

## **FROM MADRAS TO SURBITON. ALEXANDER RAPHAEL, UNBEATEN CHAMPION, 1775-1850.**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Alexander Raphael was born in Madras, modern-day Chennai, India, in 1775, the second child, and first-born son, of Edward Raphael Gharamiants and Maria Stephana Manuel, of Armenian heritage. He received Catholic baptism shortly after birth and there was no evidence that he was of Jewish descent or was a Jewish convert to Catholicism, as has been reported previously. He was fluent in several languages and much travelled. His father, Edward Raphael, sailed to England in 1791 and died on the voyage under mysterious circumstances. While it was reported previously that his children sailed with him, no evidence was found to support this and the exact date of their arrival in England was not discovered. In his will, made in 1791, Edward Raphael appointed Edmund Boehm, a well-connected East India agent resident in England, as one of his executors and guardians of his children. Possibly, Boehm, or Father Nicholas Pusani, a Catholic priest employed by Edward Raphael as a tutor, supervised the young Alexander Raphael and his brother John when they arrived in England.

Alexander Raphael was *“known to be a man of almost unbounded wealth”*. He was left a considerable legacy by his father, owned much property and had business interests. He was a great philanthropist who built St. Raphael’s Catholic Church in Kingston upon Thames, which opened on 1 September 1850, and a church for Catholic worship in St. Albans that later was purchased for Anglican use. He contributed funds to The Moorat-Raphael College for the education of Armenian boys and an Armenian monastery; both in Venice. He purchased the college at Prior Park, near Bath, and made it available for Catholic use at nominal rent. Furthermore, he supported numerous non-Catholic charities in England.

Between 1812 and 1850, Alexander Raphael sought to achieve public office, in particular as an MP. His involvement with Daniel O’Connell in the disallowed County Carlow election of 1835 probably was a setback to his

public career objectives. However, in 1847, aged 72, he was elected MP for St. Albans on Whig principles. He experienced anti-Catholic prejudice, which may have been detrimental to him. While he may have been exposed to anti-Semitism, especially from Ireland, because of a mistaken belief that he was Jewish or of Jewish descent, there was no evidence that this was troublesome to him.

In 1850, Alexander Raphael was appointed a Knight of the Order of St. Sylvester by Pope Pius IX. He died intestate, aged 74, on 17 November of that year at his country seat, Surbiton Hall in what was then Surrey. The Rev. Dr. John Maguire, Vicar General, administered the last rites to him. Thus, the Catholic hierarchy held Alexander Raphael in very high regard. He was buried in the crypt of St. Raphael's Church in Kingston. But earlier, at the age of 41, he had planned to be buried in the Armenian monastery church on the island of San Lazzaro in the Venetian lagoon.

The surname *Gharamiants* was derived from a Persian word meaning "unbeaten champion". The evidence indicated that overall Alexander Raphael battled for the causes that he believed in and was indeed an unbeaten champion when he died.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Father Peter Ryan's booklet to commemorate the diamond jubilee of St. Raphael's Catholic Church, Kingston upon Thames, in 1925, contained some biographical information on Alexander Raphael. In the last 22 years, four papers also with biographical information on Alexander Raphael were published, i.e., those by John Martin Corkery [1995], Sandra Coombs [2005], Amanda C. Dickie [2007 & 2008] and Anahide Pilibossian [2013].<sup>1</sup> Dickie's comprehensive work, *St. Raphael's Church: the unique legacy of Alexander Raphael, Armenian philanthropist and MP* [2008] formed a useful framework for the research. This paper examines evidence from these secondary sources, and from primary sources, on Alexander Raphael's antecedents, his life and works.

## **LINEAGE**

A copy of a translated "history and pedigree" in the archives of St. Raphael's Church, Kingston, outlined Alexander Raphael's lineage and probably this was a source for Dickie [2008]. The author of the document was Edward

Raphael, Alexander's father. It was dated 31 December 1784 and the manuscript additions suggested that the original had been in the possession of the Earls of Mexborough.<sup>2</sup> It showed that Alexander Raphael's ancestors were Armenians who moved from this small landlocked territory, at sometime before 1650, to New Julfa in the metropolis of Isphahan, Persia, now Iran. In the translated document, Edward Raphael stated that he was descended from a noble tribe "*called Kharans*" and signed himself "*Edward Raphael Kharan*" at the end of his document.

However, the Armenian Institute in London advised that the word "*Kharan*" probably was a corruption of an Armenian surname which could be transliterated as "*Gharamiants*". This was derived from a Persian word that meant "*unbeaten champion*". Alexander Raphael was known by this surname by the Armenian monastery in Venice around 1816 [see below].<sup>3</sup> However, there was no evidence that Edward Raphael was known as "*Gharamiants*" within the anglophone community in Madras and in England his children used "*Raphael*" as their surname.<sup>4</sup> Possibly, they abandoned the surname "*Gharamiants*" because it would have sounded "*too foreign*" to English ears.

According to Edward Raphael's document, his grandfather, Catchick, had before 1690, moved from New Julfa to Madras, modern-day Chennai, in India and became wealthy by trading between China, The Philippines, Bengal and elsewhere. Catchick returned to New Julfa and, after marriage, his first-born son was name Raphael Gharamiants. He was sent to Madras to advance himself by trading and later returned to New Julfa, where his wife Khanoonjan gave birth to three sons and two daughters. Their eldest son, Edward Raphael, Alexander Raphael's father, was born in about 1745.

The document recorded that, after the death of his father, Edward Raphael Gharamiants, moved with his mother and sister, Magdaline, to Pondicherry in India, where he was educated in a French school.<sup>5</sup> After the defeat of the French and the fall of Pondicherry, in a war with England, the family, which had been rich and prosperous, became poor after the loss of its house and property.<sup>6</sup> Later, he regained the family's prosperity by overseas' trading, possibly by using connections pioneered by his grandfather Catchick Gharamiants.

Edward Raphael Gharamiants married Maria Stephana, the daughter of Stephen Manuel. Records of the College of Arms in London showed that the Manuels lived in Chandernagore, Bengal. By 31 December 1784, the couple had five children **[Figure 1]**.<sup>7</sup> In order of birth, these were Anna [1771, Alexander [1775], John [1776], Anna Maria [1780] and Lewis [1784].<sup>8</sup> Anna, aged about 20, on 9 February 1791, was married to Samuel Mortish Moorat, a very wealthy Armenian merchant. Moorat, a Roman Catholic, died in 1816 and his wife, Anna Raphael, died in 1828.<sup>9</sup>

Edward Raphael Gharamiants' wife, Maria Stephana, died in 1790, aged 34 years, and was buried in the Church of Our Lady of Light Roman Catholic Church [known locally as "*Luz Church*"] in Mylapore, a district of Madras.<sup>10</sup> If she died in childbirth, it would have been the consequence of a sixth child who, because no records were found, was presumed to have died at birth or shortly afterwards.

Were the Raphaels who moved to India, "*Armenian Uniat Catholics of Jewish descent*", as stated by Dickie [2008]. The Oxford English Dictionary defined "*Uniat*" as any Christian community in Eastern Europe or the Near East that acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope in Rome but retained its own liturgy. Armenia had a claim to be the first county to adopt Christianity as its state religion in 301 A.D. However, it was not clear whether it was the original Armenian Catholic Church, today in full communion with Rome, or the original Armenian Apostolic Church, that could claim primacy.<sup>11</sup>

### **JEWISH DESCENT?**

Were the Raphaels of Jewish descent? This was the view of a printed guide to St. Raphael's Church [1992], John Martin Corkery [1995], Amanda Dickie [2008] and Patrick Geoghagan [2010].<sup>12</sup> However, none gave specific references for their views. Phillip D. Curtin [1984] reported that Edward Raphael had converted to Catholicism and this might imply that he was Jewish.<sup>13</sup> But, there were no supporting references. In his genealogical document [above], Edward Raphael Gharamiants, said nothing about this, although, without further research, Jewish descent in the very far distant past could not be dismissed.

*Lower's Dictionary of Surnames*, first published in 1860, stated that the surname "*Raphael*" was chiefly born by Jews.<sup>14</sup> It was therefore not surprising that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, people might assume that somebody with the surname "*Raphael*" was Jewish or of Jewish descent and such a belief might have been the source of later opinions. Arguably, with reference to **Figure 2**, Alexander Raphael had a facial profile that might suggest Semitic origins.

*The Encyclopaedia Judaica* [2007] indicated that Alexander Raphael had Persian-Jewish parentage, at least through his father's line, and it stated that he converted to Roman Catholicism.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, Rubenstein, Jolles and Rubenstein [2011] conjectured that Raphael's father was Jewish while his mother was a Catholic.<sup>16</sup>

Possibly, some of the later beliefs of Jewish ancestry arose because of a case of mistaken identity involving the ancestors of Alexander Raphael and those of Henry Lewis Raphael [1832-1899], a merchant banker, who had an entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. This showed that Henry Lewis Raphael was descended from Raphael Raphael, a Sephardic Jew of Portuguese-French origin who moved from Amsterdam to London in about 1787, eventually being involved in banking, stockbroking and bullion dealing.<sup>17</sup>

## **BAPTISM**

Evidence was found that Alexander Raphael and his brother John were baptized as Catholics in India shortly after birth. This originated from a legal enquiry into the title of Surbiton Hall, one of Alexander's many properties, and the one in which he died in 1850 [below]. In this enquiry there was adduced a declaration by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Mylapore that Alexander Raphael was born on 5 April 1775 and baptised on 27 April 1775, while his brother John Raphael was born on 4 July 1776 and baptised on 20 July 1776.<sup>18</sup> The evidence came *via* Father Nicholas Pusani of Pentonville [below]. Therefore, today, Alexander and John Raphael would be considered to be "*cradle Catholics*".

