

**Ministers of ‘the Black Art’:  
the engagement of British clergy with photography, 1839-1914**

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**Abstract**

*Ministers of 'the Black Art': the engagement of British clergy with photography, 1839-1914*

This thesis examines the work of ordained clergymen, of all denominations, who were active photographers between 1839 and the beginning of World War One: its primary aim is to investigate the extent to which a relationship existed between the religious culture of the individual clergyman and the nature of his photographic activities. *Ministers of 'the Black Art'* makes a significant intervention in the study of the history of photography by addressing a major weakness in existing work. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the research draws on a wide range of primary and secondary sources such as printed books, sermons, religious pamphlets, parish and missionary newsletters, manuscript diaries, correspondence, notebooks, biographies and works of church history, as well as visual materials including original glass plate negatives, paper prints and lantern slides held in archival collections, postcards, camera catalogues, photographic ephemera and photographically-illustrated books. Through close readings of both textual and visual sources, my thesis argues that factors such as religious denomination, theological opinion and cultural identity helped to influence not only the photographs taken by these clergymen, but also the way in which these photographs were created and used. Conversely, patterns also emerge that provide insights into how different clergymen integrated their photographic activities within their wider religious life and pastoral duties.

The relationship between religious culture and photographic aesthetics explored in my thesis contributes to a number of key questions in Victorian Studies, including the tension between clergy and professional scientists as they struggled over claims to authority, participation in debates about rural traditions and church restoration, questions about moral truth and objectivity, as well as the distinctive experience and approaches of Roman Catholic clergy. The research thus demonstrates the range of applications of clerical photography and the extent to which religious factors were significant. Almost 200 clergymen-photographers have been identified during this research, and biographical data is provided in an appendix.

*Ministers of the Black Art* aims at filling a gap in scholarship caused by the absence of any substantial interdisciplinary research connecting the fields of photo-history and religious studies. While a few individual clergymen-photographers have been the subject of academic research – perhaps excessively in the case of Charles Dodgson – no attempt has been made to analyse their activities comprehensively. This thesis is therefore unique in both its far-ranging scope and the fact that the researcher has a background rooted in both theological studies and the history of photography. Ecclesiastical historians are generally as unfamiliar with the technical and aesthetic aspects of photography as photohistorians are with theological nuances and the complex variations of Victorian religious beliefs and practices. This thesis attempts to bridge this gulf, making novel connections between hitherto disparate fields of study. By bringing these religious factors to the foreground, a more nuanced understanding of Victorian visual culture emerges; by taking an independent line away from both the canonical historiography of photography and more recent approaches that depict photography as a means of social control and surveillance, this research will stimulate further discussion about how photography operates on the boundaries between private and public, amateur and professional, material and spiritual.

**Ministers of ‘the Black Art’:  
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**Table of Contents**

<b>Abstract</b> .....	2
<b>List of contents</b> .....	3
<b>List of illustrations</b> .....	6
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	10
<b>Introduction</b> .....	11
1. Literature Review	
2. The Scope and methodology of the Research	
3. The Archival Quest,	
4. Using Biography for Historical Research	
5. Photography and the Visual Arts in Christian Traditions	
6. Outline of chapters	
<b>Chapter 1. Clerical Photography in an Age of Progress: Chemicals, cameras and the struggle for cultural authority</b> .....	54
1    The role of the clergy in the scientific profession	
2    Objectivity, democracy and popular science	
3    Photographic networks and clerical connections	
4    Case studies: the Revs. W.T. Kingsley and J. L. Sisson	
5    Imagination, Representation and the Power of Print	
6    Case studies: The Revs. Lambert and Blake: members of The Brotherhood of the Linked Ring	
7    Holding Office: clergy and the photographic societies	
8    Taking the Train: the railway photographs of the Rev. Malan	
9    Conclusion	

**Chapter 2. Visions of the Past: The Photography of Rural Clergy and the Preservation of a Vanishing World.....110**

- 2.1. Rev. Thomas Perkins: the Principles of Photography
- 2.2. The S.P.A.B. and opposition to church restoration
- 2.3. Bell's, Books and Candles: architectural writing & photographic illustration
- 2.4. Perkins and the Dorset Photographic Survey
- 2.5. Friendship with Thomas Hardy
- 2.6. Conclusion

**Chapter 3. Portraits, Piety and 'Pencils of Light': Evangelical clergy and photography at the time of 'the Disruption'.....155**

- 3.1. Art of Darkness: Calvinism and Visual Culture
- 3.2. Sir David Brewster and photography's 'dim, religious light'
- 3.3.1 Calder Macphail and the Calotype Club
- 3.3.2. Alexander Keith and photographic evidence
- 3.3.3. Rev. D.T.K. Drummond and the pursuit of photography 'under God'
- 3.4. The Magic Lantern
- 3.5. Spurgeon's distrust of the visual sense.
- 3.6. Archdeacon Thomas Colley and the world of spirit photography
- 3.7. Conclusion

**Chapter 4. Sermons in stone: the search for religious meaning in landscapes and ruin..... 205**

- 4.1. Priests, Photography and the Picturesque
- 4.2. The Romish Ruins of Rev. Francis Lockey (1796-1869)
- 4.3. Figures in a Landscape: Rev. John G Derrick (1852-1907)
- 4.4. Sermons in Stone: Rev. James Bannatyne MacKenzie (1833-1920)
- 4.5. The Waywor'n Wanderer: Rev. George Wilson Bridges (1788-1863)
- 4.6. Biblical Picturesque: Alexander Keith, James Graham, A.A. Isaacs and the Mission to the Jews
- 4.7. Out of Egypt: Alexander Boddy, William Macgregor and Claude Sutton



**Chapter 5. Light from the Cloister: Religious communities, diocesan clergy and the uses of photography in the Roman Catholic Church..... 260**

5.1 Catholicism during the Post-Reformation Era

Diocesan Clergy

5.2.1. Fr. John Gray

5.2.2. Bishop Aeneas Chisholm

5.2.3. Mgr. Charles Moncreiff Smyth

5.2.4. Mgr. James Williams

5.2.5. Mgr. William Giles D.D.

5.3. Photography and Papal Rome

5.4. The Benedictines

a) Dom Bede Camm

b) Dom Odo Blundell

5.5. The Jesuits

a) Fr. John Hungerford Pollen S.J.

b) Fr. Stephen Perry S.J.

c) Fr. Cuthbert Cary-Elwes S.J.

d) Fr. Frank Browne S.J.

5.6. The Oratorians

a) Fr. Anthony Hungerford Pollen Cong. Orat.

b) Fr. Robert Eaton Cong. Orat.

5.7. The Dominicans – Fr. Peter Paul Mackey O.P. (1851-1935)

5.8. Conclusion

**Conclusion.....330**

**Appendix: List of clergymen-photographers.....339**

**Bibliography.....346**

# List of Illustrations

## Introduction

**Fig.1** Monument to Dean Montgomery (1817-97). Pittendrigh McGillivray, 1902.

**Fig.2** *Popish Idolatry. The Pope and Cardinals adoring a piece of wood.* (1853-54)

**Fig.3.** The Anglican church of All Saints, Margaret Street, London, designed by William Butterfield.

**Fig.4.** Illustrated pages, including photographs by Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, from *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.* (1909).

## 1

**Fig.1.1** Unknown photographer. *Rev. Joseph Bancroft Reade F.R.S. (1801-1870)*

**Fig.1.2.** Rev. Calvert Jones. *Calvert Richard Jones, Lady Brewster, Mrs. Jones, Sir David Brewster and Miss Parnell* (1857)

**Fig.1.3.** D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson, *Rev. J.S. Memes (1794-1858)*

**Fig.1.4.** Lionel Grimston Fawkes. *Rev. William T. Kingsley* (1902)

**Fig.1.5.** Rev. J.L. Sisson, *Cathedral of Lausanne, Switzerland* (1859)

**Fig.1.6.** Rev. A.A. Isaacs, frontispiece to *The Fountain of Siena* (1900)

**Fig.1.7.** Rev F.C. Lambert, *Self-portrait, with montage* (1895)

**Fig.1.8.** Cover of *The Practical Photographer* (September 1904)

**Fig.1.9.** Front cover of Rev. A.H. Blake, *Photography* (1898)

**Fig.1.10.** Rev. A.H. Blake. *The Incoming Tide, Canvey Island*

**Fig.1.11.** John Leech, 'Episcopal Photography' (1861)

**Fig.1.12.** Rev. A.H. Malan. *Rover Class 4-2-2 'Timour' heads east with the 'Cornishman' at Teignmouth, with St Michael's Church in the background.*

**Fig.1.13.** Rev. A.H. Malan. *G.W.R. broad-gauge locomotive 4-2-2 Rover Class Inkermann (built 1878; withdrawn 1892) passing under Moor Lane Bridge at Worle Junction on the Bristol to Taunton line; looking towards Bristol.* (3 May 1892)

## 2

## 6

**Fig.2.1.** Unknown photographer. *Rev. Thomas Perkins.*

**Fig.2.2.** Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Puddletown Village* (1886)

**Fig.2.3.** George Davison, *The Onion Field* (1890)

**Fig.2.4** Owl carving in St Mary's Turnworth.

**Fig.2.5.** Two views of Ely Cathedral. **Left:** Rev. Herbert R. Champion, *Norman Work – A Contrast* (1898) **Right:** Frederick H. Evans, *Ely Cathedral: A Memory of the Normans* (1897)

**Fig. 2.6.** Reverse of the card labels used by the Dorset Photographic Survey

**Fig. 2.7.** Rev. William Barnes, *Bere Regis, In the meadows* (1900)

**Fig.2.8.** Rev. Thomas Perkins. *Church of St Mary the Virgin, and Rectory, Turnworth.* (c.1893-99)

**Fig.2.9.** Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Tess.* (1897)

**Fig.2.10.** Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Thomas Hardy* (ca.1900)

**Fig.2.11.** Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Misericord in Christchurch Priory* (1899)

### 3

**Fig.3.1.** George Madeley, *The Daguerreotype: a comic song*

**Fig.3.2.** D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson, *Begg, Guthrie*

**Fig.3.3.** D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson, *Dr Lee*

**Fig.3.4.** Walter Goodman, *A Print Seller's Window in The Strand* (1883)

**Fig.3.5.** William Macduff, *Lost or Found* (1862)

**Fig. 3.6.** Hill & Adamson: untitled, no.31. [The Rev. James Calder Macphail]

**Fig.3.7.** D.O. Hill & Robert Adamson: *Rev. Alexander Keith*

**Fig.3.8.** D.O. Hill & Robert Adamson: *The Rev. David Thomas Ker Drummond.*

**Fig.3.9.** Rev. D.T.K. Drummond, *Loch Earn.*

**Fig.3.10.** 'Champions of the Church Choosing Weapons,' *The Graphic* (1887)

**Fig.3.11.** 'A Travelling Lantern Show', *Church Army Gazette* (1900)

**Fig. 3.12.** Archdeacon Thomas Colley with a 'spirit photograph' of the late W.T. Stead,

**Fig.3.13. Left:** Cecil Round. *Alice, clothed with a cloud, appearing from the side of Dr Monck in the presence of Archdeacon Colley. The Sketch* (1907) **Right:** Photograph (by an unknown photographer) showing Maskelyne's re-enactment of the same incident.

**Fig.3.14.** Archdeacon Colley's 'speak-pipe'

**Fig.3.15.** William Hope, 'A Sermon on Spiritual Resurrection by Archdeacon Thomas Colley.' (ca.1920)

**Fig.3.16.** Archdeacon Colley's developing box, dated to 1858.

#### 4

**Fig.4.1.** Rev. Francis Lockey. *Uncompleted Chapel, Prior Park No.172* (ca. 1855/59)

**Fig.4.2.** Rev. Francis Lockey. *Malmesbury Abbey* (ca.1853)

**Fig.4.3.** Remains of Kilve Chantry, *Illustrated London News* (1848)

**Fig.4.4.** Rev. J.G. Derrick, *Family at Kilve Priory* (ca. late 1890s)

**Fig.4.5.** Rev. J.G. Derrick, *Cleeve Abbey, Mrs Derrick at Gateway* (ca. late 1890s)

**Fig.4.6.** Rev. James B. Mackenzie. 'Ossian's Stone', *Fowlis Wester, Perth* (ca.1870)

**Fig.4.7.** Two photographs by Rev. J.B. Mackenzie used to illustrate Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (1881) (**Left:**) Eilean na Naomh (**Right:**) 'The Monument, formerly at Milton of Cadboll, now at Invergordon Castle'

**Fig.4.8.** Rev. James B. Mackenzie. *Front view of Ruins of Priory, Oronsay.* (ca.1870)

**Fig.4.9.** Rev. James B Mackenzie. *At Kilchrenan.* (ca. 1870)

**Fig.4.10.** Rev. George Wilson Bridges. *Valletta, Malta.* (1846)

**Fig.4.11.** Rev. George Wilson Bridges. *Benedictine Convent, Catania, Sicily.* (1846)

**Fig.4.12.** Rev. George W. Bridges. 'The Traditionary Site of Isaiah's Martyrdom' and 'Abraham's oak', from *Palestine as It Is: in a Series of Photographic Views, Illustrating the Bible* (1858)

**Fig.4.13.** Rev. George Wilson Bridges. *Padre Cafici in the garden of the Benedictine Convent in Catania, Sicily* (1846)

**Fig. 4.14.** George Skene Keith 'Samaria' *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion* (36th ed.) 1848

**Fig. 4.15.** James Graham. *East Gate of Damascus* (1854.)

**Fig. 4.16.** Rev. A.A. Isaacs, *The Wailing Wall* (1856 photograph)

**Fig. 4.17.** Rev. A.A. Isaacs, *The Wailing Wall* (1862 engraving)

**Fig. 4.18** Rev. Alexander Boddy. 'The Fair Damascenes. Hilda and Dorothy, with Girgiz, on the way to Jobah. From a Snapshot taken by the Author.' (1900)

**Fig. 4.19.** Rev. William McGregor, *Hypostyle Hall taken from the south. On the right, lotus-bud capital, now in Boston Museum* (1891)

**Fig. 4.20.** Rev. Claude H. Sutton, *Interior of the New Tomb at Thebes BC 1700* (1890)

## 5

**Fig.5.1.** Unknown photographer. Two portraits of John Gray, 1893 and 1930

**Fig. 5.2** Fr. Aeneas Chisholm, *Our Lady of Mount Carmel Catholic Church, Banff*

**Fig.5.4.** Unknown painter. *Very Rev. Mgr. James Williams.*

**Fig.5.5.** Rev. William Giles, *Picnic at Tusculum* (1885.)

**Fig.5.6.** Studio Fratelli Alessandri , *Carte-de-visite of Cardinal Newman*

**Fig. 5.7** Pope Leo XIII being filmed by W.K. Dickson, 1898

**Fig.5.8.** Bede Camm OSB, 'Harvington Hall' (1910)

**Fig. 5.9.** Odo Blundell OSB, 'Tombae, Glenlivet' (1909)

**Fig.5.10.** Alfred Field, *Monastic group, Llanthony Abbey* (ca. 1892)

**Fig.5.11.** Rev. W.M. Dodson, *Monastic life at Llanthony.*

**Fig.5.12 (left:)** *Invoice from the Rotary Photographic Company* **(right:)** Fr. James Hungerford, *Photograph of the roof of the Jesuit church at Farm Street*

**Fig. 5.13.** Postcard of Oscott College

**Fig.5.14.** Members of the 1874 Transit of Venus expedition.

**Fig.5.15.** Fr. Stephen Perry S.J., *The Solar Corona of December 22, 1889.*

**Fig.5.16.** 'Fr Cuthbert with tripod on cliff.'

**Fig.5.17.** A page from Rev. Francis Browne S.J.'s *Titanic Album*, compiled in 1920.

**Fig. 5.18.** Unknown photographer, Daguerreotype death portrait of Fr. John Joseph Gordon (1811-53)

**Fig. 5.19.** Fr. Antony Pollen Cong.Orat., *Cardinal Newman* (late 1880s)

**Fig. 5.20.** Fr. Robert Eaton Cong.Orat.. *Harringworth*

**Fig.5.21.** Fr. Peter Paul Mackey O.P. *Foro Romano, general view from Palatine.* (ca.1890-1900)

## Abbreviations

APA	Amateur Photographic Association
BAAS	British Association for the Advancement of Science
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
CBM	Congo Balolo Mission
CIM	China Inland Mission
CMS	Church Missionary Society
Cong.	Congregationalist
Cong.Orat.	Congregation of the Oratory
DD	Doctor of Divinity
FC	Free Church of Scotland
FRGS	Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society
FRS	Fellow of the Royal Society
GWR	Great Western Railway
LJS	London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews
LMS	London Missionary Society
OP	Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OSB	Order of St. Benedict
PSS	Photographic Society of Scotland
RPS	Royal Photographic Society
SHS	Scottish History Society
SJ	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
UFC	United Free Church of Scotland

## Introduction

Never was a taste so catholic as that which has united in the bonds of brotherhood the disciples of the new iconolatry. Several priests of the Church of Rome have been amongst the most active contributors to the new art-science. An archbishop of the English Church is one of its zealous devotees. Clergymen of the English Church, and ministers of dissenting congregations, are numerous among its adherents.<sup>1</sup>

While this 1867 observation indicates that the widespread popularity of photography among nineteenth-century clergymen was recognised by their contemporaries, later social historians and scholars of photographic history have shown little interest in examining the extent of their photographic activities - and how these were shaped by the religious culture to which they belonged. The research presented here is the first study devoted to the subject of clergymen-photographers, drawing on material relating to the photographic activities of over 200 individuals from different denominations. As Parsons (1988) has affirmed, 'Victorian Britain was, indeed, a society remarkable for the extent and intensity of its religious life', and on the principle that 'it is impossible to understand Victorian culture without understanding the role of religion', this thesis integrates photo-historical analysis – including close readings of images and discussion of technical processes – with a detailed examination of the theological context and ecclesiastical background to the period.<sup>2</sup> The drawing together of these two areas of research thus addresses a major gap in current understanding of the history of photography during the long nineteenth-century.

As Nickel (2002) has observed, photographic history is a field of studies that did not come to maturity until late in the twentieth century, with the result that photohistorians have been 'inclined to assimilate those parts of nineteenth-century practice that could be configured as antecedents to modern strategies, and repudiate the rest.'<sup>3</sup> In consequence, a picture of Victorian photography has developed that

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1 'Photography: its history and application' *Littell's Living Age* Vol.92, (1867), p.217

2 Gerald Parsons, *Religion in Victorian Britain* Vol.1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press in association with the Open University, 1988) p.5, Robert Ellison & Carol Marie Engelhardt, 'Prophecy and Anti-Popery in Victorian London: John Cumming Reconsidered', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 31:1 (2003) p.373. See also Kenneth Hylson-Smith: 'Christian faith permeated the whole social and cultural life of the country,' *The Churches in England From Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II* Vol. III. 1833-1998 (London: SCM Press, 1998) p.5.

3 Douglas R. Nickel, *Dreaming in Pictures: the photography of Lewis Carroll* (San Francisco Museum of Art, 2002) p.13. In view of the vast corpus of recent literature on Carroll, no attempt has been made here to add further analysis of Charles Dodgson's photography. Significant recent studies include Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll: Photographer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) and

was distorted and stunted, and yet persisted until relatively recently in forming perceptions and shaping the direction of research. It is only within the last decade or so that new approaches to the historiography of photography – discussed below – have changed the basis on which such practices are examined. Likewise, it is relatively recently that scholars in Victorian studies have begun rediscovering the role played by religion in the social, literary, artistic and cultural spheres. Recognising that ‘Theological debate was almost inseparable from philosophical, scientific, medical, historical and political thought’ during this period, Mason and Knight compiled *Nineteenth-Century Religion and Literature* (2006) in response to the vacuum created by ‘the division of literature and theology in the modern university’.<sup>4</sup> My thesis aligns itself with this new tradition to photographic historiography, shifting the focus away from outdated preoccupations with the canon of ‘fine art’ practitioners and theories about state authority, revealing the impressive scale and diversity of clerical photography, and demonstrating how it was an integral part of the religious, cultural, intellectual, artistic and social fabric of Victorian Britain. The research presented here contributes to a number of current debates, including the impact of photography on British culture, the relationship between religion and science, the place of the amateur in academia and the arts, the shifting role of the clergy within the fields of popular science and education, and the intersection between spiritual belief and material culture. Analysis of the existing literature in these areas provided evidence of a substantial disjuncture between the fields of theological study and visual culture, which in turn suggested the need to focus on an area of activity in which the two were integrated (or at least put into extended conversation). The key question underpinning my research is: what were the relationships between religious culture and practical photography? What was their nature and influence? It soon became clear that further questions needed to be addressed. What motivated clergymen to pursue photography? How – if at all – did they differ from other groups of photographers? What evidence can be found to show that their background or

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*Lewis Carroll, The Man and His Circle* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), Lindsay Smith, *Lewis Carroll. Photography on the Move* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015) and Morton N Cohen. *Reflections in a Looking Glass: a Centennial Celebration of Lewis Carroll, Photographer* (New York: Aperture, 1998)

<sup>4</sup> Emma Mason and Mark Knight, *Nineteenth Century Religion and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) pp.3,7. The editors also acknowledge that ‘Religion was not just another aspect of the nineteenth century: it found its way into every area of life, from family to politics, sport to work, church architecture to philanthropy.’ (p.9.)



denomination influenced the relationship between their religious life and photographic work?

This thesis argues that such a relationship not only existed, but that it provides a vital key to understanding how art, science and religion were integrated during the nineteenth-century. These claims make a particularly fresh and original contribution to the burgeoning interest in popular science and the cultural networks by which technical innovations were mediated and transmitted. While the originality of the thesis lies most obviously in its linking of hitherto separate strands of religious and photographic research, the compilation of material on over 200 individual clergymen provides a rich resource for stimulating further scholarly discussion. The chapters of this thesis open up a number of new lines of enquiry, demonstrating the unique character of the links between clerical photography and topics such as church restoration, popular science, literary tourism, picturesque art, antiquarianism and heritage preservation.

By exposing these links, my thesis forces a reassessment of the social and professional networks that structured Victorian society, reshapes perceptions about the relationship between religious belief and photo-mechanical processes – a relationship largely overlooked by academic scholarship in favour of more traditional art forms – and advances understanding of how religious communities utilized the new visual media of the period. This research therefore makes a substantial contribution to the study of Victorian and Edwardian visual culture

## **1. Literature Review**

If religious language and photographic practice have become separated in recent discourse on the history of photography, this was certainly not the case for the first pioneers. In 1839 David Brewster referred to Talbot's photogenic drawings as 'specimens of the black art' and the correspondence between these two men and Sir John Herschel is strewn with phrases such as 'natural magic', 'magic pictures,' 'modern necromancy' and 'fairy pictures.'<sup>5</sup> Within two decades photography was no

<sup>5</sup> Brewster to Talbot, 12 February 1839. Doc 3804. <http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk>. He used the phrase 'black art' again in a letter to James Forbes on 23 February 1839. This letter, now in St Andrews University Library, is cited in Graham Smith, *Disciples of Light: Photographs in the Brewster Album* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum 1990), p.27. For the other references, and an extended discussion of the topic, see Douglas R. Nickel, 'Talbot's natural magic', *History of Photography* 26:2 (2002), pp. 132-140.

longer the preserve of gentlemen amateurs, but instead provided a livelihood for thousands of commercial practitioners whose business was satirized by an anonymous writer in *Chambers Journal* under the title of 'The Modern Priests and Temples of the Sun.' Beginning with a reference to the 1851 religious census, the writer describes the progress of the 'religious denomination' of the 'Sun-worshippers' - 'how surprisingly has this sect increased during the last ten years! There is scarcely a street in London which does not contain at least one Temple of the Sun' – using phrases such as 'the pontiffs of these numerous temples...the glance of the sun-god.'<sup>6</sup>

Writing in 1930, Walter Benjamin harked back to such imagery in his claim that photography 'makes the difference between technology and magic visible as a thoroughly historical variable', suggesting that photographers are 'the descendants of augurs and haruspices', the priests in ancient Rome who practised divination.<sup>7</sup> Benjamin's writings were not widely known at the time of writing, however, and the dominant work on the history of photography throughout the middle of the twentieth century was Beaumont Newhall's *Photography: a Short Critical History* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1938) based on his MOMA exhibition catalogue *Photography 1839-1937* and later revised and expanded as *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1949). He took a formalist approach, concentrating on photography's visual style to stress its status as a museum-worthy fine art, and outlining a canon of master practitioners.<sup>8</sup>

Newhall's pre-eminence was challenged in the 1970s by a new generation of scholars, politically active and energised by recent theories on film, literature and philosophy that were coming from France. Writers such as John Tagg, Victor Burgin,

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6 Anon, 'The Modern Priests and Temples of the Sun', *Chambers Journal*, No.472 (17 January 1863) pp.33-36.

7 Walter Benjamin, 'Little History of Photography', *Selected Writings Volume 2, Part 2, 1931-34* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999) pp.512, 527

8 For an assessment of his role, see Christopher Phillips, 'The Judgment Seat of Photography', *October* Vol.22 (Autumn 1982) pp.27-63, and Allison Bertrand, 'Beaumont Newhall's "Photography 1839-1937": Making History', *History of Photography* Vol.21:2 (Summer 1997) pp.137-46.

Allan Sekula, Martha Rosler, Rosalind Krauss, Sally Stein and Christopher Phillips - influenced by the radical texts produced by the likes of Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Jean Baudrillard, and Jacques Derrida – began interrogating photography using Marxist, Freudian, poststructuralist and psychoanalytic theories. These authors performed an invaluable service in wrenching the study of photography away from the fine art tradition and showing how the diverse uses of photography were subject to the exercise of social, ideological, economic, colonial, capitalist or patriarchal forces. Many of them brought distinctive insights to the subject, the radical nature of their thinking finding expression through neologisms, such as the emotional *punctum* used by Barthes to describe the unpredictable detail of a photograph that leaps out to disturb the viewer.<sup>9</sup> Jean Baudrillard was unusual in being a photographer himself, at least later in his career, but his influential writings on the idea of the ‘simulacrum’ have shaped much current thinking about the role played by visual images in modern culture. By becoming increasingly reliant upon simulated images, he argues, society has lost contact with the real world and allows itself to identify needs, desires and values – indeed the nature of reality itself – from ‘simulacra’ that replace not only the image and what it represents, but the actual distinction between the two.<sup>10</sup>

Some of this new photographic scholarship was written as part of a political agenda that was vividly expressed in the words of John Tagg: ‘we half believed that this State could be smashed, and that the first brick could be thrown by photographic theory.’<sup>11</sup> Concerned by the ways in which photography had served authoritarian systems of social control, Tagg and others criticised its use as a tool for surveillance and discipline, a method of defining (and therefore a means of repressing) categories of class, race and sexuality. While the political aspects of this approach may seem very much of its time to later readers, the radical disruption it brought to

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9 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Vintage Books, 2000) p.25ff.

10 Jean Baudrillard, *Photographies 1985-1998* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 1999) contains both Baudrillard’s own photographs along with several of his essays on photography. His ideas on ‘simulacra’ can be found in the essay ‘The Precession of Simulacra’ in *Simulacres et Simulations* (1981) and the earlier ‘L’Echange Symbolique et la Mort’ (1977), which were brought together and translated into English as *Simulations* in 1983 for Semiotext(e)’s new Foreign Agents Series.

11 John Tagg, ‘Mindless Photography,’ in J. J. Long, Andrea Noble, and Edward Welch, eds., *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots* (New York: Routledge, 2009) p.29. Douglas R. Nickel has drawn attention to the negative tendencies of much of this writing in his ‘History of Photography: the State of Research’, *The Art Bulletin*, 83: 3 (September 2001) p.555.

fine art studies opened the way for new generations of photohistorians to bring fresh perspectives and diverse points of view to the field. Prior to this, study of the visual arts had been dominated by painting and sculpture, while ‘prints, caricatures, fashion plates, advertising images, entertainments, visual ephemera generally, and other forms of visual experience played at most supporting roles.’ My thesis makes use of a similarly diverse range of media sources, building on the work of those 1970s critics who ‘placed art production and consumption within a larger ideological network of objects, images and messages... paying special attention to the elements of infrastructure and material culture that embodied class relations at the level of everyday life.’<sup>12</sup>

Nonetheless, few of these writers had much to say on the subject of amateur photography, and as Linfield (2010) has forcefully demonstrated – often with great wit – there was a ‘rigid negativity’ underpinning critical writing on photography during the 1970s and 1980s, characterised by a deep distrust of the photographic image and a fierce denial ‘of even a scintilla of autonomy for either photographer or viewer.’<sup>13</sup> By insisting that photography was tightly constrained within a blunt framework of imperial oppression and capitalist consumption, some critics allowed little room to explore how the subjective experience of individual photographers might combine ethical choices with creative autonomy; nor did they really give adequate consideration to the range of factors that might shape the response of viewers engaging with these images.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, their work was valuable in its forceful recognition that the individual photographers functioned within larger

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12 Vanessa Schwartz and Jeannene Przyblyski, *The Nineteenth Century Visual Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004) pp.4-5.

13 Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance. Photography and Political Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010) p.11. Her chapter, ‘A Little History of Photography Criticism; or, Why Do Photography Critics Hate Photography?’ (pp.3-31) provides a brilliant and detailed critique of modernist/post-modern photo theory. On the topic of amateur photography and the way it was often overlooked by these scholars, see Gil Pasternak, ‘Photographic Histories, Actualities, Potentialities: Amateur Photography as Photographic Historiography’, in Anabella Pollen & Juliet Baillie ((eds.) *Reconsidering Amateur Photography*, part of the *Either/And* online commissioned essay series for the National Media Museum. <http://eitherand.org/reconsidering-amateur-photography/photographic-histories-actualities-potentialities-/> Another useful analysis of recent trends in historiography can be found in Ya’ara Gil Glazer, ‘A new kind of history? The challenges of contemporary histories of photography’, *Journal of Art Historiography* Number 3 (December 2010) pp.1-19

ideological frameworks, as was lucidly demonstrated in James Ryan's *Picturing Empire* (2007), which explored the reciprocal relationship between photography and imperialism by arguing how photographs taken in Africa and India were both shaped by, and contributed to, imaginative constructs about foreign landscapes, culture and race.<sup>15</sup> My own research builds on these methods by seeking to prove how clergymen-photographers functioned within the matrices of religious belief and practice that form the subject of this thesis.

One of the innovative concepts applied by recent photohistorians to address these issues is that of the 'photography complex', first suggested by Hevia (2009) who describes it as

a network of actants made up of human and nonhuman parts, such as the camera (including its container, lenses, treated plates, moving parts, and the many variations of its form), optics theory, negatives, and chemicals for the development of 'positive' prints, (the albumen process, the moist collodion process, gelatin emulsions, dry plates). There is also the staggering array of reproductive technologies through which images move and circulate, especially those for printing photographs and books and newspapers (e.g. photolithography, photography-on-the-[wood]-block, line-engraving, photogravure and process halftone engraving). Then there is the photographer, that which is photographed, the transportation and communication networks along which all of these parts travel, and the production and distribution networks that link faraway places to end users. There is also the question of preservation and storage; the image cannot be redistributed unless it is saved, so there must be a photographic archive...<sup>16</sup>

The wide parameters of such a model, especially its appreciation that photography 'depends upon a range of agencies, both visible and invisible', makes it valuable for the research presented in this thesis by acknowledging the potential significance of 'invisible agencies' such as religious belief and devotional identity.

Among the 'actants' considered in my thesis are a range of elements, the combination of which was unique to the clerical community: these include the hierarchical structure of ecclesiastical life and career patterns, the denominational groupings by which clergy were distinguished and either brought together or kept

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14 The subject of viewers' engagement with photographic images has received little in the way of scholarly treatment, in part because of the challenges of finding documentary evidence, but see Cara Finnegan, *Making photography matter: a viewer's history from the Civil War to the Great Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015)

15 James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997)

16 James L. Hevia, 'The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China, 1900-1,' in Rosalind C. Morris (ed.), *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), p.81.

apart, the potential for such networks and channels for distributing photographic imagery and knowledge, the use of religious publications, polemical tracts and other media for integrating religious doctrine with photographic illustrations, and the ways in which religious vows or moral constraints affected the ability to acquire photographic equipment and use it in certain times or places. My thesis, like the other recent writings on photography cited here, has benefitted from taking a more nuanced approach such as Hevia's, acknowledging that photographic practice is situated within a multiplicity of diverse agencies and overlapping networks, localised patterns and contested identities, and is therefore more complex and ambiguous than earlier writings acknowledged. The critical innovation has been connecting the significance of an ideological framework – in this case the Christian religion – with detailed, empirical research into the work of individual photographers.

The value of such an approach is evident in James Ryan's *Picturing Empire* (2007) and the sensitivity shown towards the nuanced complexities of photographic practice and visual aesthetics by which imperial ideologies were expressed and communicated, as well as Elizabeth Edwards's ethnographic study of the Photographic Survey Movement, *The Camera as Historian* (2012), which was based on examination of an archive of over 55,000 photographs by some 1,000 largely unknown photographers.<sup>17</sup> Observing how 'analytical stress on determinist and instrumental uses of photography...has elided or collapsed the complex microlevels' of amateur photographic practice, Edwards demonstrates how the survey photographers - many of them clergymen - 'engaged with the background space of the everyday, the forgotten and unnoticed reminders that were embodied in the everyday topography of the ancient buildings and traces of that past.'<sup>18</sup> As Edwards admits, attempts to understand the impulses and desires that motivated participation in this work are hindered unless 'preconceptions and past knowledge of the history of photography' are put to the back of the mind when working one's way through the content of photographic archives. This is what Bill Jay termed an 'inside-out view of early photography', one that makes its starting point the photographic image rather

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<sup>17</sup> James Ryan, *Picturing Empire. Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian. Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1912* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012)

<sup>18</sup> Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (2012) pp.11-12.

than a preconceived hypothesis seeking evidence to fit.<sup>19</sup> My thesis has tried to adopt a similar method, examining a large mass of archival material and gradually trying to identify the patterns and networks that gave rise both to the creation of these images and their preservation.

As Edwards and others have highlighted, photographic archives are created as part of a dynamic process rather than being static collections. Stoler (2013) reminds us that these archives often need to be read ‘against the grain’ of the intentions of their original creators, with an openness to discovering the accidental and an awareness that even official records contain a mass of ‘confused assessments, parenthetical doubts about what might count as evidence, the records of eyewitnesses with dubious credentials, dismissed rumors laced with pertinent truths, contradictory testimonies called upon and quickly discarded.’<sup>20</sup> One task of the current research has been to ‘disrupt’ the tidy archival separation of photographic materials from religious literature and ecclesiastical records, through revealing the religious context in which these clergymen’s photographs were created prior to their later archival disconnection – a process explained below under the heading of ‘The Archival Quest’.

Steve Edwards used another over-looked ‘archive’ – that of the mid-nineteenth century photographic press – to analyse how perceptions of photographic authorship developed within the context of machine labour and social class. Although this is an ‘archive’ only in the Foucauldian sense, it is still an extensive body of literature that has been under-used by historians of photography.<sup>21</sup> It is, however, a heterogeneous miscellany – what Edwards terms ‘a strange, hybrid literature’, in which contributions from eminent scientists are juxtaposed with those of novice amateurs and commercial portrait makers, and lengthy texts of chemical formulae are printed alongside poetic meditations about photography as a fine art.<sup>22</sup> From his close readings of this ‘archive’, Edwards proposes an allegorical history of English

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19 Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (2012) xii, citing Bill Jay, *Cyanide and Spirits. An Inside-out View of Early Photography* (Munich: Nazraeli Press, 1991) p.1.

20 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) p.23.

