Frederick H. Evans's Lantern-Slide Lectures as a "Clock for Seeing"

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On Tuesday, 5 December 1899, British photographer Frederick Henry Evans delivered a lecture to the Royal Photographic Society in London; his subject was Lincoln Cathedral, and his talk was illuminated by lantern slides.[1] Assuming the role of church attendant, or "verger," he invited his audience to "enter" the cathedral through its doorways, to "step into" its transepts, and to "ascend" its stairways.[2] By generating what might be considered a "temporal hallucination"—to borrow Roland Barthes's description of the photograph—Evans transported his audience to the medieval cathedral.[3] As he stated later, in choreographing his lantern-slide lectures he sought to create an "illusion of actuality," and to "make it so alive and real as to yield the notion that all one has to do is to get up and to walk into the picture before one."[4]

During the 1890s, when Evans gave his lecture, photographic lantern slides had begun to gain widespread use following a simplification of lantern technology and the introduction of the carbon arc lamp as a new type of light source.[5] At about the same time, cultural and scientific institutions began to assemble and curate the first lantern-slide collections.[6] The Royal Photographic Society began to circulate sets of lantern slides for lectures to affiliated regional photographic societies, with lists of the available lectures published in the society's journal.[7]

Although Evans's poetic platinotypes or photographic prints have received the largest share of the scholarly attention paid to his work, in this article I will argue that his lantern slides offer greater insights into his practice and philosophy as well as into the relationship between architecture and photography more generally. As I will demonstrate, through the medium of the lantern slide Evans aimed to employ the photographic image to re-create architectural experience.[8] Focusing in particular on examples of Gothic and medieval architecture, Evans's carefully produced sets of images documenting individual buildings attest to intense periods of study and encounter between the photographer and the buildings as mediated through the camera.

Evans gave his lantern-slide lecture on Lincoln Cathedral at least three times: to the Camera Club in London in 1896, to the Royal Photographic Society in 1899, and to an unknown audience in 1902. The Center for Creative Photography in Tucson, Arizona, retains Evans's annotated manuscript of the 1902 lecture along with his numbered slides, allowing us to reunite his words and images (Figure 1). Through an in-depth examination of this lecture, I will show that it encompasses a constellation of temporalities far more complex than one might first imagine. As we tour the monument with Evans, we are drawn into a succession of spatial and temporal hallucinations. Two visual and/or photographic modes emerge: first, a spatial mode that accords with Evans's desire to re-create architectural experience, or the feelings engendered by the spaces of the cathedral; and second, a scopic mode that scrutinizes and dissects the complex surface details of the great cathedral to allow us to understand it better.

As I will argue, optical technologies—specifically the camera and the projector—in tandem with Evans's own photographic philosophy played a significant role in presenting his spatially and temporally idealized version of the cathedral. By means of meticulously controlled conditions, Evans intended his lantern lectures to re-create spatial experience as closely as possible, while his encounter with the building,

Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 80, no. 2 (June 2021), 161–181, ISSN 0037-9808, electronic ISSN 2150-5926. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/jsah.2021.80.2.161.

Figure 1 Frederick H. Evans, lantern slides of Lincoln Cathedral, England, 1895, in sequence shown in lectures (Frederick Evans Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson; slides photographed by author).


Slide no. 26


Slide no. 27


Slide no. 28


Slide no. 29


Slide no. 30


Slide no. 31


Slide no. 32


Slide no. 35


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Slide no. 48


Slide no. 49


Slide no. 50


Slide no. 51

Figure 1 Continued.


Slide no. 52


Slide no. 53


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Slide no. 79


Slide no. 81

Figure 1 Continued.


Slide no. 82


Slide no. 83


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Slide no. 88


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Slide no. 101

Figure 1 Continued.

mediated by the act of looking through the camera lens, encouraged Evans to alternate between a spatial photographic mode and a scopic one. As we journey around the cathedral with Evans, he switches between the two modes, each of which presents its own spatial and temporal qualities. I will argue that lantern-slide shows, as events conducted in time

and space, possessed a special spatiotemporal character, and that the temporal character of Evans's lecture on Lincoln Cathedral in particular represented complex constellation that, driven by the built fabric itself and by jumps between past and present, created a spatial ordering of time. Considering the camera as a "clock for seeing"—to borrow another of Barthes's phrases—in this article I examine photography as a device for seeing time in an experiential way, by making the past appear present, as well as a tool that can expose the true chronological character of a building. I begin with a brief description of Evans's photographic philosophy, followed by a discussion of his beliefs regarding "glass" or lantern slides as a medium. I then explore Evans's favored conditions for lantern-slide lectures before considering the spatiotemporal qualities of lantern lectures in general and then turning to a detailed analysis of the carefully structured combination of text and images that characterizes Evans's Lincoln Cathedral lecture.

Evans and the Recalling of Spatial Experience

George Bernard Shaw, who was a friend of Evans, described him as "a man of fragile health, to whom an exciting performance of a Beethoven symphony was as disastrous as a railway collision to an ordinary Philistine."[9] Born in London in 1853, Evans, according to his own assessment, made the "pursuit of beauty" his lifelong project.[10] He was a follower of Swedenborgianism, which meant that, for him, the perfection of nature was a reflection of spiritual perfection. Indeed, his photographic oeuvre could be characterized as an attempt to record beauty—in its transcendent sense—across all scales of nature, from landscapes and cathedrals to foliage and microscopic organisms. He is best known for his platinotype photographs of Gothic cathedrals, of which perhaps the most well known is his interior view of Wells Cathedral titled *A Sea of Steps* (Figure 2).[11] Evans ran a bookshop in Cheapside, which kept him connected to the cultural milieu of contemporary London; it was through the shop that he met both Aubrey Beardsley and the aforementioned Shaw, who also wrote admiringly that Evans had "the gift of seeing."[12]

Although Evans had no specific connection to architecture or the architectural profession, he was acquainted with William Morris. He related that Morris had used his slides of grotesque carvings to illustrate the artistic efforts of the "ordinary workman."[13] In December 1895 Evans gave a lantern-slide lecture at Morris's estate in the Cotswolds, Kelmscott Manor, and he returned the following year to photograph the manor as well as Great Coxwell Barn, a nearby medieval landmark.[14] Evans's usual lecture audiences were made up of fellow photographers, but we know that he gave a lantern-slide lecture to a wider audience of artists and architects at least once.[15] The subject matter of his lectures—Gothic cathedrals—situates Evans's work within the active architectural discourse in late nineteenth-century England that was concerned with historical truth, with the relationship of architecture to nature, with the merits of revivalism, and with the restoration of historic buildings. In his Lincoln Cathedral lecture, he made numerous references to prominent nineteenth-century architectural theorists, including Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, A. W. N. Pugin, and C. R. Cockerell.[16]

Figure 2 Frederick H. Evans, *A Sea of Steps*, Wells Cathedral, England, platinum print, 1903 (courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

Discussing his photographic work in an essay published in 1900 in the *Photographic Journal*, Evans wrote: "My chief aim has always been to try for such effects of light and shade as will give the irresistible *feeling* that one is *in* an interior, and that it is full of light and space."[17] In other words, through the medium of photography, Evans expressly sought to capture what it felt like to be in these spaces—to convey and even re-create architectural experience. As this passage suggests, he wanted to make observers feel as though they had magically been admitted into the spaces depicted, and to enable those who had visited these places to recall what it felt like to be there. Ultimately for Evans, photography functioned in phenomenological terms.[18] He expressed this idea many times; for example, in 1903 he wrote in *Camera Work* that success in any medium could be conceived as follows: "to convey to another the vital aspect and feeling of the original

Figure 3 Frederick H. Evans, *Ely Cathedral: The Strength of the Normans*, also known as *Ely Cathedral: Across Nave and Octagon*, platinum print, 1903 (The Royal Photographic Society Collection at the V&A, acquired with the generous assistance of the National Lottery Heritage Fund and Art Fund; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

subject, so as to translate one's own enjoyment of a scene into a visible record as to affect the critic with the very quality of one's own original emotion."[19]

However, Evans had to reconcile this ideal with the fact that not everyone who encountered his photographs had experienced the spaces that he presented in them. Therefore his writings often referred to "recollection" as analogous to both "creation" and "re-creation." For example: "A perfect photograph is one that perfectly records, reflects its subject; gives its beholder the same order of joy that the original would; conveys the mood and atmosphere so as to accurately recall the original feeling or create it in one who can only see the print."[20] For Evans, it was not simply that photography sparked recollection but also that the photograph operated by means of recollection: "Photography is a means of rendering nature's atmosphere and detail, not by means of suggestion by closer or wider lines, or by delicately or strongly graded washes, or other conventions, but by a 'recalling' of the thing itself."[21]