## **EDUCATION**

Dickie [2008] stated that Alexander Raphael was educated by Mektharist monks. Her source was his obituary in *The Tablet* of 23 November 1850

[below]. While this stated that Raphael was highly proficient in the Greek, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, French and German languages, it made no mention of his education.<sup>19</sup> It went without saying that Alexander Raphael was also highly proficient in English. In July 1785, Edward Raphael, in Madras, employed Father Nicholas Pusani as the private tutor of Alexander and John Raphael. At the time the boys would have been, respectively, ten years and nine years old. Moreover, it was reported that Edward Raphael wished to send Pusani with the boys to England to further their education.<sup>20</sup>

Pusani died in England, aged 66. There were records of his burial, in June 1803, in Old St. Pancras churchyard, a traditional burial ground for Catholics. He was described as Father Nicholas Pusani of the Order of St. Anthony.<sup>21</sup> This Order was founded, in Constantinople, by Mekthitar of Sebastia [1676-1749] in 1701 and later this became the Mekthitarian monastic order, in Venice, based on the Canon of St. Benedict.<sup>22</sup> No records of Nicholas Pusani's activities in England or his involvement there with the education of Alexander and John Raphael were found.

Another dimension of Alexander Raphael's education would have been in trade and commerce. Young Armenian merchants went through a very thorough training period which was essentially the same as a modern Master of Business Administration degree programme.<sup>23</sup> While Alexander himself may not have had such training, his anglophile father, Edward Raphael, who had been educated in French school, was a very successful and experienced merchant who would have had the traditional training and probably acquired linguistic skills that enabled him to further his wide-ranging trading network. Probably, Alexander inherited his father's business acumen, was brought up to be anglophile like him and benefited from his father's experience and established contacts.<sup>24</sup>

## **LEGACY**

Edward Raphael was a co-founder of the Carnatic Bank in Madras, which opened on 1 June 1788.<sup>25</sup> His last will and testament was formally published in Madras on 14 February 1791, about a year after his wife died, and four days before he sailed for England, just after the marriage of Anna, his eldest daughter. Clearly, Edward Raphael was settling his affairs before he sailed for England.

Firstly, he “*assigned his soul into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, in the hope of mercy at the last day*”. Secondly, he wished to be decently buried in a plain way and at moderate expense at the discretion of his executors and guardians of his children. These were Samuel Mortish Moorat, his son in law, and Miguel Johannes, both Armenian merchants of Madras, Thomas Cockburn of Madras and Edmund Boehm of London [below]. Furthermore, because he had acquired his estates under British jurisdiction, Edward Raphael required his executors to dispose of them in accordance with the laws of Great Britain as if he was a natural-born British Subject. Indeed, they were required to “*disavow and disclaim all right of interference of any Armenian Patriarch or other authority whatever under the pretence of any particular usage among persons of the Armenian Nation*”.

An inventory of Raphael’s bond debts, book debts and property, sworn by Thomas Cockburn, Samuel Moorat and Miguel Johannes on 26 September 1792, in Madras, provided more information. The documents indicated that Edward Raphael was very wealthy, had lent large sums of money to The East India Company, among other organisations, and had trading contacts in Madras, Pondicherry, France, China, The Philippines, Italy, Portugal and the Dutch East Indies. His bond debts and book debts amounted to approximately 315,170 Pagodas. This was the unit of currency in Madras at the time. At an exchange rate of 8 shillings per Pagoda, this was equivalent to £126,068.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, the inventory showed that he owned five houses in Madras, and a house in Pondicherry. Moreover, his estate included furniture and jewellery.

Edward Raphael left cash legacies to Magdaline Sanhulle, his sister, Johannes Cross, his uncle, John Aratoon Carapit, his nephew in law and Edward Kennedy his nephew-in-law and godson. The will and associated inventory established that Anna Moorat, née Raphael, his eldest child, already had received a marriage settlement. The other children would receive legacies in the form of interest payable from British Government, Madras and Bengal bonds and the main beneficiary in this way was Alexander Raphael. In addition, Edward Raphael specified that from an earmarked “*fund of charity*” monies were to be made available for the translation of some books into the Armenian language, for a convent of Armenian friars in Trieste and for a school for poor Armenian boys.

On the strength of the will it was assumed that Edward Raphael was a devout Roman Catholic: indeed, he signed himself “*Servant of Christ*”. Furthermore, the will indicated that he had a nephew in law and godson, Edward, which he named as the child of Captain Johnson Kennedy. This suggested that he had a sister who had married a Christian, possibly Irish, army officer.<sup>27</sup> This reinforced the assumption that Edward Raphael was a Roman Catholic himself. Moreover, while he was an Armenian by culture, he preferred the British administration and had contacts within the Armenian and British communities in Madras to whom he was prepared to entrust the guardianship of his children. The aforementioned Thomas Cockburn was in the Civil Service of the East India Company from 1779 until the end of 1802 when he returned to England, was a commissary to the army and member of the Board of Revenue.<sup>28</sup> Finally, Edward Raphael was in contact with Edmund Boehm, a very well connected East India agent in London and a potential guardian of his children when they were in England [below].

#### **MYSTERY OF EDWARD RAPHAEL’S DEATH**

Did Edward Raphael travel to England with his children, did he die on the voyage from India, was he buried at sea and was Alexander Raphael left in charge of his siblings, as was recorded by Dickie [2008]? If any children accompanied Edward Raphael they would have been Alexander, John, Lewis and Anna Maria. Anna Moorat, née Raphael, would have remained in India with her husband.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the inventory associated with Edward Raphael’s will showed that a servant called Lendore, assumed to be a man, accompanied him on the voyage to England.<sup>30</sup> On the face of it, the journal, or log book, of the ship, *The Prince William Henry*, kept by Ralph Dundas, its Captain, would be the source of such information. However, a careful examination of the journal held by the British Library revealed that 75 private passengers were on the ship, together with seven Hanoverian officers. However, the only people named were Colonel Nixon, Mr. Turing and Mr. Saunders, East India Company employees, who were sufficiently important to be worthy of 11-gun salutes when boarding at Madras.<sup>31</sup> The only other reference to passengers in the journal was the unloading of their baggage and the disembarkation of the Hanoverians when the ship reached England.



Edward Raphael, his children and his servant, Lendore, were not mentioned at all in the journal.

Importantly, while there was absolutely no record of the death of Edward Raphael on board the ship and his burial at sea, the journal did report the deaths and burial at sea of ordinary sailors. A possible explanation for the dearth of information about passengers was that the journal was intended only for information about the management of the ship for the benefit of the East India Company, Captain Dundas' employer. It was possible that the records of passengers on board, with relevant events, were kept separately and these were lost. However, it was strange that the Captain's journal failed to record such a significant event as the death and burial at sea of a prominent passenger when the deaths and burials at sea of ordinary members of the crew were recorded.

Edward Raphael's presence on board *The Prince William Henry* was evidenced by *The Madras Courier* newspaper of 16 February 1791. He was described as "an eminent Armenian merchant". But, this report, and a related one of 23 February 1791, did not state that he was accompanied by any of his children or servants. However, it did state that the aforementioned Colonel Nixon was accompanied by his lady and family.

If Edward Raphael travelled with most of his children, the family group would have been five strong; i.e., himself, Alexander aged sixteen years, John aged fifteen, Lewis aged seven years and their sister, Anna Maria, aged eleven years. In addition to the presumed manservant, Lendore, a female servant to tend to the needs of Anna Maria, would have been expected. Thus, Raphael's party would have totalled seven in all. Yet, *The Madras Courier* made no mention of such a large group. The signs were that none of Edward Raphael's children were on board and that Edward Raphael travelled only with the servant Lendore.

The journal and *The Madras Courier* reported that *The Prince William Henry* sailed for England on 18 February 1791. The journal recorded that in the month of April, the ship stopped at the Cape of Good Hope, then at St. Helena. It noted that the English Channel was entered by 24 June 1791. And, on 27 June an officer from a Royal Navy brig came alongside and took 32 men from the ship. On 28 June 1791, the journal recorded that *The Prince*

*William Henry* anchored in The Downs, close to the town of Deal. On 29 June, 30 men from HMS Marlborough were taken on board. On 2 July, at Gravesend, a pilot came on board and the ship anchored at Long Reach, where the men from the *Marlborough* left the ship.<sup>32</sup> The Hanoverian officers left *The Prince William Henry* on 6 July at Gravesend and it docked at Deptford, its final destination, on 10 July 1791.

On 1 July 1791, the *Kentish Gazette* reported that on board *The Prince William Henry* was “Mr. Raphael, a very rich Armenian merchant who has resided at Madras several years”. On 28 June 1791, the ship’s journal recorded that after the ship anchored in the Downs, a pilot, Mr. Dixon, came on board. Possibly, the source of the information in *The Kentish Gazette* was Mr. Dixon.

Despite there being no mention of it in the ship’s journal, the *Kentish Gazette* and four London newspapers, published around 25 July 1791, reported that Edward Raphael, an Armenian merchant, from Madras, died on *The Prince William Henry* on 24 June 1791.<sup>33</sup> An obituary for Edward Raphael in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* of July 1791, recorded that he died on *The Prince William Henry* on 24 July 1791.<sup>34</sup> This was clearly an error because the journal indicated that by that date the ship was at Deptford, the voyage having ended. Three questions arose; where was the ship on 24 June 1791? How did the newspapers find out that Edward Raphael died on the ship on 24 June 1791? And, why was his death not recorded in the ship’s journal?

