions, and that the resulting sitings were better adapted to signalling than the measured positions. Indeed the very existence of isolated towers which we call 'signalling towers' implies the importance of signalling. Communication nevertheless must have been relatively slow and imprecise. Secondly, any officer knows that a prime cause of discontent and unrest among the men of his command is the lack of anything specific to do. From this it follows that training, the modern soldier's 'scheme', must have been the order of many days on the Wall. That

this was likely to have been approved of by Hadrian in particular is evidenced by his own well-known attention to such matters.

Units in garrison on the Wall would have had to respond to any change in the situation largely alone, that is, without the co-operation of other units, despite the possibilities of signal communication just discussed. The sort of training exercise here envisaged would not have needed to cover a great deal on inter-unit co-operation. The similarities between the Roman army and the British army of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries have often been adduced; but, while this is frequently a useful analogy, its seductiveness should not be allowed to blind us to the differences between the two. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that inter-unit rivalry, or at least individuality, existed. It is presumably easily demonstrated in the case of the legions, for surely only unit individuality can be the reason for the differences in design and layout of milecastles and turrets, and, indeed, probably of barracks and other fort buildings. The retention of 'native' arms by, for example, Dacian auxiliaries (at Birdoswald) and Syrian archers (at Carvoran) doubtless tended to emphasise auxiliary unit 'specialness'.

To return to the question with which we began – who ran the army of the Wall? – the answer may well have been 'nobody'. The Wall and all its ancillary features referred to above have always tended to be treated by archaeologists as something unitary, an idea which has been reinforced by the designation of the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site, which includes all the disparate elements from the 'outpost forts' south to the Vallum, and including those on the Cumbrian coast. But from the point of view of the Commanding Officer of a Wall fort, lacking the assistance of telephone or radio, the Wall was *not* an entity. His responsibility would have been for the area within his field of view to north and south. Anything else would have been somebody else's problem. All the other elements, both on the Wall and beyond it to north and south, would have been outside his ken, and thus his responsibility, with the exception, presumably, of his section of the Wall Ditch and of the Vallum. He must, of course, have had instructions as to which turrets and milecastles were within his command, but manning those would have been his own responsibility, requiring no higher referral. The same applies to manning the Wall parapet walk, if we are convinced that such existed (See Bidwell, 2008b). It should be noted that Richmond's discussion and diagrams of the tactical use of the Wall, mentioned earlier, envisaged the co-operation of the garrisons of at least two neighbouring forts. But Richmond's whole discussion is predicated much more on 'attack' and 'defence' than modern ideas about the Wall will allow.

It has been suggested above that the Wall, at least in the early second century, was within the command of *Legio VI Victrix*, stationed at York. It is not easy to demonstrate that this situation continued, though there seems to be no evidence to the contrary. The legion itself seems to have remained in garrison at York until the last days of Roman Britain. By the fourth century, however, the presence in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Rivet and Smith, 1979) of a list of places and their garrisons '*per lineam valli*' surely suggests that there was still some unity to the Wall and its troops. Since that list was apparently 'fossilised' at some uncertain date within the fourth century, the fact that

it includes sites well away from the Wall probably indicates that its later copyist(s), having no information against which to check the list, missed the point at which the list was supposed to end. One of the sites towards the end of the list, *Bremetenraco* (= Ribchester, in Lancashire), is nearly ten miles further from the nearest point on the Wall than Bowness on Solway is from Wallsend. Whether or not the unity suggested by the *per lineam valli* list implies the continuation throughout the second and third centuries of the unity indicated by the Wall's probable inclusion within the York command in the second century is not clear, but may well have been true at the moment of drawing up that part of the *Notitia*.

It should be noted that that moment was probably somewhat earlier than the drawing up of much of the Western section of the *Notitia*. Only two units within the *per lineam valli* list are not 'old fashioned' *alae* and cohorts, and only one of those is stationed at a fort actually on the Wall (The *numerus Maurorum*, at *Aballava* – Burgh-by-Sands). Further, as Gillam pointed out many years ago (1949), the forts in the 'Wall' list (16 stations actually on the Wall together with seven others) are not represented on the insignia of the Dux Britanniarum, whose post heads the section (XL of the *Notitia Occidens*). There may indeed be a case for suggesting that there was often some confusion in Roman minds about the western end of the Wall. Four other more or less contemporary lists of forts, in addition to that in the *Notitia*, are to be found in the Ravenna Cosmography, and on the Rudge Cup, the Amiens Patera and the Ilam (or Staffordshire) Pan. All four differ in the degree of completeness and the order in which they name the last seven forts, those west of Great Chesters (*Aesica*).

