

The **PhotoHistorian**

The Journal of the Royal Photographic Society's Historical Group · No. 193 / Summer 2022

Committee 2022-2023

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Programme

The Group's programme of visits to collections, archives and galleries of photography is currently online via Zoom. Full details www.rps.org/groups/Historical, or use the QR code, *right*. We will gradually resume live events from summer 2022.



Bristol, 11 September 2022. The RPS will present a series of events as part of Heritage Open Days. The first will look at the history of the camera based on the new display in RPS House, the second, will look at the history of the RPS itself, and the third will look at how you can research photographic history based on resources housed in Bristol. Details: <https://tinyurl.com/bdcb6bw5>



Birmingham, Tuesday, 25 October 2022. *Hurter and Driffield memorial lecture: Moving Beyond the 'Mug Shot': Expanding the Frame for the Study of Forensic Photography in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, will be given by Professor Jennifer Tucker. Details: <https://tinyurl.com/mrx24tkc>



Online, Wednesday, 9 November 2022. *Shirley Baker and documentary photography.* Chaired by Gilly Read, Nan Levy, daughter of Shirley Baker, will talk about her mother's photography. Baker was a member of the RPS for a short period and has been rediscovered in recent years. Details: <https://tinyurl.com/ym9v768t>



Newcastle upon Tyne, Saturday 19 November 2022. The day will include a series of talks from Paul Cordes and Dr David Barber focused on Newcastle's photographic history. In addition, there will also be an opportunity to photograph in the cathedral. Details: on the RPS website.

In the course of arrangement for 2023 are the Colin Ford lecture. In March the Group will visit Glasgow with a series of visits to photography collections in the city. Continuing, are the monthly online talks from different British photography collections. Details of all these and others when arranged will be emailed in future Chair's newsletters, online, and in *The PhotoHistorian*.

Online talks

The online programme continues with around one event each month. Visit the Historical Group playlist on the RPS YouTube channel to see the recordings which include:

- John Thomson and his photography of Asia
 - Presenting the Mackinnon collection
 - Presenting the Johnston Collection, Wick
 - Presenting the John Rylands Collection
 - Presenting the Ruskin daguerreotypes
 - Presenting the Philip Jones Griffiths archives
 - Presenting the Stewart Bale Ltd Collection
- Use the URL <https://tinyurl.com/RPSHrecordings>

H&D lecture

The Hurter & Driffield memorial lecture which takes place on 25 October, noted above, is held under the auspices of the RPS, but managed by the Historical Group. The series has its antecedents back to 1919 and was held regularly until the 1980s.

Through the efforts of Ron Callender FRPS, a great champion for the work of H & D, the series was resurrected in 2012 when Steve Sasson HonFRPS spoke about his work on the invention of the digital camera in 1975. The series is intended to be held biennially. Members are encouraged to attend the lecture in Birmingham.



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Special thanks this issue:

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Eric Butler, Rob Crow

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The Royal Photographic Society

was formed in January 1853
to 'promote the art and
science of photography'.


Operating under a Royal Charter, it
is a registered charity no. 1107831.

The RPS Historical Group

is a special interest group of the
RPS and was formed in 1972.

Membership of the Group is
open to all RPS members
at a cost of £20 per year.

It organises meetings, visits to
collections of photography
and publishes *The PhotoHistorian*.
Institutions and non-members can
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www.rps.org/groups/Historical
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Contributions

The PhotoHistorian welcomes contributions
from RPS members and non-members.

Submissions should normally be made by email
to the editor at: PhotoHistorian@rps.org. A
guidance sheet for prospective contributors is
available on request or from the RPS website:
rps.org/PhotoHistorian. It explains how text and
images should be supplied and provides a basic
style sheet and a guide to the conventions used
within this journal.

In general, main papers should be 2500-
4500 words and short papers from 300-1500
words, plus illustrative material. Both should
carry appropriate references indicated with a
raised numeral in the text at the end of a
sentence. Reviews are usually up to 600 words in
length. Illustrative material should usually be at a

minimum of 1200px wide, and the author should
ensure that use is cleared for reproduction. Text
should be sent as a Word file with references as
endnotes. The position of illustrations should be
indicated in the text or given in the text as figure
x. Captions should be given at the end of the text.
A short biography of the author should also be
provided. Authors will be provided with two
copies of PH.

The PhotoHistorian appears three times a
year: Spring (published 31 March), Summer
(published 31 July) and Winter (published 30
November). The deadline for inclusion of
material is six weeks prior to publication,
although submissions may be held over for
reasons of space or to ensure a balance of
content.

For more information contact the editor.

Front cover

A Kodak Ensemble outfit. Part of the
Michael Beasley collection on display at
RPS House.

Back cover

A Zeiss Ikon Contaflex TLR camera. On
display at RPS House. See editorial on
page 4.

Editorial

Welcome to *The PhotoHistorian* published for members of the Royal Photographic Society's Historical Group and for its international subscribers.

Since the last number, the Group has held its 50th anniversary conference in Bristol. Speakers presented papers covering a range of different subjects from the past fifty years. The two-day event was opened by RPS President Simon Hill HonFRPS. We will be publishing some of the papers in the next and future issues *The PhotoHistorian*.

The articles in this number start by taking a look at the the colour photography of Kurt von Holleben by Colin Axon. Colin has presented his collection of early colour photography - including the von Holleben archive - to the V&A Museum where it will complement and further extend the colour material already held in the RPS Collection and the V&A's extensive holdings. *The PhotoHistorian* is grateful to Colin for sharing his research here.

Charlotte Hursey presents her new research on Joseph Caddick, a travelling photographer. The name may be familiar, but Charlotte's paper provides new insights and greatly extends our knowledge of Caddick and travelling and itinerant photographers, an under researched area of photographic history. Likewise, Roddy Simpson presents new insights into the continuity of one studio, Rock House, which is best known for its association with Hill and Adamson. He examines how the negatives of different occupiers of the the studio were reused, moved on and discarded by those who came into possession of them. Walter Benington's work with the Indian Arts and Drama Society and their productions of *The Maharani of Arakan* during the First World War.

RPS House

The RPS's physical presence since January 2019 has been in RPS House, Bristol. This followed moves from Fenton House and the Octagon in Milsom Street, both in Bath. Before that the Society had been headquartered in London.

The new building is modern, but the RPS's trustees recognise the importance of the Society's history and

heritage. Although the RPS Collection and most of the RPS's own records are housed at the V&A Museum, London, where they are readily accessible, the resource room at RPS House contains further material of value to those researching the RPS's history and membership. In particular, it houses membership records from c.1928-1980, Society publications, archival material relating to the Society, and a small but growing collection of historic photography relating to past members, or which can be used to support its educational activities.

A series of events on 11 September as part of the UK's Heritage Open Days will draw attention to some of these resources and provide guidance for genealogists, photographic historians and the general public interested in the history of photography and the RPS's place within it. These are in-person events, but the resource room is open to any member or to the public by appointment, and it gets regularly used with visiting student and adult groups.

This historic material has recently been joined by a significant donation of cameras, the collection of the late Michael Beasley. Michael was keen to see his collection used to support education and, after looking at alternatives, his two daughters made the decision to place it with the RPS. At the time of writing a museum case is being installed at RPS House to present the collection. Once complete it will act as a focal point for visitors, more importantly, it will allow the RPS to tell the story of the camera from the 1840s up to the introduction of digital photography. For younger visitors it will show them where their smartphone camera originated. More mature visitors may have used some of the cameras on display and remind them of their own journey within photography.

A selection of the 260-plus cameras is shown below and, as a change from photographic images, on the front and back covers. *From left to right*: a portable camera obscura, c.1820, a studio camera with repeating back for *carte-de-visite*, c.1870s; a Polaroid Automatic 104 c.1965- 1967, and a Reid and Sigrist Reid III camera c.1951.

Dr Michael Pritchard



The colour archive of Dr Kurt von Holleben

Colin Axon

As Agfa's colour plate production manager and head of the colour screen research group, Kurt von Holleben would have had access to as many plates as he wished. With an annual salary around four times the average German labour wage (his salary RM9,000 by 1939) he could afford to live very comfortably and enjoy the leisure time that he had. He would usually take two holidays per year with other trips around Germany in between.

Nearly six hundred of his plates have survived, together with around two hundred 35mm transparencies. He was a competent photographer and is known to have taken photographs for Agfa; he led the research team trialling the new multi-layer colour reversal film Agfacolor Neu, at the Garmisch-Partenkirchen winter Olympics of 1936, where he photographed much of the event.

The plates are in good condition both physically and chemically. I find it surprising that so few Agfa plates have come onto the market, after all they had been on sale since 1916 (I have still never seen one dated before 1926), additionally museums and institutions seem to hold very few in their collections.

In my opinion the colour rendition compares well with the Autochrome, and the collection includes some instantaneous action, such as a

Figure 1. Portrait of a boy, Algiers, May 1928. Italy and Mediterranean Cruise.



Figure 2. Arosa, Switzerland, January 1929. Skiing in Switzerland, January 1929.



Figure 3. Lapper girl, Lyngen, Norway, August 1929. Norway and Spitzbergen Cruise.

swimming pool with a diver caught in mid-flight and frozen wave motion, that I have not seen achieved with an Autochrome.

Kurt thoughtfully noted the location on most of his plates together with the year, and often the full date. However, after some 90 years the pencil notations can be challenging. Figures 1-6 show examples of his plates.

About 70 per cent of the plates are the glass



Figure 4. Temple of Juno, Agrigento, Sicily, May 1930.



Figure 7. Herbert Meineke at the Familien Sportbad Goldenes Tälchen, Wurzen-Dehnitz



Figure 5. Funfair, Dresden, Germany, July 1935.



Figure 6. Norderney, August 1934.

Agfa Farbenplatte, whilst the remainder have a film base enclosed in the same way, with cover glass and paper tape. The only way to distinguish one from another is to look in a raking light, under which it is possible to see wrinkles in the film.

It was in October 2019 that I had the

opportunity of acquiring the remainder of Kurt von Holleben's photographic archive. Six years earlier, a few Agfa plates had appeared for sale on eBay with an item description which said 'This slide comes from the estate of the photographer Kurt von Holleben, who published the book "Die Farbenfotografie mit Agfacolor" for AGFA. Kurt von Holleben later worked in the development department of AGFA, where he worked on the grain screen process'

I bought six plates for about €20 each, and after receiving them I asked the seller for more information about them. The seller was a travel photographer named Uwe Wasserthal living in Darmstadt; he is also a 'sworn in expert for early photography', meaning that he is qualified to give expert testimony to the German courts and institutions. With this mutual interest we struck up an email friendship, and over those intervening six years I bought around sixty plates from Uwe, usually about ten at a time.

Uwe said that he had no further information about Kurt beyond that in the eBay descriptions as he had bought the whole archive from the daughter of Kurt's foster son Herbert Meineke, who had died in October of 2011. In 2019 I started to research Kurt's life and in 2021 I tracked down Herbert's daughter living in New York.

Ursula very kindly gave me what information that she had, which was somewhat limited due to a rather fractured relationship with her father. This information, together with my research, shed some light on Herbert and how he came to have 600 Agfa plates in his Darmstadt flat.

Kurt married Margrit Stark in 1922, but the marriage did not last and they were divorced five years later having no children. In 1900, Leipzig, under the foster child physician Dr Max Taube, had introduced a general guardianship for all illegitimate children - regardless of whether they lived with their biological parents - from birth until the end of their school years. This system was



Figure 8. Kurt's apartment, 1930s.

increasingly adopted by other cities until "professional guardianship" ("Berufsvormundschaft") was finally introduced throughout Germany. It seems that when Kurt moved to Leipzig in 1932 he had become the 'professional guardian' of sixteen year old Herbert Meineke. On one official form asking if he had any children, he answered "1 Pflegesohn", 1 foster son, this was not fostering as we know it today. Herbert did not live in Kurt's apartment, but he had occasionally accompanied Kurt on holidays abroad and they appeared to have a mutual interest in outdoor swimming, which was enjoying a boom at the time.

Following his death in 1947 his estate passed to his mother Elizabeth as his next of kin. Elizabeth by this time was 79 years of age, so Herbert, acted as his executor on her behalf. There was also Kurt's house in Leipzig which would have to be cleared and sold. It must have been at this time that Herbert acquired some of Kurt's possessions.

Elizabeth passed away in 1951, and sometime later in the 1950s Herbert managed to escape from East Germany, with his wife and daughter following a few years later. Kurt's possessions must have been important to him, because somehow he managed to get them out as well. Following Herbert's death, his daughter came from the USA to clear his flat which contained a large number of items, requiring several weeks to sort out.

