

ST HELENA LACE & NEEDLEWORK*

By Ian Bruce

Handmade lace was introduced to St Helena on three separate occasions. Given the explosion in demand for lace during the early and mid-Victorian period, its first appearance on the island in the 1820s was the greatest opportunity missed. Clara George (née Rich), probably born into slavery about 1784, but later emancipated, taught her own children and then began to also instruct her neighbours' children. This private initiative led to the creation of a new school in Jamestown. By 1818, "Clara's School" was flourishing with 85 pupils, mainly from the freed slave population. In addition to teaching children how to read and write, girls were instructed in the skill of lacemaking. Largely driven by fashion, lace was increasingly used in Britain and Europe to enhance clothes and house furnishing. By 1849 a fashion magazine could claim: "Nothing can equal the rage for lace at the present moment, no costume being considered perfect unless it is accompanied by [...] lace". Clara George died in 1859 and successive island governors came and went, but none saw any benefit to the idea of lace becoming an island craft. This is in sharp contrast to Madeira, where the skill was first introduced in the 1840s, several decades after St Helena, and where lacemaking continues as an island craft to the present day.¹

Emily Louise Warren was responsible for the second introduction of lacemaking to the island and this time two governors actively encouraged the teaching of the craft. She arrived on the island in 1886, initially to work as a teacher at the girls' school and then in 1887 as its head. She resigned the following year because her request to change her terms of employment was refused. She married Thomas Jackson (pharmacist and general merchant) in 1889 and became interested in lacemaking on a return visit to England in 1897 where she saw examples of Madagascar lace. Struck by the possibilities of a similar island industry at St Helena, she obtained a lace pillow and bobbins from an elderly worker in Buckingham, but did not know how to set about the work:²

Even then without instructions the lace-making was at a standstill - I tried vainly to interest many in the Island until I mentioned the matter to Mrs Arthur, who took a great interest in my scheme and readily entered into work to discover the different stitches of lace; we toiled on with varying success until she got a book on Torchon lacemaking; this unravelled the difficulty, and we were able to set to work almost immediately to teach others.³

In 1898, Governor Sterndale reported that Mrs Jackson and Mrs Arthur (the latter left St Helena the following year) were teaching a class of 20 girls "and the progress made is astonishing; many of the pupils are young children, and they all exhibit great keenness and dexterity in their work". Emily Jackson also put the boys to work making bobbins.⁴ An Industrial Exhibition held in 1900 featured examples of lace, together with other island products such as wood carvings made by the newly arrived Boer prisoners.

Lacemaking probably continued to be taught, although no reference to lacemaking has been found in official reports over the next six years. By that time, Governor Henry Lionel Gallwey was in charge. In 1906, the War Office withdrew the garrison, the island's last source of income, and the Colonial Office belatedly began to investigate what industries could be established. An economist examined many possibilities, but not lace. The creation of a structured lacemaking school for the island resulted from a private initiative by Bishop Holbech. His new St Helena Lacemaking Association formed links with the League of Empire, a London-based organisation dedicated to the extension of education throughout British territories. The teaching of lacemaking at St Helena precisely fitted the League's educational remit. The new Association hoped that the acquisition of lacemaking skills would provide

* This was published in November 2018 and is an updated version of the following paper: Ian Bruce, 'St Helena Lace and Needleworking', *Wirebird: The Journal of the Friends of St Helena* 47 (2018): 4-14.

island women with an alternative source of income than taking in washing, working as house servants, cooks, child keepers, etc. Holbech served as president and his committee comprised two honorary treasurers (both men) and a group of ladies to act as managers. In London, the League of Empire canvassed the Colonial Office to fund the cost of teaching St Helenian women. This resulted in a grant of £170 to cover the expenses of an expert for six months and a loan of £300 to cover initial working costs provided the League acted as the island's agent in Britain. The League would provide all necessary materials to start the enterprise, a provision also being made for the teaching of spinning, weaving and basket making. In these early days, Bishop Holbech's enterprise was greatly helped by the League, but in the long term, its role as the island's sole sales agent proved to be fatal.⁵

