

VI: John Collingwood Bruce, Charles Roach Smith, Albert Way and the British Archaeological Association Congress in Chester, 1849

by David J Breeze*

In July 1849 John Collingwood Bruce gave a lecture about Hadrian's Wall at the British Archaeological Association's annual congress at Chester. This was his first lecture outside his native North-East on the subject on which he was soon to become the leading authority. At about the same time, he met Charles Roach Smith and Albert Way, who had been on opposing sides in the great disruption of the British Archaeological Association immediately after its formation in 1843. This paper explores the relationship between the three archaeologists, and the Duke of Northumberland, and emphasises the significance of the Chester meeting.

Introduction

The middle years of the 1840s saw the establishment of two national archaeological societies. The British Archaeological Association (BAA) was founded in 1843, but dissensions within the central committee of the new body soon developed, and as a result some members left to form the Archaeological Institute (Wetherall 1994). In 1845 both bodies held separate congresses, as the annual meetings were called, in Winchester, and at that point the split was irreconcilable. In 1849, the BAA held its congress in Chester, followed by the Archaeological Institute in 1857.

The dispute centred round the figure of Albert Way, one of the founders of the BAA but who left to form the Archaeological Institute. One of the other founders of the BAA was Charles Roach Smith. Smith and Way were the first joint secretaries of the BAA, which emphasises that the disagreement lay at the very heart of the new body. This paper explores the relationship between these two archaeologists, on different sides of the divide, and John Collingwood Bruce, the author of *The Roman Wall* (Bruce 1851).

John Collingwood Bruce (1805–92)

Bruce was a newcomer to archaeology. He was born in 1805, the son of John Bruce, who was headmaster of a school in Newcastle upon Tyne, the Percy Street Academy. Although he attended Glasgow University with the intention of becoming a Presbyterian minister, he

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soon abandoned this vocation and joined his father in the running of the school, remaining there from 1831 until 1863 when he sold the school. Bruce enjoyed teaching history through visits with his pupils to historic buildings (Bruce 1905, 97–8). This led him to offer a lecture to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle on the subject of Gothic architecture in 1845. In turn, he was drawn to the plans to renovate the keep of Newcastle castle and in 1847 he published a guidebook to the castle. At the dinner held on 3 August 1848 to mark the completion of the restoration of the keep, Bruce met Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland, for the first time; this was to be a propitious meeting leading to Bruce's involvement in several important research projects funded by the duke over the next decade (Bruce 1905, 100–5).

It had been Bruce's intention to visit Rome earlier in that summer, but the revolutionary activities on the continent prevented the excursion (Bruce 1905, 110–14). Instead, he undertook a tour of Hadrian's Wall. Although he had visited the frontier on several occasions before, this was the beginning of what was to become his greatest archaeological preoccupation. The tour lasted over ten days in June 1848. Bruce was accompanied by his son Gainsford, later his biographer, and two artists, Charles and Henry Richardson. These brothers were members of a family of watercolourists and publishers in Newcastle. Their father had been drawing master at Bruce's school, and now the title was held by his son Henry. Henry appears to have made most of the sketches of the Wall, and these were worked up into watercolour paintings over the following weeks (Breeze 2016, 1–3).

Bruce used some of Richardson's paintings to illustrate a series of five lectures he gave to the Literary and Philosophical Society in Newcastle on Hadrian's Wall in November 1848 (see Appendix). As a result of the interest shown in the lectures, Bruce stated that he would undertake a pilgrimage along its length the following year. This ran from 25 June to 3 July 1849, and the event continues to this day, being held every ten years (for a bibliography of the Pilgrimages see Edwards & Breeze 2000, 30–1).

The pilgrimage of 1849 was advertised nationally, and Bruce also wrote to specific archaeologists who he hoped would attend the event; one of these was Roach Smith. Smith did not attend but he responded immediately and positively on 6 May to a letter sent to him by Bruce offering a lecture on Hadrian's Wall to the forthcoming Chester meeting of the BAA (Bruce 1855).

