



Hoisting the East London Federation of Suffragettes flag at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on 5th May 1914. Sylvia Pankhurst is on the extreme left of the picture with Jessie Lansbury and her son Terry. All those present are holding copies of the *Woman's Dreadnought*, the 1st edition of which was printed on 8th March 1914.

(Photograph by Norah Smyth)

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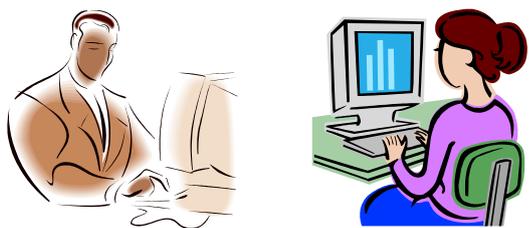
## Editorial Note:

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The Newsletter is edited and typeset by Rosemary Taylor with assistance of Philip Mernick, and an editorial team comprising, Doreen Kendall, David Behr, and Doreen Osborne.



## Researching Graves

Looking for ancestors in the East End? Join Doreen and Diane Kendall and assist in recording monumental inscriptions in Tower Hamlets Cemetery on the second Sunday of each month, from 2-4 pm.

All volunteers welcome.

Tower Hamlets Cemetery Park is close to Mile End Station.

Guided Walks around the cemetery are offered on the 3rd Sunday of every month starting at 2pm. A good place to begin if you have not been there before and want to get to know the cemetery.

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## Cover Picture

400 Old Ford Road 1914. Sylvia Pankhurst set up the headquarters of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes in a building that was once a private school. It was situated next door to the Lord Morpeth pub.

On 5th May 1914, with the help of the Lansbury family and local women, the ELFS flag was hoisted on the roof of the building. the date was also Sylvia's 32nd birthday.

The house was turned into a Women's Hall, and later a Cost Price Restaurant, which served meals daily for as little as 2d.

Later, the house served as the People's Russian Information Bureau, and meetings were held there until 1924, as advertised in the Workers' Dreadnought. The premises were closed down in May 1924, when Sylvia Pankhurst refused to hand it over to the Communist Party. She then moved to the Red Cottage in Woodford.

## East London History Society Lecture Programme 2014

**Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April**

*The East End we have lost,*  
David Webb

**Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> May**

*Growing up in Bethnal Green and  
thereafter,*  
Stan Newens

**Details of the September 2014 to May 2015  
programme will appear in the summer  
Newsletter.**

**The lectures are usually held on Thursday  
evenings at 7.30 pm in the Latimer  
Congregational Church Hall, Ernest Street, E1.  
Ernest Street is between Harford Street and  
Whitehorse Lane, off Mile End Road (Opposite  
Queen Mary and Westfield College). The  
nearest Underground Stations are Mile End  
and Stepney Green. Bus No. 25.**

Suggestions and ideas for future topics and/or  
speakers for our Lecture Programme are  
always welcomed. If you can suggest someone  
or indeed if you would like to give a talk  
yourself, please get in touch with David Behr,  
our Programme co-ordinator, either at one of  
our lectures or, alternatively, email our  
Chairman Philip Mernick with your comments  
and suggestions.

**Email: [phil@mernicks.com](mailto:phil@mernicks.com)**

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## News from Here and There

### Huguenot Ancestry?

Janet Cumner writes:

Do your East End ancestors include  
Huguenots or are you interested in the general  
history of immigrants to these shores? If so I  
have news of a major development which may  
interest you.

The Directors of La Providence (the French  
Hospital founded in London in 1708 to  
support vulnerable Huguenots and now an  
almshouse establishment for those with  
Huguenot forbears) have purchased an  
impressive building adjacent to the Hospital in  
High Street, Rochester, Kent. The ground  
floor is let to the local council and used as a  
Tourist Information Centre and Café. Plans are  
moving ahead for the top two floors to become  
**The Huguenot Heritage Centre.**

This will be the first and only centre in Britain  
focussed specifically on the story of the  
Huguenots, their persecution in France, flight  
to Britain and the significant contribution that  
the community's craft skills, military  
knowledge and entrepreneurship have made to  
their adopted country. The centre will provide  
the French Hospital with an opportunity to  
display its collection of Huguenot-related  
artefacts to a much wider audience and there  
will be research material, facilities and support  
for those interested in tracing their Huguenot  
roots. The top floor houses a multi-purpose  
room which will host formal lectures, craft  
demonstrations, temporary exhibitions and  
will be available for hire.

Rochester is just off the M2 and is accessible  
via HS1 from St. Pancras and also by 'snail-  
rail' from Charing Cross and Waterloo. The  
hope is to open the Heritage Centre in 2015 by  
which time a new railway station will be open  
across the road immediately to the rear of the  
building.

A dedicated committee is working on plans and co-ordinating a major fundraising campaign to complete this exciting project. A first-stage lottery grant has been received and an application for Stage 2 has been submitted. However additional funds will be required and volunteers will be key in supporting a small paid staff in running the Centre.

If you wish to find out more or would like to offer help or make a donation, please contact:

The Huguenot Heritage Centre  
c/o The French Hospital  
41 High Street  
Rochester  
Kent ME1 1NB

[campaign@frenchhospital.org.uk](mailto:campaign@frenchhospital.org.uk)  
[www.huguenotheritagecentre.org.uk](http://www.huguenotheritagecentre.org.uk)

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**The Eleanor Arms** in Old Ford Road has been voted Greater London Pub of the Year by the Society for the Preservation of Beers from the Wood. The judges said it was a 'genuine community pub.' The pub is believed to be on the site of the pub referred to as the 'Gunmaker's Arms', by Sylvia Pankhurst, which was used by her as a nursery and creche run by the suffragettes during the First World War.

**Crossrail construction team** have unearthed a wealth of historic finds in Stepney including the foundations of the historic Worcester Manor, built in the 16th century, and remains of one of the earliest non-conformist 17th century chapels at a site opposite St Dunstan's Church in Stepney High Street. Two public open days were held over a weekend where artefacts found were put on display. These included a tudor shoe, clay pipes, horse stirrup mounting and even a Georgian or early Victorian chamber pot! It is hoped that when the tube link to Heathrow has been completed landscape architects will come up with a design for a heritage trail around Stepney.

## Bow School Centenary

This year is the centenary year for the original school building which still forms one part of the Bow School site. As a result the School is planning a celebration of this fact which will take place on the School site on Saturday 29th March and will be called Heritage Day.

The arrangements for the day are still being developed but we are aiming to try and involve as many members of the local community as possible in the event.

Everything is changing next year at Bow School. The school is moving to its brand new site in Twelve Trees Crescent and the boys will be joined by girls.

Assistant Head Teacher Jim Morris adds: We are particularly keen to hear from anyone who went to the school and/or had relatives who went to the school. The further back we can go the better but any memories or connection with the school is something that we are keen to explore and to introduce into the activities that we will be running on the day.

