

## 7. New ventures, new lines (1872-1877)

The carte de visite had been around for over a decade. It would continue to dominate the studio market for another ten years or so and would linger on into the next century. Nevertheless, cartomania had passed its peak, and there is a sense that photographers were looking about them for something new, either to boost their business or to act as a buffer against a decline in the popularity of cartes.

In fact, there already was a new format that had been designed to compete for a share of the carte's market. The cabinet print had been introduced back in 1866 and, as has been noted, William Pridgeon had been quick to try out the format. It was much larger than the carte de visite (measuring, overall, about 4½ by 6½ inches), but it was essentially much the same: a paper print pasted to a cardboard mount. As with the carte, Lynn's first press reference to the cabinet print came not from a photographer but from J Thew and Sons, who, in August 1873 offered 'Photographic Albums, entirely new patterns', including one which would take 'Cabinet Cartes'.<sup>1</sup> The design of such albums was made clearer in a subsequent advertisement, which enumerated such features as 'four portraits on a page' and 'interleaved for cabinets'.<sup>2</sup> Interspersed among the pages with four pre-cut apertures for cartes were pages with one single large aperture into which two cabinet prints could be slipped, back to back. Evidently, therefore, the cabinet format was achieving some sales locally, but, in Lynn as elsewhere, it was slow to realise its full potential. Not until the 1880s would it become really popular, and not until the 1890s would its sales overtake those of the carte de visite. Something else, therefore, was needed to give a photographer a greater sense of security.

For Edwin Bullock the solution was a better studio. The premises in St James' Street, opposite the ruined Franciscan tower, were ostensibly in a good position. The windows at the back of the building received the glare-free north light that photographers valued, and the location was one of the busier parts of the town – busy enough, at any rate, for the post office to have set Lynn's second 'wall letter receiving box ... near the photographic establishment of Mr. Bullock'<sup>3</sup> only two years earlier. In spite of the apparent advantages, however, the accommodation was cramped, and in February 1872 a new studio was announced:

St. James's Photographic Rooms, removed to No. 4, London Road, Lynn. E. Bullock, Photographer and Photographic Publisher, begs to return his sincere thanks to his numerous friends and patrons for the liberal support he has received during the last seven years, and to inform them that he has removed to the above address, where having much more commodious premises and an entirely unrestricted light, he will be enabled to offer the very best class of work of which the art is capable.<sup>4</sup>

He was anxious, too, to emphasise that he was not only a portrait artist.

Landscape, Architectural, Copying, and all other branches of Photography on the shortest notice. A choice selection of Local and Other Views (which will be constantly replenished and added to) always on sale. An inspection is invited.

The publishing side of his business was something he was increasingly keen to highlight, and later that year he drew attention to his latest project:

Just Published, Views of Sandringham, by Bullock, Lynn, in four sizes – Prices from 6d to 4/6 each. The series comprises several views of the Hall, the Church (interior and exterior), the Tomb of the Infant Prince, the Norwich Gates, the Avenue, the Chinese Idol presented to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales by Admiral Keppel, the Folly, Park House, &c.<sup>5</sup>

He had sent copies of these pictures to the *British Journal of Photography*. This was a fairly popular ruse amongst professional photographers, who hoped for a mention in the magazine and the chance of a useful quotation to include in their publicity. On this occasion, the ploy was successful, and Bullock was able to append to his advertisement the editor's opinion, that "The clearness and brilliance of Mr. Bullock's Sandringham Series of Views will secure them a favourable reception wherever they are seen." (The editor was probably right. Bullock continued, intermittently, to promote – and presumably reprint – his Sandringham Series for another eighteen months.)

The publication of local views was certainly one of Bullock's strengths. He attended notable events, and he recorded a variety of scenes both in Lynn and further afield. Out-of-studio photography had not become noticeably easier by the early 1870s. The wet collodion method still dictated that a photographer should take a well-equipped portable studio with him, and an 1871 handbook of practical photography provided a checklist of 37 different items that were needed – in addition to a tent or other form of temporary darkroom – for even the shortest excursion.<sup>6</sup> Bullock had a host of technicalities to attend to, but he had an eye, too, for enlivening detail: a foreground horse and cart provide contrast to a forest of ships' masts in a docks picture taken from an elevated position;<sup>7</sup> Holkham Hall is caught reflected in its fountain pond;<sup>8</sup> the vertical lines of the Custom House are offset by the diagonals of a ship's rigging;<sup>9</sup> Middleton Towers, placed off-centre, is balanced by a small group of people at their rustic ease on the grass;<sup>10</sup> a hand-cart has just been trundled through the South Gate.<sup>11</sup> Bullock was a photographer who took his work seriously.