The grant paid the cost of Alice Penderel Moody, a lace expert and teacher, who travelled to the island with materials, six spinning wheels and a loom where, "with help from friends of the governor", she taught some 50 women from August 1907.⁶ Bishop Holbech's Lacemaking Association was short-lived, the island government taking over the enterprise in July 1908, when it was renamed the Government Lace School. The precise issues that led to this are not known, although Gallwey implied the Association suffered conflicts of administration or leadership – these problems may be why Alice Moody left after only six months service:

The Association had great difficulties to contend with, and it was quite plain that such difficulties could not be satisfactorily overcome by a body whose affairs were managed by a committee. Management by a committee has many drawbacks, even if the members thereof are all experts, which they did not claim to be in this instance. Several heads are not necessarily better than one. There was a general consensus of opinion that the only hope of the industry becoming a possible success lay in Government control. Such control came into force on the 1st July of the year under review by the establishment of the Government Lace School in Jamestown.⁷

The Government Lace School,

ISLAND OF ST. HELENA.

*Instituted to provide Employment for the Women and Girls
of the Historic Island.*

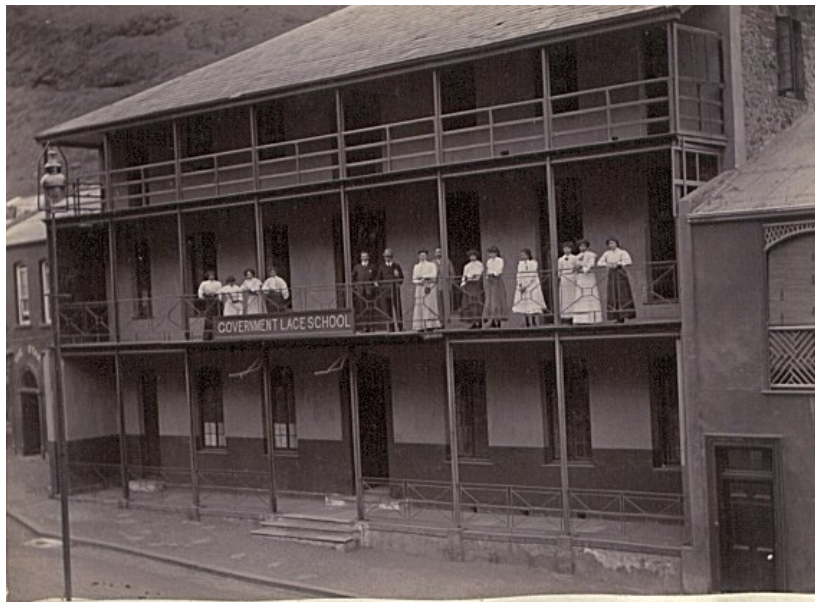
Write to the Hon. Secretary of the School, Island of St. Helena, for
detailed list of Specialities, including "Moonflower" designs in Lace, Needlework,
and Embroidery.

Alice Moody retained her links to the island by including the above advertisement in one of her instruction books published in 1909.⁸ She was replaced by Helen Girdwood in April 1908, who expanded the operations and managed the school for the next eight years funded by an annual £120 grant from the Colonial Office. The School's profits were calculated after deduction of this cost. Two senior island civil servants also offered their services to the new Lace School gratis – Leslie Tucker (senior school headmaster) became honorary secretary and Gerard Liddy (assistant colonial surgeon) its honorary treasurer. Gallwey was ever patronising about St Helenians and in one of his early reports discussed the Lace School's likely rate of progress in terms of what appears to have been his pet theory - that the lethargy he perceived in the islanders was genetically predisposed:⁹

The process must necessarily be slow when dealing with people who are far from being energetic. To attain success it is essential that the workers, and more especially their parents should look upon the industry as one that can only succeed provided sufficient and regular workers are available to execute punctually all orders received, instead of looking upon the Lace School as a place where money can be earned according as the whim may seize them to work. This latter view is the one taken by many of the parents of the workers, not in many cases by the workers themselves, and can only serve to sadly handicap the rising generation in their efforts to make the industry a success. The ignorance of the parents referred to is really a

matter of heredity. They have lived their whole lives in a very confined area, and have had no opportunity of seeing the outside world. The consequence is, having no other standard, they measure themselves by themselves, and compare themselves with themselves. Is it any wonder that their minds should be cramped? The opportunity to expand their ideas has never come to them. The success of the lace industry lies with the better-educated rising generation. In fact, some of the most efficient and intelligent workers in the Lace School are to be found among girls who have not yet left school. The superior intelligence of these girls and their brothers over the older generation is a promising factor in the future history of the Island.¹⁰