The Chester Congress of 1849

The primary account of the Chester Congress lies in the report in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (Anon 1850). A separate statement of the meeting can be found in the biography of John Collingwood Bruce written by his son, Gainsford (Bruce 1905, 123–4). This differs in several particulars from the report in the *Journal*. I have recently checked both accounts through the examination of other sources, including the reports of the congress in the *Chester Chronicle* of 3 August 1849 and *The Times* of 2 August 1849 (Breeze 2017). These confirm that the report in the *Journal* is correct.

Gainsford Bruce made several erroneous statements:

- He gave the wrong date for the lecture, 2 August instead of 31 July, probably because his father had miss-dated the press cutting from *The Times*, dating it 3 August rather than 2 August, and Gainsford then assumed that the lecture had been the day before even though the newspaper stated the correct date;
- He provided a garbled version of the venue, the ‘Royal Assembly Rooms’ rather than, probably, the Assembly Rooms in the Royal Hotel, but in this he was quoting *The Times*; the only assembly rooms with ‘Royal’ in the title listed in the *Victoria County History* volume for Chester were in the Royal Hotel, on the site of the present Grosvenor Hotel in Eastgate Street (Lewis & Thacker eds 2005, 269);
- He stated that his father had been asked to speak at the congress, whereas an unpublished letter of 6 May 1849 from Smith to Bruce makes it clear that the initiative came from Bruce (Bruce 1855);
- He said that Bruce met Albert Way at the Chester Congress, but this is unlikely as Way was part of the group that had left the British Archaeological Association to join the Archaeological Institute, and there is no record of Way attending the congress (unfortunately the early documents of the British Archaeological Association were destroyed in the Second World War, so the only record we have is the report in the Association’s journal, which does not mention Way).

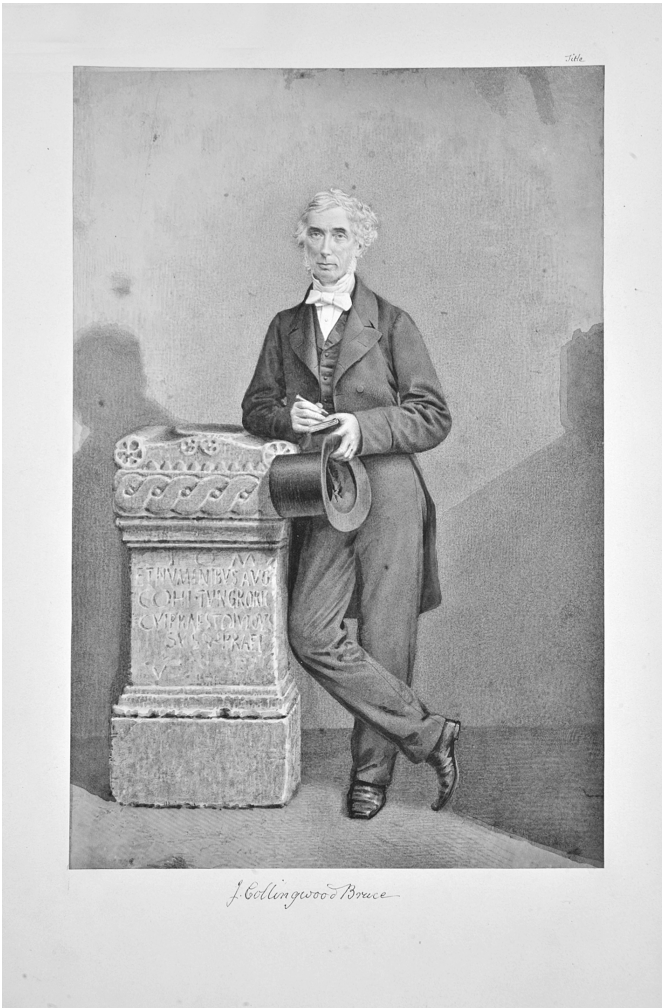
The 1849 summer meeting of the BAA ran from Monday 30 July to Saturday 4 August, but it was preceded by a service in Chester Cathedral on Sunday 29 August (*Chester Chronicle*, 3 August 1849). This was attended by Lord Albert Conyngham, President of the BAA, but he had to leave Chester on the morning of Tuesday 31 July owing to the illness of his uncle, whose heir he was (Anon 1850, 293). Lord Albert was well connected: his mother was George IV’s last mistress; his brother was the Lord Chamberlain who carried the news to Princess Victoria that she had ascended the throne; and his niece was a Lady of the Bedchamber to the new queen.