If you would like to share your stories and/or get involved with the actual event in some way, please do get in touch with me, Jim Morris, Assistant Head Teacher. My contact details are : e-mail : [morrisj@bow-schol.org.uk](mailto:morrisj@bow-schol.org.uk).

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## What's On and Where

### *From Bow to Biennale*

The Nunnery Gallery is proud to announce an upcoming showcase of works and archival material from The East London Group of Artists.

Gathered from around the country, this is a rare and exciting opportunity to see works, exhibition catalogues, press clippings and sketchbooks on loan from private collections, museums and government archives, revealing forgotten memories and uncovering stories from the Groups history and local heritage.

Artists: East London Group artists work on show includes: John Cooper, Walter Sickert, Harold & Walter Steggle, Henry Silk, Phyllis Bray, Elwin Hawthorne, Grace Osocroft, Cecil Osborne, George Board and Albert Turpin.

Date: Friday, May 9, 2014 to Sunday, July 13, 2014  
Private View: Thursday, May 8, 2014 - 18:00

Opening Hours: Tues - Sun 10am - 5pm  
Address: The Nunnery, 181 Bow Road, London E3 2SJ

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Re: TAKE CARE OF THE PENCE, page 8, the author Pat Francis has written a pamphlet about George Bartley, which will include a reprint of a paper he published in 1870 concerning schools in Bethnal Green. The pamphlet is called Habits of Thrift and Industry: improving Bethnal Green, and will be published by the William Shipley Group in the summer. The William Shipley Group is devoted to the study of the history of the Royal Society of Arts. They will also be holding a conference on the RSA and education on July 5th where Pat will be speaking. Email [pat@francisgb.myzen.co.uk](mailto:pat@francisgb.myzen.co.uk) for details.

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## The East London Suffragette Festival - August 2014

"A small team of volunteers is putting together a festival in East London in early August to celebrate 100 years since the East London Federation of Suffragettes was independently established in Bow by Sylvia Pankhurst.

Planned events include a suffragette banner-making workshop, a film night, panel discussions and history talks and walks. Themes will include feminism and other equality campaigns; protest, politics and activism; hidden histories, especially women's, working class and migrant voices; celebrating East London today. The festival aims to raise money for local charity Newham Action Against Domestic Violence.

Want to get involved? The festival team are looking for help organising events and activities, offers of venue space, gifts in kind (e.g. free printing, refreshments or craft supplies) or sponsorship from local businesses in exchange for advertising on all festival materials. If you'd like to be involved in any way, or just want to find out more, visit <http://eastlondonsuffragettes.tumblr.com> or email Sarah at [womensmayday@gmail.com](mailto:womensmayday@gmail.com)"

## Wilton's Music Hall

A new walking group has been set up at Wilton's Music Hall in Wapping. The group meet every Friday at 9.30 am, and will explore routes around St Katharine's Docks, Wapping, Shadwell and beyond. For details email David Graham at [d.graham@wiltons.org.uk](mailto:d.graham@wiltons.org.uk), or call 7702 2789.

## ‘From Little Rosie’

This year marks the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of the First World War. In all the programmes that will appear and the accompanying bombardment of names of battles and statistics it may be easy to forget that behind each statistic, each casualty figure was a living breathing man or woman. Each loved and lived as we do now. The effect of the War to end all Wars did not end when the war ended. Grief was ever present as the death of Arthur Lovell illustrates.

On the day of the armistice 11 November 1918 some 242 individuals from the UK died. This number includes three women. The total loss of life was 863 worldwide. The last British fatality was a Private Ellison of the Fifth Royal Irish Lancers who was shot and killed at 9.30am. The last man to have fallen is believed to have been a Private George Lawrence Price of the 28<sup>th</sup> North West Battalion, Second Canadian Division. It is believed he died at 10.58am. The ceasefire began at 11am.

One veteran of this war would die tragically on the tenth anniversary of the Armistice on the 11 November 1928. He was described as a hero of the East End and his name was Arthur Lovell.

Just after the silence Lovell, a Costermonger, rushed from his cart into Burgess Street, Limehouse and took Rosie Wales, aged four, by the hand and pulled her out of the path of a Steam Tractor. He then subsequently slipped under the wheels. He would die of his injuries in St Andrew’s Hospital later that day. His son, also called Arthur, witnessed his Father’s death. Lovell’s death would leave a widow, Eliza, and seven children. The three eldest, all girls, were working in factories the others, all boys, were aged from 10 years to three months.

Arthur Lovell was one of the ‘Old Contemptibles’. He saw service with the 17<sup>th</sup> London Regiment, part of the Middlesex

Battalion in 1914 and survived the whole war finally finishing at Mons in 1918 after being wounded twice. It was discovered after his death that he saved a colleague by giving him his Gas Mask during a Gas attack. His funeral would see a great outpouring of grief with thousands of people lining the route. As the East London Advertiser reported on the 24 November 1928, ‘Vast, silent and bareheaded crowds thronged every yard of the route which the funeral procession took from Halgood-Street, Bow to the All Hallows Church, Bromley and to Burgess-Street, Limehouse.’

The coffin was carried on a gun carriage which was draped with a Union Jack. Many wreaths lay upon it including some composed entirely of Flanders poppies.

The funeral procession was led by mounted Police and the Band of the K Division Metropolitan Police. Following the gun carriage were Costermongers with their barrows and carts, a hearse which was also covered with wreaths, Police marching four deep, men of the East London British Legion, buglers and men from the 17<sup>th</sup> London Territorials, a group of Girl Guides, Brownies and lastly a contingent of Nurses. The procession stopped in Burgess Street where the Mother of Rosie West placed a wreath of flowers on the coffin. They were harp shaped with a broken string and bore the words ‘From Little Rosie’.

Crowds waited outside the gates of Tower Hamlets Cemetery for hours as this was where Arthur Lovell was to be buried. Mounted Police had to preserve order when some of the crowd tried to rush through the gates following the departure of the hearse. After the burial service ended with the sounding of the Last Post and Reveille crowds surged forward to get nearer to the grave and women fainted.

In May 1929 Countess Haig unveiled a memorial to Arthur Lovell at Bromley Public Hall. Crowds gathered outside in the street and the ceremony was broadcast via speakers. An anonymous donation covered the expense of the portrait which would serve as the centre

piece for the memorial and the costs of the administration of the Lovell Fund which was initiated to look after Lovell's widow and children. This raised some £2,190 from around a thousand contributors. The memorial was inscribed 'Arthur Lovell. Love is indestructible. Its holy flame for ever burneth; From Heaven it came, to Heaven returneth.'

**Gary Haines**

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## One Hundred Years Ago

In March 1914 three hundred women workers of Messrs. C and E Morton, provision merchants, West Ferry Road, Millwall came out on strike to protest against the employment of four young girls of between 14 and 15 years of age being put on to press work in the tin-box making section of the factory at a low wage.