It was probably coincident with Gallwey's takeover that the Government School began to operate from the first floor of the old Officer's Mess building, vacated when the garrison was withdrawn. The image below dates from 1908 and shows Gallwey on this floor surrounded by teachers and pupils.¹¹



Government Lace School, 1908

As part of his efforts to develop a range of exports, the philanthropist Alfred Mosely was a strong supporter of the new Lace School presenting it with all its furniture and paying for sunblinds. In 1910 and 1911 Mosely also paid the cost of lace-making classes in country schools.



Lace-making taught in Jamestown and the country

In 1910, the League of Empire's founder, Mrs Ord Marshall, consulted a lace expert who advised that the island's lace workmanship and material were probably amongst the best to be found in London, but this advantage was lost because the patterns were similar to cheaper and lower quality European products. This led to a recommendation that the lace should in future be made by the most skilled women to provide the same high quality but with distinctively different patterns such as Italian lace.¹² Trainees should make less elaborate lace in greater volume for sale at lower prices. From Governor Gallwey down, huge optimism was prevalent about the prospects of the lace industry and it was with pride that the school was the centrepiece of the Duke of Connaught's visit in October 1910, the School being bedecked with flags and flowers.



Lace School October 1910

Governor Gallwey's greatest asset in backing the lace and other new industries was his unbounded enthusiasm, but unfortunately, his plans and expectations were sometimes unrealistic. In the case of lacemaking, he seems to have been blind to the challenges of selling the product into a market that

was becoming increasingly difficult. The halcyon days of hand-made lace had long gone, demand falling into a decline after the 1870s. This partly reflected changes in fashion, improvements in the quality of low-cost machine lace and the impact of cheap imports. In Britain, St Helena's imported lace was in competition against high quality handmade Belgian lace made in sweatshop conditions. The rivalry also came from other countries, Alice Moody calling for a boycott of handmade Chinese lace which was being sold in Britain more cheaply even than machine lace. The scale of the collapse of Britain's own lace industry is clearly shown from census returns, the total number of females employed in the handmade pillow lace industry falling from 32,819 in 1851 to only 1,825 by 1911.¹³

To successfully sell St Helena lace in these market conditions required skilled and dedicated agents. Instead, the League of Empire formed a St Helena sub-committee staffed by a group of aristocratic ladies such as Countess Bathurst, Lady Amptill and Mrs Lewis Harcourt. They undoubtedly did their best to sell St Helena lace, but they lacked the skills needed to successfully penetrate a difficult and highly competitive market. They were also part-timers, only selling St Helena lace at exhibitions once every six months. These were usually at London venues such as Caxton Hall, Crystal Palace or Bathurst House where it was sold alongside other products from the empire. For five years, this was the limit of their effort, all other sales channels being ignored. Finally, in March 1911, a single London retailer, Debenham and Freebody of Wigmore Street, was appointed to sell the lace. As an entirely amateur enterprise, perhaps there was some reluctance to become too involved with "trade". Having belatedly introduced a professional retailer, the League decided to cut their own sales to a single exhibition a year. That the Lace School regularly built up excessive stocks of unsold product, sometimes running out of money to pay its workers, is entirely understandable. Whilst Gallwey's optimistic reports to London mentioned these cash flow difficulties, he took no remedial action such as appealing to the Colonial Office for the appointment of competent sales agents in place of the League of Empire or by widening sales beyond a few central London venues to the rest of Britain or to other countries such as the USA and South Africa.¹⁴