In terms of architectural memory, however, there was more than a "picture postcard" remembrance at stake here. As Clive Scott has observed, Evans sought "a re-enactment of first-hand visual experience" that could be repeated again and again through photography.[22] Evans desired not only a spatial but also a temporal reenactment. When possible, he removed whatever furniture or fixtures he judged to be anachronistic or inappropriate. Thus, he removed the chairs from the interiors of the cathedrals that he photographed so as to convey the volume of these spaces to its best effect.[23] He is also known to have removed modern conveniences such as gas fittings, "those pyramidical cast iron monstrosities of the Victorian era" (presumably heating fixtures), which then had to be replaced before congregations returned for services.[24] In his architectural photographs, Evans sought to convey not the buildings as they appeared in his contemporary Victorian era but rather more "truthful" versions from some unspecified moment in the medieval past. Of one of his photographs of Ely Cathedral he wrote: "All tend to make me again feel . . . that I am once more in the vast medieval building . . . back again in olden times; armored knights might go clanking musically across; cowled monks might at any moment emerge from behind a column and file across for prayers in the dim choir" (Figure 3).[25]

Reenactment, as we shall see, lies at the heart of Evans's lantern-slide lectures, for which he carefully curated the sequences of slides as a way to reenact the architectural encounter, in tandem with a specific photographic mode conceived to re-create spatial experience. In his lantern slides, however, we also find a scopic photographic mode at play. Unlike the spatial mode, the scopic mode does not encourage the viewer to occupy or inhabit the image. Instead, it presents the richly carved and ornamented surfaces of the buildings to the viewer for study and appreciation. The scopic mode is a visual mode that delights in detail and, as Martin Jay observes, "casts an attentive eye on the fragmentary, detailed and richly articulated surface of a world it is content to describe rather than explain."[26] Nonetheless, spatial reenactment remained Evans's primary concern. Of course, as two-dimensional representations, his photographs could go only so far as physical reenactments of embodied, in-the-flesh experiences.

Scott highlights the paradoxical nature of Evans's approach, noting that "Evans was preoccupied with ways of re-inhabiting the uninhabitable world of the photographic image."[27] The difference between the "habitable" spatial image and the descriptive scopic image will become clearer later in this essay, when we turn to Evans's lecture, but for now it is important to note that for Evans, the medium of the lantern slide offered a way to inhabit the image, and thereby a way to overcome the two-dimensional limitations of the photographic print.

The Illusion of Actuality

Evans believed lantern slides, which he called "glass," to be "the perfect expression" of photography. In an article published in *Camera Work* in April 1905, he extolled the virtues of glass as opposed to those of the paper print. He praised "the illusion of actuality" created by the projected image:

> The depth of the natural image, its relying on the presence of innumerable planes for the full conveying of the picture-message, is fully given only in the glass version of it. . . . Glass conveys with perfect truth that sense of depth, of aerial image, of innumerable planes inseparably connected, which is . . . the natural character and privilege of the lens-given image.[28]

The phrases Evans used to describe photographs—"the lens-given image," "the natural image"—indicate his belief that in photography, "nature" (or light) produced the images.[29] Conjoined with "depth," these phrases might sound oxymoronic, for images have no depth as such, but in the context of the projected image the physics of light could play a more direct role. Evans understood photography to originate with the camera and its lens. As he wrote in 1907: "I do contend, however, for the purity of the negative, and the recognition of the exhibited print as manifestly a photograph, something plainly due to the camera and lens as its genesis."[30]

While it might seem obvious, it is this fundamental belief in the generative power of the camera and lens that informed Evans's position as a "pure photographer," and it also explains his preference for the projected image. As he wrote, glass "is really more akin to the lens origin of our image."[31] When we consider that a lantern-slide projector works like a camera in reverse, whereby an image is projected into a room by light shining through a glass plate and then a screen, as Evans put it, "arrest[s] the aerial image," we can begin to understand the equivalence of optical technologies at play here.[32] The apparatus that produces the image (the camera) and the apparatus that shows the image (the projector) both operate via the manipulation of light. One is the reverse of the other: while the camera lens causes light rays from the exterior world to converge onto a light-sensitive surface, the projector lens causes the light to diverge out into the exterior world, where it is "arrested" by the screen. Projection is, as Dominique Païni has observed, "the luminous transport of images."[33] This fundamental principle also helps us to understand what Evans meant when he described a sense of depth in the projected image. For the projected light rays reconstitute or "recall" the original image captured by the camera, the original surfaces that in turn formed the photographic image. Thus, the projected image has no surface—it can be arrested at any point in space and released back to light simply through the removal of the screen. Its surface is "borrowed," so to speak—only temporarily available while the light shines through the glass. Here, too, we may understand photography as a "recalling of the thing itself." It is a direct "trace" left by the reflection of light on the surfaces present before the camera lens. The projected image maintains the direct nature of the relationship among light, object, and image.

Innumerable Planes

The "depth" of the natural image, according to Evans's conception, relied on the "presence of innumerable planes." These are the myriad surfaces that reflect the light rays (everything visible, everything present) into the lens of the camera to form the image. As Evans explained:

> A photograph does not work in this way [as drawings do, by suggestion], but has to rely on a faithful "recalling" of the conditions in which the observation was made; it is dependent entirely for its success in either art suggestion or truth to atmosphere, on its truth in planes, not in a surface suggestion of lines or washes but *a suggestion of depth, in innumerable planes, and all so infinitely related as to be inseparable; their melting into one another is the act and condition of the atmosphere in which they alone cohere, which alone relates and binds them.*[34]

For Evans, these planes constituted all visual experience, infinite and omnipresent. Photographs such as *Ely Cathedral: A Memory of the Normans* and *York Minster Opening into the South Transept* reveal the connection between the perception of spatial depth and interlocking planes (Figures 4 and 5). Each of these images consists of a series of dark interlocking vertical planes in the foreground framing a distant view beyond, where columns conceal the vanishing point. In a world conceived as an infinity of planes, the idea of a vanishing point becomes somewhat illogical. There is a sense of space endlessly unfolding deep into the image and a suggestion of a space beyond yet to be revealed.

Transparency

Another key (if idiosyncratic) term that Evans used was "transparence." As he argued, the transparency of glass suggested "the natural depth of the photographic image."[35]

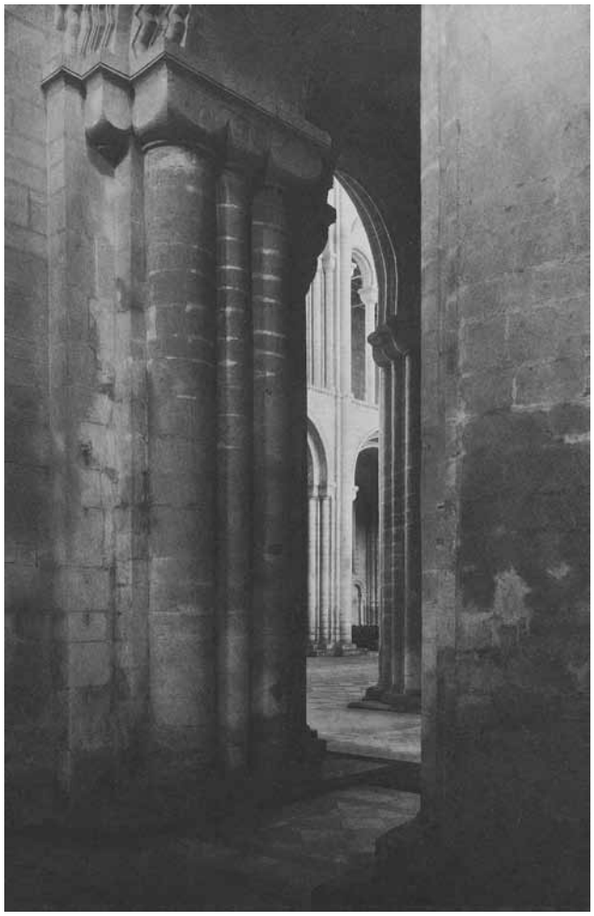

Figure 4 Frederick H. Evans, *Ely Cathedral: A Memory of the Normans*, photogravure, 1903 (The J. Paul Getty Museum, digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).