This has taken us some way from the question of the Wall's ultimate actual commander. We can suggest, but not demonstrate with any certainty, that in the early-second-century the Wall's garrisons lay within the command of the Sixth Legion at York, and that some similar overall command existed in the fourth century, probably, given the nature of the units specified, earlier rather than later in that century. We can say with reasonable certainty that neither of these commands could have ordered at all precisely what happened from day to day on the Wall. Given this, and the points adduced earlier, we can suggest that 'the commander of the Wall garrison' need be sought no further – because he did not exist.

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## **Moses Bowness, Ambleside Photographer, and the Promotion of Tourism in the Nineteenth Century**

SUSAN PREMURU

In the summer of 2008, a year after Kendal Library held an exhibition on 'The Life and Work of the Forgotten Moses Bowness',<sup>1</sup> a large collection of what could be some of his lost archive of glass plates was found gathering dust in the basement.<sup>2</sup> At the time of writing they are undergoing conservation and cataloguing prior to being made publicly available. It is hoped that these plates will provide a useful and valuable source of historical information for researchers of photography, tourism, the Lake District and Moses Bowness.

Later Lakeland photographers have been well documented, one of Moses' apprentices, Herbert Bell, being fully represented in the Armitage Museum.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, surprising that very little is known about Moses. The only published work that makes reference to him argues, 'We shall never, for instance, know about Moses Bowness who trained a number of fine Lakeland photographers.'<sup>4</sup> Moses Bowness died on 23 April 1894, a few days after a tragic accident.<sup>5</sup> The anomaly of how a well-known photographer could be so completely forgotten after his death is currently the subject of this author's ongoing further research. However, it would appear that, on his death, Moses' second wife Helena, the sole beneficiary of his will,<sup>6</sup> settled up his affairs and left the district taking their young family with her.

At the time of his death, Moses Bowness, who had been born in a copper miner's cottage in Coniston in 1833, was living in the Georgian mansion, Belmont, near Hawkshead. His obituary<sup>7</sup> says that he had built the largest photographic business in Westmorland, farmed 500 acres at Wray Castle, was known as a poet, and was extremely active in the promotion of the tourist trade in Ambleside. It will be argued that he utilised his talents in these fields to further his own business as well as that of his fellow townsmen and women, and in doing so met, and photographed, many of the foremost people of the day.

Nothing has yet been discovered which explains how or why Moses turned to photography as a career. The 1851 Census lists Moses as a farm labourer at Claife, near Hawkshead in the district of Ulverston, aged 17.<sup>8</sup> However, it is possible that he had crossed Windermere and seen the early artist and photographers' showrooms there and at Bowness,<sup>9</sup> and been inspired by this new medium. Certainly the emerging tourist trade there provided opportunities for anyone with imagination and entrepreneurial spirit. The railway had come to Windermere in 1847 and by the 1850s was bringing in a steady stream of new visitors. Before 1847 visitors to the Ambleside area had tended to be mainly, though not exclusively, the wealthy and titled who had usually come in their own coaches, eager to view the Lakes from Thomas West's viewing stations.<sup>10</sup> New hotels and lodging houses sprang up to accommodate them, which provided many local people with a new source of income during the summer months. The new railway line helped to increase the numbers of tourists arriving in the Lake District to view the scenery, and was to bring a passenger to Windermere station who would give a profound boost to Moses' early career.

It is known that sometime after 1853, whilst in his early twenties, Moses became a practicing photographer. The reverse of his early *cartes-de-visites* state simply his name and the address of his studio, and are embellished with a small emblem. After May 1857 they were to boast 'Photographer to HRH The Prince of Wales'. (See Fig. 1).