Less serious, perhaps, was his piety, for he showed no great sense of urgency when it came to having his children christened. In 1876, at All Saints', he had three dealt with at once, when the baptism of Mabel – a recent addition to the family – was accompanied by those of seven-year-old Henry and nine-year-old Emily, both of whose spiritual futures had hitherto been neglected.<sup>12</sup>

The Dexters tried a different approach from Bullock's when it came to strengthening their position. They diversified. Running two or more businesses side by side was, of course, not unusual among photographers. Bullock had launched his studio in tandem

with his jewellery and watch-making business; Woodhouse had his chickens; and Robert Wright had always sold other goods of one kind or another. The Dexters, however, had not advertised other lines (though it is not known how long William kept up his shoe-making after they took up photography). Since about 1867 Mrs Bayes had been running a fancy goods outlet within their premises. But in the first half of the 70s, the family began to promote a range of fancy goods on their own behalf. In February 1872 they were offering 'Mourning Jewellery. A splendid assortment of Brooches, Ear-Rings, Bracelets, Necklets, Crosses, Locketts, Head Pins, &c., &c.',<sup>13</sup> and in 1875 they advertised 'leather bags, scissors, pocket knives, Wash-stand Splashers, and a variety of Fancy Goods'.<sup>14</sup> The relationship between the Bayes and Dexter families may well have been good, for in 1872 Alice Dexter married John Bayes.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, without a very clear agreement over who sold which items, there could have been some uncomfortable competition within the shop. This may have been partly resolved by keeping the two businesses in separate and clearly defined areas of the building. (In 1874, when advertising a new delivery of Whitby Jet jewellery, Mrs Bayes referred to her 'Fancy Repository' as 'adjoining Dexter's Photo Rooms'.)<sup>16</sup> But it is hardly surprising that there was eventually, at the end of 1876, a formal parting of the ways – even if the parting involved the shortest distance possible.

Notice of removal. Mrs. Bayes Thanks her numerous customers for the liberal patronage received for the past nine years, and begs to inform them that she has removed from the shop at Dexter's Photo. Rooms (opposite the Athenaeum) to the one next door, where she is now showing a splendid Assortment of New Goods (personally selected in London), suitable for Birthday and Christmas Presents, From One Penny to Two Guineas. A Great Variety of New Birthday and Christmas Cards. All Goods Marked in Plain Figures. Athenaeum Parade, King's Lynn.<sup>17</sup>

Fancy goods were not the only feature of the Dexters' adjustment of business interests. Five photographers were not needed to run the family studio, and in 1872 their elder son had set up a new business of his own, though still at the studio address.

William Dexter, Junr., Opposite the Athenaeum, begs to inform the inhabitants of Lynn and District that he has commenced business as Poulterer and dealer in Fancy Fowls, Rabbits, Pigeons, &c., &c., and hopes by strict personal attention to gain a share of their support. N.B. Fowls ready for the spit at the shortest possible notice.<sup>18</sup>

It was towards the end of that year that Alice married and left home. Her days as photographer's assistant were over, and she went on to follow in her mother-in-law's footsteps by running a fancy goods shop.<sup>19</sup> By 1891 she and John had moved to Leamington Prior in Warwickshire, where she looked after their eight children and he continued his career as a commercial traveller.<sup>20</sup> It was not long after Alice departed that Walter, the second son, also branched out on his own, though he remained committed to the camera. By November 1875 he was working as a photographer in Birmingham, where

he married Emily Allday,<sup>21</sup> and soon after this he moved to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, where he set up his own studio in Midland Road.<sup>22</sup>

William Woodhouse opted to face the future with a recently improved technology, though not one that – despite his claim – was exclusive to him.