21 Foucault’s use of a loose concept of the archive as a bundle of related documents and texts is outlined in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1972), pp.128-9.

photography using the conceit of the ‘allotrope’ – a compound that can exist in two or more different physical forms while retaining the same atomic composition. By reading photography as an ‘allotropic practice’, Edwards argues that the aesthetic claims of photography were nonetheless intertwined with elements of industrial production. In keeping with Stoler’s insistence on reading ‘against the archival grain’, Edwards demonstrates how the increase in claims for photography’s status as a fine art that appears in the photographic press in the 1860s actually reveal the deepening economic insecurity of the *petite bourgeois* photographer.<sup>23</sup>

A similar sensitivity towards the commercial and industrial context can be found in Jordan Bear’s *Disillusioned: Victorian Photography and the Discerning Subject* (2015), for example in his discussion of the resonance between Oscar Rejlander’s use of combination (or composite) prints and contemporary anxieties about the subversive activities of trade unions, then referred to as ‘combinations’ with the connotation of being conspiratorial and threatening.<sup>24</sup> This analysis is one of a series of case studies in which Bear offers a new history of the idea of ‘seeing is believing’, firmly rebutting any suggestion that photography was immediately and consistently perceived as an ideal of reliable objectivity. He argues on the contrary that ‘a primary feature of the development of modern society was the dramatic expansion of an audience empowered to judge the reliability of its own visual experience,’ and proceeds to examine instances of conceptual ambivalence regarding visual discernment and authorial agency, such as the composite images of Rejlander and Henry Peach Robinson (discussed further in Chapter Two of this thesis), the authorial collaborations of Rejlander, Julia Margaret Cameron and Clementina Hawarden, and the rise of the corporate photographer in the development of ‘Francis Frith & Co.’, in which many photographic operators worked under one name. In line with new approaches to histories of photography, Bear avoids an ontological or canonical approach to the medium, choosing instead to investigate how photographic practices engaged with contemporary social, political,

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22 Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010) p.4.

23 Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* (2010) pp.108-11.

24 Jordan Bear, *Disillusioned: Victorian Photography and the Discerning Subject* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), pp.35-36.



literary, educational and aesthetic discourse. By placing the development of photography firmly within the wider context of the panorama of Victorian visual culture that included scientific pedagogy, magic shows and philosophical games, the nuanced complexities of such relationships became more apparent.

Multi-layered analyses such as these are built upon previous scholarly research into the visual environment in which these practices were undertaken. Kate Flint's *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (2000) made a compelling case for the importance of new visual technologies in changing how Victorians perceived the world around them, re-evaluating the relationship between observation and imagination, memory and representation. Although photography was just one of the innovations considered by Flint, other authors have undertaken a more extensive analysis of the topic in relation to literature. While both Jennifer Green-Lewis's *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (1997) and Nancy Armstrong's *Fiction in the Age of Photography* (1999) argue for a strong link between literary realism and the growth of photography in the mid-nineteenth century, Daniel Novak's *Realism, Photography, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (2008) highlighted mid-Victorian dissatisfaction with photographic truth, suggesting instead that literary realism was a response to these inadequacies.<sup>25</sup> His examination of the 'dismembered and disembodied' aspects of Victorian photography, including montages and composite prints, in some ways anticipated Jordan Bear's emphasis on the complexity of discerning individual responses to the photographic image, and is typical of the new generation of writing on photography in both its embracing of multiple narratives of ambivalence and its examination of a wider range of media, such as cartes-des-visites, *Punch* cartoons, collages and other artwork from domestic family albums.<sup>26</sup> While some of this work has been undertaken by those who could be termed 'photohistorians', much of it has been written by scholars from other disciplines who have brought new insights into explorations of how photography has been integrated within other activities. The recent work by Leonardi

25 Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) and Nancy Armstrong, *Fiction in the Age of Photography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999)

26 Daniel Novak, *Realism, Photography, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) p.4. The significance of the contents of photo-albums has been explored in Patrizia di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).

and Natale, *Photography and Other Media in the Nineteenth Century* (2018), exemplifies this approach by rooting its study of photography firmly within the wider world of communication technology, graphic arts, telegraphy, transport and new sound media.<sup>27</sup>

As Novak noted, 'Only recently have critics such as Jennifer Tucker begun to attend to the ways in which the "objective" status of the photograph was a result of a long and complex process of debate and negotiation.'<sup>28</sup> Tucker's *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (2005) broke new ground in exposing how the dynamic and tense relationship between photography and science was negotiated against a background of social, political, commercial and gender-based pressures.<sup>29</sup> Her evidence was again drawn from a range of media, including scientific periodicals, the photographic press – especially the *Photographic News* - laboratory notebooks, private correspondence and illustrations from contemporary newspapers.

It can be seen, therefore, just how successful these 'new photographic theorists' have been in taking debates about the history of photography far beyond the confines of fine art and the museum, as well as previous discourse that has centred upon a narrow elite of prestigious practitioners and what Tucker calls 'signature images.'<sup>30</sup> But while monographs have been devoted to photography's connections with literature (Rabb, 1995) and cinema (Campany, 2008), there has been little interest to date in addressing the relationship with religion.<sup>31</sup> Taylor & Schaaf's magisterial *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840–1860* (2008) does a good job of teasing out the workings of the British class

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27 Nicoletta Leonardi and Simone Natale (eds.), *Photography and Other Media in the Nineteenth Century* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2018).

28 Novak, *Realism, Photography, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (2008) p.9.

29 Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005)

30 Tucker, *Nature Exposed* (2005) pp.8-9. See also Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) p.34.

31 Elizabeth Ann McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-71* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), Jane Rabb, *Literature and Photography: Interactions, 1840-1990, A Critical Anthology* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), David Campany, *Photography and Cinema* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008.)

system, but despite including the work of over two dozen clergymen-photographers, makes little comment on the relevance of their religious profession. Likewise Grace Seiberling's *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (1986) contains more material on British clergymen-photographers than any comparable monograph, but does not take the opportunity to address directly the significance of their clerical roles. Where Seiberling is particularly successful, however, is in demonstrating the significance for early amateur photography of pre-existing networks, based on gentlemanly pursuits such as antiquarian research and membership of historical societies. While the studies of Tucker (2005) and Edwards (2010) base their evidence of photographic practice largely upon trade periodicals such as the *Photographic News*, they neglect the more literary publications used by the calotype-loving amateurs for circulating their photographic discussions, which makes Seiberling's book a valuable complement to those of other scholars in the field.

Seiberling hints at the large number of clergy involved in early amateur photography, and given the vast extent of documented photographic activity by these clergymen that can be gleaned from easily-accessible sources, their complete absence from major monographs on the encounter between science and religion is remarkable. Significant studies include Dixon, Cantor & Pumfrey's *Science and Religion. New Historical Perspectives* (2011) - which used insights drawn from new researches into Islam, imperialism, book publishing and children's education to show the fluidities and tensions inherent in the categories of 'science' and 'religion' - and David Noble's groundbreaking *The Religion of Technology* (1999), which counters the 'conflict thesis' mentioned below by demonstrating the full extent to which the technological advances of the last thousand years were rooted in religious life, from medieval monks to the Puritan scientists of seventeenth-century England.<sup>32</sup> Despite the breadth and depth of these works, references to photography are entirely absent from their pages, thereby overlooking a vigorous and widespread engagement with new scientific technology by a large number of religious figures. In Chapter One of my thesis I emphasise how much early photography relied on scientific principles and processes: the timing of this activity raises significant questions about the

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32 T. Dixon, G. Cantor, & S. Pumfrey, *Science and Religion. New Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and David Noble, *The Religion of Technology, The Divinity of Man and the Spirit of Invention* (New York: Penguin, 1999.)

interaction between religion and science, not least the notion that their relationship during this period was one in implacable antagonism – a view expounded in Draper (1874) and White (1896)<sup>33</sup>, and which continues to influence perceptions today: as Russell (2002) notes, ‘For nearly a century, the notion of mutual hostility (the Draper-White thesis) has been routinely employed in popular science writing, by the media, and in a few older histories of science.’<sup>34</sup>

This persistent and pervasive view has been challenged by some recent scholarship in the area of popular science, although none of these discusses photography in detail. Aileen Fyfe’s *Science and Salvation* (2004) pushes back further against the stereotype of evangelicals pitting Scripture against science, by proving the extent to which Congregationalists and other Nonconformists involved themselves in commercial science publishing, especially through the Religious Tract Society. Addressing related questions regarding the boundaries between professional science, popular communication networks and public audiences, Bernard Lightman’s *Victorian popularizers of science* (2007) examines the work of over two dozen men and women who used vivid lecturing styles, new print media and visual aids to interpret new scientific theories for general audiences around Britain. Applying a slightly narrower focus, Ralph O’Connor’s *Earth on Show* (2007) demonstrated the significance of creative technology such as panoramas and dioramas in interpreting and popularising the existence of prehistoric fossils for the general public.<sup>35</sup> The collection of essays edited by Kember, Plunkett & Sullivan, *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship* (2012) places greater emphasis on the use of visual spectacle in the dissemination of popular science, but despite some references to clergymen does not expand upon the religious context, which lies

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33 John William Draper, *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (London: King, 1876) and Andrew Dickson White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (London: Macmillan, 1896)

34 Colin A Russell, ‘The Conflict of Science and Religion’ in G.B. Ferngren (ed.) *Science and Religion: a historical introduction* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002.)

35 Aileen Fyfe, *Science and Salvation. Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), Bernard Lightman, *Victorian popularizers of science: designing nature for new audiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) and Ralph O’Connor, *The Earth on Show: Fossils and the Poetics of Popular Science 1802-1856* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.)

outside its scope.<sup>36</sup> Even the very few studies of religious art that include references to photography – such as David Morgan, *Visual Piety. A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (1998) – provide little discussion on the possible relevance of the medium-specific elements of photography for religious application. My thesis builds on these studies by picking up at the point where they left off.<sup>37</sup>

This disconnect between photographic studies and church history or theology is largely unsurprising and need not be attributed to any hostile attitudes in either discipline. Nineteenth-century religion is a complex and intricately-detailed field: many of its debates appear archaic and pedantic to modern eyes, while the specialised terminology used for liturgical practices and monastic routine can obscure important nuances and distinctions. Larsen (2011) demonstrates the remarkable extent to which Victorian life was permeated by knowledge of the Bible and religious topics.<sup>38</sup> Such knowledge is not typically demanded of scholars in the fields of art history or photography, just as ecclesiastical historians are not expected to be well-informed about the various technical processes of nineteenth-century photography or theories of visual aesthetics. This thesis is built upon many years devoted both to the study of the history of photography *and* to the study of theology and church history, underscored by a lengthy period of residence in a monastery that has familiarised the author with many of the hidden details of religious life, language and observance that are often inaccessible to academic researchers. The general aim of this thesis, therefore, is to bridge the gap between these two hitherto disparate strands of Victorian photography and religious culture, to reveal and assess a vibrant area of nineteenth-century activity that has been overlooked, and in

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36 Joe Kember, John Plunkett & Jill Sullivan (eds.), *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840-1910* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012)

37 One exception to this has been scholarly interest in the Pre-Raphaelites, whose artistic activities involved a number of intersections between religion and photography. See Michael Bartram, *Pre-Raphaelite Camera: Aspects of Victorian Photography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985) and Lindsay Smith, *Victorian Photography, Painting and Poetry: The Enigma of Visibility in Ruskin, Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

38 Timothy Larsen, *A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Larsen's earlier book *Contested Christianity: The Political & Social Contexts of Victorian Theology* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2009) is a valuable guide to how religious concerns were integrated with other social, political and cultural commitments.

doing so respond to calls for further research into amateur photography.<sup>39</sup> More specifically, it seeks to find answers to three main research questions:

*What was the extent of clergymen's involvement with photography during this period, and did this engagement take distinctive forms?*

*Is there evidence for a relationship between a clergyman's particular religious culture and his photographic activities? If so, how did factors such as denomination or devotional identity influence the way photography was applied, or how photographic practices were integrated within pastoral life?*

*What are the implications of such a relationship for our understanding of both Victorian photography and nineteenth century religious life?*

Setting about acquiring and analysing the evidence required to answer these questions was a lengthy, challenging and laborious process, and in the following sections I will outline the methods and principles used for this research. The starting point, however, is to establish how and why the category of 'clergyman-photographer' should be defined.

## **2. The Scope and Methodology of the Research**

In itself, the popularity of photography among Victorian clergymen is not hard to explain. Early photography was a complicated process that required knowledge of physics and chemistry, a large amount of leisure time to carry out experiments, and a considerable amount of money to afford the necessary equipment and chemicals. The first generation of practitioners was therefore drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the landed gentry and the professional classes – clergymen, doctors and lawyers. An obvious objection could be raised of course, as to why 'clergyman-photographers' can, or should be, treated as a discrete group, any more than doctors or lawyers. My reasons for doing so are grounded in the nature of religious profession. Although one might be able to make some general comments about the 'legalistic mindset' of lawyers, for example, or the tendency for doctors to have a good 'bedside manner', there is little collective foundation by which can extrapolate a set of wider beliefs that have relevance outside the scope of their professional work.

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<sup>39</sup> The need for such research has been identified by Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (2012) p.41. See also the Pasternak reference in fn.13.

This is not the case with the clergy however, all of whom – either through their ordination vows or monastic profession – bound themselves to a clearly-defined code of doctrines, beliefs and principles that address far-ranging topics concerning man's place in the world, the meaning and end of human activities, the role of religion in civic society, the analogy between God and nature, and the relationship between spirit and matter. There is no question of claiming that these clergymen were any more homogenous a group than, say, lawyers or doctors; on the contrary, this research emphasises their diversity and demonstrates how religious and social distinctions affected the forms of photography undertaken.

Nonetheless, such diversity needs to be contained within firm boundaries if the research is to be manageable, and at this point these parameters should be defined. The research focusses upon clergymen who engaged with practical photography between 1839 and 1914, spanning seven and a half decades between the invention of photography and the beginning of the First World War. This period was chosen because it was roughly coterminous with the reign of Queen Victoria and provided enough scope to trace the impact made on clergymen's photography by technical developments such as the introduction of the collodion process or handheld cameras. The outbreak of war provided a natural endpoint.<sup>40</sup>

It should be acknowledged openly that the nature of photography – both in terms of technical standards and cultural resonance – evolved dramatically during this period, and my thesis is structured in such a way as to mirror how clerical engagement of photography was shaped by these changes.

In terms of subjects, the research is restricted to clergymen from the British Isles, including those who worked abroad on foreign missions. Although this meant excluding significant figures such as Slovenian Catholic priest Fr. Janez Puhar (1814-64) and American Episcopalian Rev. Hannibal Goodwin (1822-1900), extending the scope into Europe and the Americas would have resulted in an unfeasibly large project. The vast majority of clergy included here were active photographers, either as a personal hobby or in support of pastoral work, but my research also examined other forms of engagement such as writing about

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40 There seemed little cause to disagree with Owen Chadwick's claim that 'The Victorian age continued till the war of 1914.' *The Victorian Church* Vol. 1 (London: SCM Press, 1966) p.1, while continuing research beyond 1918 would have resulted in an unwieldy length. As a formal break in both individual lives and the social landscape, World War One provided a logical *terminus a quo*.

photography, collecting photographs, or - in the case of the Disruption calotypes - sitting for portraits. The aim throughout was to explore the extent to which a correlation can be traced between these photographic activities and the wider religious framework in which the clergymen were operating.

For the purposes of this research, 'clergyman' is taken to mean someone who is ordained as a minister of religion, or - in the case of Roman Catholic monks and friars - made a public profession of monastic vows. This excluded lay missionaries and pastors from denominations or sects which reject the notion of holy orders. No attempt was made to follow a strict definition of ordination, given that during this period the Roman Catholic Church declared Anglican orders 'null and void', and both Catholics and Anglicans were united in disregarding the sacramental validity of Presbyterian orders.<sup>41</sup> This parameter is important in so much as it confirms that the photographers had official membership of a recognised body, the teachings of which were accepted as normative. Such a restriction was necessary to conform to the principle explained above, that the value of pursuing this study relied upon these photographers professing a set of clearly-defined religious doctrines. This is not a blind presumption that every Anglican clergyman was an ardent believer in every one of the Thirty-Nine Articles, or a denial that a range of orthodox and heterodox theological opinions might be found within a Presbyterian body such as the Free Church of Scotland. The basic premise does, however, provide a broad framework around which the research could be structured.

Rather than discussing these clergy simply within the boundaries of ecclesiastical denomination, the concept of 'devotional identity' may be more helpful. Moving beyond the static terminology of denominational membership, 'devotional identity' encompasses the broader social and cultural roles of an individual clergyman, stressing the active choices he made in pursuing his religious life in the world. As the research developed, detailed case studies allowed for the exploration of nuances of theological opinion and instances where individual beliefs were crucial in the ways photography was undertaken and applied.

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41 The Catholic Church formally declared Anglican orders 'null and void' in the papal bull *Apostolicae Curae* (1896), an opinion that was reaffirmed in the apostolic letter *Ad tuendam fidem* (1998.) For the more complex issue of Anglican views on Presbyterian orders, see Douglas M. Murray, 'Anglican Recognition of Presbyterian Orders: James Cooper and the Precedent of 1610', *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 32 (1996), pp. 455-464, and Will Adam, 'The Reception, Recognition and Reconciliation of Holy Orders', *Ecclesiastical Law Journal*, Vol.8, Issue 36 (January 2005), pp. 4-20.



Evidence for this was sought in a range of photographic, printed and manuscript sources, and it is important to emphasise that the starting point for this research was the examination of historical records and materials. The focus throughout was on what clergymen-photographers actually *did* on a practical, 'grassroots' level, and analysing how this correlated with various religious or denominational factors. There is an obvious *caveat* here in that such an examination is naturally dependent upon the historical records that have survived – an issue discussed in greater detail in the section on 'The Archival Quest.' In keeping with the ideal expressed by Bill Jay and Elizabeth Edwards earlier, the methodology has been to 'get behind' certain theories and assumptions by building up a detailed knowledge of the relevant 'actants' of the 'photography complex'. It was inevitable, therefore, that a large proportion of this research was undertaken using archival materials from a range of institutions - national, regional and religious – about which some account must be provided.

### **3. The Archival Quest**

Given the critical disconnect outlined above between the scholarly fields of photographic and religious history, it is unsurprising that photographic material created by clergymen has not received the attention it deserves. During the writing of this thesis, the archival team at Downside Abbey entered into a partnership with the local U3A group to start digitising their photographic collections, while a similar project was undertaken at the Cardinal Newman Archives of the Birmingham Oratory in collaboration with John Rylands Library. Without the intervention of well-funded initiatives backed by external institutions such as these, however, the leather-bound albums, boxes of glass negatives and envelopes of loose prints held in smaller religious archives are typically left neglected on shelves or under tables. Many of the photographic collections visited during this research had been untouched prior to my enquiries, even where rudimentary cataloguing of the materials had been undertaken.

It may be valuable here to provide a brief account of the process of identifying these collections and examining material in a diverse range of archives around the

UK. The research was carried out with an awareness of the contingent nature of archival collections and the politics and serendipity that determines their content and structure. Any attempt to use photographic archives to analyse the practices of nineteenth-century clergymen is constrained by the limits of what has actually been deposited in, and subsequently survived, those collections. In order to avoid a misshapen and possibly misleading picture, the project would need to draw upon a combination of different archives and materials.

Observations about my experience will illustrate some of the ideas underpinning the project. Protocols have shifted somewhat since Kaplan (1990) expressed her regret that conventional academic research 'requires you to tell a story about *what* you found, but not about how you found it.'<sup>42</sup> If – as Ann Stoler argues – there has been a shift from the concept of the 'archive-as-source to archive-as-subject', transforming perception of the archive from a thing to be consulted to a process with which to engage, then the narrative of that engagement merits a place in the presentation of the research.<sup>43</sup>

The first stage of the research was to identify clergymen-photographers and compile data about their photographic practices and religious background. Many names were found from sifting through nineteenth-century photographic periodicals, such as the *Photographic News* (1858-1908), *The British Journal of Photography* (1854-), *Amateur Photographer* (1888-), *Photographic Notes* (1856-67) and *The Photogram* (1894–1905).<sup>44</sup> Other sources included exhibition catalogues, both paper copies and online databases such as *Photographic Exhibitions in Britain, 1839-1865* ([www.peib.dmu.ac.uk](http://www.peib.dmu.ac.uk)) and *Exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society 1870-1915*

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42 A.Y. Kaplan, 'Reading in the archive: on texts and institutions,' *Yale French Studies* 77 (1990) p.103.

43 Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science* 2 (2002) p.93.

44 The titles of these periodicals often changed over time. For the purposes of clarification, *The British Journal of Photography* began in 1854 as the *Liverpool Photographic Journal*, and after one volume (1859) as the *Photographic Journal*, representing all the photographic societies, became the *British Journal of Photography* in 1860. It is not to be confused with *The Journal of the Photographic Society of London* (1853-), which was known as the *Photographic Journal* from 1859 onwards. *Photographic Notes* (1856-67) reprinted news and proceedings from different photographic societies, whose names occasionally appeared in the subtitle. *The Photogram* (1894–1905) represented the fine art tradition within the photographic community and continued from 1906 as *The Photographic Monthly*. In 1884 *Photographic News* merged with *Amateur Photographer* to form *Amateur Photographer & Photographic News*.

([www.erps.dmu.ac.uk](http://www.erps.dmu.ac.uk)). Further clergymen were identified by scouring through books of religious photographs or missionary publications. Letters of enquiry were sent to archivists of Anglican and Roman Catholic dioceses, and e-mails posted on forums for religious archivists. The fact that very few new names were provided by such enquiries supports the contention underlying this research – that there is a gap separating church history and photographic history.

Biographical and religious information about the lives and careers of these photographers was compiled from standard reference sources such as *Crockfords* and the *Clergy List*, university registers and census records. More specialised works were required for Nonconformist and Roman Catholic clergy, including members of religious orders.<sup>45</sup> Such library-based research only formed a small part of this process. Field trips were made to churches, monasteries, archives, cemeteries and religious sites to acquire first-hand evidence about the lives and practices of these clergymen-photographers.<sup>46</sup> As Edwards (2006) remarks, some theoretical approaches to the history of photography ‘all too often....abandon the terrain of historical persons for transcendental notions of the Subject.’<sup>47</sup> By contrast, this research involved physically walking across that terrain in a very real and literal sense, visiting the places where clergymen had worshipped, preached and set up their camera tripods, handling their personal papers and photographic negatives,

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45 For Presbyterian ministers the three essential registers were the multi-volume *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, first edited by Rev. Hew Scott but later revised and expanded, William Ewing, *The Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915) and James A. Wylie, *Disruption Worthies: a memorial of 1843, with an historical sketch of the free church of Scotland from 1843 down to the present time* (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, 1881). Catholic clergy are listed in Christine Johnson, *Scottish Catholic secular clergy 1879-1989* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), Charles Fitzgerald Lombard OSB, *English and Welsh Priests, 1801-1914* (Bath: Downside Abbey Press, 1993) and Bernard W. Kelly, *Historical Notes on English Catholic Missions* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1907), while biographical details for individuals in the Benedictine, Dominican and Jesuit communities were identified by consulting various editions of the *SS. patriarchae Benedicti familiae confoederatae: catalogus monasteriorum O.S.B* (or *Catalogus*), *Obituary notices of the Friar-preachers, or Dominicans, of the English province, from the year of our Lord 1650* (first published 1884) and *Letters and Notices* (1863 onwards), respectively.

46 Places visited included Thirsk, Fort Augustus, various rural churches in Cornwall and Dorset, Birmingham, Chepstow, Taunton, Bristol, Edinburgh and East Kilbride.

47 Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2006) p.303.

and in some instances meeting their descendants to record family anecdotes. Knowledge of the religious culture to which they belonged was acquired through studying a range of printed and manuscript sources, including printed sermons, theological works, memoirs, manuscript diaries and personal correspondence.

While many of these materials were held in publicly-accessible collections within standard institutions such as university, national or regional libraries, the personal papers and/or photographs of a number of clergyman had been preserved in their original religious house or place of worship. In some cases, their existence would never have been discovered without directly contacting the present incumbents, due to their absence from bibliographic or digital finding aids. Many such letters or e-mails went unanswered, or met with admissions of complete ignorance about ecclesiastical predecessors or indeed the history of the parish.<sup>48</sup> This is a forceful reminder not only of partial and fragmentary nature of surviving records, but also of the role played by serendipity in this research. My arguments are based on documents and images that have been preserved (in various ways, not always physically), and these findings therefore need to be framed within an awareness that much relevant material has been lost. Given that the archival evidence is inevitably incomplete, means had to be found of ensuring that my presentation of clerical photography was as accurate as possible. One method of doing so was to survey a wide range of different types of archives, combining material from – for example – regional and religious collections in order to utilise balanced and complementary sources. The examination of Rev. Thomas Perkins' work in Chapter Two, for example, uses close comparisons between photographic images from the Dorset County archives, manuscript material from the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings and published writings in architectural guides. In Chapter Five the description of photographic activities presented by a Jesuit priest in formal reports to his superior were read in conjunction with the account recorded in the personal diaries of a Benedictine monk who accompanied him.

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<sup>48</sup> Such negative responses need to be regarded in the context of the very different circumstances in which contemporary clergy find themselves; over the last 150 years churches have been demolished, parishes amalgamated and congregations merged, and it is quite common for an individual minister or priest to be given the care of several congregations which are served on a rota basis. Additionally, he or she may be in part-time ministry, balancing pastoral duties with other employment. Given the low success-rate and arbitrary results of such letters of enquiry, this method of acquiring information was used strategically rather than systematically, in instances where there was either likelihood of historical knowledge or an absence of alternative sources.

While this stage of the research was at times challenging, it could be especially rewarding when it presented opportunities to examine unusual materials in their original settings. In Edinburgh, for example, a tentative approach to the office of St Mary's Episcopalian Cathedral about papers relating to Rev. James Francis Montgomery - the first incumbent of the cathedral and its dean for eighteen years – led to the revelation that his wife's diary contained photographs and was held in the cathedral archives. As it turned out, the photographs were commercial ones acquired during European travels and tipped-in to the pages, but Mrs Montgomery's journal was illustrated with the dean's own pen-and-ink sketches and presented a lively account of their summer vacations in Switzerland and Italy between 1881 and 1897, providing insights into Montgomery's ecclesiastical connections and artistic eye. I was able to read through the diary in the chapterhouse of the cathedral, the same room in which Dean Montgomery himself had worked, and a short distance away from his marble effigy between the chancel and north choir aisle. During the visit it was also possible to identify portraits of Montgomery elsewhere in the church, and also consult issues of the monthly *Cathedral Record* produced while he was dean.



**Fig.1.** Monument to Dean Montgomery (1817-97) by Pittendrigh McGillivray, 1902. St Mary's Episcopalian Cathedral, Palmerston Square, Edinburgh. Photography by the author.

It is quite a different experience to sit down to examine a collection of photographs or archival materials that are housed within a religious setting, particularly one previously inhabited by the clergyman, than it is to do so within an institutional reading room where the contents are separated from their original context not only by geographical distance but also by the archive's uniform

standards of processing, storage and handling. During this research I was able to read through the diaries of Benedictine monk and photographer Fr. Bede Camm inside the monastery where he lived and prayed, surrounded by the sights and sounds to which he often referred in his writing. Although the whereabouts of Camm's photographs is unknown, a large number of those taken by his friend and collaborator, Fr. John Hungerford Pollen SJ, are preserved in the Jesuit archives held in Mayfair next door to the church of the Immaculate Conception. The construction and renovation of the adjacent buildings had been photographed by the priest, and access to the archives involved entering the church and circumnavigating the same rooms and structures Father Pollen had captured with his camera, comparing the changes in architecture from the same windows where he had taken photographs over a century earlier. There was an even more intimate experience in the archives of the Birmingham Oratory when examining the photographs of the Fr. Anthony Hungerford Pollen – an Oratorian priest and the Jesuit's brother - where the archivist led me through the interior of the Oratorian house to the private library and bedroom occupied by the distinguished convert and scholar John Henry Newman, whose portrait Pollen had taken shortly before the cardinal's death.

The strong sense of physical presence and human association that permeates archival research in such settings was often valuable in helping me to see connections between hitherto disjointed ideas, images or hypotheses. From a practical perspective, these visits also offered unique opportunities to check details and verify facts at their very source. One might argue that a similar advantage is offered by regional archives – such as those consulted in Somerset and Dorset – where topographical features in photographs can be contextualised using a wealth of specialised local literature, maps and visual aids. Whilst this is to be welcomed, there is a need to remain aware of the way in which such photographs can be absorbed into a regional 'library' of topographical images, processed, catalogued and made available to users in a way that removes almost all trace of the religious context of their creation. The way in which such collections can lose their identity and 'be stripped of any sense of their own historicity and functional origins' has been described vividly by Edwards in her account of regional photographic surveys.<sup>49</sup> The challenge is not insurmountable - and this thesis demonstrates how much of that

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49 Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (2012) pp.251-254.

context can be recovered - but it illustrates how the contrasting after-lives of clerical photographs create different cultural layers through which the researcher must navigate.

In addition to religious and regional archives, other collections were consulted that related to specific subjects or institutions, such as the archives of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the Palestine Exploration Fund. As it was not always possible to physically visit every archive, some of this work was carried out by letter or e-mail, relying on the kindness and knowledge of other archivists, curators and librarians. There was an element of oral history too, as I was privileged to be able to arrange personal meetings with the descendants of the Revs. Somerset Lowry and Calder Macphail, who - in addition to photographic materials - shared with me traditions and anecdotes that had been passed down the family. Others, such as the great-granddaughters of the Revs. John Mackenzie Bacon and J.L. Sisson, communicated with me by e-mail, providing private information unavailable elsewhere. There were frustrations too in the archival quest, including the closing of the archives of the Plymouth Museum and Art Gallery just as I was planning to access the papers and photographs of the Rev. H.M. Dauncey. As with any doctoral project, however, the process of gathering research materials sooner or later must give way to the process of analysis and argument, and it is to the particular methodological challenges involved in this that I shall now turn.

#### **4. Using Biography for Historical Research**

Initial assessment of the material acquired from these two streams of literature – the photographic and the religious – revealed the extent of the chasm that separated them, and the pressing need for a substantial research project that could bridge that gap. Given that much of the primary data for this research is derived from detailed studies of several dozen clergymen, the relationship between these individual biographies and the wider historical narrative needs to be addressed.

In terms of scale, this research falls somewhere between a macro- and a micro-history.<sup>50</sup> The individual subjects of the study are from a small and narrowly-

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<sup>50</sup> For definitions of this, see Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó, *What is Microhistory?: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2013)

defined group, yet there some 200 of them, drawn from all over the United Kingdom during a period that covers seven decades. In methodology, however, the project follows the principles laid out by Geertz (1975) in trying to ‘draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad interpretations about the role of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly with complex specifics.’<sup>51</sup> As Geertz indicates by his references to density and complexity, the raw materials for such a study must be drawn from diverse sources, and so a study such as this by definition is an interdisciplinary one. While seeking to identify patterns of photographic practice within the context of religious belief and devotional identity, the starting point has always been evidence about what individuals actually did: the photographs they took, the societies they joined, the sermons they preached, the books they wrote and the people with whom they corresponded or collaborated. The collective nature of all these activities is a reminder that these individuals and their practices are always being studied to see what they reveal about broader cultural patterns. Obviously our knowledge of what these clergymen did is based upon what they left, and the contingency of the archival records that have survived. Thus, in keeping with Geertz’s concept of the ‘thick description’, the meaning of these visual images or bare documentary details is not apparent from their content alone, but must be interpreted in the context of their production, circulation and consumption.

There are numerous challenges involved in navigating one’s way through the masses of densely-textured of biographical information on which this thesis is based, not the least of which has been that of maintaining a balance between details of individual lives and practices and the broader significance of these from a historical perspective. An attempt has been made to achieve such equilibrium by placing much of the relevant biographical data regarding individual clergymen within footnotes or Appendix One, while presenting a number of in-depth case studies that demonstrate the relationship between the micro- and macro-levels. The most extensive of these is the discussion of Rev. Thomas Perkins in Chapter Two, which provides a full exploration of how his photographic practices, architectural campaigning, religious and historical writings can be conceived as an integrated, unified whole. Although it

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51 Clifford Geertz, ‘Thick description: toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture’, in *The Interpretations of Cultures* (London: Hutchinson, 1973) p.28



was clearly impossible to discuss other clergymen-photographers in such detail, this demonstration of the correlation between photographic praxis and broader ideological commitments provides a reference point to be recalled when considering briefer profiles of individuals.

It must be acknowledged that – while a small number of these clergymen were regarded by their contemporaries as worthy subjects for published biographies – most of the photographers in this thesis were, and remain, relatively obscure figures who lived on the periphery of the great events and movements of the Victorian era. In her helpful analysis of the differences between biography and micro-history, Lepore (2001) makes the distinction that the former is ‘largely founded on a belief in the singularity and significance of an individual’s life and his contribution to history’ whereas the latter finds such a life of value ‘not in its uniqueness, but in its exemplariness, in how that individual’s life serves as an allegory for broader issues affecting the culture as a whole.’<sup>52</sup>

Writing of recent change in biographical approaches to American history, Hoffman (1997) observed how researchers had started to adopt a ‘perspective informed by anthropology, psychology, literary analysis, and material culture’ in order ‘to discern through the lives of individuals or families the broader contours of the social and cultural landscape.’<sup>53</sup> Research for this thesis was undertaken along a similar methodological line of approach, in the belief that an understanding of the landscape of Victorian visual culture could be enriched by analysing cumulative data and patterns gathered from a collective study of the religious lives and photographic activities of some 200 clergymen. Individual details about when a clergyman was ordained or appointed to a parish may seem to belong to the realm of biographical trivia, but if recurring patterns can be identified – such as the proportion of clergymen-photographers who held teaching posts or rural benefices – then more general arguments can be developed about how ecclesiastical duties might have impacted upon photographic activities. There is a sustained effort throughout the

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52 Jill Lepore, ‘Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography’, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 88:1 (June 2001), p.133.

53 Ronald Hoffman, (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) vii-vi

thesis to emphasise how individual activities illustrate broader points about religious belief, photography and visual culture.

## **5. Christian Traditions and the Visual Arts**

In order to understand how the beliefs and practices of different religious denominations might relate to the photographic activities of their respective clergy, it is first necessary to provide some background to the diversity of visual traditions within the Christian faith, and indeed the rich and complex relationship between religious imagery, nineteenth century art and photography.

Despite the existence of paintings of Christ as early as the beginning of the third century CE, an uneasy relationship has long existed between Christianity and visual imagery. Strength of feeling ran so high during the period of Iconoclastic controversy that lasted from ca.727 to 842 CE, that member of the rival Christian factions (the iconoclasts and the iconodules) killed and tortured one another. Although veneration of images was officially approved by the Second Council of Nicea in 787 – the last of the seven ecumenical councils that established a consensus between the eastern Orthodox and western Catholic churches – this did not prevent a second wave of iconoclasm under a succession of Byzantine emperors, and opposition to religious images would remain a minor, but ongoing, theological current during the following centuries.

The rationale behind such hostility can be attributed to various sources, including Old Testament prohibitions of ‘graven images’ and idolatry (Exodus 20:4-6, Deut. 4: 16-18, 23-24, Lev. 26:1, Jeremiah 10:14-15), influences from Judaism and Islam, as well as distrust of physical matter rooted in Platonic philosophy and dualist teachings associated with heresies such as Docetism and Manichaeism. To counter such objections, theologians could point to the doctrine of the Incarnation by which God made Himself visible in fleshly form, redeeming physical creation and opening the way for the faithful to find God through physical beauty in both art and nature.<sup>54</sup> Such an approach underpinned beliefs and practices in the medieval western Church up until the Reformation.