Two long and detailed accounts in the *Westmorland Gazette*<sup>11</sup> give a fascinating account of a visit to the Lakes by the then, 15-year-old Prince of Wales and his retinue. The party arrived by train at Windermere station, then walked the mile and a half down to Bowness expecting to be 'incog.' [sic]<sup>12</sup> The party toured the district on ponies, and, after a few days' stay in a hotel at Grasmere (thereafter named 'The Prince of Wales') they stayed an extra day where 'The group was photographed by Mr Moses Bowness in three different styles.'<sup>13</sup>

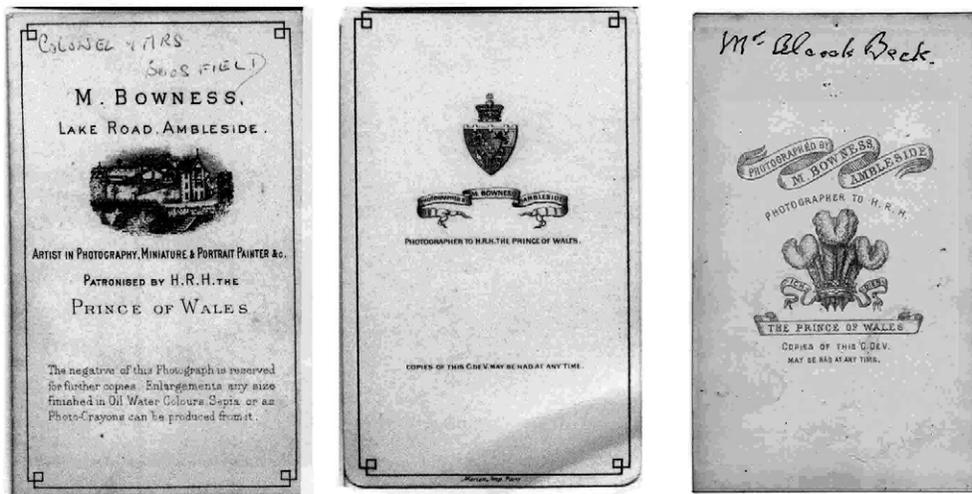


FIG. 1. Reverse side of the Cartes de Visite.

The event is confirmed by the Prince's diary entry for 15 May, held in the Royal Windsor Archives, which reads: 'We left Grasmere at about 11.30 & [sic] before we started our party was photographed, & [sic] very successfully because it was a very fine day.'<sup>14</sup> The Prince does not name Moses, nor, unfortunately, are the photographs themselves in the archives. However, Moses was to capitalise on this event by advertising himself as a photographer to the Prince of Wales. Thus, anyone who had a photograph taken in his daylight studio would be presented with their image with the Prince of Wales' cipher on the reverse, intimating that the sitter was privileged to have been photographed by a man who had photographed the future king of England.

A Kirkby Stephen poet, John Close, was to memorialise the event in a poem which he published in his own Christmas Book<sup>15</sup> and circulated widely:

(*Bowness*, by name, who had the *Prince of Wales*  
When Royalty, he sat in the same Chair  
Where Poet Close was taken with such grace,  
No greater contrast ever could sit there!) [sic]

Poet Close used the following photograph in his stall window to their mutual benefit, and wrote other accounts of Moses in his Christmas magazines.<sup>16</sup> (See Fig. 2). Moses displayed full-page advertisements in them, quite unlike the small ones in the local paper.<sup>17</sup> This would have gone country-wide. Moses, like all the other local businesses, was quick to make use of this patronage to help bring tourists to his studio which would have had the effect of improving trade all around Ambleside.

In 1858, Moses Bowness married the widow of local builder Abraham Slater, 16 years his senior.<sup>18</sup> They had one daughter, Mary A., born c.1859.<sup>19</sup> In the early 1860s he launched into a building programme which was to provide extensive waiting and changing rooms, along with processing facilities for his glass-roofed daylight studio, as well as building the cottages and houses surrounding it.<sup>20</sup> The studio was also memorialised by Poet Close:<sup>21</sup>

At Ambleside, upon a mountain's brow  
A Photographic Artist has a bower,  
A House of Glass where Sol's own sunny beams –  
Steals many a lovely face within an hour;  
An Artist of high fame, with Poet's Soul

Moses also wrote his own poetry. One of his poems was published in the earliest edition of the new *Ambleside Herald* in 1880, extolling the beauties of the district and the benefits the town offered to the visitor. The following verse is an example of Moses' attempts to promote Ambleside.