The women suspected this to be a ploy by the management to undercut workers' wages. Women over the age of 18 years earned between 18s to 20s a week at piece work. The workers demanded that the girls be moved to another department where skilled work was not a requirement. The management refused and the women came out on strike. Workers at the other sections of the factory came out in support of the tin-box makers until all the employees, 1,000 women and girls and 600 men were on strike. The strikers held a huge rally, marching in procession around Millwall and singing "strike songs", one to the tune of 'Every nice girl loves a sailor' with following words:

Messrs. Morton, down at Poplar,  
 Don't you think it a disgrace  
 To employ little children  
 Women workers to displace;  
 Many years we've faithful served you,  
 And your profits have been great,  
 So the reason is quite clear  
 Why we're standing idle here  
 At your gate, at your gate.  
 For we know that when the children

Do our work for half our pay  
 You won't hesitate a moment  
 But will send us all away;  
 And your boxes will be soldered  
 At the nearest infant schools,  
 So we've all gone out on strike,  
 For the prospect we don't like,  
 We're not fools, we're not fools.  
 Now then, girls, all join the Union,  
 Whatever you may be,  
 In pickles, jam or chocolate,  
 Or packing pounds of tea;  
 For we all want better wages,  
 And this is what we say:  
 We're out to right the wrong,  
 And now we shan't be long,  
 Hip Hurrah! Hip Hurrah!

The strike lasted twelve days before the management, overwhelmed by the public support the strikers received, and embarrassed by the media coverage showing the girls singing and dancing in the streets, caved in and acceded to the strikers' demands."

**Rosemary Taylor**

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**John Clark, Hornchurch, Essex, writes:**

I was disappointed to read too late, the article on P. 16 of your Newsletter Winter 2013/14 regarding the 'Launch of the East End Preservation Society' on 27th November 2013.

As a born and bred Eastender, saddened by the demise of so many buildings, reminiscent of my youth, I would have liked to attend. However, having missed this inaugural meeting, perhaps you can kindly advise on how to make contact for any future developments. Also, I was pleased to see the cover picture, depicting the 1948 pantomime Cinderella. The Troxy was a welcome escape from the frugality of post-war Stepney. I attended as a 'Member of the GB (Gaumont British) Club, when 'we came along on Saturday morning, greeting everybody with a smile --- repeat --- knowing it's all worthwhile, as Members of the GB Club, we all intend to

be good citizens when we grow up and  
champions of the free --- we come along ---  
etc;

As a grown-up citizen, I also enjoyed the  
Troxy's screen and stage shows, and Betty  
Mitchell(?) on the Wurlitzer organ.

*Sorry about this John, we knew it would be too  
late, but thought the item was of interest to  
those who wished to follow up on future  
events. Bishopsgate Institute should be able to  
provide an update, although as far as we know  
there are no monthly meetings, but you could  
check out their page on Facebook or Twitter.*

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### **Charlie Pitman, Herts, writes:**

The Autumn Newsletter has  
coincided with a bout of childhood memories  
and I hope you can tolerate one of the  
questions they sometimes leave behind. The  
School Song? was it 'ours' or just common in  
the locality with the name change? Not to  
mention the difference between the words  
remembered and the song itself. In particular  
we gave it our best on the train - from  
Liverpool Street - Chingford, boarded Bethnal  
Green - on our pre-war Sports Day on  
Chingford Plains.

We are the Cephas Street boys  
We make a lot of noise  
We know our manners  
We earn our tanners  
We are respected wherever we go  
Singing Glory, Glory, Hallelujah  
Hi titty hi ti.  
Eat brown bread  
Ever see coppers fall down dead.  
We are the Cephas Street boys.  
I'm pleased to see 'manners' comes before the  
dreaded respect, and earning tanners, or  
coppers thjat added up to one, was very much  
part of life from running errands up. Certainly  
an early start on a Saturday morning lighting  
fires for orthodox Jewish households would  
bring in a tanner that swiftly transferred into  
Flash Gordon and afterwards, pie and mash.

I'll try your tolerance with nonsense no longer.

*(Memories like these will soon disappear into  
the mists of time - so thank you for shariing  
them.)*

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### **TAKE CARE OF THE PENCE: George Bartley and the National Penny Bank**

George C T Bartley was born in  
Hackney in 1842, the son of an Ordnance  
Officer. George was a ciivil servant in the  
Science and Art Department for twenty years,  
then became chief agent at the Central Office  
of the Conservative Party, before bcoming an  
MP for Finsbury North in 1885.

The passion of his life was thrift. He  
advocated it for all classes, but especially the  
working classes. To that end, in 1875, he set  
up what he called the National Penny Bank.  
This was a misnomer, as its operations were  
confined almost entirely to London. Some  
doubts were expressed about the advisability  
of the project at the outset, firstly, because it  
was feared that it would be underfunded, and  
secondly, because it was thought the name  
might lead people to suppose it was an  
institution supported by the government. This  
supposition proved to be correct. Bartley  
managed to obtain permission to run banking  
facilities in Board Schools, brought into a  
national scheme for the first time by the  
Elementary Education Act of 1870. No  
wonder, then, that the National Penny Bank  
was often thought to be a government body.

George Bartley promoted his new scheme  
energetically. In March 1876, for instance, he  
gave a talk in the East India Dock Road. He  
also targetted hop-pickers. Hop growing  
reached its peak in England at about this time.  
East-End famililes supplemented their  
earnings (if any) by an annual trip to the hop-  
fields of Kent, where the women in particular  
got a change of scene, some fresh air, and, if

they were lucky, a little money to themselves. Bartley followed them there to persuade them to put some of their wages by in his bank. In September 1878 he addressed them at Buffalo Farm in Meresworth. As it was a Sunday, a little religious music was played first.



*George Bartley addressing hop-pickers at Buffalo Farm, Kent (Graphic, 18.19.1878)*

The Post Office had established its Savings Bank in 1861, with a minimum deposit of one shilling, but Bartley saw that this was too much for hard-pressed families to save at a time, hence his slogan 'Take Care of the Pence'. To make their savings more immediately accessible to people living on the breadline, branches of the National Penny Bank were open in the evenings, and small amounts could be withdrawn on demand.

With this kind of encouragement, working people began to trust their small savings to the bank, and branches grew up around London. In 1888, however, rumours spread that payments were being refused, and this led to a run on the bank. It had to call on the Bank of England for substantial funds in order to continue paying out countless small sums being withdrawn, while anxious crowds thronged the street outside. To calm fears, it kept open late into the evening for two days, and rules about withdrawals were eased. Poverty alone made saving difficult enough for working families. Trusting the pennies and shillings to outsiders was viewed with suspicion, not least because banks were run by 'them' and not 'us'. Men often preferred insurance schemes run by friendly societies,

meeting others they knew in the pub to transact business. A small funeral fund was all that many could manage, but was important to them.