The congress was packed with visits and lectures. Bruce gave his lecture on the evening of Tuesday 31 July. The venue is not specified in the report of the evening’s events in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. The opening meeting was held in the ‘Royal Hotel’ and the final meeting in the ‘Assembly Rooms of the Royal Hotel’ (Anon 1850, 285, 330). *The Times* (2 August 1849) stated that Bruce’s lecture was delivered in the ‘Royal Assembly Rooms’, but, as we have seen, this is likely to have been a shortened version of the Assembly Rooms of the Royal Hotel.

On that day, the evening events started at 8 o’clock and continued until nearly midnight. Bruce was the second lecturer and followed an ‘exceedingly interesting and lengthy description of the cathedral’, so we may surmise that he was not called upon to speak until perhaps 10 o’clock (*The Times*, 2 August 1849). His lecture was well received and at the end he showed some drawings (*Chester Chronicle*, 3 August 1849). These were presumable those

created by Henry Richardson the previous summer. Bruce's paper was published in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (Bruce 1850).

The Chester Congress was important to Bruce (Ill VI.1). It was the first occasion that he had lectured on Hadrian's Wall outside his native North-East and it extended his reputation well beyond his home turf. He had already decided to publish his 1848 lectures, expanding them into a full-length book, and two notices, or flyers as we would call them today, had been printed, one by George Bouchier Richardson, cousin of Henry Richardson and whose firm would print *The Roman Wall* in January 1851. However, Bruce must have been encouraged by his reception at the Chester meeting, as afterwards the notices were amended by a reference to his lecture there (Ill VI.2). According to *The Times*, his lecture 'was listened to with great attention, and at the conclusion the speaker was loudly cheered' (*The Times*, 2 August 1849).



Ill VI.1 John Collingwood Bruce. This hitherto unpublished photograph is likely to have been taken soon after his lecture to the Chester Congress; the author stands beside an altar found at Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall (RIB 1, 1585). Reproduced by kind permission of Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums. Photograph David Henrie

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III VI.2 The flyer for *The Roman Wall* circulated after the Chester Congress by George Bouchier Richardson, whose firm printed the book. Reproduced by kind permission of Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums. Photograph David Henrie

Bruce's biographer recorded that the 'Chester Congress was the means of introducing Dr Bruce to Mr Roach Smith and Mr Albert Way, two learned archaeologists, and was the beginning of a lifelong friendship. At this Congress also he made the acquaintance Lord Albert Conyngham, afterwards Lord Londesborough, a nobleman who took great interest in antiquarian pursuits and afforded Dr Bruce encouragement in his literary labours. ...Mr Way enjoyed the confidence of the Duke of Northumberland and acted as the Duke's adviser in matters relating to archaeological research.' (Bruce 1905, 124).

Gainsford Bruce differentiated between the 'lifelong friendship' with Smith and Way on the one hand (although, as we have seen, it is unlikely that Way attended the Chester Congress) and the 'acquaintance' of Lord Albert Conyngham. This reflected the nature of the different relationships and the fact that, assuming that Bruce and Sir Albert actually did meet in Chester, this must have been a brief conversation as the president left the meeting on the morning of Bruce's lecture.

Charles Roach Smith (1807–90)

Smith was born on the Isle of Wight, the son of a farmer. He was a chemist by profession, with premises in London, but his great interest was in numismatics and archaeology. He published profusely, founding the journal *Collectanea Antiqua* in 1848, and he excavated at Pevensey Castle in the 1850s. He also helped found the BAA and became its first secretary. Smith had been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1836 and served as secretary of the London Numismatic Society from 1841 to 1844. In short, he was an established figure in the archaeological world. (For Smith's career, see Welford & Hodgson 1913, 205–7).

