

17. The postcard years (1901-1911)

The census of March 31st 1901 – the first census of the new century and the first and last of the new reign – showed some familiar names working in Lynn’s photographic studios. Dexter¹, Smith² and Wright³ were all present, as were Maggie Hammond⁴ and Florence Porter⁵, both presumably still employed by Wright. John Skerry was also to be found. The extent and consistency of his photographic activities have already been questioned. For now, it is perhaps enough to notice that he was recorded in this census as a licensed beer seller,⁶ and that, though directory indexes recorded him as a photographer until 1906, the actual advertisements referred only to his ownership of Morgan’s Stout and Ale Stores.⁷

There were new names, too. The first was William M. Lock, aged 29, who was living with his parents in Norfolk Street.⁸ His father, also William, was listed as a fruit and fish salesman, but the son, who had formerly been employed as a carter,⁹ was now recorded as a photographer. His studio was apparently set up in his father’s premises and was probably fairly short-lived, since it made its only trade directory appearance in the same year.¹⁰ It did, however, last until at least 21st October 1902, when (according to a report in the *Eastern Daily Press*) ‘Mr. W. Lock, photographer, who was conversing in the street, noticed smoke issuing from the attic window’ of Langford’s ironmonger’s shop at 130 Norfolk Street.¹¹ Lock warned the occupants and telephoned the police station; St Margaret’s bells were rung as a fire alarm; firemen were hosing the flames in just under thirteen minutes; and the fire was quickly contained.

The second new photographer was Harold Squibbs, who was not a local man, but whose career is rather better documented.¹² His parents, Abraham and Elizabeth, were both photographers and artists, and Harold and his older brother Arthur followed in the family tradition. Squibbs grew up in Bridgewater, Somerset, but when he reached about 16 he set off on a career as photographic journeyman, gaining studio experience and pursuing his loves of sketching and fishing. At some point in 1899 or 1900 his travels took him to Gwbert-on-Sea in Cardiganshire and he became determined that he would eventually settle in the area. By 1901, however, he had found his way to the other side of Britain and taken lodgings in Lynn with James Harris, a railway carter of Windsor Road.¹³ Adding three years to his age, he described himself for the census as a 21-year-old photographer. It is evident that he was working for one of the town’s established professionals, and whatever experience he’d gained in his father’s studio and during his travels would have made him a very suitable assistant. Like James Speight a few years earlier, he came with ready-made skills and understanding, and it is even possible that he was a successor to Speight in Wright’s studio.

But Squibbs didn’t stay long, for his travels were a prelude to setting up in business for himself. At some point in the early 1900s, on a return visit to Bridgewater, he rescued a young woman, Ada Baker, who had fallen in the river, and a few years later, in 1908, he married her. By this time, his brother Arthur was well settled as a photographer, with wife and young child, in Cardiganshire, and this perhaps refuelled Harold’s Welsh aspirations. By 1910, at any rate, Harold and Ada had settled in Cardigan, where he embarked on a successful studio career.¹⁴

The third newcomer to the business was Philip Carman, and he remains a shadowy figure. He was recorded by the census as a 40-year-old publican and photographer, born in Norwich and living in Friars Street.¹⁵ No other evidence has been found of him as a photographer, and by 1911 he had changed his occupation to scenic painter.¹⁶

One final name in the 1901 census needs more extended attention. The photographer, William Reynolds, has already been encountered in earlier chapters, but it was in the early 20th century that his fortunes improved. He was born in Suffolk at the end of the 1860s to Philip and Frances (Fanny) Reynolds.¹⁷ The couple had married in Great Yarmouth in 1864,¹⁸ and both Philip¹⁹ and his father-in-law, James Webster,²⁰ were fishermen. In 1871 the young family were living in Gorleston, just across the river from Yarmouth, but in the mid-seventies they moved to Bognor, on the Sussex coast, where two more children were born.²¹ By 1881 a further major change had taken place: Frances was recorded as a widow, and was on the far side of the country at Littleham, Exmouth, with William and her three daughters.²² Whilst the reasons for migration are not certainly known, it is probably significant that Yarmouth, Bognor and Exmouth all had fishing fleets.

With Philip gone, Frances now had to find a way of supporting herself and four children, and her solution to the problem seems a little surprising. Victorian photographers came into the trade from all manner of occupational backgrounds, but they often had some kind of experience in art, printing, science or precision working. Frances, a fisherman's widow with no apparent work experience to draw on, set herself up as a photographer. Sometimes the word 'photographer' in census returns turns out to be a self-aggrandising term for photographer's assistant, but Frances described herself as a 'photographic artist', which seems to assert some independence. (It is a purely personal impression, untested by statistics, that women photographic workers were less likely than men to inflate their status for the benefit of the census enumerator.)

No record of a studio in Frances' name has been found, but the Exmouth studio of a William Reynolds was listed in a trade directory for 1878.²³ Is it conceivable that Frances was trading under the name of her 12-year-old son, in the hope of building a family business? If so, the lack of other directory entries for the studio suggests that it did not last long.

Whatever the truth about Frances Reynolds' photographic career, it seems to have influenced her son in a way that would shape his working life. By 1901 William had been working in Lynn as photographer's assistant for at least ten years. In 1891 he was lodging at The Goat in Friars Street and his employer was unspecified.²⁴ By 1895, if not before, he was employed by John Smith, for it was he who discovered the break-in at Smith's High Street studio. In 1901,²⁵ still described as 'photographer's assistant' and still at The Goat Inn, he was 32 years old and sufficiently experienced to take on some responsibility. He may still have been with Smith, but there is another possibility – a possibility that would become reality in just a few years, if it wasn't so already.

The Thetford-based studio chain of Walter Boughton and Sons had quite recently established a branch in Lynn. Their premises in St John's Terrace opened in March

1900,²⁶ and by the time Turner's 1901 directory was published they had moved to 102 High Street.²⁷ A member of the family may have supervised the initial operations of the new venture, but no Boughton was recorded in Lynn at the time of the 1901 census. They therefore needed a manager for their business, and it is possible that they recruited Reynolds at this early stage. He was 32 and had been working in studios for at least ten years. He would have been just the person to manage the new branch, and he was certainly in charge of it a few years later.

The Boughtons' activities were varied. They undertook the traditional studio work of making portraits and they responded to the new demand for outdoor wedding groups. When, for instance, at a Great Bircham wedding in 1904 'the whole party was photographed on the lawn by Mr. Reynolds',²⁸ the guests were enjoying a ritual unthought of in Victorian times. Just a few years earlier, if a wedding photo had been wanted, the bride and bridegroom alone would have been photographed in the studio on their wedding day or, perhaps more probably, on a conveniently close date. The Boughtons catered for the growing amateur market as 'photographic apparatus and material dealers'²⁹; they published postcard views, including their 'Britannia' series of picture postcards for Lynn and district³⁰; and they recorded and sold pictures of public events around the town.