The National Penny Bank overcame the doubts in many minds, and prospered. A new branch was opened in St John's Square, Islington, in 1879, when the square formed part of Finsbury. A band played, flags flew, and streets were crowded to see the building opened by Prince Christian. Above the bank artisan's dwellings had been built, and so, in his speech, Prince Christian said he hoped the bank would help families 'to secure for themselves one of the greatest of earthly blessings, a comfortable and happy home'.<sup>1]</sup>



*Penny Bank plaques in St John's Square, Finsbury (picture Pat Francis)*

Evidence of the National Penny Bank can still be seen in Finsbury Square; if you look up above what is now Craft Central, you will notice a frieze of tiles bearing the words 'National Penny Bank'. Besides his paternalistic endeavours to better the lives of workers in London, Bartley was interested in placing memorials of famous people around London, and he was in fact one of the principal figures in setting up the scheme for what were initially called 'memorial tablets', and we now know as blue plaques. Bartley was a member of the Society of Arts (called the Royal Society of Arts since 1908) and through them he helped the scheme get going. He would have liked red marble for the plaques; he got his way with the colour, but Society of Arts plaques were made of terra cotta, as were the ones used on the National Penny Bank. There are still about 16 of the early Society of Arts plaques to be seen around London; it was the

<sup>1</sup>*Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 25.5.1879, 7

LCC, who made them in blue when they took over the scheme in the Edwardian period.

George Bartley died in 1910 and one of his sons followed him as Managing Director of the National Penny Bank. How responsible Douglas Bartley was for the final collapse of the bank is open to question, but a few days before war was declared in 1914 notices went up on the doors of the banks saying that they were 'temporarily' closed. The National Penny Bank had been running on barely sufficient funding for a year or so, and the approach of war drove them to shut their doors. This was a disaster for savers. Papers in the Public Record Office at Kew show that there were 36,154 accounts holding sums of between £1 and £10, while 75,890 savers held less than £1. Ninety per cent of the depositors held less than £25.

Strangely, it was the MP for Stoke-on-Trent not a London member who brought the subject up in parliament: 'among working people' he said 'there was an impression, that whilst the government were helping capitalists to get over their difficulties, institutions devoted to the thrift of the poor were being neglected'. Initially, the Bank of England was prepared to help out, but on the 10th August, after the National Penny Bank had declared itself bankrupt, Douglas Cole Bartley and another of the directors signed a cheque and tried to pass it, allegedly to pay wages and meet other obligations. Lloyd George, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had therefore a reason, or an excuse, to hold back from providing funds to reopen the bank.

The Westminster Gazette on 12th September reported 'stormy scenes' at the Central Hall, Westminster, when the liquidator addressed a crowd of 3,000 people, mostly women, while about 1,500 more pressed outside the doors, unable to gain admittance. 'It was clear that many of those present were in dire strait', the report went on, 'as there were angry and hysterical outbursts'. While assuring the crowd that 'there had been no dishonesty or fraud of any description', the liquidator said

that for forty years he had been an accountant in the City, and had never addressed a meeting of creditors with whom he had so much in sympathy.

Sir Edin Cornwall MP passed on to the Chancellor a letter from the Secretary of the Cigar Box Makers' and Paperers' Trade Union; in his covering letter Sir Edwin said the letter was typical of many, because the 'poor depositors cannot understand so much being done for the Banks and the well to do, unless something can also be done for their Bank'. East London MPs such as Will Thorne and Will Crooks wrote and sent on letters to the Chancellor. There is a reply from David Lloyd George to Will Crooks dated 10th May 1915, which reads:

With reference to the enclosed I am afraid that I can only say that this Government, with the assistance of the Bank of England, have given the National Penny Bank all the help which, with full knowledge of the circumstances, would be justified.

So in 1915, by which time many of the men would fighting and dying in France and at Gallipoli, depositors had presumably still not received their pitifully small savings back. Shareholders were never paid out in full.

### **Pat Francis**

*Documents relevant to the National Penny Bank may be found in Post Office Savings Bank files at the PRO, Kew, reference NSC 21/489; NSC9/680; T1/11670*

### **The Other Captain Cook**

Those familiar with the maritime history of the East End will know of its strong connections with Captain James Cook (1728-1779), the explorer and navigator. He had started his naval career as an apprentice in the merchant service in his native Yorkshire, but joined the Royal Navy in 1755 at Wapping and married local girl Elizabeth Batts in 1762. They moved to a house in Assembly Row, later 88 Mile End Road. Unfortunately the house was

demolished in 1959 and only a large plaque now marks the spot.

A little further along towards Mile End on the other side of the road stood a small establishment, locally known as Captain Cook's Almshouses where eight old seafarers or their widows passed their last years. It was, and still is, a popular misconception that there was a connection with the famous Captain. However this is not the case at all.

The person commemorated by the almshouses was also Captain James Cook, or Cooke, but he died in the late 1680s and was a mariner in the service of the Honourable East India Company. He was an experienced sailor and on 26 September 1687 he left Gravesend in command of the 670 ton East Indiaman *The Royal James and Mary* on her first voyage bound for Bengal. At home in Stepney parish he left his wife Alice who was probably around thirty years old and a son, also James.

The ship sailed right around the African coastline, where much like today there was danger from piracy. In a secret document from the King (James the Second for whom, with his wife Mary of Modena the ship was named) the Captain was given permission to fire on 'Barbary Pirates' if he felt at risk of attack. The ship arrived in the Persian Gulf, anchoring in what is now the Straits of Hormuz, off the port of Gambroon, now Bandar Abassi. This was the location of factories (trading posts) of both the British and Dutch East India Companies. The town was inhabited mainly by merchants who brought in goods such as cloth of gold, tapestries, pearls, Persian wine, best rosewater and fruits of all sorts including raisins, dates and currants by camel caravan which they traded with the factories for East Indian goods, including much prized spices.

In 1758 the Gambroon climate was described as 'unhealthful' and it was said that 'the European factors scarce ever pass a year without a dangerous Fit or Illness which frequently carries them off.' It is possible that sixty years earlier such an illness had afflicted

James Cook for he was lying on his ship 'very sick and weake of body, but of perfect mind and memory' when he had his will drawn up. Unfortunately this document is undated, so it is unclear exactly when he died.

The ship completed her voyage, probably under the charge of Robert Buck who was named as an overseer of the will 'in India' and who commanded her on her second and final voyage which ended in a wreck off the Bengal coast in 1694. It is possible that Alice heard of her husband's death via one of the frequent communications between the factors at Gambroon and the Company's headquarters in London. However it was only after the ship's return to port in September 1691 that she was able to prove the will. By this time the ship's Catholic namesakes had been driven out of the kingdom and replaced by Protestants William and Mary, but the ship kept her name.

The position of commander of an East Indiaman could be quite lucrative since the Company allowed its captains a certain amount of cargo space for goods which they could trade personally during the voyage. In addition on his last voyage the Company's records show that, at his own expense, he had recruited a group of men in England for military service out east and would be reimbursed with a profit when they were handed over. Presumably he had invested considerably in the voyage, for his will lists cash bequests totalling £300 which were all to be paid from his 'estate now on board the Royal James and Mary' if it arrived safely back in England. After the bequests his remaining estate was to be split between his wife and his son. As well as Robert Buck, two other 'loving friends' acting as local overseers were to collect money owing to him, settle his debts and reinvest the profits as they thought fit and remit them to his wife on returning to England.

