

9. Raising the tone (1880-1885)

John Smith announced his arrival in Lynn with a prominent one-off advertisement in May 1880, and its measured tone was reminiscent of the pre-carte years. Excellence was promised, but there was no hint of the combative or strident notes that had characterised the announcements of Woodhouse, Wallis and Manders and – when pushed – Edwin Bullock. The Smith family had taken on 60 High Street, which they now designated an ‘Art Studio of Photography’, and they had invested to impress.

T. Smith & Sons respectfully beg to announce to the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Inhabitants of King’s Lynn and neighbourhood that their Studio is now open. The above premises have undergone very extensive alterations to meet the requirements of first-class work, and no expense has been spared to make them complete both in elegance and comfort. The Studio is both large and airy, and constructed with the most modern improvements, and probably is the finest in the county of Norfolk. Attached to the Studio are Waiting and Dressing Rooms, fitted up with every convenience and comfort.¹

Even the modest restraint of one word, ‘probably’, showed a dignity that recent photographic advertisements had often lacked.

T. Smith & Sons trust, by strictly confining themselves to the production of first-class work only, to merit the honour of an extensive patronage. The management of the Lynn Branch of the firm will be placed under the care of Mr. J. W. Smith, whose long experience of the best Studios in London and the Provinces cannot fail to command the notice of the public. Sitters will in every case receive his personal attention.

The T. Smith, whose name appeared over the door, was John Smith’s father, a cabinet maker, upholsterer and photographic entrepreneur of Brigg in Lincolnshire. Whether Thomas Smith ever worked as a photographer himself is unclear, but he was certainly the owner of photographic studios. He first included a studio among his business interests in the early 1870s. There may have been a break towards the end of the decade, but by the early 80s he had established a studio at 47 Wrawby Street that continued to operate until the early years of the twentieth century.² Both of his sons learnt the skills of cabinet making, and both learnt to work in the studio. In 1871, at the age of 16, Thomas Arthur (the younger son) was recorded as a photographer, while John William was listed as a cabinet maker.³ But now Thomas senior had decided to expand the photographic side of the business, and it was John who, at the age of 29,⁴ was chosen to take the family name into a new county. Thomas’ name would continue to identify the studio for over 30 years, but it was his son who would become an important part of Lynn’s commercial and artistic life.

The first Smith advertisement ended with an indication of prices. Cartes de visite cost from six shillings a dozen, and twelve cabinet prints started at fifteen shillings. 10 x 12 inch portraits, coloured in oils and framed, were to be had for £1 10s. 'It will be seen,' the announcement observed, 'that the terms are so arranged as to meet the requirements of all classes.' That was debatable. The poorer class could probably still find a better deal with Robert Wright and quite possibly with Wallis or the Dexters. Nevertheless, though Smith was ambitious to attract the gentry, he was also keen to establish a broad customer base.

He seems to have made an encouraging start, perhaps, in part, because he filled a market niche left vacant since the departure of Bullock. Political sympathies, too, may have played a part in his speedy acceptance and accounted for a prestigious commission secured less than three months after his arrival in the town.

In July 1880 Sir William Ffolkes played host to an outing of the Liberal Club to his estate at Hillington Hall, a few miles from Lynn. Extra trains were scheduled on the Fakenham line for the occasion, and, the *Eastern Daily Press* reported, 'a large number of persons availed themselves of the fine weather, and accompanied the members of the club', visiting the gardens and the park, listening to a drum and fife band, and enjoying 'a series of bicycle and sports contests, which with other amusements, occupied the company'. During the afternoon 'Messrs. Smith & Sons, photographers of Lynn, took two views of parties arranged at the south entrance, and these photographs are exhibited at the residence of these gentlemen.'⁵

In fact, Smith's wish for a strong customer base was granted to slightly embarrassing excess. Before long he found himself taking pictures faster than he could process or finish them, and customers were kept waiting for their portraits. By the early part of the following year, it was clear that an apology was in order and that some attempt had to be made to restructure the operation. Smith therefore addressed his problems in a new advertisement, which – perhaps predictably – made much of the high level of demand for his work.