It is the photographing of one such event that provides clear evidence to link them with Reynolds. In February 1908 they applied to Stationers' Hall for copyright protection of a 'Photograph of Mr and Mrs J. H. Catleugh leaving St Margaret's Church, King's Lynn'.³¹ The copyright owner was given as 'Walter Boughton and Sons, 102 High Street, King's Lynn', but the copyright author of the work was 'William Reynolds, 102 High Street, King's Lynn'.

Having become the photographer for the Boughtons' Lynn operation, Reynolds eventually went on to take over the business from them. Before that happened, however, there seems to have been a period when, though working as branch manager, he had some freedom to use his own name. A set of photographs in the collection of the Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, dated, and attributed to Reynolds, includes images of Magdalen bridge before demolition in 1907,³² Lynn Mart in 1909³³ and the Whitefriars' Gateway in 1910.³⁴ These pictures all date from the time when he was an employee. But when publicity was involved, the Boughton name was still used, as on the caption of a Boy Scouts' oath-taking ceremony that was sold to the *Lynn Advertiser* in 1910.³⁵

It was at some point in 1911 that Reynolds began to run the studio under his own name. In the February of that year, when he was woken by the sound of breaking glass and looked out to witness a smash-and-grab raid at W. H. Smith's on the opposite side of the street, he was described by a press report as 'manager for Messrs Boughton, photographers'.³⁶ (For the record, Reynolds called out to challenge the thief, a policeman arrived at the same moment, and the culprit was caught red-handed with his unimpressive haul of a dummy fountain pen and two pen rests.) He was still manager at the time of George V's coronation in June, when the *Lynn News* credited an image of 'York Cottage, the King's West Norfolk Home' to his employers,³⁷ and pictures in the *Lynn Advertiser* of a service in St Margaret's, a procession through the town and a children's party in the Walks all bore the caption, 'Photo by W Boughton and Sons, High Street Lynn'.³⁸ The transfer of the business must have happened soon

after this date, in order for it to appear under Reynolds' name in Kelly's 1912 directory.³⁹ At last, after two decades of working in Lynn studios, Reynolds could enjoy recognition in his own right as one of the town's photographers.

Meanwhile, mention of the Boughtons' postcard publishing activities is the cue for some attention to the major new photographic boom of the Edwardian years.

It was in 1894 – towards the end of Queen Victoria's reign – that the picture postcard was authorised in Britain as a form of postal communication. The fact that one side of the card bore an illustration opened up a promising field of activity for both artists and photographers. Yet the format came with its own limitations: the whole of one side had to be given up to the address and stamp, leaving message and picture to share the other. Then, in 1902, came a change that raised the postcard from mere usefulness and caught the public imagination in much the way that cartes de visite had caught it 40 years earlier. New postal regulations decreed that one side of the card (henceforth thought of as the back) might be divided by a vertical line, with message written in the left half and address and stamp filling the right. The illustration now had a whole side of the card to itself: there was no need for publishers to leave a white space for the writing or for correspondents to squeeze their thoughts around the margins of the image.

Once the decision had been made to permit the divided back, postcards quickly gained enormous popularity. They lent themselves to quick informal notes and, with up to six postal deliveries a day, they could be used to send the latest news or to make arrangements at very short notice. 'Will bring cake (iced) on Saturday,' Fred Bowman assured his mother, on a card posted from Lynn to Snettisham the night before.⁴⁰ 'Have sold out of fish and chips' wailed 'Ferge' to Miss Harris (both of Lynn), 'Nothing but onions left. Keep your hair on.'⁴¹ It has been estimated that 700 million postcards were delivered in Britain between 1st April 1903 and 31st March 1904. What's more, their illustrations made them attractive and collectable.

For photographers this offered a perfect opportunity. Any subject could feature on a postcard: portraits of celebrities, sentimental scenes, advertisements, military encounters, cute animals, cartoons and much more. Local views and events had an obvious appeal. They had always been popular and had featured as prints, stereos and cartes de visite. In Lynn, for instance, William Pridgeon, Edwin Bullock and Edwin Mowll had all promoted their out-of-studio work, and Wallis and Manders, having acquired Bullock's studio as additional premises, were keen to stress that they also undertook landscape and architectural assignments. But the rise of the postcard created an unprecedented market for pictures of local landmarks and public occasions.

Even before 1902 and the advent of the divided back, businesses were building up a catalogue of scenic postcards. Boughton and Sons were certainly quick to exploit the new market, for an unattributed pre-1902 card of St Margaret's church shows a view that is identical to one later issued as part of their 'Britannia' series.⁴² It was a national market, too, and a number of publishers quickly became major figures. Blum and Degen of London were established in 1895, and by July 1900 they were reported as offering well over 1000 designs.⁴³ Some examples of their cards featuring views of the Lynn area date from 1901,⁴⁴ and James Valentine & Sons of Dundee, who entered

the market in 1897⁴⁵ and whose postcard manufacturing output was prolific, also included Lynn in their pre-1902 coverage.

The world's biggest publisher of views was Francis Frith. He had been building an archive of scenes since the 1860s, aiming to document every possible city, town and village in the British Isles. He and his assistants travelled to a chosen destination by train, hired a horse and trap, and set about systematically recording the area's buildings and scenery. It was a massive undertaking, but the temptation to take shortcuts was resisted. If a wait of hours, or even days, was necessary for the desired lighting conditions, then they waited patiently. The catalogue grew until, by the mid-1880s, it filled over 600 pages. The postcard, when it was introduced, could have been invented for Frith's company, and arrangements were made for their prints to be reproduced in Germany in the new format. Frith himself saw only the very early years of the postcard boom, for he died in 1898, but his sons carried on the business into the Edwardian period and beyond.⁴⁶

Frith's cameramen had made their first excursion to Lynn in 1891, finding the town full of precisely the sort of old and picturesque buildings they were looking for, and the arrival of postcard found them already supplied with a stock of marketable images.⁴⁷ Then, with the authorisation of the divided back, the roll of national publishers grew longer and King's Lynn views were published by (among others) Salmon, Jarrold, and Boots Cash Chemist.

The success of the postcard for mailing or collecting was not, however, the whole of the story. Postcards also supplied the solution to a problem that had troubled studio photographers for some years. The *carte de visite* and the cabinet print had long lost their novelty, yet nothing had arrived to take their place. Attempts were made in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth to find a new format to enthruse customers and to boost sales: novelty sizes of mounted portrait were introduced, but they remained nothing more than novelties. The postcard, however, proved to be the format for the new age. Its success as a form of postal communication grew side-by-side with its acceptance in the field of family photographs. If it was suitable for portraying the great and the famous (for the benefit of collectors), it was also suitable for portraying everybody else; and though it may have been a postcard, it didn't have to be sent through the post.