Figure 5 Frederick H. Evans, *York Minster Opening into the South Transept*, platinum print, ca. 1901 (The Royal Photographic Society Collection at the V&A, acquired with the generous assistance of the National Lottery Heritage Fund and Art Fund © Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

But given the required opacity of the screen, "what, then, becomes of its vaunted transparence?" He sidestepped the issue, reporting that "the sense of actuality is not diminished . . . for it must be remembered that the screen . . . merely acts as something to arrest the aerial image."[36] The image, he argued, was not chemically bonded as in a paper print, but only rested on the surface of the screen. Thus, the transparency of the glass could convey "innumerable planes," whereas paper, with "its abrupt stoppage of the image at the surface," could not "adequately exhibit the entire value and charm of these infinitely related planes."[37] The transparency of glass, the "natural image," with its attendant depth from a light- and lens-based technology, and the concept of "innumerable planes" are all interconnected qualities that together generated what Evans called an "aerial image." This description referred not only to the projection of the image through the air but also to a sense of freedom, of the image transcending the bounds imposed by paper. That the technology that originally captured the image was mirrored by the technology that set it free was not only poetic but, in Evans's eyes, also enhanced what he called "the illusion of actuality." As he argued:

> Recognize that photography is an art-method that relies on a presentment of the image given in planes, enveloped in atmosphere, real, and not suggested or simulated by lines or washes; and that to fully exploit these, the final base of the image should be as nearly transparent as the original vehicle, air replaced by glass, so that when one sees the final shaping of our picture, it shall be *as nearly free and intangible as any recalling of the original* can hope or expect to get.[38]

The lantern slide provided the perfect medium to bring Evans's project to its fullest possible realization.

Preserving the Illusion of Actuality

Evans's desire to create an image that could be inhabited and that could reenact experience encouraged him to control the

conditions of his lantern-slide lectures as much as possible. In a series of articles published in 1903 and 1906, he offered tips for the perfect show. Every detail was controlled to maintain "the illusion of actuality." As he affirmed, "No light should reach the eyes of the audience except from the screen," and he recommended using "an asbestos cloth . . . to cover up any such leakage."[39] It was the "character of the light" that mattered rather than the "amount" of it—it should be "quiet, soft, steady, and uniform," avoiding the "coughing and spluttering" of an electric light at all costs.[40] The absolute rigidity of the projector, its tripod and carrier, and the screen would ensure that the image remained perfectly motionless.[41] Displaying individual images for at least four or five seconds would allow "their full beauty and relief" to "come out."[42] The rise and fall of a curtain on the slide carrier controlled transitions between slides and gave the eye a chance to rest.[43]

Evans advised that the lecturer should stand next to the projector rather than next to the screen, so that audience attention would be concentrated on the image rather than on the speaker.[44] Characteristically, he rejected the use of "fancy" colors in photographic lantern slides, which could detract from the pictorial qualities of the images. Instead, "in the proper warm brown-black of perfect transparence, *the whole attention is unconsciously given* to the technical and pictorial qualities of the slide."[45]

The size of the screen was especially important: Evans recommended 4 feet, 6 inches square, to accommodate an image of 4 feet. Equally vital was the position of the screen. The audience, he insisted, "must be able to embrace the full image on the screen with one restful glance."[46] The position of the image should be low, "the point of sight being low enough to make the scene more fully natural, to make it so alive and real as to yield the notion that all one has to do is to get up and to walk into the picture before one."[47] This oxymoronic phrase—"to walk into the picture before one"—foregrounds Evans's phenomenological project and its corollary dilemma, namely, inhabiting a two-dimensional representation of an architectural space.

By specifying the precise spatiotemporal conditions of his lantern-slide lectures, Evans made every effort to enhance "the illusion of actuality." He even advocated projecting the image into a mirror at the opposite end of the room; as he wrote, in this way "the illusion of the scene being actual and real is most perfect . . . it is not the abnormal sort of actuality that the stereoscope suggests and feels to be bogus and sham; but it is an apparent transference of the plane of the image of the opaque screen to the actuality of the original."[48] Ultimately Evans aimed to restore the image to "the actuality of the original," thereby enabling his audience, as much as possible, to inhabit the image with him.

The Spatial and Temporal Character of the Lantern-Slide Lecture

The lantern-slide lecture featured distinct temporal qualities. First, it was an event that unfolded in time—a sequence of images presented one after another—where, as Païni observes, "time [was] consubstantial with the projected image."[49] Second, it was a shared experience in a dramatic atmosphere created by the darkened room, as depicted in engravings of eighteenth-century phantasmagoria (Figure 6). Third, the real-time narration of the lecturer, focusing attention on the presence of the image, completed what Robert Nelson has called a "performative triangle," consisting of the lecturer, the audience, and the image.[50] As Nelson argues, the use of the photographic slide within this performative triangle encouraged a shift in the rhetorical modes of art history lectures—from an ekphrastic to a deictic mode, from a mode of description to a mode of showing—that furthered the strength and immediacy of the illusion and also concentrated the audience's attention.[51]

The audience thus received lantern-slide images in a state of concentration, not one of distraction, contrary to Walter Benjamin's well-known views on cinema. And yet, given that the magic lantern was the precursor to cinema, here we should pause to consider Benjamin's argument. In his 1935 essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Benjamin insisted that, unlike paintings, film did not allow for contemplation of the image: "The painting invites the spectator to contemplation; before it the spectator can abandon himself to his associations. Before the movie frame he cannot do so. No sooner has his eye grasped a scene than it is already changed. It cannot be arrested."[52] But the lantern-slide image could be arrested: the four to five seconds that Evans stipulated for each slide was many times slower than a movie's twenty-four frames per second.[53] Evans's slowly changing images allowed time for audience members to digest, contemplate, and study what they were viewing.

At the same time, the lantern-slide lecture created a particular spatial character almost entirely independent of the room in which it occurred. The physical and technical requirements of a darkened space and a projector facing a lighted screen remained constant regardless of the actual room where the presentation took place, as indicated by a photograph of a lantern-slide lecture on Japan that was delivered in Antarctica in 1911 during Robert F. Scott's expedition to that continent (Figure 7). Indeed, it might be argued that the lantern projector carried its spatial character within it: its projected image defined the boundary of its space. Furthermore, especially in Evans's meticulously planned lantern-slide lectures, the position of the projector and screen, as well as the layout of the seats for the audience, imposed a certain arrangement of bodies in space: the seated audience members,

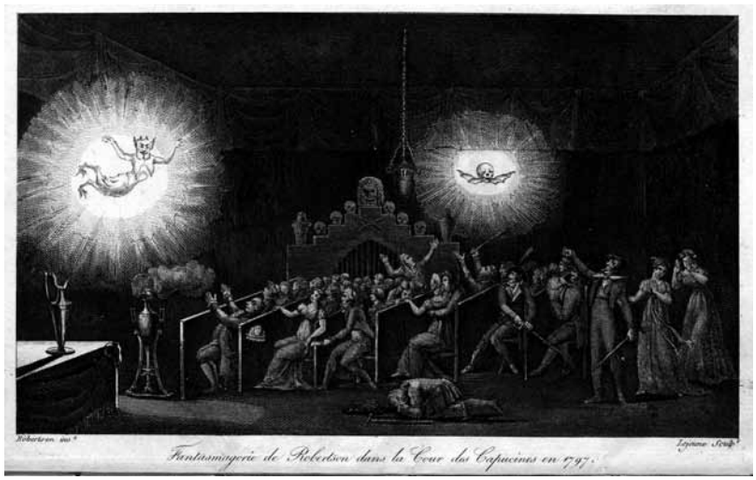

Figure 6 Etienne Gaspard Robertson, *Fantasmagorie de Robertson dans la Cour des Capucines en 1797*, engraving, 1831 (E. G. Robertson, *Mémoires récréatifs, scientifiques et anecdotiques du physicien-aéronaute E. G. Robertson* [Paris: Chez l'Auteur et à la Librairie de Wurtz, 1831).

Figure 7 Herbert Ponting delivering a lantern-slide lecture on Japan, Antarctica, 1911 (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge).

counter to traditional codes of behavior and the usual arrangement for a conventional lecture, turned their backs on the speaker and directed their gaze toward the screen.