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<sup>54</sup> For a succinct analysis of the theology, see Aidan Nichols OP, *The Art of God Incarnate: Theology and Image in Christian Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1980)

Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that attitudes and practices within the Catholic Church (both pre- and post-Reformation) varied widely in different places and regions. Liberal patronage of the arts, such as commissioning of magnificent paintings and sculptures, co-existed with stern warnings against decorative excess and secular distractions from influential figures such as St Bernard of Clairvaux. Austere chapels in northern Europe contrast sharply with rococo church interiors in Austria, filled with gilded *putti* and stucco ornamentation. Inevitably too, there was a tension between official doctrine and popular devotional: the important theological distinction between two forms of veneration – *latría* (λατρεία) – the adoration due only to God – and *dulia* (δουλεία) – a reverence appropriate for offering to angels, saints, sacred images and relics – cannot be said to have been always observed in practice. However, underpinning all this diversity remained a constant validation of the place of the visual arts in Catholic worship, devotion and preaching.

This place was challenged by the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century, following on from the criticisms made by John Wycliffe (died 1384) and Jan Hus (died 1415), both of whom had been condemned as heretics by the Catholic Church.<sup>55</sup> The leading Reformers – Martin Luther, John Calvin, Andreas Karlstadt and Ulrich Zwingli – did not, however, share a common consensus about the legitimacy of sacred images, and this diversity of opinion would help shape the contrasting attitudes and practices of subsequent Protestant denominations. Luther held a more favourable view of images, insisting that their value was determined by usage and intention, and taking a critical stance against the disorderly destruction of images undertaken by the iconoclastic followers of Karlstadt.<sup>56</sup> Creating or venerating images with the intention of obtaining merit in God's eyes was sinful, but so was 'image-breaking' if done for the same reasons. There would always be a use for sacred images, particularly in meeting the didactic needs of the weak, young or

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55 On Hus and the visual arts, see the important paper by Milena Bartlová, *Understanding Hussite Iconoclasm, Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 7 (2009), pp.117-126, which offers a critique of much recent scholarship on iconoclasm as well as detailed study of the Hussite attitudes to sacred images.

56 On Karlstadt's role in the iconoclastic destruction of religious art in Wittenberg, see J.L. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004), pp. 83–7.

illiterate.<sup>57</sup> As Beal (2017) has demonstrated, Luther ‘trod a delicate line between Catholic idolatry on the one hand and radical iconoclasm on the other’, and this balancing act between the two poles was similar to the *via media* navigated by Anglicanism from the sixteenth century to the present.<sup>58</sup> The artist Lucas Cranach the Elder – a close associate of Luther - painted an altarpiece for the latter’s parish church of St Mary’s in Wittenberg that showed Luther, Melancthon and other reformers sitting at the Last Supper with Christ – a form of iconography practically identical to Catholic depiction of saints.

The followers of Calvin and Zwingli took a much stronger stance, not only systematically removing all church art and decoration in the cities of Geneva and Zurich respectively, but also developing a theological system that severely constrained the possible uses and values of religious art.<sup>59</sup> Calvin’s belief in the corrupt nature of humanity led him to believe that the tendency towards idolatry was irresistible: ‘The human mind is, so to speak, a perpetual forge of idols.’<sup>60</sup> In his commentary on the Letter of Saint John, Calvin developed this idea further:

So innate in us is superstition, that the least occasion will infect us with its contagion. Dry wood will not so easily burn when coals are put under it, as idolatry will seize and occupy the minds of men, when an occasion is given to them. And who does not see that images are the sparks? What! Sparks, do I say? Nay, rather torches which are sufficient to set the whole world on fire.<sup>61</sup>

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57 Luther’s views on sacred images are scattered throughout his works, but the clearest and most extensive statements are found in the subchapter ‘On Images’ from his Lenten sermons of 1522 and the tract ‘Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments’, which was addressed to Karlstadt and other iconoclasts: see Martin Luther, *Works* (edited by Helmut T. Lehmann, Jaroslav Pelikan and Hilton C. Oswald), Vol.51 and Vol.40 pp.79-233 respectively.

58 Bridget Heal, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) p.43. See also Sergiusz Michalski, *Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp.3, 13–18.

59 For detailed analysis of their different positions, see Charles Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1960), Paul Corby Finney (ed.), *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Mich./Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1999) and William A. Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

60 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 1.11.8.

Given this deep distrust of the power of the visual image, it is unsurprising that the denominations who followed Calvin's teachings – such as the Presbyterians and Reformed or Primitive Baptists – generally shunned the use of religious art in their churches and worship. Eschewing grandiose religious art in public spaces, such worshippers might still tolerate the use of images in more modest settings that were expressive of a personal, unmediated relationship with God: these might include illustrated devotional books and Bibles, or small engraved prints. It is vital to acknowledge, nonetheless, that these positions were far from monolithic, and need to be carefully distinguished from the stereotypes promoted by religious polemic and often perpetuated in popular culture.

Recent studies by Alexandra Walsham, Tessa Watt, David Davis and others have revealed the complex, varied and fluid identities that characterised early modern religious practices: far from a simple Protestant-Catholic binary, there were 'separatists and conforming puritans, church papists and recusants, Calvinists and avant-garde conformists, and evangelicals and conservatives, and the boundaries separating the groups often shifted over time.'<sup>62</sup> This complexity is mirrored in the diverse and ambiguous attitudes to religious images that prevailed in post-Reformation Britain, resulting in inconsistent toleration of images in different contexts and settings. In the 1561 John Parkhurst, the Protestant Bishop of Norwich, demanded of his churchwardens that they remove all 'superstitious and dangerous monuments; especially paintings and images in wall, book, cope, banner or elsewhere,'<sup>63</sup> yet an image of Christ as the Good Shepherd was appears on the title page of *A defence of the 'Apologie of the Churche of England'* (London: Henry Wykes, 1567) a work by Parkhurst's former student, Bishop John Jewel of Salisbury, while the Protestant prayer book by Richard Day, *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek and Latine* (London: John Day, 1569)

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61 John Calvin, 'Commentary on The First Epistle of John, [5:21]', in *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles* (Edinburgh: The Calvin Translation Society, 1855) p.275.

62 David J. Davis, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) p.8. See also Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) for a sharp critique of previous assumptions about the absence of visual culture among iconophobic Protestants.

63 Walter Howard Freer (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Of the Period of the Reformation. Vol. III, 1559-1575* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910) p.90

contained numerous border decorations showing scenes from the Passion of Christ. Many English Protestant leaders held that visual aids were acceptable if they helped individuals come to Christ, demonstrating that attitudes to images were shaped by the need to balance pastoral and theological concerns.<sup>64</sup> One of the most iconic works of Protestant literature was John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* – more widely known as the *Book of Martyrs* – which graphically chronicled the sufferings of Protestants during the Marian persecutions. Given the near-contemporary nature of these events, there were no pre-existing illustrations to recycle and the artwork was created especially. The first English edition (1563) contained 57 woodcut illustrations, but the much enlarged edition of 1570 contained a total of 153 engravings. Some individual copies had hand-coloured illustrations, which would have vividly increased the dramatic power of the images, many of which depict horrific scenes of torture and execution.<sup>65</sup>

It continued to be a hugely popular work during the Victorian era, favoured by Evangelicals who saw it as a valuable weapon in the fight against both Roman Catholicism and High Church 'Tractarianism.' The effectiveness of the illustrations in eliciting a state of religious fervour can be seen in the writings of an evangelical author, Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (1790 -1846), who recalled her childhood experience. After taking her to see the pit where 'Mary burnt good people alive for refusing to worship wooden images', her father handed her a copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and as she could not read, told her to 'look at the pictures'. Sure enough, 'every wood-cut was examined with aching eyes and a palpitating heart. Assuredly I took in more of the spirit of John Foxe, even by that imperfect mode of acquaintance, than many do by reading his book through; and when my father next found me at what became my darling study, I looked up at him with burning cheeks and asked, "Papa, may I be a martyr?"<sup>66</sup>

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64 For further examination of these inconsistencies, see Andrew Pettegree, 'Illustrating the Book: A Protestant Dilemma' in Christopher Highley and John N. King, (eds.), *John Foxe and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 133-59, and Margaret Aston, 'God, Saints and Reformers: Portraiture and Protestant England', in Lucy Gent (ed.), *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550–1660* (London: Yale University Press, 1995) pp.181-220.

65 For a full discussion of Foxe's work and the various editions, see Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman (eds.) *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Evidence that printed images were capable of eliciting such a response undermines some of the stereotypes about evangelical Protestants and their exclusive preference for the spoken word over visual media. The reality is that the picture was always diverse and nuanced. In 1580 Calvin's successor at Geneva, Theodore Beza, published his *Icones*, a tribute to 93 individuals who had contributed to the Reformation, illustrated with 38 woodcut portraits.<sup>67</sup> Dedicated to the young James VI of Scotland, the portraits are arranged in geographical groups and accompanied by hagiographical texts and poetry.<sup>68</sup> While both Catholic and Protestant authors might publish illustrated devotional works - such as emblem books - that used the same or similar engravings, amendments were made in content or usage to create distance between the different denominations.<sup>69</sup> Shared imagery belied conflicting doctrines about the operation of grace. Catholic theology teaches that the seven sacraments (Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Communion, Confession, Marriage, Holy Orders, and the Anointing of the Sick) use physical matter such as water, wine, bread and oil as channels of divine grace; in addition to these, other objects - such as holy water, saints' relics, holy images, palm leaves or medals - can be blessed and used as 'sacramentals', which help prepare individual believers to receive grace through the sacraments. While neither position understood there to be any actual religious presence within such images or objects themselves, Catholic theology allows the veneration of such images out of respect for who or what the image represents - a distinction of little interest to Protestant polemicists.

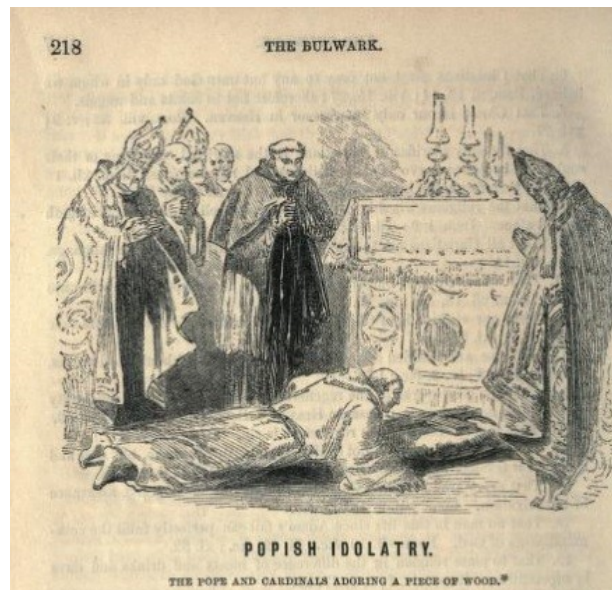
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66 Charlotte Elizabeth Tonnas, *Personal Recollections* (London: R.B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1846) pp.13-14. The evangelical publishing house of Seeley & Burnside issued two editions of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, in 1837-41 and 1843-9 respectively.

67 The first edition was published in Latin as *Icones, id est verae Imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium* (Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1580) containing only 27 portraits. Eleven more were added to the French translation by Simon Goulart that appeared the following year: *Les vrais portraits des hommes illustrés* (Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1581).

68 On this work, see E.J. Hutchinson, 'Written Monuments: Theodore Beza's *Icones* as Testament to and Program for Reformist Humanism,' in W.B. Littlejohn and Johnathan Tomes (eds.), *Beyond Calvin: Essays on the Diversity of the Reformed Tradition* (Moscow, ID: The Davenant Press, 2017) pp.21-62.

69 Els Stronks, 'Never to Coincide: the Identities of Dutch Protestants and Dutch Catholics in Religious Emblematics,' *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3:2 (Summer 2011).



**Fig.2.** 'Popish Idolatry. The Pope and Cardinals adoring a piece of wood.'  
*The Bulwark, or, Reformation journal: in defence of the true interests of man and of society, especially in reference to the religious, social and political bearings of popery* Vol.III (Edinburgh: Scottish Reformation Society, 1853-4) p.218. Woodcut illustration by unknown artist.

In this brief historical overview, it is clear that the divergence between the visual traditions of Catholics and Protestant is matter more of usage and function rather than content. Although both Lutheran and Calvinist traditions permitted depictions of Christ, they differed on how and where these could be reproduced, but together rejected the Catholic practice of venerating images in liturgical or devotional settings. Catholic teaching on the sacrifice of the Mass meant that altars tended to be dominated by iconography relating to the crucifixion, whereas the Lutheran understanding of the Eucharist as a shared meal encouraged images of the Last Supper to be used on altarpieces. The Calvinist tradition remained opposed to any representations of Christ, the apostles or saints in places of worship. When a church opened in St Enoch's in Glasgow in 1827, for example, the inclusion of 'a lovely stained glass pulpit window [showing] Christ blessing the little children' incurred the wrath of Rev. James Begg, Church of Scotland minister of New Monkland, (his photographic portrait by Hill and Adamson is reproduced in Chapter Three) who issued a strongly-worded pamphlet, *Remarks on the Painted Image Exhibited in St Enoch's Church in the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1828) which resulted in the removal of the window. As part of his attack on the window he wrote:

How daring must be the presumption and impiety of attempting to paint and exhibit the image of him who is Emmanuel, God with us, who in his divine nature is the brightness of



his Father's glory and the express image of his person. Such conduct is a gross affront to the person of Christ.<sup>70</sup>

Like-minded Presbyterian ministers would continue to campaign vigorously against what they perceived as idolatry throughout the century: in May 1890 Rev. Jacob Primmer petitioned the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland regarding the removal of 'various graven images, or figures of superstitious meaning and tendency' that he had seen inside the parish church of St Giles in Edinburgh, while his colleague Rev. Robert Thomson - preaching in Wellpark Church of Scotland three months later - threatened to take a hammer to these, although he would ensure he had a cheque in his pocket to pay for the damage.<sup>71</sup>

However, during this same period (1830-90) there were other currents within the Protestant denominations who held very different views regarding the appropriate forms of decoration and imagery that could be used within church interiors and worship. In response to various perceived threats to the Church of England (from Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Act and the recent repeal of the Test Acts in 1828), a group of young Oxford Fellows began publishing a series of *Tracts for the Times* in 1833. The aims of what became known as the 'Oxford Movement' focussed upon resisting liberal secularism and urging the Anglican Church to rediscover its apostolic origins, catholic doctrine and its roots in the teachings of the early Church fathers. Although the original 'Tractarians' had little interest in the aesthetic and liturgical concerns of many later Anglo-Catholics, their movement was a catalyst for other like-minded Anglicans, including a group of young men at Cambridge University with an interest in church architecture. The Camden Society was founded in 1839, and shortly after moved its base to London where it

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70 John M. Leighton, *Strath-Clutha; or, The beauties of Clyde* (Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1840) p.100. Rev. James Begg (1808-83) joined the Free Church in 1843 and was minister of Newington Free Church from then until his death, during which time he remained a fierce opponent of Roman Catholicism, Anglican ritualism and any forms of 'unscriptural innovation in worship. He was the editor of *The Bulwark* from 1851 to 1872 and wrote much of its content.

71 'The Alleged Popish Images in St Giles,' *Glasgow Herald* (24 May 1890) p.9, col.6, and 'Scenes in a Glasgow Church', *The Arbroath Herald*, 31 July 1890) p.5, col.5. Robert Thomson (1824-1904) and Jacob Primmer (1842-1914) were both Church of Scotland ministers and anti-Catholic controversialists who campaigned tirelessly against the use by Protestant clergy of any 'Popish' rituals, vestments or images, addressing large (and often unruly) crowds at open-air demonstrations, and expressing their views through preaching, litigation, letters to the press and pamphlets. As Dominic Janes demonstrates how the strength of such hostility was galvanised by the growing interest in liturgy and ritual fostered by the Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiologists in *Victorian Reformation: The Fight Over Idolatry in the Church of England 1840-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

was renamed the Ecclesiological Society in 1846.<sup>72</sup> Drawing on the ideals of Pugin and the Gothic Revival, the ‘Ecclesiologists’ fundamentally changed Victorian perceptions of church design and decoration, providing in their publications – including the journal *The Ecclesiologist* (1841-68) – both scholarly research and practical instruction for a new generation of architects such as William Burges, William Butterfield, G. F. Bodley, G. E. Street and George Gilbert Scott. While their focus was always on aesthetics rather than theology, the underlying belief was that a properly designed and decorated church should ‘lead, by visible loveliness, to invisible beauty.’<sup>73</sup>

The Ecclesiologists’ aims were perhaps realised most perfectly in the construction of William Butterfield’s church of All Saints, Margaret Street, in central London. Built between 1850 and 1859 with subsequent additions under Butterfield’s direction, it combined Decorated Gothic design with polychromatic brickwork, richly decorated frescoes and highly polished multi-coloured marble and granite surfaces that give the interior a bright, jewel-like aura. The use of coloured bricks in the construction marked a rejection of the whitewashed austerity of Calvinist and Puritan traditions, as well as an insistence on the artwork being part of the organic structure of the building rather than mere surface decoration – a debate that is discussed in Chapter Two of my thesis.

All Saints was conceived as a model church that would embody the tenets of the Ecclesiological Society, and the religious services celebrated there conformed to the same high standards of aesthetic beauty and grandeur. During the 1860s All Saints was one of the churches associated with extreme ritualism, the ‘six points’ of which were: the priest adopting the eastward position at Holy Communion (i.e. turning his back to the congregation at the moment of consecration, mixing water and wine in the chalice, and the use of incense, vestments, wafer bread and altar candles. These potent visual symbols were often remarked upon by evangelical critics of Anglican ritualism, illustrating the extent to which different denominations or church ‘parties’ were acutely sensitive to visual imagery. The wearing or avoidance

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72 The original name was in honour of the antiquary William Camden (1551-1623)

73 Rev. John M. Neale, *Hierologus; or, the Church Tourists* (London: James Burns, 1843) p.292.

of a particular garment, or the presence/absence of a specific artefact, was recognised as a marker that signified different religious affiliations or loyalties.



**Fig.3.** The epitome of High Victorian Gothic – The Anglican church of All Saints, Margaret Street, London, designed by William Butterfield. Photograph by author.

It is worth noting too that religious imagery was ubiquitous in the Victorian era and not simply confined to artworks produced with a Christian agenda. The photographer Julia Margaret Cameron drew on Biblical subjects for many of her portraits and group tableaux, having her sitters pose in costume as, for example, the Virgin Mary or the Five Wise and Foolish Virgins.<sup>74</sup> The work of the Pre-Raphaelite artists was also deeply informed by their knowledge of Biblical narratives and iconography, as well as an interest in ritual and sacramentalism suggestive of High Anglican beliefs, even when this did not tally with the personal spiritual commitments of individual artists.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> See Jeff Rosen's chapter 'Jowett's scriptures: the moral life and the state' in Rosen (ed), *Julia Margaret Cameron's 'fancy subjects': Photographic allegories of Victorian identity and empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016) pp.66-104.

<sup>75</sup> In addition to the seven members of the short-lived Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (1848-ca.1853) there was a wider and more diffuse movement involving others who shared the same artistic principles, but whose beliefs and practices evolved in the following decades. On the Pre-Raphaelites

As this brief overview has indicated, the issues underlying these visual traditions were typically concerned more with usage and function than simply content. Portraits of Christ could be tolerated in a private setting such as on a domestic wall or in the pages of a private book, but not in church windows; candles could be used to light a dim church, but placing them on the altar and regulating their number or brightness in keeping with liturgical rituals was unacceptable. Members of different ecclesiastical traditions kept a watchful eye on these signs, by which they could identify both kindred spirits and sectarian rivals.

Within specific religious communities, the circulation of such images could also serve the purpose of strengthening the bonds between individual believers, as Myres (2007) has shown in her discussion of the Catholic relics and devotional objects treasured by Elizabethan Jesuit priest John Gerard.<sup>76</sup> By analysing the context and recurrence of references to relics in Gerard's *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*, Myres argues that these were a way of celebrating the resilience and continuity of English Catholicism, and that the circulation of relics among priests and laity was a communal activity that bound individual Catholics together. In Chapter Five I discuss the photography of the Benedictine monk Bede Camm, whose book *Forgotten Shrines* (London: Macdonald & Evans, 1910) contains several photographs of relics from this period, including those owned by Fr. Gerard and mentioned in his memoir. I suggest that – as Catholic tradition predisposed a strong link between visual images and devotional identity - the circulation in print form of Camm's photographic images of relics and shrines functions in the same way.

Although the continuity of such visual traditions is perhaps less pronounced in among Nonconformist denominations, there is still evidence of clerical photography building upon established patterns of religious iconography within these communities. A newspaper column published in 1856 and entitled 'The Photographer's Parson' begins by gently mocking 'a certain class of clergymen' who

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and photography, see Michael Bartram, *Pre-Raphaelite Camera: Aspects of Victorian Photography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), Lindsay Smith, *Victorian Photography, Painting: The Enigma of Visibility in Ruskin, Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) and the exhibition catalogue by Diane Waggoner, *The Pre-Raphaelite Lens: British Photography and Painting, 1848-1875* (London: National Gallery of Art, 2010).

<sup>76</sup> Ann M. Myres, 'Father John Gerard's Object Lessons. Relics and Devotional Objects in *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*,' in Ronald Corthell (ed), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007) pp.216-235.

enjoy posing for the camera in order to be 'bought up and albed in large numbers by their local admirers at a shilling a head.' In defence, however, the author proceeds to argue that 'ministerial portraiture' is nothing new and has actually 'been the usage of the primitive Wesleyan Church almost since its establishment'. He describes meeting the artist William Gush (1813-88), who for some twenty years (1844-64) produced paintings of Wesleyan clergymen which were then reproduced in every monthly issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*.<sup>77</sup> While the advent of photography may have damaged the professional portrait painter's trade, it presented new opportunities for the editors of religious periodicals, and the most prescient among these was Rev. Nehemiah Curnock (1840-1915), whom contemporaries noted as being the first editor of a religious publication to adopt photographic illustrations. Curnock was editor of the *Methodist Recorder* from 1886 to 1906 and also of the eight-volume *Journal of the Rev. John Wesley* (London: Culley, 1909–1916). He took up photography not later than 1890 when asked to publicise the number of closed or abandoned Methodist chapels that were falling into disrepair.<sup>78</sup> Using the newly-available Kodak Instantaneous camera he began photographing churches and other sites of Methodist interest, which were reproduced in sketch form and then – from 1896 – in actual photographs.<sup>79</sup> When entrusted with the challenging task of transcribing and editing the original diaries of John Wesley, Curnock took his camera to study the manuscripts held at Gatton Park and over several months made 3000 photographic plates. The published volumes

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77 Anon., 'The Photographer's Parson', *Daily Bristol Times and Mirror* (6 November 1856) p.4, col.1. Gush succeeded John Jackson in 1834 as the chief portrait painter for the Wesleyan Connexion, and over 250 of his portraits were reproduced as engravings in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*.

78 Curnock recounted how he began using photography in an interview with Interview with David Williamson, 'Personal Forces in Religious Journalism No. V. Nehemiah Curnock,' *The Leisure Hour* (April 1903) pp. 470-473. This and other articles such as that in the *English Lakes Visitor and Keswick Guardian* (8 September 1906) p.2., col.3 single out Curnock for his pioneering work in using photography in the service of religious journalism. References to his early photography occur in *The Norwich Mercury* (3 May 1890) p.6, col.7, which reports on him visited Wesley's parish of East Dereham to photograph inside and outside of church 'with a view of reproducing the prints in the *Recorder*,' and also in *The Star* (16 December 1890) p.3, col.2, which reprints an article by Curnock from the *Methodist Recorder* on visiting the Island of Sark.

79 Sometime later he changed camera, as is indicated in a reference in his collection of articles, *H.K. His Realities and Visions* (London: C.H. Kelly, 1907) p.223-5 to 'dry plates' in my 'little Dallmeyer camera'. This was likely the Dallmeyer Hand Camera, manufactured by J.H. Dallmeyer, Ltd of London from approximately 1894 to 1903.

contained many photographs by Curnock and others depicting places and people connected with Wesley's life and work, including the famous 'Death Bed' scene painted by Marshall Claxton in 1861, which itself recalls the theatrical *transitus* or martyrdom narratives favoured in medieval and Reformation hagiographies.<sup>80</sup>



**Fig.4.** Illustrated pages, including photographs by Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, from Vol.1 in his eight-volume edition of *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, (London: Robert Culley, 1909-16).

In the illustrations above, Curnock has arranged his photographs alongside older paintings and portraits to create a montage that deliberately evokes the pre-decorated printed pages of the sort of domestic album then popular. In her study of women's photographic albums, Di Bello (2007) showed how the compilation of such volumes was perceived as belonging to the sphere of the feminine and the personal, rather than the more serious realm of aesthetic or technical publications.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *The death bed of John Wesley, March 2nd, 1791, founder of the Methodist movement* was painted in 1861 by Marshall Claxton (1811-81), the son of a Wesleyan clergyman and former student of John Jackson RA. An engraved copy of the painting was reproduced on p.140 of Vol. 8 of Curnock's edited *The Journal of John Wesley*.

<sup>81</sup> Patrizia di Bello, Chapter One: 'The Family Album, the Feminine and the Personal, in *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England. Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) pp.7-27. Comparisons could also be made to the intermedial presentation of images favoured by contemporary magazines such as *The Strand*.



The personal importance for Methodists of John Wesley as an individual is indicated by their adoption of the term 'Wesleyan' (to distinguish their denomination from the 'Primitive' and 'Calvinistic' branches of their denomination), while Methodism as a religious system places greater stress upon the need for personal holiness and sanctification than on ecclesiastical hierarchies and liturgical ritual. Throughout the eight volume edition of Wesley's writings Curnock presents photographs of painted portraits of Wesley and his circle, alongside iconic scenes and locations in Wesley's religious life, for a publication that he wished to 'be for the glory of God in the kindling of new zeal, in the creation of a surer trust in the good Providence that shapes human means to divine ends, and in the diffusion of that grace which brings salvation to churches and nations!'<sup>82</sup> By communicating these images within the format of a family album, Curnock transfers his Wesleyan iconography from the hagiographical into the domestic sphere, in keeping with the strong distrust of religious imagery frequently expressed in Nonconformist congregations.<sup>83</sup> Nonetheless, as John Harvey has argued in his *Image of the Invisible* (1999), there are many instances of visual representation in the Welsh Nonconformist tradition, and his work is a useful reminder that any discussion of art within Protestant traditions must be directed towards specific denominations – and even within those, generalisations need to be tempered by an awareness of regional variations and the circumstances unique to certain periods or localities.<sup>84</sup> This is something I am similarly attempting to fulfil in my thesis. While most photographs of Nonconformist chapels and meeting-houses show empty interiors, those taken by Welsh Calvinistic Methodist John Thomas (1838-1905) often include a selection of

82 Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, Preface, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, Vol. 1 (London: Robert Culley, 1909) x.

83 In Article XIV of Wesley's *Articles of Religion of the Methodist Church* (1784) the Methodist founder explicitly condemned 'The Romish doctrine concerning...worshipping, and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints,' which he regarded as 'vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but repugnant to the Word of God'.

84 John Harvey, *Image of the Invisible: The Visualization of Religion in the Welsh Nonconformist Tradition* (University of Wales Press, 1999). Some interesting work has been done on the different levels of decoration found on the gravestones of Methodist and other Nonconformist communities: see Duncan Sayer, 'Death and the Dissenter: Group Identity and Stylistic Simplicity as Witnessed in Nineteenth-Century Nonconformist Gravestones', *Historical Archaeology* 45:4 (2011) pp.115-34, as well as David A. Barton, *Discovering Chapels and Meeting Houses* (Shire, 1990) which discusses how grave inscriptions employed cursive writing styles while eschewing conventional visual imagery.

worshippers – clearly aware of the camera – occupying the pulpit, pews and prayer desks, embodying the Nonconformist belief that a place of worship has no intrinsic claim to holiness when the worshipping community is absent.<sup>85</sup>

As this brief overview has shown, there were a number of diverse attitudes towards the visual arts within the main denominational currents, but the perceived binary opposition between austere Calvinist iconoclasm and florid Roman Catholic iconolatry is an unhelpful exaggeration: tensions existed both within and between their distinctive traditions. What is certain is that the varying forms of visual rhetoric embedded within different denominations would have shaped the artistic sensibilities of clergymen-photographers who were raised, or operated, within them. This thesis explores the extent to which photography may have changed those sensibilities or been assimilated into existing discourses and practices. Even when their photographic activities might not appear to engage with explicitly religious material, discussion of clergymen's photographic work must be aware of the nuanced interplay between denominations and doctrines, devotional identity and visual tradition – a complexity which this thesis aims to unravel.

## **6. Outline of Chapters**

The research is divided into five chapters, the first of which, 'Clerical photography in an age of progress', lays down the foundations of the relationship between clergy and the nascent 'art-science' of photography, showing how the scientific knowledge required of early photographers matched perfectly with the educational and cultural position of early Victorian clergymen, as exemplified in the tradition of the 'parson-naturalist.' As science became increasingly professionalised, however, clergy were forced away from primary research and many transferred their expertise into the field of popular science education, including photographic instruction. I argue that photography was thus used to reassert cultural authority, and that - although the activities of clergymen-photographers often illustrate a wider tension between tradition and modernity – the dual nature of photography seems to have provided a

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<sup>85</sup> Thomas also produced a stereoscopic image of a deathbed scene, complete with attendant 'angels', drawing on traditional visual representations of angelic beings from Christian iconography. See John Harvey, *Photography and Spirit* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007) p.62.



means of resolution; my detailed examination of their work contradicts the 'conflict thesis' about the relationship between science and religion.

Chapter 2 - 'Visions of the Past' - explores this tension further by looking at how clergymen-photographers responded to social change, architectural ruin and restoration, with particular reference to the photographic survey movement. Dorset vicar Rev. Thomas Perkins was a key figure in this movement and I provide a detailed case study of Perkins' writings and activities in the fields of photography, church architecture, photographic survey work, literary tourism and publishing, arguing that – despite their diversity – these all conform to a coherent set of aesthetic and moral principles that were embodied in his photographic techniques. Although Perkins' work explores a number of complex temporalities, he is consistent in his preference for the truthfulness of historical damage and human imperfections against the falsehood of deceptive restoration work and photographic retouching.

Chapter 3 - 'Portraits, Piety and Pencils of Light' - shifts the argument onto more theological grounds by examining how Evangelicals in Presbyterian Scotland engaged with photography, beginning with the series of calotype portraits of Free Church ministers made by D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson in the 1840s. Discourse about early photography abounded with phrases such as 'sun pictures', 'God's sun' and 'pencils of light', and modern commentators generally overlook how this language aligned the non-manual creation of the photographic image with divine agency. This is significant in view of the staunch Calvinist theological views held by many of the Free Church ministers, whose emphasis was firmly on Word over Image, during a period when the burgeoning ritualist movement within Anglicanism had intensified Evangelical hostility towards the potential 'idolatry' of the visual arts. The religious dimensions of Victorian photography are presented through careful analysis of photographic discourse and Evangelical texts, and a strong case is then made against the persistent tendency in scholarly literature on photography to associate the automated, unmediated aspect of photography almost exclusively with modernist notions of technology and objectivity. This is supported through further examination of the photographic activities, theological writings and pastoral work of the Revs. Calder Macphail, D.T.K. Drummond and Alexander Keith, all of whom had their portraits taken by Hill and Adamson, plus the involvement of Archdeacon Colley in spirit photography and the theological concept of the *achéiropoïète*<sup>[1]</sup>(αχειροποίητα) or 'image made without hands.'

Chapter 4 - 'Sermons in Stone' - investigates the religious, aesthetic and philosophical concepts underpinning the perception and depiction of landscapes, ruins and antiquities. This short chapter makes use of close readings of photographs by the Revs. Francis Lockey, John Derrick, James Mackenzie, and George Wilson Bridges, tracing the correlations between what is known of their religious beliefs and pastoral work, and the way that their images were composed, captioned and contextualised. Drawing on these interpretations, it is argued that the picturesque ideals influencing nineteenth-century landscape photography are shaped by religious elements that have been overlooked by recent scholarship. The chapter ends by discussing the activities of British clergymen-photographers working in the Holy Land and Middle East, producing images that were destined for domestic consumption back home. The idea of a 'Biblical gaze' is used to show how photographs taken in Palestine, Egypt and Persia were filtered through the lens of Scripture, leading to a distorted perception of both landscape and people.

Chapter 5 - 'Light from the Cloister' - focuses on the activities of Roman Catholic clergymen, both those in religious orders (such as Benedictine monks and Dominican friars) and those in diocesan ministry. Reasons are provided as to why the latter group were at a disadvantage for the pursuit of photography, while a series of case studies comparing photographers from different religious orders reveals the extent to which institutional characteristics helped to form distinctive approaches to photographic work. Evidence is presented to show that Catholic clergy were more likely than their counterparts in the established Protestant churches to use photography as part of a religious agenda. Although such applications were not necessarily polemical in intent, they were rooted in the collective historical experience of the Catholic community and shaped by its strong sense of cohesive identity. The chapter presents a cogent and compelling case for the close relationship between religious and photographic cultures.

Across the chapters are divided along thematic rather than chronological lines, there is an underlying progression between the early experimental period discussed in Chapter One and the late nineteenth-century adoption of photography by Catholic clergy described in Chapter Five. During the intervening decades photographic practices had evolved from being a privileged and laborious pursuit of an elite few to being a hugely popular activity enjoyed by almost every strata of the population. The way photography is treated in these chapters shifts accordingly, with the greater

theological treatment in the early parts of the thesis gradually giving way to a more functional approach that reflects the wider acceptance of photography as part of the cultural landscape of Edwardian Britain.

A concluding chapter brings together the key arguments of this research, demonstrates how its distinctive interdisciplinary approach has contributed to current literature on both Victorian religion and the history of photography, acknowledges its limitations and areas where more work is required, and finally suggests how future scholarship in this field can benefit from incorporating the findings and methods presented here.

## Chapter 1

### ***Clerical photography in an age of progress: Chemicals, Cameras and the Struggle for Cultural Authority***

In 1847 a writer for the *Athenaeum* observed the activities of the Calotype Club, admiring how a number of ‘gentlemen amateurs associated together for pursuing their experiments in this *art-science* (we scarcely know the word fittest completely to designate it).’<sup>86</sup> From the outset, photography possessed a dual nature – simultaneously both an art and a science – a tension that remains unresolved to the present day, even if – as Wilder (2009) argues, the distinction between art and science is as artificial as that between science and photography.<sup>87</sup> The scientific element held especial prominence in the earliest years of photography, as the successful execution of these technical processes required a considerable knowledge of both chemistry and physics. Mastering the technique was no simple matter: as Seiberling (1986) has argued, prior to the establishment of photographic clubs and societies, and a national photographic press, there was no standard path towards acquiring the necessary skills.<sup>88</sup> The learning process was instead based around personal experimentation and collaboration with friends and colleagues from existing social circles. The early pioneers – who included many clergymen – were at an advantage if they had either a scientific background themselves or had links to scientific circles, such as might be obtained through membership of learned societies or the holding of a college fellowship with the social connections this entailed.

This chapter will investigate the scientific activities of a number of clergymen-photographers, examining their contribution to the nascent *art-science* of photography, and demonstrating the extent to which this involvement was shaped, enhanced or limited by issues peculiar to their profession – such as the tension between Anglican church leaders and agnostic scientists, or more positively, the well-established tradition of the parson-naturalist. Although the activities of a small

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86 Anon., ‘Fine Arts. The Calotype Society,’ *Athenaeum* 1051 (18 December 1847) p.1304.

87 Kelley Wilder, *Photography and Science* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009) pp.7-8.

88 Grace Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986) pp.13-15.

number of clergymen are discussed in Seiberling (1986) and Taylor & Schaaf (2007), neither publication considers the relevance of the clerical profession in detail – a missed opportunity of considerable significance.<sup>89</sup>

In order to address this oversight, the following chapter examines a series of five distinct, but overlapping areas: 1) the changing place of the clergy within the scientific profession, 2) their contribution to the field of popular science, 3) the importance of clerical networks, 4) the significance of improved printing technologies in the dissemination of ideas, and 5) the role of the clergy in the development and administration of photographic societies. These sections are interspersed with case studies of five clergymen-photographers – the Revs. W.T. Kingsley, J.L. Sisson, F.C. Lambert, A.H. Blake and A.H. Malan – each of whom made unique and valuable contributions to the development and dissemination of photographic knowledge. By the end of the chapter, it will be clear that a close and reciprocal relationship existed between their photographic activities and clerical profession, the existence of which repositions current thinking on the relationship between science and religion during the nineteenth-century.