In fashion, Ambleside stands first;  
Its shops are always fraught  
With newest goods of every kind,  
The best that can be bought.  
The shopkeepers are men of means,  
Combined with highest skill,  
Whose noble aim is to maintain  
Their customers goodwill.<sup>22</sup>

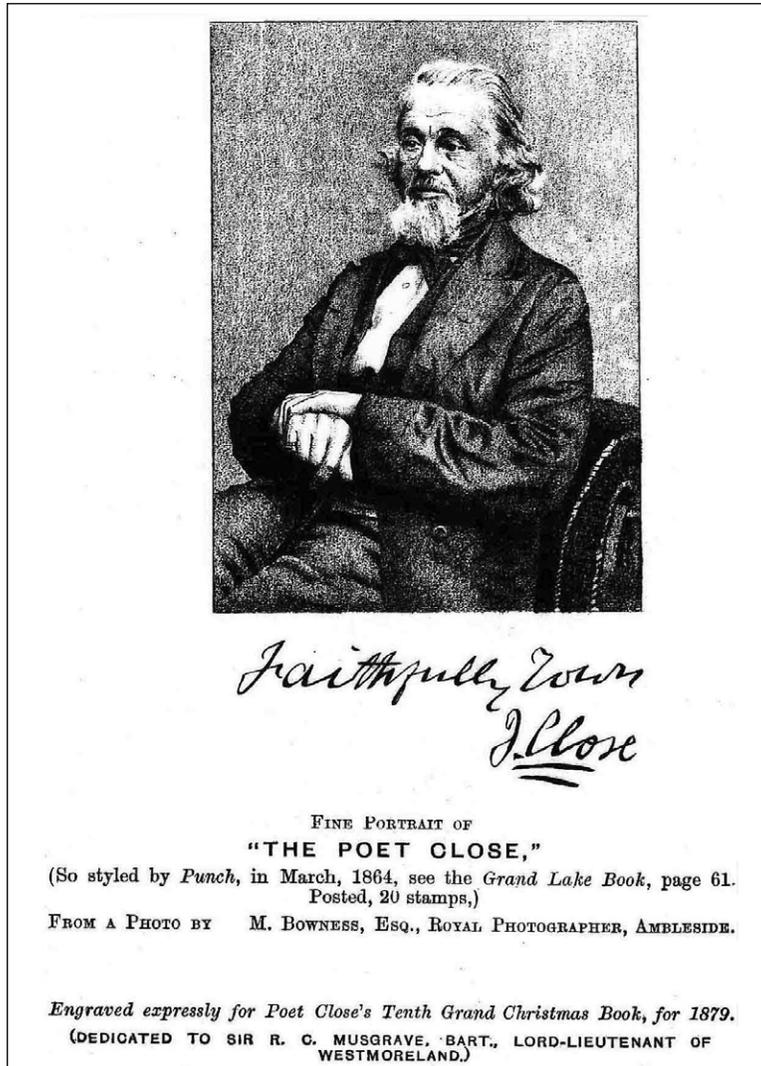


Fig. 2. Poet Close's engraving by Moses Bowness.

The verse suggests that Ambleside traders were perfectly capable of providing every modern item which the discerning visitor could wish for.

Moses photographed a great many local people in his daylight studio including the young Charlotte Mason; the educationalists around Harriet Martineau; William Forster and the Arnold family; and the younger Wordsworths.<sup>23</sup> However, being entirely dependent on daylight and visitors for his work, there would inevitably be quiet periods. He had a number of other interests, including land improvement, for which lime was required, and a role as a director of the new gas company which was to light up Ambleside. Both of these roles, as well as his photography business, were

to be used in arguments for extending the railway to Ambleside.<sup>24</sup> The preliminary debates about it in Parliament no doubt generated a further incentive to visit Ambleside.<sup>25</sup>

In the Verbatim Parliamentary Enquiry Report of 1887,<sup>26</sup> two years before the death of his first wife, Moses' voice can be heard through his answers to questioning and cross-examination.<sup>27</sup> This Report is a very useful sociological document in which a number of local people gave evidence as well as an artist from the *Illustrated London News*. Moses Bowness spoke of the costs of carting lime, and explained how having access to the railway would help. Ever vigilant in promoting business he emphasised the importance of a railway for bringing more visitors, especially for those who found the present cost of the coach ride from Windermere beyond them. He displayed his photographs to the committee to illustrate his points.