The Lecture on Lincoln Cathedral

Evans began his Lincoln Cathedral lecture with words rather than images: four pages of text came before the first slide. As a prologue, Evans outlined his project, asserting that "architecture as architecture" was not his goal; he was interested only in "the search-after-the-beautiful."[54] Rather than focusing on technical or constructional details, the "picturesque views" he would present would "evoke the spirit of the place; its atmosphere and charm."[55]

Evans described the sense of "bewilderment" that he felt on his first walk around the cathedral: "The atmosphere and sense of quietude, the feeling of past greatness, the aloofness from the current and contemporary, all tend to make one dwell on the general impression."[56] From the outset, Evans's lecture conjured up a form of time travel, a temporal hallucination triggered by the building itself, a daydream that enabled his audience to leave the present behind and immerse themselves in the age of the cathedral. Recalling Goethe's need for repeated sessions of contemplation to absorb the full grandeur of Strasbourg Cathedral, Evans explained the need for "successive visits . . . to be able to isolate and study and appreciate" the "more recondite beauties" of color, form, composition, light and shade, and so on.[57] His use of the verbs "isolate," "study," and "appreciate" indicated precisely those actions that photography facilitates, implicitly acknowledging the essential role of the camera in making sense of the vast and bewildering edifice.

Moving from the dreamlike to the factual, Evans then described a timeline of significant events at the cathedral, from

its foundation in 1075 by Remigius to the earthquake of 1185 to St. Hugh's early English Gothic cathedral.[58] Once finished with history, he began his lecture in earnest, focusing on the spatiotemporal exploration of the cathedral: "After a look at the Ground Plan, we will begin our slides with a few exterior subjects to show the position and site of the Cathedral, and we will then take our walk round and through the building, the slides being arranged in the order a visitor would most naturally take, or be taken by the verger."[59]

Evans invited his audience to participate in this photographic reverie with him, to collectively suspend their disbelief and allow the photographic images to become the thing itself. Inviting his audience to walk with him, he declared that the sequence of the slides followed the typical route taken by the verger or a guide at the actual building site. Unsurprisingly, given his desire to re-create experience, Evans favored this peripatetic mode as the ordering device for his lectures.[60]

The next four slides showed the building in its context, intended to evoke the experience of the approaching visitor (Figure 8).[61] However, the first view was an anomaly: it did not truly replicate the experience of the visitor, as it was taken from a height. Nor was it a typical view for Evans, for it also included people and other evidence of the modern living city, all of which served to return audience members to the time of the photograph's making, rather than to place them in the medieval time of the cathedral.

Speaking for the most part in the present tense, Evans assumed the role of tour guide: "Continuing our walk along the High Street to reach the Cathedral we get to Steephill." He occasionally slipped into other times and tenses to embellish his description, as he continued, "an excellently well-named street, as all know who have toiled up it, with or without the burden of a large camera," and returning again to the present, "the portion of it *we now see* is of nearly ordinary level, the steep pitch is higher up, under the Cathedral."[62] This easy slippage between tenses is indicative of a deictic mode of rhetoric—showing rather than describing—a mode encouraged by the photographic slide, as Nelson indicates.[63] Here, Evans suggested he and the audience were in the image, as though they were actually walking up the street together, eliding the photograph with what it represented. He continued in this mode for slide 4: "*Approaching* still closer *we reach* Castle Hill, and *have this view* of the Exchequer Gate over which the West Towers rise nobly." And again for slide 5: "But for a fuller view of the Towers and the West Front *we will ascend* the part of the Castle known as Cobb Hall, and thus get this superb piece of grouping" (see Figure 8).[64]

Through the sequencing of the images, reinforced by the real-time narration, Evans suggested the "progressive realization" of the building, which he felt was more akin to real experience than what he called the "bovrilised version" presented in architectural drawings, which combined

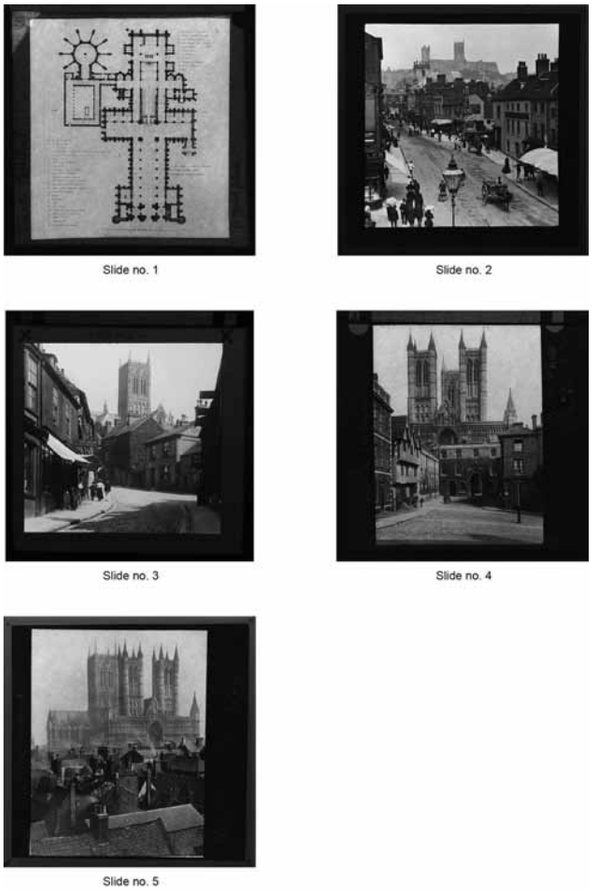

Figure 8 Frederick H. Evans, slides 1–5, lantern slides of Lincoln Cathedral, England, 1895 (Frederick Evans Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson).

perspective views into a single viewpoint not possible in reality.[65] Furthermore, Evans's narration here referred both to the view and to the actions required to achieve this view—"we will ascend the part of the Castle known as Cobb Hall"—thereby reenacting the experience for the audience. In the lantern-slide lecture, with its multiple images in sequence, the reenactment moved away from the metaphorical and toward the literal retracing of steps. Evans's journey through this sequence of images suggests an effort to compensate for photography's inevitable distance from the real.

At this point Evans abruptly switched from the spatial to the scopic mode of analysis, focusing on the building's surfaces rather than scrutinizing the richly carved edifice in depth through the camera lens. The next seventeen slides, numbers 6–22, surveyed the cathedral's west front, beginning "in direct perspective, North to South," followed by an overall view, then the central portion only, then carved architectural details, before taking each architectural feature in turn,

Figure 9 Frederick H. Evans, slides 6–22, lantern slides of Lincoln Cathedral, England, 1895 (Frederick Evans Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson).

successively zooming in, until viewers were presented with detailed images of carvings, and then zooming out to repeat the process with the next element (Figure 9). Evans's lens moved from the largest, most eye-catching element of the façade, the rose window, to the next, the portal below, and then to the niches, moving laterally between them, framing them, focusing the audience's gaze and attention, until finally a single carving filled the screen. This process of scanning, selecting, isolating, and zooming presented a way for the audience to digest the building, a way to reduce its massive scale to "bite-size" pieces. Here, the camera's ability to frame—its capacity to isolate a particular detail and exclude all else—mediated Evans's encounter with Lincoln Cathedral and subsequently his audience's encounter with the building.

Dissecting and collating fragments for study, Evans's architectural analysis coincided with the approach used by the growing scientific disciplines of the nineteenth century.[66] Here Evans offered for leisurely contemplation close-up details, such as those shown in slides 21 and 22, that required a perilous ascent in the field. With hundreds of similar photographs, Evans's lantern-slide oeuvre fulfilled John Ruskin's aims for architectural photography: "This architecture should be taken, not merely when it presents itself under picturesque general forms, but stone by stone, and sculpture by sculpture; seizing every opportunity afforded by scaffolding to approach it closely and putting the camera in any position that will command the sculpture wholly."[67]

Evans's survey of the west front of Lincoln Cathedral exemplified the scopic mode, recalling the use of a magnifying glass on a richly detailed surface. If this temporary distraction from the promised spatial reenactment reflected Evans's desire to capture thoroughly the cathedral's elaborate surfaces, perhaps it also reflected the prolonged mediating role of the camera lens. The camera lends itself to this kind of mode: these scopic slides showcase its capacity to frame, to identify vantage points, and to capture detail (also attested in Evans's other lantern-slide sets, such as those of Westminster Cathedral and Winchester Cathedral).[68] The sheer numbers of close-up views of carvings in his Southwell Minster and York Minster Chapter House slides suggest an overwhelming amount of detail only just brought under control by the camera lens (Figure 10).[69]

Evans's subtle use of language moved away from metaphorical reenactment to the deictic mode during this narration. For example, his discussion of slides 6 through 9, 14, 17, 18, and 19 began, "This is"—a view, the whole of the west front, the central portion, the window—directing attention