T. Smith & Sons, Artists and Photographers, 60, High Street, King's Lynn, beg to return their sincere thanks to the nobility, gentry, clergy and inhabitants of Lynn and neighbourhood for the very liberal support accorded to them during the few months since they opened their Branch at King's Lynn. They also take this opportunity of expressing their regret that so much delay took place during the past season in executing some of their clients' orders, assuring them that it was quite unavoidable, owing to the great pressure brought to bear upon them. To the nobility and gentry of North-west Norfolk in particular they return their thanks for their extended indulgence under the circumstances.⁶

Steps were being taken, he continued, to resolve the problem.

Important Alterations are now being made in all Departments, by which they hope to overcome any unnecessary delay during the coming season. In seeking a continuation of the liberal support already given, they beg to assure their clients of

their best endeavours to give satisfaction. The great alterations and additions that are now being made to the Reception and Dressing Rooms and Studio cannot fail to afford every additional comfort to intending sitters.

The departments where improvements were being made were listed as 'Portraiture. Enlarging. Artists' Finishing. Group & Landscape. Artistic Framing. Permanent Photography.' The last-mentioned department was, in fact, something new, and it was given its own explanation:

They beg to announce the addition of the latest branch of Photography to their other Departments, viz., that of Permanent Photography on Minton's Plaques, Tiles, Copper Enamels and Porcelain, burnt in either Monochrome or Colours.

This interest in non-standard host materials and, in particular, ceramics, was to prove an important element of the Smith offering. It had been a shaky start for the new business, but that shakiness had apparently been a by-product of success, and Smith had sought to turn it to his advantage. In fact, he seems to have become an established part of the town's photographic scene in a very short time.

The 1881 census, taken two months after Smith announced his reorganisation, gives an opportunity to review that scene. Smith himself was the only member of his family to have settled in Lynn, but his two youngest sisters, Florence and Alice, were visiting at the time;⁷ Christopher Wallis, with his wife and infant son, were still at 4 London Road, though he would soon be moving to Wales;⁸ and the two long-established photographic families were also present.

William and Sarah Dexter were still in Blackfriars Street, along with William John, their son, and Archibald Dexter, a grandson.⁹ Both Williams were recorded as a photographer, so while the younger William may still have been engaged in the poultry business, photography was evidently taking up a significant amount of his time. Frederick Spanton, a young man of 25, was also living with the family and was listed as a photographer's assistant. He was the son of Charles Spanton, an ostler and cab driver of Sedgeford Lane,¹⁰ and his connection with the Dexters was longstanding, for he had been recorded as their visitor ten years earlier by the 1871 census.¹¹ Walter Sothern Dexter, the couple's second son, continued to run his own studio in Wellingborough, where he and his wife now had three young sons.¹²

The Wrights still had the studio at 125 London Road, but Robert was not there on the night of the census. He was in Norwich, visiting the family of Jonathan Scott, a retired school attendance officer.¹³ His son, Jasper James Wright, was now aged 19 and was evidently capable of looking after the shop for a while.¹⁴ He seems to have been the only one of the children to become active in the business, and the only two of his siblings who were still living at home were a carpenter's and a baker's apprentice. Jasper was soon to become one of the three figures who dominated the town's photographic market. For the time being, though, he may have benefited from the support of his mother, Hannah, who was listed as a photographer's wife, and who may well have known something about

running the studio. His promotion to full participation in the business was, however, imminent. At about this time or very soon after, Robert Wright had a new batch of carte mounts printed with 'Wright & Son', giving notification that Jasper had formally embarked on a career which would extend over the next 50 years.¹⁵

There was now a new name at a long-established studio. The breaking up of the Wallis and Manders partnership had left Wallis at the London Road address and an unoccupied studio at 7 Blackfriars Street. The vacant premises had been quickly filled by Frank Elliott, who announced his arrival in January:

Important notice. Frank Elliott of London begs to announce that he has just purchased the Photographic Establishment of Blackfriars Street, Lynn, of Mr. Woodhouse, who carried on the above business so successfully for many years, and which will be re-opened with all the latest improvements in the art.¹⁶

Perhaps significantly, it was Woodhouse rather than Wallis and Manders whose name he chose to confer authority on his enterprise, and the word 're-opened' shows that Manders had already broken the continuity of tenure and left the studio. But, as his mention of 'latest improvements' indicates, Elliott was concerned to stress modernity as well as tradition.