Towards the end of the task, Ursula found Kurt's things, including the 600 Agfa plates, by which time she was due to return home. Unable to bring such

a weighty item back with her to the USA, she was unsure what to do with them. It was then that she saw Uwe's name in a newspaper article, and since he lived in Darmstadt he was the ideal person to contact. Uwe realised their significance and acquired them from Ursula.

Development of the Farbenplatte 1908-1936

Agfa had based the Farbenplatte upon the work of Jens Herman Christensen (1877-1953) of Holte, Denmark, (working for Burmeister and Wain's Eksport Kompagni). On 1 April 1908 he had been granted German patent number DRP 224465 for a "Process for the production of multi-colour screens by applying particles dyed in the basic colours and emulsified in a liquid to the screen support". The text of the patent did not specify specific materials to be used, but suggested dyed shellac emulsified in turpentine oil. In January 1909, Burmeister and Wain offered Agfa the patent, but they declined.

In June 1910, Christensen travelled to Berlin to demonstrate an improved process, the results impressed them, and in November of that year Agfa purchased the patent rights (with the exception of England and the United States). In the following couple years Christensen worked with Agfa to develop the process for production. In 1912, the first samples were shown, and they not only confirmed a quality similar to that of the Autochrome plate, but also highlighted advantages such as "vividness of colours, translucency of the colour screen and correct colour rendering". The nature of the process produced good translucency since all the droplets in the colour screen were in direct contact with each other (unlike the Autochrome process) so there was no need to add opaque fillers that cut down on light transmission. The plates did not however go into production because of fluctuating colour screen parameters

Dr August Tanzen took over the management of the colour screen operation in 1915, and in October 1915, was able to report that the production technology had progressed to the point that one hundred and twenty 9 x 12cm plates could be produced each week.

The Agfa-Farbenplatte finally came to the market in January 1916. The plates were manufactured at their Berlin-Treptow site, and that year they sold 5,390 packs of 9 x 12 cm and 13 x 18 cm plates; the retail price of Mk 5 for a box of four 9 x 12 cm and Mk 11 for a box of four 13 x 18cm plates.

Production difficulties remained, however; there were not only further problems of material supplies during, and after the First World War, there were also problems with manufacturing the plates.

Like the Autochrome, the Agfa colour screen was very susceptible to moisture which could cause the coloured dyes to bleed into each other. In 1920, Christensen began work on a new formula that



Figure 9. Kurt in his Agfa laboratory 1930's. Courtesy and © of Ursula Walliser.

would be more resistant to moisture. He found that by replacing dextrin with tannic acid, the screens were water-insoluble after drying. Christensen was granted German patent DRP 403590 on 2 June 1923, for a "Process for the production of water-insoluble multicolour screens". The new formula was successful and production increased, and by 1924 it was six times greater than that produced in 1921.

Kurt joined Agfa in May 1925, and by 1926 he had been appointed head of the colour screen research group, overseeing development and production of Agfa-Farbenplatte plates. Following problems with the colour rendering of both green and blue, he changed the production to use alternative dyes and recommended using a Rapid Filter Yellow filter instead of a Tartrazine Yellow filter to improve blue rendition. He also began work on the lightfastness of the colour screen, work which Christensen continued and in 1927 he demonstrated a new formulation, which involved a switch from basic dyes to acidic dyes. On 8 September 1927, Christensen was granted German patent DRP 469578 titled "Dyed particles for the production of screens for colour photography". The new formula was in production by the end of 1928, but in a letter to Agfa dated 30 April 1929, whilst acknowledging the improvements made, he still recognised that "yellow and blue leaves something to be desired". Further tweaks to the formula were made to correct colour rendition in 1930.

The archive contains several plates that Kurt exposed whilst on holiday in the south of France,

bearing (in pencil) the code "Ra30", and some "Ra31", which was the laboratory code for a particular year's screen recipe.

The plates were being sold in England from 1923, and by 1930 Agfa was also selling plates to the USA via the Ansco Corporation which had a long history of supplying photographic equipment in America, dating back to manufacture of daguerreotype plates in the 1850s. The company merged with Agfa in 1928 to create the Agfa-Ansco Corporation.

Also at this time, the decision was made to move production from Berlin-Treptow to Bitterfeld-Wolfen. In September 1930, Kurt travelled to Wolfen to find a suitable building to house the production equipment. The move was not straightforward as it had to be organised in such a way as to avoid disrupting supplies to customers.

By August 1932 a plan had been decided upon, which included (as an interim solution), special equipment for transporting semi-finished products from Berlin to Wolfen. The move began in October with the move of the varnishing machine, drying cabinets and the three screen machines, and continued through November. Colour screen production finally ceased at the Berlin-Treptow site on 6 December 1932.

The senior staff moved from Berlin to Wolfen, and in the beginning of 1933 Kurt took over the management of the screen and film factory there.

In Wolfen development continued on improving the colour screen sensitivity and shrinking the grain size to allow the development of the next generation of products. Released in 1932 under the name Agfacolor, it was an additive colour film on a nitrocellulose film base producing a positive image. In 1934, they released Agfacolor Ultra a faster film version of its predecessor, also on a nitrocellulose film base, which was later changed to a safer acetyl cellulose film base.

In 1936, colour screens were made redundant when Agfa developed the ground breaking Agfacolor Neu process. This was a multi-layer colour reversal film with the colour couplers incorporated into three separate emulsion layers coated onto a single 'support' that could be processed in a single colour developer (it was a rival to the Kodachrome reversal film released in 1935).

Biography

Albert Julius Ludwig Kurt von Holleben was born in Berlin on 7th March 1894 into a high ranking Prussian military family. His grandfather Albert von Holleben (1835-1906) was General of the Infantry and his uncle Wilhelm (1840-1912) was a Lieutenant General.

His father Curt never looked like reaching the high rank achieved by his predecessors. He was a lowly Second Lieutenant who had married Elizabeth (1868-1951), the daughter of Wilhelm



Figure 10. Łowa Palace, Poland – 2007.
Source: Wikipedia.

August Julius Wrede (1822-1895), a wealthy banker, sugar beet and spirits producer who lived in the Schloss Britz; a fine house set in a large estate just outside of Berlin.

Following the death of Wilhelm Wrede, and with presumably an inheritance, the family moved out of their apartment in Berlin into a 'castle' in what was then Halbau, German Silesia (now known as Łowa Palace in Łowa Poland). His 33 year old father had left the regular army to become a First Lieutenant of the Guards Landwehr Infantry, so had effectively retired, as these were usually divisions were made up of older soldiers, and were intended primarily for occupation and security duties rather than combat.

The von Holleben family, like the majority of Germans, were Lutherans and Kurt himself was a lifelong church goer. His father Curt appears to

Figure 11. Kurt in his 1914 Imperial Volunteer Automobile Corps uniform. Courtesy and © of Ursula Walliser.



have taken his religious philanthropic zeal to extremes following being asked to become an Honorary Knight of the charitable organisation The Knights Hospitaller, by Prince Albrecht of Prussia.

The 'castle' was sold towards the end of 1901 and the family are next found, in 1905, living in a rented villa in Wiesbaden. Curt is now performing admin tasks as a District Officer with the rank of Hauptmann z.D (i.e. a Captain where z.D., or 'zur Disposition', means he was ready for secondment on active service again).

The young Kurt attended school in Wiesbaden until 1908, when the strain on the family resulted in his parents' divorce in October of that year. The family went their separate ways, with Curt it appears going to Torgau, where he passed away in 1910, and Elizabeth taking Kurt to a rented villa in Dresden.

In 1911 Elizabeth married up-and-coming lawyer Baron Kurt von Brandenstein, and two years later they moved into their new architect designed villa in the pleasant district of Loschwitz on the outskirts of Dresden. Kurt attended the Dreikönigsschule in Dresden from 1908 to 1913, following which he went to study law at Heidelberg University.

The First World War broke out during his third term at the university and he left his studies to join the Imperial Volunteer Automobile Corps.

Figure 12. Kurt's Agfa application photograph. Courtesy and © of Ursula Walliser.



Motorised transport was still a new concept for the German Army and they relied on volunteers with their own private vehicles. In 1905, the Corps had been established from two Automobile Clubs in Berlin, whose members pledged to use their automobiles in times of war and peace.

Whilst with the Automobile Corps he was awarded Iron Cross first and second class, the Friedrich August medal and the Albert Cross II Class.

In 1916 he transferred to the 1st Saxon Army Field Artillery Regiment No. 12 which was based in Dresden.

The regiment mostly operated in France in the area between Amiens and Saint Quentin, and fought at the battles of the Somme (October–November 1916), the Double battle of Aisne – Champagne (April–May 1917) and various battles in the German Spring Offensive of 1918. The regimental history book records that Kurt was right at the leading edge of the push during the Battle of the Avre in April 1918, being the first officer to report the crossing of the river Avre by German troops.

By the end of the war Kurt is listed as Ordnance Officer on the regimental staff.

Following demobilisation he took some time out, and then in mid-term 1919 he enrolled at the Royal Saxon Technical College (today the Technische Universität Dresden) to study Chemistry.

There were some eminent tutors on his course, most notably Professor Robert Luther who had a worldwide reputation for photographic chemistry (Imogen Cunningham travelled from the USA to study under him) and Professor Alfred Lottermoser. The two professors mentored him through his degree (1922) and his doctorate (1924). Professor Luther and Kurt worked well together and they were jointly awarded patent (396,485) on 8 May 1923, for a “Process for making direct and reverse dye images”.

He once again took a year out before joining Agfa at their Berlin-Treptow site where they produced the Agfa Farbenplatte.

Kurt was not involved in the development of Agfacolor Neu, and its arrival signified the end of the colour screen business and with it the end of his work in that field. By 1939 he had been working more and more on X-ray film and had a greater role with the testing of film products.

This proved to be immaterial anyway, as an officer of the reserve he was required to attend several military exercises during 1939. He was finally drafted into the military on 10th August 1939 – he never returned to Wolfen.

He joined a newly formed Luftwaffe Battalion, the Reserve-Flak-Abteilung 132 which had been formed on 26 August 1939 in Leipzig. He had returned to service with his previous rank (Second Lieutenant) but he quickly rose to First Lieutenant,

and then Captain. The batteries operated around the Leipzig area before moving to Berlin. He remained with the regiment until 1st May 1940 by which time he was Chief of an Anti-Aircraft Battery.

After leaving the Flak regiment he transferred to the Air Ministry (‘Reichsluftfahrtministerium’) in Berlin, where he worked in the Officer’s Office of the Personnel Department. He was promoted to Major and he left Berlin in May 1942 to return to Leipzig as a Military District Officer.

The Americans detained him at the end of April 1945 and transferred him to Continental Central Prisoner of War Enclosure No. 27 (known as Camp Zimming) in north-east France. He was held in the camp with 17,000 other German prisoners until February 1946, when he was transferred to a transit camp at Marburg, Germany.

Following his release he contacted Agfa at Wolfen in the hope of returning to work. Since he was a Luftwaffe Major and both Leipzig and Wolfen were in the Soviet zone this was impossible, so he started a new life as a freelance writer and as a lecturer at the newly re-opened Adult Education Centre.

Sometime around Christmas 1946 he became infected with the Poliomyelitis virus. In January 1947 he was admitted to the auxiliary hospital in the district of Wehrda where he died on the 14th.

The Author

Colin Axon is a retired software engineer who has collected early colour processes, images and viewers for almost twenty years. The 1,000 plus items outgrew the available storage and in February 2022 they were donated to the V&A Museum in London.

References and notes

- All Kurt von Holleben images copyright of the author.
Copyright family photographs of Kurt von Holleben used with kind permission of the owner Ursula Walliser. Wikipedia image is released into the public domain.
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Joseph Caddick (1846-1926)

Travelling photographer, showman, rights campaigner

Charlotte Hursey

'When the fight is on and we are faced with a crisis, there is always a champion to step into the breach. Such a man was Joe Caddick, the travelling photographer - perhaps the best known traveller in the Midlands: small in stature, but a giant at heart. (Murphy, 1940, p.19)

Summary

This article concerns one man, Joseph Caddick (figure 1), who provides some interesting challenges to perceptions of travelling photographers by both contemporaneous and modern writers. The intention is to provide a preliminary biography, with context for both his activities and those of his wider family, and to highlight the intersection of photography with the worlds of theatre, film and entertainment at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Introduction to travelling photographers

Relatively little has been written about the history and lives of travelling photographers in the United Kingdom. In part this may have been due to the difficulty in finding official and personal records or tracking movements across multiple boundaries. However, the increased availability of online resources for family and local history, and especially the digitisation of newspaper records, has made the task more possible, though not necessarily easy.