In fact, the *carte* and cabinet print survived, albeit in dwindling numbers, for some years. People still had family albums with *carte*- or cabinet-sized apertures unfilled. Nevertheless, postcard portraits were the new popular format and they became the standard professional product for the first half of the century.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, coinciding with and perhaps encouraged by the rise of the postcard, a flurry of new photographers opened businesses in the town during the century's early years. Some of these ran operations that were, at least in part, traditional, and some of them remain very shadowy figures.

W. Webb has been found in neither census nor trade directory. The sole evidence of him so far is a postcard of an Edwardian family group in an outdoor setting.⁴⁸ It is stamped 'W. Webb' and is alleged to be by a King's Lynn photographer. He may have set up a studio in Lynn, or he may have been an itinerant photographer who

worked in the area for a time. It is possible that he was the W. Webb who was later recorded by directories in 1914 and 1916 as running a studio in Norwich.⁴⁹

In 1903 Henry James Smith photographed Lynn men of the 3rd Reserve Battalion of the Norfolk Regiment at Middlewick Camp, Colchester, identifying himself on the mount as 'Art Photographer, Lynn and Watton'. Smith had been established in Watton, about 25 miles to the south-east, since the turn of the century, and his studio there would last until about 1912 or a little later,⁵⁰ but no other evidence has so far been found of him operating in Lynn.

There is a lack of information, too, about W. M. Gibb, whose 1910 photograph of Lynn school girls rehearsing in the Corn Hall for a royal visit appeared in the *Norfolk News*. He was also busy at the Lynn Forward Association's sale of work in 1911, when the sideshows included 'an electric light photographic studio (in charge of Mr. W. M. Gibb).'⁵¹ Census returns show a William Muir Gibb in Lynn in both 1901 and 1911, but he was described as a tailor on both occasions.⁵² Whether he pursued dual occupations or was an amateur photographer is not known.

The Gainsboro' Photo Company is a little better documented. A quarter-page panel in a Lynn yearbook for 1908 located the studio at 20 St James' Street and offered '12 High-Class Photographs 6d'.⁵³ The advertisement identified wedding and other groups as a speciality ('Get Our Prices'), and extended a cheery invitation to '!! Drop in and Get Snapped!!'.

This was not, however, the first incarnation of the business. By the end of 1906 George Mason and Foster (first name unknown) were trading as the Gainsborough Photo Company from rooms in Norfolk Street let by tobacconist Charles Holman.⁵⁴ Their lease was due to expire on 25th March 1907, but they surrendered the keys early and left in January. Holman failed to question this hasty exit; he took back possession of the premises, and only then thought to make an inspection. He was dismayed by what he found. 'The large number of gas burners which [the] defendants used for taking photographs at night,' he later alleged in court, 'took all the virtue out of the ceiling.' In addition, 'chemicals were spilt about the floors and damaged them.' Although Mason and Foster had left Lynn, their address was known – they had embarked on a new venture in Ipswich – and Holman sued them to recover the cost of repairs to his rooms. Unfortunately for him, the judge ruled that he should have given his tenants the opportunity to carry out the repairs before he reclaimed the key. By retaking possession prematurely, Holman had made it impossible for the tenants to put matters right without committing trespass.

Mason and Foster had, meanwhile, taken on a new business that might have held their messy processing habits in check. Their Ipswich studio was a 'Sticky Back' shop, where small, adhesive-backed self-portraits were produced in an early form of photo-booth. They still needed to attend to customers, oversee proceedings and top up the machine or machines with chemicals from time to time, but the high level of automation should have reduced the demand on their own skills and helped them keep the floor and ceiling relatively clean.

At some juncture following Mason and Foster's departure – and in time to place an advertisement in the 1908 yearbook – an unidentified photographer opened the St

James' Street Gainsboro' studio for business. There is evidence during the same period of other Gainsborough (or Gainsboro') studios in Staffordshire and Edinburgh,⁵⁵ so the successive Lynn operations in Norfolk and St James' Streets may have been branches or franchises within a chain. (If so, it was a small and widely dispersed chain.) A surviving postcard, marked 'Gainsboro', Lynn', shows a sylvan backcloth before which are posed the solemn members of a musical quintet: a very youthful violinist, two young men with mandolins, and two with lutes.⁵⁶ It is not certain in which of the two studios it was taken, but its competence and its conventional but respectable setting perhaps suggest an operator with more assured talents than Mason and Foster.

The most confusing of the new studios was at 7 Broad Street, where a Wright family set up in business. The obvious step is to look for some link with Jasper Wright, but no relationship is evident. The father of the family, Frederick Wright, was born in Wisbech in about 1859 to Henry, a corn porter, and Eliza, a laundress, both originally from Boston in Lincolnshire.⁵⁷ As a young man in his twenties Frederick spent some years in Ontario, Canada, working for a while as a labourer⁵⁸ and later as a carpenter.⁵⁹ Two children were born to him and Mary Elizabeth Clark during this time: Frank, in 1883, and Percival Frank (registered as 'Percyville'), in 1888. A record of Mary's death has not been found, but Frederick returned to England, accompanied by Percival, and in 1897, back in the Fens, he married Naomi Burgess at Sutton Bridge.⁶⁰ By 1901 the couple had moved to the adjacent village of Long Sutton and Frederick had become a photographer,⁶¹ though no evidence has yet been found that he ran his own studio there. By this time they had two small children of their own and when, a year later, another arrived, they had all three christened as a job lot at St Peter's in West Lynn.⁶² This is the first record to link this Wright family with Lynn, albeit with the part separated from the rest of the town by the River Ouse.

Not long after this, the family opened its studio in a former shoemaker's shop⁶³ at 7 Broad Street, in the centre of the town. They must have been established by 1903 at the latest, in order to be included in the next year's trade directory.⁶⁴ Curiously, however, the business was listed under the name of Mrs Naomi Wright. Then, in directories for 1908, 1912 and 1916, the principal was named as Percival Frank Wright,⁶⁵ despite the fact that Percival, by then aged 25, was described as a carman in the 1911 census – a census that once again identified Frederick as a photographer.⁶⁶ In fact, it was not until 1916 that Frederick, now approaching 60, was first credited by a trade directory as the head of the business.⁶⁷ An operation run under another family member's name might, on first reaction, be taken as an indication of recent bankruptcy, but Frederick had so far had little opportunity to become bankrupt, and no record of insolvency has been found.