It is unclear how long Alice remained a widow. Secondly she married a man named Rowe and since she called herself Dame Alice he may have been a Baronet, as Dame was the

common form of address for a Baronet's wife. Presumably she was quickly widowed again since on 7 October 1701 she married for the third time, as Dame Alice Rowe, at St. Dunstan, Stepney to William Carant, gentleman of St. Margaret, Westminster. It was to be a very short marriage, for she was buried on the 17<sup>th</sup>. January following. Her son had predeceased her, since in her will she requested to be buried with him in St. Paul's Church, Shadwell, but it is unclear whether he had survived his father. Alice's will also set out the plan to found two sets of almshouses to commemorate her first husband and herself one in Mile End and one in Shadwell.

Alice and her last husband William Carant had signed articles of agreement at their marriage by which she retained complete control of her household goods, jewellery, diamond rings and £2,000. It was this sum, after complicated reversionary bequests, that was intended to finance the almshouses. It is unclear how much was actually used in the project for, although both sets were built, they appear to have had no endowment. A total of eighteen places for seamen or their widows were provided, the eight in Mile End plus ten in Great Spring Street, Shadwell and by the nineteenth century they provided exclusively for mariners' widows. The lack of endowment caused the administration and maintenance to be taken over by local parishes. It is unclear when the Shadwell establishment ceased, but the Mile End Road houses continued until 1881 when the site with the houses, by then ruinous, was let on a building lease and the charity continued by paying out-pensions to eight people.

**Janet Cumner**

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## Bookshelf

**How Derek Morris And Kenneth Cozens Are Rewriting The Maritime History Of East London North Of The Thames: A Review**

Derek Morris, *Mile End Old Town, 1740-1780: A Social History of an Early Modern London Suburb*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed, 2002; 2nd ed., The East London History Society, 2007; a new edition in process to be extended back in time to cover from 1660

Derek Morris and Ken Cozens, *Wapping, 1600-1800: A Social History of an Early Modern London Maritime Suburb*. The East London History Society, 2009

Derek Morris, *Whitechapel 1600-1800: A Social History of an Early Modern London Inner Suburb*. The East London History Society, 2011; £12.60 and £3:50 p&p (overseas \$18.50)

In three books published to date two London-based researchers, Derek Morris and Kenneth Cozens, have set about the task of challenging many deeply-held stereotypes of London's eastern parishes in the eighteenth century. With meticulous attention to detail, and with sure control of a wide range of archives, they have produced three highly-recommended works.

The books *Mile End* and *Wapping* are in very short supply, if not by the time of this review only available on the second-hand market. In *Whitechapel*, with the completion of the first phase of their research, they have ignored the restrictions imposed by parish boundaries: they have begun to draw conclusions about the nature of society in these areas in the eighteenth century. This is welcome for a number of reasons. But chief among these is that for too long historians have relied on a series of stereotypes with the emphasis on poverty, crime and "dirty industries," to portray these eastern parishes, when in fact the emphasis should be on the important role played by local entrepreneurs in London's growing economy and worldwide trading networks.

Eagerly awaited, and expected in 2014, is their fourth book on these eastern parishes. The title

will be *Shadwell and Ratcliff: 1600-1800: A Social History of two Thames-side Communities*.

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East of the Tower of London and the eastern boundary of the City of London (that compressed power of financial wealth that remains to this day a nodule of world commerce and global influence) lie a series of older communities and parishes. They are now bundled into the title for local government purposes as Tower Hamlets. Included in this broader name are such places as Whitechapel, Wapping-Stepney, Shadwell, Ratcliff, Limehouse and Poplar, all on or near the River Thames. To the north are situated, almost in a great arc and from west to east, Bethnal Green, Stratford Bow and Bromley. Mile End Old Town is built around the famed street of Mile End, which, if travelling eastwards, leads to Essex. South of the river lie equally interesting municipal jurisdictions in Surrey and Kent. But the three books given notice here are about Mile End East London, Wapping and Whitechapel.

It bears repeating that for all their attention to the particular, these books reveal remarkable evidence concerning the role of these locales in the history of the City of London, in global commerce, naval contributions, and in the history of exploration. I enlarge upon particulars below, but first permit me to explain how I came to know about these important books, works of distinguished historical scholarship published by a self-sustaining local history society, books that deserve better attention than they have heretofore received.

In the course of research trips to London and Greenwich in pursuit of my own interests in the maritime history of the British Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries I met Kenneth Cozens. He was then a prize-winning student doing an M.A. under Professor Sarah Palmer in the Greenwich Maritime Institute, University of Greenwich, housed in the magnificent buildings of the old naval college.

Cozens had taken a B.S. (Hons.) in social sciences with the Open University. He has had a lifelong interest in London's eighteenth century economic history, sociology and voyages of exploration, particularly in respect to the Asia Pacific region. At one time he worked as a freelance travel photographer in these seas. After other activities in banking and the corporate world he took early retirement to get into history. At Greenwich he completed a dissertation "Politics, Patronage and Profit: A Case Study of Three 18<sup>th</sup> Century London Merchants." This explored the networks of Wapping-based men of commerce. Much of this work grew into the book on Wapping, noticed above. But the dissertation was only the beginning point. Cozens brought Trinity House Ballast Office officials and East India Company officers and merchants notably (Thomas Fitzhugh) to the fore. Likewise, he featured merchant groups such as Camden, Calvert and King, who operated a shipping business on a global scale. His knowledge of that shadowy figure of the sea otter trade of China and the Northwest Coast of North America, Richard Cadman Etches, is extensive.

Conversations with Cozens led me to the work of Derek Morris, and many subsequent conversations with the two proved revelatory. After studying geology, physics and geophysics at London University, Morris worked as a geophysicist for the UN, EU, oil companies and mining concerns. His bibliography is impressive and can be found at [www.singsurf.org](http://www.singsurf.org) He tells me that it was his interest in the history of exploration, and James Cook in particular, that led him to look at Mile End, where Cook and Mrs. Elizabeth Cook had a house.

Morris and Cozens have the fire of true researchers, and they are excited by their findings. They work in tandem rather than as a strictly-harnessed team. Nonetheless, they share the same belief that it is in the hitherto unexamined records of the state and of commercial concerns where the true features of London's history are to be found.