Reading newspaper reports, photographic journals and articles on the history of photography, it is clear that many of the early travelling photographers have been held in little more than contempt: not only for their lifestyle and morals, but also their lack of skill. There are many references in the press of the times to prosecutions, disputes and scams. These ranged

from fines for failing to pay tolls or licences, arguments between rival operators, and several instances of photographers running off with payments before delivering their photographs, if indeed they had ever taken them. On the personal, and often scurrilous, side accounts included drunkenness, fights and infidelity, and not a few instances of suicide and murder.

The photographic journals also had their say. Of particular interest is the anonymous item from the 1880s: 'Five minutes in a photographic caravan'. This gives an amusing account of the process and layout but does not leave the reader with any recommendation to follow suit. (*Photographic News*, 26 February 1886, pp.133-4).

The focus in more recent writing seems to have been on better known photographers or those for whom more substantial records survive: for example, John Beattie and Oliver Sarony. *The Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century*

Photography has a short section on 'Itinerant Photography' though this focusses on working methods, rather than on photographers themselves (Maurice, 2008, pp. 759-761). Over thirty years ago Keith Adamson researched early photographers and studios, including travellers and their routes, identifying Edward Holland of Sheffield as perhaps the earliest travelling practitioner to hold a licence in 1842 (Adamson, 1990, p42).

One writer who has looked more fully at the

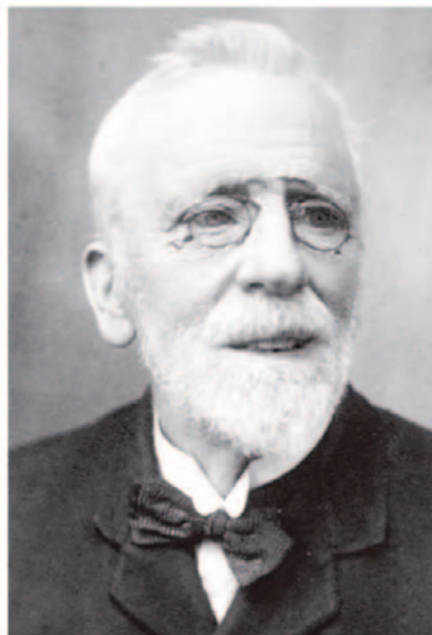


Figure 1. Joseph Caddick. Photograph courtesy Graham Downie.

lives of travelling photographers is Audrey Linkman. Her work covers a range of topics in the Victorian period including photographic processes, techniques, studios and subject matter. Of note is her work *The Victorians. Photographic Portraits*, though this was also written before the advantages of the internet. This has a substantial section on travelling or itinerant photographers, and indeed even mentions Caddick in passing and includes two photographs of his 'American Studio', a travelling saloon. However, the impression left of most travelling photographers after the 1860s seems to reflect those negative views from the press:

'...a new class of operator was entering photography, a class which drew its traditions and inspirations not from the refined and cultured world of the artist, but from the commercial underworld of the travelling showman and street entertainer.' (Linkman, 1993, p148)

Another writer who has examined photography, but from a show observer's perspective, is Ian Trowell. Although his article is mainly concerned with post 1945 examples, his introduction includes a synopsis of early instances of photography on the fairground. He also comments on the persistence of the tradition of taken photographs:

'Itinerant photographers also worked the fairs along with a motley crew of hawkers and tricksters, with the tradition for having a portrait taken with small monkeys again surviving into the 1970s as a seaside practice.' (Trowell, 2017, p214)

Thus, the life of a travelling photographer was not one that people would immediately associate as being 'respectable', even if many took the opportunity to use their services when they visited a local fair or feast. One question that immediately arises is why someone would take up the occupation and, in the case of Joseph Caddick, continue in the career for so long.

Joseph Caddick attracts attention

The author first came across Joseph Caddick through the British Newspaper Archive when researching Romany history and using the term 'van dweller'. This uncovered an unusual letter entitled 'A Growl from One of the Dirty Beasts in the Beast Market' (*Wrexham Advertiser*, 21 April 1877, p7). The very personal but educated voice of someone clearly not from a privileged background, the passionate tone and content, and the fact he was a travelling photographer, were all intriguing. From this one source interest was piqued and, having established that Joseph had not been fully researched before, the quest began.

In 1877 Joseph was attending the fair at Wrexham, though probably not for the first time. The letter suggests he had been involved with

travellers for some twelve years, though this seems unlikely. However, it marked his first known foray into politics on behalf of the travelling community. In the letter Joseph referred to local opposition to the fair and complaints against the showmen. He asked for better knowledge and understanding, given that the showmen and their families attracted trade to the town and were trying to make a respectable living. Of particular interest, in the light of subsequent events, is the reference to the campaigner George Smith of Coalville and '...the noble examples so ably set by Mr Coalville Smith in the interests of the canal population...'. But by 1888 Joseph had become perhaps Smith's most vocal and long-lasting critic when the latter turned his attention from conditions in the brickfields and on the canals to the van dwellers themselves.

Given that perception of travelling photographers – and travellers in general – as disreputable, or even criminal, he was clearly giving a different viewpoint. It soon became clear that Joseph was an early rights campaigner, an individual not afraid to raise his voice well before more formal associations to protect van dwellers were established.

The early years

Joseph Caddick was born at Finchfield, Staffordshire on 27 September 1846, the son of Samuel Caddick and Harriet née Jeavons, and grandson of Noah Caddick. He seems to have been the first of a large family. Both his father and grandfather were described as lock smiths and early records refer to the wider family also being involved in metal working, particularly brass and tin.

There are several references that Samuel and other males in his family, Benjamin and James Caddick, were active in the temperance movement. Samuel was one of the founders of the Wolverhampton Temperance Society and his son Joseph made sure that his staff were teetotal. Various records suggest that the family were non-conformist and Joseph certainly had a good knowledge of the Bible, though was later accused of being an atheist by George Smith. Of particular interest is an account by Samuel in the Children's Employment Commission-Appendix to the Second Report of the Commissioners 1842, available on Ancestry. This described him as a Wolverhampton lock maker, aged 24, who taught voluntarily at St John's School, was well educated and had firm views on how working and social conditions should be improved. Certainly, this would accord with his son Joseph's later activities as a campaigner.

Joseph can be found in the censuses from 1851 onwards, firstly living with his parents at Finchfield, a small village south of Tettenhall, to the west of Wolverhampton. Joseph had at least five brothers (William, James, Benjamin, Samuel and Edward)

and two sisters (Sarah and Harriet Elizabeth). Tracking the siblings has provided additional clues about Joseph's life and helped to corroborate some key records. By 1861 Joseph was about 15 and had moved out of the family home, being a lock smith apprentice with John Foster at Peel Street, Wolverhampton.

In 1871 Joseph was still recorded as a lock maker but living in Great Hampton Street, Birmingham, with Emily Ann, née Cox, whom he married in 1869. However, the marriage seems to have been somewhat stormy and short, ending in tragedy. After finding a reference in Salford coroner's accounts, a newspaper article under the surname Chaddock was finally discovered that confirmed the couple's move north. It showed Emily committed suicide, aged only 23, after an argument with Joseph. They had frequently quarrelled, and she had previously threatened to commit suicide by drowning or poisoning (*Bolton Evening News*, 7 May 1873, p4). The report referred to Joseph working for Bailey and Sons and that 'during his leisure hours practised photography'. This is the earliest confirmation that Joseph was interested in photography. Bailey and Sons produced a range of advanced mechanical equipment including clocks and watches, gauges and pumps, which must have extended Joseph's skill set.

Although no coroner's record has yet been found, the death certificate confirmed the story. Emily had taken poison with a dose of cyanide of potassium on 6 May 1873 at 82 Regent Road, Salford. She was described as the wife of Joseph Caddick, Steam Gauge Maker and Photographic Artist.

It is reasonable to presume that the poison was owned by Joseph himself: it was used for fixing wet plates during the collodion or ambrotype photographic process. Poisons posed a risk for anyone connected with the profession, whether accidental or intentional. Many other references to the suicide by poisoning of photographers, or their partners, can be found in newspaper accounts of the nineteenth century. As early as the 1850s there were warnings to photographers about the deadly poison cyanide of potassium (*Saint James's Chronicle*, 19 March 1857, p3).

But by 1874 Joseph had remarried, to Elizabeth Bone Cutler, and in 1875 the first of their children, a daughter

Elizabeth, was born. Because of the couple's wide travels after this period, not only in England but also Wales and Scotland, it has been difficult to track every movement or event. Census records between 1881 and 1911 have proved elusive or inconclusive though may surface with the improvement of automatic transcription techniques. It is known that in 1882 they had a son, Joseph James, but not whether there were any other children of the marriage.

The travelling photographer

It is not clear when Joseph left paid employment and entered the world of photography on his own account, or whether his first wife's suicide was a contributory cause to the change in lifestyle. It is possible it was brought about by extended family connections, particularly through marriage. His second wife's father was from a similar trade, iron safe making, but her brother, Thomas Charles Bone Cutler, was also recorded as a travelling photographer by the 1881 census. Thomas married Susannah Clark(e) while his sister Rachel Bone Cutler married Frederick Rust: both spouses were from families of travelling showmen.

The first records found so far for Joseph's independent occupation date from the mid 1870s when he was already established in the business. In June 1876 he was appearing at Stafford County Court prosecuting John Hackney, potter of Longton, for theft, having asked him to take a horse from Gnosall to Eckersley. The newspaper described him as a photographer of Bordesley Green, Birmingham. (*Staffordshire Advertiser*, 17 June 1876, p5).

It is not yet possible to draw conclusions about the patterns of travel Joseph used throughout his long career but there are some indicators until



Figure 2. Photograph of Middle-Aged Man with Beard. Author's Collection.



Figure 3. Caddick's Royal Art Studio. Courtesy of Graham Downie

further records become available. It is known that Joseph had a van from the mid-1870s and that he offered it for sale or hire, fully equipped, in early 1878. He was soon journeying in the Midlands and the North of England, and into Wales. Frequently these visits coincided with traditional fairs, though the occasional reference to specific locations in newspaper reports and on photograph mounts, such as Machynlleth, suggest he may have stayed in some areas longer than others.

Later records demonstrate that he was most associated with the Midlands and the Welsh borders, accompanying traditional showmen's 'Runs'. Although the range and type of events he attended is considerable there were certain key events in his year he did not miss. These included Wrexham Fair, Birmingham Great Onion Fair, Hull Fair and Nottingham Goose Fair, while in Scotland, he was found at the Edinburgh Waverley Market and Carnival right up until shortly before his death.

Home seems to have become Brownhills, even if he did not spend most of his time there. It is possible his wife was living there while he travelled. The text on the back of the photograph illustrated (figure 2) give two of his most regular permanent addresses, also used and occupied by other members of the family. He had various correspondence addresses on tour, particular when recruiting staff, and those with keen eyes will see a letter box on the front of his van. His business was most commonly referred to as 'Caddick's American Studio' though other names and

descriptions occur: for example, Caddick's Fine Art Gallery and Joe Caddick's Royal Studio.

Joseph usually returned to his Midlands base in the winter. Advertisements show that then he had a weekly touring schedule in his home locality around Brownhills but only for short periods before he went farther afield in the spring. However, in his later career he also spent periods in London, notably at the Fun City Annexe, Olympia.

The photographer's van or studio

There are some references to the type or maker of van that photographers used, though these are rarely detailed. Probably the best known is that of Roger Fenton, transported for his tour of the Crimea in 1855, and recently referenced in this journal. His tour was supported by the 5th Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State for War, and interestingly, the latter's grandson, the 7th Duke, was himself a keen photographer and interested in Romany life. His tour of southern England in a travelling van excited press interest in the summer of 1892, though without the disparaging remarks afforded to other travellers. One had a long article on 'His Grace's Caravan' and its specifications. Described as a land yacht, 'The Bohemian' was being built by the Bristol Waggon Works Company and a drawing and layout diagram were included to emphasise its luxury. (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 May 1892, p3).