Whoever was nominal head of the business, the Wrights were certainly at 7 Broad Street from 1903 until 1917 or later. (Their last listing, under Frederick's name, was in a 1918 directory.)⁶⁸ But this is where the complication occurs: none of their names have been found on their photographs. Some postcards bear the studio address but no name, and a number of these have been captioned in a very distinctive hand that might best be described as naïve baroque. Other cards, captioned in the same hand, either lack studio identification or carry the attribution, 'The Don'. Finally, a single Edwardian cabinet print from a conventionally furnished studio is credited on the mount to 'The Don. 7 Broad Street'.⁶⁹ (The studio backcloth, incidentally, looks a

little crumpled at the bottom and may have seen some years' use, perhaps by a previous owner.)

It appears, then, that the Wrights' studio used 'The Don' as its trading name, though this information never filtered through to trade directories. ('Don' it should be added, was a colloquial term for 'expert': a Victorian photographer in Stepney also called his business 'The Don Studio',⁷⁰ as did an Edwardian photographer in Walsall,⁷¹ while Frank Mason Good, a London photographer of the 1860s and 1870s, said of his brother-in-law's photographic skills, 'He was rather a don at it.'⁷²)

Despite the survival of many postcard views (and very few studio portraits) the Wrights, shy about clearly identifying themselves, remain rather shadowy figures. Even when, in 1907, Frederick's prompt action saved Broad Street's Liberal Club from destruction, the newspaper got his name wrong:

'It appears that shortly after the steward left the premises, as usual, at noon, Mr N. Wright, photographer, who resides on the opposite side of the street, noticed a blaze inside the clubroom. He smashed a window and got into the premises, finding that the bar at one corner was well alight. Assistance was speedily forthcoming, and, with a liberal supply of water in buckets, the fire was extinguished.'⁷³

Although (the report continued) the firemen 'turned out smartly', they found that Wright and his fellow-helpers had subdued the flames, and the customary crowds of spectators 'were denied a spectacle'. Wright's incorrect initial may, perhaps, be connected to the fact that, in the most recent trade directory – which the journalist might have used to check details – 'The Don' had been listed in Naomi's name: 'Mrs N. Wright'.⁷⁴ (This was, incidentally, not the first time a Lynn photographer had been the first to spot a fire: William Lock had done the same thing in 1902. Perhaps photographers are more observant than other people.)

There seems to have been one period of uncertainty during the Wrights' tenure of their studio. Either 'The Don' or, perhaps, the Wright's landlord, was thinking of selling up, and the property was one of several offered for sale by auction at the Globe Hotel in March 1909. Described as 'Freehold residence, Broad Street, with showrooms and photographic studio', the premises attracted bids up to £660, but were then withdrawn from sale, the reserve having apparently not been reached.⁷⁵ Whether this was a relief or disappointment for the Wright family can only be guessed at.

At some point, in true entrepreneurial spirit, Frederick decided to extend his operations into the field of cinematography. In 1911 James Birteno, who ran Lynn's 'Picturedrome', sued the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway for failing to deliver films he had ordered from the Royal Film Agency in Southport. He had spent heavily on posters and handbills to promote the programme and, when the films failed to turn up in time, he was forced to improvise. 'He went to Mr. Wright, photographer, Broad Street, and hired 2,500 feet of films and 300 from another man,' the court was told. Unfortunately, neither Wright's nor the unnamed supplier's films were such as to appeal to Birteno's discriminating audience, and 'The result was that people laughed at the pictures shown, came out and wanted their money back. It was a fiasco.'⁷⁶

The last of the traditional studios to be opened in the early 1900s was that of Amy Purdy, and hers was to prove the most enduring. Born in Willington,⁷⁷ County Durham, in 1870,⁷⁸ Amy was the older daughter of John Purdy, who had qualified for registration as a pharmaceutical chemist and druggist two years earlier,⁷⁹ and his wife Jane. By the time Amy was ten, the family had moved to York,⁸⁰ and it was there, at some time before 1891, that Jane set up a separate business of her own as proprietress of a ladies' boarding school.⁸¹ It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Amy grew up in an environment where learning and accomplishments were valued, and that is certainly reflected by the 1891 census, where she was described as 'student of pharmacy, teacher of botany, chemistry, drawing, languages'.

As it turned out, it was not as a pharmacist that Amy Purdy made her career but as a photographer, drawing on her skills in both art and chemistry. In 1901 the boarding school had been given up and the family were living in Lynn, with John described as a chemist's manager and Amy working as a photographic artist. She may not, at this point, have had her own studio, but if she started off as an employee, she quite soon graduated to running an independent business at 84 High Street, where she was established by 1907,⁸² and where she would continue for over 20 years.⁸³ Her ability to attract prestigious sitters was already evident in 1908, when her portrait of that year's mayor, Richard Green, appeared in the *Eastern Daily Press*.⁸⁴ Other examples of her early work show her dealing confidently with the standard range of studio portraits, views and events, justifying a successor's description of her, over a century later, as 'a very talented professional photographer'.⁸⁵

It may be, though, that (like the Dexters before her) she sometimes also acted as retailer for other people's images. When, in 1909, she set up a photograph stall at a Norwegian Fête in St James' Hall, the pictures of Sandringham and St Margaret's Church were very likely to have been her own, but she may not have had the opportunity to make and sell her own portraits of King Edward, Queen Alexandra, King Haakon and Queen Maud.⁸⁶

Whilst the newly established photographers generally produced postcards of one kind or another, portraiture (though generally non-royal) often remained a significant part of their business. At the same time there arose, too, a generation of practitioners who were as much publishers as photographers, and who sought the volume sales that could be achieved by postcards that showed views for posting and collecting or that served as souvenirs of memorable local events. Indeed, some of them, though describing themselves as publishers, were really little more than dealers in postcards.

Charlotte Bayes, who ran a tobacconist's shop in St James' Street,⁸⁷ sold views with 'Published by C. Bayes, King's Lynn' printed on the front; but the backs revealed that they were part of 'The Wykeham Collection', a national series of views for which she was simply the local representative. Frederick White, a stationer and newsagent,⁸⁸ functioned in much the same way as agent for national publisher F. Hartmann, a pioneer of the divided-back postcard.⁸⁹ 'Fred White: Publisher, Windsor Road, King's Lynn' appeared on the front of his views, but Hartmann's trademark was printed on the back. As a careers guide of the time remarked, 'The sale of picture postcards is not confined to any trade, but may be undertaken by anyone who has a shop or window to show them, and no special training is necessary for the sale of them.'⁹⁰

One other small-scale local publisher who had a ready-made retail outlet was William Gathercole, but he actually seems to have used his own camera. He was a carpenter by trade, but his mother was a licensed victualler. In 1901, Susan Gathercole, then a widow, was running The Shoulder of Mutton in the town centre,⁹¹ but in 1902 she remarried.⁹² Her new husband, Alfred Fox, in addition to being a farmer, was landlord of the Freebridge Hotel in West Lynn.⁹³ It was from this base that William set up an additional line of business. His search for subjects took him beyond the routine selection of Lynn's historic monuments, and he also took notice of events in the often-neglected West Lynn community, offering a substantial range of images to patrons of the Freebridge (and perhaps to customers of other outlets). His identification as carpenter in the 1911 census indicates, however, that he didn't give up the day job.