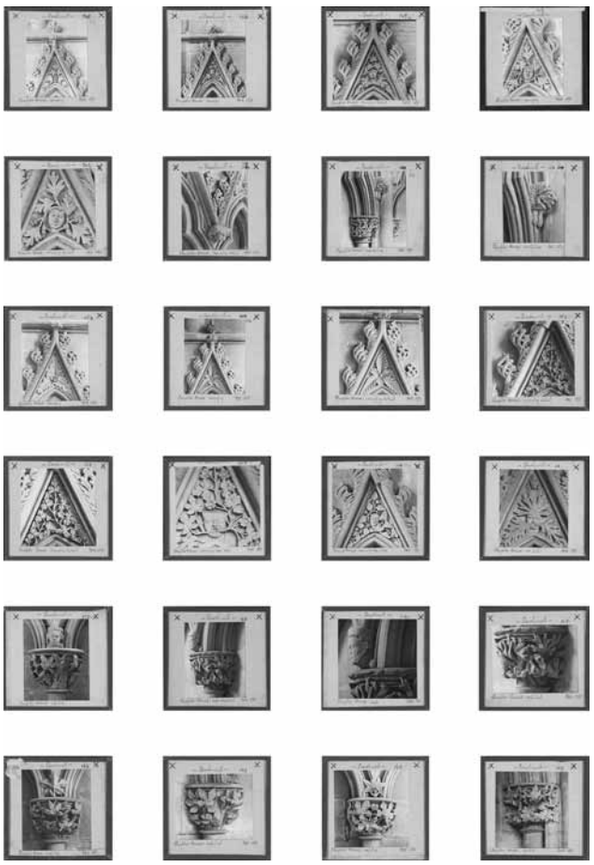

Figure 10 Frederick H. Evans, lantern slides of Southwell Minster, England, 1898, details of Chapter House (courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal).

to the indexical function of each image. His choices of verbs instead reflected the scopic mode: "We now study," "We now look," "We will now see." These choices reinforced the "imagehood" of the projected images, implying a certain phenomenological distance—no longer reenacting or entering into a space, the viewer was instead looking at a two-dimensional representation. The depth featured in slides 3 and 4 is absent in slides 6–22 (see Figures 8 and 9). Here there is no depth to inhabit.

Evans's shift in rhetoric also reflected the different spatio-temporal character of each mode. His use of the spatial mode mimicked perceptual experience, suggesting a forward momentum through time and space as the images progressed through the space of the cathedral. In contrast, his use of the scopic mode worked to suspend both time and space, allowing the eye—the lens—to move, disembodied, across the façade.

A Tool for Temporal Truth

Evans's discussion of the west front introduced a second layer of temporality to his lecture, combining ideas of truth and time while also situating the lecture within the architectural theories of William Morris and John Ruskin. Given Evans's familiarity with Morris (his library included many of Morris's writings), it comes as no surprise that perhaps his most animated commentary was reserved for his denunciation of the restoration of the cathedral's sculpture (slide 13; see Figure 9):

> We now look at the piers of this door . . . much of it is restored work. . . . The work was very well done but after all, it is a sheer imitation, a lie: it pretends to be what it is not, Norman work and it is entirely misleading to the untrained or casual visitor. . . . To my mind that is as criminal as facsimiling a page in an old MS [manuscript] and passing it off as the actual original: this would be condemned as a forgery. . . . Certainly one would look for the keenest and purest evidence of truth in a building devoted to the worship of God![70]

Evans's language echoed the 1877 "Manifesto for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings," in which Morris attacked "the strange idea of Restoration" as a "forgery."[71] Evans described his desire to travel back in time to capture an image of the pure original, prior to the insult of modern restoration (slide 14):

> This gives you the capitals in detail: you may pick out the old from the new for yourselves: it makes one however wish one could have lived when such work was fresh from the hands of the craftsman and recorded it then by one's camera, and still be here with you to show it side by side with its modern imitation.[72]

Evans wished to share a true record with his audience, both a visual document that was true to what it depicted and a depiction that accurately documented the building's passage through time. The camera recorded temporal truth—an example of Barthes's "clock for seeing" in action. Evans's sentiment also resonated with Viollet-le-Duc's use of photography during restoration as a means of returning buildings to a more perfect historical (temporally true) state, although the two men likely would have disagreed on the definition of what would qualify as a "more true" state.[73] More generally, Evans's slides and commentary reflected a nostalgia for historical architecture, especially for Gothic architecture as an expression of historical truth. Photography provided access to this past architecture in the present.

Alternation between the Spatial and the Scopic

Turning to the interior of the cathedral, Evans dealt with these spaces in the same manner, alternating between spatial and scopic modes. As he narrated, we "step into the North Nave aisle and look towards the North Transept, and the entrance to the Choir Aisle."[74] He presented a long perspectival

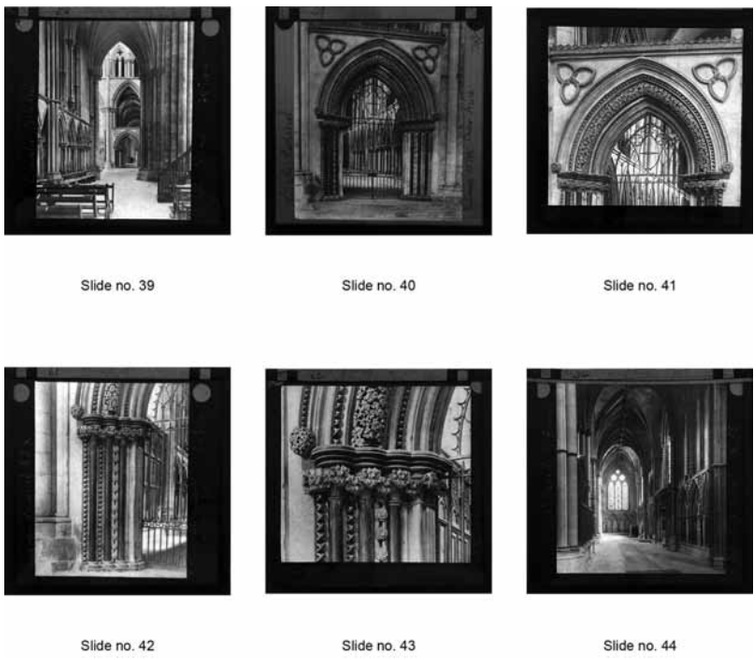

Figure 11 Frederick H. Evans, slides 39–44, lantern slides of Lincoln Cathedral, England, 1895 (Frederick Evans Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson).

view of the north nave aisle, with the arched entrance of the choir aisle on axis in the distance (slide 39). The next image presented the whole of this arched entrance as if the viewers had accompanied him down the aisle (slide 40). The top portion of the arch came next (slide 41), followed by the piers (slide 42), followed by a detailed view of the capitals (slide 43). With these close-up studies Evans moved from the spatial to the scopic mode. He referred to these sequences of images as "growths" and advocated for their use in the illustration of architecture: "One of the most attractive ways of using architectural illustrations, when not specifically made as constructive or historical instances, is to take a short set of them in sequence, to arrange and show them as growths one to the other, as successive items in a walk through the building."[75]

These growths, progressing from the spatial to the scopic, could be considered protocinematic: the long shot establishing the setting and place, followed by tighter and tighter shots, and culminating with the extreme close-up. Here, by virtue of the sequence of images, these scopic-mode photographs borrowed qualities of "inhabitability" from the spatial-mode photographs that preceded them. As "successive items in a walk through the building," they evoked the progressive realization of natural perception that Evans desired.[76]

The Built Fabric and the Sequence of Images

Evans returned to the spatial/experiential mode in the next slide (slide 44), as he tacitly acknowledged in his commentary: "This is the South Choir Aisle, looking eastwards: the wall arcades are slightly more interesting on this side, in this Aisle, and *this also follows our walk round*, *leading us to our best views* round the east end: as a verger, indeed, I must take you this way, as the vastly important sixpence has to be paid just here" (Figure 11).[77] Yet here Evans disrupted the sequence, jumping from the north to the south choir, to the aisle with the more interesting arcading. Although he claimed to follow the path of the verger through the cathedral, two competing interests vied to order the sequencing of the images: a focus on the study of the built fabric versus a focus on the experience of a visitor. Evans did not present his images in a linear circuit, but rather crisscrossed the building to prioritize architectural details, jumping from north to south and east to west. For example, after entering the building, the audience looked at the nave and triforium from the east (slide 30), but then jumped to a view from the west end of the nave looking to the northeast (slide 31; Figure 12).[78] Although Evans created an illusion of a smoothly linear sequence of images, in reality the building itself and its architectural features dictated the order of the slides (Figure 13).