Pupils at rear of the Post Office, circa 1910

Gallwey's term of office ended in September 1911 and his successor, Captain Harry Edward Spiller Cordeaux took a much harder approach and declining interest in the industry. It is difficult to measure at this distance in time how far this reflected disinclination by the military minds that controlled St Helena before and during the war to prioritise lace and needlework over more manly matters. The first sign of a change came with the decision that the Lace School would no longer teach beginners. The "school" was henceforth to be a lacemaking production centre, not a place where the skill was taught. It was optimistically hoped that trained girls would pass on their knowledge to newcomers such as younger sisters. This new policy was quickly undermined by an overall haemorrhage in the number of highly skilled girls, many of whom emigrated to South Africa to earn better money as domestics. For example, 122 girls left in 1911 (only 27 in 1910), 54 working as domestic servants. The poor earnings

available from lacework, also experienced in Britain and Europe, led to a continuation of this trend with the number of full-time lace worker numbers falling from 50 to 30 during 1911-1912. The decline for embroiderers from 24 to 20 was less dramatic and, for the first time, it was acknowledged that St Helenian women were probably more talented at needlework than lacemaking. Indeed, it was foreseen that embroidery might become as important an export as lace. The number of full-time workers could also have been affected by Helen Girdwood's high standards as she dropped "those who by carelessness and slovenliness were any cost to the school".¹⁵

The School was by now suffering acute cash flow problems so the disposal of unsold items became a priority. In 1912, Helen Girdwood took her leave in South Africa where she had family contacts and sold much of this stock. Governor Cordeaux reported that "there appear to be good prospects of obtaining a profitable trade connection in South Africa" but failed to follow up this thought by appointing a permanent sales agent in that country. Indeed, some St Helenian women showed greater initiative by privately selling their lace to South Africa and America. Cordeaux also wrote: "The industry has still been suffering from the want of a sound and permanent trade connection, which alone can give it the stability it needs". At last, the inadequacies of the existing arrangements were being acknowledged, but then Cordeaux did absolutely nothing about the problem, the League of Empire continuing to act as the sole agent and sales being to a few central London venues. He certainly seems to have known what actions were needed to dig the industry out of its hole, but either lacked the interest or was insufficiently engaged to take the necessary actions.¹⁶



St Helena Lace

The Lace School took another backwards step in 1913 when Cordeaux reported, almost as an aside, that "a residential centre from which all branches of the School's work can be attended to" had been opened. This was probably an oblique reference to the School's ejection from the first floor of the Officer's Mess building. The location of this "residential centre" is not known. The year of this relocation may also date the move of the post office from the Castle to its present location. Postal operations were initially confined to the ground floor whereas today it operates from all three floors.¹⁷

The League of Empire held their annual exhibition of St Helena lace and embroidery at Bathurst House in July 1914. War was declared the following month and the League immediately changed its focus from a purely educational focus to one of imparting a strong sense of loyalty to the Empire by its citizens, presumably to encourage voluntary enlistment into the military forces. St Helena lace was irrelevant to this and the League immediately ceased all involvement with the industry. Cordeaux

claimed that “[.] the European War seriously affected the saleability of the School’s work, especially so far as London sales were concerned”, but this cannot have been true lace continued to be sold throughout the war. A crude measure of the lace trade during the four-year period 1914-18 can be made from a head count of the number of advertisements including the word “lace”, and this has been found to be quite similar to the number during the pre-war period 1910-14.¹⁸ Indeed, there may have been greater demand for St Helena hand lace given that the main production areas in Belgium and Northern France were occupied by Germany during the war. The true position was that the island no longer had a sales agent in Britain and that the island government took no action in appointing a replacement. Instead, Cordeaux simply closed the School in the mid-1915, sending Helen Girdwood to tour South Africa and sell off most, maybe all, the unsold stocks. She seems to have found this easy to do, Cordeaux commenting that “the success of the tour exceeded all expectations.”¹⁹

Cordeaux left the island in March 1917 on a 31-month sick leave, perhaps his illness explaining his inadequate response to the loss of the lace industry’s only sales agent. William Dixon was appointed the acting governor and one of his first tasks was to write a review of 1916. He was very vague about the lace industry, for the first time failing to quote any output figures, merely stating that the cash balance in hand was £70 with about £80 due from exports to South Africa and £28 from island sales. Although not very illuminating, these figures do at least suggest that both stocks and output levels were exceptionally low. It is therefore suspected that the decision to close the School in 1915 was never reversed. A small amount of lace was probably now only made in workers’ homes. The failure to open any channel of sale in either Britain or elsewhere led to the industry’s strangulation and the end result was inevitable. Dixon finished his report on the industry as follows:

Miss Girdwood, manageress of the Government Lace School for nearly nine years, felt obliged, through constant strain of work and anxiety which had told seriously on her health, to resign her position towards the end of the year. In view of the general need for economy, therefore, it was decided to accept Miss Girdwood’s resignation, suspend the annual grant of £120 from the Imperial Treasury, and to close the Lace School for one year or more. At the expiry of this period it is possible that a judgment may be formed as to the ability and willingness of women and girls who have been trained in the school to carry on the industry without its supervision and encouragement. If, however, as is more than probable, it is found that the industry is in need of further stimulus, the policy of re-opening the school can be considered.²⁰

After 1916, the official reports by Dixon and Cordeaux, the latter returning in 1919, included a range of excuses why the lace school should not reopen such as a shortage of thread and the fall in the number of ships arriving at the island during the war. On this last point, it should be noted that increasing volumes of flax were exported during the war, this being of lower value and taking far more cargo space than lace or embroidery. It was further suggested that: “There was considerably more money about than usual, and therefore there was not the inducement or necessity to turn to lace-making for a living”.²¹ This picture of affluence is astonishing because other sections of the very same government report described the poverty of low-wage households during periods of food shortage and rampant increases in the price of essential foods. Dixon also wrote in 1918 that “Lace-making by the islanders will never progress without expert supervision by a non-permanent resident”, but having made this suggestion he failed to follow his own advice. The Lace School had probably been closed nearly five years when in 1920 the island’s government reported, probably with relief, that it could wash its hands of the industry because the private sector was prepared to sell lace from the island, albeit it would be reliant on the diminishing number of ship passengers arriving there:

“Messrs. Solomon established a lace depot in Jamestown, and at a later date a lady opened a lace stall there. In view of these efforts to conduct the industry by private enterprise, which were considered a step in the right direction, the Government Lace School has not reopened”.

Efforts to establish a lace industry at St Helena were restricted by the inadequacy of its sales agent, the League of Empire. It was ultimately undone because the island government led by governor

Cordeaux was insufficiently engaged to replace the League when war broke out. It seems a legitimate question to ask whether the School's closure was really such a terrible loss given that the lace and embroidery makers would earn so little for their efforts, probably not much more than if the women had worked in the flax fields. The late Cathy Hopkins (representing the Arts and Crafts Association) published a series of interviews with several generations of St Helenian ladies who had been taught in the early 1940's (in today's Public Library building) and in the late 1970s at various island locations at the instigation of the Home Industries Office.²² These conversations not only drew attention to the hard lives several had experienced but also to the crucial difference their sales made to household incomes when confined at home raising children.²³ What also came out from the interviews is that the money they earned was often less important than the pleasure they gained from creating their art.

Acknowledgements: Grateful thanks are given to Chris Hillman for access to his St Helena genealogical database, to the Museum of St Helena and the National Archives for permission to use their images, to Colin Fox for accessing information at the Bodleian Library and to Barbara George for her helpful comments about an early proof.

¹ **Clara's School:** Dorothy Evans, *Schooling in the South Atlantic Islands, 1661-1992* (Oswestry: Anthony Nelson, 1994), 86–87. **Fashion for Lace:** *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons*, vol. XXVI (London, February 1849), 22.

Madeira Lace: Rodney Bolt, *Madeira and Porto Santo* (New Holland Publishers, 2007), 34.