At the outset, Morris had concentrated on Mile End as the focal point of the eighteenth century history of Stepney and Tower Hamlets. On one occasion, he laid out before me on a table a view he had drawn for me showing Mile End Old Town looking out eastwards to the Essex countryside. Beginning at the intersection of Ireland Row and Assembly Row you could see neat houses standing on either side, while on the south stood St Dunstan's Church, with the Red Ensign flying. Every student who has looked at the history of Mile End knows that Mrs. Elizabeth Cook lived here and raised a family while her famed navigator husband sailed the seven seas under instructions of the Admiralty (guided by the requirements of the Royal Society). So, yes, Elizabeth Cook's house was shown on Derek's drawing. But then I learned that Francis Holman, marine artist, lived here. He had done an oil painting of Cook's *Resolution* but did not sail in her. Then I learned that Sir Joseph Banks, the presiding genius of British natural science and who had sailed with Cook on his *Endeavour* voyage to Tahiti, had brought seeds from a James Gordon that were planted in Tahiti. Gordon, with premises here in Mile End, was the great nurseryman of the age, and not far from him lived none other than Laurence Sullivan, the fixer of the East India Company. Admiral Abraham North, who was on the committee examining Cook for his lieutenancy, in 1768, lived nearby. There were connections with Whitby, Yorkshire. Curtis Distillery and wine vault was specifically important in this. There are also connections to the Fitzhugh family, so celebrated in the East India Company and its activities in China. While down the south side, and of particular interest to me, was the residence of John Binmer, a senior employee in the Surveyor's Department of the Royal Navy. He is a name I would ordinarily have missed, but Morris brought to my attention the fact that Binmer was in essence guardian or benefactor of Captain James Colnett. Colnett had gone with Cook on the second voyage. Then he had got into the merchant trade especially in sea otter pelts, sailing for the

London firm that eventually became part of what is generally known as the John Meares Syndicate. It was Colnett who was outraged at what he regarded as the high-handed actions of Esteban Martínez, the Spanish officer, at Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island, that nearly sparked a war between Britain and Spain. Colnett who spent most of his years at sea (and some time in Spanish captivity) sadly recounted that when indeed he did return to England forever all of his friends had died in the meantime. His, I note, is a life yet to be written. But all down this famed street, which is now but just a thoroughfare to towns beyond, lived powerful merchants, navy officials, distillers and nurserymen. It is the connections among them that Morris has tracked down so assiduously.

*Mile End Old Town* contains, besides the administrative and legal histories, a chapter on rope making and brewing. There is another on merchants and yet another on the poor and their care. The star in the piece is naturally James Cook, and a chapter is devoted to him and to his connections. And in this same chapter we find discussion of the Royal Navy connections, not least the story of Colnett and Binmer in connection with the exploration of New Albion and the progress of the sea otter trade. Rich in bibliographical references, with thoroughly valuable indexes, inventories of estates, and excellent illustrations, some in color, make this book a treasure trove and a delight to read. It opens up to view so very much: of an outwardly expanding community at the threshold of empire, hard by the bustling commercial activities of the River Thames. One can almost imagine what Joseph Conrad might have written about it had he lived a century before. The work is based on numerous documentary collections, all dutifully listed. We leave this work with this quotation in the Preface, written by Dr Stephen Porter of English Heritage: "By concentrating on a forty-year period of the eighteenth century, he [Morris] has been able to complete an intensive study, looking at many aspects of the fabric, economy and society of this substantial and surprisingly

varied community near London. This is an invaluable book, for those interested in this fascinating area, for historians of London, and indeed for urban historians of the eighteenth century.” He might have added that it is of interest to all studying the mercantile and naval influence of Britain on and over the seas in that same age.

*Mile End Old Town* was, so to speak, the curtain-up, the eye opener. And here the methodology is explained. The focus is on merchant groups; whose importance and status is shown in land tax records and wills. It is on the basis of careful study of these records for significant numbers of persons that conclusions can safely be drawn.

To some degree *Wapping 1600-1800* by Morris and Cozens is a parallel work. But here, as I understand it, the emphasis is more on the mercantile and the business of shipping, international trade, the coastal trade, victualling and supplying the Navy. Cozens’ main effort has been to locate archives and to use the internet to its fullest capability to identify, cross-reference and expand our knowledge of the meagre mercantile records of the eighteenth century that are available. The use of family history sources is another unique factor that has allowed the authors to build-up better biographical information on merchants and their operations. Cozens is interested in merchant connections. His links at the Greenwich Maritime Institute have given him association with scholars focusing on the maritime world. He is now regarded as the lead authority of information on mercantile contacts, and has placed him at the head of a network of scholars sharing a mutual interest in the global history of merchant networks. Collaboration with Gary L. Sturgess of the University of New South Wales has led to important discoveries on Anthony Calvert, noted ship owner engaged in convict transport. Like Morris he is assiduous in his efforts, and leaves no stone unturned in his search. Like Morris he is imaginative, bringing together a vast web of connections – who traded with whom, and who supplied what to whom. So

we discover that he is interested in instrument makers and retailers of Wapping, ironmongers and ship owners, those who refined sugar, and those who did the workaday efforts of empire and global commerce. Sir William Curtis MP and his brother Timothy operated a vast provisioning service, supplying, for example, dried peas and flour for the first Convict Fleet. East India Company ships were hired for this service. Other traders were in the North America timber trade, particularly in New Hampshire. There are China and Baltic links, ties with the slave trade of West Africa, links to trade with the Levant at Aleppo and Constantinople. The coal industry makes its appearance, linked as it was to Newcastle. The Navy needed biscuits and meat: they were provided for by Wapping interests. There were booksellers here stocking the up-to-date works on seafaring and voyages. There were charity schools and many kinds of adherents to the faith, not least Quakers. Here was a world before the welfare state, one in which parishes, almshouses and workhouses, and charities looked after the needy. The era is long before what was later described as the horrific poverty of East London, which Robert Hughes actually misdated and misconstrued in *The Fatal Shore* (1986). It was a world of merchant networks, a time when the Thames and the British Isles constituted the hub of British trade and commerce. Shying away from any quote from say Daniel Defoe or Benjamin Franklin, Morris and Cozens have gone back to the data to recreate the world now lost of Wapping. Here is presented, as Professor Michael Port of London University said of *Mile End Old Town*, “a markedly different picture from that traditional one of East London still presented in a dismissive paragraph even in well-reputed histories.” It is a story of family-based business partnerships. Merchants of Wapping created wealth for the British state through foreign trade. Their activities contributed mightily to the raising of tax revenue that supported the Navy. And the authors correctly make the claim that these merchant links helped finance a lasting British maritime supremacy, one enabling a global British Empire. When completed, the long-

term project compiling databases of London merchants will be a great contribution to historical studies.

We now turn to the most recently published book of the series. In *Whitechapel*, which covers the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Morris, assisted by Cozens, has attempted to answer the question of what the area was like. It places an emphasis on the people who lived and worked in Whitechapel. The search embarked on was to report on their origins, education, occupations, social and commercial networks and religious connections. Other themes such as crime and punishment, medical services and hospitals are similarly attended to. How parishes were obliged to meet the requirements of the Settlement Act (to prove local residency) so that workhouses might be managed efficiently, with vagrancy controlled by this measure, is a poignant reminder of how earlier administrations attempted to deal with the indigent, destitute, deserving poor, and unemployable. The detailed tables, figures and references suffice to give clear demonstration of the authenticity of the research. The whole shows the colourful development of Whitechapel over two centuries, not as a grand portrait but a series of historical pictures.