In contrast, the vans of the early travelling photographers were probably not much more than

small carts on wheels with canvas covers, similar to the Romany 'vards'. However, larger vans quickly developed, whether adapted from other vehicles or specially commissioned, and soon there was a trade in second hand vans. In the first part of the nineteenth century they had to be pulled by horses and this constrained the size and weight of the vehicle, particularly if used on rural roads and in hillier or remote areas. Although later the railways provided alternative methods of travel for showmen these were expensive and a source of their regular complaint and negotiation with the various railway companies.

It is not known when Joseph bought his first large showman's saloon, but it would have represented a substantial outlay, not only on the vehicle purchase but on the maintenance and upkeep of horses. Pictures survive of the exterior of his studio which show it was a large and impressive vehicle, designed to stand out from surrounding booths and act as a display for photographs and other accessories. Of interest is that the photograph included has Caddick's Royal Art Studio on its main heading though the small posters shown refer to American Studio (figure 3).

It seems likely that the American Studio was a later incarnation since one photograph showing the facade in close-up, complete with display boards, has a poster 'You cannot beat our Postcards. Extra Finish. 4/6 per d(oze)n' and advertisements for Agfa film. It is possible that Joseph had vans made by Orton and Spooner of Burton on Trent, well-known builders of wagons and shows, who were represented at Joseph's funeral.

Photographic Practice and Diversification

It is interesting to review some of Joseph's practices, especially from his earlier career. In 1879 there was an editorial comment that Caddick was using the Luxograph, a recently patented invention. (*York Herald*, 26 November 1879, p7). By the next visit to York Caddick was promoting this himself.

"Photography Extraordinary. The latest photographic novelties. Twelve distinct Gem Portraits for 9d. Caddick's newly-introduced Victoria Cartes-de-visite finished ready for the album in five minutes, three for [illegible] at Caddick's Photographic Van, end of Jubbergate, during the Fair. N.B. At a slight increase in the above prices the above will be taken every evening from dusk until 10 p.m. by the patent Luxograph, equal to daylight, with less exposure. Note the name. Caddicks. Advt." (*The York Herald*, 22 November 1880, p7).

The 'Gem' and the 'Victoria' had been introduced from America in the early 1870s. The Luxograph was available from 1878 and enabled portraits to be taken in low light conditions throughout the year but without the need for

electricity. This shows Joseph was interested in widening his scope and techniques, though he was not necessarily an early adopter.

Nearly twenty years later Joseph was still going strong.

'Let 'Em all Come to Caddick's American Studios, for a short season only, next to the Station Hotel, Brownhills; opposite the Post Office in Hednesford; opposite the Uxbridge Hotel, Chasetown. For Up-to-date Photography at Popular Prices....All kinds of out-door photography executed with dispatch' (Extract from *The Mercury* (Lichfield), 27 January 1899, p4).

Much later a letter to the newspapers afforded another insight. Replying to a previous item about 'Lord' George Sanger, the famous showman and circus manager, in which a photograph by Caddick was included, Richard Moore remembered Joe Caddick's Royal Studio. Joseph was a customer of his father, James Moore, buying gilt frames and ferrotype plates. Moore senior was described as 'sole British manufacturer' of plates and his son gave a brief description of the processes used. (*Birmingham Weekly Post & Midland Pictorial*, 16 October 1956, p13)

By the end of the 1890s Joseph was trying new attractions. The first showing of the brothers Lumière Cinématographe in Britain took place in London in early 1896. It had the advantage of being portable and did not need electricity to function, so ideal for travelling purposes. The showman George Williams, not Randall Williams, is now largely credited for its first use by October 1896 as part of the fairground experience, and its expansion to audiences beyond London.¹ Soon many showmen were following Williams' example. By October 1899 Caddick was touring with a 'Cinématographe' at Altrincham and references can be found elsewhere until at least the following year, though it is not known how long he continued with the novelty. However, other members of the family, especially his brother Benjamin and son Joseph James, took up the challenge and were showing films in Scotland well into the first part of the new century.

In 1902 Caddick had found yet another new product and was demonstrating the promotional skills of the showman. A front-page advertisement declared: 'Edison's Monster Concertophone from the Glasgow Exhibition. The largest, loudest, and latest Talking and Singing Machine ever constructed...' accompanied by another advert for Caddick's American Studios which still offered Cartes de Visite and Cabinet photographs, finished in Platinum, Carbon or Enamelled, and 'All kinds of out-door photography, family groups, residences etc executed. Distance no object.' Also included was 'Our motto is Cheap Work, Good Work, and Promptness in Execution of all Orders.' (*Lichfield*

Mercury, 7 March 1902, p1).

These were not the only innovations. Tracking his appearances at fairs around the country show a wide variety of attractions and side shows which were often offered alongside the photographic studio. There was severe competition on the fairground to draw in customers, and Joseph needed to support a growing family, especially as they approached adulthood and marriage. A few examples from across his career help paint the picture. These are mainly drawn from The Showman World section of *The Era* newspaper, which has particularly good coverage.

- Swing Boats at Tredegar (June 1890)
- Bottle Shooter at Cefu Mawr, Ruabon (October 1891)
- Peep Show and Waxworks at Llanelly Fair (October 1897)
- Cinematograph and Mechanical Figures at Stretford Fair (June 1900)
- Replica of Gold Mine at Work at Ayr Fair (October 1913)
- Mirror Show at Hull Fair (October 1921)
- Miss Cissie Gordon 'Fat Girl' and Andy, real live sea lion man born in the Arctic at Hull Fair (October 1924)

Many of his 'extras' seemed of short duration and some are difficult to comprehend today without a good knowledge of fairground history.

The Van Dwellers Association/Showmen's Guild

As noted above, Joseph was active politically well before the Van Dwellers Association (The United Kingdom Van Dwellers Protection Association) was established during the period 1889-91. The galvanising force for the Association's establishment was the proposal of a Movable Dwellings Bill which threatened to give the police and local authorities stringent powers to enter and inspect vans and control the daily lives of all kinds of travellers. It had been proposed subsequent to George Smith of Coalville's campaigns to protect the children living or working in the brickfields or on the canals. Smith had set himself up as a kind of saviour for travellers, which many showfolk resented. Joseph, or Joe as he described himself in letters, was vociferous in opposing Smith who he felt knew little of the real life of showfolk and misrepresented them.

Various reports in *The Era* newspaper refer to Joseph's central role in its formation though later generations gave credit elsewhere. Meetings were held across the country, usually to coincide with local fairs when attendance could be guaranteed. Joseph gave speeches and wrote continuously to local and national newspapers to plead the cause of travelling showfolk and pinpoint the flaws in the bill proposers' arguments. However, it must be mentioned that he was careful to distinguish showfolk from other travellers such as gypsies, and

to stress the showfolk's education, employment and clean living.

The exchanges in the press between Caddick and Smith were long, frequent and acidic, if also sometimes amusing to a modern reader. An example is an extract from a letter from Joseph which is typical of his style:

'Tears and sighs of the poor children exist only in the over-heated imagination of Mr Smith himself. How well he can paint the picture of our poor little ones in the gutter, roadside wanderers, and ditch-bank arabs. But the picture is like all bright and glowing colours, so very fugitive that it fades and pales away to nothing under the bleaching sun of honest enquiry.' (*The Era*, 21 Dec 1890, p15).

Joseph even managed to feature in the photographic news, and for once travellers were portrayed positively. After the first annual meeting was held at the Royal Agricultural Hall at Islington in January 1892 it was reported:

'At this meeting, the leader of the opposition, if we may call him so without offence, was Mr. Joe Caddick. Mr. Caddick is not actually a showman, but he owns a van, and we are quite ready to assume that he is guilty of dark deeds therein, and that his doings are often illuminated by a lurid light. He is, in fact, a traveling photographer, and, like most photographers, would object to the intrusion into his premises of any myrmidon of the law, unless, indeed, he came to have his portrait taken, and paid for it like a man. We sympathise with Mr. Caddick; and all his friends. To brand any one class of human beings, who work hard for their living, as dangerous and immoral, is silly and immoral in itself, and Mr. Smith would do well to bottle up his zeal for a better purpose.' (*The Photographic News*, 6 Feb 1891, p106)

The Movable Dwellings Bill failed, though was revived several times over subsequent decades, and its impact on subsequent laws continues until today. The Van Dwellers Association ceased in its original form and eventually became the Showmen's Guild when it was registered under the Trades Union Acts in 1917, but it is clear Joseph and his colleagues continued to be active in both guises. Although Joseph was a member of the Guild's central committee for most of his life, he did not seem to seek formal office. Indeed, reference is made in his obituaries that he had refused honorary positions, including Vice President. He was frequently recorded as a founder member and continued to attend various local meetings across the country to encourage and maintain support.

In later years he was again fighting for rights: this time the various attempts by local authorities

Table 1. Relatives of Joseph Caddick Known to be Travelling Photographers

1. Benjamin Caddick (1855-1914) Brother
2. Lily J. Caddick née Bothwell (c1855-c1885) Wife of Benjamin Caddick/Sister in Law
3. Joseph James Caddick (1882-1975) Son
4. Thomas Charles Bone Cutler (c1854-1906) Brother of wife Elizabeth Bone Cutler/Brother in Law
5. George Henry Turner (1868-1946) Husband of daughter Elizabeth Bone Caddick/Son in Law
6. George Turner (1837-1891) Father of Son in Law
7. John James Turner (1876-1936) Brother of Son in Law

to end traditional fairs, which often had a veiled objective of selling fairgrounds for development.

Even as late as 1913 he was taking up the cudgels once more, writing to Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was concerned at the implications of the National Insurance Act on behalf of 'my fellow-showmen and van-dwellers, who lead a nomadic and Bohemian life' and pointed out the difficulties of ensuring that benefits would be received when they were away from home, often for nine months of the year.

Family Business

Despite Joseph's emphasis, at least while campaigning, on the difference between showmen and 'gipsies' (in the spelling of the times), the distinction was less than obvious. Many of those who attended meetings came from families closely associated with Romanies, and indeed Joseph's own extended family married into several connected to showfolk, entertainers, circus people and other travellers whose origins may well have been Romany.

One of the fascinating aspects of Joseph's life is the extension of the family interests into photography, cinema and wider entertainments. This diversification was not only in terms of the types of activity, illustrated above, but the fact that so many of his family members were involved.

A short item entitled 'Photography at the Fair' gives an introduction:

'The Caddick family (to the third generation) are famous fairground artists in photography. Mr Caddick's well-known photo van has attended Wrexham Fair for nearly forty years...' (*The Era*, 20 April 1907, p23).

Mention has already been made of his wife Elizabeth's brother and sister and their spouses. It may be helpful for further research to give brief mention to some of the other close relatives who had related careers. A summary is given in Table 1.

Benjamin Caddick (1855-1910)

In his own generation Joseph's brother Benjamin was also a travelling photographer, though he seemed to have a separate business. In the 1871 census he was recorded with his parents and siblings in Wolverhampton, aged 16 and a Printer Compositor. In 1877 he was mentioned in a report of an alleged assault at Halifax Fair by his first wife

Lily, who was described as Mary A. Craddock or Lily J. Bothwell, an assistant photographer. (*Halifax Courier*, 7 July 1877, p6).

In 1879 he appeared at Wakefield County Court in an action against Henry Bentley of Eshald House, Woodlesford, to recover £2 14s costs of photographic views of the house. Benjamin Caddick had acted as a 'canvasser' for Mr Metcalfe of the Leeds School of Photography and Fine Art Galleries and had been asked to take various photographs by Mr Bentley's daughter, though seemingly without the daughter having her own means to pay. A dispute arose as to the nature of the contract, and the quality of the photographs themselves. Unsurprisingly, the judge found for the Bentleys who were from an important local family and owners of the Woodlesford Brewery (*Wakefield Express*, 7 June 1879, p2).

By the 1881 census he was living in Leeds with his wife, and two daughters, working as a photographer. Ten years later Benjamin was still a photographer, living in two caravans with his second wife, Annie Laura née Freeman, and young son, William, in Broad Street, Trevithin, Monmouthshire, accompanied by two male servants.

He seems to have spent his last years in Scotland where he also expanded into cinema and theatre entertainment. There are various sightings of him as a showman across the country with a switchback show, exhibition of living pictures and references to operating cinemas and theatres. He died on the Showground at Blantyre, on the 18 November 1910, with an obituary referring to him as a 'Cinematograph Show Proprietor' (*The Era*, 26 Nov 1910, p19). His wife carried on after his death as she is given as operator for Pavilion Pictures at Blantyre the next month. His daughter Annie Laura became an actress and married Harry Codona, a member of a famous show and circus family in Scotland.