² **Emily Louisa Warren** was born at Paignton, Devon, on 28 December 1862, the fourth of twelve children born to William Ellis and Eliza Warren née Jones. Her parents were teachers at Paignton schools in the 1871 and 1881 censuses, as in the latter were Emily, her sister Annie and her brother Peter [Ancestry web site]. She arrived at St Helena in 1886, initially to work as a teacher at the girls' school and then in 1887 as its head but resigned the following year because her request to change the terms of employment was refused [Evans, *Schooling in the South Atlantic Islands, 1661-1992*, 86–87.]. She stated she was 25 (actually 27) when she married Thomas Jackson (49, widower, merchant) on 11 December 1889 at St John's Church. She was widowed in 1918, her husband (age 78) being buried at St Paul's on 4 April 1918. She moved to Cape Town and died in 1923, being buried with her sister Elizabeth at Woltemade/Maitland Cemetery, Voortrekker Road, Cape Town. Her headstone is inscribed "In / Loving Memory / of / Emily / Louise Jackson / née Warren / from St Helena / Born at Paignton, England / Dec 28 1862 / Died at Sea Point [a district of Cape Town] / Jan 20 1923". URL: <http://tinyurl.com/hcchxd8>. Her published biographical details have been found to be largely accurate [Philip Gosse, *St Helena 1502-1938* (Oswestry: Anthony Nelson, 1938), 429–31.]

³ **Mrs Arthur:** Gosse states that Emily Jackson was assisted by Mrs McArthur, the wife of the police sergeant [Gosse, *St Helena 1502-1938*, 430.] This is wrong, the senior policeman in the period 1896-1901 being W. C. Arthur [*St Helena: Almanack and Annual Register*, 1913, 53.]. **Torchon**, sometimes known as Beggar's lace, is made on a grid with lines of holes at 45° to the vertical with lines crossing at right angles. It is therefore mainly used to make geometric designs of squares and rectangles. '1898 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 265' (London: Colonial Office, 1899), 8.

⁴ Evans, *Schooling in the South Atlantic Islands, 1661-1992*, 86.

⁵ **Review of St Helena industries:** 'National Archives, CO 879/93/9: Notes on the Situation Arising out of the Withdrawal of the Garrison, African No 856' (Colonial Office, October 1906). **League of Empire:** Founded in 1901 by Mrs Ord Marshall, this was originally called the Children of the Empire, with the objective of promoting Imperial education and loyalty to the British Empire in schools [John Griffiths, 'The Branch Life of Empire: Imperial Loyalty Leagues in Antipodean Cities', *Britain and the World* 7, no. 1 (26 February 2014): 63; Matthew Hendley, *Organized Patriotism and the Crucible of War: Popular Imperialism in Britain, 1914-1932* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).]. **Bishop Holbech:** Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands, 1502-1991*. (Oswestry: Anthony Nelson, 1992), 64. **Colonial Grants:** 'St Helena and the Lace Industry', *The Times*, 23 November 1907, 3. '1907 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 560' (London: Colonial Office, 1908), 7, 16-17. Gosse incorrectly stated that Governor Gallwey obtained this grant, becoming so interested in the lace industry that "he got into touch with the home government for a grant. This was delayed for a year or so however." [Gosse, *St Helena 1502-1938*, 430.]

⁶ 'The League of the Empire, St Helena', *The Times*, 20 August 1907, 2. Alice Mary Penderel Moody was born circa 1868/9 in Malta to the Rev. James Leith Moody and Mary Longlands, who married in 1863 in Winchester, Hampshire. After her return from St Helena, she worked from 54 Sloane Square in London as the Principal of the Revival Pillow Lace School, with courses for teachers and new pupils. Probate records show she died at St Albans in 1959 and the registration of her death stated she was aged 91.

⁷ '1908 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 597' (London: Colonial Office, 1909), 13.

⁸ A. Moody, *Devon Pillow Lace: Its History and How to Make It* (S.I.): Cassell, 1907); A. Penderel Moody, *Lacemaking and Collecting: An Elementary Handbook* (London: Cassell & Co, 1909). URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lxyupzg>.

⁹ **Helen Ferguson Girdwood:** The Ancestry web site shows she was born in Leigh, Midlothian, on 15 May 1863, the eldest of three children of William and Mary Girdwood. She probably visited St Helena four years before working for the Lacemaking Association, arriving in April 1904 on Guildford Castle sailing from Durban to Southampton and accompanied by her father and sister. Her main family ties seem to have been in South Africa, her father marrying a second time there and having a further ten children. Her death on 19 July 1948 in Durban has also been recorded on this web site. **St Helena Lace School Organisation:** '1907 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 560'; '1909 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 638' (London: Colonial Office, 1910). **Gallwey's Genetic Theory:** Gallwey indulged himself in expounding the same

theory during a speech made in London in 1910 [Ian Bruce, 'The First Dozen Years', *Wirebird: The Journal of the Friends of St Helena* 45 (2016): 9.