**Fig.1.1** Unknown photographer. Rev. Joseph Bancroft Reade F.R.S. (1801-1870)  
Albumen print. Royal Society Collections.

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<sup>89</sup> Although both Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (1986), and Roger Taylor & Larry Schaaf (eds.), *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), identify several clergymen-photographers and occasionally draw attention to the relevance of this – such as their prominence in antiquarian studies – this is never elaborated upon, and there is little evidence of an awareness of denominational distinctions.

Taken in the early 1860s, this shows Reade holding a stack of lenses.

### **1.1. The role of the clergy in the scientific profession**

As new processes were developed, clergy were often among the first to adopt them, experiment with modifications and suggest further means of improvement. The Rev. J.B. Reade was experimenting independently of Henry Talbot during 1839, while Talbot shared his calotype process with clergymen such as George W. Bridges and Calvert Jones in the early 1840s. Both Bridges and a Free Church minister, Alexander Keith, took their cameras to the Holy Land to capture ‘truthful images’ of sacred sites, where environmental conditions such as dust and extreme heat challenged both the photographer and his equipment. There was therefore a great demand for technical innovation, and clergymen such as Frederick Marshall, Joseph Lawson Sisson and D.T.K. Drummond – despite the demands of pastoral work – pioneered new processes using novel solutions such as turpentine, malt and strawberry syrup. Their work demonstrated not merely sophisticated technical expertise and a profound understanding of the laws of chemistry, optics and mathematics, but also a mastery of scientific principles and methods: the ability to conduct meticulous experiments, test hypotheses, organise results systematically and publish them for others to study and criticise. Their photographic knowledge was widely shared with others, disseminated by personal contact via correspondence and club meetings, through instruction manuals and – once the photographic press was established – articles, letters to the editor and regular columns written for readers.

As was noted in the introduction, the extent of this activity makes the absence of clergy-photographers from recent scholarship a considerable lacuna, especially with regard to the science vs. religion ‘conflict thesis’.<sup>90</sup> It should be acknowledged, however, that the validity of such a thesis has been challenged by a number of recent studies, building on the ‘complexity’ counter-narrative provided by John Hedley Brooke in 1991.<sup>91</sup> Fyfe (2004) has revealed the extent to which religious authors and publishers engaged with popular science, demonstrating an acute awareness of contemporary research as well as the means of exploiting new

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90 Colin A Russell, ‘The Conflict of Science and Religion’ in G.B. Ferngren (ed.) *Science and Religion: a historical introduction* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002.) See also Sheridan Gilley and Ann Loades, ‘Thomas Henry Huxley: The War between Science and Religion’, *Journal of Religion*, Vol. 61 (1981) pp. 285-308.

technologies in promulgating their favoured ideas. Countering suggestions that natural theology went into rapid decline during the second half of the nineteenth century, Lightman (2007) has analysed the work of popular science writers such as Rev. J.G. Wood, Ebenezer Brewer and Philip Gosse to show convincingly how science continued to be discussed within a theological framework throughout Victoria's reign and even into the twentieth century. In his study of the response to the unearthing of prehistoric fossils and radical new theories about the earth's creation, O'Connor (2007) explored the wealth of colourful literary and visual material deployed to bring these discoveries before the public. The clergy were heavily involved in these activities, which hovered midway between science and fiction, fusing the language of science with Biblical texts and Romantic poetry, and using visual techniques such as the magic lantern and phantasmagoria to conjure up sensational images of fantastic prehistoric beasts. Although he seems to underestimate the endurance of natural theology during the latter part of the century, Harrison (2015) advanced some convincing suggestions about how the complexity of the relationship between science and religion evolved from post-Reformation shifts in thinking regarding the moral and theological basis for natural science. Given the valuable and welcome contributions made by all these authors, their neglect of the significance of photography is both startling and regrettable.<sup>92</sup>

It is therefore instructive to place clerical involvement in photography within the context of the wider debate regarding the role of the clergy in scientific research and teaching. The valuable statistical analysis carried out by Turner (1993) demonstrates that when Talbot and Daguerre made their announcements in 1839, clergymen still had a prominent role in British science: Canon William Harcourt was then the President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and

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91 John Hedley Brooke's *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) rejected the over-simplistic 'conflict thesis' as wholly inadequate for an understanding of the relationship between science and religion, arguing instead for a 'complexity thesis' that acknowledges the detailed, interlocking patterns of individual, local activities.

92 Aileen Fyfe, *Science and Salvation. Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), Bernard Lightman, *Victorian popularizers of science: designing nature for new audiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), Ralph O'Connor, *The Earth on Show: Fossils and the Poetics of Popular Science 1802-1856* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) and Peter Harrison, *The Territories of Science and Religion* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

since the founding of the BAAS in 1831, no less than five of the nine presidents had been ordained priests.<sup>93</sup> By 1850 a number of factors – including the increasing professionalisation of scientific research – were forcing the withdrawal of the clergy from scientific work.<sup>94</sup>

The increasing divergence between the career paths of scientists and clergymen was exacerbated by the professionalisation of the clergy coinciding with the new fervour brought about by the Evangelical revival and the Oxford movement. Despite the fundamental disagreements between Evangelicals and Tractarians, both parties fostered a strong sense of religious identity that discouraged involvement in secular activities – a tendency that led to the development of theological seminaries and more specialised religious periodicals and societies.<sup>95</sup>

On the other hand, there is evidence that the marginalisation of clerical involvement in science was partly deliberate, driven by a younger generation of agnostic or atheistic scientists – including T.H. Huxley, Francis Galton, John Tyndall and J.D. Hooker – who felt that clergymen had no place in their field. Galton even went so far as to declare that ‘The pursuit of science is uncongenial to the priestly character.’<sup>96</sup> His opinion was based on the belief that clergymen-scientists would always prioritize their religious allegiances before scientific integrity; their profession was religious ministry, and they could not therefore claim to be professional scientists. This shrewd emphasis on professionalism neatly separated the hitherto

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93 References to ‘British’ science should not obscure the significant variations found in different geographical locations – a topic that has been addressed by Juliana Adelman, *Communities of science in nineteenth-century Ireland* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), Diarmid Finnegan, *Natural history societies and civic culture in Victorian Scotland* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009) and Simon Naylor, *Regionalizing Science: Placing Knowledges in Victorian England* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014.)

94 Frank M. Turner, *Contesting Cultural Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) Chapter 7: ‘The Victorian conflict between science and religion a professional dimension.’ pp.171-200 with statistics on p.187. See also Ruth Barton, ‘Men of Science’: Language, Identity and Professionalization in the Mid-Victorian Scientific Community’, *History of Science* Vol. 41 (2003), pp.73-119 and Harrison, *The Territories of Science and Religion* (2015) pp.159-64.

95 On the professionalization of the clergy, see Alan Haig, *The Victorian clergy*, (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1984) pp.5ff and Rosemary O’ Day, ‘The Clerical Renaissance in Victorian England and Wales,’ in Gerald Parsons (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain, Vol.1: Traditions* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, Open University, 1989) pp.184-212.

96 Francis Galton, *English Men of Science: their nature and nurture* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1874) p.24.



noble tradition of the parson-naturalist from its long-standing links with the scientific community. Huxley took a dim view of amateur naturalists in particular, and in an 1859 letter to Hooker he remarked 'the word "Naturalist" unfortunately includes a far lower order of men than chemist, physicist, or mathematician.'<sup>97</sup>

This attitude suggested that the contributions to science made by scores of clergymen over the preceding centuries – such as John Ray (1627-1705), Gilbert White (1720-93) and Gregor Mendel (1822-84) – were to be placed on a lower footing than the activities of the new professional men of science. As Armstrong (2000) has demonstrated, the nineteenth century was 'the heyday of the English parson-naturalist' and clergymen in Britain made a substantial and valuable contribution to scientific knowledge of the natural world, carrying out painstaking and methodical work in the fields of botany, entomology, geology and ornithology, and laying the foundations for much of the taxonomical classifications and regional data that remains in use today.<sup>98</sup>

This chapter will argue that the activities of the clergyman-photographer shared many characteristics with those of the parson-naturalist, and that the prominent role taken by clergymen in the photographic community was – in part – a response to the marginalisation of the clergy and the closing up of other outlets for scientific research and pedagogy. This hypothesis offers a new perspective upon the relationship between religious culture and popular science, by suggesting that the Victorian clergy's response to the rapid transformation of the world around them was actually far more creative and vigorous than previous research might suggest. Reardon's image of churchmen opposing science with 'authoritarian confidence whetted by fear' during the latter part of the 19th century is only part of the picture.<sup>99</sup> Fyfe (2004) rightly argues: 'As expert science became more professionalised, the role of popular science in forming the public understanding of science became increasingly important.... giving due consideration to the attitudes of the wider

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97 Leonard Huxley, *The Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley* (New York: D Appleton and Co., 1900), Vol.1, p.177.

98 Patrick Armstrong, *The English Parson-Naturalist. A Companionship between Science and Religion* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2000) p.3.

99 Bernard Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age* (London: Longman, 1995) p.10.

country, rather than just the experts, will produce a rather different picture of the relationship between science and religion in the nineteenth century.<sup>100</sup>

## 1.2. Objectivity, Democracy and Popular Science

The clergy's withdrawal from professional science coincided with other developments of significance for the activities of clergymen-photographers. During this decade photography ceased to be regarded as an experimental science and became a technology, around the same time that the value of 'truth-to-nature' in visual imagery gave way to a new emphasis on 'mechanical objectivity.'<sup>101</sup> Photography's shift from experimentation to mechanical technology was mirrored by an equally dramatic change in the social background of the photographer. According to the General Report appended to the 1861 Census of England and Wales, the number of people stating their occupation as 'photographer' had risen from 45 in 1851 to 2,534 ten years later.<sup>102</sup>

As photography was taken up by a growing number of commercial practitioners, it ceased to be the preserve of amateur gentlemen and became associated more with middle-class tradesmen who lacked the artistic and aesthetic culture of the pioneers. Those who regarded photography as an art were dismayed when the organisers of the 1851 Great Exhibition classed the majority of the photographic exhibits in 'Section II: Machinery, Class X (10): Philosophical Instruments, and Processes Depending Upon Their Use, Musical, Horological, and Surgical Instruments,' apparently denying photography its place among the Fine Arts.<sup>103</sup> This was compounded a decade later at the 1862 International Exhibition when organisers placed photography within the machinery category of 'Philosophical

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100 Aileen Fyfe, *Science and Salvation* (2004) p.276.

101 Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (1986) p.94. For a more detailed study of the Victorian quest for 'truth to nature', see Ann Helmreich, *Nature's Truth: Photography, Painting, and Science in Victorian Britain* (University Park: Penn University Press, 2016.)

102 *1861 Census of England and Wales. General Report with appendix of tables.* (1863) Section VII, l.d. Helmut & Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the beginning of the Modern Era* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969) p.234 gives slightly different figures - 51 (1851) and 2879 (1861) - but the increase is equally dramatic.

Instruments' – which, as Sir Frederick Pollock of the Royal Photographic Society protested, was 'as if architecture were placed along with trowels and scaffolding.'<sup>104</sup>

The encroachment of professional photography upon what had hitherto been a gentleman's pursuit marked the first stage in the democratisation of photography, a process hastened on in subsequent decades by the introduction of cheap, portable cameras, simpler technology and – in 1888 – the Kodak package. Galling as this may have been for the more elitist art-photographers, the explosion of popular photography created a vast number of amateurs in search of advice and instruction. It is easy to see how this new 'missionary field' attracted clergymen-photographers, now that their technical expertise and pedagogical instincts were no longer welcomed by the professional scientific fraternity. The enthusiasm and innovation that they showed in catering to the needs of amateur photographers challenges the conventional historical narrative of a terminal decline in clerical involvement in science and technology. Both Young (1985) and Turner (1993) agree that the second half of the nineteenth century was dominated by scientific naturalism – that is, a rejection of the supernatural and an insistence that the universe could only be understood by the scientific analysis of natural laws – but their account of the Church of England's response presents a negative picture of withdrawal, defensiveness and ill-advised counter-attacks that only served to exacerbate the divide between scientists and clergy.<sup>105</sup> Much-needed balance has been provided by Smith (1998), who has reappraised the contribution made by a group of scientists – many of them

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103 Out of the 31 British photographers whose work was displayed at the Great Exhibition, only seven – including D.O. Hill – were included in the Fine Art section. All the photographs were judged as belonging to the Machinery Class X, although the dual status of photography as an art-science was discussed in the *Jury Reports* (1852) pp.520-23. For more detailed analysis, see Robert O' Dell, *Photography as Exhibited in the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851*. (Unpublished MA thesis, Ryerson University, Montreal, Canada, 2013)

104 Roger Taylor & Larry Schaaf (eds.) *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007) p.138. See also Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State Press, 2006) pp.165-75.

105 Robert Young, *Darwin's Metaphor: Nature's Place in Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) and Frank Turner, *Contesting Cultural Authority* (1993.)

from a Scottish Presbyterian background – who opposed the secular and materialistic views of Huxley's circle.<sup>106</sup> Yet the picture still remains distorted.

One weakness of these studies – from the point of view of understanding how individual clergymen responded to scientific developments – is their concentration upon a relatively narrow band of the scientific spectrum. Victorians engaged with science on a range of levels, only a small proportion of which consisted of intellectual debate about fundamental doctrines. There was a thriving world of popular science, showmanship, technology, and mechanisation that was experienced in domestic homes, workplaces and public areas across the country, and the relationship between these forms of science and religion is one that has been almost wholly ignored by the standard works discussed above. The work of Bernard Lightman (1997 and 2007) has spurred a new interest in popular science, as illustrated by the research published in Kember, Plunkett & Sullivan (2012) which places special emphasis on the use of visual spectacle in the dissemination of popular science and reveals the extent to which this was encountered and experienced across the whole spectrum of public space: not just in museum galleries and exhibition halls, but also at church fetes and bazaars, in streets and fairgrounds, menageries and ghost shows.<sup>107</sup> This chapter builds upon these studies and attempts to contextualise the work of clergymen-photographers within a wider framework of popular science and technical innovation. Evidence of the energy and initiative shown by clergymen-photographers during a period of unprecedented change and pressure suggests that the negative view of Victorian clergy's attitude to science – one of ignorance and suspicion – needs to be reconsidered.

The vitality of the parson-naturalist tradition in Britain was due in part to certain characteristics of the Protestant parochial system. The post-Reformation insistence that every parish – whatever its size - should have its own minister, meant that many clergy had only a handful of parishioners and therefore a considerable amount of spare time to devote to other pursuits.<sup>108</sup> The Rev. Thomas Chalmers,

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106 Crosbie Smith, *The Science of Energy: a Cultural History of Energy Physics in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.)

107 Joe Kember, John Plunkett & Jill Sullivan (eds.), *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840-1910* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012)

108 This policy was pursued by both the Presbyterians in Scotland and the Anglican Church south of the border.

whose religious life and leadership was to provide enormous stimulus to the nascent art of photography (see Chapter Three), wrote:

The author of this pamphlet can assert, from what to him is the highest of all authority, the authority of his own experiences, that after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage.<sup>109</sup>

In England, furthermore, the tenet of 'parson's free-hold' ensured that a clergyman would continue to hold a benefice and receive tithes for his lifetime unless there was a proven case of 'open and scandalous living.' This resulted in long incumbencies in rural livings, enabling a country priest to build up a lifetime's knowledge of his area; it was possible for him to arrange his time in a leisurely and ordered manner, following regular routines that allowed him to monitor the weather at set times, observe changes in the flora and fauna, and chronicle daily events for the parish annals. When clergymen took up photography, this same impulse – to observe, record what was passing and seek a sense of order in natural phenomena – influenced their application of the art.

As a typical example, it is instructive to consider the activities of a clergyman such as Rev. George Tugwell (1829-1910), who published books and articles on marine wildlife while he was curate of the coastal town of Ilfracombe in North Devon. He befriended George Eliot and George Lewes during their visit to Ilfracombe in 1856, and both writers recorded their impressions: 'We have made the acquaintance of a charming little zoological curate here, who is a delightful companion on expeditions and is most good-natured in lending and giving apparatus and "critturs" of all sorts... the little zoological curate, Mr Tugwell, who is really one of the best specimens of the clergyman species I have seen.'<sup>110</sup> He was consequently immortalised as Rev. Nicholas Farebrother in *Middlemarch* (1874). The phrase repeatedly used by both Eliot and Lewes to describe Tugwell – 'nice little fellow' – recurs in the novel's claim that Farebrother was 'a very bright pleasant little fellow (Chapter XIII)...as good a little fellow as ever breathed (Chapter XVI)', and his offering of 'sea-mice' to Dr Lydgate (Chapter XVII) evidently recalls Tugwell's gift of

109 Thomas Chalmers, *Observations on a passage in Mr. Playfair's letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh relative to the Mathematical Pretensions of the Scottish Clergy* (Cupar, Fife: R. Tullis, 1805) pp.10-11.

110 Letters from Eliot to Charles Bray, 6 June 1856 and from Lewes to John Blackwood, 15 November 1856. G.S. Haight (ed.), *The George Eliot Letters* Vol. 2 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1954) pp.253, 274

three sea anemones to Lewes, who wrote favourable reviews of the curate's *Manual of the Sea Anemones Commonly Found on the English Coast* (1856) for two periodicals.<sup>111</sup>

Eliot and Lewes contacted Tugwell because of his reputation as a 'collector of anemones', but he clearly saw no tension between his fame as a naturalist and his calling as a clergyman: Tugwell's novel *On the Mountain: being the Welsh experiences of Abraham Black and Jonas White, Moralists, Photographer, Fishermen and Botanists* (1862) contains a thinly-veiled self-portrait as 'the parson of Marscombe, on the Devon Combes' in which he describes himself as 'a capital fisherman and no less famous naturalist.'<sup>112</sup> The novel follows two friends on holiday in Wales, during which they take stereoscopic photographs using the wet collodion process. There are several detailed discussions of photographic matters that reveal Tugwell's knowledge of photography, while the book is illustrated with two colour plates – watercolour paintings by the Rev. H.B. Scougall based on stereoscopic photographs taken by Tugwell.<sup>113</sup> It is dedicated to both Scougall and 'my friend and fellow traveller the Rev T.F.T. Ravenshaw' who also provided botanical notes for the book. Thomas Ravenshaw was Rector of Pewsey in Wiltshire, author of *A new list of the Flowering Plants and Ferns growing wild in the county of Devon* (1860) and other works on liturgy and botany. He was also a photographer, and in November 1858 had a letter published in *Photographic Notes* offering his views on the comparative merits of the dry collodion processes of Thomas Fothergill and Richard Hill Norris.<sup>114</sup> Tugwell and Ravenshaw also collaborated on a local magazine entitled *The Pixie* along with another North Devon clergyman and botanist, Rev. John Chanter, while Scougall provided illustrations for Tugwell's later books, such as *The North Devon Scenery Book* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1863).

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111 Lewes reviewed Tugwell's book in the *Leader* (25 October 1856) pp.1024-5 and *Saturday Review* (15 November 1856) p.647.

112 Rev. George Tugwell, *On the Mountain: being the Welsh experiences of Abraham Black and Jonas White, Moralists, Photographer, Fishermen and Botanists* (London: Richard Bentley, 1862) p.4.

113 The pictures are entitled 'The Harbour & Lantern Mill, Ilfracombe' (frontispiece) and 'The Lake of the Pleasant Retreat, Llyn Mwyngyl, from Tal-y-llyn' (p.49) with each illustration credited using the traditional Latin legends *H.B.S. pinxit. G.T. phot.*

114 *Photographic Notes* No. 62 (1 November 1858) p.257

### 1.3. Photographic Networks and Clerical Connections

Such recurring patterns of clerical collaboration were representative of scholarly work in the mid-nineteenth-century, when clergymen-photographers - like parson-naturalists - depended upon a network of personal contacts for the dissemination of scientific knowledge. The tendency for sons to follow their fathers into the ministry over successive generations, and for the daughters of clergy to marry other clergymen, provided a tightly knit web of familial connections. It was likely that the rector of a rural parish would possess an education and cultural interests high above those of his parishioners, and if he did not wish to find himself isolated and lonely, he needed to find other like-minded men in the neighbourhood – the nearest of which would likely be the clergy of adjacent parishes.<sup>115</sup>

Analysis of the backgrounds of the first generation of photographers provides ample evidence of the importance of familial connections; clergymen frequently came to photography via other clergymen. The Rev. Calvert Jones had been at Oxford with William Henry Fox Talbot and his cousin Christopher 'Kit' Talbot (1803-90), and his close friendship with the latter encouraged him to approach Henry Talbot for advice on photography in March 1839.<sup>116</sup> The Rev. George William Bridges was introduced to Talbot because his son was at school with Talbot's nephew. After receiving instruction in photography from Talbot's assistant Nicholas Henneman in December 1845, Bridges set out for the Mediterranean with his camera and joined Calvert Jones and Kit Talbot on their yacht in Malta the following March. Jones was subsequently introduced to WHF Talbot's friend, the eminent scientist and photographic pioneer Sir David Brewster, a strong Evangelical who had been licensed as a Church of Scotland minister before devoting his life to scientific research. Jones described Brewster as 'my old friend' in 1857 around the time they

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115 James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) pp.122-7, Armstrong, *The English Parson-Naturalist* (2003) pp.19 ff.

116 Jones was vicar of Roath from 1828 to 1840, and rector of Loughor from 1829 to 1836. Details of his clerical career are recorded in Presentation Papers LL/P/993 (Roath), SD/P/1403 (Loughor), subscription book LL/SB/14 and the Bishop's Register for both parishes, all held in in the Church Records in the National Library of Wales.

were photographed together with their wives.<sup>117</sup> Brewster's brother James was a Presbyterian minister, and both men were close friends with the Rev. Dr Alexander Keith, who – like the Rev. James Brewster – left the Church of Scotland for the Free Church in 1843. Keith and both Brewster brothers were photographed together by Hill and Adamson in Edinburgh in 1844, and Keith – along with two of his sons, George and Thomas – were all photographers.<sup>118</sup>



**Fig.1.2.** Rev. Calvert Jones. *Calvert Richard Jones, Lady Brewster, Mrs. Jones, Sir David Brewster and Miss Parnell.* (1857) National Library of Wales.

The existence of such complex webs of interlocking clerical and familial connections explains how provincial clergymen in SW Wales and NE Scotland were so prompt in acquiring the technical expertise required for practical photography. It is revealing that the first English translation of Daguerre's announcement was published by a clergyman: *History and Process of Photogenic Drawing by means of the Daguerreotype... With notes and explanations, by M. Arago, etc.* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1839) was the work of the Rev. Dr. John Smythe Memes (1794-1858), a Church of Scotland minister and Rector of Ayr Academy.

It is clear from the 'Translator's Notes' added to the text by Memes that he was himself a practical photographer, who was able to write about the technical workings of the daguerreotype process from his own experience – while at the same

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117 On Brewster, see A.D. Morrison-Low and J.R.R. Christie (eds.), *Martyr of Science* (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1984). On the connections between Jones, the Talbot family and Brewster, see Iwan Meical Jones 'Scientific visions: the photographic art of William Henry Fox Talbot, John Dillwyn Llewelyn and Calvert Richard Jones.' *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1990) pp.117-192, especially p.150. For more detail about his photographic activities, see Rollin Buckman, *The Photographic Work of Calvert Richard Jones* (London: Science Museum, 1990.)

118 John Hannavy, *The Victorian Photographs of Dr Thomas Keith and John Forbes White* (Great Cheverell: John Hannavy Publishing, 2015) pp.21-24, and Downs, Br. Paschal [James] "'The Delight of Their Existence": the photography of Horatio Ross of Rossie,' *Studies in Photography* (2006) pp.37-38.



time framing the Frenchman's invention within a religious context: he marvelled at how light 'can be made to pencil, by its own spontaneous and ethereal agency, the creations of beautiful nature' by a principle 'latent among the mysteries yet to be revealed', expressing his belief that 'photogenic discoveries...will aid in leading to one mighty cause, ruling the universe of matter in a dominion, second only to the spontaneity of the Creator.'<sup>119</sup>



**Fig.1.3.** D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson, *Rev. J.S. Memes (1794-1858)*  
Albumen print from calotype negative, 19.80 x 15.20 cm  
National Portrait Gallery, Elliot Collection, PGP HA 1550

From 1826 to 1844 Memes was rector of Ayr Academy, on the west coast of Scotland, a considerable journey away from cultural centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh. For clergymen based in large cities, especially the capital, opportunities were easier. Although the claims of the Rev. Joseph Bancroft Reade (1801-70) to be the true founder of photography have been settled decisively by the extensive researches of Derek Wood (1971), this should not detract from his achievements as an astronomer, naturalist and pioneer of microscopy.<sup>120</sup> Educated at Cambridge, he

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119 Rev. J.S. Memes, *History and Process of Photogenic Drawing by means of the Daguerriotype... With notes and explanations, by M. Arago, etc.* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1839) Preface, vi.

120 John Werge, *The Evolution of Photography* (London: Piper & Carter, 1890) p.15; Derek Wood, 'J.B. Reade and the Early History of Photography,' *Annals of Science* Vol.27:1 (March 1971) pp.13-83.

was ordained in 1826 and published his first scientific paper (on the solar microscope) ten years later while running a boys' school in south London. Reade used this instrument to make careful drawings of the heads of insects and other 'micro-fossils' which could then be lithographed. These were not photogenic drawings, but in a confused sequence of events Reade later became convinced that he had used gallic acid prior to 1839. After David Brewster publicised this in 1847, professional photographers became interested in Reade's claims as a means of challenging Talbot's restrictive patent. Reade appeared in court during the Talbot vs. Laroche lawsuit in December 1854 and after Talbot dropped his patent claims, Reade went on to become Vice-President of the London (later Royal) Photographic Society. Despite this controversy, Reade's obituary commented on his 'gentle manner,' adding 'in the great world of science he has not left a single enemy.'<sup>121</sup> That in itself was no mean achievement.

#### **1.4. Case Studies: The Revs. W.T. Kingsley and J. L. Sisson**

Another clergyman fascinated with entomological images was William Towler Kingsley (1815-1916) who, unlike Reade, exhibited his work publicly: visitors to the 1855 LPS exhibition were treated to his 'Frame containing Sixteen Microscopic Views of the Feet of Insects,' while photographs depicting cattle parasites and the tongues of blow-flies travelled with touring exhibitions of the Royal Society of Arts between 1853 and 1856. Kingsley was at this time a tutor at Sidney College, Cambridge, where he had been appointed a Fellow in 1839 after some years as a mathematics tutor.<sup>122</sup> On 10 June 1853 Kingsley was presented with a medal by Prince Albert 'for his Discoveries in Photography.'<sup>123</sup>

He was ordained a priest on 9 June 1844, but remained in Cambridge where he was closely-connected with many of the leading scientists of the day, such as

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121 Anon., 'The Late Rev. J.B. Reade F.R.S.', *British Journal of Photography* (16 December 1870), pp.588-9.

122 Born in Berwick-on-Tweed on 28 June 1815, W.T. Kingsley was the second son of army officer William Jeffrey Towler Kingsley and a cousin of the novelist Charles Kingsley. He went up to Cambridge in 1834, transferring from St John's College to Sidney Sussex College two years later and obtaining his BA in 1838, MA in 1841 and BD in 1848.

123 *The Gentleman's magazine and historical review*, Vol. XL (July 1853) p.65.

astronomers Rev. James Challis and John Couch Adams.<sup>124</sup> A letter from James Clerk Maxwell describes a meeting of the 'Ray Club' (The Society for the Cultivation of Natural History) – named after seventeenth-century clergyman-scientist John Ray – in Kingsley's college rooms, adding: 'Kingsley is great in photography and microscopes, and showed photographs of infusoria, very beautiful, also live plants and animals, with oxy-hydrogen microscope.'<sup>125</sup> This was praise indeed, coming from a scientist whose work Albert Einstein hailed as the 'most profound and the most fruitful that physics has experienced since the time of Newton.'<sup>126</sup> In his March 1855 paper, *Experiments on Colour*, Maxwell had outlined the first practical steps towards making colour photographs – something he achieved in 1861.

Although Kingsley could hold his own among his scientific peers, he was equally at home in the world of art, enjoying close friendships with both J.M.W. Turner and John Ruskin. He owned several paintings and drawings by Turner, and was regarded as an expert on the artist's life and work. As well as possessing detailed information acquired from the artist through personal conversation, he had used optical instruments to study the paintings in minute detail as well as painstakingly attempting to copy Turner's drawings by hand: in the *Notes* he provided for an 1878 Exhibition Catalogue, Kingsley stated that he had copied Turner's 'Boat Building' no less than nineteen times, revealing an impressive degree of patience and technical draughtsmanship.<sup>127</sup> The exhibition contained three views

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124 Kingsley wrote an obituary of John Couch Adams for the St John's College magazine, *The Eagle*, 17, (1893) pp.122-137.

125 James Clerk Maxwell to his father, John Clerk Maxwell, 23 May 1855. *The Scientific Letters and Papers of James Clerk Maxwell, 1846-1862* (Cambridge University Press, 1990) p.314. The Ray Club was founded on 11 March 1837 by Charles Babington and others, with the name referring to 17th century naturalist and theologian John Ray. Notable members included geologist Adam Sedgwick, biblical scholar and theologian Fenton John Anthony Hort, and physicists George Gabriel Stokes and Joseph John Thomson.

126 J.J. Thomson, *James Clerk Maxwell : a commemoration volume, 1831-1931* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931) p.71

127 John Ruskin, *Notes by Mr Ruskin on his collection of drawings by the late J.M.W. Turner, R.A., exhibited at the Fine Art Society's Galleries...March 1878* (London: Fine Art Society, 1878) pp.141-46. Ruskin entrusted Kingsley with the task of providing the notes when ill-health prevented him from doing so himself. For other references to Kingsley's relationship to Ruskin and Turner, see Luke Herrmann, *Ruskin and Turner* (London: Faber, 1968) p.31.

of Lowther Castle that Kingsley had given to Ruskin, but their acquaintance stretched back to the 1850s: Ruskin is known to have stayed with Kingsley in Cambridge in October 1858 before giving the Inaugural Address at the Cambridge School of Art, later visited him at his vicarage in South Kilvington, and welcomed Kingsley to his Lake District home of Brantwood. In *Fors Clavigera* he was singled out as one of Ruskin's inner circle of 'old and trusted' friends.<sup>128</sup> His name was even mentioned in connection to a Professorship of Art.<sup>129</sup>

However, Kingsley's collegiate life ended in 1859 after his marriage to Alicia Grant Wilkins, the daughter of eminent architect William Wilkins FRS (1773-1839), whose designs included several Cambridge colleges as well as the National Gallery in London. By marrying, he was obliged to resign his Fellowship, and accept an appointment as Rector of St Wilfrid's, South Kilvington, where he remained until his death 57 years later. Tragically, his new wife died shortly after their wedding, and Kingsley found himself widowed and alone in a remote Yorkshire parish that contrasted sharply with the college environment in which he had spent the last 25 years. The village church had an earth floor with a plank in the central aisle, and according to the memories of one parishioner, 'Bones sometimes flew out on each side of the plank as a brisk walker stepped along.'<sup>130</sup> The singing of psalms was accompanied by music from a barrel organ that sat in the middle of the aisle, a few yards from the altar. One of Kingsley's first acts was to do away with the organ, but although described initially as 'a fish out of water', his practical skills soon earned the respect of his parishioners:

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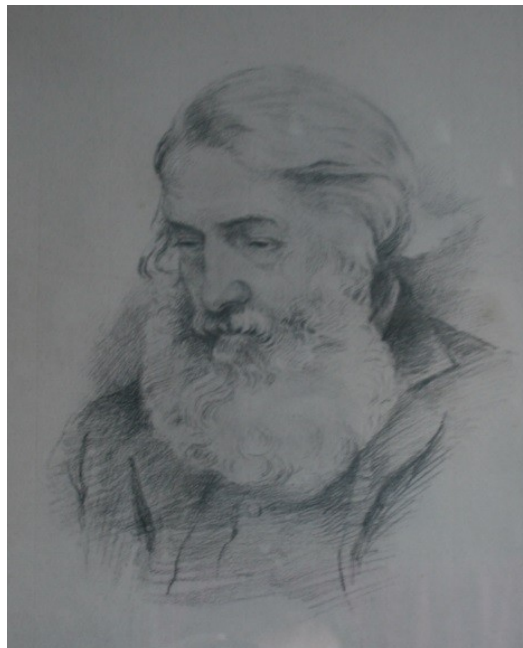
128 Interview with *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 15 March 1906. *Letters* XXXVII p.319 (21 July 1880) and p.532 (21 April 1885.)

129 Ruskin to Henry Acland: 'If you could have got William Kingsley of Cambridge he would have done for a full Professor-ship – but he's ill (something wrong with his brains I'm afraid – sees and hears things that aren't.) Cited in Luke Herrman, *Ruskin and Turner: A Study of Ruskin as a Collector of Turner, Based on His Gifts to the University of Oxford; Incorporating a Catalogue Raisonné of the Turner Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969 1990) p.32. The letter is undated but was probably written in the 1860s.

130 William Allison, *My Kingdom for a Horse!* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1917) p.33. On the custom of intra-church burials, see Anne Gordon, *Death is for the Living* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1984).

He was a true artist and did nothing that he did not do well. His practical efficiency was amazing. He was a fisherman who could make his own rods, as well as tie his own flies. He was a sailor who could build his own boats and sail them, not on a pond, but in the Portugal seas or round Achill. He was a carpenter who could finish his own village school floor or build the organ in his church. He was a carver in wood who could temper his own tools, and did so by the dining-room fire. He was a practical gardener who knew all there is to know about grafting. He was a mathematician of the old type, interested mainly in perspective, and other departments of accurate draughtsmanship, which he made very useful to the British Army in the early days of big guns at Woolwich and Shoeburyness. He was a science man of the old days, when there were few books and little apparatus. He was one of the earliest examiners (1858) for the Natural Science Tripos, which started in 1851. He was an enthusiastic daguerreotypist, and was one of the first star-photographers. I understand he was the very first person to photograph on to a block, for engraving and publication in a book.<sup>131</sup>

This description is significant for its fusion of established skills ('of the old type...of the old days...') and cutting-edge innovation ('one of the earliest...one of the first...the very first person to.') As this chapter will demonstrate, such a combination was typical of this period's clergymen-photographers, who oscillated between tradition and modernity as they adopted new technologies for the advancement of old-established pursuits and interests.



**Fig.1.4.** Lionel Grimston Fawkes. *Rev. William T. Kingsley*. (1902)  
Drawing in his church at South Kilvington. Photograph by author.

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131 Allison, *My Kingdom for a Horse!* (1917) pp.33-34

Kingsley's activities can be compared to those of the Rev. Joseph Lawson Sisson (1816-91), Rector of two Norfolk parishes - Swafeld (1843-50) and Edingthorpe (1850-91) - a pioneer bee-keeper and skilled carpenter in addition to his photographic accomplishments, he was author of a 66 page booklet *The Turpentine-Waxed Paper Process described and illustrated by Rev. J. Lawson Sisson* (London: A. Marion & Co., 1858).<sup>132</sup> Sisson experimented with various processes including the daguerreotype: among the collections of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich is a daguerreotype portrait of his son, Joseph James Lawson Sisson (1846-83), later a distinguished naval commander.<sup>133</sup> The photographs he exhibited in London during the 1850s – at the London Photographic Society (1854) and the Architectural Photographic Association (1858 and 1861) – were made using the wet collodion process, but developed using a special solution that he had devised himself. Sisson generously shared the formula for his 'New Developing Fluid' with other readers, first in the *Journal of the Photographic Society* and then in *Notes and Queries* (7th May 1853), inviting feedback from those who tried it. Sisson stated that he had used this solution exclusively for positives on glass since he first discovered it, but not for the waxed paper process.