All photographs will be taken by the new instantaneous process, thereby securing very pleasing effects of children, & c. F. E. will make a special study to produce first-class pictures at a low price. Weather no object.

The census showed him boarding with a widowed Mrs Woodward at 15 Priory Lane.¹⁷ It may not have been the cheeriest of households: Mrs Woodward had been left with two teenage daughters to bring up; Elliott, though only 25, had already lost his wife; and the other boarder, Eliza Renshaw, 26 years of age and a scripture reader by occupation, had also been widowed early.

Having been born in London¹⁸ and, presumably, worked there, Elliott used his metropolitan origin as a selling point on his carte mounts as well as in his newspaper advertisement. His family background also perhaps provided some relevant experience, for his father, Charles Earp Elliott, was a photographic dealer.¹⁹ But it appears that Frank's occupation of the Lynn studio was fairly brief. He was in town long enough to show himself a competent photographer, to use up at least one stock of mounts and order another, and to enter into a new marriage at the end of the year with Harriet Giles, a broker's daughter from Church Street.²⁰ He has not, though, been found in any trade directory, and that is often an indication of a short-lived studio; nor has any evidence been found of a subsequent photographic career.

The census also noted as photographers two men whose activities in Lynn are otherwise unrecorded. The first was John W. Wright, aged 15, who was boarding at Catherine Cozens' Temperance Hotel.²¹ Given his age, he was more likely to be an employee than running his own business, His surname suggests a link with Robert Wright, but the young

man was from London rather than Norfolk, and any connection has yet to be established. No other evidence of him in the town – or as a photographer elsewhere – has been found. The second of these two photographers had a familiar name: Valentine Blanchard.

This was not the Valentine Blanchard who had visited the town over two decades earlier: it was his nephew. The younger Valentine – Valentine Louis – had been born in Lynn in 1859²² (at about the time of his uncle's sojourn in the town) and was the fourth child of Ayscough Blanchard, grocer, and his wife Sarah.²³ Now, at the age of 21, he was poised to enter the occupation of the man for whom, presumably, he had been named. The family lived and ran its shop at 107 Norfolk Street,²⁴ and it is possible that Valentine had set up a professional studio in part of the premises (just as Henry Brame Bullock had, in *his* father's grocery shop, back in the early 1850s). Alternatively, he may have found employment in one of the town's established studios.

There is newspaper evidence of his presence in Lynn at this time, but none of it sheds light on his professional life. In August 1881 he was standing near the family shop, chatting to a friend as they leaned on their bicycles, when George Woodhouse of Marsh Lane drove by in a pony and trap, took offence at the bicycles, shouted 'Take those ---- things out of the way!',²⁵ and drove at Blanchard, catching him with a wheel and knocking him over. Happier records from the same year show Blanchard as a proficient swimmer, winning prizes of 30 shillings,²⁶ a biscuit box and a teapot. He also narrowly missed out on a butter dish, when, in a tub race, he fell out of his barrel, but he nevertheless distinguished himself by rescuing another capsized competitor, who had been seized with cramp.²⁷

What is known of Blanchard's early photographic career, however, is that he soon moved into Cambridgeshire, where he certainly did run studios under his own name. By around 1882 he had become the first of a series of photographers to work at 96 Lynn Road, Wisbech.²⁸ He continued, too, with his swimming, winning – by about 40 yards – the 1883 river race for captaincy of the Wisbech Swimming Club.²⁹ Then, a year or two later, he set himself up in a studio at Post Office Terrace, Cambridge,³⁰ and he exhibited a small selection of portraits at the 1885 exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society.³¹

The census had recorded a snapshot of Lynn's photographic business sector, but it was no more than a snapshot. Changes were imminent, and the first of them came in May 1881 with an announcement from the Dexters. Since 1878 and the counter-advertising campaign in response to Wallis and Manders, they had sought little attention through the pages of the local press. In fact, they had been content with the intermittent promotion of bags, albums and fancy goods, with only the address – Dexters' Photographic Rooms – acting as a reminder of their portraiture. That may have been as much reminding as the public needed. The couple had, after all, been taking pictures since about 1853. William was now into his sixties, and they were ready to hand over the reins.