Clearly most of the maritime industries, especially those servicing the thousands of ships and vessels making their way to the Port of London had to be based on the north bank of the Thames. (The great state military functions – Deptford naval yard, Woolwich with its guns, Chatham with its docks and repair facilities, even Greenwich with its seamen's hospital – were on the south bank.) Just a few hundred yards inland on the north shore were the gunsmiths, sailmakers, ropeworks, coopers, shippers, breweries, distilleries, sugar refineries, together with a myriad of ancillary industries: all servicing the maritime industries but not needing to be right on the river bank. The defence of the Tower of London resided, by state provision, in Tower Hamlets Militia, and the coverage of this subject for the English Civil War forms a whole chapter in *Whitechapel*. This chapter

and others deserve attention by readers. I was personally struck by how these separate themes or sub-subjects can stand alone; but equally remarkable, when taken altogether, they portray a functioning society that is energetic and creative, productive in commodities and services, and, above all, components of worldwide influence. War and peace favoured the participants in turn, and the vast British military and naval state, which was after all the biggest component in the national economy, had to be serviced. Whitechapel and the others rose on this imperial and military tide.

As other readers have noted with satisfaction, the final chapter, written by Morris with Cozens, draws a number of conclusions for the area as a whole. It was time, as they say, “to ignore the parish boundaries and to begin drawing conclusions about the nature of society in these areas in the eighteenth century.” (p.149)

Four main factors enabled the processing industries of these parishes to flourish: London's growing demand for a wide range of services and products; the ability of finance to fund sugar refining, brewing and shipping; men with energy and managerial skills to take advantage of the growing markets and financial expertise available in the City of London; and a plentiful supply of labour as men and women moved into London from Essex and East Anglia. Prominent business partnerships developed across London's eastern parishes. Local sources of finance aided this process but intelligent and skilled persons active in marine industries and activities benefitted from this – and spread the networks. The spreading of risk by investors in the “shipping interest” of the East India Company enhanced individual wealth and credit, enlarging the connections of East London merchants and traders. Their discussion of these issues is linked to the existing literature on London's history; they reveal how unique these parishes were at that time. By doing so the challenge is laid down

that the authors call “many traditional stereotypes” of London parishes are incorrect.

The value of this conclusion, with its many appreciations of the new state of historiography that embraces their own published work (and work in progress), will be of immense value to future researchers. Professors and students of urban history are going to have to wake up to these new realities. The activities of the merchant and merchant classes, often strangely sidelined, now receive the beginning of the attention they deserve. As John S. Galbraith, the dean of historians who study the great chartered companies, remarked, the expansion of the British Empire was largely motivated by the energies of the mercantile class, and far more important to the shaping of British Imperial policy than the secretaries and bureaucrats of state often credited with its formation were hundreds of men of the commercial community, most unknown to history, who created the conditions upon which that policy was based. After a further volume is published on Shadwell, Ratcliff and Poplar, a summary volume will be necessary, which in its own way will be a guide and compendium to the whole set. Perhaps, too, that will be the greatest challenge of all. These books are well worth the serious attention of any scholar undertaking an analysis of merchant activities in that particular age of British global reach. They are a credit to their authors and to the hard-pressed local history society that is publishing them. These books are also a model of what local history can reveal: far more than the bricks and mortar. Human society is about connections, personal, corporate and institutional. Here we have excellent examples of worlds now sadly lost but well worthy of recreating in these distinguished histories.

**Barry Gough**

Further details:

<http://www.eastlondonhistory.org.uk>

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## **From Philip Mernicks Email Inbox:**

Dear History Society,  
I'm currently doing some research for the Whitechapel Gallery into the Ocean Estate off Mile End Road. In particular a project that was carried out there in the mid to late 1970s by an artist called Stephen Willats, this project culminated in an exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1979.

I was wondering whether you have any articles on the Ocean Estate from around this time that I could look at or if you have any other information on the estate from the 70s?

**Ned McConnell, Archive Exhibitions Intern, Whitechapel Gallery**

*I couldn't help Ned, can any of our members?*

**From Sharon Kaczmarczyk**

I am working on a family tree, and am trying to find out where my great grandfather might be buried. I know he was Catholic, but he is not in the records for Leytonstone (St. Patrick's) though my great grandmother is there. What other cemeteries are near Whitechapel, St. George in the East? I hope that you can help me with this, as I am coming to London next week. Also, there is talk in the family that one of my relatives was on stage in the music halls with Charlie Chaplin's father. Where can I go to find this info. Thank you in advance for your help.

**Philip:** What was his year of death?

**Sharon:** His year of death was 1902, his name was John William Barrett (Originally, John William Burns)...not sure why the name change. Thank you for responding to my question.

**Philip:** I was just making sure that his death was after the end of church yard burials in London (c1852). St Patrick's was the only specifically Catholic cemetery in East London,

but the nearest cemetery would have been Tower Hamlets. Unfortunately their records only list the grave OWNER and are now in the LMA. I would suggest the Music Hall Society for your other query.

**Sharon** : Thanks for the info. I have sent an email off to the archivist at the Music Hall Society. I did find my great- grans' gravesite, however, it was a public grave and no longer exists. When I asked the gent who helped me why it wasn't there, he replied, "we don't have the room over here that you lot have in Canada"!

#### **From Jo**

I have recently resumed my looking into part of the Roake Family Tree - and have noticed in the England and Wales National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administration) for Henry Roake (d 1877) that Henry is listed as Licensed Victualler of the Vine Tavern at the time of his death and his Nephew Richard W Roake was the Vine Licensed Victualler's Manager. I believe Richard W Roake was the son of Richard (b 1802/1807!) and Jane Roake (nee Underwood) of Chertsey? I would be very grateful and very interested to know more about Henry Roake both the Vine interest and whether you might know who Henry and Richard Roake's parents might be - I believe they might have been Richard and Elizabeth Roake?

**Philip:** Dear Jo, the Vine Tavern was much photographed due to its location in the middle of Mile End Road. I am afraid that ELHS cannot help with family history research that is the province of East of London Family History Society. Are you aware of the information on the Pubs History web site, they list a lot of Roakes  
<http://pubshistory.com/LondonPubs/MileEnd/VineTavern.shtml>

**Jo:** It looks like one of my other Ancestors was a Shipwright living in Evelyn Street, St Paul, Greenwich on the 1851 Census? I am curious and interested as to where he may

have worked and what the work would have involved?

**Philip:** There were dockyards at Deptford and Woolwich both of which closed in 1869. Both would have been in Kent in the 19th century. Woolwich is now in the London Borough of Greenwich and Deptford is now in the London Borough of Lewisham. His census address is closer to Deptford than Woolwich so that is probably where he worked. Deptford had reopened for ship building after closure in the early 19th century and I presume that the ships were still largely made of wood.