Protosulphate of iron – 12 grs.  
Nitrate of lead – 8 grs.  
Water – 10 drs.  
Acetic acid - ½ dr.<sup>134</sup>

In keeping with the spirit of scientific experimentation, he revised the formula in response to readers' letters:

Protosulphate of iron - 1½ drachms  
Water – 5 ounces  
Nitrate of lead – 1 drachm  
Acetic acid – 2 drachms.<sup>135</sup>

In the late 1850s Sisson took his family to Switzerland, and while there he was offered the post of chaplain to the English community in Lausanne. Leaving Edingthorpe in the hands of a curate, he accepted the offer and was licensed in

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<sup>132</sup> Obituary, *The British Bee Journal*, Vol.XIX, No.452, (12 February 1891) pp.85-86.

<sup>133</sup> The framed daguerreotype is held in the Greenwich Maritime Museum, archive SIS/6/N, along with other Sisson papers SIS/6/G, H & J, relating to family history.

<sup>134</sup> *Notes and Queries* Vol. VII, No.184 (7 May 1853) p.462

January 1857. He was to remain abroad for almost ten years, and it is possible that his exposure to continental photographic practices encouraged him to adopt the waxed paper process, which had enjoyed greater popularity abroad than in England. Although the daguerreotype had dominated French photography in the early 1840s, interest in paper negatives was roused in 1847 by the publication of *Procédés employés pour obtenir les épreuves de photographie sur papier* by Louis-Désiré Blanquart-Evrard. An amateur photographer from Lille, Blanquart-Evrard proceeded to modify Talbot's calotype process and indeed omitted any mention of Talbot – a snub that remained a sore point between French and British photographers for many years. French use of the paper process was refined even further after 1850 following Gustave Le Gray's discovery that by waxing the paper negatives *before* applying a slightly-altered chemical solution, it was possible to improve the uniformity of the paper surface and obtain crisper images.<sup>136</sup>

Sisson was clearly well-informed about the refinements introduced in France. His book *The Turpentine-Waxed Paper Process* was written while in Lausanne, and in its introduction he states: 'In France, the wax-paper process of Le Gray, with its modifications – the ceroleine process of M. Geoffray – the turpentine wax-paper process of M. Lespiault – and that of M. Tillard, now to be described – have many more advocates, than in England.' (*iii-iv*) Using a stereoscopic camera provided for him on trial by M. Marion, (*v-vi*) he took some fifty stereoviews in near freezing conditions during the winter of 1857-58, with only one failure. Perhaps in return for Marion's loan of the camera, he offered fulsome praise of Marion & Co.'s photographic equipment in his book, which concluded with a list of twenty stereoscopic views available for purchase. Two of Sisson's stereoviews of *Lausanne*

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135 *Notes and Queries* Vol. VIII, No. 204, (24 September 1853) p.301 and No. 207 (15 October 1853) p.373. See also the related correspondence in Vol. VIII, No. 198 (13 August 1853) p.157 and No 202 (10 September 1853) p.253. The courteous exchanges of information here illustrate well the spirit of co-operation that characterised the network of gentleman amateurs prior to the commercialization of photography, when patents, licensing and copyright issues acquired greater significance.

136 For a more detailed study of this period of French photography, see Karen Hellmann (ed.), *Real / Ideal: Photography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2016) and Richard Bretell (ed.) *Paper and light: the calotype in France and Great Britain, 1839-1870* (Boston : D.R. Godine, 1984).

and its Environs were reproduced at the rear, printed from negatives on turpentine-waxed and iodized paper.<sup>137</sup>



**Fig.1.5.** Rev. J.L. Sisson, *Cathedral of Lausanne, Switzerland*. Stereoview, made with the turpentine-waxed paper process, 1859.

In May 1859, he sent a view of the Jura Mountains to the editor of the *Photographic Journal*, Dr Hugh Diamond, to illustrate the qualities attainable using the raspberry-syrup process, asking Diamond's opinion about whether or not metagelatine or the Fothergill processes might produce better results. Sisson's enthusiasm and generosity notwithstanding, his experiments with photographic chemicals and processes must have placed a burden upon the time available for his chaplaincy and family responsibilities, for in the autumn of 1861 he announced that he was giving up photography, 'finding that the art demands more time than I have now at my disposal.' Sisson's announcement prompted the editors of the

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<sup>137</sup> These were also reproduced in *The Stereoscopic Magazine*: 'Chateau of Lausanne, Switzerland' No. 19: January 1860) pp.29-30, and 'The Cathedral of Lausanne' in No. 21 (March 1860) pp.59-60.



*Photographic Journal* and the *Photographic News* to express their regret, the latter printing a 'Valedictory' notice praising 'a gentleman whose name has been honourably connected with photography from the very first. His waxed paper process has yielded some of the finest results that have ever been produced in that direction.'<sup>138</sup>

One of Sisson's waxed paper negatives is preserved in the collections of the Norfolk Heritage Centre. Dated December 1853, it shows Bromholm Priory Arch – a monastic ruin some three miles from Edingthorpe. Another print, a collodion positive, shows the tithe barn in Edingthorpe and appears to have been taken from the upper window in Sisson's rectory. So, although his photographs were developed using chemical solutions devised using innovative scientific experiments, the images themselves depicted timeworn subjects that were traditionally dear to rural clergy – the ecclesiastical antiquities of the parish.

Sisson's photographic activities exemplify qualities found in the work of other clergymen-photographers of this period, such as Reade and Kingsley, who possessed a broader range of manual skills and experience than would typically be found in younger clergymen ordained in the second half of the century. A new clericalism was emerging that channelled ecclesiastical careers along a narrower and more specialised path, with theological colleges replacing university education, and more time spent within a growing web of clerical societies and diocesan structures. Such arrangements limited the diversity of social contacts enjoyed by the earlier generation of clergymen, providing fewer opportunities for the development of friendships such as those between Kingsley, Turner and Ruskin.

Kingsley seems to have had little difficulty in socialising with the likes of Ruskin and Turner, but exchanges between the ecclesiastical and artistic worlds were not always so easy, especially given Ruskin's damning dismissal: 'Evangelical clergymen - the persons whom I always look upon as my born and irreconcilable enemies.'<sup>139</sup> It is therefore doubtful that the remarkably amicable exchanges between Ruskin and the Rev. Albert Isaacs (1826-1903), Evangelical Vicar of Christ Church, Leicester, would have taken place without their shared interest in photography.

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138 *Photographic News* Vol. V, No. 164 (25 October 1861) p.504.

139 Rev. Albert A. Isaacs, *The Fountain of Siena. An episode in the life of John Ruskin LL.D.* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co. 1900) p.27.

## 1.5. Imagination, Representation and the Power of Print

The correspondence did not begin with much promise. Isaacs – a staunch member of the evangelical Church Association (founded 1864), which fought to defend Protestantism against the ‘Trojan horses’ of Anglo-Catholicism and ritualism - wrote to Ruskin in 1884 seeking clarification of reports that the critic had made disparaging remarks about Protestantism.<sup>140</sup> The author’s candid and courteous response initiated an amicable correspondence, with Isaacs sending not only letters but several of his own photographs. These included an 1863 image of a fountain in Siena - particularly dear to Ruskin - that had been all but destroyed by insensitive restoration work subsequent to his Italian visit. As no artistic representations were thought to have been made prior to this, Ruskin had despaired of ever seeing the original fountain again and was therefore overjoyed when Isaac produced his photograph.

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140 *The Church Intelligencer*, Vol. XX, No. 12 (December 1903) p.178 noted how ‘The sudden death of the Rev. A. A. Isaacs, when engaged as chaplain on behalf of the Church Association at Düsseldorf, has deprived the Association of one of its earliest friends and most trusted supporters.’















Rev.



**Fig.1.6.**  
A.A.  
Isaacs,

frontispiece to *The Fountain of Siena. An episode in the life of John Ruskin LL.D.* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co. 1900). The illustration is taken from Isaacs' photograph.

Isaacs had travelled with his camera not only to Italy but also through Palestine, telling Ruskin: 'I can speak of this authoritatively, having been the first person (1856) to take any photographs of importance in the Holy Land — and indeed the first who had taken any by the then new and beautiful collodion process.' His book *A Pictorial Tour in the Holy Land* (London, 1863) was illustrated with his own photographs, taken with the collodion process, and contained a vivid description of his excursion with James Graham into the sacred parts of the Temple Mount.<sup>141</sup> Isaacs also used waxed paper negatives, which were more convenient than the wet collodion process for itinerant photography in the Middle Eastern climate.<sup>142</sup> A far-travelled man, Isaacs is credited with the introduction of photography to his

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141 Rev. A. A. Isaacs, *A Pictorial Tour in the Holy Land* (London: William Macintosh, 1863), pp.48-65.

142 Taylor & Schaaf, *Impressed by Light* (2007) p.334.

birthplace of Jamaica, and died in Düsseldorf while on Church Association business.<sup>143</sup>

Isaacs was particularly interested in refuting claims made by French scholar Félicien de Saulcy that nearby rock formations marked the remains of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. His photographs revealed the Frenchman's descriptions as fanciful in the extreme. De Saulcy, like Alexander Keith, was determined to show the consistency of the Biblical record with the evidence of the contemporary landscape; it was ironic that photography – the same technique Keith chose to support his arguments – revealed the falsehood of his claims.<sup>144</sup> Isaacs' belief that the camera provided a more truthful record of the depicted scene was expressed in *The Dead Sea* (1857), which included photographs he had taken during his travels through Palestine the previous year: 'We well know how often *the pencil* is proved to be treacherous and deceptive; while on the other hand the *fac-simile* of the scene must be given by the aid of the photograph.'<sup>145</sup> The relationship between theological truth and the photographic image as unmediated objectivity is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, but Isaacs' claim reflects a growing belief of the value of scientific objectivity. Thirty years later his words were echoed by German scientists:

A drawing can only be the expression of a subjective perception and therefore must, from the beginning, renounce the possibility of an objection-free reliability. The photographic plate, by contrast, reflects things with an inflexible objectivity as they really are, and what appears on the plate can be looked upon as the surest documentation of the actual conditions.<sup>146</sup>

At the time Isaacs was writing, such a concept of 'inflexible objectivity' was relatively new. As Daston and Galison (2007) have demonstrated, the modern understanding of 'objectivity' was just emerging in the 1850s, and its displacement of

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143 For details of Isaacs' life, see a. Bernstein, *Some Jewish Witnesses for Christ* (London: Palestine House, 1909) pp.281-289 and for his collaboration with James Graham, see James Downs, 'Shadows of the Truth: the Photography of James Graham (1808-69)', *Studies in Photography* (2011) pp.48-50.

144 Rev. A. A. Isaacs, *The Dead Sea: or Notes and Observations Made During a Journey to Palestine in 1856–1857, on M. De Saulcy's Supposed Discovery of the Cities of the Plain* (London & Edinburgh: Hatchard & Son and Johnstone, Hunter & Co., 1857), p.41 and pp.95 ff.

145 Isaacs, *The Dead Sea* (1857), p.4.

146 Fraenkel & Pfeiffer, *Mikrophotographischer Atlas der Bakterienkunde* (Berlin: Hirschwald, 1889) p.1. English translation cited in Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007) p.184, where the year is wrongly given as 1887.

the dominant epistemological virtue of 'truth-to-nature' was only partial.<sup>147</sup> By the early 1860s, however, there was growing support for the notion that the photograph possessed a scientific objectivity that was lacking in non-mechanical forms of representation. A.W. Bennett's preface to the photographically-illustrated *Ruined Abbeys & Castles of Great Britain* (1862) praised the fact that 'The reader is no longer left to suppose himself at the mercy of the imaginations, the caprices or the deficiencies of artists, but to have the genuine presentment of the object under consideration.'<sup>148</sup> His words echo the claim made two years earlier by the Rev. Francis Statham in a paper entitled *The Application of Photography to Scientific Pursuits*: 'Photography is never imaginative, and is never in danger of arranging its records by the light of a preconceived theory.'<sup>149</sup>

Statham was well-qualified to speak on the subject. Ordained a priest in 1843, he was President of the South London Photographic Society from its foundation in 1869 until his death 25 years later, but he began his career as a science lecturer at the tender age of nineteen. Popular lectures on hydrostatics and hydraulics led to invitations for him to appear before audiences at the Royal Institution, Clifton, the London Mechanics' Institute and the Southwark Literary Institute, as well as giving a course of six lectures on electricity at the Bristol Mechanics' Institute.<sup>150</sup> These new institutes - aimed at providing education for working class men - first appeared in the early 1820s and rapidly spread throughout the country. Civil authorities and philanthropists supported them as centres of moral improvement, offering working men a more edifying alternative to taverns, dog-races and establishments that might foster radical politics.

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147 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity* (2007) pp.27-35.

148 William Howitt, *Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain* (London: A.W. Bennett, 1862), Preface. On the photography of this volume, see Groth, *Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) pp.55ff.

149 'The Application of Photography to Scientific Pursuits,' *Photographic Notes* (18 May 1860) pp.34-6.

150 The remarkable extent of Statham's civic and pastoral work in South London earned him a two-column obituary on the front page of the *South London Press* (26 April 1884). A crowd estimated at around 10,000 lined the streets for his funeral procession to Norwood Cemetery, where the hearse was met by a deputation from the South London Photographic Society. *South London Press* (3 May 1884) p.12.

These were the men for whom periodicals such as the *Mechanics' Magazine* (founded 1823), the *Penny Magazine* (founded 1832 by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge) and the *Saturday Magazine* (founded 1833 by Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge) were intended: artisans entrusted with building and maintaining the increasingly-elaborate technology of the Victorian era, whose desire for self-improvement encouraged a general interest in science and the arts. The growth of such magazines and the spread of the Mechanics' Institutes – there were around 700 across Britain by the mid-nineteenth century – indicated the country's burgeoning interest in popular science. By keeping costs down to a few pennies, booksellers opened up a huge new market for weekly magazines and cheap educational nonfiction. Lightman (2007) has identified the main factors behind this rapid growth of public interest in science: a prosperous middle-class had time and money to spend on leisure activities, while curiosity about scientific matters was piqued by the Great Exhibition, debates on Darwin and Huxley, expansion of the Empire and the exhibition of artefacts and specimens.<sup>151</sup> Improved printing technologies and distribution processes opened up the market for mass media.

Huxley and his circle may have been successful in forcing the clergy out of scientific societies, but they had no control over the publishing houses and periodical press, which were rapidly increasing their output of books and literature.<sup>152</sup> The 1860s saw a shift in scientific publishing, moving away from an egalitarian emphasis on participation and accessibility, towards a more elitist presentation that reinforced the exclusive authority of professional scientist.<sup>153</sup> There is no evidence of such a shift in photographic periodicals, which – on the contrary – continued to offer every means of instruction, education and help towards the amateur, including women and children.

This readership – and the large audiences flocking to public lectures, museum exhibitions, fetes and *conversaciones* – represented a vast mission field in which the

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151 Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science* (2007) pp.18-19, 30-32.

152 Between 1846 and 1914 book production increased fourfold while the price of books was halved. See Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: the economics of book production for a mass market, 1836-1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) pp.31-58.

153 Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science* (2007) pp.296-97.

clergy could reinforce their cultural authority.<sup>154</sup> Writing in 1868, Dean Farrar, a Fellow of the Royal Society, friend of Huxley's and pallbearer at Charles Darwin's funeral, recognised the potential still possessed by his brother clergy: 'Looked up to in thousands of parishes as the natural leaders of opinion – possessed of an authority which gives to their utterances an almost oracular dignity – this great society is the most powerful that could be imagined to disseminate each fact which opens before the minds of men “a new window into the infinite.”’<sup>155</sup> The intellectual landscape had changed by the late 1860s, however, and a new strategy was required if the clergy were to make effective use of the authority they still possessed. Professional scientists had accused the clergy of allowing religious dogma to influence unduly their consideration and exposition of scientific facts; clergymen were now accepting that the use of Scripture quotations and religious language drastically weakened the effectiveness of any technical discourse. As authors such as Brooke and Cantor have noted, this period saw parson-naturalists progress from the natural theology of Paley – which sought to prove the existence of God from the evidence of design found in the natural world – towards a theology of nature, which might point to instances of design with satisfaction but accepted the natural world on its own terms and was prepared to develop theological reflection on the basis of scientific facts.<sup>156</sup>

The success of this approach can be demonstrated by the example of the Rev. John George Wood (1827-89). One of the greatest popularisers of Victorian science, he wrote over thirty natural history books and enjoyed a highly successful career as a public lecturer. The phenomenal popularity of his books and lectures was due largely to his deployment of rich visual imagery, and it was through this – rather than explicit religious teaching – that he conveyed his message. Although he carefully omitted Scriptural citations or indeed any direct reference to religion, Wood's beautifully illustrated pictures of the natural world in harmony subtly

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154 See Alberti, 'Conversations and the Experience of Science in Victorian England', *Journal of Victorian Culture* Vol.8, No.2 (Autumn 2003) pp.208-230.

155 Rev. Frederick W. Farrar, 'On the Attitude of the Clergy towards Science', *Contemporary Review* 9 (December 1868) pp.600-62

156 The distinction between 'natural theology' and a 'theology of nature' was introduced by John Hedley Brooke, 'Natural Theology in Britain from Boyle to Paley', in *New Interactions between Theology and Natural Science* (1974) pp.8-9. See also Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science* (2007) p.24.

conveyed evidence for a divine creator.<sup>157</sup> Others followed his example, and Noakes (2004) has noted how the Religious Tract Society moved to a policy of 'having articles on common subjects, written with a decidedly Christian tone' rather than 'articles on religious subjects.'<sup>158</sup> Such a strategy resembled that used by Jesuit scientists, as discussed in Chapter Five.

The argument so far can be summarised thus: building on the long-established tradition of the parson-naturalist, clergymen had a prominent role in scientific research and education up until the middle of the century, after which they were gradually marginalised under pressure from a growing spirit of secular professionalism. This same period saw photography transformed from an experimental science into a technical process, and (in contrast to the growing elitism of scientific practice) become increasingly democratised as it was adopted by a wider public, including middle-class tradesmen. During the latter part of the century there is evidence that clergymen-photographers responded to these changing circumstances by moving into the field of technical instruction, sharing their knowledge and expertise with the new generation of camera users through writing photographic manuals, press articles and correspondence, as well as public lectures and demonstrations. Such activities, it can be argued, allowed them to reclaim some of the cultural authority that had been lost to the professional scientists. The importance of such status is confirmed by the large number of clergymen who can be found holding the office of President or Vice-President in photographic clubs and societies towards the end of the century.

In order to investigate how this authority was exercised, the next section provides case studies of perhaps the two most prolific photographic instructors of this period - the Reverends Frederick Charles Lambert (1852-1932) and Alfred Howarth Blake (1854-1923) both of whom were ordained as Anglican priests in the early 1880s.

## **1.6 Case Studies: The Prelate, the Cockney & the Brotherhood of the Linked Ring**

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<sup>157</sup> Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science* (2007) p.190.

<sup>158</sup> Richard Noakes, 'The *Boy's Own Paper* and late-Victorian juvenile magazines', in G.N. Cantor (ed.), *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical. Reading the Magazine of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) pp.151-171.

The son and brother of Anglican clergymen, Frederick Charles Lambert was born in the South Yorkshire village of Monk Bretton, in 1852 and returned here to serve as a curate for a few months after his priestly ordination in 1882. Although much of his adult life was spent in the south of England, comments in one of his photographic articles suggests that he retained his Yorkshire identity: after using the phrase 'Fetling up' as the title for a figure study showing an old labourer at work, he added: 'It may there be as well to explain to the ignorant Southerner that to *fettle* is a good old English word surviving in the North, and meaning *to trim, arrange, put in order with critical taste and judgment*.'<sup>159</sup>

Lambert's photographic activities were characterised by 'critical taste and judgment', as evidenced by the high esteem in which he was held by some of the most prominent photographers in the country.<sup>160</sup> He submitted six photographs to the Photographic Society Exhibition in 1887 and continued to exhibit regularly there while contributing numerous articles to periodicals such as *Amateur Photographer*. In 1897 he joined what was now the Royal Photographic Society, and also gathered his *Amateur Photographer* writings together into a single volume, *The Photographer's Note-book and Constant Companion* (1897).<sup>161</sup>

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159 Rev. F.C. Lambert, 'Figure Studies,' *Amateur Photographer*, Vol. XIII, No.607 (22 May 1896), p.448.

160 Evidence of this esteem can be found in his invitation to join the Linked Ring, his election to the Council of the Royal Photographic Society and his frequent presence as a judge in the photographic competitions advertised in the *Amateur Photographer*.

161 The Photographic Society of London had been renamed the Photographic Society of Great Britain in 1874, before becoming The Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain in 1894.

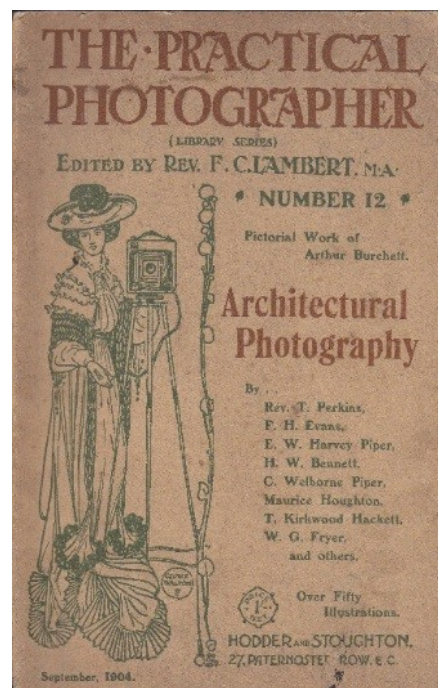


**Fig.1.7.** Rev F.C. Lambert, *Self-portrait, with montage* (1895)  
Albumen print. 7.5 x 6 in. (191 x 152 mm)

Over the next decade he published no less than ten photographic manuals, including general works like *The Hand Camera Companion and Guide: a concise handbook for the beginner, the enthusiast and the expert* (1906) as well as more specialised guides that offered detailed exposition of specific issues such as *The Perfect Negative. A Series of Chapters on After-treatment of the Negative* (1899), *Lantern Slide Making* (1901) and *Bromide Printing* (1902). This was in addition to his editorship of *The Practical and Pictorial Photographer* from October 1903 to December 1907. Although photography was clearly his area of expertise, Lambert also wrote practical guides to other creative arts including wood-turning, woven fabric, paperwork, clay-modelling and the decoration and repair of glass and china. His commitment to providing instruction for photographers was paralleled by his work in education. One of his first appointments after his diaconal ordination was as Senior Mathematical Master at the High School, Bishop's Stortford, Herts (1879-80) and he spent three years as chaplain to his *alma mater*, Downing College, Cambridge (1883-6).



The practical emphasis and technical nature of Lambert's writings might suggest that his interest in photography inclined towards the scientific rather than the pictorial, but his work was actually held in high esteem within the elite circles of the art-photographers and he was an ardent advocate of photography's claim to be recognised as a fine art. Regarding the rival claims of art and science – and in marked contrast to proponents of the Draper-White conflict thesis – Lambert consistently argued over many years that there should be no antagonism between the two.



**Fig.1.8.** Cover of *The Practical Photographer*, September 1904, showing the prominence given to the editor's name and clerical profession.

At a meeting of The Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce on Wednesday 7 March 1906, for example, Lambert was invited to give the vote of thanks to John Charles Dollman for his paper on 'Art in Painting and Photography,' in which he praised the speaker's conciliatory approach to the subject, expressing his opinion that – with a little more education the antagonism between the rival parties would dissolve as 'both might be seen to be partly wrong, and both partly right.' In his response to Dollman's paper, Lambert rejected what he felt to be nonsense about artistic genius, stating that 'He considered genius as synonymous

with hard work, steady application, and earnestness and singleness of purpose.’<sup>162</sup> His words echo those spoken by Turner to Kingsley: ‘I know of no genius but the genius of hard work’ so closely that they suggest he knew of them either through personal acquaintance or through reading.<sup>163</sup> It is also a view that can be seen as underpinning his belief in the common ground between art and science, and provides a key to his understanding of the ideal photographer as one who integrated perfectly artistic and technical skills. In an 1896 article on ‘Imagination and Photography’ for the *Amateur Photographer*, he argued against the dismissal of photography as a ‘purely scientific and unfeeling art’, citing the work of the pictorialist photographer as counter evidence before presenting an unusually nuanced case for the relationship between artistic imagination and scientific discipline:

In short, a well-stored memory, built up by observation, is really necessary for a working, producing imagination. Hence the importance to any and every art student – whatever the method of expression chosen – of constant study, observation and *note records* of Nature under every variation of circumstances. This leads to classification, arrangement, registry of characteristics and differences. Someone may at this point cry out, this is science, not art. To him we would observe that it is entirely a vulgar error to suppose that there is any antagonism between science and art, and, further, that imagination has its own sphere of work in the exact sciences. Any one at all conversant with the elements of mathematics, physics or chemistry, for example, knows (or ought to know) that without imagination these are not practical sciences. We need this faculty for the primary conceptions of numbers, space, gravity, chemical affinity, atoms, molecules, force, conservation of energy etc.<sup>164</sup>

Similar passages can be found in many of Lambert’s other writings, emphasising the common ground between art and science, drawing comparisons between art and theology, or criticising the unnecessary antagonism that came from labelling distinct ‘schools’ within the photographic community. He believed instead that artists should ‘grow more generous and catholic in their sympathies and knowledge’, supporting this with an amusing paraphrase from the Bible: ‘there is a time to laugh and a time to mourn, as nature herself teaches by precept and

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162 J.C. Dollman A.R.W.S., ‘Art in Painting and Photography’ – report of paper read at the Fourteenth Ordinary Meeting, *Journal of the Society of the Arts*, Vol. 54, No. 2781 (9 March 1906), p.474.

163 Kingsley recorded these words as spoken to him by Turner in conversation - John Ruskin, *Notes by Mr Ruskin on his collection of drawings* (London: Fine Art Society, 1878) p.146.

164 Rev. F.C. Lambert, ‘Imagination and Photography’, *Amateur Photographer*, No.615 (17 July 1896), p.48.

example, so also there is a time to focus sharply, and a time to be fuzzy.’<sup>165</sup> In his use of Scriptural references Lambert applied the same subtle discretion as had been learned by Rev. John George Wood and the writers of the Religious Tract Society. Although his photographic writings are often underpinned by Biblical language and religious allusions, these are subtle and oblique, made without trumpeting references to chapter and verse: a passing phrase to a ‘millstone around the neck’ occurs among literary quotes from the likes of Dickens, Goldsmith and Pope, while in discussing the photography of Gay Wilkinson he claimed that an artistic photograph is ‘a work of beauty, labour and love’ and after discussing the first two qualities proceeded to consider ‘Now of the third and last element, though in no wise inferior to the others, Love.’<sup>166</sup>

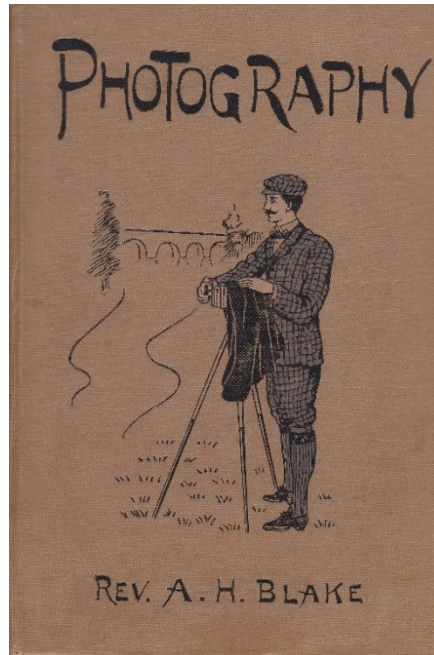
Alfred Howarth Blake was a close contemporary of Lambert’s who had been ordained priest in 1884 and served as a curate at Eton before being appointed chaplain of St Elizabeth’s Chapel - in St. Mary Abbots Hospital in London - in 1893. There is evidence that Blake’s ecclesiastical leanings were towards the High Church, for his liturgical practices brought him into conflict with the administrators: a compromise was reached whereby he was asked to abandon the procession of the choir outside the chapel, the use of a processional cross on certain occasions, and the use of wafer bread, though he was allowed to continue adopting ‘the eastward position’ during services and to use lighted candles at early morning communion in recognition of ‘the good and earnest work’ he was doing.<sup>167</sup> In 1896 he accepted a living in the Hampshire parish of Quarley, where he wrote a manual entitled *Photography: Being Simple Chapters for Beginners* (1898), published by Routledge as Number 19 in their ‘Oval’ series of books on leisure activities.

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165 Rev. F.C. Lambert, ‘Descriptive Essay’ in *Sun Artists No.4: Lydell Sawyer* (July 1890) p.29-30.

166 Rev. F.C. Lambert, ‘Descriptive Essay’ in *Sun Artists No.6: Gay Wilkinson* (January 1891) pp.32, 48-9. The latter passage clearly evokes St Paul’s First Letter to the Corinthians 13:13 ‘And now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love.’

167 Kensington Board of Guardians, Minutes for 14 December 1893, Vol. 61, ff. 309-10. London Metropolitan Archives, City of London.



**Fig.1.9.** Front cover of Rev. A.H. Blake, *Photography. Being Simple Chapters for Beginners* (London: George Routledge, 1898)

His intention was not simply to provide information for those taking up photography, but to direct such amateurs away from casual snapshots towards the practice of artistic photography. Even if a photograph was technically proficient, he insisted, it should be regarded as a failure if it made those who viewed it 'think more of the person or locality than of the character of the person or the impression of the scene.' Blake was eager to remind the beginner that 'he is not going to photograph a view but to record an impression.'<sup>168</sup> The books he suggested to his reader included the poetical works of Tennyson and Cullen Bryant as well as the standard photographic manuals, and he ended with a strong recommendation of church architecture as a fitting subject for photography.

What was Blake's purpose in recommending that novice photographers should start by reading poetry? This raises an intriguing challenge to the popular perception – as propounded by the organisers of the Great Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862 – that photography was a mechanical technique associated with objectivity and realism. It is important to recall that the Victorian understanding of the relationship between truth and reality differed from the way these terms are understood now. In an 1848 letter to George Lewes, Charlotte Brontë criticised the writing of Jane

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<sup>168</sup> Rev. A.H. Blake, *Photography: Being Simple Chapters for Beginners* (London: George Routledge, 1898) p.69, 72

Austen's writing: 'Miss Austen, being as you say without "sentiment," without poetry, may be – is sensible, real (more real than true) but she cannot be great.'<sup>169</sup> This belief that lack of poetry could make language 'more real than true' could also be applied to photographic imagery: Green-Lewis (1996) has drawn attention to Victorian attitudes about the inferiority of photographic realism to poetic truthfulness.<sup>170</sup> The photographer Nevil Story-Maskelyne, a friend and distant relative of Henry Talbot as well as tutor of Archbishop William Thomson (whose photographic activities are described below) drew attention to this same shortcoming in an 1859 essay on 'The Present State of Photography', admitting that there was 'a point of view in which [photography] will seem little else than a ghastly misrepresentation of nature, little more true to reality than was that automaton doll with an artificial voice, exhibited a few years since in London.'<sup>171</sup>

Blake's High Church leanings are also relevant here, for there was a strong Tractarian tradition that saw poetry as analogous to sacramental forms in its potential for communicating divine truths. Poetic language was uniquely suited for expressing what G.B. Tennyson (1981) has called 'the two quintessential Tractarian aesthetic concerns': Analogy - the correspondence between the natural world and metaphysical realities - and Reserve - the belief that God only reveals Himself indirectly, through figures and symbols.<sup>172</sup> Even before publication of the Tracts began, Newman had begun exploring ecclesiastical themes in the poems of *Lyra Apostolica* (1833-6), and it is surely significant that the 'first inclination in expressing the sentiments of the [Oxford] Movement was towards verse'.<sup>173</sup> Blake's photographic manual can therefore be seen as a subtle fusion of aesthetic and religious concerns.

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169 Brontë to Lewes (18 January 1848) in *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë Vol.2 1848-51* (2000) p.14

170 Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996) pp.320-21.

171 Nevil Story-Maskelyne, 'The Present State of Photography', *The National Review* 8 (April 1859) pp. 379-80.

172 G.B. Tennyson, *Victorian Devotional Poetry: the Tractarian Mode* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981) p. 44.

173 Tennyson, *Victorian Devotional Poetry* (1981) p.117.

Two years previously he had founded the Society of Night Photographers, a small but dedicated group who used their cameras after dark, chiefly in London and other large cities. He wrote on night photography for the *Amateur Photographer* and was even acknowledged for 'London Night Photography' in the credits of the silent film *Love, Life and Laughter* (George Pearson, 1923). Throughout 1896 Blake published a series on 'Picturesque Spots' in the *Amateur Photographer*, providing practical advice for photographers looking for places to take their cameras on a day trip from London, covering locations that included Windsor, Eton, Horton Mere, Edgware, Bath and Igham Mote. In each article he would typically inform readers about the railway routes, fares and times, draw attention to local attractions – frequently houses associated with literary figures – and suggest picturesque views and the best angles for capturing them on camera.



**Fig.1.10.** Rev. A.H. Blake. *The Incoming Tide, Canvey Island.*

His personal acquaintance with these locations reveals the extent to which Blake had travelled with his camera, and the series was later extended to include more distant destinations such as Cornwall and the Channel Islands. A portfolio of Blake's photographs of the island of Sark, dated February 1900 and entitled *The Garden of Cymodoce* (The Island of Sark) after Swinburne, has been preserved in the library of the Société Jersiaise, St Helier, Jersey. London remained Blake's favourite haunt, however, and he published two books capturing lesser known and disappearing locations in the capital. *Things Seen in London* (1920) contained 35 photographs of the east end, historic houses by the river and a section on London by Night. *London Cameos* (1930) was a larger volume with 120 photographs that captured landmarks

that were either under threat or had been destroyed since Blake had photographed them. These included Prince Henry's room in Fleet Street, the seal of Bow Church, The Leopard of Budge Row and the last home of artist J.M.W. Turner. Blake's concern with capturing what was about to disappear was shared by other clergymen-photographers such as A.H. Malan and Thomas Perkins, and – this chapter argues – reflects anxieties about the rapid pace of cultural change during their lifetimes.

In his book *Present Past* (1993) Richard Terdiman depicts this period as one of 'memory crisis' in which people 'did worry intricately about forgetting', troubled by 'the past's disjunction from the present.'<sup>174</sup> Despite his growing hostility towards photography, Charles Baudelaire recognised that the art-science provided a remedy to such worries: 'Let it rescue from oblivion those tumbling ruins, those books, prints and manuscripts which time is devouring, precious things whose form is dissolving and which demand a place in the archives of our memory – it will be thanked and applauded.'<sup>175</sup> Victorian clergymen were surrounded by 'precious things whose form is dissolving,' – everything from rural congregations to state subsidised protection and the rituals of the prayer-book. It was little wonder that so many of them took up cameras in response. The image in a photograph possesses a unique and valuable quality in a time of unsettling transition, remaining unchanged while the world around it, including the object depicted in the image, continues to change.<sup>176</sup>

Blake's evident fascination with the historical development of the landscape is confirmed by his Fellowship of both the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Geographical Society, but of greater significance for his photographic artistry was his invitation in 1908 to join the Brotherhood of the Linked Ring.<sup>177</sup> Believing that the Royal Photographic Society had lost sight of the artistic aims of photography and was now preoccupied with the purely technical interests of commercially-minded professionals, a group of photographers founded the Linked Ring as a breakaway

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174 Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) pp.14, 25. See also Jennifer Green-Lewis, 'Photography and the Victorian Novel' in Lisa Rodensky (ed.) *Oxford Handbook to the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.) pp.313ff. and "'Already the Past": the Backward Glance of Victorian Photography' (2006) pp.25-43

175 Charles Baudelaire, 'The Salon of 1859', reprinted in *The Mirror of Art: Critical Studies* (New York: Doubleday, 1956) p.232.