Smith accepted Bruce's offer of a lecture to the congress by return of post and proceeded to offer some advice, suggesting that he condense all the relevant facts into an hour-long lecture (6 May 1849; Bruce 1855): interesting advice to a minister of religion, a school-master of many years standing and an accomplished lecturer, though perhaps Smith was not to know that. The *Newcastle Courant* had commented on his lectures to the Literary and Philosophical Society that Bruce 'displayed an aptness and ability by adorning the subject with a beauty and force of composition, replete with eloquent and noble sentiment, which threw as it were an immaculate charm over the crumbling vestiges of Roman power and skill' (*Newcastle Courant*, 23 November 1848). It is doubtful if this Tyneside paper with its eulogy and praise percolated into southern England. Possibly, of course, it was simply that Smith had sat through too many long sermons.

Although Smith had declined to join the Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall in 1849, pleading 'indifferent health, numerous engagements and other reasons', he travelled north in June 1851 and was taken along the frontier by Bruce (Smith 1851; 1852; Bruce 1855). In the meantime, he had subscribed to *The Roman Wall* (on behalf of the Numismatic Society) and was one of its earliest reviewers, unfortunately for us, anonymously. Although he was positive in his welcome of the book, this did not stop him writing to Bruce to ask why he had not included specific material in it, such as 'Brummell's ... patera etc and the other things which were melted at Newcastle' (letter of 9 January 1851: Bruce 1855).

Bruce needed this feedback. His father and uncle had published school textbooks on history and geography, and Bruce himself had continued to keep these in print, editing new editions as appropriate. He had also written a guidebook to Newcastle castle. But he had not hitherto written an academic book and he was lax in his references, as reviewers pointed out (eg *The Athenaeum*, 4 March 1851). Indeed, his lack of acknowledgement of the contributions of fellow scholars to Wall studies nearly landed him in serious trouble. Roger Miket has drawn attention to a letter from H Glasford Potter, a fellow member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, stating that he was not acknowledged as the source of information on his excavations at Birdoswald and he demanded that he be acknowledged in the second edition and if Bruce ignored this request he ‘would attack [him] in the Public News Papers...’ (Miket 1984, 253). Bruce, in an unpublished letter of 30 September 1851 to Potter, excused himself on the grounds of his inexperience and that he had been advised not to make ‘too frequent personal allusions to my friends’ as this would ‘bring upon myself the ridicule of the critics’ but that he would ‘make up for my omission in the next edition’, which he duly did, adding a note in an appendix to the second edition of *The Roman Wall* (Bruce 1853, 448–9).



III VI.3 This unpublished illustration is filed in Bruce’s own copy of the folio edition of *The Roman Wall* (1867) in the collections of the Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, with whose permission it is reproduced. The statement at the top reads: ‘To Dr Bruce, these two etchings of the remains of Amboglanna executed from sketches made in his company are offered by his sincere friend, C. Roach Smith London. Feby 14th 1854.’ Bottom left, ‘CRS del.’ The caption, in Bruce’s handwriting, reads, ‘The most northerly Gateway in the Eastern rampart of Birdoswald as seen from the outside.’ Top right is the page number where the illustration was placed in Bruce’s own copy of his 1867 folio edition of *The Roman Wall*. Photograph David Henrie

Bruce acknowledged his debt to Smith. In the third and definitive edition of *The Roman Wall*, Bruce stated that Smith ‘has allowed the writer to draw freely upon his extensive stores of antiquarian lore. He has also kindly assisted him in correcting the press’ (Bruce 1867, vii). In the preface to *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Bruce stated that he ‘has kindly perused all my “proofs”, and given me the benefit of his extensive knowledge’ (Bruce 1875, vi).