Photographic Studio, Athenaeum Parade, Lynn. Mr. & Mrs. Dexter, in returning thanks for the liberal support accorded them for over a quarter of a century, beg to

state that they have retired in favour of their son, whom they can with confidence recommend.³²

The new head of the studio was not, however, the elder son John, who, though associated with the business, may still have had other commercial interests to maintain. It was, as the announcement went on to make clear, Walter who was assuming control:

Walter Sothern Dexter, in taking sole management of the above, trusts to receive the same uniform kindness so liberally bestowed in the past.

Walter's involvement with photography had been continuous, and he had by this time been running his own studio in Wellingborough for several years. Now he was giving up that business and returning with his young family to Lynn, while William and Sarah returned to Regent Street.³³

Sarah had been the key figure in managing sitters, but William possessed, and retained, a photographer's eye for detail. Many years later the painter Walter Dexter recalled days spent with his retired grandfather beside the river Ouse, identifying the birds, watching the boats, and learning 'to distinguish one vessel from another'. Man and boy watched as smears of smoke on the horizon turned to distant specks on the water, and the lad 'would be expected to observe them carefully and report my observations'.³⁴

There was soon to be change, too, at 4 London Road. At some time in the spring or early summer of 1881 Christopher Wallis moved on, and in July a new occupant of the studio advertised his presence.

E.B. Mowll, (From Messrs. Elliott & Fry's, London,) Portrait, Landscape & Architectural Photographer, 4, London Road, King's Lynn. Large or Small pictures, of any description, Finished in Colour or Black and White.³⁵

It was a fairly low-key announcement, but the mention of Elliott and Fry carried its own message. Edwin Balleshall³⁶ Mowll, who came originally from Folkestone in Kent,³⁷ had worked for one of the leading society portrait studios of the day. Joseph Elliott and Clarence Fry established their business in Baker Street in 1863, and they came to number artists, writers, actors, statesmen, nobility and royalty among their clients. By about 1880/81 (a visitor reported) the premises housed three separate studios, just one of which had 26 different backcloths to choose from, including 'A fine Windsor Park picture – painted in distemper, of course – with a soft shadow falling from the trees in mid distance'.³⁸ Four rooms were given over solely to the storing of negatives. It was a prestigious operation, and it was not surprising that Mowll should mention having worked for it. In fact, however, he had been operating as a photographer in Hulme, Lancashire, four months earlier,³⁹ and had been running a studio in Burnley shortly before that.⁴⁰ In Burnley, too, he had used the Elliott and Fry connection in his advertising,⁴¹ so he had come to Lynn from London by the slow and scenic route – which, of course, in no way diminished his right to refer to his time in Baker Street.

Unlike his predecessors at 4 London Road, Mowll seems not to have inherited a stock of negatives from the studio's earlier years,⁴² so he started from scratch when he set about establishing himself in the town. He sought, like Wallis before him, to improve his resources by swapping some equipment with a fellow professional, and before the year was over he advertised for 'a studio camera and lens, for cabinets and upwards, in exchange for a 10 x 8 Dallmeyer's rapid rectilinear lens'.⁴³ He continued with his initial advertising campaign, too, running repeats of his newspaper announcement until July of the following year, by which time he presumably felt sufficiently secure to allow his reputation grow without extra help.

There was also change on the other side of London Road, at number 125, though it is hard to be precise about the date. It has already been seen that Robert Wright felt confident about leaving his son, Jasper James, in charge of the studio while he was away in Norwich in April 1881, and that, around the same time, he added 'and Son' to the name of the business. Robert remained at the head of the enterprise until at least 1882, when details were collected for his last known trade directory entries,⁴⁴ but he was approaching 60, and Jasper was now a young man with studio experience. In 1885 Jasper married Emma Purdy,⁴⁵ and their first child, Levina, was born the following year.⁴⁶ By 1886, when the next year's *Lynn News* diary was being prepared, the business was in his name.⁴⁷

It was, however, with John Smith that the initiative for self-promotion remained during the first half of the 1880s. His advertising had already given hints of his artistic interests, and in 1883 he sought to position himself firmly as a patron of the arts.