Some independent images were produced, too, by the 'Norfolk Studio'. Postcards of the Mart in 1906⁹⁴ and (from a similar date) the staff and frontage of the International Grocers' shop have been encountered, but the paucity of surviving examples may indicate that the business enjoyed no lasting success. Alternatively, the studio name could have been adopted, for a time at least, by a photographer who is already known, but whose experiment with a trade name has fooled posterity. After all, Wright referred to his premises as the 'East Anglian Studio', Wallace and Manders had claimed the title of 'King's Lynn Photographic Company', and Amy Purdy would soon hint at uniqueness with 'The Studio, King's Lynn'. The notion of a 'Norfolk Studio' was just waiting to be used, and, indeed, it was already in use elsewhere. By 1904 May Bone had opened a business in the nearby market town of Fakenham,⁹⁵ and she referred to this as 'The Norfolk Studio'.⁹⁶ May Bone was an enterprising photographer who soon opened branches in Hunstanton⁹⁷ and Aylsham,⁹⁸ and who also ran studios in Peterborough after the First World War.⁹⁹ There seems a good chance that Lynn's 'Norfolk Studio' photographs could originate from one of her ventures.

There were, though, two local postcard publishers who were responsible for the creation of many original images, and who made a firm impression on the market, and the first of these was Henry Logsdail. Born in Lincoln in 1857,¹⁰⁰ Logsdail qualified as a chemist in his early twenties.¹⁰¹ In 1886 he married Adeline Lowe of Lynn,¹⁰² and he took over the shop of Bishop & Co at 69 High Street a year or two later.¹⁰³ He advertised himself as a wholesale and retail chemist selling not only medicines and perfumery but also artists' colours, oils and varnishes. It may be that, like other chemists, he added some photographic supplies to his stock in due course, but any major involvement in photography was to come later. During the 1890s the couple started their family¹⁰⁴ and, outside work, Henry devoted time to his collie dogs, winning prizes and commendations at shows in Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire.¹⁰⁵ He also took up bowls and, in the early years of the new century, became a regular high scorer¹⁰⁶ and committee member¹⁰⁷ for the Globe Hotel team. At the same time, as the postcard became firmly established, he became increasingly aware of the opportunities offered by photographic publishing.

His output was extensive and varied. There were the customary views, of course. Lynn's old buildings, river and parkland lent themselves to postcard treatment, and both local and national publishers recorded them. Logsdail developed his own catalogue of popular subjects – the South Gates, St Nicholas' Chapel, the Tuesday

Market Place, St James' Park, the Walks, streetscapes – but he went further. Multiple views, showing a handful of different scenes on one card, had already achieved some popularity, but Henry Logsdail took this concept to extremes. His 'King's Lynn & Sandringham' multiple-view card, dating from 1906, showed over 30 tiny scenes, each smaller than a postage stamp.¹⁰⁸ Other multi-views presented their Lilliputian images clustered around such phrases as 'Memories of Lynn'¹⁰⁹ and 'Best Wishes for Your Birthday'.¹¹⁰

He understood that a view could be made more marketable if it could be given a sense of occasion. A shot of two children in the snow outside Lynn Hospital was given a more specifically seasonal flavour by a design on the back incorporating the message 'A Sincere Christmas Greeting'. (The design itself, however, featured flowers which might have been more convincing had they looked less like narcissi and more like Christmas roses.)¹¹¹

Any publisher could build up a stock of views. Logsdail, however, went beyond this to become a chronicler of local life in its everyday routine and on its special occasions. Business premises and employees, school staff and pupils, private houses, even (untypically) an outdoor family portrait¹¹² – all became subjects of his pictures, and recording local shopkeepers in front of their shops developed into an extended project. When the ferry crossed the river between the town centre and West Lynn, when a house on the Tuesday Market caught fire, when King Edward VII visited the town,¹¹³ when the Order of Foresters held a Gala Bank Holiday Parade,¹¹⁴ Logsdail (or perhaps, sometimes, his representative) was there to take a photograph. For the King's Lynn Forward Association (an interdenominational organisation licensed under the Companies Act in 1898)¹¹⁵ he produced a multiple-view card showing the exterior of their headquarters at the old Athenaeum,¹¹⁶ its central hall, library and billiard room, and a portrait of the president. One touching example of his work is a shot of a men's ward in Lynn Hospital, posted in 1909, and bearing the message, 'My Dorm. Bed marked with cross, Ernest'.¹¹⁷

Logsdail was also alive to the potential of photography as a marketing aid in his main business. He subscribed to the professional trade magazine, *The Chemist and Druggist*, advertising on occasion to buy new front and dispensing counters¹¹⁸ or to dispose of surplus drugs and chemicals.¹¹⁹ So when, in 1906, the magazine ran a competition based on the use of photographs in window displays, he sent in a window advertisement for 'Winter Specialities'.¹²⁰ A photograph of a snowy scene was surrounded by the names of suitably hibernal products: cod liver oil, Vaseline, glycerine, emulsion, cough cure and 'oil of euclyptus' (sic). 'The centre photograph is a local scene', the magazine reported, 'the snow which pervades the scene being appropriate', but, it felt, 'the card errs on the side of being too general'. It went on to observe that 'most of our readers will detect the slip in the spelling of eucalyptus.' This must have been particularly embarrassing to Adeline Logsdail, who was responsible for the design. She had grown up in the shadow of three older sisters who ran a fancy goods shop,¹²¹ and tasteful display and accurate labelling must have been seen as a family tradition. The article concluded, however, by quoting Logsdail's point that 'larger or smaller window tickets can readily be made from a given card by photography'.