Photography. – Wonderful Cartes by new process of Stippling, known only to W.W., 2/6 the half dozen. All Persons are not only satisfied, but are very much delighted with their Portraits taken by the new process.<sup>23</sup>

The delight of customers is perhaps understandable, for what Woodhouse was engaged in was the cosmetic improvement of their portraits. (He had, however, more tact than to be too explicit in his advertising.) Stippling was the technique of applying tiny dots of pigment to a negative in order to disguise blemishes. It had long been used as one way of hand-colouring prints, but it was now being used as a way of doctoring the glass negative and making spots, wrinkles and freckles vanish. If boldly used, it could even sharpen facial contours and reduce waistlines. At first the practice required the skilled manipulation of brush and wet pigment, but in 1866 Johannes Grasshof introduced a retouching technique that used a soft lead pencil, and this was far easier to manage. The standard carte de visite of the 1860s had little to gain from such retouching. The image itself was small, and since full-length poses were customary, the head took up only a small part of the picture and facial imperfections were scarcely – if at all – noticeable. But in the 1870s the camera came closer to the subject. Half-length and three-quarter-length shots became the norm, and the face could be examined in closer detail. Some customers were beginning to favour the larger-format cabinet print, and that too offered a larger face for inspection. Understandably, the retouching of negatives grew in popularity (and, to a degree, respectability).

Woodhouse was clearly a pioneer of retouching in Lynn, and he used it to justify a price rise of sixpence per half-dozen cartes. It seems, too, that his cosmetic adjustments met with some approval, for he continued to run his stippling advertisement for two-and-a-half years without feeling the need to introduce any fresh novelty.

It was not only in Lynn that photographers were looking for ways to improve their prospects in a post-cartomaniac world, and one of those outside businesses sought to do so by a geographical expansion of its customer base.

The threat came from the Norwich firm of Sawyer and Bird. Since incurring the displeasure of Oliver Sarony back in 1856, John Sawyer had prospered. His business in London Street grew vigorously during the years of cartomania, reaching an output of 30,000 cartes per year in 1862 and 1863.<sup>24</sup> He next opened a branch studio in Ipswich, Suffolk, under the management of Walter Smith, who went on to take over the business under his own name in 1867.<sup>25</sup> Then, at the beginning of the 1870s, Sawyer formed a partnership with Walter Bird, and the pair augmented their Norwich operation with studios in London<sup>26</sup> and Great Yarmouth.<sup>27</sup> In 1871 they also became involved in the development of the Autotype Company in London,<sup>28</sup> an enterprise that increasingly

claimed their personal attention. (Their partner in this venture, John Spencer, would withdraw from it in 1874, leaving them to continue together as its directors.)<sup>29</sup> This meant that the day-to-day running of the Norwich studio was increasingly entrusted to their manager, Albert Coe. Sawyer and Bird's 1873 campaign to attract Lynn customers to Norwich owed much, therefore, to the enthusiasm of Coe (who in later years took over the studio, and whose descendants would in due course carry the business into the 21<sup>st</sup> century).

The first in their series of repeated Lynn advertisements<sup>30</sup> gave prominence to three aspects of the business: customers needing spectacles were referred to London Street's Optical Department; 'Clergymen and Managers of Schools who desire Magic Lantern Exhibitions' were advised of a new and varied stock of slides; and potential sitters were told of a range of 'Artistic photography'.

Life-Size portraits on Canvas, Rembrandt Portraits, Cartes de Visite, And every style of high-class work, executed daily under the superintendence of Mr Coe.

Two months later this was replaced by a new advertisement, which was addressed to 'Connoisseurs and admirers of First-class Photography'.<sup>31</sup> This gave a more detailed list of portrait options, complete with prices, and it praised Coe's ability to overcome a perennial problem:

The well known difficulties attending the portraiture of children are entirely overcome by the skilful mode adapted by Mr. Coe, and the testimony of the many who have availed themselves of his services is sufficient proof of his success in this speciality of the art.

There was also some anticipation of finer weather and longer days:

Views – Groups and Buildings. As the season for out-door Photography is at hand, Sawyer & Bird will be happy to arrange with their customers for this kind of work. And that First-class Photographs may be assured, Mr. Coe will personally attend to all commissions they may be favoured with.