Ten years earlier Moses had played a prominent role in the famed Stock Ghyll Trespass.<sup>28</sup> As photographer he accompanied Col. Rhodes, along with his lawyer and two workmen who cut the locked pathway to the resounding cheers and jeers of locals of all ages. There had been much controversy over the closure of a previously enjoyed footpath to see the falls. He also played a part in raising funds to cover the costs of the ensuing court case.<sup>29</sup> It was eventually saved for all to enjoy.

The publicity given this event would have brought a different group of people to the district, and probably to Moses' studio. The list of early members of the newly formed Lakeland Defence Society names over 500 of the people concerned about protecting the countryside.<sup>30</sup> Artists and writers, dons and headmasters of public schools, and many other prominent people flocked to join. It is to be hoped that some of the individual societies honouring these people may yet find some of Moses' photographs among their archives.

A few people have already opened their albums and found photographs of family members taken by Moses Bowness. Some descendants of the children of Moses and Helena have come forward with further information, and may provide other lines of investigation. Thus far few of his landscapes are known to have survived,<sup>31</sup> and he seems to have made his living chiefly through portrait photography. Indeed, he stressed his 'daylight' photographic studio in his advertisements. The results of the conservation and cataloguing of the Kendal Library glass plates are eagerly awaited. There is a distinct possibility that previously unknown images of some of the more important people of the day may come to light when the plates are made public.

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## Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> Exhibition of Life and Work of Moses Bowness mounted in the Local History Section of Kendal Library by librarians Jackie Fay and Sylvia Kelly with research material provided by Susan Premru. August/September 2007.  
Susan Premru, 'In Search of Moses Bowness', *Friends of the Lake District* (Winter/Spring, 2008), 22-23.  
Susan Premru, *19th Century Poems in the Earliest Editions of the 'Ambleside Herald' by M. B.: Moses Bowness*