The journal indicated that on Friday, 24 June 1791, the ship’s position was latitude 48 degrees 53 minutes north. Therefore it was located at the mouth of the English Channel. Indeed, the journal reported that on Sunday, 26 June 1791, Start Point, on the South Devon coast was observed. This evidence indicated that Edward Raphael died relatively close to Deptford, the ship’s final destination. Possibly, the primary source of the newspaper reports, perhaps obtained on the quay when the ship tied-up, was a passenger, possibly Raphael’s servant, Lendore, or a crewman from *The Prince William Henry*.

As the journal and newspapers had said nothing about the manner of Alexander Raphael’s death, was any other evidence available that might elucidate this? Firstly, in a deposition associated with the will of Edward

Raphael lodged with the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1792, Edmund Boehm, of Chatham Place, London, one of the executors, stated on oath that Edward Raphael died on the ship *Prince William Henry* on his passage to England, in the month of June 1791.<sup>35</sup> The source of Edmund Boehm's information was not stated, but probably it was based on hearsay and nothing was said about the cause of death.

In the Chancery case of *Cockburn v. Raphael*, instituted in 1827, concerning the alleged misadministration of funds willed by Edward Raphael for the support of a college for Armenian boys, the Court ruled that Edward Raphael died in the month of June 1791. But it said nothing about the cause of death.<sup>36</sup> In the same case, formal answers from Alexander Raphael, John Raphael, Lewis Raphael and their sister Anna Maria all stated their *belief* that their father Edward Raphael died in the month of June 1791 while he was on his passage from India to England, but said nothing about the cause of death.<sup>37</sup> These legal statements indicated that they were not eyewitness accounts drawn upon personal memories. Therefore, it was most unlikely that the children were on the same voyage as their father when he died.

If Edward Raphael died on board the *Prince William Henry* *sometime* during the month of June 1791 as was ruled by the Court, rather than on 24 June 1791 as stated in the newspapers, it would widen-up the possible location of the ship at the time of the death. The ship's journal showed that on 1 June 1791 its position was latitude 22 degrees 50 minutes north. This indicated that it was then off the coast of West Africa on a northerly course towards the English Channel. Accordingly, Raphael's death could have occurred anywhere between the West African coast and, say, the start of the English Channel.

Why was Edward Raphael's death not recorded in the journal of *The Prince William Henry*? A review of the research findings left the impression that nobody really knew when he died or the circumstances of his death. Possibly, then, the date in the newspapers, 24 June 1791, was the date when his absence from the ship was first noted. This hypothesis was based on a report in the journal of the East Indiaman, *Rodney*, a sister ship of *The Prince William Henry*, that when a seaman, Arthur M<sup>c</sup>Arthur, was found to be missing from the ship on the high seas it was assumed that he had fallen overboard.<sup>38</sup>

Perhaps Edward Raphael fell overboard, was not missed on the ship until 24 June 1791, when it was close to its final destination, and, while it was not recorded in the journal, the realisation of this absence was recalled later, perhaps by Lendore, Raphael's servant.

If Edward Raphael's absence was not discovered until the ship arrived at Deptford on 6 July, the removal of 32 of its crew on 27 June, the placement of 30 men from HMS Marlborough, or their departure on 2 July, may have had something to do with the death or disappearance of Raphael. However, no records were found that would help to develop this hypothesis.

In summary, Edward Raphael's death remained a mystery and the evidence indicated that none of his children were with him on his final journey. The question arose, when and how did Alexander, John, Lewis and Anna Maria Raphael travel to England?

#### **ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND**

The legal enquiry into the title of Surbiton Hall, established that Father Nicholas Pusani, in July 1785, was employed by Edward Raphael in Madras to superintend the education of Alexander and his brother John as their private tutor. Furthermore, it was reported that Edward Raphael wished to send Pusani with the boys to England for their education.<sup>39</sup> The burial of the Rev. Nicholas Pusani, of the Order of St. Anthony, in June 1803, in Old St. Pancras Church was recorded in the parish register. Probably, he arrived in England before 1803, possibly with Alexander and John Raphael.<sup>40</sup>

In 1796, a Land Tax return for Kensington recorded *Alexander Raphael* as a tenant of one of *Towler's Rents*. This was assumed to be the equivalent of a modern-day block of service flats. If the tenant was the Alexander Raphael in question, he would have been about twenty years old at the time and he would have travelled to England before 1796.<sup>41</sup>

There was a record of John Raphael, gentleman, of Bedford Row being articulated to John Morgan, a solicitor on 15 January 1803. If this was Alexander Raphael's brother, he would have been aged 21 at the time. The relevant document referred to Articles of Agreement of 18 October 1802.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, he would have travelled to England before 1802.

On 31 May 1802, Anna Maria Raphael, spinster, of St. Marylebone, by licence, married Henry Bertram Ogle, Esq., of the Inner Temple, a bachelor.

A witness was Edmund Boehm, one of Edward Raphael's executors and one of her guardians.<sup>43</sup> Anna Maria would have been aged about 22 at the time. Therefore, Anna Maria must have travelled to England at a date before 31 May 1802 that allowed time for the marriage licence and the wedding arrangements to be put in place.

The date when Lewis, Edward Raphael's last-borne child, arrived in England could not be determined. The earliest record of him, when he would have been aged about 41, was an insurance document that showed that Lewis Raphael of Golders Green, Hendon, owned the *Red Lion* pub in Red Lion Square on 21 December 1825.<sup>44</sup> Lewis Raphael of Hendon was cited in a Coroner's inquest report on a servant, of 28 June 1827, which showed that Raphael was a farmer.<sup>45</sup> Land tax returns for Hendon in 1827 showed that he owned 3 houses with plots of land, one of which he occupied, and two other plots of land.<sup>46</sup> In 1843, Raphael Street in Knightsbridge was laid out by Lewis Raphael "a member of an affluent Roman Catholic family of Armenian descent, a dairy farmer with a mansion and splendid estate at Bush Hill Park, Edmonton".<sup>47</sup> The Census of 1851 found Lewis Raphael, a landed proprietor, living at number one Argyle Street, St. Pancras, with three servants. His death certificate showed that he died there on the seventh of December 1851.

In summary, while the journal of *The Prince William Henry* and contemporary newspapers of Madras and England did not record that Alexander, John, Anna Maria and Lewis were travelling with Edward Raphael in 1791, this could not be excluded. Moreover, it was possible that Alexander and John travelled to England with Nicholas Pusani sometime after July 1785. Questions remained about the arrival in England of Alexander, John, Anna Maria and Lewis and more research would be needed to address them.

### **ARMENIAN COMMUNITY?**

Dickie [2008] suggested that an Armenian community in London would have embraced the orphaned Raphael children but provided no reference for this.<sup>48</sup> And, it was not certain that any of Edward Raphael's children were left without adult supervision after this death. Raphael's will established that Edmund Boehm, of London, was a guardian of the unmarried children. It seemed more likely that it was Boehm, or Father Pusani in the case of Alexander and John, rather than any Armenian community in London, who supervised the

Raphael children in England. Boehm was a witness at the wedding of Anna Maria and possibly, he supervised other Raphael children in England.

### **QUEST FOR PUBLIC OFFICE**

The evidence, spanning the period 1812 to 1850, the year that he died, suggested that Alexander Raphael was on a quest to achieve public office, in particular as a Member of the House of Commons. On 20 January 1812, aged 37, he obtained Freedom of the City of London as a member of the Merchant Taylor's Company by redemption, for a fee of 46 shillings and eight pence.<sup>49</sup> The Catholic Relief Act of 1829 made it possible for him to stand as a candidate for Parliamentary election and, because he met the property qualification, for him to take his place on a governing body of a municipal corporation.<sup>50</sup> In 1830, when he was aged 55, the quest was advancing on a number of fronts. In this year, he was a Steward of the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in London, an unsuccessful Parliamentary candidate for Evesham in Worcestershire [below] and a member of the Court of Assembly of the Corporation of Kingston upon Thames in Surrey.<sup>51</sup> In 1831, he was one of the two Bailiffs of Kingston.<sup>52</sup> In the next year, 1832, he was one of the Stewards of St. Luke's Hospital for Lunatics, in London, and announced his intention to stand as Member of Parliament for the Eastern Division of Surrey and for the Northern Division of Lancashire, although he did not actually stand for office in either case.<sup>53</sup> Records of the College of Arms in London showed that, by Letters Patent of 15 August 1832, Raphael received a grant of arms – please see **Appendix**.

In 1833, Raphael was the Treasurer of the Royal Universal Infirmary for Children and Governor of Christ's Hospital Benevolent Society of Blues and announced his intention to stand as M.P. for the City of Westminster, although without actually standing for office [below].<sup>54</sup> In 1834, he was a Steward of the Yorkshire Society for Maintaining, Clothing and Educating the Children of Indigent Yorkshire Parents. In addition, he was present at a dinner in aid of funds for the German Catholic Chapel as a representative of H.M. The King and was elected as a Sheriff of London and Middlesex.<sup>55</sup>

In 1835, he was the unsuccessful Parliamentary candidate for Pontefract in Yorkshire and was elected M.P. for Co. Carlow in Ireland, which was disallowed on petition [below].<sup>56</sup> In 1836, he was a Steward of St. John's

British Hospital. In 1841 he was the Vice-President for funds at the Public Dispensary, Bishop's Court, Lincoln's Inn. In 1847, aged 72, he was elected M.P. for St. Albans and in 1849 he was appointed Deputy Lieutenant of Middlesex. In 1850, he attempted unsuccessfully to be nominated as a Surrey County magistrate [below].

He was elected Fellow of the Horticultural Society sometime between 1819 and 1820, Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1833 and Fellow of the Zoological Society of London in 1837. In 1832 he became a member of Brooks' Club, once an organisation for leading citizens with Whiggist leanings.<sup>57</sup> However, he was blackballed when he was put up for election to the Royal Society in 1835 [below].<sup>58</sup> Probably, Raphael sought to use these affiliations, which reflected a wide range of interests, for what is today called "networking" in his quest for public office.