Preliminary announcement. T. Smith & Sons, Photographers, 60, High Street, King's Lynn, beg to announce that their 1st Annual Exhibition of Paintings on China, Terra Cotta, Crystoleum, Tapestry, &c., by Amateur and Professional Artists, will take place about the month of August next, when valuable Prizes will be offered for competition in each class. Further Particulars will be duly Announced and Advertised.⁴⁸

The advertisement went on to demonstrate a commitment to supplying the public with a range of art-related products and supplies as well as portraits.

Terra Cotta and China Plaques and Ornaments in all Patterns. Artist's materials for above. A Large Assortment of Crystoleum Painting Materials of All Kinds. Sole Agency for the celebrated Linthorpe Ware. Sole Agency for the most recent Novelty in Photography, – the Patent Photo Filigram Note Paper and Visiting Cards.

There had also, the announcement added, been further improvements at the studio, 'for the comfort of their clients', and more staff had been taken on to ensure 'quicker dispatch of work'. Smith's decision to stock Linthorpe ware may, incidentally, be evidence of a quite adventurous taste. This short-lived Middlesbrough art pottery was prepared to

experiment, producing a remarkable variety of designs and becoming noted both for its complex glazes and for its simple but dramatic shapes.

In due course, details of the 'North West Norfolk Ceramic Art Exhibition' were published.⁴⁹ It was to be held in the Music Hall of the Athenaeum from October 16th to October 23rd. It was to include displays of painting on tapestry, china, terra cotta and silk, and a large collection of Limoges, Sèvres and Dresden china was to be on show. The Prince and Princess of Wales had agreed to be Patrons, and prospectuses, tickets and further information were to be had from Smith's shop.

Entries were in excess of 1,500 and the event was well received. The local press believed that T. Smith & Sons were 'to be congratulated upon the success which has attended their Ceramic Art Exhibition'.⁵⁰ The only photographic content of the report (and, apparently, of the exhibition) came with the mention of 'Special prize, Mr. H.N. White, for display of ceramic photo paintings. Silver medal and first-class diploma.'

Early in the following year, Smith took his role as promoter of artistic endeavour a stage further by announcing a programme of tuition. With an ambiguity that encompassed both photography and other arts, the advertisement was headed 'The Studio, 60, High Street'. It went on:

T. Smith & Sons beg to announce that they have now made arrangements for holding Classes for Painting on Terra-Cotta, China, Tapestry, Crystoleum, &c. Also for Private Lessons. Terms may be had on application.⁵¹

A few months later, as if to demonstrate support for the healthy body as well as the healthy mind, the photographer donated prizes for the Ouse Open Boat Sailing Club race.⁵²

Smith's interests were also evident in the subjects of two photographs that he sent to Stationers' Hall. By making out-of-studio photography simpler, dry plates had increased the opportunities for taking the kind of pictures that might prove widely marketable. This gave a boost to photographic publishing in general, whether the pictures were taken in the studio or out of doors. It was an aspect of photography that recommended itself to printers, publishers and retailers, like J. Thew and Son, as well as to photographers. From the end of the 1870s Thews were engaged in selling photographs on a regular basis. In 1879, for instance, they were offering for two shillings a 'Splendid Cabinet Photograph, just received' of the Honourable Robert Bourke, MP.⁵³ In the years that followed they advertised photographs of W. A. T. Amherst, MP,⁵⁴ Lynn's King John Cup,⁵⁵ and Lord Henry Bentinck.⁵⁶ The public had always shown a taste for pictures of notable places and eminent people, and the processes of the 1880s made it easier to cater for that taste. Naturally enough, photographers sought to protect their interests, and a potentially valuable image was worth copyrighting. T. Smith and Son became aware of this in the mid-80s and sent a series of photographs to Stationers' Hall for copyright registration. From the Lincolnshire studio in 1885 Thomas Smith submitted pictures of the Bishop of Lincoln, Edward King, with groups of his clergy,⁵⁷ an image of an illuminated address

presented to a Lincolnshire Member of parliament,⁵⁸ and shots of a prehistoric boat that had been excavated at Brigg.⁵⁹ But it was his son, John Smith, who first saw the advantages of this procedure. He had sent in two photographs the year before: both were registered on 26th August 1884, and both reflected his artistic concerns. The first, a ‘Combination photograph of the Fountaine Collection of Antique China in twenty-eight sections’,⁶⁰ recorded items within the field of his particular interest. The second was perhaps primarily of local historical interest, since it showed the wife of John Rolfe, a native of the nearby village of Heacham, but it was also a picture of a work of art. It was a ‘Photograph from a painting of Princess Matoaka, daughter of Prince Powhatan – Emperor of Attanoughkomouck at Virginia’.⁶¹ (Princess Matoaka is better known to posterity as Pocahontas.)