Albert Way (1805–74)

While Smith came from a poor background, Albert Way was the antithesis. Wealthy and well connected, a friend of Charles Darwin, the grandson of an MP, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, he married his cousin, the daughter of Lord Stanley of Alderley whose stepmother was the daughter of Lord North, Prime Minister under George III. Way served as director of the Society of Antiquaries of London from 1842 to 1846 and became joint secretary of the BAA with Roach Smith in 1843. He transferred his allegiance to the Archaeological Institute in 1845, becoming one of its secretaries and the organiser of its summer meetings. (For Way’s career, see Welford & Hodgson 1913, 235; Nurse 2004).

For Bruce, the most important of the many hats worn by Albert Way was that he was the archaeological adviser to Algernon, Duke of Northumberland. It is not clear when this relationship commenced, but it was certainly in existence when Bruce started his work on the Wall, although possibly not much earlier as Way did not join the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle until 1850 (Welford & Hodgson 1913, 235). Bruce’s biography stated that Bruce and Way met at the Chester Congress, but we have seen that this is unlikely as Way was now a member of the Archaeological Institute and unlikely to have been present at the BAA meeting; he is not mentioned in any of the literature concerning the congress.

The relationship between Bruce and Way is first attested in November 1849. On 14 November Way wrote to Bruce to order a copy of the octavo volume of *The Roman Wall*, which he asked to be sent to the office of the Archaeological Institute (Bruce 1855). On 27 November, he wrote again to Bruce to thank him for his visit to the Wall, an excursion of just one day (Bruce 1905, 126). We may presume that the visit had been shortly before the letter. On the same day, 27 November 1849, the duke wrote to Bruce: ‘I have in the Museum of British Antiquities here [Alnwick Castle], some inscriptions from the Roman Wall, which Mr Way thinks would be valuable to give (*sic*) in your work ... I should be happy to pay the expenses of the wood engravings and allow you to have the use of the dies for your work. On this subject you had better communicate with Mr Way’ (Bruce 1855). When did this conversation between the duke and Way take place? Perhaps Way travelled north to Alnwick Castle after his visit to the Wall with Bruce and spoke to the duke about the need to include some inscriptions in the book that Bruce was writing. It may be that Way was impressed with the energy of Bruce, who was already known to the duke from their first meeting a little over a year before, but it also hints at earlier contacts between Bruce and Way.

The duke and Way had certainly already discussed the project because, in a letter simply dated ‘Thursday | York’, but probably 29 November, Way wrote to Bruce, ‘he [the duke] had intimated to me some measure [the intention detailed in the letter of 27 November]. I hope that you may have been at Alnwick and made your selection and set Mr Story (*sic*)

to work [to draw inscriptions]' (Bruce 1855). The letter ends 'Thanks for your letter | I will return it safely'. This is likely to have been the letter of 27 November from the duke to Bruce, forwarded to Way by Bruce.

John Storey was the engraver that Bruce used to prepare illustrations for the first and subsequent editions of *The Roman Wall* (Bruce 1851; Breeze 2016, 19). A letter of 15 April 1850 from the duke to Bruce thanked him for the 'impressions from Mr Storey's drawings and for the explanation accompanying them' (Bruce 1855). In passing we may note that although in 1850 Storey produced the engraving of the inscriptions on the 'Written Rock of Gelt' used by Bruce in the first two editions of *The Roman Wall* (1851, opposite 81; 1853, opposite 64), it is David Mossman who is thanked for preparing the 'original sketches' of the inscriptions in later works (Bruce 1867, vi; 1875, vii).

Gainsford Bruce stated that in 'the autumn of 1855 the Duke of Northumberland conceived the idea of having a series of engravings of the whole of the Roman inscribed stones found in Northumberland published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle' (Bruce 1905, 137). This book was eventually published in 1875 under the title of *Lapidarium Septentrionale* and it embraced Cumberland as well as Northumberland (Bruce 1875). The unpublished correspondence of the duke, Way and Bruce demonstrates that the thinking which led up to the publication of *Lapidarium Septentrionale* had started six years earlier, in 1849.