William Caddick (1848-1930)

Another of Joseph's brothers, William, though known as Henry or Harry, also became a traveller of a different kind: he followed a musical and theatrical career. In his younger years he seems to have been a pianist accompanist and married Annie Parsley, a violinist. They accompanied travelling entertainments including the Dan Leno Variety Company, various Minstrel acts, and as part

of 'Concert Parties' who illustrated Diorama and Panorama Shows: for example, they were at the Theatre Royal and Opera House, Waterford, Ireland in 1882 with W. H. Edward's Great Original Moving Panorama, depicting 'Life and Scenes in America' (Waterford Standard, 27 May 1882, p 2). A footnote read 'This is NOT a Magic Lantern, but a real Panorama'.

Their movements are also difficult to track but they did use a correspondence address in Penn Road, Birmingham, associated with several other members of the Caddick family. Annie can be readily identified in photographs and postcards, including in the archives of the National Portrait Gallery. However, it will be under her stage name as a popular comedienne and music hall artiste, Annie Purcell(e). Unfortunately, no photographs of her by Joseph Caddick have yet been identified. In later life Harry was appointed manager of the Theatre Royal, Runcorn, before the couple both retired to Shrewsbury.

Joseph James Caddick (1882-1975)

Joseph's son, Joseph James Caddick or Joe Junior followed his father into the travelling photographer business, accompanying him and operating other side shows. At some point in the early 1900s Joseph James and his father focused their work on New Brighton which had developed as a resort from the mid 1800s, especially attracting people from the Liverpool area on the opposite side of the Mersey. It had a Promenade Pier from 1868 and by the early 1900s a full range of hotels, theatres and entertainments. They seem to have used it as their second base though still travelling to the major fairs.

During the First World War he served with the Durham Light Infantry. After the war he married Elizabeth Wilmot, a daughter of yet another well-known showman family in Scotland, headed by John Wilmot. By the 1921 Census he was travelling again, this time in Wales. After Joseph's death Joseph James carried on the business and could be found later that same year at Hull Fair, one of their regular stands.

He also seems to have ventured into the fixed cinema business: various Scotland Valuation Rolls from 1930s onwards describe him as the Proprietor of the Cinema at Gretna Green. He continued to be mentioned in showmen reports but by the outbreak of the Second World War he was described as a 'Proprietor of Amusements and Entertainments'. He later moved to Rhyl where he had various entertainment concessions and appears to have moved into real estate. Sadly, neither of Joseph Junior's children survived to take the business into yet another generation.

The final picture

Joseph's wife Elizabeth died on 21 December 1914 and was buried in Brownhills, where she had been

living. Joseph continued to work with his son, occasionally appearing in lists of showmen present at fairs. It seems that in his last years the Wirral became his main base, though he owned property in the Midlands.

Joseph Caddick died on 1 January 1926 in New Brighton, then in Cheshire and now part of Wallasey. His death certificate recorded it was in a caravan behind 10 Mount Pleasant Road and that the cause was senile decay and cardiac failure, though he was still described as a photographer. He had been in the photographic and showmen's world for some fifty years.

The funeral took place on 6 January at St James Church, Brownhills and he was buried in the Great Charles Street Cemetery. Notices in the World's Fair gave a short obituary and photo, recording that there was a large attendance at the funeral. There were also messages of condolence and wreaths from a range of business associates across the country, including the London section of the Showmen's Guild. Joseph's long-time friend, the famous showman and MP, Pat Collins, and his wife, also attended as well as other showfolk.

Joseph's will of 20 March 1924 stated that he was living at 39 Marine Parade, New Brighton, Cheshire. His executors were his son Joseph James and his brother, James. It is interesting to note that the will specifically mentioned his Photographic Van and his Living Carriage, to be left to his son. Although the will was quite short it recorded that Joseph's later years had been impacted by the loss of his wife and estrangement from his daughter. He stressed: 'I also wish my funeral to be of the simplest and most unconventional character' and burial alongside his wife at Brownhills. No gravestone or memorial has been found though the church's burial records give Second Part/Row ii, No 23 as the place of interment.

Photographic expertise and legacy

It is not yet possible to make a considered evaluation of Joseph as a competent, let alone a skilled photographer. Although the author has identified some forty photographs in various archives and online, many are stock studio portraits. There are exceptions, however, that suggest Joseph was taking pictures elsewhere, and some were for his own purposes. He even formally registered a pair of photographs, which are now in the National Archives.

The Digital Collection at the National Fairground and Circus Archive has eleven photographs identified as by Caddick. Most are related to fairground and related entertainments but one, of long queues of people in Buchanan Street, Glasgow, is a hint of a wider repertoire. Another curious example can be found in the online resource of Early Photographic Studios in Wolverhampton which seems to depict prison officers making arrangements for a hanging, the

studio location given as Machynlleth.

Joseph's early training in lock making, followed by his experience in gauge making, would have equipped him with a variety of technical skills and manual dexterity. No doubt these helped him set up and maintain photographic equipment, and even keep his caravan on the road for long periods. Some may have also given him a background in the use of chemicals which he could apply to the developing process. His career therefore does not quite fit the description of travelling bungler, cheapjack or fly-by-night that his occupation was often ascribed.

During his long lifetime Joseph must have taken tens of thousands of photographs across at least half of the country, in many of the major cities, towns and possibly even some of the smaller rural communities. It is hoped that this article will encourage readers to look to their own collections and provide more examples of his works so that his legacy can be fully appraised.

Conclusion

It is clear from Joseph's writings, will and other reports that he was a man of contrasts, and perhaps some conflicts. He had the patience and skill to be a lock maker in his early years, and to pursue a hobby which involved both artistic and technical ability. He then took considerable risks to join a community of travellers who were not well regarded, and with a lifestyle that belied his sober religious roots.

He put himself in the public eye to defend his fellow travellers and speak out. He was an entrepreneur, taking the opportunities that cinema and showmanship afforded to offer new entertainments to the public. Yet he was also retiring, repeatedly rejecting position or recognition. Often described as kindly and helpful, he still seemed to have had a temper and a strong streak of intolerance. So, until future records or research offers up new perspectives, Joseph remains somewhat of an enigma.

Acknowledgements

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The author

Dr Charlotte Hursey has spent most her working life in rural community development and research, in England and abroad, often using photography to record local heritage and events.

Reference

¹ Randall Williams was formerly credited as the first showman to exhibit moving pictures as a form of entertainment at a fair. However, correspondence from George Williams (no relation) dating from October 1896 indicates that he had the

necessary projection equipment and was about to show pictures at Hull Fair that month, having possibly already done so at Peterborough Bridge Fair the previous week. Personal communication from Graham Downie.

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- Thomas Murphy, *History of the Showmen's Guild*. Parts 1 (1889-1939) & 2 (1939-1948). (Oldham: Worlds Fair Ltd, 1940).
- Ian Trowell, 'Contemporary Photographic Practices on the British Fairground', *Photographies*, Vol 10, Issue 2 (2017), pp. 211-231. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17540763.2017.1289117> (Accessed: June 2022)

Online resources

- British Newspaper Archive (Limited free access, and by subscription) <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>
- Early Photographic Studios in Wolverhampton <http://www.historywebsite.co.uk/articles/photos/photos02a.htm> (Accessed: June 2022)
- National Fairground and Circus Archive and Digital Collection: <https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/nfca/index> (Accessed: June 2022)
- The Royal Photographic Society Journal Archive: <https://archive.rps.org/> (Accessed: June 2022)

Walter Benington and *The Maharani of Arakan*

Rob Crow, PhD, FRPS

Introduction

The play *The Maharani of Arakan* by George Calderon (1868-1915) is based on a narrative by Rabindranath Tagore, the great Bengali poet, and was first performed in July 1912 by the Indian Art and Dramatic Society.

The play was part of the celebrations to welcome Tagore (1861-1941) to London organised by the artist William Rothenstein (1872-1945). The play, however, was not published until December 1915 some six months after Calderon's death at Gallipoli on 4 June 1915. The text of Calderon's play was illustrated by

several line-drawings by Clarissa Miles and photographs specially taken by Walter Benington.¹

This article explores the context in which Walter Benington (1872-1936), a key member of the Linked Ring and a major portrait photographer, became involved in the world of the Indian Art and Dramatic Society. In particular, it examines how and when he actually made the photographic images which are reproduced in *The Maharani of Arakan* of December 1915.²

The Indian Art and Dramatic Society (IADS)

In June 1910, Rothenstein wrote to *The Times* of plans to establish the India Society:

The society desires to promote the study and appreciation of Indian culture, architecture and painting, as well as Indian literature and music. There is a vast unexplored field, the investigation of which will bring about better understanding of Indian ideals and aspirations. (*The Times*, 11 June 1910)³

Shortly afterwards, the Bengali, Kedar Nath Das Gupta (1873-1942) who had links to Tagore, came to London. In 1912 he established the Indian Art and Dramatic Society to provide practical opportunities for promoting Indian dramatic works. In 1914, he changed the name of the Society to the Union of the East and West to recognise his widening ambitions.⁴

The *Maharani of Arakan* by George Calderon

Calderon was a well-respected and popular dramatist whose work included translating and producing the plays of Anton Chekov for the British theatre. Calderon was also a close friend of Rothenstein who organised the events involved in welcoming Tagore to London. The invitation to Calderon to rework Tagore's story *Dalia* as part of the programme was no doubt intended as an act of homage from one gifted literary



Figure 1. Margaret G Marshall as Amina, the Maharani of Arakan. Walter Benington, 1915.

artist to another.

Advanced publicity had promised: 'A performance of a peculiar, and in some respects unique, interest is to take place on Tuesday evening at the theatre in the Royal Albert Hall.' (*The Referee*, 28 July 1912: 3).⁵

The Times provided a useful synopsis of the play:

It tells how the King of Arakan, in the guise of a peasant, wooed Amina, the daughter of Shah Sujah, whom his father had put to death. Roshenara, the elder sister, nurses plans of revenge, and Amina is ready to carry them out until she finds that her peasant-lover and the King are the same person ... The little play gave an attractive picture of the fugitive Princess's life in the cottage of an old fisherman, and of her love for her supposed peasant, a wild wood man as he appeals to her, shy, gentle, and simple. (*The Times*, 31 July 1912, p. 13)

Some critics did take exception to a programme note which explained that the play was 'intended to convey a moral concerning the relations of Englishmen and Indians in the search for a permanent reconciliation.' One correspondent complained: 'If Mr. Tagore's story be really a political allegory, it were surely better to leave it to the audience to discover the fact for themselves' (*Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) 23 August 1912, p.6). The provocative programme note was almost certainly prepared by Das Gupta rather than Calderon or Rothenstein.⁶

Tagore was not entirely happy that Calderon had captured the essence of his narrative, writing to a friend:

A dramatist here named Calderon has translated my short story, *Dallia* (sic) in the form of a drama ... The spectators appreciated it. To read the translation is not appealing because some foreign tuning is there.⁷

Tagore's complaint of 'foreign tuning' is possibly identified in the comment by the poet Sturge Moore who thought the adaptation was 'all out of keeping. It should have been a naïve and Puvis de Chavanny thing and instead...a touch of watered-down Shaw Burlesque.'⁸

Whatever the underlying concerns, the play proved enormously successful, largely through the tireless work of Das Gupta and the IADS.

Performance history of *The Maharani of Arakan*

Performance venues ranged from the intimacy of the IADS 'At Home' at 21 Cromwell Road, London, on 9



Figure 2. Wounded Indian Troops enjoying songs from *Caliph for a Day* at Barton on Sea, Hampshire. *Daily Graphic*, 22 February 1915.

May 1913 to the vast spaces of the Coliseum Theatre in June 1916. In this latter case, Lena Ashwell & Co. presented the play after a mixed programme of variety acts which included motor-cycling seals, a ventriloquist and Alfredo the Vagabond Violinist. The lavish production drew the comment 'The story is not half so complicated as the scenery' (*The People* 25 June 1916).⁹

Reviews and reports in local newspapers of performances in a variety of theatres and halls in London and the Home Counties, and along the South Coast have allowed us to build up a broad picture of activities. A few of these reports also included cast lists which have been invaluable in establishing how the productions operated.

The play was usually performed as part of a programme which might also include music and poetry recitals or other plays from the extensive Indian repertoire arranged or written by Das Gupta and his colleagues, including Tagore. The most frequently performed companion pieces for *The Maharani of Arakan* were *Savitri*, first performed in 1914, and *Caliph for the Day*, a farce based on the story, *Abu Hassan* which was premiered in 1915.¹⁰

Throughout 1915, the IADS established a major programme of performances of *The Maharani of Arakan* often partnered by one or more of the other plays. The performances were usually presented to raise money and support for wounded Indian soldiers at hospitals along the South Coast and in London. There was much favourable press coverage of the work of the IADS.