### **ST. RAPHAEL'S CHURCH, KINGSTON UPON THAMES**

Dickie [2008] wrote that in 1845 Alexander Raphael was seriously ill and vowed to the Blessed Virgin Mary that if he recovered he would build a church. He recovered but was reluctant to pay his physician, Dr. Roots, because he attributed the cure to the Blessed Virgin rather than Roots' ministrations. Father Peter Ryan [1925] was Dickie's source.<sup>59</sup> The Census of 1841, found Dr. William Roots living in Town's End, Kingston, which was not far from where St. Raphael's Church was built. Possibly, Dr. Roots was the originator of the report.<sup>60</sup>

Raphael commissioned the architect Charles Parker to design the church and the builder was John Dickson.<sup>61</sup> The church, built on Raphael's land by the River Thames at Surbiton, was dedicated to the Archangel Raphael, associated with healing **[Figure 3]**. Raphael met all of the costs which amounted to £10,000.<sup>62</sup> Dickie [2008] wrote that the foundation stone was laid on 2 February 1846. However, a letter from Alexander Raphael to the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, dated 1 April 1846, postponed the laying of the foundation stone, *sine die*.<sup>63</sup> In 1847, an article in *The Builder* reported that within the grounds of the new church was a residence for the priest, attached to which a garden was intended, there were schools for boys and girls with separate playgrounds and there was a cemetery, in the centre of which was an iron cross.<sup>64</sup> A report in *The Tablet* of 1 January 1848,

established that “*the elegant new Catholic Church*” was completed although not in use because there was a delay in arranging the terms of an endowment by Alexander Raphael, presumably to meet the costs of supporting a priest and the general running costs of the church. The Religious Census of 1851 recorded that church was begun in 1846 and opened on 1 September 1850. Kelly [1907] recorded that in 1850 the priest was Father Jeremiah Donovan.<sup>65</sup>

An article in the Surrey Comet of 3 December 1904 by “*Austin Feverel*” related a story of the consecration of the church in 1850; it ran as follows. Alexander Raphael had a premonition that he would die after the consecration. He made several appointments for this with the Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Nicholas Wiseman - later to become the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster [below] - but called them off. The last fixture was made in 1850 and although Raphael had second thoughts about the ceremony, he did not seek to postpone it. Dr. Wiseman and his secretary, Monsignor Francis Searle, arrived at the church at the appointed time but found it locked. They went to Surbiton Hall, Raphael’s nearby home, but he was not there. The butler gave them the keys and the necessary ceremony was performed.<sup>66</sup> For this, he was dismissed by Raphael. Perhaps, the author of the article was a *nom de plume* used by the novelist George Meredith [1828-1909]. He lived at Kingston Lodge from 1865 to 1868.<sup>67</sup> Austin Feverel was a character in his work *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, published in 1859 and possibly Meredith learned about the consecration when he lived in Kingston.

### **CHURCH AT ST. ALBANS**

According to Dickie [2008], Alexander Raphael responded to an appeal for a benefactor to erect a Catholic church in St. Albans because the faithful had to meet in a small room in an inn for Mass. Charles Parker [above] was commissioned to build a replica of the Surbiton church on the site and a convent and school was to be built for the Sisters of Mercy who had recently come to England.<sup>68</sup> *The Hertford Mercury & Reformer*, on 16 June 1849, reported that the *Verulam Arms Hotel* had been purchased by Alexander Raphael and that part of it was to be converted into a Roman Catholic chapel. On 5 October 1850, the same newspaper reported that a new chapel was being built by Alexander Raphael, the MP for St. Albans, at a cost of £7,000. The building was incomplete when Raphael died.



On 1 November 1852, Edward Raphael, Alexander Raphael's nephew who inherited his estate, offered to sell the unfinished church to Cardinal Wiseman for £5,500 and the residual marble for £200.<sup>69</sup> Clearly, the Cardinal was unable to accept the offer and, in 1856, the site was sold to a wealthy Anglican widow, Mrs. Isabella Worley. The architect Gilbert G. Scott was engaged to finish the church and it was consecrated, as Christ Church, on 18 April 1859 for Anglican worship.<sup>70</sup> Today, this building houses some offices [Figure 4].

## PREJUDICE

There was evidence that during his quest for public office, Alexander Raphael experienced anti-Catholic prejudice and anti-Semitism as a result of a mistaken belief that he was of Jewish descent or was a Jewish convert to Roman Catholicism.

**Anti-Catholic prejudice.** A copy of an election handbill, published in Evesham, Worcestershire, on 2 August 1830, implied that because Alexander Raphael was a Roman Catholic he could not be trusted to support the King and threatened the constitution and the Established Church.<sup>71</sup> A brief account of Alexander Raphael's rejection by the Royal Society was given by Dickie [2008] who used his obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine as her source. This attributed Raphael's rejection to his association with Daniel O'Connell, the MP for Co. Clare, and the scandal after the disallowed election for seats for Co. Carlow.

A detailed account of this affair was given by Patrick Geoghegan [2010]. He described Raphael as "*a British Armenian, of Jewish descent*" who had been looking for a seat in Parliament for some time. According to Geoghegan, O'Connell recommended Raphael for one of the vacant seats in Co. Carlow, and Raphael agreed to pay him £1,000 initially to facilitate this, with another £1,000 to be paid later. On 19 June 1835, Raphael was elected, with another candidate, Nicholas Alyward Vigors, taking the second seat for Co. Carlow. After Raphael had paid the first sum to O'Connell, a petition against the validity of the election was raised and, after a dispute with him, Raphael paid the second £1,000 over to O'Connell. After a Parliamentary enquiry, Raphael and Vigors were unseated on 19 August 1835. Raphael sought financial compensation from O'Connell, but was unsuccessful and decided to publish

the entire correspondence of the transactions – his own letters, as well as O’Connell’s – as a pamphlet.<sup>72</sup> The controversy was widely discussed in the newspapers and the affair gained notoriety. A cartoon featuring Alexander Raphael and Daniel O’Connor after the Carlow affair was the only source from which a likeness of Raphael could be found **[Figure 2]**.<sup>73</sup>

The blackballing incident was reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of 27 November 1835. It implied that those who proposed Raphael for the Royal Society, including the Earl of Munster and Lord Brougham, did so before Raphael’s wrangling with O’Connell was made public and might not have done so with hindsight. Alexander Raphael’s obituary in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* stated that his rejection by the Royal Society was “*probably for political reasons associated with the Carlow election scandal*”. Possibly, Raphael’s involvement with O’Connell, the initiator of the Catholic Relief Act, invoked anti-Catholic feeling. There was a report of “*a scurrilous attempt*” by Mr. Gresham, an election agent for a rival candidate, to whip-up anti-Catholic feeling against Alexander Raphael in the St. Albans election campaign of 1847.<sup>74</sup>

Correspondence between Alexander Raphael and the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, the Earl of Lovelace, produced more evidence of prejudice that could have been anti-Catholic in nature. On 31 August 1850, Raphael asked Lovelace why he had not put him forward as a Surrey magistrate because he had the required property qualification and already had achieved high public office elsewhere. In essence, Raphael, who was concerned for his reputation, asked Lovelace to state any undisclosed perceived character defect that stood in the way of him being appointed a Surrey magistrate.

On 4 September 1850, Lovelace responded briefly to Raphael. While he was not inclined to recommend Raphael as a Surrey magistrate, it was not out of disrespect for him. Moreover, he said that Raphael was mistaken if he assumed that a supposed blot on his character had influenced the decision. Finally, Lovelace refused to specify the reason for his decision, as he had done at an interview with Raphael in the previous spring.<sup>75</sup> In short, there was a reason why Lovelace would not put Alexander Raphael forward as a Surrey Magistrate but Lovelace refused to say what it was. What was behind this?

Roman Catholic optimism had grown rapidly in the 1840s and St. George's Cathedral in Southwark was opened with much ceremony in 1848.<sup>76</sup> According to Butters [2013] anti-Catholic prejudice once was a feature of life in the Kingston area and scarcely could it have been ameliorated by these developments. By 1850, Alexander Raphael's new church, built on a prominent place, with a residence for a priest, two schools and a cemetery indicated that he had established the nucleus of a Catholic parish. This may have not gone down too well with influential people in Kingston whom the Earl of Lovelace did not wish to upset, although no records could be found to support this hypothesis. Importantly, the new church opened for public worship on 1 September, the day after Raphael wrote to Lord Lovelace who must have known this when he responded on 4 September.

The flames of anti-Catholic prejudice were to be fanned higher. On 29 September 1850, Pope Pius IX's Apostolic Letter, *Universalis Ecclesiae*, re-established the Catholic Hierarchy in England. Then, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, on 7 October 1850, issued a Pastoral Letter to the clergy and laity of the Archdiocese of Westminster and Diocese of Southwark. This stated that the See of Westminster had episcopal authority over the counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, Hampshire and the islands annexed thereto. It had the effect, in Wiseman's words, of restoring Catholic England to "*its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished*". Accordingly, he called for the Pastoral Letter to be publically read in all the Catholic churches and chapels in Westminster and Southwark, for thanksgiving and prayers for the Pope.<sup>77</sup> This development, which became known as the "*Papal Aggression*", fanned the flames of anti-Catholic prejudice higher still.