176 See Jennifer Green-Lewis, 'Not fading away: photography in an age of oblivion,' *Nineteenth Century Contexts* 22 (2001) pp.559-585.

group in 1892. Deliberately elitist in form and esoteric in custom, it was formed for those 'who delight in photography solely for its artistic capabilities,' complete with its own constitutions, exhibition space and a set of quasi-mystical rituals and terminology to differentiate itself as far as possible from the pedestrian approach of the trade photographers. No photographer was allowed to apply for admission to the Brotherhood – membership was by invitation only, and required unanimous approval by all the Links.

The lofty ideals of the Linked Ring and their adoption of quasi-religious titles must have presented some attractions for someone with Blake's interest in High Church ritualism. When he was admitted as a member, he underwent an initiation process that clearly evoked the ritual ceremonial of monasticism or Freemasonry: '... the Ring being fully formed, the postulant, standing without the circle, is required to reply to the questions given in the appendix to the Constitutions. He then retires, and it is finally decided whether he be admitted or not.' If all the Links agreed, the postulant was recalled and the Centre Link proclaimed 'In you we have discovered the missing link necessary to make our Ring complete.' He was then admitted to the circle, handed a copy of *the Book of the Constitutions* – which he was warned to guard carefully from the eyes of those outwith the Ring – and addressed for the first time by the pseudonym of his choice.

Only one other clergyman was ever invited to join the Linked Ring, and that was F.C. Lambert, who joined in January 1896 – taking the name 'Prelate' - but resigned on 10 May 1899. Blake was admitted to the Linked Ring Brotherhood after a dinner at Pagani's Restaurant on 25 June 1908. He and the other postulant, F.J. Mortimer, '...ate their dinner all unconscious of the horrors of the initiation mysteries which they would have to undergo before they had fully digested their meal. When the cries of the victims had died away Mr Blake faintly whispered that he would thereafter assume the title of "Cockney."<sup>178</sup>

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177 Blake was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1921 on the grounds that 'Mr Blake is a well-known authority on London - famous as a photographer, organiser of photographic survey of Portugal.' He resigned in 1939. I am grateful to Jane Carrington of the RGS for providing this information.

178 *Minute Book of the Linked Ring, London, 25 June 1908*. Royal Photographic Society Archive. Cited in Margaret F. Harker, *The Linked Ring: The Secession in Photography in Britain 1892-1910* (London: Heinemann, 1979) p.89.



## 1.6. Holding Office: Clergy and the Photographic Societies

In contrast to the Linked Ring, the presence of clergymen as office-holders in other photographic societies was widespread. During photography's first decade, amateur photographers shared and discussed their work through informal groups based around pre-existing networks of friends, colleagues and scholarly societies. As the pioneering years of amateur experimentation gave way to a new era of widening participation, changing demographics and a more mechanised, commercial approach to photographic technology, these groups began to dissipate and were replaced by formal photographic societies such as those in Leeds (1852), London (1853), Liverpool (1853), Manchester (1855), Scotland (1856) and Edinburgh (1861).

Clergymen – including prelates - were holding office in these societies from the very beginning. The Bishop of Manchester, James Prince Lee (1804-69), was President of the Manchester Photographic Society from 1855 until 1864 when he was succeeded by Canon Vincent St. Beechey, with the Rev. William J. Read F.R.A.S. (1824-77), as Vice-President. The son of a portrait painter, Beechey's skill is indicated by his invention of a 'Trinoptric prismatic lantern' that was on show at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The lantern contained a gas bag apparatus for producing oxygen and combined 'the powers of three lanterns, with one small lamp of intense brightness.' It was for the purpose of projecting circular lantern images up to a diameter of 25 feet.<sup>179</sup> The London (later Royal) Photographic Society was founded in 1853, publishing the first issue of its *Journal* in March. The Rev John Richardson Major (1797-1876) held the combined post of Secretary and Editor of the *Journal* from January 1856 until June 1857. His eldest son, also John Richardson Major (1821-71), was Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of the Photographic Exchange Club, while the Bishop of Bath and Gloucester, Dr Charles Ellicott, was the first President of Bristol Photographic Society after it was established in 1869.<sup>180</sup>

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179 Beechey's lantern is discussed in detail in Robert Hunt's *Hand-Book to the Official Catalogues of the Great Exhibition: An Explanatory Guide to the Natural Productions and Manufactures of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, 1851* pp.381-83.

180 Although he did not serve on the council, George Tomlinson, founder of the Cambridge Apostles and Bishop of Gibraltar, became a member of the Photographic Society in November 1856 – recorded in the *Journal of the Photographic Society*, No.48 (21 November 1856) p.155 - and remained a member until his death in 1863.

The 1898 *British Journal Photographic Almanac* lists thirty-three photographic clubs where clergymen occupied the posts of President or Vice-President, or else were office-bearers in the society's council. Of these, ten clubs had two or more clergy holding senior positions in the society's hierarchy, suggesting that clergymen were likely to be elected in clubs where other clergymen already held office. These included Lincoln Photographic Society, where Canon Joseph Fowler and the Rev. A.F. Wilson were Vice-Presidents, the Isle of Thanet and Kingston-on-Thames Photographic Societies, where the offices of President and Vice-President were both held by clergymen and Beverley Photographic and Sketching Society (founded in 1893) which the Rev. F. J. Hall as its President, the Rev Dr. Canon Henry Nolloth and the Rev. J.C.W. Barnaby as Vice-Presidents, with the Rev. W.E. Wigfall on the council.<sup>181</sup>

The presence of such clergymen in these societies served the interests of both the photographic community and the clergy. The idea of promoting cultural activities was by no means out of keeping with the clergy's more overtly religious mission. Samuel Taylor Coleridge had argued that one of the clergy's primary functions was the cultivation of citizenry, calling them 'agents and instruments in the great and indispensable work of perpetuating, promoting, and increasing the civilisation of the nation.'<sup>182</sup> The belief that involvement in local affairs formed part of the clergy's wider mission meant that clerical membership of learned and local societies tended to be high. In 1838, the year the Camden Society was founded, 20% of its members were clergymen, while the proportion in the Durham-based Surtees Society was even higher, at 25%.<sup>183</sup> Both societies were founded to publish old literary texts and had no specific religious remit. The erudite antiquarian Dr

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181 Photographs by both Wigfall and Nolloth appear in the latter's book *Beverley and its Minster* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1910). Nolloth was vicar of Beverley Minster and Wigfall was Assistant Perpetual Curate of the same parish.

182 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State* (London: William Pickering, 1839), p. xvii.

183 Phillipa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p.44. As Ruth Barton's essay 'Men of Science' (2003) makes clear, however, contemporary patterns of usage for the terms 'amateur' and 'professional' were remarkably nuanced and fluid according to context; caution is therefore required when making distinctions between the two categories that are based on more recent perceptions.

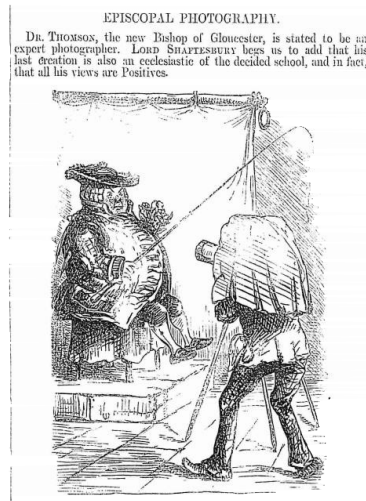
Joseph Fowler, Canon of Durham Cathedral, was Vice-President of both the Lincoln Photographic Society and the Surtees Society.

In an age where careers and reputations owed much to the patronage of influential figures, the status of photographic clubs or antiquarian societies could be greatly enhanced by having eminent clergy as members. Appointing them as office-holders ensured that their name would receive greater prominence, while there was an expectation that a senior cleric with administrative responsibilities for a parish or cathedral would possess the necessary skills and authority required for his duties. An illustration of this concern for status can be found in an advert for the newly-established Amateur Photographic Association (APA) that was printed in the *British Journal Photographic Almanac* for 1862. The APA was established in 1861 to support the interests of genuine amateurs against the increasing dominance of commercial photographers, who were pointedly excluded from membership. Essentially an exchange club, members were encouraged to submit negatives of their best work, which would be printed by the APA and offered for sale to other members, with the resulting payments being taken off their subscription.

The Association fought to establish itself in the face of distrust and suspicion from the professional photographic community and the photographic press, making it necessary to obtain eminent patrons whose names might reinforce the authority of the fledgling society. The 1862 advert lists its patrons' names in strictly hierarchical order, beginning with 'The Most Noble, the Marquis of Drogheda' and ending with the lowest of the low – two photographers who lacked even academic credentials to append after their name. Second on the list was the 'Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol' - William Thomson (1816-91), who was elevated to the Archbishopric of York that same year. His appointment to the See of Gloucester inspired a cartoon in *Punch* entitled 'Episcopal Photography', showing Thomson being photographed on his episcopal throne beneath the caption: 'Dr Thomson, the new Bishop of Gloucester, is stated to be an expert photographer. Lord Shaftesbury begs us to add that his last creation is also an ecclesiastic of the decided school, and in fact, all his views are Positives.'<sup>184</sup>

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184 *Punch, or the London Charivari*. (November 9 1861) p.185



**Fig.1.11.** John Leech, 'Episcopal

Photography.'

*Punch, or the London Charivari.* (9 November 1861) p.185

Despite the claims of *Punch* that Thomson was an 'expert photographer' the inclusion of his name is almost certainly due to the prestige of the episcopate rather than his photographic achievements. He had in fact only recently picked up a camera and as late as 1869 was still writing of photography as being 'so new to me.'<sup>185</sup> A portrait of him at work is given by another clergyman who came across him in the Scottish Highlands in September 1870: 'The Archbishop was busy photographing. His hands were badly stained with his work. And he wore knickerbockers: which fact he begged me to reveal to nobody. I assured him that I should have pleasure in making it widely known.'<sup>186</sup> Some of the archbishop's photographs appear in his daughter's biography but many more are preserved among the papers of his son-in-law, Frederick Goodwyn, held in diocesan archives.<sup>187</sup> Most feature the bishop's family or their home and gardens at Bishopthorpe Palace, and include standard portraits and landscapes as well as some more artistic images such as children peering through ivy. According to his biographer, many of these photographs were hung on the walls of the episcopal palace at Bishopsthorpe, including 'views of the western isles of Scotland taken from

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185 Ethel Thomson, *The Life and Letters of William Thomson, Archbishop of York* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1919) p.318

186 Rev. A.K.H. Boyd, *The Last Years of St Andrews and Elsewhere: September 1890 to September 1895.* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896) pp.75-76.

187 Two albums (Goodwyn 8 and 10) held in the Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, are definitely Thomson's; Goodwyn 9 may also be his.

the sea.<sup>188</sup> After Thomson's death at Bishopsthorpe on Christmas Day 1890, his photographic equipment was put up for auction, providing an unusually detailed insight into the composition of a clergyman's camera collection. The list of items also records the sale prices realised.

Watson & Sons light Premier camera, 12" x 10", brass bound, 6 double dark slides & 2 solid leather cases (16½ guineas)

Meagher portable bellows camera, 12" x 10", two double dark slides and one single (9 guineas)

Meagher portable bellows camera, 7¼" x 4½", with six double backs and two leather cases (£5 10s)

Dallmeyer lens 6D (15½ guineas)

Voigtlander 3A Euryscope (£5)

Voigtlander 5A Euryscope (16½ guineas)

Voigtlander landscape No.6 (£5)

Suter A3 (£5 10s)

Suter landscape No.4 (£4)

Suter landscape No.3C (£4 15s)

Suter landscape No.2E (£2 10s)

A pair of Grubb stereo lenses (£1 6s).<sup>189</sup>

All the equipment was in excellent condition and the total sale raised £120 - about double the average annual income of an adult male at the time.<sup>190</sup> Thomson's acquisition of photographic equipment was part of a wider interest in innovative technology. An 1877 letter to his wife reveals the pleasure he found in using a pedometer to record his walks: 'I walked into York and out again this morning, and my pedometer gives me credit for six and a half miles! I like my pedometer; it gives one credit for what one does.' According to his daughter, he was 'one of the earliest to use a typewriter'<sup>191</sup>

Such boyish pleasure in the delights of gadgetry was surely typical of the attitude of many Victorian gentlemen, clergymen included, but appointment to an ecclesiastical living brought such gentlemen into contact with far older items: a clerical incumbent often became the custodian of not only a medieval building, but also of antiquities such as brass rubbings, gravestones and parish registers. As Levine (1986) has argued, this traditional bond between the parish church and

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188 Harold Kirk-Smith, *William Thomson, Archbishop of York, His Life and Times* (London: S.P.C.K., 1958) p.168.

189 *Amateur Photographer*, Vol. XIII, No.335 (6 March 1891) p.175.

190 Arthur Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900) p.133

191 Thomson, *The Life and Letters of William Thomson* (1919) pp 257, 318.

historical artefacts was another reason why clergymen were attracted towards antiquarian societies.<sup>192</sup> It did not take them long to recognise the potential of photography for facilitating antiquarian research. Talbot himself, having spent his life immersed in antiquarian scholarship, promoted his photographic process as a tool to assist other scholars and used his calotype process to record archaeological fragments and ancient manuscripts.<sup>193</sup>

Nonetheless, many would-be calotypists grew frustrated with Talbot's restrictive patents and his reluctance to publish clear and detailed instructions for the calotype process. To overcome this and make the calotype available to a wider audience, a photographer from Leith named George Smith Cundell (1798-1882) published a short treatise, 'On the Practice of the Calotype Process of Photography' in May 1844 with the purpose of 'opening the way for the entrance of labourers into the vineyard.'<sup>194</sup> He must have followed this up with practical instruction, for in the late 1840s he trained the Rev. Frederick Marshall (1813-74) in the calotype process. Marshall had moved from a parish in Norfolk to Peterborough shortly before taking his first calotypes in 1848. He exhibited eight calotype views, taken around Kent and Canterbury, at a photographic exhibition in Dundee in the spring of 1854 to raise funds for the new Royal Infirmary. More were on show at the LPS exhibitions in 1854 and 1855. Marshall recognised photography's value for 'preserving pictorial records of the national monuments of history and art' and presented a paper on this subject before before the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, The Diocese of Lincoln, The County of Leicester and the University of Cambridge at their General Meeting in Peterborough on 24 May 1855.

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192 Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p.

193 On the photographic collaboration between Talbot and Prussian Egyptologist Karl Lepsius, see James Downs, 'Egyptology and Photography: Two Founding Fathers', *Ancient Egypt* 78 (June-July 2013) pp.41-47.

194 *London, Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science* Vol. 24 (3rd series), No. 160 (May 1844) pp. 321-332. George Smith Cundell (1798-1882) was one of four brothers from Leith, near Edinburgh. Joseph (born 1802) and Henry (1810-86) were both photographers, while was a photographer, Charles Edward Cundell (1805-1880) was a painter.

Marshall reflected upon the camera's role in preservation in explicitly religious terms. Using a common Victorian analogy he compared the workings of the camera to those of the human eye, drawing attention to the divine gift accorded to human sight. As an optical instrument the eye would be of little use without the optical nerve with which God has endowed man 'so that we can perceive what we see and remember it.' Marshall then proposed that the camera should act as a human 'replacement' for God: 'let us endow him with another eye (for this is *now* in our power), an eye which cannot fail to observe correctly, or by a law of the same Almighty Creator, to give an unerring record of all that is brought within the scope of its vision.'

Marshall held up the camera as a reliable witness, capable of recording things that would otherwise be lost through the limitations of the human condition. Over thirty years before the first stirrings of the national photographic survey movement, Marshall developed his idea into a plea for systematic recording of buildings that were under threat:

[I] urge you, as an Association, to use your influence with the guardians of the different public buildings and ruins of interest in their several districts, to procure large and well-executed Photographs of them, especially before and after any important repairs and alterations, and to preserve them in our Public Libraries and Museums, as records for the instruction and guidance of those who succeed them in their office.<sup>195</sup>

He went on to praise photographs for 'their evident truth' citing the admirable work being done by Bisson Frères of Paris, which he felt should be imitated by English artists.

Marshall's regard for the 'evident truth' of photography had wider implications for antiquarian research, which was increasingly bringing clergymen from different denominations together on collaborative projects. Although it would be anachronistic to describe these activities as 'ecumenical', a priest wrote in 1854, 'Antiquarianism can never be sectarian...it is much too Catholic for that.'<sup>196</sup> Bath Photographic Society, for example, had two clergymen on the Council in 1898: Monsignor James

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195 Rev. F.A.S. Marshall, *Photography: the importance of its application in preserving national monuments of history and art ... with an appendix containing a practical description of the Talbotype process, as adopted and practised by the author during the last seven years* (London & Peterborough: Hering and Remington, Thos. Chadwell and J. Clarke, 1855) p.17.

196 George Griffin to Bishop James Kyle, January 1854, Northern District Preshome Letters PL/3 Mission correspondence 497/1-12, Scottish Catholic Archives.

Williams, a senior Roman Catholic priest and former head of Prior Park College, and Anglican vicar Rev. Edward Purvis; such close contact was rare outside these fields of activity. A plethora of new antiquarian clubs provided a congenial forum for the exchange of ideas, building on Enlightenment principles of tolerance and freedom for rational enquiry unrestricted by religious dogma. With varying emphases, the Surtees, Bannatyne, Abbotsford and Spalding Clubs shared the same format of regular meetings, publications, field trips and - in the case of the ecclesiological societies – shared worship. Membership lists include Roman Catholic, Anglican and Nonconformist clergy; there were few places where such men gathered socially and contributed jointly to publications.

The antiquarian clubs produced meticulous editions of medieval documents, liturgical texts and monastic charters. Typically, a full transcription was published alongside facsimile plates reproduced by photo-lithography or similar processes. Rev. Simeon Macphail, a photographer and minister of the Free Church of Scotland, praised the quality of reproduction prints of charters in his book: 'Side by side and at a little distance, it would be easy to mistake any of them for the original.'<sup>197</sup> His brother, the Rev. Calder Macphail, was a founder member of Britain's first ever photographic society, the Edinburgh Calotype Club. As a young divinity student Macphail had assisted pioneer photographer Cosmo Innes in preparing medieval manuscripts for publication by the Bannatyne Club.<sup>198</sup> In a shift away from religious polemics, verisimilitude was now the chief concern: rather than a binary confrontation between two sides, clergymen sat in a circle sharing a common focus on a single text, working together to establishing the most accurate version, and using modern technology to enhance their understanding of the distant past. The interaction between antiquarianism and technophilia is no better illustrated than in the photographic work of Rev. Alfred Henry Malan (1852-1928), whose case study will provide the conclusion of this chapter.

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197 Rev. Simeon Macphail, *A History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1881) p.67.

198 Calder Macphail was employed by Innes for work on the *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc: Registrum Abacie de Aberbrothoc* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1848-1856) and the *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*. See the correspondence between Innes and Macphail in the National Archives of Scotland (GD1/238/3) and also Richard Marsden's unpublished Ph.D thesis, *Cosmo Innes and the sources of Scottish History c. 1825-1875* (2011) pp.59, 123. On the photography of Innes and Macphail, see Br. Paschal Downs, "A Good Deal of Calotyping" - *Pluscarden Benedictines* No. 130 (Autumn 2003).



## 1.8. Taking the Train - the Railway Photographs of the Rev. Alfred H. Malan

Malan's background is typical of the other clergymen-photographers featured here. Descended from Swiss Waldensian refugees, he was both the son and grandson of clergymen, his father being the eminent Biblical scholar and linguist César Jean Salomon Malan (1812-94). Born in his father's Dorset parish of Broadwindsor, Alfred Malan was educated at Sherborne School and St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, obtaining his BA in 1874 and MA in 1877. After a year as curate of Frampton-on-Severn in the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, he was ordained priest in 1876 and transferred to the Diocese of Truro in Cornwall, spending ten years as curate of Perranworthal before moving to Altarnun, on Bodmin Moor, in 1887.

Both the church and the local area abounded in historical interest. The fifteenth-century church of St Nonna's, Altarnun is famed for the seventeenth-century woodcarvings that adorn the bench ends, communion rails and roodscreen, while a short distance away is situated a holy well dedicated to Saint Nonna, to which was attributed the power of curing the insane. The richness of local antiquities and folk traditions provided ample material for Malan's scholarly interests, and his published writings covered a range of topics from holy wells to ornithology, folklore and local history, biography, historic houses and archaeology. Many of these – including a paper entitled 'American Photographs. Art in Photography' - were published in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, a learned society of which Malan was an active member of Council.

Malan's work was disseminated beyond the pages of the *Journal*. Extracts from his article on 'Cornish Choughs' appeared in the Rev. Sabine Baring Gould's *Book of Cornwall*, which also included photographs by Malan and the Rev. Francis Partridge, vicar of St Clether.<sup>199</sup> Partridge revealed in a letter to the editor of the *Amateur Photographer* that he sold his half-plate glass negatives to his village carpenter to make cucumber frames.<sup>200</sup> Malan published an article on Partridge's parish, 'St Clether chapel and Holy Wells' which was illustrated with four of his own

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<sup>199</sup> Partridge's photographs are entitled 'Cornish Fishermen' and 'Launceston Church Porch', while Malan's contribution was a photograph of St Melor's Well, Linkinhorne.

<sup>200</sup> *Amateur Photographer* Vol. XXIII (3 January 1896) p.23

photographs, while his paper 'Notes on the neighbourhood of Brown Willy' – read on location to a group of RIC members at Brown Willy on Dartmoor, on 30 August 1887 – seems to have provided some inspirations for the children's novel, *Lost on Brown Willy; or, The print of the cloven hoof* (London: Warne, 1890), written by his brother Rev. Arthur Noel Malan. His article for the popular periodical *Temple Bar*, 'Jottings from a Moorland Parish' (1892), describes a number of primitive customs and superstitions - visions of the devil, the use of prayer-books as charms and half-crowns as amulets, consultations with white witches and the cursing of cattle – similar to those mentioned by the Rev. Thomas Perkins in Dorset around the same time.<sup>201</sup> Although critical and dismissive of these practices, Malan took a scholarly interest in pre-Christian antiquities, and was responsible for discovering a hitherto unknown prehistoric stone circle at Goodaver in 1906.<sup>202</sup> He also did his best to preserve the St Nonna's Well, erecting a fence to protect the remains from grazing cattle.<sup>203</sup>

At first sight it might seem surprising that someone so immersed in the past would show such passionate enthusiasm for railways. However, Malan began photographing the broad-gauge trains in 1883, by which time it was becoming clear that their days were numbered. His photographs are records, not so much of a brave new world, as of the twilight of the gods: an era was ending, and he wished to save it for posterity. Frederick Marshall had quoted Baron Pollock's praise of photography's 'power of rendering permanent that which appears to be as fleeting as the shadows that go across the dial' and added his own belief that there was nothing that could not 'be rendered immortal by the assistance of photography'<sup>204</sup> Aware that he was recording a world that was about to disappear, Malan's efforts to photograph moving

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201 Rev. A.H. Malan, 'Jottings from a Moorland Parish', *Temple Bar*, Vol. 96 (September-December 1892) pp.497-504. On Perkins, see Chapter Two of this thesis.

202 *Devon and Cornwall notes and queries* Vol. 19, (1936-1937) pp.350-1.

203 M. & L. Quiller-Couch, *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall* (London: Charles J. Clark, 1894) p.174

204 Rev. F.A.S. Marshall, *Photography: the importance of its application in preserving national monuments of history and art ...* (London & Peterborough: Hering and Remington, Thos. Chadwell and J. Clarke, 1855) pp.11-12.

trains - to freeze the rapid blur of motion - seem like a poignant metaphor for onward rush of Victorian progress.

As both an instrument and symbol of Victorian mechanisation, nothing can surpass the railway in terms of dramatic power. Their tremendous impact upon the culture and imagination of Victorian Britain inspired a quasi-religious mania: a character in one of Disraeli's novels claimed that 'The railways will do as much for mankind as the monasteries did' and a serious comparison was made in the *Building News* in 1875, suggesting that railway stations and hotels were to the present age what monasteries were to the thirteenth century.<sup>205</sup>

**Fig.1.12.** Rev. A.H. Malan. Rover Class 4-2-2 'Timour' heads east with the 'Cornishman' at Teignmouth, with St Michael's Church in the background. Original in the National Archives, Kew.



The development of the railways was roughly coterminous with the emergence of photography: early innovations such as Stephenson's *Rocket* in the 1820s and the *Liverpool and Manchester Railway* in 1830 were followed by a period of rapid expansion through the 1840s and 1850s, changing the landscape of Britain both literally and psychologically. The coming of the railways was not, however,

<sup>205</sup> Stephen Morley to Walter Gerard in Disraeli's novel *Sybil; or, the Two Nations* (1845) Chapter VIII. See also Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999) p.73, J. Richards and J. MacKenzie, *The Railway Station: a social history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) p.20. *Building News* 29 (1875) p.133.

welcomed by all. John Mason Neale's *Hierologus, or the Church Tourists* (1843) describes the conversations of a group of ecclesiologists travelling around the countryside visiting churches:

Well, I will agree with every one as to the immense moral mischief that railroads have caused and will cause to England, making it into one huge manufacturing town – amalgamating into one senseless heap the various usages of different localities – mixing, as opticians do, the clear and beautiful tints of local habits, feelings, prejudices, affections, into one colourless and monotonous mass – cutting up by the root hearty old English associations, superstitions, attachments...but the panorama of the most different objects, crowded on one after another, like a feverish dream, is the romance – if there be any – of railroad travelling....It would be a curious question, whether a high state of Catholick feeling, and so much intercourse between various parts of the country, could be co-existent. I should almost incline to answer in the negative.<sup>206</sup>

In 1846 Francis Close, the Evangelical parson of Cheltenham and a staunch opponent of Neale and the Ecclesiologists, was fiercely opposed to railways operating on Sundays. When the first Sunday trains were allowed to serve Cheltenham, he railed against 'Another page of Godless legislation, another national sin invokes the displeasure of the Almighty.' Other writers and clergymen expressed hostility to railways for different reasons. The Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould regretted that 'distinctive local peculiarities...are fast dying out. With free education and cheap railway travelling, I doubt if anywhere they will survive the next thirty years.'<sup>207</sup> This was stated in almost the same words by the Rev. Thomas Perkins (see Chapter Two): 'Local peculiarities of dress, of custom, of speech, must disappear before the influence of railways and free education.'<sup>208</sup> Similar sentiments about dis-location and the destruction of domestic character were echoed by writers such as Hardy, Carlyle and the Reverend R.S. Hawker.<sup>209</sup>

The spread of the rail network opened the way for the burgeoning tourist industry, something which was quickly seized upon by both amateur and professional photographers. Rev. A.H. Blake's notes for photographers – discussed above - were based around the railway routes. Most photographers seemed

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206 Rev. John M. Neale, *Hierologus; or, the Church Tourists* (London: James Burns, 1843) pp.92-94.

207 'The Author of *Onward Christian Soldiers*: the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould at Home,' *The Young Man. A Monthly Journal and Review*, Vol. 9 (September 1895) p.291.

208 Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Church Restoration* (1893) p.12

209 Examples are given by Simon Trezise, *The West Country as a Literary Invention* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000) p.27.

unaware of the irony of using railways to obtain photographs of picturesque beauty spots, and it was not long before the railways themselves were providing subject matter for photographs. The earliest known photograph of a railway scene is a calotype by Hill and Adamson of Linlithgow station, taken in the summer of 1845.<sup>210</sup> The engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel was commissioning daguerreotypes in 1847 and the practice soon spread throughout the industry. Manchester photographer James Mudd (1821-1906) was employed by Beyer Peacock works in Gorton in 1856, and over the next 25 years took a large number of photographs of the locomotives, factory scenes and other engineering products.<sup>211</sup> By the 1860s railway companies regularly commissioned photographers to record routine work – such as the construction of each new locomotive and engineering feats – as well as singular events such as accidents, and even to take photographs that could be displayed inside carriages for the benefit of passengers.<sup>212</sup> All of these were static photographs however, and it was only once the 1880s brought improved chemical sensitivity that the possibility of capturing trains in motion first arose. The photographer who first achieved this was Rev. Alfred Henry Malan.

Malan's fascination with trains was concentrated upon those running on broad-gauge lines. These railtracks were, as their name suggests, wider than the standard gauge rails used elsewhere, giving them the advantage of greater stability (and therefore higher speeds) as well as larger and more commodious carriages. Broad-gauge was first used by the Great Western Railway in 1838 under the direction of their engineer, Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1806-1859). As the tracks were just over seven feet apart (compared to the standard gauge of 4' 8½") they were quite incompatible with the networks running elsewhere in Britain, a discrepancy that would eventually bring about their demise.

The main Great Western line was completed by 1841 and soon linked up to another railway company with lines through Malan's county: the Bristol & Exeter Railway also used broad-gauge and its lines extended into Somerset. The *Flying Dutchman* – for

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210 Roddy Simpson, *Hill and Adamson's Photographs of Linlithgow* (Linlithgow: West Lothian History and Amenity Society, 2002) pp.22-24, 38-43.

211 Jenny Wetton, 'James Mudd, Photographer (1821-1906)', *Scottish Photography Bulletin* 1 (1990) pp.13-20.

212 Jack Simmons, *The Victorian Railway* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995) pp.148-151.

several decades the world's fastest train – sped daily from London down to Exeter, at speeds of up to 59 mph between Paddington and Swindon. As the Great Western line expanded, the *Flying Dutchman* and the *Cornishman* was able to run all the way to Penzance by 1867. By the 1880s, however, the G.W.R. had accepted the inevitable and begun narrowing its tracks to comply with the standard gauge.

Malan's earliest photograph is dated 23 July 1883 and shows the *Prometheus* engine at Newton Abbot. Most of his photographs from the 1880s are static shots, showing locomotives at rest in stations and railway yards such as Newton, Exeter, Bristol and Swindon. Many of these pictures show the train crews, who are named individually and appear happy to pose for Malan, suggesting a degree of familiarity. It was through his acquaintance with Thomas Tunstall, the shedmaster at Newton Abbot, that Malan was able to gain access to the railway yards and take so many photographs. He was also on good terms with William Dean, the Chief Locomotive Engineer of the G.W.R., based at Swindon, and it was probably thanks to Dean that Malan obtained permission to ride with the crew of the *Iron Duke* from Newton Abbot to Bristol – a journey described vividly in his illustrated six-page article 'Broad-gauge engines' in *The English Illustrated Magazine*, (October 1891). Not all his photography took place during the working week, as Malan took his summer holidays each year on the railways, in locations such as Newton Abbot, Teignmouth or Weston-super-Mare, always staying to the west on Swindon.

Malan's profession would have made it easier for him to gain access to the railway yards and receive the respect and trust shown him by the railway workers, upon whom he relied for the success of his photographs. Malan was on good enough terms to request special favours from the drivers, such as regulating their speed to optimise his chances of a good picture, and altering the coal to produce a thick plume of smoke that would better convey the sense of movement. His images of moving trains were achieved through a combination of careful planning, preparation and skill.

**Fig.1.13.** Rev. A.H. Malan. *G.W.R. broad-gauge locomotive 4-2-2 Rover Class Inkermann (built 1878; withdrawn 1892) passing under Moor Lane Bridge at Worle Junction on the Bristol to Taunton line; looking towards Bristol. (3 May 1892).*

Print, National Archives, Kew. RAIL 1014/19, Vol. 2, No.51.

He  
to



knew, for example,  
avoid the line on  
the descent  
between

Whiteball Tunnell and Wellington, as the trains picked up speed here and the drivers would shut off the steam, meaning that there would be no picturesque plume of smoke in the photograph.<sup>213</sup> A better section of line for photography was the stretch from Weston-super-Mare to Exeter, where the ground was mostly level and the trains maintained a steady pace of around 60 mph, occasionally more. For high speed work though, his preferred spot was the stretch of line between Starcross and Dawlish, where the line passed close to the Exe Estuary, as the large expanse of water produced a mass of reflected light that illuminated the train and reduced the harsh contrast that often resulted from short exposures. Malan was able to reduce his shutter speed to 1/250 second by fitting elastic bands to the shutter. To increase the amount of light he used a full plate (i.e. 6½" x 8½") at full aperture, setting his camera up about a yard from the track and stabilising it with heavy bolts hung on string from the tripod. He learned to photograph the trains as they approached rather than from broadside on, as in the latter view the short exposure rendered the spokes of the wheels so clearly that the train appeared to be at rest. As soon as he had replaced the lens cap he had to hold the camera firmly while the train passed, lest the motion suck the camera beneath the wheels. The thunderous force of the broad-

213 Jack Simmons, *The Victorian Railway* (1995) p.150

gauge locomotives could cause so much vibration on loose ground that he might be forced to take the photograph earlier while the train was still at a distance, but by using a full plate he was still able to enlarge the image considerably. In order to further reduce the harshness of the contrast, he developed his negatives using his own formula of carbonate of potash with minimal use of pyrogallol.<sup>214</sup>

Malan was meticulous in noting the atmospheric conditions in each photograph, recording the appearance of smoke in different conditions of atmosphere and sunlight: 'Good smoke, but too white – dull.'<sup>215</sup> 'Well blackened smoke; very dull, between heavy storms.' Occasionally the captions provide more colourful insights into the photographer's experience: 'Furious gale; camera blew over, just before train due, dark slide slipped, thus causing fog. A most dangerous position, could not stand up, and had to hold camera (kneeling) with one hand, and an iron pipe with the other.'

Using these techniques he achieved superb results with moving trains such as his photograph of the engine *Sebastopol* steaming through Exminster on 5 May 1891. The broad-gauge network had shrunk further by this time, and after July 1891 only the lines west of Exeter were accessible for broad-gauge trains. The final conversion took place in a single weekend the following year, on 20-23 May 1892, when a specially hired workforce removed the last remaining 171 miles of broad-gauge track. Unsurprisingly, when broad-gauge operations definitively ceased on Friday 20th May 1892 Malan was there to record events with his camera. The last broad-gauge *Cornishman* left Paddington station for Penzance at 10.15 a.m. The broad-gauge *Flying Dutchman* followed at its usual 11.45 a.m. but terminated at Plymouth instead of running through to Penzance. The last broad-gauge train out of Paddington was the 5.00 p.m. Plymouth train. The very last broad-gauge train of all left Penzance at 9.45 p.m. on the same day, reaching Exeter St. David's at 4.00 a.m., the next morning, 21st May 1892. The empty stock then ran on through Taunton and Bristol to Swindon. At 9.45 a.m. on that May morning in 1892 the two

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214 Details of his techniques were provided in Malan's two articles 'Photographing the Dutchman', *Boys Own Paper*, 28 March 1891, pp. 408-11 'Broad-gauge engines', *The English Illustrated Magazine*, (October 1891) pp.14-24 and a journalist's report 'Photographing Express Trains and Other Rapidly Moving Objects' *The Engineer*, (29 January 1892) p.90-91.

215 'Up Dutchman, Durston 27 May.' *Broad-gauge Finale. Compiled from Photographs & Notes by the Reverend A. H. Malan* (Upper Bucklebury: Wild Swan Publications, 1985), p.43.



locomotives trundled almost unnoticed with their train past the Swindon 'F' signal box, over the points and off the line.