A third advertisement drew attention to the Norwich studio's improved facilities.

The alterations at their London Street Establishment, which have been some time in progress, are now complete, Printing, Enlarging and Toning Rooms having been added, and having secured for this department a permanent and efficient staff, they are now enabled to send out first-class photographs with a beauty of finish, and to ensure a promptness in their execution of orders hitherto unobtainable.<sup>32</sup>

In time, this gave way to a fourth notice,<sup>33</sup> which, in describing their 'unrivalled effect of light and shade', gave some indication of the chiaroscuro contrasts aimed at in the company's 'Rembrandt' cartes. The same advertisement showed a sharp awareness of

photography's emotional significance in its reference to 'the increasing demand for first-class portraits to be preserved either as souvenirs of the departed, or to recall the *vrai semblance* of the absent.'

The last in the series of advertisements looked back on a vintage year. The studio improvements had been particularly helpful in the production of children's portraits:

The recent alteration in their gallery gives a greatly increased power of lighting, which renders the process almost instantaneously, thus enabling the operator to catch fleeting the happy expression of childhood.<sup>34</sup>

But there were also more general grounds for self-congratulation:

At the close of the most successful Photographic Season they have ever had, Sawyer and Bird can but refer with great satisfaction to the continued increase in their business as Photographers, and to the great success of their Partner in Norwich (Mr. A. E. Coe), in producing works of Art – which, eminently satisfactory as portraits, are at the same time not surpassed in artistic quality by the productions of any studio in Europe.

An obvious question suggests itself. How much of the 'continued increase in business' was at the expense of Lynn photographers? The advertising campaign had been sustained for a whole year, which suggests that Sawyer and Bird thought it worth persevering with notices in the town's press. Yet there was no similar campaign in 1874 or in later years, so the gains were not enough to justify repetition. It seems probable, therefore, that the Lynn studios felt some impact on their trade, but that the effect was not great. The impact would not, however, have been regularly distributed. Sawyer and Bird's photos were not cheap. Their Rembrandt cartes (at 3/6d for two proofs and 10/- a dozen thereafter) were sold at 'no alteration' to standard prices.<sup>35</sup> In addition, travelling to Norwich involved some cost in time and money. It follows that the Sawyer and Bird campaign was aimed at the upper end of the Lynn market. Few if any customers of Woodhouse and Wright would be interested, and the Dexters also maintained relatively low prices. The person whose trade was most likely to have felt the pressure was Edwin Bullock.

Sawyer and Bird were not the only fresh competition faced by Lynn photographers in the early-to-mid 1870s. The arrival of William Stowers may, however, have posed only a modest challenge, even though he was based in Lynn rather than in Norwich. He ran a studio in Austin Street in about 1874/5, and since he is known only from one trade directory entry,<sup>36</sup> his stay in the town was probably short. By 1881 he was practising (again briefly) in Bridewell Street, Wymondham.<sup>37</sup>

A more important change to the photographic population was, however, on the way. It began with the announcement by William Woodhouse, at the end of 1876, that he was ready to step down.

W. Woodhouse, in retiring from business, begs to thank the inhabitants of Lynn and county generally for the support they have given him during the 17 years he has been in business, and has great pleasure in recommending his successors, Messrs. Wallis and Manders, as Artists of great abilities. They will reopen on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January.<sup>38</sup>

Woodhouse had withdrawn from the photographic scene once before, back in 1866, when John Prout took over the studio for a while. But this time he was in earnest and had no intention of making a return. He left his successors in possession of his 20,000 glass negatives,<sup>39</sup> and he set about disposing of other items that he did not wish to take with him. First he put up for sale a collection of 'items (old china, oleographs, chromo engravings) the property of William Woodhouse, who is leaving Lynn.'<sup>40</sup> Then he announced his intention of selling 'all his choice collection of Dr. Denny's and Pearson's three sets of geraniums, 3/- dozen; cuttings of first-class and named certificates in 1876, 1/6 dozen'.<sup>41</sup> Finally, he gave up his poultry farming and left the area. Just how soon he took this last step is not known, but four years later he and Ann were living in Low Leyton, Essex. He was still only 56, and it appears that he was financially secure enough to need no new occupation, for he was described simply as 'retired photographer'.<sup>42</sup>