- *Photographer, Poet, Farmer and Entrepreneur*, (self-published, 23 April 2009).
- <sup>2</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 19 June 2008. Leisure Section 17.
- <sup>3</sup> The Armit Museum, Ambleside. Herbert Bell photographs ALMC1958.
- <sup>4</sup> Stephen F. Kelly, *Victorian Lakeland Photographers* (Shrewsbury, Swan Hill, 1991), 10.
- <sup>5</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 28 April 1894. Inquest & Obituary.
- <sup>6</sup> Will 6 December 1893. Lancaster. Probate granted 12 May 1894.
- <sup>7</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 28 April 1894. Inquest & Obituary.
- <sup>8</sup> 1851 Census Enumerator's Returns, Claife, Ulverston. HO 107/2275.
- <sup>9</sup> Stephen F. Kelly, *Victorian Lakeland Photographers*, 10. George Waters at Windermere by 1858.
- <sup>10</sup> Claude glass: convex mirror first used by the painter Claude to view a scene as if already framed. Armed with the most popular of the many early guides to the Lakes by antiquarian Thomas West (1778) these early tourists, in search of terrifying, awe-inspiring landscape did not stray far from their coaches, but stood at the points, 'stations', described by West, and gazed into them hoping to be impressed as the early artists had shown them. Windermere had several 'stations' around the ferry, Belle Island, and near the road from Kendal.
- <sup>11</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 16 May 1857. 'The Prince of Wales in the Lake District'.
- <sup>12</sup> This shortened form of 'incognito' would appear to have been common parlance at the time.
- <sup>13</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 23 May 1857. 'The Prince of Wales in the Lake District'.
- <sup>14</sup> Royal Windsor Archive, RA VIC/MAIN/EVIID/1857; May 9-20.
- <sup>15</sup> *Poet Close's Christmas Book 1870-71* (Kirkby Stephen, John Close, 1871), 148.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, and *Poet Close's Christmas Book 1871-72*, (Kirkby Stephen, John Close, 1872), 18, in which Moses thanks him and orders ten copies of his 2nd Christmas Book.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ambleside Herald*, 17 and 24 April 1880 - Under 'Local & District News': Moses '... announces the commencement of the Photographic Season and is prepared to personally photograph ...', adding, 5 May, & other editions throughout the summer '... that he has a wide assortment of views ... at wholesale prices.'
- <sup>18</sup> Marriage certificate from Kendal shows the marriage at the Parish Church in the District of Windermere according to the rites and ceremonies of the C. of E. of Moses Bowness, photographer, 25, & Isabella Slater, widow, 41, both of Ambleside. He the son of John Bowness, miner, and she daughter of Thomas Burrows, joiner. (Witnesses. Daniel Dobson and Mary Ann Burrows.)
- <sup>19</sup> 1861 Census Enumerator's Returns, Ambleside Below Stock, RG 9/3963.
- <sup>20</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 9 & 16 February 1895, 4. Extent of the buildings described in the For Sale Notice after his death. (Describes seven Lots in great detail.) Purchasers with prices paid noted in *The Ambleside Herald*, 23 February 1895, 2.
- <sup>21</sup> Poet Close. Kirkby Stephen. Active from 1840s-80s. In the later years spending summers in Windermere. Controversial figure who overcame his critics. See *Caladonian Mercury*, May 1861 and *Preston Guardian*, March 1865.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ambleside Herald*, 27 March 1880 was the first edition of this newspaper. The poem has 17 stanzas and runs over two weeks.
- <sup>23</sup> National Portrait Gallery: NPG.P511 & NPG.x21222, Harriet Martineau; NPG.Ax8544, William Edward Forster.  
The Armit: AMCL1958, Charlotte Mason.  
Photographic prints by Moses Bowness held in the Dove collection, Grasmere.  
2001.85.96.2 William Wordsworth (nephew of the poet) and his wife nee Mary Reynolds.  
2001.85.221.6 John Wordsworth, Grandson of poet.  
2001.85.221.7. Charles Wordsworth, Grandson of poet.  
2001.85.221.10. E.I. Wordsworth.  
GRMDC.KS20.1 William Wordsworth from Hayden portrait.  
WIL/ARNOLD/29 Frances Arnold.
- <sup>24</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 28 April 1894. Inquest & Obituary.
- <sup>25</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 November, 1886; 23 and 25 February, 1887.  
*The Leeds Mercury*, 10 and 18 February, 1887.  
*Liverpool Mercury*, 18 and 19 March 1887.
- <sup>26</sup> *Hansard*, 17 February 1887, vol. 310, cc1728-48. Ambleside Railway Bill. *Verbatim Report of Proceedings before the Select Committee on Railway Bills in the House of Commons March* (Ambleside, George Middleton, 1887), 63-66, copy in the Armit Museum Library, Ambleside. AMB/385.3
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>28</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 28 September 1878.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ambleside Herald*, 4 December 1880. Report of Bazaar for raising money, titled Stock Ghyll – his and Isabella’s daughter, Miss Bowness of Vale View – wins painting donated by Mrs Martineau, nee Fell.
- <sup>30</sup> CRO (C) SDO/24/9/1, Lakeland Defence Society, list of early members.
- <sup>31</sup> The Royal Photographic Society’s website lists five named landscapes entered in the 1877 November exhibition, but these are not illustrated. It does not list any others. K. Clarke, *Westmorland Gazette* (19 June 2008, Leisure Section, 17), quotes from *The Times* newspaper (date not given): ‘the photographs of Lake scenery by Mr Bowness are good examples of the artistic selection of points of view [and] may be classed amongst the best of the landscape work.’ It is hoped that more will emerge.
- The Armit Museum, Ambleside, has three views by Moses Bowness -
- ALMC.1958.346 Brathay Church.
- ALMC.1958.440 Old Mill Ambleside.
- ALMC.1958.772 Wishing Gate.