Irate Protestants held public meetings to condemn the resultant new bishops, newspapers cried for penal legislation and the Prime Minister issued a public letter in which he described the Apostolic Letter as an "*insolent and insidious attack*" on the Queen's Prerogative to appoint bishops.<sup>78</sup> In November 1850, *Punch* magazine published a cartoon showing a figure with a clear likeness of Cardinal Wiseman entitled "*The Guy Fawkes of 1850. Preparing to blow up Parliament*". June Sampson [1997] related that after Cardinal Wiseman's Pastoral Letter, Mr. Gower, a curate at All Saints' Church,

Kingston, inflamed the town with a sermon condemning the Pope's "*usurpation of authority in this realm*". This, she said, enraged parishioners who made an effigy of the Cardinal, paraded it around the town and burned it in the Fairfield.<sup>79</sup> On 20 November 1850, Kingston Council reacted by passing a motion that "*a humble and dutiful address to be presented to Her Majesty to secure her Dominions against the aggression and encroaching policy of the Bishop of Rome*" and ordered this to be inserted into the *Times* and *Morning Herald* newspapers.<sup>80</sup>

Against this background, it was difficult to dismiss the idea that Alexander Raphael was reluctant to enable public worship in his church by having it consecrated because he thought that the political climate was not right for this. Arguably, when the church opened on 1 September 1850, it was by default.<sup>81</sup> Anti-Catholic prejudice persisted in Kingston until at least 1857, as evidenced by a report in the *Surrey Comet* of 24 October 1857 that the St. Albans' church intended by Alexander Raphael for Roman Catholic worship had "*fallen by his death into better hands*".

**Anti-Semitism.** An article in the Dublin Morning Register of 20 June 1835 demonstrated the existence of anti-Semitism, especially in Ireland. This said that it was strange that various journals should consider Mr. Raphael to be of Jewish extraction because the circumstances had been publically contradicted and his family from the earliest times had been Catholics. Possibly, the source of this was somebody acting for Alexander Raphael. More evidence of anti-Semitism was provided by other newspaper stories in which the word "*Jew*" had a derogatory connotation. For example, The *Waterford Mail* of 26 August 1835, after the Carlow election affair, carried a satirical article featuring a mock auction. This labelled Alexander Raphael a "*Catholic Jew*". The *Times* of 25 November 1836 featured a satirical poem referring to Daniel O'Connell's dealings with Raphael that contained the line "*...yet O'Connell [great thief] has surpassed all belief. For, by Jove, he has cheated a Jew...*".<sup>82</sup> The *Kerry Evening Post*, on 26 February 1848, noted that Alexander Raphael, formally of Carlow notoriety, was "*the offspring of Jew parents*". The Armagh Guardian, on 9 December 1850, in an obituary, called Raphael a "*Jew Catholic*".

While Raphael may have been exposed to anti-Catholic prejudice and anti-Semitism, did he suffer as a result? Clearly, anti-Catholic prejudice would have been a setback to his aspirations for public office and, if it lay behind the blackballing incident, to his bid to become a Fellow of the Royal Society. However, there was no evidence that anti-Semitism was troublesome to Raphael.

Finally, it could be argued that had he continued to use his “*Gharamiants*” surname he would not have exposed himself to anti-Semitism connected with the surname “*Raphael*”. But perhaps, as has been speculated above, this surname was chosen to avoid prejudice within Anglophone communities against persons with foreign-sounding names. Thus, Alexander Raphael was vulnerable to prejudice because he was a Catholic, appeared to be Jewish and, if he had continued to use his “*Gharamiants*” surname, because it labelled him as a foreigner.

#### **WEALTH & PHILANTHROPY**

Geoghegan [2010] wrote that Alexander Raphael was “*known to be a man of almost unbounded wealth*”. But how wealthy was Raphael and how did he acquire his fortune? He had an income from the interest derived from the funds deposited under the terms of his father’s will. This probably would have resulted in him being very comfortably off for the rest of his life. Clearly, he had business interests but there was scanty evidence of these. All that could be discovered was that in 1823 and 1848 he was a Proprietor of the East India Stock Company and in 1845 he was a member of the Provisional Committee of the Middlesex and Surrey Junction Railway.<sup>83</sup>

According to Dickie [2008] Alexander Raphael was credited with building the new town of Surbiton, which, if true, would have made him a property developer by today’s standards. She gave his obituary in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* as the source for this. But previous extensive research on the origins of New Kingston, as Surbiton was known at the time, found no evidence that Raphael was involved in its foundation. Rather, it was Thomas Pooley who initiated the new town in 1838.<sup>84</sup>

Alexander Raphael owned substantial real estate at different times. His obituary in *The Illustrated London News* of 23 November 1850 said that he possessed extensive landed property in Sussex, Surrey and other parts of

England. This included, 49 Upper Berkley Street, Mayfair, London [1811], Ditton Lodge, Thames Ditton, Surrey [1811], Surbiton Hall, otherwise called Surbiton Place and Surbiton House, Surbiton, Surrey [1833], Kempton Park, Sunbury, Middlesex [about 1835], 10 Great Stanhope Street, Mayfair, London [1837], Canton House, 120 London Road, Brighton, Sussex, Pope's Villa, Twickenham, Middlesex [1839] and Verulam Lodge, St. Albans, Hertfordshire [1850].<sup>85</sup> The dates given in brackets are the dates of the earliest record of the acquisition.

His voluntary work for different charities evidenced his philanthropic disposition. In addition, he was able to pay for the building of St. Raphael's Church [£10,000], the Church at St. Albans [valued at £5,700] and he brought the Roman Catholic college at Prior Park, near Bath, for £30,000 and leased it back for an extended period to the college authority for an annual fee of three per cent.<sup>86</sup> Various obituaries recorded that he donated £100,000 to Catholic causes and it was clear that most of the charities that he supported [above] were non-Catholic in nature.<sup>87</sup>

Raphael's circumspect obituary in *The Tablet* talked of him funding the "learned establishment of the Mechitarists at Venice" and poor schools in Vienna and Transylvania. In part, this alluded to the funding by Alexander Raphael of the Moorat-Raphael College, established by Samuel Moorat and Edward Raphael in the old Palazzo Zenobio in Venice, and the Armenian Monastery on the island of San Lazzaro in the Lagoon of Venice [**Figures 5 & 6**]. The affection that Alexander Raphael had for San Lazzaro was evidenced by a report that in 1816, at the age of 41, he commissioned a white marble sarcophagus for himself to be installed in to the left of the narthex. On this were carved his coat of arms and his name in Armenian letters. Clearly, at the time he wished to be buried there in due course.<sup>88</sup> This tomb was never used because he died in England [below]. No records of the schools for poor Armenian boys in Vienna and Transylvania were found.

Strangely, Alexander Raphael died intestate. The initial probate valuation was £250,000 and later this was reduced to £180,000. Roughly speaking, in the money of 2005, this would have been worth between £15 million and £11 million.<sup>89</sup>

## LIFESTYLE

Alexander Raphael's obituary in the Tablet spoke of his "*varied and extensive travels*" which afforded him an unrivalled fund of real information. No personal papers of Raphael were found to evidence the extent of his travels but probably he journeyed to Venice, as evidenced by the report of the sarcophagus that he commissioned on San Lazzaro. When he was not travelling, Raphael usually kept a main residence in London and a main residence out of town. In London, for most of the time, this was number 10 Great Stanhope Street and elsewhere it was either Ditton Lodge or Surbiton Hall. How did he live in these residences?

Ayliffe related that Alexander Raphael led a most secluded life, keeping only one maid servant and his faithful henchman "*Joe*". He also talks of Mr. Raphael, when living at Surbiton Hall, driving his "*stately equipage*" to church every Sunday morning.<sup>90</sup> On the night of 6 June in the Census of 1841, Raphael was not at home at 10 Great Stanhope Street, but in residence were a male servant and a female servant, probably acting as caretakers. At the 1841 Census, Raphael was not at home in Ditton Lodge but in residence were Joseph Theodore, aged 30, born in foreign parts, another male servant and two female servants, probably acting as caretakers. At the same Census, Raphael was not at home in Surbiton Hall, but in residence was a male servant, probably acting as a caretaker.

After Edward Raphael inherited the estate, in the Census of 1851, living in "*Surbiton*", most probably at Surbiton Hall, was Joseph Theodore, a bailiff, aged 41, born in foreign parts. Probably, the servant called "*Joe*" by Ayliffe was Joseph Theodore. There was no evidence that Alexander Raphael ever married or had children and when at home in London, Thames Ditton or Surbiton, he appeared to have relatively few servants in residence. Overall, the signs were that Alexander Raphael lived a relatively simple life despite his great wealth.

## PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY

Alexander Raphael was elected for St. Albans on Whig principles. The Whigs were a political group that dominated British politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that had a strong attachment to the rights and privileges of Parliament.<sup>91</sup> His flowery manifesto for the vacant seat of the City of

Westminster in 1833, published as a letter in *The Globe* of 29 May 1833, indicated where he stood personally at the time.

*“I am an old Reformer both in heart and in principle; and I faithfully pledge myself to advocate vote by ballot, triennial Parliaments, extension of suffrage, reduction of expenditure and taxation, and the universal education of the people. My voice at all times shall be raised against every abuse in Church and State; and I will unflinchingly endeavour to rid you of those odious taxes on houses and windows, of every description of impost by which the industrial bee is made to support the idle drone and the many are taxed for the benefit of the few. While I breathe these sentiments, I am nevertheless a friend to peace, good order, and the preservation of the just rights of every individual. I do not offer myself to your opposition to any candidate, but to give you the choice of a man who will truly and conscientiously strive to serve you and the country. For this end I will demand the immediate abolition of all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; denounce slavery, and the barbarous practice of flogging in the army and navy. I will use every effort to conciliate mis-governed Ireland, by doing that to her which has yet been done - justice. And I will strenuously support every entrenchment and every measure that tends to produce good and cheap government, the comfort of the industrious classes, and the well being of the nation at large. My private sentiments and independence raise me far above any desire for place, pension, or undeserved honours; consequently I have no other object in view but the welfare of the British Empire, and the individual interests of my independent and patriotic constituents, when these shall not militate against the common weal.”*

In 1848, Raphael voted for the Treason Felonies Bill which proposed a sentence of transportation instead of the death penalty for certain previously capital offences. In the same year, he proposed the Legacies Duties Bill, which aimed to abolish legacy duties on charitable bequests to public bodies. Raphael stated that to achieve this was his main reason for entering Parliament and he would resign his seat if the bill was passed. It was defeated and he stayed in office.