Malan continued to publish several nostalgic photo-essays about the broad-gauge railway as well as a series of illustrated articles on famous stately homes and mansions for *Pall Mall Magazine* that reflected the growing fascination of the 'heritage movement' with the grandeur of the historical past.<sup>216</sup> Although he evidently admired the mechanical superiority of the locomotives and used innovative technology to photograph the trains at high speed, he imbued his activities with poetic language drawn from nature: 'future generations will be no more cognisant of what its lordly engines and roomy coaches were like, than one who had only seen, say, a kestrel or sparrowhawk, could realise the greater power and speed, and the finer proportions of the nobler peregrine.'<sup>217</sup> The analogy between broad-gauge engines and birds of prey suggests that the relationship between technology and nature in the Victorian era was not necessarily antagonistic, and certainly the clergymen-photographers studied in this chapter have demonstrated the possibility of combining scientific and religious activities without any apparent conflict.

## Conclusion

This chapter has identified a correlation between the activities of clergymen-photographers and wider developments in the relationship between science and religion. During the first half of the century, when Anglican clergy enjoyed greater prominence within the scientific community, clergymen-photographers were at the forefront of developing new processes. During the second half of the century, as the clergy withdrew from professional science and photography took on a more technical nature, clergymen-photographers found a new role offering instruction to amateur

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216 *Famous Homes of Great Britain and Their Stories* (London: Pall Mall Magazine, 1899), *More Famous Homes of Great Britain and Their Stories* (London: Pall Mall Magazine, 1900) and *Other Famous Homes of Great Britain and Their Stories* (London: Pall Mall Magazine, 1902) were all drawn from popular articles written by Malan for *Pall Mall Magazine*, illustrated with his own photographs.

217 'Photographing the Dutchman' (1891) p.408. Malan died in Salisbury on 11 January 1928 and seven years later his son Francis donated three volumes of photographs of broad-gauge trains and views of Swindon Works to the Great Western Railway in September 1935. These are now in the National Archives, Kew [Great Western Railway Collection RAIL 1014/19] while Malan's collection of nameplates of broad-gauge locomotives is now in the collections of Swindon's Steam Museum.

photographers. As opportunities diminished in the field of professional science, so the clergy transferred their expertise and cultural authority into the world of popular science, in which they were able to utilise new technologies and media. While the early clerical photographers were required to communicate their ideas and discoveries via established networks of family members and learned societies, by the end of the nineteenth century they were able to reach a mass audience. Furthermore, photographers were no longer dependent upon 'exchange clubs' for viewing each other's work: by 1890, the introduction of the halftone process meant that publishers could print high quality photographic illustrations cheaply and efficiently.

If developments in mechanical science were serving to advance the progress of art, what was their relationship with religion? In a short but eloquent essay on photography as an art-science, Lambert took as his starting point the fact that the forthcoming 1893 Chicago Exhibition was categorising photographic entries among the 'Liberal Arts.'<sup>218</sup> Lambert discussed the changing meanings of the terms 'art' and 'science' in relation to the developing concept of the seven liberal arts, which allowed to make the point several times that the term *scientia* had once been identified almost exclusively with theology. His approach neatly undermined those who attempted to argue that the two disciplines had nothing in common. He continued in this conciliatory tone, suggesting that

the time seems not far distant when men will cease attempting to draw fine lines of distinction between science and art, and will recognise that no such sharp lines exist. On the contrary, the artist will cease to look upon the scientist as his natural enemy, and will hail him as useful helper and sometimes fruitful suggester.

In fact, there seems to be many points of analogy between the relationship of faith and reason on the one hand, and art and science on the other. In the former case, faith is not contrary to, but beyond reason, and begins where reason ceases to carry on. In the latter, art is not contrary to science – i.e. formal statement of truth - but in turn, transcends and records flights of emotion and perception which in our present state of knowledge, are only felt, but are not capable of experimental or logical analysis.

Science and reason appeal to the intellectual faculties, enabling us to say 'I know.' Faith and art appeal to the emotional powers and prompt us to say 'I feel.'

Lambert's argument is notable both for its conciliatory tone and for its optimism. While Andrew Dickson White was preparing to publish his *History of the Warfare of*

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218 'Photography among the Liberal Arts at Chicago,' *British Journal of Photography* Vol. XXXIX, No.1677 (24 June 1892) pp.406-7. In comparison with the secular Great Exhibition of 1851, the Chicago Fair hosted the World's Parliament of Religions, the first ever attempt at organised a global conference of inter-faith dialogue. See Geoffrey Cantor, *Religion and the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.)

*Science and with Theology*, Rev. Lambert was looking ahead to an eirenic age when 'such sharp lines' would be transcended.<sup>219</sup>

His attitude reflects changing emphases within the Church of England. The sharp distinctions between the High Church and Evangelical factions had softened by the late 1880s, and the bitter intensity of previous conflicts had been replaced by a gentler tone of accommodation. With the party spirit fading, clergymen were able to find common ground and work together on issues of church and social reform.<sup>220</sup> Although the publication of *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* (1889) at first sparked controversy, the book's principles ushered in a new era of liberal theology that emphasised the Incarnation of Christ rather than the Atonement, forcing a greater involvement in the world. In the book's *Preface*, Charles Gore had written: 'The real development of theology is rather the process in which the Church, standing firm in her old truths, enters into the apprehension of the new social and intellectual movements of each age.'

Gore and his co-authors, as well as a wider circle of socially-minded clergymen such as F. D. Maurice and Henry Scott Holland, wanted to see their brother clergy integrated within the world of science, technology, politics and the arts, rather than outside. In contrast to the strict boundaries between state and church, secular and sacred, which were insisted upon by Evangelicals, Maurice advocated a unifying theology that formed the basis of Christian Socialism – the unity he sought was one of fellowship rather than doctrinal uniformity.<sup>221</sup> As a consequence of the Incarnation, every element of daily life and society is infused by Christ – including the

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219 Other clergymen found themselves unable to share his optimism. The Rev. John Mackenzie Bacon (1846-1904) was elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1888, the same year that he first made a balloon ascent. He not only took photographs from balloons but also experimented with wireless telegraphy. The following year, however, he published a pamphlet entitled *The Curse of Conventionalism: a remonstrance by a priest of the Church of England* (London: Watts & Co., 1889) in which he expressed his bitter frustration at the reluctance of fellow Anglican clergy to get involved in science. His sense of despair led him to abandon holy orders and devote the rest of his life to ballooning and other scientific experiments. According to his daughter, he insisted he would not preach until he could have 'a lantern screen stretched across the chancel arch and a photograph of the Orion Nebula or some other galaxy of the heavens to talk about.' Gertrude Bacon, *The Record of an Aeronaut: being the life of John M. Bacon* (London: John Long, 1907) p.173.

220 See Jeremy N. Morris, *Religion and urban change: Croydon 1840-1914* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992) p.53-4 for examples.

221 This aspect of Maurice's thought is presented most clearly in *The Kingdom of Christ*, first published in 1838 and then revised for the second, definitive edition (London: J. G. F. & J. Rivington, 1842. 2 vols.)

technical achievements of Victorian Britain: as early as 1851 sermon Maurice had quoted approvingly the words of Archbishop Sumner in his prayer opening the Great Exhibition: 'Knowledge of every kind which leads to the creation of railways and steam-carriages, is of God, from the inspiration of the Most High.'<sup>222</sup> Later, in his response to disagreements over the historical truth of the Old Testament - *The claims of the Bible and of science* (1863) – Maurice again sought to find an eirenic middle way, condemning both sides in equal measure: just as the progressive scholar Bishop Colenso was wrong for dismissing Biblical authority on the basis of historical inconsistencies in the text the basis, so too was Bishop Lee, President of the Manchester Photographic Society, wrong for insisting that the entire foundations of Christian faith would collapse if a single line of Scripture was questioned.<sup>223</sup>

The involvement in popular science of clergymen such as Lambert and Blake is entirely in keeping with this liberal theology, but - despite these clergymen's faith in the God of History - the rate of progress in the Victorian era was disconcerting, and the tension between tradition and modernity is palpable. Evidence for this is found most often in the juxtaposition of technological processes with antiquarian subjects. When the Rector of Elton, Rev. Charles Watts Whistler (1856-1913), succeeded in constructing his own stereoscopic camera shutter with great ingenuity and precision, he shared his experience in a highly technical 1892 article for the *British Journal of Photography*.<sup>224</sup> His passion for technology was however balanced with a passion for the distant past, as he was the author of a series of historical novels set in early medieval Britain, such as *A Thane of Wessex* (1896) and *King Alfred's Viking. A Story of the First English Fleet* (1899). Janus-like, clergymen-photographers were often looking in two directions, taking an active role in developing new processes and perfecting techniques, but then turning their cameras towards the most ancient buildings and hoary old trees that could be found in their parish.

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222 F.D. Maurice, 'Sermon XII: The Prophecy of Balaam' in *Patriarchs and Lawgivers. A series of sermons...* (Cambridge: Macmillan & Co., 1855) p.235.

223 F.D. Maurice, 'I repudiate the maxim of the Bishop of Manchester; I repudiate the maxim of the Bishop of Natal...their opinions both scandalize me.' *The claims of the Bible and of science* (London: Macmillan, 1863) pp.146-7.

224 'Stereoscopic Shutter,' *British Journal of Photography* Vol. XXXIX, (25 March 1892) p.203.

The close of the nineteenth century saw these rural parishes drained of their populations as economic hardship forced tens of thousands of workers and their families to migrate to the cities. This haemorrhage left large parts of the countryside bereft; communion rolls dwindled in rural parishes, village schools closed, farm buildings were abandoned and fell into disrepair, and evidence of this transformation was soon visible in the changing landscape. Agricultural buildings and machines that had once demonstrated the power of mechanised science over nature now succumbed to the ravages of ivy and invading weeds. Uncertainty and anxiety about the future encouraged nostalgia for the past, and – as a consequence - material signs of the country's disappearing heritage were endowed with emotive and symbolic value. Capturing these changes on camera was to prove an irresistible attraction to clergymen-photographers, for reasons that will be examined in the next chapter.

## Chapter 2

### Visions of the Past:

#### *The Photography of Rural Clergy and the Preservation of a Vanishing World*

While – as the last chapter argued - some clergy found themselves at the forefront of scientific innovation – others were uneasy about the rapid rate of development, lamenting the destruction of old buildings, the loss of age-old certainties and customs, and the erosion of local character encouraged by free education and railway travel. The evolution of Victorian society was reflected by the declining significance of religious faith in national life, including a weakening of clerical status and diminishing of involvement in civic matters. Integral to this era of change was the move from a rural to an urban way of living. In 1814 around 80% of the population lived in the countryside and 20% in towns and cities; from 1841 onwards census returns show rural depopulation accelerating almost year on year, until by the early 1900s there was 80% in the cities and only 20% left in the countryside.<sup>225</sup> Brooks (1995) argued that this decline allowed the rural church to be ‘re-invented as a cultural icon.’<sup>226</sup> Writing of the same period, Philip Lowe claimed that ‘The symbolic importance of the countryside grew as its economic and social importance were eclipsed.’<sup>227</sup> Both statements testify to the increasing importance of symbolic visual icons in a time of loss and fragmentation: a visual iconography that photography was perfectly placed to capture.

Few scholars, however, have examined the paradoxical relationship between this decline and the massive restoration programme that saw thousands of rural

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225 See W.A.A. Armstrong, ‘The Flight from the Land’ (in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, Vol. 1 (London: Kegan & Paul, 1981) pp.118-135 for analysis of the relevant statistics.

226 Chris Brooks, ‘Building the rural church’ in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) p.75 makes a similar claim for the countryside: ‘The symbolic importance of the countryside grew as its economic and social importance were eclipsed.’ Importance of symbolic visual icons in a time of loss and fragmentation.

227 Philip Lowe, ‘The Rural Idyll Defended’, in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Rural Idyll* (London: Routledge, 1989) p.115.

churches rebuilt. While writers such as Alan Gilbert and James Obelkevich (both 1976) have studied the effects of these social changes on religious practice, and others - including Rosemary Treble, Louis James and W.J. Keith - have analysed changing depictions of rural life in paintings and literature, their work has remained disconnected from research into contemporary controversies about church architecture and restoration practices.<sup>228</sup> Although the importance of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings is widely acknowledged, a definitive history of the S.P.A.B. has yet to be written.<sup>229</sup> Previous studies have focussed, understandably, on the remarkable achievements of its founder William Morris and on the Society's links with contemporary currents in the Arts & Craft movement. As Miele (1996) notes, the S.P.A.B. was 'Strongly secular in character (at times positively anti-clerical)' and had little connection with the clergy, both in terms of membership and of communication.<sup>230</sup> As a consequence of this, critical study of religious questions – such as the work of clergy who opposed homogenising restoration practices, and the relationship between such activities and wider moral, pastoral and aesthetic issues – have been largely absent from recent research into Victorian architectural restoration. Miele (2005) goes some way towards connecting the S.P.A.B. to wider preservationist movements, but again neglects to place this within the religious context.

This chapter addresses this oversight by examining the relationship between photographic aesthetics and late Victorian concerns about preservation and restoration, arguing that the 'cultural iconography' of the restored, or re-invented, parish church is best read in the light of contemporary debates about the camera's

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228 See Alan Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England. Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London: Longman, 1976), James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) and W.J. Keith, *Regions of the imagination: the development of British rural fiction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), as well as the essays by Rosemary Treble, 'The Victorian Picture of the Country' and Louis James, 'Landscape in Nineteenth Century Literature', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Rural Idyll* (London : Routledge, 1989.)

229 The most detailed studies at present – neither of which focus exclusively upon the SPAB - are Chris Miele (ed.), *From William Morris: building conservation and the arts and crafts cult of authenticity, 1877-1939* (New Have/London: Yale University Press, 2005) and Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

230 Miele, 'The First Conservation Militants,' in Hunter, *Preserving the Past* (1996) pp.19-20.

potential for momentarily halting the onward rush of time. The role of photography in documenting this period of loss and transformation received scant critical attention prior to the publication of Edwards' *The Camera as Historian* (2012), which concentrates upon photographic survey work at the end of the Victorian era. This chapter builds upon this groundbreaking work by integrating her findings with a more critical analysis of the religious and architectural controversies.

As its main case study, this chapter will examine the photographic work of the Rev. Thomas Perkins (1842-1907), of whom his friend the novelist Thomas Hardy wrote: 'He was a far bigger man than his position as rector of a small parish implies. On the moral side, too, his life was an exceptional example of the practice urged in the famous chapter to the Corinthians 'Charity seeketh not her own.'<sup>231</sup>



**Fig.2.1.** Unknown photographer. *Rev. Thomas Perkins.*  
Dorset County Collections.

Perkins' work is instructive because of the close correlation between his opinions on church architecture and his photographic practices. His desire for clarity and deep focus in his photographs matched his insistence on respect for the different historical stages in a building's construction: each section is to be regarded as a truthful expression of its era. By devoting this chapter to an extensive and detailed analysis of the relationship between Perkins' pastoral, photographic and

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231 Thomas Hardy, *Collected Letters*, Vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp.250-51.



published work, it is possible to demonstrate the means by which these apparently distinct activities were in fact bound together by a set of unifying, coherent principles. This not only proves the reciprocity that exists between religious belief and photographic practice, but it provides a template for approaching the activities of other clergymen-photographers discussed in the thesis, for whom there is not space to provide such detailed information.

Perkins has been chosen for several reasons. His ecclesiastical career was relatively undistinguished, making him representative of a large body of clergy whose ordained life was spent entirely in small town schools or rural parishes. However, his skill as a photographer allowed him to access opportunities that would not otherwise have been available. As a prolific contributor to the photographic press, Perkins attained a position of authority on matters of photographic artistry, technique and chemistry. Ever willing to share this knowledge with other camera users, he helped organise the Dorset Photographic Survey, regularly exhibited his own work and entered competitions both local and national. He was equally active outside the photographic community, writing books on church architecture that were illustrated with his own photographs, and using his camera as a powerful tool in support of other agendas: supplying the S.P.A.B., for example, with dossiers of photographs to provide damning evidence of misguided church restorations. A personal friend of Thomas Hardy, he assisted in the development of the region's literary tourism through his promotion of the writer's 'Wessex novels.' Perkins applied his photographic skills to a range of projects, but analysis of his underlying principles reveals the extent to which photography acted as a unifying element, providing a benchmark of 'truthfulness' against which he felt able to make moral judgments on matters of church architecture, artistic practice and social custom.

The contribution made by clergymen like Perkins remains underappreciated, if not ignored, both in the writings of architectural historians and in the literature about the changing culture of the Victorian countryside: two areas of scholarship, furthermore, that remain regrettably disconnected. Neither the classic histories of the Gothic revival - e.g Eastlake (1872), Clark (1928) and Brooks (1999) – nor the growing body of scholarly literature on the critical response led by Ruskin, Morris and the S.P.A.B., focus attention upon the clergymen who typically commissioned the

restoration work, or may indeed have led opposition to such projects.<sup>232</sup> Occasional references treat them as pawns in a game played between architects, bishops and conservation bodies, lacking significance in either knowledge or influence. This low regard conforms with the similar picture found in studies of late Victorian rural decline, as country parishes lose their congregations to the towns and cities, and the Church as a whole loses its relevance to the nation. The preservationist movements, seen in this light, are a form of futile nostalgia – a passive pastime for a weakened clergy, looking back to a happier era. As was argued in Chapter 1 in relation to the Victorian clergy's involvement in science, there is a distorted picture here that requires challenging; once again, the evidence needed to balance the picture can be found in the activities of clergymen-photographers.

This chapter uses an examination of the photographic work of Perkins and others to reassess the relationship between visual aesthetics and religious practice in the late Victorian Church of England. As Miele (2005) acknowledged, the S.P.A.B.'s opposition to restoration was driven by a 'desire to see positive aesthetic value in decay.'<sup>233</sup> While this relates back to the picturesque movement's penchant for melancholy ruins, it is also a candid acknowledgement of the veracity of time. Taken this way, the progress of time and the changes it brings, are to be welcomed rather than feared. From this, I would like to argue that efforts to make photographic records of disappearing buildings and customs should not be regarded as an panic-stricken attempt to arrest the march of time, but instead a vigorous aesthetic response to social change – borne out of reverence for the 'present moment' - for which photography's unique qualities made it especially suitable.

Drawing on Perkins' photography – as illustrated theoretically in his published writings and visually in his photographs - this chapter shows how clergy were able to

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232 Charles Eastlake, *A history of the Gothic revival* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1872), Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival. An essay in the history of taste* (London: Constable, 1928) and Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon, 1999.) There are a number of valuable studies of both religion and photography in the literature on Ruskin, such as Michael Harvey, 'Ruskin and Photography', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 7:2 (1984), pp. 25-33 and Michael Wheeler, *Ruskin's God* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), which touch upon the activities of contemporary clergy, but the significant role played by individual clergymen in art and photography is ignored.

233 Miele, *From William Morris* (2005), p.34.

use photography as an instrument for furthering religious agendas as well as navigating across social and professional boundaries. There are again five key sections, beginning with (1) an introduction that places Perkins' photography within the context of his background, career and moral outlook, followed by examinations of how he used photography (2) to support his work for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, (3) to illustrate his more general architectural writings, (4) as part of the Dorset Photographic Survey and other antiquarian projects and finally (5) to promote the 'literary tourism' inspired by the writings of his friend Thomas Hardy. The conclusion argues that despite the diverse applications that Perkins found for his photography, these were all nonetheless bound together by a set of coherent moral and religious principles.

## **2.1. Rev. Thomas Perkins: the Principles of Photography**

Thomas Perkins was born in London on 28th May 1842 to Thomas Lovell Perkins and Elizabeth Crespin North.<sup>234</sup> In the late 1850s the family moved from Teignmouth to Tiverton, where he completed his education at the famous Blundell's School. He had already taken up photography by this time, and later recalled childhood strolls along the River Exe 'with camera and home-made collodio-albumen dry plates...photographing the rugged banks.'<sup>235</sup> If his memories were accurate, the schoolboy was certainly keeping abreast of new technology; the 'collodio-albumen' process was an early form of making dry plate negatives that had been first published by French scientist J.M. Taupenot in 1855.

Perkins entered Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1861 and obtained First Class honours - ranked 20th Wrangler - with his BA in 1865. After graduating Perkins

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234 His mother's sister Jane Isabella North married Thomas Butler (1809-1907), Assistant Secretary to the British Museum, and young Thomas grew up with three cousins on the staff of the British Museum – a fact worth noting in light of his later antiquarian interests. Perkins visited her at the Butler home in 1871 where he was recorded on the night of the census. Jane Butler died on 8 January 1891. Her husband lived on until 1907 and after his death their daughter Annie Robina wrote an account of Thomas Butler's life, *Nearly a Hundred Years Ago* (1907).

235 Perkins, 'Thoughts Suggested by a Recent Holiday,' *Amateur Photographer*, Vol. XXIV, No.622, (4 September 1896), p.188.

began a twenty year career teaching mathematics, initially back at Blundells then at Durham Grammar School (1866-72) followed by Reading (1872-78).<sup>236</sup> He obtained his MA in 1868, and was ordained priest the following year. He returned to the West Country in 1878 when he was appointed Headmaster of Shaftesbury Grammar School, a post he held until 1893. As the biographical details presented in this thesis demonstrate, the correlation between clergymen holding long-term posts in educational establishments and those practicing photography indicates that such appointments were conducive to photographic pursuits. The reasons for this will be discussed later.

After over twenty years' experience as a photographer, Perkins possessed both competence and confidence, and in 1889 his paper on 'Platinotype Printing' won first prize in one of the regular competitions run by *Amateur Photographer* magazine.<sup>237</sup> Printing on platinum paper had become popular with photographers who preferred its rich tonal range, high quality matt surface and permanence. Perkins was a firm advocate of platinum and had paid for a license from the Platinotype Company that enabled him to use their papers and chemicals.

A financial commitment such as this challenges presumptions about what is understood by the term 'amateur.' Following the introduction of Kodak cameras in 1888 and the subsequent popularisation of photography under the motto 'You push the button, we do the rest,' amateur photography became increasingly associated with family snapshots. As West (2000) observes, this shift from skill to simplicity denigrated the status of the amateur photographer, so that 'by the 1880s, "amateur" had become a hotly contested word' as the former noble tradition of the gentleman amateur risked being eclipsed by masses of middle – and even working - class snapshotters.<sup>238</sup> The pictorialist movement and the tendency towards elitism among art-photographers can be seen as an attempt to emphasise photography's

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236 Arthur Fisher, *Blundell's Register 1770-1882* (Exeter: J. G. Commin, 1904) p.172, entry 2756. J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part II 1752-1900*, Vol. V (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) p.94.

237 Perkins' prize-winning essay, 'Platinotype Printing,' was published in two parts: *Amateur Photographer*, Vol. X, No. 263 (18 October 1889) p.256 and No.264 (25 October 1889) pp.275-6. For more on the background to the use of platinum, see Luis Nadeau, *History and practice of platinum printing* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Atelier Luis Nadeau, 1994.)

credentials as a serious art form and distance such practice from the vulgar artlessness of amateur usage that required little skill or reflection. As a consequence of this artificial separation, scholars have tended to overlook the work of 'serious amateur' photographers during this period. As Edwards (2012) comments, 'remarkably little' research has been undertaken into the experience of amateur photography.<sup>239</sup>

The *Amateur Photographer* magazine was founded in 1884 – one of a whole series of publications with the name 'Amateur' in the title that was launched around the same time.<sup>240</sup> In addition to offering technical instruction and artistic advice to serious amateurs who wished to improve their photography, also provided a forum for collaboration, social meetings and the exchange of ideas and equipment. A few weeks after winning his competition, Perkins sent a letter to the editor of the *Amateur Photographer* in support of Col. James Gale's article on 'The Natural in Photography.'

It is hard to see on what grounds the apostles of the "fuzzy" or "diffusion of focus" school claim to be the exponents of naturalism....I am told that the contention of the "naturalistic" school is not that one part should be sharp, the rest blurred, but that no part should be sharp, and all objects equally softened, and an effect aimed at like that produced by a pin-hole in place of the lens, or by placing a thin transparent medium between a sharp negative and the paper, and using diffused light for printing. Now this is the very effect that a view produces on me, since I am short-sighted, and to get rid of which I always wear concave glasses when I wish to enjoy fine scenery. I am not advocating hardness, which I consider a great defect in a picture, but I maintain that it is possible, as Mr Gale has so well explained, to have plenty of detail in a picture, yet so modified and subdued that it is no longer obtrusive, but harmonious, each part of the picture having its true relative value.<sup>241</sup>

Perkins' letter invoked a lengthy riposte from George Davison, a fellow Camera Club member and a photographer of growing influence; he would later be one of the founder members of the Linked Ring Brotherhood.<sup>242</sup> Davison was a staunch defender of Peter Henry Emerson, whose recent work *Naturalistic Photography for*

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238 Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000) pp.42-8.

239 Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (2012) p.41

240 West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (2000) pp.42-43.

241 *Amateur Photographer*, Vol. X No.265 Friday 1 November 1889, p.284. Mr J. Gale's 'The Natural in Photography' appeared in *Amateur Photographer*, Vol. X, No.264, 25 October 1889, pp.272-4.

*Students of the Art* had caused controversy in its attack on the then-prevalent practice of composite photography. For Emerson, naturalism in photography meant minimal manipulation, and he shared Perkins' disapproval of retouching negatives. His first photographic publication, *Life and Landscape on the Norfolk Broads* (1886), contained forty platinum prints of picturesque scenes of rural life. The figures in the landscape were real labourers and fishermen rather than paid models posing in costume. His emphasis on such an 'honest' approach to photography was intended as a deliberate opposition to the artifice, sentimentality and emotive theatricality of the work of his rival, Henry Peach Robinson.<sup>243</sup> Emerson also emphasised the need to spend time in landscape before photographing it successfully, scorning the idea of weekend trippers with cameras. In discussing photographic survey work Perkins insisted that local photographers, no matter how amateur, were more valuable than professionals from outside the area: 'The work of each particular locality should be done by some resident of the neighbourhood for he or she has far more opportunities of learning all about the district than the expert...coming from a distance.'<sup>244</sup>

There is a significant hierarchy of values being proposed here that is consistent with Perkins' beliefs on architectural restoration. The unique relationship between people and the place they inhabit, resembling the unrepeatable connection between a building and the period of its construction, bestows upon any creative work a status that transcends any question of aesthetic merit. Perkins' high regard for both the specificity of place and the specificity of time resonates closely with his

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242 Col. Gale's photographs were featured in the first issue of the *Sun Artists Journal* (October 1889), with an accompany essay by Davison. Rev. F.C. Lambert provided the essays for Nos. 4 (Lyddell Sawyer) and 6 (Benjamin Guy Wilkinson.) Each issue was dedicated to the work of a single British photographer, and illustrated with four specially hand-pulled photogravure plates.

243 Emerson and Davison clashed with each other as well as other photographers. After Davison read a paper 'Impressionism in Photography' at the Society of Arts in December 1890, Emerson published a black-bordered pamphlet *The Death of Naturalistic Photography* and renounced all the naturalistic theories he had held, adding a fierce condemnation of Davison as an inept amateur.

244 Perkins, 'Some Instruction in Photographic Survey Work', *Amateur Photographer* (17 April 1896), pp.344-5. For a detailed analysis of Emerson's view on the categories of 'travellers, tourists and trippers', see John Taylor, *A Dream of England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994) pp.94-105.

devotion to photography, for it is those two qualities that set it apart from other visual media. They also underline his democratic concern with human experience.

Emerson believed photography should represent human vision as closely as possible, and adhered to the contemporary optical theories of Hermann von Helmholtz regarding the way that the human eye focuses on the centre of the field of vision. He promoted the practice of selective or differential focus, sharply focusing one part of his image and leaving the rest more softly defined, which was achieved through shallow depth of field. Their disagreement over these minor points of optical theory might seem pedantic, and Davison's tone inexplicably aggressive given the



nature of the discussion, yet it highlights a fundamental element of Perkins' photography that needs further examination.

**Fig.2.2.** Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Puddletown Village* (1886)  
Platinum print. P8461, Dorset County Museum

Perkins' preference for sharpness and a large depth of field is evident both from his photographs and his writings. He recommended 'stopping down,' i.e. using a smaller lens aperture with longer exposure.<sup>245</sup> Many of his photographs reveals his

<sup>245</sup> By the late 1890s Perkins felt that the introduction of superior lenses manufactured by the likes of Goerz and Anschutz made drastic stopping down (e.g. to f/23 or f/16) less

skill in attaining deep focus: in his 1886 view of Puddletown Village (Fig.2.2) both objects in the foreground and the branches on bare trees on the distant skyline remain sharply delineated, while his 1889 photographs of Sherborne Abbey show stained glass designs on the other side of the church as sharp and clear as the wood carvings on the pews in the foreground. Although he and Davison had different aims, the contrast between their photographic styles was about to widen.

The priest's reference to pinhole photography was prescient; a few months later Davison caused a sensation by exhibiting *An Old Farmstead*, also known as *The Onion Field*, (Fig.2.3.) at the Photographic Society Exhibition. It had been taken with a pinhole lens and printed on rough paper, excluding the possibility of sharp focus anywhere in the picture. Despite – or perhaps because of – the lack of focus, the photograph won a medal, opening the way for a flood of similar impressionistic photographs. This went beyond anything Emerson had approved and he eventually fell out with Davison, withdrawing altogether from naturalistic photography.<sup>246</sup>

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necessary - *Handbook to Gothic Architecture* (London: Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1897) p. 12

246 On Davison, see Brian Coe, 'George Davison: Impressionist and Anarchist' in Weaver (ed.), *British Photography in the Nineteenth Century: The Fine Art Tradition* (1989) pp. 215-241. Discussions of the exhibition can be found in *Amateur Photographer* Vol. XII, (October 3, 1890), p.236, *The British Journal of Photography*, October 3 1890, p.632 (with discussion of British press criticism) and October 10, 1890, p.645. A detailed and perceptive analysis of Emerson's renunciation of 'naturalistic photography' can be found in Carl Fuldner, 'Emerson's Evolution', *Tate Papers*, No.27 (Spring 2017) <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/27/emersons-evolution>, accessed 3 January 2018.





**Fig.2.3.** George Davison, *The Onion Field* (1890)  
Royal Photographic Society Collection.

Despite their differences over depth of field, Davison was correct when he ended his letter with the admission: 'I agree with Mr Perkins upon many points: he is a sturdy naturalistic in regard to combination printing and natural figures.'<sup>247</sup> Combination printing, or composite photography, was a technique whereby a single image was created from two or more negatives, exposed onto the same print. Early landscape photographers often resorted to this technique because long exposures rendered skies completely white planes; they would therefore collect negatives of attractive skies which would then be blended in with a landscape view.<sup>248</sup> Others saw the potential for combining studies of different figures in order to create more ambitious artworks, a technique pursued most successfully by Oscar Rejlander and Henry Peach Robinson - Emerson's greatest rival, and against whom Davison was often pitted during the 1880s.<sup>249</sup> As Daniel Novak (2008) has argued, the technique allowed 'the technology of realism' to create 'what appears to be its opposite: the

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247 Letter from George Davison, *Amateur Photographer* Vol. X No.268, (22 November 1889), p.337.

248 The pioneering Scottish photographer Horatio Ross had a collection of plates showing skies and clouds which he would re-use depending on the effects desired, according to the reminiscences of his grandson in *The Field* (15 April 1926), p.623.

non-existent, the fictional, and the abstract.<sup>250</sup> It is perhaps no coincidence, therefore, that Rejlander's well-known photographic series depicting ragged street children were all staged in his studio using paid models.<sup>251</sup> Most of the 'art-photographers' favoured methods of manipulation that brought their work closer to the painterly ideals of traditional art forms, and further away from the concept of a mechanical reproduction of reality.

These 'pictorialist' techniques included retouching the negative with pencils or paintbrushes, or using the gum bichromate or bromoil processes to allow tinting or texturing of the finished print. Perkins expressed hostility to almost all such forms of artificial manipulation, even regarding coloured lantern slides as 'an abomination' because the use of colour was 'unnatural.'<sup>252</sup> In this he was not alone, and in 1890 one writer raised the question 'Is Retouching Immoral?'<sup>253</sup> Although willing to make minor changes to negatives to remove - for example - dust spots or blemishes from faulty film, Perkins emphasised: 'I am not now speaking of using this as a dodge to heighten effects, for about the legitimacy of this I have serious doubts.' Even the practise of combining skies made him uncomfortable: 'When photographing landscapes I always prefer to get the clouds present at the time of exposure shown on the print, rather than to print them in from cloud negatives, which as a rule introduce falsity into the print.'<sup>254</sup>

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249 The practice received enthusiastic approval in Robinson's *Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaroscuro for Photographers* (London: Piper and Carter, 1869.)

250 Daniel Novak, *Realism, Photography & Nineteenth Century Fiction*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) p.3.

251 Jones, *Father of Art Photography* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973) p.27, Stephanie Spencer, 'O.G. Rejlander's Photographs of Street Children', *Oxford Art Journal* Vol. VII, No.2 (1984.)

252 Rev. T. Perkins, "Photographic Work for the Winter Months. Chapter IV.", *Amateur Photographer*, XIII, No.332 (13 February 1891) p.113.

253 Alfred Paterson, 'Is Retouching Immoral?' *Photographic Quarterly* April 1890 pp.261-266

254 'Indoor Work-Improvement of Negatives', *Amateur Photographer* XIII No.330 (30 Jan 1891) pp.73-4.

Robinson was aware that combination printing was open to abuse, and he insisted that 'a photograph produced by combination printing must be deeply studied in every particular, so that no departure from the truth of nature shall be discovered by the closest scrutiny.'<sup>255</sup> In many cases the combination of negatives would be unnoticeable, but for Perkins this was not the point: the falsity is not in the visible image, but in the artifice that has crept into the process. He applied the same principle to church restoration, insisting that it was better to leave decay and blemishes than to replace them with modern imitations, no matter how aesthetically pleasing. Writing about Christchurch, he argued:

the principle that has guided the restorer has been, when any stonework has been removed, to put in its place as exact a copy of the old as possible, - a principle that cannot be approved of, as it will lead, when the newness of the modern work has been toned down by time, to confusion between the genuine old work and the modern imitation of it. It is far better, when there is no question of stability but only of appearance, to leave the old stonework, even though much decayed, as it is, unscraped, untouched by the chisel, and where strength is needed to put in frankly nineteenth-century work, which could never by any possibility be mistaken for part of the original building.<sup>256</sup>

His objection thus rests on moral – rather than aesthetic or practical – grounds, recalling Pugin's fusion of architecture and morality: 'A foolish person builds foolishly, and a wise one, sensibly; a virtuous one, beautifully; and a vicious one, basely.... And always, from the least to the greatest, as the made thing is good or bad, so is the maker of it.'<sup>257</sup> On the same grounds, falsehood in church architecture is deplorable, and Ruskin developed this theme in the second chapter of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* – 'The Lamp of Truth' - condemning dishonest architecture strategies such as suggesting that a structure is supported by some means other than the actual means of support, or painting surfaces with false textures that mislead observers as to its actual substance. He extended this argument in 'The Lamp of Memory' to attack the falsehood of modern restoration practices: 'a

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255 Robinson, *Pictorial Effect in Photography* (London: Piper & Carter, 1869) p.198.

256 *Wimborne Minster and Christchurch Priory: a short history of their foundation and the description of their buildings* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1899) p.73. Similar criticisms can be found in *The Cathedral Church of St Albans* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1903) p.44

257 John Ruskin, *Queen of the Air: a study of the Greek myths of cloud and storm* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1869) p.119

destruction accompanied by false description of the thing destroyed...The thing is a Lie from beginning to end.<sup>258</sup>

These architectural principles correlate closely with Perkin's photographic techniques, and both can be seen as expressions of a coherent moral attitude. His desire for clarity and deep focus in his photographs matches his insistence on respect for the different historical stages in a building's construction: each section is to be regarded as a truthful expression of its era. His dislike of manipulative techniques such as 'fuzzy' soft-focus and combination printing reflect his disapproval of restoration practices that blurred the boundaries between historic and modern stonework, seeking to deceive viewers into mistaking a montage of separate creations for a unified whole. By representing church buildings as truthfully as possible, Perkins' photographs do not only express his moral position but also extend his argument to a wider audience.