Although his image making was simply an adjunct to his main line of business, Henry Logsdail was a significant figure in Lynn's photographic story. His 'shops and shopkeepers' project shows his awareness of the documentary and historical value of the photographic record, and his concerns with the practical uses of postcards and the promotional possibilities of his pictures are evidence of a lively interest in applied as well as pure photography. Fortunately, a substantial collection of his glass negatives has survived, donated to the Norfolk Library and Information Service by the Bowskill family,¹²² and many of these photographs can be viewed online.¹²³

Alfred Jewson was more than 30 years younger than Logsdail and it was not until the end of the decade that he started to make an impact on the market, but, like Logsdail, he held up a mirror to the town and its life. Born in Camberwell in 1889,¹²⁴ Jewson arrived in Lynn when his mother brought her young family back to her home town¹²⁵ at some date after the 1895 death¹²⁶ of his father, a cheesemonger¹²⁷ and provision department manager.¹²⁸ By 1911 he was describing his business as 'commercial photographer' and was working from home at 20 King Street,¹²⁹ premises which he soon after referred to as Jewson's Photographic Works'.¹³⁰

The terms 'commercial photographer' and 'photographic works' are revealing. Jewson was not setting out to be a professional of the traditional kind. There had been specialist photographers before the postcard era, but studio portraiture had always been at the heart of the work of small-town practitioners. Architectural and landscape work had, in Lynn's past, been undertaken by such as William Pridgeon, Edwin Bullock and Edwin Mowll, but pictures of people had been the core professional activity. Now, though, a new young photographer could choose to concentrate on other aspects of the market. People were becoming aware of new applications for photography (as *The Chemist and Druggist's* interest in images for marketing testified). A few miles up the coast from Lynn, at Thornham, an art ironwork business had grown from an evening class activity to become the very successful firm of Ames-Lyde, Elsum & Co. By 1905 they were operating five forges and had taken on their own specialist photographer.¹³¹ If a single seaside-village business could find enough work to employ a photographer, then, it might be argued, a town the size of Lynn could provide plenty of non-portrait opportunities for Alfred Jewson.

That proved to be the case. As early as July 1911 he was taking on staff, advertising 'a vacancy for a Young Lady as Pupil'.¹³² He went on to record a wide variety buildings and events and to become a successful postcard publisher. The main part of his career, however, belongs to a later period and to the years between the two world wars.

One final publisher is mentioned with some hesitation. The uncertainty arises partly because Brenner's Bazaar, possibly established even later than Jewson, may only just come into the period being studied. There is, too, the fact that much of its photographic output was no more original than that of such corner-shop retailers as Charlotte Bayes and Fred White. Brenner's Bazaar was, in fact, one branch of a chain of 'penny bazaars' built up by Max Nusen Brenner, a Romanian entrepreneur who had settled in Norwich.¹³³ Other East Anglian shops were at Great Yarmouth and Wisbech. The Lynn branch had opened by 1911 at 105 High Street,¹³⁴ and it later moved to Norfolk Street. For part, at least, of the pre-war period it was under the management of the young Sidney Chaplin, son of an East Dereham market

gardener¹³⁵ and former tobacconist.¹³⁶ Postcards were among the various cheap goods on sale (though many extant examples may be post-war). Printed on the back of a number of these was 'Published exclusively by Brenner's Bazaar, 7 Norfolk Street, King's Lynn'. The exclusivity is brought into question, however, by the appearance on some of an encircled 'JV' – the trademark of Dundee-based James Valentine and Sons.¹³⁷ Whilst it is tempting to suspect postcard piracy, this could be unfair. The 'JV' logo is there for all to see, and it may be that Brenner's could justify 'exclusive' on the grounds that they were, at the time, the sole official retailers of these images in Lynn. Certainly a Brenner's store came to similar arrangements in later years, when the Yarmouth branch contracted with Raphael Tuck & Sons to publish Tuck's images of that town.¹³⁸

Other surviving Brenner cards are of uncertain origin but may also have been sold on an agency basis. There is no evidence of the consistent attendance at local events that is the sign of an independently active photographer and that characterised the output of Logsdail, Jewson and, indeed, the out-of-studio work of the town's traditional photographers. Yet an apparent and recurring interest in Lynn's river and docks does make some independent commissioning of images seem possible.

A lengthy list of occasions commemorated by the postcards of Lynn's photographers would make for tedious reading, and yet it would still be hopelessly incomplete. Frequent public events drew crowds, and photographers were on hand to record the proceedings. A few examples will suffice.

On 5th November 1906, a royal party attended the opening of new buildings for the King Edward VII Grammar School.¹³⁹ Queen Alexandra and the Prince and Princess of Wales accompanied King Edward, who declared the buildings open, conferred a knighthood on William Lancaster, their donor, and unveiled a statue of himself. The King's Own Royal Regiment Imperial Yeomanry provided an escort, and the 3rd Volunteer Battalion of the Norfolk Regiment supplied the guard of honour and band. Fanfares of trumpets were blown, dignitaries were presented, prayers were intoned, flowers were accepted and addresses were read. Photographers had been sent to Lynn to capture the scene, and the *Lynn News*' report featured a picture, 'reproduced by courtesy of *The Daily Chronicle*', of the king inspecting his statue.¹⁴⁰ Local photographers were not, however, squeezed out. One of them, Walter Sothern Dexter, was in no position to take pictures, even had he wanted to¹⁴¹: his years on the council had entitled him to join the official party and to consume the mayoral lunch that followed the opening. Amy Purdy and Henry Logsdail, however, were able to make the most of the opportunity, securing good positions and taking a series of photographs that were subsequently sold in postcard format.¹⁴² It seems, too, that Logsdail found a way of reaching a wider market, for one of the images published under his own name also accompanied the *Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*'s report of the occasion, where it was credited to the 'Illustrations Bureau' (an early photographic agency).¹⁴³ It was, though, a picture by Jasper Wright that caught the attention of the *Lynn Advertiser* and was given four column widths in their report on the opening. Though he, too, had been photographing the royal visit,¹⁴⁴ the paper chose a less journalistic image from his portfolio: taken at a distance and before the bustle of the ceremony, it was a wide-angle shot of the buildings themselves, standing out impressively against the sky.

Another event that brought out more than one photographer had occurred in October 1905. On Wednesday 18th a ketch, the *Evening Star*, had left harbour with a cargo of grain, but the wind was unfavourable and Charles Hartley, the owner and captain, had dropped anchor just inside the mouth of the Cut, where the River Great Ouse becomes the Wash, and settled down to await better weather. The ketch was moored at no great distance from the town and on the Saturday, when it was still wind-bound, Hartley popped back into Lynn to do some shopping before returning to the vessel to sleep. Two steamers went out of the Cut that night. Hartley was still up and about when the *Caroline* passed by, for its master called out to warn him that he was in a dangerous position. By the time the *Tangermuende* reached the spot, Hartley was in bed and his small wooden boat was probably swinging out into the channel on the ebb tide. There was a collision, and the *Tangermuende* continued on its course unharmed.¹⁴⁵ The *Evening Star* was less fortunate:

It was found that her starboard quarter was completely cut away, from bulwarks to keel, and that through this gaping hole most of her cargo of wheat had been washed away. The after cabin, where it is thought Mr. Hartley, the Master, was sleeping at the time of the collision, was completely ruined and his body was not in it. The forecabin was also empty.¹⁴⁶

None of the three men on board survived and only one, the mate, was found. The boat was raised with some difficulty and then manoeuvred into a mooring on the harbour foreshore, where the receding tides left her high and dry.