It had been an eventful career, with a resolute bid to capture the mass market punctuated by a train crash, a false retirement and a brief spell in prison. But Woodhouse had targeted 'the million' and a huge number of customers had responded. It is difficult to assess just what his 20,000 negatives tell about his productivity, for some of his carte mounts in the 1870s had warned 'Negatives kept only two years'. If this means he had been exposing plates at a rate of 10,000 a year, then his output was prodigious. Even the industrious John Sawyer of Norwich, in the days before he teamed up with Walter Bird, had created only around 25,000 negatives in the course of eight years,<sup>43</sup> and he had been working in a populous city rather than a small town. So the threat to dispose of negatives after two years was probably just a marketing ploy designed to encourage repeat orders. On the other hand, 20,000 negatives seems quite a small archive to represent 17 years' work. (For about a year and a half of that period, the business had been run by John Prout, but Prout had left his negatives behind him at the studio.) Even allowing generous time out for holidays, convalescence and prison, the rate works out at little more than four photographs per working day, and that hardly seems to represent viable business for a cut-price photographer. Presumably, therefore, either some early negatives had been lost, or some judicious filleting had taken place. After all, negatives took up a lot of storage space, and it was not unknown for old ones to be scraped clean, the silver content salvaged, and the glass reused.

As for the images captured on his plates, it has to be admitted that they were of a variable quality. Vertical lines occasionally seem less than scrupulously vertical, and subjects sometimes seem a little ill at ease. Composition and posing may at times, therefore, have been a little hurried, but there is another possible reason for uneasy subjects. In making 'cartes for the million', Woodhouse was drawing into the studio a new class of client. Many of his sitters had never been photographed before, and a studio, with its unreal trappings and its unsettling headrests, was a disconcerting place. Even the way things

looked may have seemed strange, for many studios made use of blue glass in the windows to diffuse the light. It is no wonder if poorer customers, posing uncomfortably in clothes that were normally put on only for church, were self-conscious and a little awkward. So photographs by Woodhouse do sometimes betray the fact that he was working at the lower end of the market.

One Woodhouse portrait<sup>44</sup> places itself socially by evidence other than the usual gaucheness. A young man has come to the studio in the 1870s, and he is dressed in a fairly pale suit. He stands with one hand on a plinth and the other tucked just behind his hip, giving a good view of his double-breasted, broad-lapelled waistcoat. He looks relaxed, and he has brought with him his concertina, which he has placed on top of the plinth. Nothing about his demeanour suggests his status, but, it transpires, the concertina reveals his class, for concertinas were not all alike. 'English' concertinas were perfectly respectable and were regularly played in bourgeois drawing rooms, but 'Anglo' (or 'Anglo-German') concertinas belonged to the lower orders and were used by public house entertainers, bank holiday trippers and the Salvation Army. The instrument in the photograph proves, on close examination, to lack a separate thumb strap, and this establishes it as an Anglo concertina – the like of which would hardly have appeared as an accessory in, say, Edwin Bullock's studio.

Although Woodhouse had retired, the studio remained open and the business was still partly in the family, since Victor Manders was the nephew who had been recorded with him as a farm assistant in the 1871 census.<sup>45</sup> It may well be that he had helped in the studio as well as on the chicken farm, for he came from a photographic background. His father was the Frederick Manders who had taken over the Finsbury studio of an earlier William Woodhouse in 1859. Frederick ran this business, as well as picture framing,<sup>46</sup> until at least the mid-1860s, but he died in 1868.<sup>47</sup> It would seem, from the presence in 1871 of both Victor and his younger brother Arthur in West Winch, that William and Ann Woodhouse had taken the two boys in after their father's death.

The other partner in the new business was Christopher Wallis. How he was connected to either Woodhouse or Manders remains unclear, but he, too, was the son of a studio professional. His father, Thomas Samuel Wallis, was a photographer and frame maker in Dorset, though his photographic work may not have been continuous. He ran a studio in Mary Street, Weymouth in the late 1850s, and he was operating in St Thomas Street, Weymouth in the mid-1870s.<sup>48</sup>

There is no way of telling how long Woodhouse pondered over the idea of retirement, though there is perhaps a hint that the decision, when it came, was sudden. The earliest Wallis and Manders carte mounts were actually Woodhouse mounts with their names handwritten in, and with 'late' inserted before 'Woodhouse'. Either the new partners had insufficient time to order a stock of their own mounts, or they began business diffidently with an eye to making economies.