This tension between Evans's illusion of the cathedral and its architectural reality reveals his lectures to be carefully curated constructs. At times he acknowledged their fabricated nature; of slide 87 in the Lincoln Cathedral lecture, for example, he said: "The doors are usually left closed, entrance being effected [*sic*] by the small wicket door in the right half; the brilliant, fairy-like effect before you, is not therefore always attainable by the visitor" (Figure 14).[79] Evans's reenactments thus idealized architectural experience, both spatially and

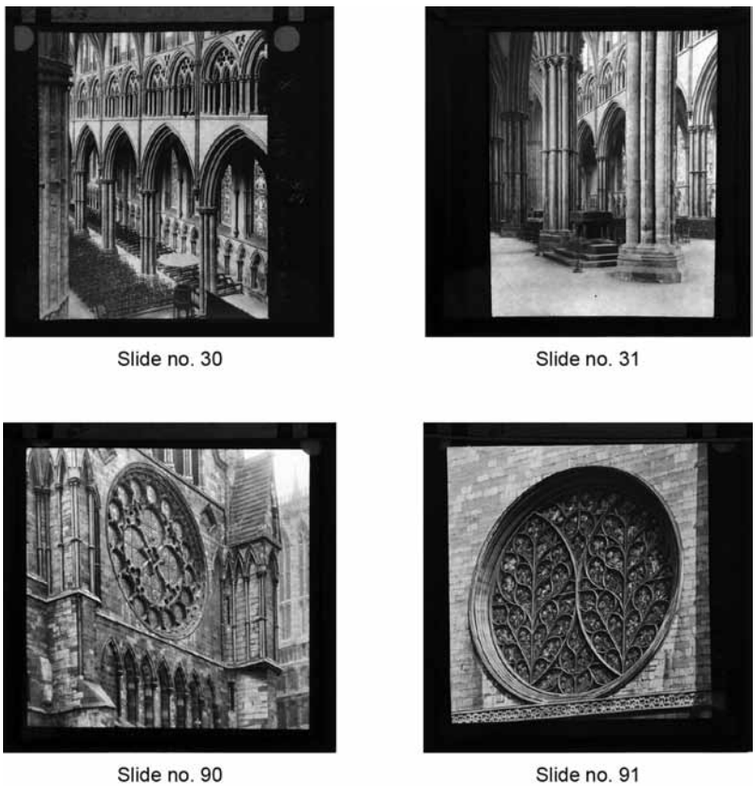

Figure 12 Frederick H. Evans, slides 30, 31, 90, and 91, lantern slides of Lincoln Cathedral, England, 1895 (Frederick Evans Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson).

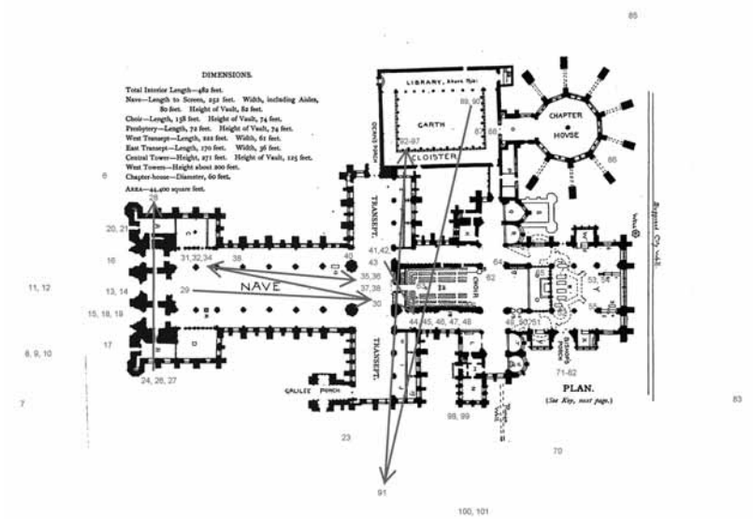

Figure 13 Plan of Lincoln Cathedral, England, from A. F. Kendrick's *The Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, with Evans's slide numbers mapped onto it; arrows show instances of sequences of images that crisscross the cathedral (A. F. Kendrick, *The Cathedral Church of Lincoln: A History and Description of Its Fabric and a List of the Bishops*, rev. ed. [London: George Bell & Sons, 1902]).

temporally, providing ideal views from different parts of the cathedral in sequence and eliminating obstructions and anachronisms. Further, Evans toured an empty cathedral, with no visitors traversing the spaces, unlike on a traditional tour. While the lantern-slide lecture setting was a shared experience, he did not permit figures to interrupt the views.

The Spatial Ordering of Time

Just as the building itself dictated the order of the slides, so it also prompted Evans to focus on particular episodes in its history. Of course, many changes occurred at Lincoln Cathedral over the centuries, and thus the building represented not one time but a great span of time. Evans elaborated on these

Figure 14 Frederick H. Evans, slide 87, lantern slides of Lincoln Cathedral, England, 1895 (Frederick Evans Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson).

Figure 15 Frederick H. Evans, slide 29, Lantern Slides of Lincoln Cathedral, England, 1895 (Frederick Evans Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson).

changes, visible in its built fabric, in his narration for slide 29, where he quoted from John Evelyn's (1620–1706) diary: "The soldiers in 1641 entered with axes and hammers and shut themselves in till they had rent and torn off barge-loads of metal from tombs etc: while the whole cathedral was so miserably ravaged that not one brass plate or monument escaped the mad rage of these men" (Figure 15).[80]

Scattered throughout the lecture, such episodes further complicated the temporal experience for the audience, as they were suddenly transported via Evans's spoken word to the "present" of another person at another time—in this case, to Evelyn's present in August 1653, a period of war and upheaval. Thus, Evans embedded events from the timeline of the cathedral in the timeline of his lecture. In his description of the cathedral's towers he recounted how in 1726 "a mob was raised to hinder the pulling down the two west end spires," and as a peace offering beer from the chancellor's cellar flowed on the Minster Green (slide 5; see Figure 8).[81] At the same time, Evans provided details about specific architectural elements depicted in the slides, including at a minimum dates of construction and associated patronage. In this manner his reading of the built fabric echoed Morris's view that "the untouched surface of ancient architecture bears witness to the development of man's ideas, to the continuity of history."[82] In fact, Evans appears to have been preoccupied with dating different elements of the built fabric. He criticized as "very vague history making" an earlier account of sculptures from the cathedral façade, noting that "in 1776 they were described as 'lately put up and had been in some other place before'" (slide 15; see Figure 9).[83]

Evans's crisscrossing of Lincoln Cathedral generated not linear but episodic photographic temporal hallucinations, as he jumped from one element and one century to another, directed, shaped, and guided by the building to assemble what one might call a spatial ordering of time. In so doing, Evans not only recalled spatial experience but also created a sort of time map of the cathedral, in which each element carried its appropriate time stamp. In this way, he could illuminate the true chronological character of the building, accurately lay out its history, and identify the "lies" (restorations). Coincidentally, the cathedral also measured time in a literal sense, with two sundials on its southern façade, one bearing the Latin inscription "Cito praeterit aetas" (Time passes quickly) and the other "Pereunt et imputantur" (They [the hours] pass away and [yet] are accounted for). Graffiti gouged into the building's stonework provided yet another marker of time (Figures 16 and 17).

Following the Light

Evans also conjoined time and truth in more subtle ways: as he remarked at the beginning of his lecture, "Each picture exists at its best at but one part of the day, perhaps at but one half-hour of the day."[84] Time dominated his working process; he sought to capture each image within a specific window of time, before it vanished. He spent weeks photographing, recording

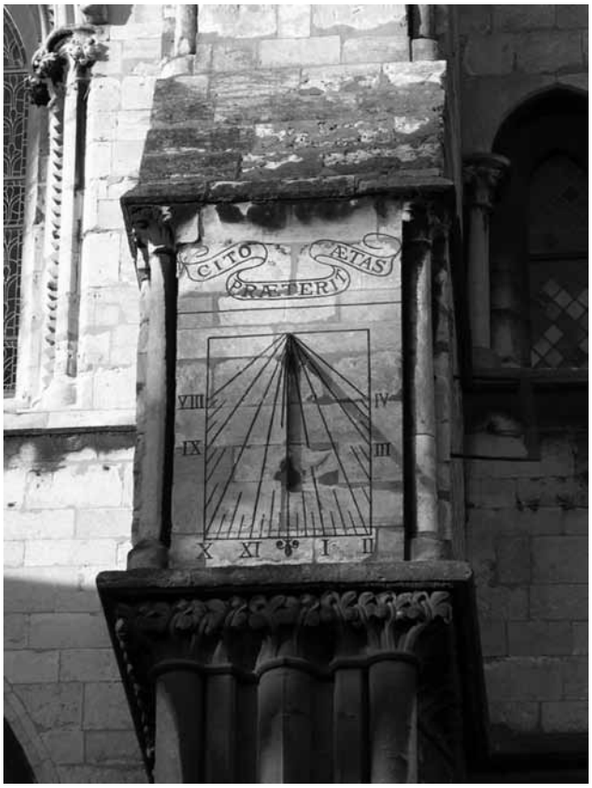

Figure 16 Lincoln Cathedral, England, sundial on south façade (author's photo).