Hundreds of people gathered on the quay to see the wreck, while numerous small boys, in open defiance of Conservancy Board orders and Custom House laws, scrambled onto the hulk and helped themselves freely to specimens, which they proudly displayed about the streets. The stern orders of the policemen on duty on the quay to “come off that boat” were taken not the slightest notice of, as the youthful depredators knew the men in blue would not come over the mud to them.¹⁴⁷

It was evidently here, in harbour, that at least three Lynn photographers took their pictures. The Don was on the scene early, before the tide was right out and while the damaged boat was still afloat. Prepared (unlike Lynn’s policemen) to have muddy boots the Don climbed down from the quay, approached the water’s edge, and took a low angle shot, peering into the darkness behind the ripped-off section of the hull.¹⁴⁸ Logsdail took a picture a little later, when the ketch rested on nothing but mud, and he stayed cautiously on the quayside, looking down on the boat from further away. Ironically, however, the Logsdail picture was better; the view into the smashed hull was still dramatic, the higher angle gave a clearer impression of broken and sagging deck planks, and the lower tide had allowed access to a number of sightseers who were standing around and on the boat. Some pillaging had already taken place, for a flag – visible in the stern on the Don’s picture – was no longer there. As for the sightseers, there are youths and grown men as well the small boys of the newspaper report. None of them is caught in the act of taking souvenirs, but all are well aware of the photographer’s presence, and some have their upper bodies turned towards the camera as if waiting for its withdrawal before resuming an interrupted activity.¹⁴⁹

There was, though, a moment between these two shots: the tide had just left the boat on the mud, the souvenir hunters had not yet descended, and the flag was still in place. It was John Smith who saw the possibilities of this moment. In his shot, a small girl (possibly sent there by Smith himself) stands on the mud with her back to the camera, looking at the wreck.¹⁵⁰ The solitary figure is dwarfed by the boat, and the effect is wistful rather than dramatic. For publication, Smith presented the picture as an oval medallion against a white background, and this distances the viewer from the scene. A sense of immediacy has been sacrificed, but the image has a haunting quality that makes it very different from those of Logsdail and the Don.

Royal visits and shipwrecks presented major and memorable opportunities for the camera, but there was one routine event that also regularly attracted photographic competition. The opening of the Mart on Valentine's Day was an important date in the King's Lynn calendar. It was a picturesque ceremony, with its platform party of civic luminaries, its mayoral robes and chains and its bicorne-hatted mace bearers set against a background of fairground rides. For photographers, though, there was an extra attraction: the event drew in crowds of spectators, and crowds were good for sales. If you could spot yourself among the throng on a postcard, you were more likely to buy a copy.

Surviving examples show that, between 1905 and 1911, Wright, Smith, Logsdail, Purdy, Reynolds, the Don, the Gainsboro' Studio and the Norfolk Studio all sought their share of the Mart postcard market. (Surviving examples by Wright and Smith are particularly common.) Other undated postcards testify to the attendance of further photographers, including Jewson, but some of these may have been produced in later years.

Whilst occasional cards featured specific rides – in 1907, for instance, John Smith published a picture of the Alpine Glissade – the crowds at the opening ceremony were the favourite subject. The skill lay first in securing a good raised position, looking over the mass of heads to a clear frontal view of the dignitaries. Then it was necessary to catch just the right moment, when the platform party was facing the photographer and when members of the crowd were turning their heads back to look at the camera and be caught recognisably in shot. In 1907, for example, when at least four photographers captured the scene, there was – on the strength of available evidence – mixed success. Logsdail was a little distant and to the side, catching the platform party at an angle and the crowd looking in various directions.¹⁵¹ The Norfolk Studio was even less fortunate, attracting the eyes of a very modest number of spectators and capturing the worthies just as the party broke up and started to leave the platform.¹⁵² (It may be, of course, that the photographer took better pictures that have yet to be rediscovered. Were that the case, though, it would be reasonable to wonder why it was worth publishing the less successful image.) John Smith was perhaps a little further from the mayoral group than he would have wished and failed to attract its undivided attention, but the crowd was well aware of him and he caught a gratifying number of easily recognisable faces. Jasper Wright fared best of all. High enough to take in a good section of the crowd, but low enough to give a sense of being part of it, he contrived to be close to the centre of the action and was subsequently able to publish pictures in which many people would later be able to identify their own faces.¹⁵³ Curiously, one of these photographs was republished by Henry Mayson, a Cumbrian photographer, in his 'Keswick' series of postcards. Why the image should

attract interest as far away as the Lake District remains a mystery, but, on the evidence of examples found so far, it is fair to say that Mayson chose the best record of the occasion.

The Mart provides the occasion for one last incident from the Edwardian period, drawing attention to yet another kind of business opportunity offered by postcards. The year was 1907, and PC Wright was in plain clothes, observing the fairground crowds, when he noticed Dominic Brannon walking up and down in front of the Duke's Head Hotel, carrying around his neck a tray containing 'photographs of jockeys and men in fighting attitudes'.¹⁵⁴ He was also holding two envelopes, and they, too, appeared to contain pictures. 'As young men, whose ages ranged from 16 to 18 years, walked along, (the) defendant stopped them and showed them the cards in the envelope,' Constable Wright later explained in court. Most of the young men laughed and walked on, but one eventually bought two cards for sixpence. This was the moment Wright had been waiting for, and Brannon was arrested and charged with 'offering indecent prints for sale in the Mart'.

Presenting his own defence, Brannon insisted, 'They are not indecent; they are works of art.' He claimed to have been visiting the town, unchallenged, for 20 years. He had, he admitted, been prosecuted in Scarborough, London, Wigan and Pontefract, but he'd been found not guilty, and he had the press cuttings to prove it.

The magistrates retired for a quarter of an hour to consider the evidence, and they concluded 'that some of the photographs were indecent, and the defendant would be fined 5/-.' Brannon said he would not sell any more photographs in Lynn but, in a tone that seemed more reproachful than penitent (as if withdrawing a service), he added, 'he would go to other towns.' Finally, in a burst of unwarranted optimism, 'he asked that the photographs might be returned to him.'

¹ 1901 census: RG13, piece 1889, folio 53, page 9.

² 1901 census: RG13, piece 1888, folio 124, page 18.

³ 1901 census: RG13, piece 1889, folio 111, page 2.

⁴ 1901 census: RG13, piece 1889, folio 124, page 27.