In 1849, he spoke and voted against the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, which, if passed, would have enabled Jews to be MPs. He took the line that he was in



Christian country with a Christian Monarch, a Christian Constitution and a Christian House of Commons. Against this background, he advised Jews who aspired to be MPs to convert to Christianity.<sup>92</sup> It was odd that a person who had overcome prejudice in his drive to become an MP would be so uncharitable to others exposed to prejudice and it might suggest how widespread was anti-Semitism in the middle of the nineteenth century.

### **LAST DAYS**

Alexander Raphael's death certificate stated that he died on 17 November 1850, at Surbiton Place, Kingston. He was aged 74, his occupation was given as "esquire", and the cause of death was bronchitis for 10 days. Present at his death was Joseph Theodore [above], whose mark was recorded because he was unable to sign his name.

There were obituaries of Alexander Raphael in *The Times*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Illustrated London News* and *The Tablet*. They varied in their content and emphasis. *The Gentleman's Magazine* noted his parliamentary aspirations, the Carlow election affair and Royal Society incident, alluded to his stance on the Parliamentary Oaths Bill and mentioned his support of Catholic causes. The briefer *Times* obituary also mentioned the Carlow affair and noted that Raphael was "*possessed of enormous wealth*".<sup>93</sup> *The Illustrated London News* also mentioned the Carlow affair and Raphael's enormous wealth.

In *The Tablet*, an undeniably Catholic newspaper, "*Correspondent*" spoke of his "*deceased friend*" but said nothing about Raphael's quest for public office. It emphasised that the Catholic public had lost a magnificent benefactor whose liberality in the cause of religion and education had been conspicuous for many years, not only in England but also in Germany and Italy. The obituary noted that Raphael was a gifted linguist, had travelled extensively, recently had been appointed a Knight of the Order of St. Sylvester by Pope Pius IX and had received the last rites from the Rev. Dr. Maguire and the Rev. Father Hodgson. Dr. Maguire was the Vicar General at the time and lived in London. The other priest, probably was Father Robert Hodgson, the Chaplain of St. Elizabeth's Church, in nearby Richmond on Thames.<sup>94</sup> Their presence indicated that Alexander Raphael was held in very high regard by the local Catholic hierarchy at the time.

Alexander Raphael's memorial tablet in St. Raphael's Church, erected by his brother, sister, nephews and nieces, reflected *The Tablet*'s obituary and noted that he was a lover of country, justice and freedom, who held an unshakable faith. Alexander Raphael was buried in the crypt of St. Raphael's Church, Kingston; the church that he built and which flourishes today.<sup>95</sup>

### **WAS ALEXANDER RAPHAEL AN "UNBEATEN CHAMPION"?**

Did he live up to his Armenian surname "*Gharamiants*", which meant "*unbeaten champion*". The research indicated that he was certainly a champion in the sense that he used his great wealth and independence in his support of various Catholic and non-Catholic charitable causes. Furthermore, he resisted prejudice and was still active in his quest for public office in his 75<sup>th</sup> year; the year that he died. His correspondence with the Earl of Lovelace supported this.

Here, it was recalled that there was an account of his reluctance to have the church consecrated because of the associated fear of death [above]. However, as his obituary in the *Tablet* stated, he had an unshakable Catholic faith and therefore would not have feared death itself. It seemed more likely that if he was not ready to die at the time of his premonition it was because he felt that his work on earth was unfinished, e.g., he was yet to be appointed as a Surrey magistrate, thereby to effect good works through this office.

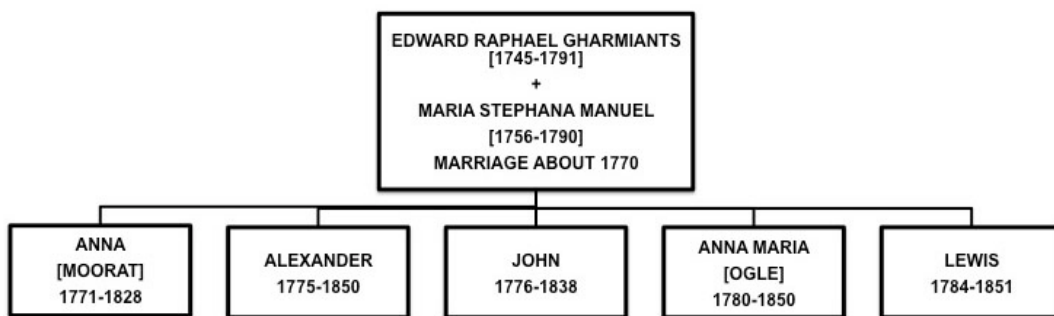
Yet, in the end it *appeared* that he *was* beaten by death, on 17 November 1850, after at least ten days of illness. But, spiritually resigned, and having reviewed the many achievements of his life, he would have looked forward to the resurrection and the life of the world to come. Death would not have been a victory over him. And, he would have remained an unbeaten champion in that regard.

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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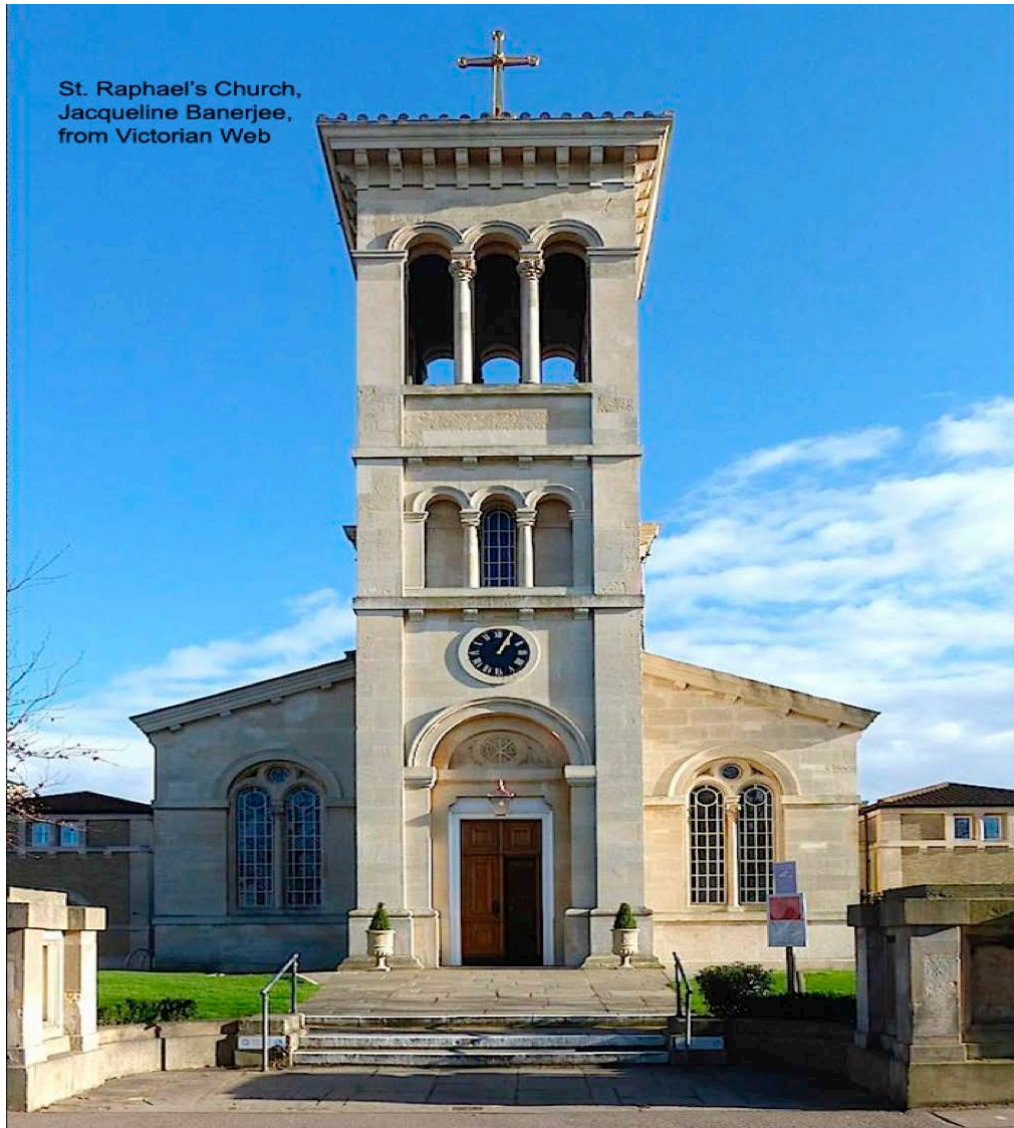


**Figure 1. Alexander Raphael's family tree**



**Alexander Raphael, about 1836**

**Figure 2. A likeness of Alexander Raphael, about 60 years of age. From a cartoon obtained from the National Portrait Gallery, NPG D41363. Image made by David A. Kennedy.**



**Figure 3. St. Raphael's Church, Portsmouth Road, Kingston upon Thames. Photograph by Jacqueline Banerjee, from the Victorian Web.**





**Figure 4. Views of the Old Church, Verulam Road, St. Albans [a replica of St. Raphael's Church, Kingston, now offices], 18 November 2017. Photographs by David. A. Kennedy.**



Armenian College, Moorat-Raphael,  
Palazzo Zenobio, Venice, 12 May 2017

**Figure 5. Moorat-Raphael College, Palazzo Zenobio, Venice, 12 May 2017.  
Photograph by David A. Kennedy.**





**Figure 6. The Armenian Monastery on the Island of San Lazzaro, Venice, 10 May 2017. Photograph by David A. Kennedy.**

#### **Appendix. Alexander Raphael's coat of arms**



Source: <http://chater-genealogy.blogspot.co.uk/2015/02/catholic-armenians-lets-build-church.html>

#### **Analysis**

A shield divided into four quarters upon which is superimposed a cross. Above this, is a crown, upon which is a double-headed eagle. A cross is superimposed on the eagle. Under the shield is a motto "*In Hoc Vincens*", i.e.,



*“In this, conquer”*. The crosses symbolise the Christian faith which made all projected conquests possible. Moving from left to right and then up and down, the first quarter of the shield depicts the sun in splendour. In the second, Mount Ararat is depicted and on the summit is Noah’s Ark. Under Mount Ararat is an Armenian word that transliterates to *“Naksivan”*, i.e., *“The place where the ark rested”* after the Flood, according to the Book of Genesis, and therefore the first city on earth. The third quarter depicts the story of Tobit and the Archangel Raphael from the Book of Tobit. The fourth quarter depicts an anchor with its cable entwined around its shaft.