The context for such needs has been significantly under-reported. At the risk of over-simplicity, the facts are breath-taking. During the First World War, some 900,000 combatants and 600,000 non-combatants were recruited from the Indian sub-continent and many of these were involved in the fighting on the Western Front. As a consequence, large numbers of

Indian troops were treated at medical facilities across southern England from Hampshire to Kent.¹¹

For instance *Caliph for a Day* was performed (figure 2) was performed at the Convalescent Hospital for wounded Indian soldiers at Barton-on-Sea, Hampshire, in February 1915.¹²

In April 1915, the IADS visited St Peter's Hall in Bournemouth where the companion piece to *The Maharani of Arakan* was *Savitri*. A similar pairing of plays was performed at the Hampstead Conservatory in July 1915 while in September 1915 the company visited St Leonard's on Sea in Sussex where they also performed *Caliph for the Day*. Later in October they performed the same programme at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre as part of the theatre's own policy of supporting 'minority interest theatre.'¹³

In November 1915, the *West London Observer*, (Chiswick & Acton Edition) reported on 12 November 1915 on the programme presented at the Chiswick Town Hall. The evening featured *The Maharani of Arakan* together with *Savitri* and *Caliph for the Day* plus Tagore's powerful duologue, *The Gardener*.

The mechanics of these touring IADS productions were kept very simple with drapes to dress the sets and minimal props. This was very much in keeping with Tagore's advice of simplicity in all things to allow the full message to be received. Instrumental music and song together with dance all featured as needed to develop the action but remained within the character of the drama.¹⁴

It appears from the cast lists that the actors in the major speaking roles were English and that Indian artists took the lead in dance and song interludes. The singular exception was Das Gupta himself who performed the role of Dalia. Of the other members of the group, Margaret G Mitchell was an almost constant presence in the different productions whether as the Maharani herself, figure 1, or as the determined princess in *Savitri*.

From the cast lists it appears that there was a core group of performers who were called upon as required for whichever play (or plays) were to be performed at a particular venue. It was not a repertory company in the traditional sense because of the scattered nature of the different performance dates and sites and the varying casts required depending on the plays to be performed at a specific venue.

As noted above, *Savitri* was often performed on the same programme as *The Maharani of Arakan*. *Savitri* is based on the legendary princess Savitri who marries an exiled prince named Satyavan, who, it is prophesied, will die early. On Satyavan's death, she challenges the death god Yama who is finally convinced of her super-human faithfulness and allows Savitri to reclaim her husband and to enjoy a long and happy life together with him.

The performance of *The Maharani of Arakan* at St Peter's Hall in Bournemouth in April 1915 was followed by a performance of *Savitri*. The cast list in the *Bournemouth Graphic* 16 April 1915, p.7 showed that the part of Savitri's father Aswapti, the King of

Madra, an important secondary role, was taken by Walter Benington.¹⁵

He repeated the role when the play was performed at Chiswick Town Hall on 4 November 1915. The programme that evening saw performances of *The Maharani of Arakan* followed by *Savitri*, Tagore's *The Gardener* and *Caliph for a Day*. The instigator of the hoax against the hapless Abu Hassan is the real Caliph himself, Haroun al Raschid, played by Walter Benington.¹⁶

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Benington had played the same parts in *Savitri* and *Caliph for a Day* at other performances throughout 1915. Such regular contacts with the IADS and Das Gupta would have given him ample opportunity to photograph the cast of *The Maharani of Arakan* and also other productions and activities.

It has yet to be discovered how Benington became an important acting member of the IADS, as well as ex officio photographer of the group. As a young man, he enjoyed amateur theatricals and also performed in church concerts. A more likely opportunity for making contact with Das Gupta and IADS may have been through the Arts and Actors Club in Regent Street where Benington held a successful one man photography exhibition in June 1914. He had begun to establish a reputation for his work in the theatrical world with sitters including Irene Rooke and Milton Rosmer, Ellen Terry and Una Tristram. He had also begun to work with Margaret Morris and her Dance School and Theatre in Chelsea which had become the focus of many artists and writers.¹⁷

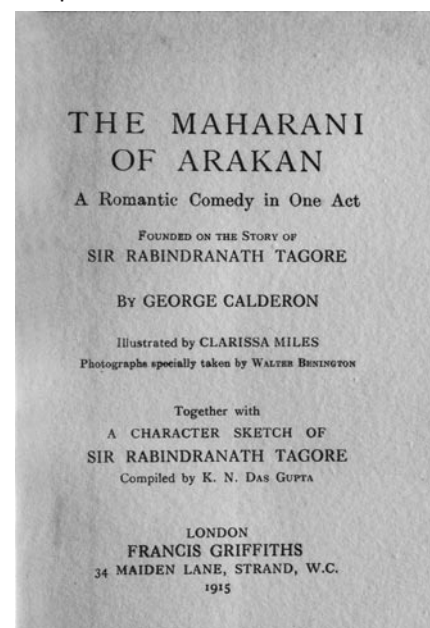
Publication of *The Maharani of Arakan*

In May 1914 it had been announced that the play would soon be published although it did not actually appear until December 1915.¹⁸

The hard-cover and spine simply state *The Maharani of Arakan* and George Calderon with no further embellishment. The title page, figure 3, notes Calderon's authorship but thereafter there is no reference to him. It seems unlikely that Calderon had retained any interest in the play after its initial performances in 1912.¹⁹

To the modern reader it may seem

Figure 3. Title page of *The Maharani of Arakan* published by Francis Griffiths, London, 1915.





AMINA (Margaret G. Mitchell). Dalia, we are about to be parted for ever.
DALIA (K. N. Das Gupta). For ever? Oh, what a long time!

Figure 4. Amina (Margaret G Mitchell) "Dalia, we are about to be parted for ever". Dalia (K N Das Gupta) "For ever? Oh, what a long time". Photograph: Walter Benington, 1915.

striking that no reference was made to Calderon's death in Gallipoli on 4 June 1915. However, even as late as June 1916 certain conventions about war casualties were observed and a note on the upcoming performance of *The Maharani of Arakan* at the Colosseum commented:

As for that clever playwright, George Calderon, he abandoned his dramatic work when war broke out, fought in Gallipoli, and is among the list of those missing. (*The Westminster Gazette*, 17 June 1916, p. 8)

The presentation of the published edition essentially bypasses Calderon in its concern to promote Tagore. His knighthood had been announced in the June 1915 Birthday Honours and is duly noted on the title page. The play is prefaced by a substantial tribute to Tagore organised by Das Gupta including a contribution from W. B. Yeats who had done much to support Tagore in the award of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913.²⁰

Benington's photographs

The portrait of the actress Margaret G Mitchell as Amina, the Maharani of Arakan, figure 1, acts as a graceful introduction to the play while Benington's other photographs informally capture key moments in



ROSHENARA (Maisie Edmonston). At last I have found you, little sister!
AMINA (Margaret G. Mitchell). United at last—how happy we can be!

Figure 5. Roshenara (Maisie Edmonston) "At last I have found you, little sister". Amina (Margaret G Mitchell) "United at last - how happy we can be!" Photograph: Walter Benington, 1915.

the play. They are presented in the order in which they appear in the text. The captions, presumably prepared by Das Gupta, help to provide the setting for each incident represented. In each, the simplicity of the stage presentation is in keeping with Tagore's belief that the productions should give precedence to the words allowing the imagination to create its own living world.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the four scenes presented is their simplicity even at their most emotionally charged as figure 5 as the sisters are reunited or in the dramatic denouement in figure 7. By cropping in tightly and allowing the captions to provide the narrative, we can enjoy the characterization. In the two less obviously dramatic moments in figure 4 and figure 6, the intimacy between Amina and Dalia is allowed to emerge naturally—very much in keeping with Tagore's calls for simplicity. They are clearly designed to help readers imagine the narrative from the printed page without interference or exaggeration.

1916 onwards

Das Gupta and the IADS continued to promote the cause of better understanding between Britain and India through the Union of East and West and other



DALIA (K. N. Das Gupta). And these flowers.
AMINA (Margaret G. Mitchell). How lovely!

Figure 6. Dalia (K N Das Gupta) "And these flowers". Amina (Margaret G Mitchell) "How lovely". Photograph: Walter Benington, 1915.

campaigning groups. He was also passionate in his belief that Indian art and drama needed to be taken seriously if India itself was to be fully valued. To this end *The Maharani of Arakan* continued to be presented in a variety of settings including an outdoor performance at Kingston Vale in 'London illustrated' in *Daily Mirror*, 16 June 1919, p. 9. A performance was held at a major conference on India at the Mortimer Hall in east London in October 1920 as reported in the socialist newspaper *Common Cause*, 22 October 1920, p.15. In contrast, the play was also performed at an exclusive Country Club in Gloucestershire as reported by the *Tewkesbury Register and Agricultural Gazette*, 6 August 1921, p. 1 where guests of honour included the Earl and Countess of Coventry.

In 1920, on the advice of Tagore, Das Gupta moved to America where he helped to create an umbrella movement incorporating the Union of East and West, the Fellowship of Faiths and the League of Neighbours. He also arranged performances of *The Maharani of Arakan* with a student group at Harvard as reported in *The Harvard Crimson* (Boston, Mass.) 8 May 1923.

Subsequent performances of *The Maharani of Arakan* may yet be discovered but Das Gupta's involvement in the world-wide campaigns seems to have given him little opportunity for continuing with his theatrical activity.



DALIA (K. N. Das Gupta). A nice wedding present to hang on a hook.

Figure 7. Dalia (K N Das Gupta) "A nice wedding present to hang on a hook. Amina (Margaret G Mitchell) as Amina The Princess Roshenara (Maisie Edmondston) Rahmat, a Mogul officer (J. Henry Twyford). Photograph: Walter Benington, 1915.

Caliph for a Day

By way of a post-script, I shall briefly explore the publication of the text of *Caliph for a Day*. As noted above, Benington had played the part of the Caliph himself in 1915

Just as the publication of *The Maharani of Arakan* in 1915 had been a vehicle for extensive promotional material for Tagore and Anglo-Indian matters, so the publication in 1917 of *Caliph for a Day* celebrated Indian music and 'A Plea for a Closer Understanding Between East and West.'

In addition, Das Gupta included a photograph of members of the Union, figure 9. The group portrait is of real historical interest, presenting Das Gupta with three members of the Union in traditional costumes. Das Gupta is very much at the centre of affairs. It is not unreasonable to attribute the image to Walter Benington because of his close association with Das Gupta and his involvement in the productions of IADS.²¹

Conclusion

At one level, it has been important to establish when and where Benington produced the photographs reproduced in the published edition of *The Maharani of Arakan*. Doing so helps to ensure that the planned

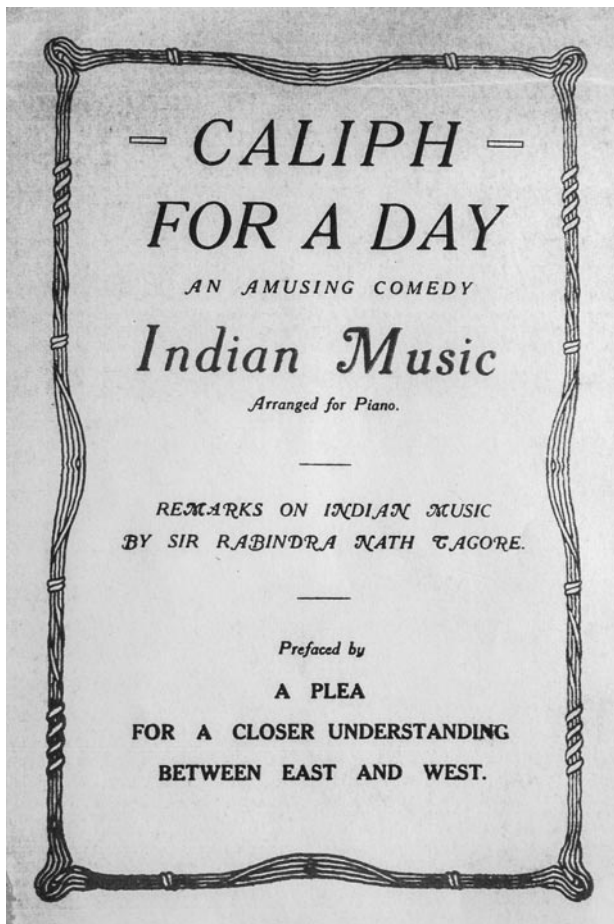


Figure 8. Title page of *Caliph for a Day* by K. N. Das Gupta (1917). Published by The Indian Art and Dramatic Society.