#### **From Rosemary Hillman**

I am trying to track down any information about a German fighter or bomber plane that was allegedly shot down in the vicinity of Victoria Park in the East End of London possibly between 1942/1943? Am wondering if you have anything in your archives that would relate to such an incident. We have come across a WW2 Lange & Sohne German Luftwaffe Beobachtungsuhr Bauart pilot / navigator's watch which, according to legend, was taken from the wreckage of the wrecked 'plane.

We couldn't find any record of such a crash. Can any of our members help?

#### **From Mike Lamacq**

Hi, Can you help? I am researching a family who lived in Salisbury Place, Bethnal Green. I have gone cross-eyed looking at 1889 and 1902 maps trying to locate the address! Is it possible that you could give any clue. or landmark, as to where the address is situated?

**Philip:** Dear Mike, Salisbury Place was re-numbered as the eastern end of Walter Street in 1888. Most of that was cleared (1961) for inclusion in Meath Gardens. All that now remains of Walter Street is a short cul-de-sac east off Warley Street to the entrance to Meath Gardens. Information from A Topography of Tower Hamlets, Mike Elliston, 2014, unpublished.

## **EAST END PHOTOGRAPHERS 16**

### **Richard Stuart Lancaster**

Richard Stuart Lancaster was a minor photographer who operated a studio half way up the Mile End Road at the end of the 19th century for a few years. That, at any rate, was the entry which I put together for the PhotoLondon website in the years leading up to the Millenium. Some years after the site was in regular use, I was contacted by a descendant of the photographer in question, pointing out that most of my details were incorrect. In fact, Lancaster had used a variety of pseudonyms, at various times and in various places. And then there the ladies – always the ladies. Lizzie from Paddington, Emma from Soho, Eliza from Plymouth, Clara from Birkenhead, to name but a few. And his name wasn't Lancaster.

The most recent research now indicates that he was born as Richard David Turnbull in Westminster in 1844. His father was a pianomaker, later an accountant, in Pimlico. In 1859 Richard married Elizabeth Marsh, who may well have been currently married. He told her he was 19, whereas he was in fact not even 15. The marriage lasted barely a year when Elizabeth discovered his real age, and left him in disgust. On the rebound, Richard married Emma Pleasant in 1862. By the following year, Elizabeth was claiming that Richard was pursuing her to strip her of all her property (chiefly a house in the Euston Road, where a studio had been erected).

In the summer of 1866, Richard went to the Isle of Wight, probably to photograph the yacht races. While there, he married Eliza Mary Dore in 1867. On his return, Richard opened his first London studio, at 222 Bethnal Green Road, using the name of Richard Stuart. In 1869 'Stuart' moved to 437 Bethnal Green Road, and in 1871 next door to 435. A recently discovered carte de visite shows that he also operated a studio in Park Street, Camden Town, around 1870.

'Stuart's studios in Bethnal Green closed abruptly in 1873, when Richard was accused of larceny. It seems that Richard had been working for George Taylor in Queen Victoria Street, and had appropriated various material and negatives for use in the Park Street business, using resources from his employers, under an assumed name to disguise the fact that he was in competition (the Park Street studio had previously been owned by Henry Cecil Turner, who sold it to 'Richard Stuart).

At some point in the late 1860s, Richard was apparently working in Liverpool for John Lancaster, a cabinet maker in Birkenhead, who later went into partnership with his brother Edward as photographers in Birkenhead and Chester. Almost inevitably, Richard married Lancaster's daughter, Clara in c. 1875 - as with most of Richard's other 'marriages', they never quite made it to the altar.

Around the time of the larceny charge - which was ultimately withdrawn - Richard asked his brother to go to an address off the Euston Road, ask for Mrs. Turnbull, and collect some negatives. On asking for 'Mrs. Turnbull', the brother saw a child of about 16 years old 'he told me when I took him the negatives, that he had brought that little thing away from Birkenhead, where he had been employed by Mr. Lancaster at 5 guineas a week, and had decoyed away the daughter'. This was probably Clara, who would have been 17 or 18 at the time.

Richard's elaborate multiple marriages and pseudonyms finally crashed in the spring of 1878. On April 18 1878, he was arrested for bigamy and still further larceny. He was now living in Turnham Green, Chiswick. On May 8 1878, he was found guilty on both charges, and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. The bigamy charge related only to Eliza, not to Emma - it was not possible to prove that he knew Elizabeth was still alive at that stage. After his release from prison, Richard moved to Camberwell, living first in Avondale Square, and subsequently in Asylum Road. He was not on his own - the current 'wife' was

Rose Reynolds, herself a widow. In 1882 they had a son, cheekily christened Richard Stuart Turnbull. In the 1891 census, Richard has the dubious honour of appearing twice - as Richard Lancaster, photographer, in Wellingborough, with Rose, and simultaneously as Richard Stuart photographer in Camberwell with Clara. By now, the total number of children with his various 'wives' was well into double figures.

In 1893, Richard returned to the East End to open a studio at 129 Mile End Road, under the name of Richard Stuart Lancaster. It was no more successful than any of his previous enterprises, and closed after some 3 years. After a brief hiatus, the studio was acquired by George Boucas (Bougioukas), a Greek refugee from Lesbos. The studio seems to have operated on somewhat of a hand to mouth existence.

In August 1895, Jim Brown, a newly engaged camera operator on 12 shillings a week plus board and lodging, filed a complaint against Lancaster for assault. Brown told the court that Mrs. Lancaster (presumably Clara) had told him that the accommodation was not ready, and that the board consisted of one slice of bread and margarine, and a cup of tea, with an ounce of meat and a few cold potatoes for dinner. He had to find a bed at a nearby lodging house. When Lancaster, who was currently styling himself 'Art photographer to the Queen' returned the next evening, Brown asked for his outstanding wages and was promptly thrown down the stairs. On escaping, he went straight to the police station, still bleeding quite profusely. Brown won his case with damages.

By the end of the century, Lancaster had moved to Kent. A studio was opened in Rochester in 1895, as 'Stuart Lancaster & Son' with a branch in Dartford in the early 1900s. A possible reason for the move may be a family story that Richard was involved in fake lotteries, and had to decamp in a hurry. The Rochester studio was apparently run by Richard, with the Dartford branch the province

of his son, Richard junior; a third branch in Sheerness was in the charge of Clara Lancaster. Although by now in his sixties, Lancaster's appetite for the chase had not diminished. In 1906, Lancaster was back in the London area living in Ilford with Kate, supposedly married in 1899. They had 10 children, of who 2 had died. There were no more studios. In view of his extra - curricular activities, it is little wonder that Lancaster's various businesses had such short existences - the wonder is that he found time for photography at all.

Richard David Turnbull/ Stuart/ Lancaster/ whatever died in West Ham in 1932, at the age of 87. Clara's death is not recorded. His tombstone bears the Biblical quotation 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant'. Presumably he wrote it himself.

### David Webb



Carte de visites from Lancaster's two periods in East London. As Richard Stuart (1870s) and as Stuart Lancaster (1890s).