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<sup>2</sup> Photocopied typescript, Edward Raphael Kharan, 1784, *Translation of The history & pedigree combined of Edward Raphael Kharan*. Dated 31 December 1784. Written by himself at Madras, India. A manuscript statement at the end of the document, in the archives of St. Raphael's Church, Kingston, indicated that it was copied by Tony Savile at Youngsbury in April 1993. The Hon. Charles Anthony Savile was the son of John Raphael Wentworth Savile, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Mexborough of Lifford. In 2003 he lived at Youngsbury, Ware, Hertfordshire [www.thepeerage.com/p46398.htm](http://www.thepeerage.com/p46398.htm) Accessed, 9 November 2017. According to St. Raphael's Catholic Church, Kingston upon Thames. *A brief history and guide* [undated], Alexander Raphael's niece, Agnes, who later inherited his estate, married John Savile, the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Mexborough. It was assumed that the original document, translated into English if necessary, came from the archives of the Earls of Mexborough.

<sup>3</sup> [www.armenianinstitute.org.uk](http://www.armenianinstitute.org.uk) I am grateful to Dr. Stepan-Sarkissian of the Armenian Institute for reference to a work, published in 1901 or 1902, *Mxit'arian yoblean 1701-1901* [Mkhitarian Jubilee, 1701-1901] Mekhitarian Press, Venice – San Lazzaro, which gave

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Alexander Raphael's surname as "*Gharamiants*". This surname also was found in an abstract by Sebouh David Aslanian, Columbia University, USA, 2006, From Madras to Venice: Circulation of capital and the patronage activities of Julfa merchants in India.

<http://associationforiranianstudies.org/conferences/2006/abstracts7> accessed, 9 November 2017. It was also found in Alice Navasgargian, 2012, Mekhitarists and Armenian merchants of New Julpha in Venice, Italy,

<http://www.alicenasvasargian.com/pdf/part2.pdf> Accessed, 9 November 2017.

<sup>4</sup> For example, there is no mention of the surname "*Gharamiants*" in Edward Raphael's will, written in English.

<sup>5</sup> Alice Navasgargian, 2012, reported that Edward Raphael Gharamiants attended the English school in Madras.

<sup>6</sup> This probably referred to the aftermath of the Siege of Pondicherry in 1778.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege\\_of\\_Pondicherry\\_\(1778\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Pondicherry_(1778)) Accessed, 9 November 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Raphael's genealogy. See note 2, above. The status of Stephen Manuel was not discovered. However, since Armenian marriages were arranged, it was probable that his status matched that of Edward Raphael and his daughter had an appropriate dowry, thus indicating that he was wealthy. <http://www.everyculture.com/Russia-Eurasia-China/Armenians-Marriage-and-Family.html> Accessed 9 November 2017.

<sup>8</sup> See Mesrovb Jacob Seth, 1937, Armenians in India from the earliest times to the present day, Calcutta, published by the author.

[http://archive.org/stream/ArmeniansInIndiaFromTheEarliestTimesToThePresentDay/ArmeniansInIndiaFromEarliestTimesToPresentDayByMesrovbSeth\\_djvu.txt](http://archive.org/stream/ArmeniansInIndiaFromTheEarliestTimesToThePresentDay/ArmeniansInIndiaFromEarliestTimesToPresentDayByMesrovbSeth_djvu.txt) Accessed, 9 November 2017. The birth dates for Alexander, Anna Maria and Lewis were computed from Death Certificates. The birth date for Anna was computed from the date of her death given by Seth, 1937. The birth date for John was computed from the date of his death according to London Metropolitan Archives, Papers relating to land held by Lord Lovelace, Long Ditton and Alexander and Edward Raphael at Kingston and Surbiton, ACC/2558/CH/01/228.

<sup>9</sup> Seth, 1937.

<sup>10</sup> See note 9.

<sup>11</sup> Religious history of Armenia, L'Osservatore Romano, English Edition, 3 October 2001, p. 7.

<https://www.etwn.com/library/CHISTORY/armenia.htm> Accessed, 20 August 2017. Today both churches are virtually identical in traditional liturgy and spirituality.

<sup>12</sup> Anon., 1992, A guide to St. Raphael's Catholic Church, published privately, John Martin Corkery, 1995, Catholicism in Kingston upon Thames from the Reformation to 1850, Catholic Ancestor, Vol. 5, No. 4, February 1995, p. 156. Amanda C. Dickie, 2008. Patrick M. Geoghegan, 2010, Liberator. The life and death of Daniel O'Connell, Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, Chapter 5.

<sup>13</sup> Phillip D. Curtin, 1984, Cross-cultural trade in world history, Cambridge University Press, 205-206.

<sup>14</sup> Mark Anthony Lower, 1988, A Dictionary of Surnames, Ware, Wordsworth Editions. This was first published as a Dictionary of the Family Names of the United Kingdom, in 1860, by John Russell Smith, London, and G. P. Bacon, Lewes.

<sup>15</sup> Encyclopaedia Judaica, 2007. The reference given is A.M. Hyamson, 1952, Journal of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 16, 225-6.

<sup>16</sup> W. Rubenstein, A. Jolles & Hilary L. Rubenstein, Eds., 2011, The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>17</sup> S. D. Chapman, 'Raphael, Henry Lewis (1832–1899)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48945> accessed 25 May 2017.

<sup>18</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Papers relating to land held by Lord Lovelace, Long Ditton and Alexander and Edward Raphael at Kingston and Surbiton, ACC/2558/CH/01/228.

<sup>19</sup> His linguistic expertise was recognised by the Royal Asiatic Society of which he was a member of the Oriental Translation Committee, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1835, Vol. 2.

<sup>20</sup> See note 18.

<sup>21</sup> Henry Benjamin Wheatley & Peter Cunningham, 2011, London past and present: its history, associations and traditions, digital version, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Ancestry, St Pancras Old Church burial records, 1793-1812.

<sup>22</sup> <https://milwaukeearmenians.com/2014/09/04/foundation-of-the-mekhitarist-congregation/>

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accessed, 9 November 2017.

<sup>23</sup> Alin K. Gregorian, 2011, A fresh look at role of New Julfa, *Amenian Mirror-Spectator*, 22 September 2011, <https://mirrorspectator.com/2011/09/22/a-fresh-look-at-role-of-new-julfa>

<sup>24</sup> See endnote 13. Curtin wrote that Alexander Raphael was thoroughly anglicised.

<sup>25</sup> Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander\\_Raphael](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Raphael)

<sup>26</sup> British India Office, Wills & Administrations, Will of Edward Raphael, 14 February 1791, Inventory of Edward Raphael, 25 September 1792, L-AG-34—29-194, Find My Past [https://search.findmypast.co.uk/results/world-records/british-india-office-wills-and-probate?firstname=edward%20&firstname\\_variants=true&lastname=raphael&eventyear=1791&eventyear\\_offset=2](https://search.findmypast.co.uk/results/world-records/british-india-office-wills-and-probate?firstname=edward%20&firstname_variants=true&lastname=raphael&eventyear=1791&eventyear_offset=2) accessed 25 May 2017.

National Archives Currency Converter <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>

Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pagoda\\_\(coin\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pagoda_(coin)) accessed 9 November 2017.

<sup>27</sup> The Oxford Names Companion, 2002, indicates that the surname “*Kennedy*” is Irish in origin.

<sup>28</sup> The Parliamentary Debates from the year 1803 to the present time, House of Commons, minutes of evidence before the Commons, On the East India Company’s affairs, 14 April 1813 p.864.

<sup>29</sup> Amanda C. Dickie, 2007. Edward Raphael’s will indicated that Anna Moorat, née Raphael, would have remained in India with her husband.

<sup>30</sup> No other record of Lendore was found.

<sup>31</sup> British Library, Asian and African Studies, *Journal of the East Indiaman*, Prince William Henry, 1788-1801, 10R/L MAR B 389B.

<sup>32</sup> The movements of sailors might be explained by a need for the Royal Navy to redeploy its men by use of a passing East Indiaman. But the removal of men from the Prince William Henry on 27 June possibly could have been the result of a press gang.

<sup>33</sup> Lloyd’s Evening Post, 22-25 July 1791, General Evening Post, 23-26 July 1791, London Chronicle, 23-26 July 1791 and Diary or Woodfell’s Register, 25 July 1791, accessed on line at the British Library, 1 June 2017.