Diffidence was not, however, the defining characteristic of Manders and Wallis. Both were young men – Manders was 21 and Wallis was a year his junior – and both were full

of energy and enthusiasm. If Lynn's photographers thought that the departure of Woodhouse heralded a period of less aggressive competition, they were soon to be proved wrong.

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- 1 *Lynn Advertiser*, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1873.  
2 *Lynn Advertiser*, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1874.  
3 *Norfolk News*, 18<sup>th</sup> December 1869.  
4 *Lynn Advertiser*, 17<sup>th</sup> February 1872.  
5 *Lynn Advertiser*, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1872.  
6 Hermann Voget (trans. Edward Moelling), *Handbook of the Practice and Art of Photography* (Philadelphia: Benemann & Wilson, 1871).  
7 *Picture Norfolk* website (Norfolk County Library and Information Service), PN00005413.  
8 *Picture Norfolk* website (Norfolk County Library and Information Service), PN00004806.  
9 *Picture Norfolk* website (Norfolk County Library and Information Service), PN00005438.  
10 *Picture Norfolk* website (Norfolk County Library and Information Service), PN00005942.  
11 *Picture Norfolk* website (Norfolk County Library and Information Service), PN0005427.  
12 All Saints' register of baptisms, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1876.  
13 *Lynn Advertiser*, 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1872  
14 *Lynn Advertiser*, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1875.  
15 Civil registration index of marriages: King's Lynn, December 1872, book 4b, page 955.  
16 *Lynn Advertiser*, 28<sup>th</sup> March 1874.  
17 *Lynn Advertiser*, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1876.  
18 *Lynn Advertiser*, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1872.  
19 1881 census: RG11, piece 1999, folio 5, page 3.  
20 1891 census: RG12, piece 2472, folio 133, page 22.  
21 Charlotte Paton, *A Portrait of Walter Dexter*, p12, (Dereham: Larks Press, 2014).  
22 Harrod's *Directory of Northamptonshire*, 1876.  
23 *Lynn Advertiser*, 28<sup>th</sup> March 1874.  
24 *Norfolk Chronicle*, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1863.  
25 *Ipswich Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1867.  
26 Michael Pritchard, *A Directory of London Photographers 1841-1908*, (Watford: PhotoResearch, 1994)  
27 Godfrey's *Directory of Great Yarmouth*, 1874  
28 Sem Seaborne, Peter Levinsohn and David Godding, *Celebration of Innovation: A History of Autotype 1868-2005*, p.8, (London: Autotype International Ltd, 2005).  
29 *The London Gazette*, March 27<sup>th</sup> 1874, p.1895).  
30 *Lynn Advertiser*, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1873.  
31 *Lynn Advertiser*, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1873.  
32 *Lynn Advertiser*, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1873.  
33 *Lynn Advertiser*, 13<sup>th</sup> September 1873.  
34 *Lynn Advertiser*, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1873.  
35 *Lynn Advertiser*, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1873.  
36 Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1875.  
37 1881 census: RG11, piece 1956, folio 88, page 3.  
38 *Lynn Advertiser*, 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1876.  
39 *Lynn Advertiser*, 17<sup>th</sup> March 1877.  
40 *Lynn Advertiser*, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1877.  
41 *Lynn Advertiser*, 17<sup>th</sup> February 1877.  
42 1881 census: RG11, piece 1725, folio 153, page 33.  
43 *Norfolk Chronicle*, 26<sup>th</sup> June 1868. (First discovered mention of Sawyer producing cartes: *Norfolk Chronicle*, 15<sup>th</sup> September 1860.)  
44 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.185.  
45 1871 census: RG10, piece 1861, folio 61, page 14.  
46 1861 census: RG9, piece 239, folio 129, page 3,

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David Webb, *PhotoLondon database*: [www.photolondon.org.uk](http://www.photolondon.org.uk).

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Michael Hallett, *Victorian and Edwardian Professional Photographers in Dorset*, (London: Royal Photographic Society, 1987).