¹⁰ '1908 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 597', 15.

¹¹ National Archives, Kew, URL: <http://tinyurl.com/zlb563n>.

¹² Italy has a long tradition of bobbin lacemaking, and Milanese-style lace was popular from the late 17th century. However, there were few innovations and a revival of interest in Italian lace only came at the end of the 19th century with the opening of schools in northern Italy, particularly from Cantu where Rosaline (rose point) braid lace with a distinctive floral style was developed [Pat Earnshaw, *A Dictionary of Lace* (Courier Corporation, 1999), 147.

¹³ Geoffrey F. R. Spenceley, 'The English Pillow Lace Industry: A Study of a Rural Industry in Competition during the Nineteenth Century.' (Hull University, 1974). URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lo7hap7>. **Chinese Lace:** Earnshaw, *A Dictionary of Lace*, 32. URL: <http://tinyurl.com/jwsovmj>. **Collapse of British lace industry:** Spenceley, 'The English Pillow Lace Industry: A Study of a Rural Industry in Competition during the Nineteenth Century.', 177; 'Honiton Lace', *The Times*, 17 September 1888, 13.

¹⁴ **St Helena sub-committee:** Hendley, *Organized Patriotism and the Crucible of War*, 100. **Appointment of Debenham & Freebody:** 'The St Helena Lace School', *The Times*, 13 March 1911, 7. **Reduction in number of exhibitions:** 'St Helena Lace', *The Times*, 5 July 1912, 8.

¹⁵ **The loss of skilled workers** through emigration was a continuing problem for the School, running at an overall level of 70-95 emigrants per annum in the period 1912-14. However, the administration that followed Gallwey did not keep precise records of how many of these worked at the Government Lace School. **Lace work numbers:** In addition to the full-time workers at the Lace School in 1912, product was also made by another 50 part-time women and children. It is not possible to estimate the number of full-time and part-time workers thereafter from the annual reports to the Colonial Office submitted thereafter by governor Cordeaux or acting governor Dixon. **Lace School Standards:** '1911 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 714' (London: Colonial Office, 1912), 7-10.

¹⁶ **South African Exports:** '1912 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 756' (London: Colonial Office, 1913), 13. **Private Exports:** '1914 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 847' (London: Colonial Office, 1915), 11.

¹⁷ The first floor of this building, where the School operated, was converted to living quarters. This is known because in early 1915 the author's grandfather (island postmaster) was required to move his family there from quarters at the Officer's Barracks (today's Pilling School) when the garrison returned at the start of the war. It is also possible that Walter Gardner moved into the top floor of the building around this date ['St Helena Connections Discovered', *St Helena Connection*, no. 7 (2009): 5.]

¹⁸ Based on a search on the British Library website <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>.

¹⁹ **League of Empire's last sales:** *Gloucestershire Echo*, 9 July 1914, 5. **Aims of League of Empire during WW1:** Hendley, *Organized Patriotism and the Crucible of War*, 67-68. **Claimed saleability of lace:** '1915 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 896' (London: Colonial Office, 1916), 9.

²⁰ '1916 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 933' (London: Colonial Office, 1917), 8.

²¹ **Reasons quoted for ending of lacemaking:** '1918 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 1010' (London: Colonial Office, 1919), 6.

²² Trevor Hearl Papers, Shelfmark: MSS. Atl. s. 23 / 55, File 5: Papers relating to the wool industry on St. Helena (also the cotton, silk and lace industries).

²³ Cathy Hopkins, 'Glimpses of a Fascinating Past, Parts 1-6', *St Helena Herald*, 7 May 2008, 10-11; 12 March 2010, 12-13; 26 March 2010, 14; 16 April 2010, 9; 28 May 2010, 11; 25 June 2010, 12-13.