The interplay between the duke, Way and Bruce is interesting. In the letter of 27 November 1849 cited above, the duke openly stated that 'Mr Way thinks... and I should be happy to pay'. In a further letter, dated 18 June 1852, in this case from Way to Bruce, he stated, 'the mention of the Wall brings me to tell you that the Duke was pleased to ask me what object seemed of chief importance, to which Mr MacLauchlan might now be directed, having completed the Watling Street survey. I mentioned to his Grace, the complete survey of the line of the Wall.... In the last conversation I had with the Duke he observed that he should wish to be assured that such an undertaking would give you satisfaction, and he appeared to think, with his usual kind considerations, that you had devoted your labours with such good effect and zeal to the subject of the Wall, that it must be considered you have made this interesting matter of inquiry your own peculiar province. His Grace would therefore wish to feel assured that if such a survey were made by his direction, it would not only not be any interference with your own projects of further research, but calculated to aid them in a manner which would give you satisfaction...' (Bruce 1905, 134–5). The strong implication of these two letters is that Way was the man with the ideas, the duke the finance to see them undertaken, and Bruce the person with the energy to carry them out. We should also acknowledge that the relationship between the well connected Way and the duke would have been entirely different from that between the local schoolmaster and the leader of society in north-east England.

Bruce acknowledged his debt to Way in the preface to *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, written the year after Way's death (Bruce 1875, viii). Here he thanked the duke and then Way: 'With Mr. Albert Way I had much pleasant intercourse. He gave the *Lapidarium* its name, playfully, perhaps, at first, and he blocked out its general plan. He took a parental interest in its progress, and used every exertion to procure for me, amongst his extensive acquaintances,

the aid which I needed to meet difficulties'. Way continued to check drafts of the book for Bruce up to his departure for Cannes in August 1873.

Bruce was very fortunate in his relationships, with the duke and Way as we have seen, but also with John Clayton, owner of the Chesters estate on which sat the Roman fort of that name. Bruce dedicated all three of the editions of *The Roman Wall* to him. In return, Clayton paid for the woodcuts of the antiquities preserved at Chesters in Bruce's books, while the wood-engravings of objects in the museum at Alnwick Castle were provided by the duke, and Albert Way contributed some illustrations to the book, 'so that at a comparatively moderate cost Dr Bruce was able to produce, although not without some pecuniary loss, a volume very handsomely illustrated' (Bruce 1905, 126).

A timetable for Bruce, Smith and Way

1844	Smith joined the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle
1846	Bruce joined the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle
1848	
June	Tour of Hadrian's Wall by J C Bruce, G Bruce, Charles and Henry Richardson
August	Bruce met the Duke of Northumberland for the first time
November	Lectures by J C Bruce to the Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle
1849	
June–July	Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall led by J C Bruce
July–August	BAA Congress in Chester; lecture by J C Bruce
November	Way visited Hadrian's Wall in the company of Bruce
November	First intimation of a project to publish Roman inscriptions in Northumberland
1850	Way joined the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle
1851	
January	Publication of <i>The Roman Wall</i>
June	Smith visited Hadrian's Wall in the company of Bruce
1852	
September	Summer meeting of the Archaeological Institute in Newcastle and visit to Hadrian's Wall
December	Publication of the second edition of <i>The Roman Wall</i> , although dated 1853
December	Bruce elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, sponsored by Smith (but not Way)

Conclusions

The rise of John Collingwood Bruce was meteoric. At the beginning of 1848 he was a provincial schoolmaster, a new member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. By the end of 1852, five years later, he was the author of a major book on Hadrian's Wall, an acknowledged expert in his field, acquainted with members of the nobility as well as many of the senior archaeologists in Britain, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, having attended the Centenary Dinner of the Society the previous year. He possessed prodigious energy, writing books on Hadrian's Wall and revising them up to the age of eighty,

as well as books on cup and ring marks, the Bayeux Tapestry, the Northumbrian pipes and Newcastle upon Tyne (Bruce's last book was the third edition of the *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, published in 1885; his last excavation report was in 1889, three years before his death: Bruce 1889). He was one of those people who could not only recognise a good idea when he saw it, but act upon it. He was not only a good lecturer but was also capable of forming strong relationships. Two such friendships were with Charles Roach Smith and Albert Way. They provided different stimuli. Smith appears to have been capable of criticising Bruce's publications, thereby, we can assume, improving subsequent editions. He also promoted Bruce's work to a wide audience; he was Darwin's Huxley. Way, on the other hand, appears to have been more of an ideas man, whispering suggestions into the ear of the Duke of Northumberland and then recommending Bruce as the man for the job. Both aided Bruce with proofreading his books. What is remarkable is that they were on different sides of the divide in the disruption of 1843–5, yet Bruce managed to maintain his friendship with both.