Figure 17 Lincoln Cathedral, England, medieval graffiti on an interior wall (author's photo).

the precise time of day when each part of the cathedral was best illuminated, so that every photograph carried a specific time signature.[85] He also recalled this time signature in his narration, as for slide 24: "I was fortunate enough to make its first acquaintance when it was at its best effect of lighting."[86] Evans's photographs followed the path of the sun rather than the path of the verger, a fact that underscores the imaginative fabrication of Evans's journey through the cathedral.

That Evans's working process was driven by light demonstrates how much the camera, as a light-dependent tool, influenced his practice. Furthermore, it underscores the idealization of Evans's reenactments—they illuminated the architecture of the cathedral at the exact moment when its true character could be perceived. (Evans referred to photographs taken in strong sunlight as "misleading" and as "falsifying the detail so much as to render it useless.")[87] Of course, a visitor touring the cathedral in real time will find some areas flooded with light and others in shadow, depending on the position of the sun. Evans's use of the camera as a light-sensitive tool thus contributed to an idealized representation of the building. The cathedral in his lantern slides exists in many presents simultaneously—always at the perfect time, always in the perfect lighting—remote from the real experience of time and light. These idealized temporal states remind us how photography has transformed our perception of architecture.

Rather than static and unchanging, the images Evans produced with his time-sensitive process created an impression of fleeting transience. The notion that a Gothic cathedral should appear transient is contradicted by the very permanence of the monument, its existence across a great span of time, and its correlation in the eyes of contemporary theorists to geological time. As Barry Bergdoll observes, "Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire* . . . and Gottfried Semper's *Der Stil*—are all shot through with geological references that seek to bring the century's fascination with the study of the history of civilizations into line with the new insights into the expanded timeline of the history of the earth itself."[88] (During this time geologists estimated the age of the earth at about 100 million years.) Evans extended the analogy

between architecture and geology to his depiction of landscapes in his platinotypes; he titled one of his platinotypes exhibited in the Royal Photographic Society's 1914 exhibition *A Mountain Shoulder (Great Gable)*, recalling Ruskin's suggestion that we should recognize "this look of mountain brotherhood between the cathedral and the Alp."[89]

The prolonged encounter with the building represented by Evans's lantern-slide lecture invites us to reconsider the relationship between photography and architecture. Evans's extensive image sequences not only suggest how the camera mediated the relationship between building and photographer but also ask us to reflect on the nature of photographic representation itself. In this regard, the seemingly naive aim of re-creating architectural experience in fact required a whole battery of aesthetic decisions and technical variations, as well as a sophisticated understanding of the lens-given nature of the photographic image. Both the camera and the lantern projector, as technologies of light, played critical roles in constructing Evans's spatially and temporally idealized images, re-creating spatial experiences and a "faithful recalling" of the space itself in a way that his more famous platinotypes could never achieve. His efforts to preserve "the illusion of actuality" in his lantern-slide lectures underscore the power of the presentation medium to shape perception. The mediation of the camera lens between Evans and the richly carved surface of the cathedral encouraged him to deviate from his favored spatial photographic mode to develop in his lantern slides a scopic mode of photography not generally present in his print work. However, unlike the single photographic print, the lantern-slide lecture suggested the progressive realization of a building as an event unfolding in time. By the same token, the "clock for seeing" enabled Evans to return to a more authentic, more "truthful" time in the building's history. Through the technologies of the camera and the lantern slide, Evans sought to transcend the realities of time and space. Today catalogued and stored in archives, his lantern slides once again await the light that will set them free.

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Notes

1. I am grateful for the Photographic Arts Council/Los Angeles Research Fellowship at the Center for Creative Photography at the University of Arizona, Tucson, and the Paul Mellon Research Support Grant that made this research possible.

2. Frederick H. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral," *Photographic Journal* 40, no. 4 (Dec. 1899), 101–6.

3. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (1981; repr., London: Vintage Books, 2000), 115.

4. Frederick H. Evans, "Glass versus Paper," *Camera Work*, no. 10 (Apr. 1905), 36–41, in *Frederick H. Evans: Selected Texts and Bibliography*, ed. Anne Hammond (Oxford: Clio, 1992), 70; Frederick H. Evans, "Lantern Slides and Their Optical Projection II," *Photography* 21, no. 903 (Feb. 1906), 167. Citations of "Glass versus Paper" below refer to page numbers in Hammond's edited volume.

5. Trevor Fawcett, "Visual Facts and the Nineteenth-Century Art Lecture," *Art History* 6, no. 4 (Dec. 1983), 453. Fawcett notes that it is easier to follow the development of the use of lantern slides in lectures in German-speaking countries than in others because art history was a well-established discipline in those countries prior to the introduction of lantern slides. (Bruno Meyer, professor of art history at the Polytechnic Institute in Karlsruhe, was advocating the use of slides as early as 1873.) Consequently, the literature on slide lectures has tended to privilege German examples, and there is much scholarship in the German language not referenced here. On the introduction of the photographic lantern slide, see also Wolfgang M. Freitag, "Early Uses of Photography in the History of Art," *Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (Dec. 1979), 120–22; Robert S. Nelson, "The Slide Lecture, or the Work of Art 'History' in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 3 (2000), 415. On the introduction of the lantern slide in Britain in particular, see Katsura Miyahara, "The Impact of the Lantern Slide on Art-History Lecturing in Britain," *British Art Journal* 8, no. 2 (Oct. 2007), 67–71; Jens Ruchatz, "The Magic Lantern in Connection with Photography: Rationalisation and Technology," in *Visual Delights: Essays on the Popular and Projected Image in the 19th Century*, ed. Simon Popple and Vanessa Toulmin (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000), 38–49.

6. The Victoria and Albert Museum began its collection in 1898. See Miyahara, "Impact of the Lantern Slide," 69. The Royal Geographic Society purchased its own lantern in 1890 despite fears expressed by some members that "it would lower the Society's discussion to the level of a Sunday School treat with a magic lantern." Steve Brace, "Royal Geographic Society," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1217.

7. For a discussion of the circulation of lantern slides by the Royal Photographic Society, see Royal Photographic Society, "Ordinary Meeting," *Photographic Journal* 37, no. 10 (June 1897), 248. See also Royal Photographic Society, "Affiliation of Photographic Societies," *Photographic Journal* 43, no. 11 (Dec. 1903), 314–15. By 1903 the *Photographic Journal* recorded that "upwards of 220 [lantern] Meetings have been provided . . . and the Committee have lost no opportunity of adding new lectures to the existing collection, which has been in such gratifying and ceaseless demand all over the country." A. W. W. Bartlett, "Annual Report for 1902," *Photographic Journal* 43, no. 2 (Feb. 1903), 54–55.

8. Despite their significant number, Evans's lantern slides have not received as much scholarly attention as his prints. Kara Fiedorek's 2015 paper highlighting the mystical experience of Evans's Lincoln Cathedral lantern slides is a recent and welcome exception. Kara Fiedorek, "Varieties of Photographic Experience: Frederick H. Evans and the Lantern Slide," *British Art Studies*, no. 1 (Nov. 2015), https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-01/kfiedorek (accessed 6 Jan. 2021).

9. George Bernard Shaw, "Evans—An Appreciation," *Camera Work*, no. 4 (Oct 1903), 15.

10. Alex Strasser, "Evans: Photographer," *Saturday Book*, no. 3 (Oct. 1943), 149–64, in Hammond, *Frederick H. Evans*, 148; Frederick H. Evans, "Photo-micrography," *Photographic Journal* 27, no. 3 (Dec. 1886), 25–28.

11. Artistic photographers preferred platinotypes, or platinum prints, for their permanence, broad tonal range, and matte gray-black color. Evans was

a master of the medium. See Mike Ware, "Platinum Print," in Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 1136–37.

12. Shaw, "Evans—An Appreciation," 15.

13. Frederick H. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 1902, 40, AG:42, Frederick Evans Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.

14. Anne Hammond, "A Contextual Chronology," in Hammond, *Frederick H. Evans*, xv.

15. As Evans recounted, "I was specially anxious to please them with my work, . . . the club was of such artistic repute." Unfortunately, he did not reveal the name of the club. Frederick H. Evans, "The Exhibiting of Lantern Slides," *Amateur Photographer* 37, no. 961 (Mar. 1903), 193.

16. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 1–42.

17. Frederick H. Evans, "House Exhibitions: Mr Frederick Evans," *Photographic Journal* 40, no. 8 (Apr. 1900), 238, emphasis added.

18. I use the term *phenomenological* here even though it might be considered anachronistic—Edmund Husserl's *Logical Investigations* was not published until 1900. Evans would not have been familiar with phenomenology as such, but his project was centered on experience and sensation.

19. Frederick H. Evans, "Camera-Work in Cathedral Architecture," *Camera Work*, no. 4 (Oct. 1903), 17.

20. Frederick H. Evans, "Technique: No Art Possible Without It," *Amateur Photographer* 48, no. 1240 (July 1908), 5–6, in Hammond, *Frederick H. Evans*, 113–14.

21. Evans, "Glass versus Paper," 68–69.

22. Clive Scott, "Frederick Evans: Photography as Mediation," *Journal of European Studies* 30, no. 117 (Mar. 2000), 50.

23. Several sources mention the removal of chairs at Evans's instruction. See, for example, Frederick H. Evans, "Westminster Abbey," *Photographic Journal* 68 (July 1928), 288–91; Alfred Horsley Hinton, "Frederick H. Evans—A 'Romanticist' in Photography," *Magazine of Art*, 1904, in Hammond, *Frederick H. Evans*, 84.

24. Herbert Felton, "Later Days," *Photographic Journal* 85 (Feb. 1945), 36.

25. Frederick H. Evans, "And What Went Ye Out for to See?," in *Photograms of the Year 1903*, in Hammond, *Frederick H. Evans*, 54.

26. Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," in *Vision and Visuality*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988), 12. Jay proposes that such rich detail (akin to Barthes's "concrete detail"), like that found in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, as identified by Svetlana Alpers, aligns nineteenth-century photography with a scopic mode of vision that he compares with Baconian empiricism. See Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

27. Scott, "Frederick Evans," 49.

28. Evans, "Glass versus Paper," 69–71.

29. Another photographer with such a belief was Fox Talbot, as illustrated by his photographic books *The Pencil of Nature* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1844–46), which was published in six parts; and *Sun Pictures in Scotland* (London, 1845).

30. By contrast, he claimed that "gum prints" owed no "visible paternity to the camera or the lens." Frederick H. Evans, "What Is a 'Straight Print'?," *Amateur Photographer* 46, no. 1191 (July 1907), 112.

31. Evans, "Glass versus Paper," 67.

32. Evans, 70.

33. Dominique Païni and Rosalind E. Krauss, "Should We Put an End to Projection?," *October* 110 (2004), 23.

34. Evans, "Glass versus Paper," 69, emphasis added.

35. Evans, 68.

36. Evans, 70.

37. Evans, 70.

38. Evans, 73, emphasis added.

39. Evans, "Exhibiting of Lantern Slides," 194.

40. Evans, 193.

41. Evans's 9-inch Wray projector is held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture. When he was writing his 1906 articles, he was using incandescent gas, but by 1928, perhaps because electricity had become more reliable and steady, he was using a 250-watt bulb. Evans, "Lantern Slides and Their Optical Projection II," 166; Evans, "Westminster Abbey," 289.

42. Evans, "Westminster Abbey," 289.

43. The curtain he recommended for the slide carrier, Evans stated, "is both easy to procure and convenient and perfect in its operation," and "its adoption should be absolutely insisted on." Frederick H. Evans, "Lantern Slides and Their Optical Projection III," *Photography* 21, no. 904 (Mar. 1906), 191.

44. Evans, "Exhibiting of Lantern Slides," 192.

45. Frederick H. Evans, "Lantern Slides and Their Optical Projection I," *Photography* 21, no. 902 (Feb. 1906), 147, emphasis added.

46. Evans, "Lantern Slides and Their Optical Projection II," 167.

47. Evans, 167.

48. Evans, "Exhibiting of Lantern Slides," 193.

49. Païni and Krauss, "Should We Put an End to Projection?," 23.

50. Nelson, "Slide Lecture," 415.

51. Nelson, 432.

52. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Pimlico, 1999), 231.

53. Evans, "Westminster Abbey," 289.

54. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 1.

55. Evans, "Westminster Abbey," 289.

56. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 2.

57. Evans, 3.

58. Evans, 3. This historical overview, he admitted, was "scissors-and-paste work" from reference books, and it was literally so; the large majority of the factual information presented in the prologue as well as the quotations and tidbits of information throughout the lecture came from A. F. Kendrick's *The Cathedral Church of Lincoln: A History and Description of Its Fabric and a List of the Bishops*, which was first published in 1898 as part of G. Bell and Sons' cathedral series.

59. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 5.

60. In his 1911 Westminster lecture, for example, he began, "I have arranged them [the slides] much as you would normally walk through the Abbey." Frederick H. Evans, "Westminster Abbey Lecture Notes," 1911, 5, photocopy, box 36, acc. no. 920060, Nancy and Beaumont Newhall Archive, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Evans also used the trope in print. See Frederick H. Evans, "A Short Walk in Gloucester Cathedral," *Photography* 16, no. 789 (Dec. 1903), 536.

61. Evans's typical practice was to begin with a number of contextual photographs before progressing into more detailed views, usually of the building's west front. This is observed in his slides of Ely Cathedral (held in the archives of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, and the Art Institute of Chicago), Kelmscott (archived at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), and Southwell Minster (archived at the Canadian Centre for Architecture and the University of Nottingham, England).

62. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 5, emphasis added.

63. Nelson, "Slide Lecture," 432.

64. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 5, emphasis added.

65. Bovril is the trade name of a beef extract drink popular in the 1880s. It is still available in the United Kingdom and Ireland today. Frederick H. Evans, "Pros and Cons, II: Critic versus Critic," *Camera Work*, no. 8 (Oct. 1904), 23–26, in Hammond, *Frederick H. Evans*, 64.

66. For further discussion of the influence of the development of scientific disciplines on architectural theory in the nineteenth century, see Barry Bergdoll, "Of Crystals, Cells, and Strata: Natural History and Debates on the

Form of a New Architecture in the Nineteenth Century," *Architectural History* 50 (Jan. 2007), 1–29.

67. John Ruskin, quoted in Michael Harvey, "Ruskin and Photography," *Oxford Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (Jan. 1984), 26.

68. The National Gallery of Canada retains the Westminster Abbey set of 75 slides. The Canadian Centre for Architecture holds 45 of Evans's slides of Winchester Cathedral, and a further 6 slides are held at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

69. The Canadian Centre for Architecture holds a set of 95 slides dedicated to York Minster Chapter House, the majority of which are details of the rich carvings. The CCA also holds 110 slides of Southwell Minster, with a further 57 slides held at the University of Nottingham. Again, the majority of these slides are dedicated to architectural details.

70. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 10.

71. William Morris, "Manifesto for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings," 1877, William Morris Internet Archive, Marxists Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1877/spabman.htm (accessed 2 Nov. 2020).

72. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 11.

73. On Viollet-le-Duc's use of photography, see Barry Bergdoll, "A Matter of Time: Architects and Photographers in Second Empire France," in *The Photographs of Édouard Baldus*, ed. Malcolm R. Daniel (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 105.

74. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 20.

75. Evans, "Short Walk in Gloucester Cathedral," 536.

76. Evans, 536.

77. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 21, emphasis added.

78. This pattern was repeated for the north and south choir aisles (slides 39 and 44) and the rose windows (slides 90 and 91).

79. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 37.

80. Evans, 17.

81. The spires were eventually removed in 1807.

82. William Morris, "Architecture and History," *SPAB Report*, 1884, 49–76, William Morris Internet Archive, Marxists Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1884/spab10.htm (accessed 28 Apr. 2016).

83. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 11.

84. Evans, 3.

85. Frederick H. Evans, "The Exposure Record of Frederick Evans," 1908–18, 5, photocopy, box 36, acc. no. 920060, Nancy and Beaumont Newhall Archive, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. This notebook, in which Evans recorded details of his work, includes a column for noting the time of day when photographs were taken of each feature or space.

86. Evans, "Lincoln Cathedral Lecture Notes," 14.

87. Evans, 2.

88. Bergdoll, "Of Crystals, Cells, and Strata," 6.

89. "Exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society 1870–1915: Catalogue Records from the Annual Exhibitions," De Montfort University, http://erps.dmu.ac.uk (accessed 3 Mar. 2016); John Ruskin, *The Nature of Gothic: A Chapter of "The Stones of Venice"* (London: Kelmscott Press, 1892), 12.