⁵ 1901 census: RG13, piece 1888, folio 98, page 16.

⁶ 1901 census: RG13, piece 1890, folio 7, page 6.

⁷ *Sconce's Almanack of Lynn*, 1904, 1905, 1906.

⁸ 1901 census: RG13, piece 1888, folio 110, page 40.

⁹ 1891 census: RG12, piece 1568, folio 66, page 6.

¹⁰ *Turner's Directory of King's Lynn*, 1901.

¹¹ *Eastern Daily Press*, 22nd October 1902.

¹² Pam Fudge, *South West Wales, through the lens of Harry Squibbs. Volume 1: South Cardiganshire*, (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2014). (Information on Squibbs from this source unless otherwise indicated.)

¹³ 1901 census: RG13, piece 1890, folio 48, page 16.

¹⁴ Mari Alderman, *Victorian Professional Photographers in Wales*, www.genuki.org.uk/big/wal/VicPhoto1.html.

¹⁵ 1901 census: Family Search ref – 61903/1:1:XSGF-JM3.

¹⁶ 1911 census: Family Search ref – 61903/1:1:X7R3-RJ3.

¹⁷ 1871 census: RG10, piece 1782, folio 88, page 33.

¹⁸ Civil registration marriage index, June 1864, Yarmouth 4b 3.

¹⁹ 1871 census: RG10, piece 1782, folio 88, page 33.

²⁰ 1861 census: RG09, piece 1189, folio 106

²¹ 1881 census: RG11, piece 2138, folio 62, page 4.

22 Ibid.
 23 C. G. Scott, *Photographers in Devon, 1842-1939*, (Bath, RPS, *PhotoHistorian Supplement 101*, 1985).
 24 1891 census: RG12, piece 1570, folio 42, page 2.
 25 1901 census: RG13, piece 1890, folio 19, page 2.
 26 *Lynn Advertiser*, 2nd March 1900.
 27 Turner, *Directory of King's Lynn*, 1901.
 28 *Lynn Advertiser*, 4th November 1904.
 29 Kelly, *Directory of Norfolk*, 1904.
 30 Ibid.
 31 The National Archives, copyright application to Stationers' Hall, COPY 1/518/157.
 32 Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, KILLM:2008.270.
 33 Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, KILLM:1994.336.1.
 34 Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, KILLM:2008.278.
 35 *Lynn Advertiser*, 5th July 1910.
 36 *Lowestoft Journal*, 18th February 1911.
 37 *Lynn News*, 30th June 1911.
 38 *Lynn Advertiser*, 24th June 1911.
 39 Kelly, *Directory of Norfolk*, 1912.
 40 Postmarked 22nd September 1905. True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.608b.
 41 Postmarked 10th January 1906. True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.453b.
 42 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.274.
 43 Tonie & Valmai Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age*, p174, (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1971.)
 44 True's Yard Museum, accession numbers KLNTY2020.699 to KLNTY2020.702.
 45 Tonie & Valmai Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age*, p184, (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1971.)
 46 Based on information from Bill Jay's *Victorian Cameraman*, (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1973).
 47 Barry Pardue, *Photographic Memories: Francis Frith's King's Lynn*, (Salisbury: Frith Book Company, 2001).
 48 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.544.
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 50 Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912.
 51 *Lynn Advertiser*, 8th December 1911.
 52 Census returns: 1901 (RG13/127/10); 1911 (RG14/172/1/343).
 53 Thew & Son's *Almanac Companion*, 1908.
 54 *Lincolnshire Echo*, 11th May 1907.
 55 Ron Cosens, www.victorianphotographers.co.uk. (Longton, Staffs, 1907; Princes Street, Edinburgh, 1904-5).
 56 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.467.
 57 1861 census: RG09, piece 1048, folio 64, page 9.
 58 Birth of Frank Wright, 1883, Archives of Ontario, Ontario births.
 59 Birth of Percival Wright, 1888, Archives of Ontario, Ontario births, (Item 1, pager 699).
 60 11th October 1897. Marriage register, St Matthew's, Sutton Bridge.
 61 1901 census: RG13, piece 3037, folio 72, page 16.
 62 Parish register, St Peter's, West Lynn, 30th March 1902.
 63 John Eggleton, shoemaker; Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1896.
 64 Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1904.
 65 1908 & 1912: Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*. 1916: Ron Cosens, www.victorianphotographers.co.uk.
 66 1911 census: RG14, piece 11647, schedule 66.
 67 Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1916; Aubrey's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1916.
 68 Ron Cosens, www.victorianphotographers.co.uk.
 69 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.435.
 70 Information from a carte de visite mount.
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75 Reported: *Eastern Evening News*, 19th March 1909; *Norfolk News*, 20th March 1909.
76 *Lynn Advertiser*, 2nd March 1911.
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79 *The Registers of Pharmaceutical Chemist and Druggists*, p264, (London: Pharmaceutical
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80 1881 census: RG11, piece 4718, folio 76. page 10.
81 1891 census: RG12, piece 3887, folio 63, page 24.
82 Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1908.
83 Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1929.
84 *Eastern Daily Press*, 10th November 1908.
85 Richard M Goodchild, quoted in *West Norfolk Community Newspaper* ('Your Local Paper'),
28th June 2013.
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90 *The Harmsworth Self Educator*, fortnightly 1906-1907 [Selectively reprinted as: Robson,
Maisie, ed., *1906: Every Man for Himself*, (Barnsley: Eynsford Hall Press, 2002)]
91 1901 census: RG13 piece 1888, folio 119, page 8.
92 Civil registration index of marriages: Dec 1902, King's Lynn, 4b 917.
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97 Kelly's *Directory of Norfolk*, 1908, 1912, 1916.
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105 *Cambridge Independent Press*, 4th November 1898, 1st September 1899, 3rd November 1899;
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138 Examples in the author's collection.
139 Raphael Tuck database: <https://tuckdb.org>.
140 Sources: Official programme for the opening of the new buildings of King Edward VII
141 Grammar School; *Lynn Advertiser*, 9th November 1906; *The Graphic*, 10th November 1906.
142 *Lynn News*, 10th November 1906.
143 He had, in fact, given up his High Street studio by this time. (See next chapter.)
144 E.g. True's Yard Museum accession numbers – Purdy, KLNTY2020.430; Logsdail,
145 KLNTY2020.451.
146 *Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, 6th November 1906.
147 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.611.
148 Details from *Lynn Advertiser*, 27th October 1905.
149 *Lynn Advertiser*, 3rd November 1905.
150 Ibid.
151 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.448.
152 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.465.
153 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.414.
154 True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.410.
True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.697.
E.g. True's Yard Museum, accession number KLNTY2020.607.
(and subsequently) *Lynn Advertiser*, 27th February 1907.