Smith’s 1883 art exhibition did not launch the annual tradition he had hoped for, though it was eventually to be repeated. It was, however, the precursor of a more broadly-based series of events, the first of which was announced two years later.

The King’s Lynn Trades and Inventions Exhibition will be held in the St. James’s Rooms, for 10 days only, commencing Tuesday, September 15th, 1885. The object of this exhibition is to place before the public the Novelties, Improvements, and Inventions which are obtainable in this district.⁶²

‘The Latest Productions’ were promised in bicycles, tricycles, perambulators, sewing, knitting and washing machines; and photography was listed (amongst brushes, ironmongery, hosiery and tinned goods) as one of the attractions. The affair lacked the lofty aspirations of an art exhibition, but it offered a useful opportunity to promote trade, while the promise of a grand floral display, bands, concerts, recitals and refreshments (‘at moderate charges’) added to the sense of imminent occasion. A heavy footfall was expected, so arrangements were ‘being made with the Railway Companies for Cheap Special Trains from all parts’.

The town’s other photographers seem not to have been attracted by this prospect, but it was Smith’s kind of event, and he informed the public that the business would ‘exhibit a selection of their productions in Portraiture, &c., also Paintings on Terra Cotta, &c.’, and he invited ‘the inspection of visitors to the Exhibition to Stand No. 29.’⁶³ In due course, the local press described his display, which embraced his diverse interests in ‘photography, terra cotta life-size enlargements, plaques, frames, painted terra cotta, vases, artists’ materials’.⁶⁴

Smith had by now been in Lynn for a little over five years. He was serious about his profession and, in 1884, had been elected to the Royal Photographic Society.⁶⁵ Although a native of Lincolnshire, he had made every effort to become identified with his new home town, emphasising his commitment to Lynn by incorporating its arms into one of his early photographic mount designs. He had achieved some success, too, in attracting a genteel class of client into his studio. The phrase ‘Under Distinguished Patronage’ was printed on his carte mounts from early in his Lynn career, and by around 1885, this was upgraded to ‘Under Highly Distinguished Patronage’. Surviving cartes suggest that

scholars and gentlemen were not infrequent clients. Likenesses of several clergymen have been found, and two photographs of the same cleric, one taken by Edwin Bullock⁶⁶ and the other by Smith,⁶⁷ reinforce the notion that Smith had at least partly filled the gap that Bullock's departure had left in the upper end of the market. Also dating from about this time is a portrait of Henry J. Hillen,⁶⁸ who had recently returned from teaching in Saffron Walden⁶⁹ and who was later to write his *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*.

In short, Smith could fairly claim to be playing his own distinctive role within the photographic community of the town.