<sup>34</sup> The Gentleman’s Magazine, Vol. 70, July 1791, Obituary of considerable persons: with biographical anecdotes, p. 682.

<sup>35</sup> Will of Edward Raphael, National Archives, Deposition of Edmund Boehm, July 1792, Catalogue reference, Prob 11/1207.

<sup>36</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Papers relating to land held by Lord Lovelace, Long Ditton and Alexander and Edward Raphael at Kingston and Surbiton, ACC/2558/CH/01/228.

<sup>37</sup> The husband of Anna Maria Raphael, Henry Bertram Ogle, provided an answer on behalf of his wife, as was the legal requirement at the time.

<sup>38</sup> British Library, Asian and African Studies, *Journal of the East Indiaman*, Rodney, 10R/L/MAR/B/442F, entry for 18 April 1791.

<sup>39</sup> See note 14, above. Henry B. Wheatley, 1891, in *London past and present: its history, associations and traditions*, London, London, John Murray, stated that Father Nicholas Pusani was of the Order of St. Anthony.

<sup>40</sup> Ancestry, burial records of Old St. Pancras Church, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> accessed 9 November 2017.

<sup>41</sup> Ancestry, land tax records, Kensington, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> accessed 9 November 2017.

<sup>42</sup> Ancestry, solicitors’ articles of agreement, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> accessed 9 November 2017.

<sup>43</sup> Ancestry, marriage records, Marylebone, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> accessed 9 November 2017.

<sup>44</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, MS 11936/507/1039843.

<sup>45</sup> Morning Advertiser, 28 June 1827.

<sup>46</sup> Ancestry, land tax records, Hendon, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>, accessed 10 November 2017.

<sup>47</sup> British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol45/pp91-92>

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Gagik Stepan-Sarkissian of the Armenian Institute in London, advised that while there may have been a few Armenian merchants or commodity dealers in London at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, there was no Armenian community there.

<sup>49</sup> Ancestry, Freemen of City of London, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> accessed 9 November 2017.

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- <sup>50</sup> Also known as the Catholic Emancipation Act.
- <sup>51</sup> Times, 7 May 1830. Document held in the archives of St. Raphael's Church.
- <sup>52</sup> Kingston Corporation, Court of Assembly Minute Book, October 1828-September 1831, Kingston History Centre, KB/1/5. William Downing Biden, 1852, The history and antiquities of the ancient and royal town of Kingston upon Thames, Kingston, William Lindsey, p.122.
- <sup>53</sup> Morning Chronicle, 11 October 1832. Preston Chronicle, 8 December 1832. Times, 11 June 1832 & 12 October 1832.
- <sup>54</sup> Standard, 4 April 1833. Times, 22 March 1833 & 8 May 1833.
- <sup>55</sup> Times, 14 April 1834, 14 May 1834, 21 November 1834 & 29 December 1834.
- <sup>56</sup> Morning Post, 13 January 1835. London Gazette, 1835.
- <sup>57</sup> I am grateful to Nancy Charley, Archivist, Royal Asiatic Society, the Secretary of Brooks' Club, Rosaline Love, Graduate Trainee Librarian, The Royal Horticultural Society, and Sarah Boardhurst, Archivist at the Zoological Society of London for the relevant information.
- <sup>58</sup> Amanda Dickie, 2008.
- <sup>59</sup> See note 1.
- <sup>60</sup> Dr. Roots was the Surgeon of Kingston House of Correction from 1810-1852, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a magistrate – see [www.kingstonhistoryresearch.co.uk](http://www.kingstonhistoryresearch.co.uk) & William Downing Biden, 1852, list of subscribers.
- <sup>61</sup> The Builder, 1847, vol. 5, pp. 602-603.
- <sup>62</sup> See note 61.
- <sup>63</sup> Document held in the Archives of St. Raphael's Church.
- <sup>64</sup> See note 61.
- <sup>65</sup> The 1851 Religious Census: Surrey, 1997, Surrey Record Society, Vol. XXXV, 9.135, no. 499. Bernard William Kelly, 1907, Historical notes on English Catholic missions, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, <https://ia801400.us.archive.org/3/items/historicalnoteso00kelluoft/historicalnoteso00kelluoft.pdf> downloaded 15 January 2018.
- <sup>66</sup> According to Shaan Butters, 2013, That famous place. A history of Kingston upon Thames, Kingston, Kingston University Press, p. 274, only the altar was consecrated because at the time the church was a private chapel. Possibly, the Surrey Comet article of 3 December 1904 was Father Ryan's source.
- <sup>67</sup> Kingston Lodge was in Norbiton, a part of Kingston upon Thames.
- <sup>68</sup> The Tablet, 31 July 1847, cited by Dickie, 2008.
- <sup>69</sup> Document held in the Archives of St. Raphael's Church.
- <sup>70</sup> Letter from Professor Stephen Walsh, 1964, to parish priest, held in the Archives of St. Raphael's Church. See also, Bedfordshire Times & Independent, 30 April 1859.
- <sup>71</sup> Document held in the Archives of St. Raphael's Church.
- <sup>72</sup> Patrick M. Geoghagan, 2010.
- <sup>73</sup> National Portrait Gallery, NPG D41363, A cartoon of Raphael after Carlow Doleci [Alexander Raphael; Daniel O'Connell].
- <sup>74</sup> Abstract from A History of St. Albans, undated, in the Archives of St. Raphael's Church.
- <sup>75</sup> Correspondence between Alexander Raphael, Esq., MP for St. Albans and Lord Lovelace, Lord Lieutenant of County of Surrey, 31 August 1850 & 4 September 1850. [https://archive.org/stream/correspondencebe00raph/correspondencebe00raph\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/correspondencebe00raph/correspondencebe00raph_djvu.txt) Accessed 11 November 2017.
- <sup>76</sup> The 1851 Religious Census: Surrey, 1997, p. xlili.
- <sup>77</sup> Cardinal Wiseman's Pastoral letter announcing the Hierarchy, "Out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome, Appendix B in Brian Fothergill, 1963, Nicholas Wiseman, London, Faber and Faber Ltd.
- <sup>78</sup> Denis G. Paz, 1968, The Papal aggression. Creation of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England, 1850, MA dissertation, North Texas State University
- <sup>79</sup> June Sampson, 1997, Kingston Past, London, Historical Publications, p. 31. She did not provide a supporting reference. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* lists the Rev. Stephen Stock Gower as a curate of Kingston upon Thames from 1844-1852.
- <sup>80</sup> So far, searches of newspaper archives have not found the relevant articles.
- <sup>81</sup> See also, note 65.
- <sup>82</sup> Cited by Geoghagan, 2010.
- <sup>83</sup> Times, 2 December 1823 & 14 October 1845. Shipping & Mercantile Gazette, 24 February 1848.

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<sup>84</sup> Advent of suburbia. Thomas Pooley, the railway and Surbiton, 1791-1856.

[www.kingstonhistoryresearch.co.uk](http://www.kingstonhistoryresearch.co.uk) Accessed 9 November 2017.

<sup>85</sup> City & County Directory, London, 1811, Ancestry. London Metropolitan Archives, Papers relating to land held by Lord Lovelace, Long Ditton and Alexander and Edward Raphael at Kingston and Surbiton, ACC/2558/CH/01/228. British History Online, A history of the County of Middlesex. [www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol3/pp53-57](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol3/pp53-57) Accessed 10 November 2017.

UK Poll Books & Electoral Registers, 1538-1839, Brighton Polling District, 1837, Ancestry.

<https://www.ancestry.co.uk> Accessed 9 November 2017. Dublin Weekly Register, 15

September 1839. Post Office Directory, Hertfordshire, Ancestry. <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>

Accessed 9 November 2017.

<sup>86</sup> Globe, 23 January 1850.

<sup>87</sup> Gentleman's Magazine, January-June, 1851, Vol. XXXV, pp. 97-98. Times, 20 November 1850. Illustrated London News, 23 November 1850.

<sup>88</sup> See note 3.

<sup>89</sup> Administration of Goods, Dec. 1851, Probate 6, 226, X/L08907, document held in the archives of St. Raphael's Church. The National Archives currency converter was used to calculate the rounded-up sums.

<sup>90</sup> George William Ayliffe, 1914, Old Kingston. Recollections of an octogenarian from 1830 and onwards, with reminiscences of Hampton Wick, Kingston upon Thames, Knapp Drewett & Sons Limited, reprinted 1972, pp. 39 & 45. Ayliffe suggests that Raphael was driving to a Roman Catholic Church in Brentford. It seems much more likely that he was going to St. Elizabeth's Church, Richmond – see 1851 Religious Census, p. 141, no. 521.

<sup>91</sup> Alexander Raphael's obituary in The Times, 20 November 1850. John Tosh, 2006, The pursuit of history, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, Harlow, Pearson Longman, p.209.

<sup>92</sup> House of Commons Debates, Security of the Crown, 7 April 1848, Vol. 98, Legacies Duties, 8 August 1848, Vol. 100] & Parliamentary Oaths Bill, 11 June 1849, Vol. 105.

<sup>93</sup> Gentleman's Magazine, January-June, 1851, Vol. XXXV, pp. 97-98. Tablet, 23 November 1850. Times, 20 November 1850. Illustrated London News, 23 November 1850.

<sup>94</sup> I am grateful to William Johnstone, Assistant Archivist at Westminster Diocesan Archives for the information on Dr. Maguire. He gave the Catholic Directory of 1850 as his source. Father Hodgson was found in the 1851 Religious Census, p. 141, no. 521, see note 65. See also, Census of 1841 for Richmond, Surrey, Ancestry, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> accessed, 13 January 2018.

<sup>95</sup> [http://www.straphael.org.uk/structure\\_of\\_the\\_church.htm](http://www.straphael.org.uk/structure_of_the_church.htm)