Catalogue Raisonné of his work is accurate and that the images are correctly located within his oeuvre. However, it has also been important to explore these images within the wider contexts in which they were produced.

King George V's visit to India in December 1911 had clearly demonstrated Imperial might but it also stimulated attempts to improve Anglo-Indian relations and to understand Indian culture. Tagore's award of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913 and his knighthood in 1915 both help to provide the wider literary and theatrical context. Das Gupta was a constant driving force – it has been claimed that by the end of the 1920s Das Gupta and the IADS and Union of East and West had presented more than thirty 'Eastern plays' in England and America.²²

Benington's direct involvement with Das Gupta and the IADS in the production of *The Maharani of Arakan* and his own performances in *Savitri* and *Caliph for a Day* all give a real sense of authenticity to the experience of promoting Anglo-Indian interests. Although we have not been able to establish precisely how and when Benington became involved with Das Gupta, it is clear that he became fully engaged in the IADS and its projects. The investigation has been a real encouragement to explore beyond his major works.



Figure 9. Some members of the Union of the East and the West: Miss Edith K. Harper, Miss Nesta Coventry, Miss Clarissa Miles (Hon. Sec.), Mr K. N. Das Gupta (Hon. Organiser). Attributed to Walter Benington, c.1917.

Acknowledgement

With thanks to Graham Light for copying many of the book illustrations.

Rob Crow, PhD, FRPS

In preparing the *Benington Catalogue Raisonné*, I have been delighted to discover little clusters of images which illustrate the extraordinary range of his activities. They may not be masterpieces but they tell vital stories about his life and work and of the period in which he worked.

Notes

¹ For a brief introduction to Tagore and in particular his London visit of 1912 see Bashabi Fraser, *Rabindranath Tagore*, London, Reaktion Books, 2019 especially 117-135. For Calderon see Patrick Miles, *George Calderon: Edwardian Genius*, Cambridge, Sam & Sam 2018. This is a substantial record of Calderon's life and work with some mention of *The Maharani of Arakan* see p. 285. Miles's blog, *Calderonia* – "The Arakan 'mystery'", 9 April 2015 and "'The Maharani': A postscript", 13 April 2015 Miles notes there is no record of Calderon's views on Tagore's work at the time he was working on the adaptation, nor that he was involved in the preparation of the text for publication before he was posted to Gallipoli in May 1915. <https://georgecalderon.wordpress.com> consulted 7 December 2021

² For a brief introduction to Benington's works see Rob Crow 'Restoring Housetopper: The Case of Walter Benington', *The PhotoHistorian*, No. 164 Autumn 2012: 8-9. For more detail see Rob Crow "Reputations made and lost: the writing of histories of early twentieth-century British photography and the case of Walter Benington" PhD thesis, University of Gloucestershire, 2015. For a wider study of Benington's early career, see Margaret Harker, *The Linked Ring, The Secession Movement in Photography in Britain, 1892-1910*, London:

- William Heinemann, 1979.
- ³ William Rothenstein, *Imperfect Encounters, Letters of William Rothenstein and Rabindranath Tagore, 1911-1941*. Edited by Mary M Lago, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- ⁴ The Indian Art and Dramatic Society (IADS) was established in London in 1912 to present Indian plays and to celebrate Indian culture. In January 1914, the Society became the Union of the East and West to promote better understanding. To achieve these aims, the society organized meetings, dramatic recitals and readings, musical evenings, lectures and debates Union of the East and West | Making Britain (open.ac.uk). consulted, 5 January 2021.
- ⁵ The newspapers quoted are London based unless otherwise identified in their titles. Many of the performances took place outside London and there was good coverage in local newspapers. IADS issued press releases which were sometimes quoted at length. They have provided an invaluable source of information.
- ⁶ Das Gupta did not appear on stage in the first performance but from the earliest his influence is strongly evident.
- ⁷ Tagore to Ajit Kumar Chakravarty, 15 August 1912 quoted in Smaraka Grantha: "Rabindranath's drama translated and staged" *sesquicentennial.blogspot.com* 21 October 2011 accessed 17 December 2021. See also Miles 2018, p.360
- ⁸ Thomas Sturge Moore to his sister, Marie Sturge Moore, 14 October 1912, quoted in *Making Britain: Discover how South Asians shaped the nation, 1870-1950* Thomas Sturge Moore | Making Britain (open.ac.uk) The French Symbolist artist Puvis de Chavanny was noted for his capacity to capture the imagination rather than adopting an overtly narrative style.
- ⁹ *The People*, 25 June 1916. Lena Ashwell organised many different groups of actors to present plays and entertainments on the Western Front as well as in England and enjoyed the support of many in high office.
- ¹⁰ Others included *Sakuntala* first performed by the IADS at the Royal Albert Hall Theatre on 12-14 December 1912 and *Ratnavali*, a Sanskrit drama attributed to the Indian emperor Harsha (606–648) and translated by Das Gupta which was first performed in May 1913. *Savitri*, first performed in 1914, offered a satisfying contrast to *The Maharani of Arakan* because of its delicate handling of a serious subject. *Caliph for the Day*, a farce based on the story, *Abu Hassan* was first performed in 1915
- ¹¹ Imperial India is generally considered to have included current India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. See Santanu Das, 'Writing Empire, Fighting War: India, Great Britain and the First World War' in Susheila Nasta (ed) *India in Britain* 2013 Palgrave Macmillan: 28-45.
- ¹² See: Indian Memorial in Barton on Sea | Milton Heritage Society for details of the IADS visit to Barton on Sea in February 1915.
- ¹³ Claire Cochrane "A City's Toys: Theatre in Birmingham 1914-1918" in Andrew Maunder (ed) *Theatre and the Great War 1914-1914: New Perspectives*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2015:228. Performances had to be licensed as noted in K. N. Das Gupta (greatwartheatre.org.uk) which records the official permit for the St Leonards visit in September 1915
- ¹⁴ Rabindranath Tagore, "The Stage" *Modern Review*, Vol.14, No. 6 December 1913: 543-545
- ¹⁵ Cast lists for both productions at St Peter's Hall in Bournemouth in April 1915 as printed in *Bournemouth Graphic*, 16 April 1915: 7. Cast list for *The Maharani of Arakan* Amina – Margaret G. Mitchell; Roshenara – Maysie Edmondston; Dalia – K. N. Das Gupta, Tung Loo – Leonard Shepherd; Rahmat Sheik – J. Henry Twyford, Cast list for *Savitri* Savitri, the Princess of Madra – Maysie Edmondston; **Aswapti, the King of Madra – W. Benington**; Sheela, the Queen of Madra – Margaret Marshall; Meera a friend of Savitri – Margaret G. Mitchell; Rama, a maid of honour – Bessie James; Narae, a hermit – J. Henry Twyford; Yamal (Death) – Leonard Shepherd; Satyavan, Prince of Salva – A. Walker
- ¹⁶ Cast list for *Caliph for a Day* at Chiswick Town Hall as reported in the *West London Observer* (Chiswick & Acton edition), 12 November 1915: **Haroun Al Raschid (Caliph) Walter Benington**; Shiras (Grand Vizier) A Walker; Abou Hassan J. Henry Twyford; Fatima (his mother). Mabel Walker; Julika (his wife); Bessie James; Music provided by Ali Khan.
- ¹⁷ See: Grace Brockington, Impermanence, Ella Margolin and Claudia Tobin (ed) "Theatres of War: Experimental Performance in London, 1914–1918 and Beyond" *British Art Studies* Issue 11, 25 March 2019
- ¹⁸ *The Westminster Gazette*, Thursday 21 May 1914: 3 announced that "in his series of Indian plays, Mr Francis Griffiths will publish an illustrated edition of *Ratnavali, or a Necklace ...* Mr. Griffiths has also in active preparation *The Maharani of Arakan*, a romantic Indian comedy by Mr. George Calderon, adapted from a comedy story by Rabindranath Tagore, with a character sketch and portrait of Mr. Tagore."
- ¹⁹ Miles – see note 1 – reports that there is no evidence that Calderon was involved in the preparation of the text for publication before he was posted to Gallipoli in May 1915. <https://georgecalderon.wordpress.com> consulted 7 December 2021
- ²⁰ Tagore had been awarded a knighthood in the June 1915 Birthday Honours at the instigation of Lord Hardinge, the viceroy of India. In addition to the tribute from W B Yeats there were contributions from – Ramananda Chatterjee, the "father of Indian Journalism" and editor of the *Modern Review*, Annanda K Coomaraswamy, a leading Art critic and the Anglican priest and supporter of Indian development, Rev. C F Edwards. Such a listing reinforces the admiration for Das Gupta's capacity to draw upon colleagues of the greatest status to pay tribute to Tagore.
- ²¹ Edith K Harper published an eclectic group of biographies including *Stead: The Man - Personal Reminiscences*.(1918) – an account of the English journalist William Stead who had a profound belief in the occult and spiritualism and died on the *Titanic*. Clarissa Miles was also a talented artist as demonstrated by the pen and ink illustrations in the 1915 published edition of *The Maharani of Arakan*. She is noted as Joint Secretary of the Union with Margaret Mitchell in 1921. Nesta Coventry is listed amongst the "courtiers and attendants" at the performance of *The Maharani of Arakan* as reported by *The Tewkesbury Register and Agricultural Gazette*, 20 August 1921. Amongst the guests at this performance were the Earl and Countess of Coventry.
- ²² See: Colin Chambers, "'A Flute of Praise': Indian Theatre in Britain in the Early Twentieth Century" in Susheila Nasta (ed) 154 See also Colin Chambers, *Black and Asian Theatre in Britain: A History*. Routledge 2011.

Rock House recycling

Roddy Simpson

The later occupants of the Rock House photographic studio, Edinburgh, embraced the practice of recycling the negatives of previous photographers. This was most obviously the case with Alexander Adam Inglis (1848-1903) and his son Francis Caird Inglis (1876-1940). The earlier photographers at Rock House were the pioneering Scottish partnership of David Octavius Hill (1802-1870) and Robert Adamson (1821-1848) and the under-rated but highly accomplished Archibald Burns (1831-1880), although, the notable Glasgow based photographer, Thomas Annan (1829-1887), also briefly occupied Rock House before Burns.

Negatives

Following Burns' death in 1880, it was Alexander Inglis, a photographer in Aberdeen but with a family connection to Edinburgh through marriage, who took over Rock House. Inglis' acquisition of Burns' business included 'the whole Apparatus and Stock-in-Trade'.¹ This certainly included Burns' own negatives but also a quantity of calotype negatives by Hill and Adamson. It has been said that the latter had been left at Rock House when Hill moved out in 1869 but this is unlikely to be the case. It was Hill's friend Thomas Annan who moved into Rock House and if Hill had given negatives to Annan, it is very unlikely that he would have left them when he moved out a year or so later when Burns took over occupancy, especially as Hill and Adamson negatives remained in the possession of subsequent generations of the Annan family.

After Hill's death in 1870, his calotype negatives 'along with a large quantity of his effects were brought to the hammer, but no offer could be obtained for the negatives'.² The negatives, 'nearly a thousand', were subsequently purchased privately and further divided. It is likely that Burns, who had been a close neighbour of Hill, before moving to Rock House, bought back Hill and Adamson negatives. Burns' Hill and Adamson calotype negatives passed to Alexander Inglis with the studio. There are no identified examples of Burns printing from them although, as shown below, Burns did make salt prints, the printing process used by Hill and Adamson, from his own negatives. Alexander Inglis' son Francis, is also known to have bought and brought back to Rock House Hill and Adamson material and was a great admirer and promoter of their work.

Alexander Adam Inglis

It was most conspicuously the negatives of Burns that Alexander Inglis recycled but claimed them as his own by using his distinctive monogram on prints, of 'A' and 'I', figure 1, or mounting prints on card with his own details printed. This was fairly simple for Alexander Inglis as Burns did not always put his initials on his



Figure 1. Alexander Inglis Monogram, author.

negatives and where he did this was fairly modestly done and usually at the very bottom edge. That Alexander Inglis recycled Burns negatives is not surprising because it provided an extensive stock of popular tourist photographs of townscapes and landscapes in various formats.