How much Bruce appreciated the great disruption and the falling out between Smith and Way before the Chester Congress we cannot know. He was canny enough to send invitations to the pilgrimage in 1849 to many senior archaeologists both north and south of the Border. We may doubt that he knew Smith other than by name before May 1849. The first known contact with Albert Way appears to have been after the congress; if there had been earlier communication, it is not recorded, but we can be confident that it cannot have preceded Bruce's first meeting with the Duke of Northumberland in August 1848. When Bruce was nominated for Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries of London it was Smith and Thomas Wright, members of the British Archaeological Association, and not Way, who signed the nomination paper. Bruce's relationship with Way continued until shortly before the latter's death in 1874. Most of the surviving letters between the pair are concerned with matters relating to the duke (Bruce 1905, 141–2).

Smith was another matter. He had joined the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle in 1844, before Bruce, and he continued his visits to north-east England almost up to his death in 1890 (Welford & Hodgson 1913, 205–6). Here he enjoyed the company, not only of Bruce, but also of John Clayton, Robert Blair and others; he contributed papers to the publications of the Society. In 1889 he attended a meeting of the Society, chaired by Bruce, at which he stressed his pride at being a member (actually, an honorary member) of the Society. After the meeting, he revisited Chesters. It was appropriate that Smith's last visit to the Society should have been at a meeting chaired by Bruce; it was almost an exact reversal of their relationship forty years earlier at the Chester Congress where their friendship had been forged. That had been not only the occasion of their meeting but also the first time that Bruce had lectured outside his native Tyneside on the subject which he was to make his own. While it introduced Bruce to a wider – and more influential – audience, his lecture also introduced them to Hadrian's Wall and to *The Roman Wall*, to which many of them subsequently subscribed. The Chester Congress helped launch the career of the man who was to be the leading authority on Hadrian's Wall for the next forty years (Breeze 2003). It was an event which deserves to be remembered.

Appendix:**The visual aids of John Collingwood Bruce**

One account of the lecture by Bruce at the Chester Congress stated that at the end he showed some drawings (*Chester Chronicle*, 3 August 1849). We may presume that these were the ‘sketches’ made by Henry Burdon Richardson during the course of the 1848 tour of the Wall. In the letter that Bruce wrote to his wife on the first evening of that tour, 19 June 1848, he stated that ‘Richardson has made two or three very useful and one very beautiful sketch’, and he also noted that ‘Mr Henry Richardson made sketches at the most important points of view’ (Bruce 1905, 111–12). In November 1848, Bruce delivered five lectures on the Roman Wall to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle (Bruce 1905, 113–14). Many years later he wrote a memoir on the lectures and the pilgrimage of Hadrian’s Wall which followed. In this, he stated that in the lectures he ‘had endeavoured by pictorial representation and verbal description to show its present condition’ (Bruce 1885b, 135).

The catalogue of the ‘Collection of water colour drawings of the Roman Wall by Henry Burdon Richardson’ prepared for the exhibition of the paintings held at the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle in 1906 stated that:

Dr Bruce’s special object in taking these artists with him was to obtain drawings of the Wall for the purpose of illustrating the course of five lectures which he delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle in the Autumn of 1848, and most of the drawings included in the collection were made during this expedition. Henry Burdon Richardson executed the greater number of the drawings. He entered into the work with great spirit, and his drawings are remarkable for their combination of realistic truth and artistic charm. The drawings formed admirable illustrations for Dr Bruce’s lectures, and a number of them were reproduced in his book on the Roman Wall. ... Most of the drawings were in the first instance executed on the spot in sepia, as a rapid means of effectually delineating the features of the Wall, and of the country through which it passed. The artist (Henry Burdon Richardson) afterwards added slight washes of colour to the sketches, and this was carried out so skilfully that they have the appearance of completed drawings in colour.