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- 1 *Lynn Advertiser*, 15th May 1880.
 - 2 Keith Adamson, *Professional Photographers in Lincolnshire* (Royal Photographic Society, 1993).
 - 3 1871 census: RG10, piece 3429, folio 29, page 7.
 - 4 Civil registration index of births, June 1850, Glanford Brigg, volume 14, page 424.
 - 5 *Eastern Daily Press*, 23rd July 1880.
 - 6 *Lynn Advertiser*, 12th February 1881.
 - 7 1881 census: RG11, piece 1998, folio 5, page 4.
 - 8 1881 census: RG11, piece 2000, folio 16, page 25.
 - 9 1881 census: RG11, piece 1998, folio 42, page 2.
 - 10 1861 census: RG9, piece 1256, folio 5, page 4. 1871 census: RG10, piece 1864, folio 98, page 14.
 - 11 1871 census: RG10, piece 1864, folio 5, page 3.
 - 12 1881 census: RG11, piece 1572, folio 14, page 21.
 - 13 1881 census: RG11, piece 1941, folio 36, page 14.
 - 14 1881 census: RG11, piece 2000, folio 46, page 15.
 - 15 Last directory reference: *Norwich & Norfolk Directory*, (Town & County Directories, 1932).
 - 16 *Lynn Advertiser*, 22nd January 1881.
 - 17 1881 census: RG11, piece 2000, folio 6, page 5.
 - 18 1881 census. As above.
 - 19 Marriage register, St Margaret's, King's Lynn, 11th December 1881.
 - 20 Ibid.
 - 21 1881 census: RG11, piece 1998, folio 55, page 1.
 - 22 Civil registration index of births, June 1859, King's Lynn, volume 4b, page 376.
 - 23 1861 census: RG9, piece 1256, folio 35, page 37.
 - 24 1881 census: RG11, piece 1997, folio 76, page 18.
 - 25 *Lynn Advertiser*, 27th August 1881.
 - 26 *Lynn Advertiser*, 23rd July 1881.
 - 27 *Lynn Advertiser*, 27th August 1881.
 - 28 Kelly, *Directory of Cambridgeshire*, 1883.
 - 29 *Lynn Advertiser*, 21st July 1883.
 - 30 Spalding, *Directory of Cambridge*, 1887, and Kelly, *Directory of Cambridgeshire*, 1888
 - 31 De Montfort University, *Exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society 1870-1905*:
<http://erps.dmu.ac.uk>
 - 32 *Lynn Advertiser*, 28th May 1881.
 - 33 1891 census: RG12, piece 1569, page 66.
 - 34 *Eastern Evening News*, 1941, quoted by Charlotte Paton, *A Portrait of Walter Dexter*, p15,
(Dereham: Larks Press, 2014).
 - 35 *Lynn Advertiser*, 30th July 1881.
 - 36 White, *Directory of Norfolk*, 1883.
 - 37 1881 census: RG11, piece 3934, folio 12, page 25.
 - 38 Henry Baden Pritchard, *The Photographic Studios of Europe*, page 44, (Piper and Carter, 1882).
 - 39 1881 census: RG11, piece 3934, folio 12, page 25.
 - 40 Gillian Jones, *Lancashire Professional Photographers 1840-1940*, (PhotoResearch, 2004).
 - 41 *Burnley Express*, 3rd July 1880.

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- 42 *King's Lynn Red Book*, 1895.
- 43 *British Journal of Photography*, 1881, page 628.
- 44 White, *Directory of Norfolk*, 1883, and Kelly, *Directory of Norfolk*, 1883.
- 45 Civil registration index of marriages. King's Lynn, September 1885, book 4b, page 568.
- 46 Civil registration index of births, King's Lynn September 1886, book 4b, page 347.
- 47 *Lynn News Almanack and Diary*, 1897.
- 48 *Lynn Advertiser*, 21st April 1883.
- 49 *Lynn Advertiser*, 22nd September 1883.
- 50 *Lynn Advertiser*, 20th October 1883.
- 51 *Lynn Advertiser*, 2nd February 1884.
- 52 *Lynn Advertiser*, 16th August 1884.
- 53 *Lynn Advertiser*, 10th May 1879.
- 54 *Lynn Advertiser*, 1884.
- 55 *Lynn Advertiser*, 17th January 1885.
- 56 *Lynn Advertiser*, 24th October 1885.
- 57 The National Archives, copyright applications to Stationers' Hall: COPY 1/373/264 and COPY 1/373/265.
- 58 The National Archives, copyright applications to Stationers' Hall: COPY 1/375/485.
- 59 The National Archives, copyright applications to Stationers' Hall: COPY 1/376/110 and Copy1/376/118.
- 60 The National Archives, copyright applications to Stationers' Hall: COPY 1/369/170.
- 61 The National Archives, copyright applications to Stationers' Hall: COPY 1/369/171.
- 62 *Lynn Advertiser*, 29th August 1885.
- 63 *Lynn Advertiser*, 5th September 1885.
- 64 *Lynn Advertiser*, 19th September 1885.
- 65 *The Photographic Journal*, volume 25, (RPS, November 18th 1884).
- 66 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.154.
- 67 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.361.
- 68 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.364.
- 69 1881 census: RG11, piece 1818, folio 43, page 29.