Alexander Inglis and his son Francis continued to reproduce these images for many decades. Alexander Inglis produced predominantly albumen prints from Burns' negatives, including stereo cards, cabinet prints and view scraps. It was a lucrative resource, but the excellence of Burns' images was also significant. The quality of Burns photographs, which Alexander Inglis claimed as his own, would have helped to establish his reputation.

However, even using Burns' negatives did not mean that Alexander Inglis made prints as fine as Burns himself. For a view of *The Scott Monument with the Dr David Livingstone Statue*, figure 2, Burns has employed combination printing with a second negative to produce detail in the sky. Whereas for a cabinet card Alexander Inglis has only used the single negative with a burned out sky, figure 3. There is no doubt that it is the same image as the two men in bowler hats at the base of the Dr David Livingstone statue are the same. The Livingstone statue is likely to be the reason for Burns making the image as it was erected in 1876 and the sculptor was Amelia Paton-Hill (1820-1904), the widow of David Octavius Hill.

Improvement Trust

It was not only Burns' tourist images that Alexander Inglis recycled and he did not only produce albumen prints. Burns made a significant series of photographs



Figure 2. *The Scott Monument with the Dr David Livingstone Statue*, Archibald Burns combination albumen print, c.1876, author.



Figure 3. *The Scott Monument with the Dr David Livingstone Statue*, Alexander Inglis albumen print from Archibald Burns negative, c.1880s, author.

for the Edinburgh Improvement Trust in 1870 of an area to be demolished. To some extent it echoed the photographs of Glasgow closes by Thomas Annan but not as extensive. The area that Burns photographed was fairly small and between Edinburgh University and the Cowgate and was an area that Burns knew well and had photographed before. He produced twenty-four photographs documenting the area after the

occupants had moved out and demolition had begun. The demolition began on 11 November 1870 and the photographs were displayed on 9 December 1870. Despite the limited time and poor light of winter, Burns managed to record the buildings that were fast disappearing but also imbue his images with the history and atmosphere of the area.

Burns did not include his initials on the glass

Figure 4. *Symson the Printer's House, Cowgate*, platinum print with Alexander Inglis initials from Archibald Burns negative, PGP EPS 583, National Galleries of Scotland.



Figure 5. Engraving of *Symson the Printer's House, Cowgate*, in James Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, credited to an Alexander Inglis photograph, 1882, author.



negatives of the Improvement Trust photographs but when Alexander Inglis came to make prints from some of these negatives, he added a title and his distinctive monogram which is shown on the prints, figure 4. This is *Symson the Printer's House, Cowgate* and a fine example of Burns' Improvement Trust photographs. Inglis' appropriation of Burns' work was not only in the prints he made but when the image was reproduced in a publication. An engraving of this photograph was published in James Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh* in 1882, and credited to Inglis, figure 5. This appropriation of Burns' work by Inglis may be a factor in why Burns does not get the recognition he deserves.

Salt prints

Alexander Inglis usually made albumen prints from Burns' negatives and the platinum print above is likely to be later and by Francis Inglis and is reproduced here because of its quality.³ There are examples of Alexander Inglis having made salt prints from Burns' Improvement Trust negatives. I have two very poor quality salt prints of Improvement Trust photographs with Alexander Inglis initials and know of others in private collections and there is an example in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, *North College street, looking east*, figure 6. This is an interesting print for another reason because it is marked with a cross and the number '5' and written on the back is 'I served my apprenticeship in shop marked X'. It is not known who wrote this but according to the Edinburgh Post Office Directory, this was the premises of 'McIntosh, James, bookseller' who had been there from at least 1856-7.

The making of salt prints was unusual as it was an earlier process largely replaced by albumen but Burns himself made salt prints from his collodion negatives of his Improvement Trust photographs. There is a full set of salt prints of Burns' Improvement Trust photographs in the National Library of Scotland which are remarkably well preserved with tone and detail and there are further examples in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.⁴ It has been said:

'They resemble calotypes, the earlier process used by Hill and Adamson, and may have been given an "old fashioned" appearance and nostalgic appeal, appropriate to the subject. They may also be an intentional homage to the earlier photographers...'⁵

Alexander Inglis' motivation in making salt prints may have been similar to that suggested for Burns but there could also have been commercial reasons, and Inglis went to some lengths to replicate earlier salt prints. There is a letter to him from Professor George Chrystal (1851-1911) of the University of Edinburgh dated 26 January 1892 about the calotype process that includes details about making salt or calotype prints. There are references such as the 'calotype prints we were looking at' and 'the rich tones of the old prints may lie partly in the weakness of the fixing bath used'. Chrystal includes a request in his letter for



Figure 6. *North College Street, looking east*, salt print with Alexander Inglis initials from Archibald Burns negative, PGP R 2204 34, National Galleries of Scotland.

Alexander Inglis to forward it to 'J Craig Annan...when you are done with it' which could indicate a wider collaboration.⁶

Alexander Inglis' study of the salt print process may not have been exclusively for recycling Burns' negatives. There were Hill and Adamson calotype negatives at Rock House and Inglis could have recycled some of these. In the Scottish National Portrait Gallery several salt prints of a Hill and Adamson image are attributed to Alexander Inglis and these are all of Rev Dr Henry Duncan, (1774-1846), Free Church minister and founder of savings banks. Three of these; PGP HA 766, PGP HA 768 and PGP HA 776, have Alexander Inglis' blind-stamp on the mount card and PGP HA 774 is similar cardstock and although it has been trimmed, what looks like the edge of the blind-stamp can just be seen.⁷ For the purposes of this article I am inclined to discount these prints. This is because they may not be recycled from a Hill and Adamson calotype negative and could be by Francis Inglis from a copy glass negative, as I mention below.

In major collections of Hill and Adamson photographs and particularly those at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and Special Collections Department at the University of Glasgow Library, there are many prints described as 'later salt print' where the maker is not known. It is possible that some of these could be by any of the occupiers of Rock House after Hill and Adamson, particularly Alexander and Francis Inglis but even Archibald Burns.

Francis Caird Inglis

Alexander Inglis died on 20 May 1904 aged 55 and was succeeded by his son Francis who continued the photographic business at Rock House until his death on 20 September 1940. Francis carried on the practice of printing from the negatives by previous occupants of Rock House. In the 1920s he was advertising photographs of 'Old Edinburgh Closes' and still making use of Burns' negatives.⁸ It is more clearly known that Francis made extensive use of Hill and Adamson negatives and prints. He had a large personal



Figure 7. Rev Dr Henry Duncan by Hill and Adamson, later silver gelatine glass negative by Francis Inglis, Glass Negative 8/3A, Special Collections Department University of Glasgow Library.

collection on his death which he is likely to have added to during his lifetime and he may also have been able to borrow from other collectors. Francis Inglis collection was acquired after his death by the librarian and collector Robert Dougan (1904-1999) who subsequently sold it and is now in the Special Collections Department of the University of Glasgow. As well as about one thousand original Hill and Adamson calotype negatives and prints, there are nearly four hundred carbon prints made by Francis Inglis from Hill and Adamson calotype negatives and over three hundred glass negatives almost all copies of Hill and Adamson prints. Francis Inglis production of prints by Hill and Adamson appears to have been extensive. From the collection at the University of Glasgow it would appear that these were predominantly carbon prints, although there are also examples of silver prints. The only salt print traced so far from a Hill and Adamson calotype negative and attributed to Francis Inglis is in the Princeton University Art Museum and is *The High Street, Edinburgh, with John Knox's House*.⁹ It is a print from calotype negative HA0457 in the Special Collections Department, University of Glasgow Library which would have been in Inglis ownership before being bought by Robert Dougan from Inglis' widow and sold to the University.

Francis Inglis also made Hill and Adamson prints from his copy glass negatives. The identified examples in the University of Glasgow Library are carbon prints but it is possible that the salt prints attributed to



Figure 8. Rev Dr Henry Duncan by Hill and Adamson, later salt print attributed to Alexander Inglis, PGP HA 766, National Galleries of Scotland.

Alexander Inglis in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, mentioned about, could be from a glass negative as there is a matching negative, Glass Negative 8/3A. Blemishes and scratches on this negative, figure 7, appear to be replicated on all the prints attributed to Alexander Inglis, as shown in print PGP HA 766, figure 8. The print has been trimmed but the dimension correspond to the whole plate glass negative although further analytic work is needed to confirm the exact match. It is a digital positive from the negative that is shown for ease of reference.

There is a reference that Inglis may have produced other salt prints. The noted Scottish sculptor, Sir James Pittendrigh Macgillivray (1856-1938) wrote in a talk about the photography of Hill and Adamson to the Royal Photographic Society, published in 1930, that 'I have had some two hundred prints taken from the original negatives recently'.¹⁰ It is not stated if these copies were salt prints but that could be the inference as Macgillivray is likely to have wanted his prints to look like the originals. It is unlikely that these prints were made by anyone other than Francis Inglis. It is known that Inglis did commercial photography for Pittendrigh Macgillivray and in particular produced prints of his sculptures, but there are references to a closer association.¹¹ Inglis may also have collaborated with Macgillivray on his paper to the Royal Photographic Society because the original title was 'D O Hill and His Work' which was the same as an earlier article by Inglis.¹²

Conclusion

The extent of the Rock House recycling of negatives is difficult to quantify from the fragments of information currently available but it is likely to have been considerable and over a prolonged period. There would have been commercial reasons but there may also have been something more significant. The continued use of the negatives links and bonds the photographers and shows that the later photographers recognised and appreciated and even celebrated the work of the earlier photographers.

References

- ¹ *The Scotsman*, 8 and 10 May 1880, pages 9 and 2 respectively.
- ² John Nicol, 'Notes from the North', *The British Journal of Photography*, 17 December 1875, p. 607. I am grateful to Dr Sara Stevenson for drawing this to my attention.
- ³ On the back of PGP EPS 583 is written 'F C Inglis'.
- ⁴ National Library of Scotland, Phot.la.2. and Scottish National Portrait Gallery PGP R 214-6, PGP R 812-3 and PGP R 2204 4 31-33 and 36-37.
- ⁵ Julie Lawson, *Masterpieces of Photography from the Riddell Collection*, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 1986,
- pages 117-8
- ⁶ Private collection and I am very grateful to Dr Sara Stevenson for providing a copy of this letter.
- ⁷ I am grateful to Anne M Lyden, Chief Curator, Photography, National Galleries of Scotland, for arranging access to see these and other prints.
- ⁸ John Reid, *The New Illustrated Guide to Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, Andrew Elliot, no date but after 1920, no page number.
- ⁹ <https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/12604> last accessed 25 April 2022.
- ¹⁰ Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 'The Art of Photography', *The Photographic Journal*, Vol LXX, January 1930, page 10.
- ¹¹ There are copies of letters from Sir James Pittendrigh Macgillivray to Francis Caird Inglis and reference to Inglis in other correspondence in University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1607 and MS Gen 1608.
- ¹² Francis Caird Inglis, 'D. O. Hill RSA and His Work', *Photographic Journal of America*, 52, Number 1, January 1915, pages 3-6 and 17-24 (Illustrations).

Reviews



Dallmeyer - Grubb - Ross - Taylor & Hobson - Horne, Thornthwaite & Wood. Photographic lenses in 19th century Great Britain and Ireland

Corrado d'Agostini and Ivan Rose NAJS, 2021

ISBN: 978-88-940997-8-2

£67 (approx). 372 pages, hardcovers, available from eBay

This is one of a series of three similarly produced books describing lenses from Germany and Austria, France, and this one looking at Britain and Ireland.

The authors have selected four of the principal British lens manufacturers from the nineteenth century into the twentieth,

and provide a written history and commentary on their lens production, and dates and addresses of their manufacturing premises. The main chapter for each is a catalogue of their lenses, accompanied by a written text and extensive illustrations of the different models. These

are supported by extracts from contemporary trade catalogues, patents and conclude with serial number information. There are extensive footnotes.

The concluding chapter provides an A to Z of smaller British lenses manufacturers. As the author of the chapter notes, it brings together the best available data. The recently published piece on Thomas Slater (*The PhotoHistorian* no. 188 / Winter 2020, p. 9-10) now extends this further.

The history and role of photographic optics

remains an under researched area and this book is a significant and welcome addition to the literature. It brings together disparate information and adds to it. It is not the definitive history and there is clearly much more research needed on the opticians involved in photography, their products and the technical aspects of their lenses.

For now this volume is a remarkable and important book and is likely to remain so for a long time. Similarly, the companion volumes will be important for their respective national histories, but combined the three will help bring a new understanding to photographic optics.





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