This statement is valuable in explaining how the paintings were created. It is also useful in that it demonstrates that in the accounts of the lectures which we are here considering, ‘drawings’, ‘water colour drawings’ and even ‘sketches’ were used interchangeably. In short, the ‘drawings’ exhibited in Chester in 1849 were almost certainly the ‘water colours’ shown at other times. One word of caution is required in relation to the statement in the catalogue. It is by no means uncertain that Bruce had determined in advance of his 1848 tour along the Wall to offer a series of lectures to the Literary and Philosophical Society. Nor was it the actual paintings that were reproduced in *The Roman Wall* but engravings based on the paintings (Breeze 2016, 19–22).

On 27 February 1882 Bruce lectured to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. The Minute Book of the Society (Book 2, page 14) records that his lecture was ‘fully illustrated by a series of water-colour drawings’, described in the *Proceedings* of the Society as ‘large coloured sketches, plans and diagrams’. These included at least one map, a cross-section

of the Wall, and at least seven drawings of the Wall of which we can identify the gates of Chesters, the crags, the Nine Nicks of Thirlwall, and the ditch at Limestone Corner – all the subject of drawings by Henry Richardson (Anon 1884, xlili, xliiv; Breeze 2016, 23). It would thus appear that Bruce continued to use Richardson's paintings to illustrate his lectures for at least thirty-three years. In no surviving record is there a mention of lantern slides.

The Richardson family were not the only artists who created paintings for Bruce. A report on a lecture which Bruce gave to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle on 24 January 1870 stated that the 'lectures were illustrated by a series of large coloured drawings prepared for the occasion by Mr Mossman, of London' (*Newcastle Daily Journal*, 25 January 1870). The lecture is not mentioned by Gainsford Bruce, and no paintings by David Mossman are recorded in the 1886 list of Bruce's paintings published after his death (Anon nd), although some exist interleaved in Bruce's own copy of the folio version of the 1867 edition of *The Roman Wall* in South Shields. Gainsford Bruce recorded that in June 1869, 'Bruce visited Mr Clayton to superintend the making of drawings of the newly excavated work. He wrote to his wife: "Mr Mossman has been drawing away all day at the newly excavated gateway, and I have been a good deal with him."' (Bruce 1905, 155). It is probable that the work which Mossman recorded was the excavation of the east gate where work started in 1867.

A total of twelve drawings/paintings by Mossman are known to me: Chesters bridge abutment (all four are published in Bidwell & Holbrook 1989); T 29a (Blackcarts) (dated 1873; Breeze 2016, 21); Birdoswald and Bewcastle (both date to 1857; Bidwell 2007, pls 1 and 23; the former is reproduced as a woodcut in Bruce 1863, 179; 1867, 258; 1884, 186; 1885a, 200; the latter in Bruce 1867, opposite 354 where only the engraver J S Kell is cited); Wallsend (dated 1857; reproduced as a woodcut in Bruce 1863, 171; 1867, 251; 1884, 177; 1885a, 189) and the 'Watch Tower on the Maiden Way' (Bruce 1867, opposite 264 but attributed to the engraver J S Kell); two unpublished paintings, MC 42 (Cawfields) and Walltown; and probably the culvert at the Sugley Burn (Bidwell 1997; reproduced as a woodcut in Bruce 1863, 55; 1867, 120). These appear to be insufficient in number to be worthy of being called a 'series' and to have illustrated a lecture which is likely to have lasted at least an hour (Henry Richardson created forty-eight paintings in 1848 and a further eleven later). The clue, however, is given in the newspaper report of the lecture. This indicates that the first part of the lecture was devoted to describing recent work at Chesters bridge abutment and in the adjacent fort, all illustrated by Mossman. It seems likely that the reporter assumed that all the other paintings were by the same artist rather than by Henry Richardson.

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