This again raises a significant issue – referred to earlier in this chapter - regarding the status of his photography. Members of the clerical profession must be regarded as amateur photographers by definition, yet it is evident than in many instances discussed here, their photographic work was undertaken in support of religious and pastoral projects pertaining to that professed mission. The next section examines how Perkins used both the content and the visual style of his photographs to promote a preservationist agenda in architecture.

## **2.2. The S.P.A.B. And Opposition to Church Restoration**

In 1891 Perkins married the grand-daughter of Pugin's collaborator John Britton, Ethel Alice Britton (1860–1936), the elder daughter of lawyer and writer John James Britton (1832-1913) by his first wife.<sup>259</sup> The families were already linked by marriage, as Perkins' cousin Maud Coward became Britton's second wife in April 1882, with Perkins acting as a witness. A shared interest in French architecture

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258 John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Allen, 1894) pp.353-355.

259 This was Perkins' second marriage, for according to the *Oxford University and City Herald* (24 July 1869) p.7, he married Fanny Ellen Surridge, daughter of the late Rev. James Edward Surridge (died 1866) of Greystead, Northumberland, at St Oswald's Church, Durham on 12 July 1869.

provided a further link. After the death of Ethel's mother in 1879, John James Britton lived at Vire in Normandy. As noted earlier, his father John Britton was a prolific writer on architectural subjects including the churches of Normandy, while Perkins' books included studies of the churches of Amiens and Rouen.

An insight into the domestic life of the Perkins is provided by an entry in the *Amateur Photographer* of 12 February 1892, which revealed that Thomas had instructed his wife in the art of photography. She submitted a photograph entitled 'A Bye Street in a Dorset Village' to the magazine, with an explanatory note: 'The negative from which this print is made is my first unaided attempt at photography. I have exposed a few plates on other subjects before, and developed them with my husband's help. The print, too, is my first attempt at bromide printing.' After noting the technical details – 'Taken with Wray's W.A.R. 10 in focus, f/32, 12 seconds, 3 pm, in dull light in September, on Marion's Britannia.' – the editor added a wry comment: 'We congratulate the Rev T. Perkins and his wife, the one on his powers as an instructor, the other as pupil, and certainly we shall expect to find the pupil outstripping her master, and taking the *A.P.* Gold Medal.'<sup>260</sup> Although the frequent publication of Perkins' articles indicates that he was held in high esteem by the editors of the *Amateur Photographer*, they had no qualms about criticising his photographs if these were deemed to be substandard. The priest's own submission to the magazine, a Devon seascape entitled 'Sunlight on the Sea, Sidmouth', received the brusque dismissal: 'doubtless a pretty picture on the focussing screen, but a poor and uninteresting photograph.'<sup>261</sup> By entering fully into the photographic community and taking it upon himself to offer instruction and advice, Perkins was placing his clerical status in the background and exposing himself to the same standards of criticism and judgment that were accepted by other amateur photographers. Universal respect for 'men of the cloth' could by no means be guaranteed in the 1890s.<sup>262</sup>

Only a week or so after his wedding, Perkins gave an illustrated talk at the Camera Club entitled 'Further Notes on English Church Architecture.' In this talk, given at the Club's new premises in Charing Cross Road, he praised the churches of

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260 *Amateur Photographer*, XV, No.384 (12 February 1892), p.117

261 *Amateur Photographer*, XV, No.380 (15 January 1892), p.44

early medieval – i.e. Saxon - England and lamented the ability of modern architects to construct anything of comparable beauty. Trying to imitate historical style was impossible, and for those who appreciated these old buildings there were only two options: campaigning to preserve and protect them from ignorant restoration, and use cameras to record their appearance – for ‘the restoring fiend was busily at work either knocking down buildings or scraping and patching them up into smugness more deplorable than decay.’<sup>263</sup> Given his views, it was natural that in 1893 Perkins joined the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.<sup>264</sup> His photographic skills were soon employed to further the aims of the S.P.A.B., and it is therefore necessary to provide some account of their methods and objectives.

This chapter began with a reference to the massive growth in church building undertaken by the Church of England during the 19th century, a programme that included so-called ‘restoration work’ on a momentous scale. Of the 8,000 or so churches in England, it is estimated that almost 80% underwent such improvements.<sup>265</sup> As Dellheim (1982) has pointed out, ‘What passed for, and was passed off as, restoration was in fact a species of visual transformation, a strange compound of archaeological erudition with a cavalier attitude towards the past.’<sup>266</sup> Although a minority abhorred what was taking place, organised opposition to the wave of restoration work was slow in appearing.<sup>267</sup> In April 1877, the month after publishing a forceful letter in the *Athenaeum* condemning Sir George Gilbert Scott’s

262 This topic has received surprising little attention, but see Hugh McLeod, “‘These Fellows in Black Coats’ Anti-Clericalism in Later Victorian and Edwardian England’ *University of Helsinki Theological Publication Society* Vol. 104 (1999) pp. 85-93, and – for a more general, if uneven survey of earlier decades - Eric J. Evans, ‘The Church in Danger? Anticlericalism in Nineteenth-Century England’, *European Studies Review*, Vol. 13 (1983), pp.201-23.

263 ‘Further Notes on English Church Architecture’, *Amateur Photographer*, XIII, No.336 (13 March 1891), p.180

264 List of Members, SPAB archives, Spital Square, London.

265 Chris Miele, ‘Their interest and habit: Professionalism and the Restoration of Medieval Churches, 1837–77’ in Brooks, *The Victorian Church* (1995) p.156, based on the parliamentary *Survey of Church Building and Church Restoration* (1874.)

266 Charles Dellheim, *The face of the past: the preservation of the medieval inheritance in Victorian England* (Cambridge : Cambridge U.P., 1982) p.84.

proposed restoration of Tewkesbury Abbey, William Morris and a group of like-minded friends gathered at his workshop in Bloomsbury's Queen's Square. A manifesto outlining their views on architectural restoration was drawn up, and its signatories formed the founding committee of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. The choice of the word 'Protection' was significant. Morris believed that the only justification for restoration work was to protect buildings from collapse or decay. Any work required for such preservation should be strictly functional, with no attempt to imitate historic styles or techniques.

Perkins' sympathy for the S.P.A.B.'s position was formed while taking photographs to illustrate his Camera Club talk on English Church Architecture. According to an article entitled 'Church Restoration' - first published in the monthly newspaper *Church Reformer* and then reprinted as a 24 page pamphlet by the S.P.A.B. - he had been struck by the impossibility of finding any churches in the southwest that had not been 'partially rebuilt, or extensively restored during the last forty years.'<sup>268</sup> The article argues against the irreparable damage done by such restorations on the grounds that they destroy historically accurate styles appropriate to their age, replacing them with anachronistic imitations that will confuse future generations. It was a point Perkins would make again and again in his publications on church architecture.

The pamphlet is also one of the few places where the author revealed his religious views, with his criticism of church restoration expressing a thinly disguised hostility to High Church liturgical practices. Ecclesiological restorers often include 'those who care only to make their churches suit the requirements of an extreme ritual.' In a burst of satirical scorn he describes how church restoration became an aesthetic fashion compared to a woman adorning her drawing room with peacock feathers to outdo her neighbours. Revealingly, the innovations he listed were all associated with High Church liturgical practices, such as 'a super altar with cross vases and candlesticks', raised altar steps and a surplice choir - while the features

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267 As a corrective to the SPAB's distorted depiction of the architectural profession, Miele (1995) provides ample evidence of the efforts of architects to oppose over-restoration, such as RIBA's formation in 1864 of the Committee on the Conservation of Ancient Architectural Monuments and Remains (CCAMR), the existence of which was ignored by Morris.

268 Rev. T. Perkins, *Church Restoration* (London: SPAB, 1893) p.1

that were sacrificed to accommodate these include floor 'slabs of rougher stone, worn by the feet of generations of worshippers, some recording the names of those who slept in the graves below'<sup>269</sup> The significance of this bias towards the social and communal aspects of church life will be discussed below.

Writing with even greater poetic flourish, he evokes images of the churches portrayed by Constable or Grey, now threatened by the Ecclesiologists: 'The ivy-mantled tower from which the birds flew out startled, when the clang and clash of bells broke forth to tell every wandering breeze the joy of two young hearts made one in wedlock.' It is an image that works on several levels: ivy was associated with the melancholy and decay of the picturesque, but was one of the first things to be removed by restorers because of the damage it did to stonework. Interestingly, Perkins focusses once again on the church experience of laypersons rather than clergy. In addition to the 'two young hearts' above he lists the 'smock frock of the labourer, the red cloak of the old crone, the simple attire of the village girls', distancing himself from the hieratic preoccupations of the Ecclesiologists.<sup>270</sup> Restoration practices such as raising the altar and inserting chancel screens were aimed at separating the clergy from the laity, dividing the sacred realm of the sanctuary from the area occupied by the people.

At the time of writing this, despite having been in holy orders for twenty-five years, Perkins had never actually been in charge of a parish church. This changed in 1893 when he was appointed Rector of St Mary's Church at Turnworth, a village near Blandford Forum, some fifteen miles NE of Dorchester. The building was constructed around 1500 but – with the exception of the west tower - had been almost entirely rebuilt in 1869. The firm responsible for this 'restoration' was George Crickmay of Weymouth, but most of the work was entrusted to his young assistant, Thomas Hardy, who was just beginning his career as a writer. Perkins' move to Turnworth would bring the two men together in a series of collaborative works that would involve photography, architecture and literature.

Hardy was living in Wimborne when he joined the S.P.A.B. in 1881 at the encouragement of his publisher Charles Kegan Paul, who had been vicar of

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269 *Ibid.* pp.2, 6-7.

270 *Ibid.* p.11.



Sturminster Marshall in Dorset for twelve years (1862-74) before joining the S.P.A.B. in 1879. While at Wimborne Hardy published *A Laodicean* (1881), the plot of which revolves around the architectural restoration of Stancy Castle; the themes of the novel harmonise perfectly with the aims and objectives of the S.P.A.B.<sup>271</sup> It is also worth noting that the villain of the piece, William Dare, uses faked photographs to bring about his rival's fall from favour.<sup>272</sup> Hardy helped the Society avert the destruction of Stratton church near Dorchester in 1889-90, and was also involved in interventions at West Knighton (from August 1893 to May 1894) and East Lulworth in 1897.<sup>273</sup> The Society needed the help of members in the provinces, for it was essentially a London-based club, reliant on reports and investigations. Perkins held the office of local correspondent for the area from 1895 to 1899. Although only a few papers survive, correspondence between Perkins and S.P.A.B. reveals the relationship between his photography, the S.P.A.B. and his own publications on church architecture.



**Fig.2.4** Owl carving in St Mary's Turnworth, thought to be the work of Hardy. Photograph by author.

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271 Claudius J.P. Beatty, *Thomas Hardy: Conservation Architect* (Dorchester: The Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 1995) p.7

272 'It was a portrait of Somerset; but by a device known in photography the operator, though contriving to produce what seemed to be a perfect likeness, had given it the distorted features and wild attitude of a man advanced in intoxication.' (*A Laodicean*, Book V, Chap. IV.) See also Mark Durden, 'Ritual and Deception: Photography and Thomas Hardy,' *Journal of European Studies* Vol. 117:1 (2000), pp.57-69.

273 Beatty, *Thomas Hardy: Conservation Architect* (1995) p.62

Perkins wrote to the Society on 8 December 1900, informing them he had visited 'Malmesbury with my camera a short time ago' and providing some observations about the restoration work going on. He also took the opportunity to mention the recent publication of his *Rouen: its Cathedral and Church* and was no doubt gratified when Thackeray Turner replied on 14 December with a promise to order a copy. Turner also sent him a copy of the joint report – 'somewhat of a compromise' – which had been drawn up in co-operation with the Society of Antiquaries. Perkins responded with a series of detailed comments on the report, based on his recent visit, which suggested that the restoration work had breached the S.P.A.B. principles in matters such as the addition of new stonework and the replacement of old statues with modern replicas. He offered to send the Society a set of the photographs of Malmesbury Abbey that he had taken in November to illustrate his next book. He ended his letter by writing:

*I was at Bath Abbey with my camera on Saturday, the west front is covered with scaffolding, a number of new statues have been or are being put up, and the SW turret is being rebuilt of new stone.*

Thackeray Turner replied on 21 December, gratefully accepting his offer of photographs and thanking Perkins for his description of the work going on at Malmesbury. Less happily, he added:

*With regard to Bath Abbey, it is in the hands of our old enemy Jackson, who mauled St Mary's Spire at Oxford and removed the original medieval figures. I enclose some papers about it showing what we have done and what is being done, but we fear it is a hopeless case, for we cannot ever stop the funds as there are lots of rich old ladies in Bath...*

Thackeray Turner's reference to 'our old enemy Jackson' recalled the painful episode in 1894 when Thomas Graves Jackson (1835-1924) removed twelve early 14th century statues from the University Church of St Mary the Virgin – Newman's former church and the location of Keble's 'Assize Sermon' of 1833 – as part of his restoration. This was done in the face of strong opposition from the S.P.A.B. and Morris himself, who climbed up the spire with Jackson and tried desperately to dissuade him.<sup>274</sup> Perkins' photographs of Malmesbury were shown to the committee

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274 J.W. Mackail, *Life of William Morris*. Vol. II (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899) pp.285-7. A more detailed contemporary critique of Jackson's position can be found in Wilson, 'The Church of St Mary the Virgin' *Architectural Review* Vol.4 (1898) pp.3-8, 50-53 and 109-114, while a more sympathetic treatment of the incident is in William Whyte, *Oxford Jackson: Architecture, Education, Status, and Style 1835-1924* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006) pp.74-77.

in January 1901, and they were so impressed that he printed an entire set in March which was donated to the S.P.A.B. and remains in their archives. Architect Walter Shirley (1864-1937), a member of the committee whom Turner described as 'a most useful and energetic worker in promoting the objects of the Society' was so delighted with the photographs that he asked for a personal set to be printed at his own expense.<sup>275</sup>

This letter reveals the high respect accorded to Perkins' photographs, not only for their practical value in furthering the S.P.A.B. agenda, but also for their aesthetic merit: given that the S.P.A.B. already had a set, Shirley's desire to possess his own indicates that the photographs were worth possessing in their own right. The quality of Perkins' work is no surprise, given that he had been a practising photographer for over forty years, and it was natural – particularly given the clerical role of preaching and teaching – that he would wish to disseminate his knowledge in print. Shortly after joining the S.P.A.B. in 1893 he started to write articles for *Amateur Photographer* magazine, aimed at instructing photographers in the principles of church architecture. These were eventually compiled and edited for publication in 1897 as *A Handbook of Gothic Architecture*.<sup>276</sup> He also published a further nine part course in 'Architecture as a Subject for Lantern Slides' in the *Optical Magic Lantern Journal*.<sup>277</sup> These writings provided him with the opportunity to synthesise his views on photography and church architecture, both of which were informed by his preference for simplicity and clarity. He distrusted the atmospheric gloom of

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275 Walter K Shirley (1864-1937) was an architect who had trained under Sir Basil Champneys, and the son of the Rev Arthur Shirley (1810-91), vicar of Hardy's home parish of Stinsford from 1837 until his death. Hardy was baptised here, and his heart was later buried in the churchyard. When Hardy's paper *Memories of Church Restoration* was read at the SPAB AGM in 1906, it was Shirley who gave the vote of thanks. See Timothy Hands, 'Arthur Shirley (Vicar of Stinsford, 1837-91)', *Thomas Hardy Annual No.2* (London: Macmillan, 1984) pp.171-86.

276 *Handbook to Gothic architecture, ecclesiastical and domestic, for photographers and others* (London: Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1897.) This was the same publisher responsible for the periodicals *Illustrated Photographer* and *Amateur Photographer*, launched in 1868 and 1884 respectively.

277 *Optical Magic Lantern Journal* Vol. VII, No.90 (November 1896) to Vol. VIII, No.99 (August 1897.)

pictorialism and the incense-laded mysticism of High Church ritual as much as the false innovations of restorers.

### **2.3. Bell's, Books and Candles: Architectural Writing & Photographic Illustration**

Perkins' reputation as an expert on ecclesiastical architecture led to an invitation to contribute to George Bell's series of books on cathedrals and churches, edited by Gleeson White. Contributors included leading antiquarians, architects and clergymen. Beginning with *Wimborne Minster and Christchurch Priory* (1899), Perkins wrote a total of eight guides, including monographs on *Rouen* (1900), *The Cathedral Church of Manchester* (1901), *The Abbey Churches of Bath & Malmesbury and the Church of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon* (1901), *The Cathedral Church of Amiens* (1902) *The Cathedral Church of St Albans* (1903) and *A Short Account of Romsey Abbey* (1907). He was also charged with updating and expanding Dr James Gilchrist's *English Cathedrals: an itinerary and description* which had been written for American visitors. Perkin's edition of this appeared in 1901, with a new introductory chapter on cathedral architecture. Most of the photographs used in Bell's Cathedral Guides were taken by commercial photographers, and Perkins was the only clergyman to have provided the photographs for his own books. Canon Deane's guide to *Great Malvern Priory Church* (1914) was illustrated with photographs taken by the Rev. Dr Ernest Hermitage Day (1866-1946), whose camera work can also be found in his earlier pocket books *Gothic Architecture in England* (1909) and *Renaissance Architecture in England* (1910). Perkins also provided photographs for other books in the series, such as Rev. W.D. Sweeting's *Ely Cathedral* (1901).

Several photographs of this cathedral had already been taken by the Rev. Herbert R Campion (1869-1941), who had been appointed as a Minor Canon of Ely Cathedral in 1896, four years after his ordination. Taking photographs inside the cathedral soon became a favoured pastime, as the editor of *Photograms of the Year 1899* – reproducing a fine view of a Norman Arch – remarked on how the Canon 'still devotes himself to his beloved Ely Cathedral, and gives us more and more of its

exquisite softness and delicacy of tone.'<sup>278</sup> Campion exhibited several interior views at the Royal Photographic Society in the early 1900s, such as 'Entrance to Bishop Alcock's Chapel' and 'Norman Work – A Contrast', which was exhibited in 1903 and bears a remarkable resemblance to Frederick Evans view of the same doorway, 'Ely Cathedral – A Memory of the Normans' made a few years earlier.



Fig.2.5. Two views of Ely Cathedral. **Left:** Rev. Herbert R. Campion, *Norman Work – A Contrast* (1898) **Right:** Frederick H. Evans, *Ely Cathedral: A Memory of the Normans* (1897)

What could have been an equally apt title for these photographs – 'The Beauty and Mystery of Light and Shadows' – was given by Campion to another image submitted in 1907 to the Third American Salon, but rather harshly dismissed as 'an excellent technical rendering of architecture without a trace of personal feeling' by an American photography magazine.<sup>279</sup> The cathedral of Ely had already been photographed by numerous amateurs as well as eminent practitioners such as Roger Fenton (1819-69), whose 1857 photograph frames the cathedral through foliage in a manner that recalls John Constable's 1823 painting of *Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds*.<sup>280</sup>

<sup>278</sup> *Photograms of the Year* (1899) p.52. Campion's photograph of a 14th century carved pillar in Ely was reproduced in *Photograms of the Year* (1898) p.61. Unlike Perkins, Campion had inclinations towards Anglo-Catholicism and donated three copes to the cathedral with the aim of encouraging more elaborate liturgical ritual. Nigel Ramsay and Peter Meadows (eds.), *The history of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003) p.295.

<sup>279</sup> Frank Roy Fraprie, 'The Third American Salon', *The American Amateur Photographer and Camera & Dark-Room, Vol. XIX, (January-June 1907)*, p.23

<sup>280</sup> James S. Ackermann, 'On the origins of architectural photography' in Kester Rattenbury (ed.), *This is Not Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2002) pp.26-36.

It is instructive to compare Perkin's church photography with that of Frederick H. Evans (1853-1944), who also captured Ely Cathedral on camera and shared both Perkins' liking for narrow apertures and long exposures to achieve deep focus, and his dislike of the artificial manipulation of negatives.<sup>281</sup> At the opening of Evans' first solo exhibition at the Royal Photographic Society in 1900, he stated: 'My prints are all from untouched, undodged negatives, with no treatment of the print except ordinary spotting out of technical defects'<sup>282</sup> He expanded upon this in such a way as to dismiss the pictorialists' tenet about the role of individual expression: 'Our cathedrals are rich enough in broad and subtle effects of light and shade, atmosphere, grandeur of line and mass, to be content with pure photography at its best; nothing need be added from the artist's inner consciousness to make it more impressive or beautiful.'<sup>283</sup>

While Evans and Perkins both agreed that the pictorialists did not possess a monopoly over beauty in photographs, the clergyman's images reveal a stronger inclination to restrain artistic expression for producing a more straightforward 'record' of the structure. Evans infused his images with intense personal feeling, creating richly toned platinum prints that mixed deep shadows with profound luminosity, yet without any concession to pictorial 'mysticism.' There is clarity even in the shadows, and the atmosphere of his cathedral interiors was achieved through meticulous pre-planning and camera technique.<sup>284</sup> Evans sometimes enhanced the personal aspect

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281 Evans placed his camera as far away from the subject as possible, and invariably stopped down well, usually to f/32. Perkins advised similar practices – even stopping down as far as f/64 - in his article 'Photographic Work for the Winter Months. Chapter II: Out-door work – Scientific, *Amateur Photographer* Vol. XIII No.328 (16 January 1891) p.44.

282 Beaumont Newhall, *Frederick H. Evans: photographer of the majesty, light, and space of the medieval cathedrals of England and France* (New York: Aperture, 1973) p.14

283 *Photographic Journal* 30 April 1900. Text quoted from Newhall (1973) p.239 (Opening Address p.236-41)

284 For perceptive studies of how Evans' work unites the spiritual and the physical see Anne Kelsey Hammond, 'Frederick Evans: The Spiritual Harmonies of Architecture' in Weaver (ed.), *British Photography in the Nineteenth Century: The Fine Art Tradition* (1989) pp.243-60, and Kara Fiedorek, 'Varieties of Photographic Experience: Frederick H. Evans and the Lantern Slide', *British Art Studies*, Issue 1 (November 2015.) Unsurprisingly, Evans also came to the attention of Rev. F.C. Lambert, whose article 'The Pictorial Work of Frederick H. Evans' appeared in *The Practical Photographer* No.5 (February 1904) pp.1-5.

of his photographs through the use of captions. His 1902 photograph of a recumbent figure on a tomb in York Minster's north transept is carefully composed and exquisitely lit, but his title - *In Sure and Certain Hope* – immediately bestows significance upon the figure's praying hands and the closed door, so that the image now becomes a symbol of faith in the resurrection.<sup>285</sup> Despite being ordained as a priest, none of Perkins' photographs receive Christian embellishments through the addition of captions or other signifiers. This is easily explained by the fact that most of his photographs were published within the context of survey work or as illustrations for antiquarian studies. His exhibited photographs were mostly topographical, labelled with straightforward descriptive titles rather than the sort of sentimental captions and literary epigrams with which contemporary exhibition catalogues were full. As if these activities did not provide sufficient workload on top of his pastoral duties, Perkins found yet another field suitable for photographic application during the final years of the nineteenth century – founding and promoting the work of the Dorset Photographic Survey.

#### **2.4. Perkins and the Dorset Photographic Survey**

In her comprehensive and magisterial study of the Photographic Survey movement, Elizabeth Edwards traces its origins back to a paper given to the Birmingham Photographic Society in 1885 by W. Jerome Harrison, a science teacher and keen amateur photographer. Over the next few years, his ideas were developed and discussed further, leading to the first regional surveys being set up at the end of the decade. Their objective was to use both the cameras and the local knowledge of amateur photographers to record the buildings and traditions threatened by the rapid pace of social change. These survey photographs were to be 'truthful' rather than picturesque, aimed at providing an accurate and objective documentary record rather than aiming at contrived aesthetic qualities.

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<sup>285</sup> In *Camera Work* (1903), Evans recalled the challenges he felt with this photograph: 'This subject fascinated but troubled me. I at once saw the making of a picture in it; the great somber door that might open and lead-anywhere; the fortunately placed recumbent figure with the pathos of uplifted folded hands; the lofty window above; all these were fine and right; but to make the whole cohere, speak, escaped me. But one day I saw what it must mean - to me at least. As I was studying it the sun burst across it, flooding it with radiance. There is my picture, thought I: "Hope" awaiting, an expectancy with a certitude of answer; and the title seemed defensible, if a little ambitious.'

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the impulse for such a project can actually be traced thirty years earlier to the Rev. F.A.S. Marshall's address to an assembly of Anglican Architectural and Archaeological Societies in 1855, although this does not seem to have gathered any national momentum. Harrison's paper, given jointly to the Birmingham Photographic Society and a natural history society called the Vesey Club, provided a more detailed plan for the project, covering topics such as committees and subscriptions, the subject matter to be photographed and the methods of photography, the means of recording and preserving the images, and the structuring of the archive. Harrison's call for a National Photographic Survey and Record in 1892 led to the eventual setting up of over seventy regional survey groups and the task of recording the nation's landmarks and traditions was begun.<sup>286</sup>

Such a collaborative effort was built upon existing circles of photographers, antiquarians, natural historians and local societies, and nineteenth century photography had already proved to be an extremely 'clubbable' activity. Perkins, for example, was a member of the Dorset Amateur Photographic Society, the Camera Club, the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, the Ecclesiastical Lantern Slide Club and the Royal Astronomical Society.<sup>287</sup> This indicates not only a sociable nature but also a belief in the value of collective enterprise – a sense that more could be achieved by collaboration and solidarity. Such ideals were espoused by Perkins in 1890 in 'A Plea for Systematic and Associated Work in Photography' which praised the fact that 'the results of such work will be valuable to others.'<sup>288</sup> The survey was intended for the benefit of future generations, offering a noble end for

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286 Elizabeth Edwards' *The Camera as Historian* (2012) honours the title of an earlier work by H. D. Gower, L. Stanley Jast and W. W. Topley, *The camera as historian; a handbook to photographic record work for those who use a camera and for survey or record societies* (London: Sampson Low, 1916) which was written as the survey movement peaked, 'under the black shadow of the Great War' (xi) when the author were acutely aware of the value of recording buildings before they were destroyed. In 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, Sir Benjamin Stone's founded the National Photographic Record Association with the aim of gathering the regional survey's work into a national collection.

287 He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society on 12 June 1885, and after his death an obituary was published in *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. 68 (1908) p.238. The *Liverpool Mercury* (13 October 1884, p.6) reported how Perkins had taken twelve photographs of a lunar eclipse at the Shaftesbury station of the Liverpool Astronomical Society. Membership of the Ecclesiastical Lantern Club is referred to in Perkins, *The Optical Magic Lantern Journal and Photographic Enlarger*, Vol.VII (January-December 1896) pp.8-10.



photography, free from any notions of commercial gain or artistic reputation. The Survey photographs were mounted on standardised grey cards, each marked with details of the location, map reference, orientation of viewpoint, photographer, process, date and time of day that were written onto a pre-printed label stuck to the back of the card.

Perkins' paper 'On the Desirability of a Photographic Survey of the County' began by drawing attention to the fact that 'year by year the antiquities of the country are disappearing before the march of civilisation and the hands of the so-called restorer and improver.'<sup>289</sup> Edwards suggests that the photographic survey movement can be seen as 'a battle against entropic forces, against the frailty of the human memory, against the forces of disordered modernity, and against cultural and material disappearance.'<sup>290</sup> All these elements appear in Perkins' paper. In addition to a typically excoriating attack on modern church restorers, he highlighted the demolition of traditional cottages and the intrusion of sham architecture, the loss of folk customs, traditional dress, even the effects of weathering on local geological features. Photography, he argued, was the only way to 'secure some record, accurate and permanent, of what these things were like before the touch of the destroyer came upon them.'<sup>291</sup>

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288 Rev. T. Perkins, 'A Plea for Systematic and Associated Work in Photography.' *Photographic Quarterly* (July 1890) pp.337-44.

289 Rev. T. Perkins, 'On the Desirability of a Photographic Survey of the County,' *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club* Vol. XV (1894) p.18.

290 Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (2012) p.82

291 Perkins, 'On the Desirability of a Photographic Survey of the County,' (1894) p.20. The paper was delivered at an evening meeting of The Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club in Shaftesbury Town Hall on 11th July 1893.

Parish <i>Piddescombe</i>		Section* <i>Architecture</i>		No. of 6in. Ord. Map*	
Printing process <i>Slide</i>		Date photographed	Time	Compass point <i>2</i>	
Description <i>Interior of the Church.</i>				<i>P. 7456.</i>	
Name and Address of Photographer <i>Rev. C. Dicker Piddescombe Vicarage, Dorchester.</i>					
* Leave blank. * The compass point towards which camera is pointed.					

Parish <i>Wimborne.</i>		Section* <i>Architecture.</i>		No. on 6in. Ord. Map*	
Printing Process <i>Platotype</i>		Date photographed <i>Autumn 1898</i>	Time	Compass point <i>N.</i>	
Description <i>The church of St. Mary the Virgin and the Rectory.</i>				<i>P. 11, 328 Neg.</i>	
Name and Address of Photographer <i>Rev. J. Perkins: Wimborne.</i>					
* Leave blank. * The compass point towards which camera is pointed.					

**Fig. 2.6.** Reverse of the card labels used by the Dorset Photographic Survey, showing one by Rev. Charles Dicker and another by Rev. Thomas Perkins (for the photograph reproduced in Fig.2.2). Dorset County Museum.

The crucial point to note here is that time is not the destroyer. Perkins' phrase is a clear evocation of the Biblical 'hand of the destroyer' (cf. 2 Samuel 24:16; Exodus 12:23) and just one example of the strong language that he frequently applied to modern church restorers. He was known as a generous, charitable and humane man, so it is significant that he consistently denounces church restoration in Biblical, apocalyptic imagery such as 'the restoring fiend' as well as a startling fusion of Christ's reproach of the Pharisees (John 9:41) with God's condemnation of false prophets (Jeremiah 23:40): 'If, like the vandals of the Georgian period, they had been blind to the beauties of architectural art, they would have had no sin, yet since they profess to see, therefore their sin will remain and their names will be held in perpetual reproach and everlasting contempt.'<sup>292</sup>

However, nowhere in his writing are their misdemeanours framed specifically as attacks upon the church or other sacred objects. Perkins' prime concern seems to lie with the communal rather than religious aspects of the church: the associations between people, buildings, memories, traditions, and all forms of life (including

292 Perkins, 'Further Notes on English Church Architecture', *Amateur Photographer* (March 1891), p.180 and *Wimborne Minster and Christchurch Priory* (London: George Bell, 1899) p.75.

animals) that have accumulated over the years. Sharing Morris's reverence for the individual craftsmen whose handiwork created each parish church, he describes the restorer's modern destruction as an assault on 'that of the old, instinct with life, full of the thoughts of the builders and workers in wood and stone, whose have mouldered into dust in the garth of the vanished cloisters, and whose very names have in many cases been forgotten.'<sup>293</sup>

Perkins has left little evidence of any definite theological views or religious discourse – an absence that, in itself, provides some insight into his priorities. An assessment of his other writings and activities provides plenty of evidence to identify him as a moderate: he was open to the secular world, taking an active role in numerous societies and befriending men such as Thomas Hardy who were known to hold unorthodox religious views. His antiquarian writings refrain from condemning Roman Catholicism, instead showing sympathetic tolerance and a humane understanding of medieval life. Apart from the occasional reference to 'monkish superstition' he does not mock medieval religion and describes numerous miraculous hagiographical episodes in a matter-of-fact way without any comment. Sometimes he yielded to the sort of idealisation of the middle ages that characterised Pugin's *Contrasts*:

in those days there was a love of art that has long since ceased to exist. What does the modern man on the street care for the artistic beauty of his surroundings? Little enough.... But in the Middle Ages, if men did not know as much as we know now about sanitary science, yet they liked to live in houses whose outward appearance it was a joy to look upon, and which each had an individuality of its own.<sup>294</sup>

Occasionally quasi-religious language creeps into photographic discourse. The Rev. Frederick Lambert, a contemporary of Perkins and another prolific writer on photographic subjects, published an article in 1899 on 'Mutual Help by Recording Experiments Accurately' in which he pleaded for use of notebooks to enable accurate recording of details and therefore sharing with other photographers. His language is filled with phrases emphasising the unseen – almost spiritual - bonds that united photographic fraternity 'we who compose the great brotherhood of camera workers....my brother workers...brother travellers.'<sup>295</sup>

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293 Perkins, *Wimborne Minster and Christchurch Priory* (1899) p.74.

294 Perkins, *The Churches of Rouen* (London: George Bell, 1900) p.13.

Perkins was assisted in the photographic survey work by several of his brother clergymen, most notably the Reverends Charles Dicker (1855-1912) and William Miles Barnes (1840-1916), both of whom were Vice-Presidents of the Field Club, editors of its *Proceedings*, and regarded as experts in church architecture. Charles Dicker's father – the Rev. Hamilton Dicker – was a cousin of eminent Gothic Revival architect George Frederick Bodley (1827-1907) an early member of the Cambridge Camden Society who had worked with William Morris, the Pre-Raphaelites and Sir George Gilbert Scott (to whom he was related by marriage).<sup>296</sup> Dicker was also a skilled artist and craftsman, contributing to the Dorset Arts & Crafts Exhibitions as well as carving the oak altar rail in Charminster Church and an oak reredos in Pydeltrenthide. Contrary to Perkins' recommendations, Dicker used the Velox Process, a form of contact printing that had been acquired by Kodak in 1899. The negative was placed on top of a sheet of Kodax Velox developing paper and clamped inside a special printing frame before being exposed to bright light for a few seconds. The paper was coated in gelatin emulsion containing silver chloride, so the image was developed on the emulsion rather than – as with the platinum process – in the paper itself. Gelatin gave the prints a tendency to curl, was more prone to fading and deterioration, and the glossy reflective surface was deemed less appealing than the rich matte tones of platinum.

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295 Rev. F.C. Lambert, 'Mutual Help by Recording Experiments Accurately', *International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin and American Process Yearbook*, Vol. XI, (1899) pp.77-78.

296 On Bodley, see Michael Hall, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014)



**Fig.**  
 William  
 Regis, *In the meadows – showing the church.* (1900)  
 Platinum print, P.690. Dorset County Museum

**2.7.** Rev.  
 Barnes, *Bere*

Rev. William Miles Barnes, in contrast, seems to have used only the platinum process and in 1899 he donated over 100 platinotypes to the Survey.<sup>297</sup> His father was the famed Dorset poet and schoolmaster, William Barnes (1801-86), whose Dorchester schoolhouse was adjacent to the premises of Crickmay's architect firm where Hardy had been employed. The older Barnes' appreciation of Dorset folk customs and his use of local dialect were influences on Hardy, who also contributed to two of Barnes' poetry compilations.<sup>298</sup> His son obtained a degree from St Johns College Cambridge in 1863 and was Rector of Winterbourne Monkton for 42 years. The younger Barnes was a member of the S.P.A.B. and, as well as possessing a profound knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture and campanology – subjects on which he frequently contributed papers to the *Proceedings* – he was also a talented musician and chorister. After Perkins launched the Photographic Survey, Barnes supervised its administration until failing sight forced him to give up photography in the 1900s.

Barnes' place was taken by other clergymen, and the Rev. Reginald D. St. George Edwards eventually took over as director of the Survey, heading a committee that included four other Anglican priests. During Perkins' lifetime, clergy contributors

<sup>297</sup> Editorial news, *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, Vol. XX (1899), xxxii.

<sup>298</sup> Jan Jędrzewski, *Thomas Hardy and the church* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996) p.176.

included the Reverends John Ridley of Pulham Rectory, Dorchester, Samuel Filleul of All Saints, Dorchester, and William Robert Maurice Waugh (1818-1905), Pastor of the Congregational Church on the Isle of Portland from 1879 to 1892. Waugh was elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1888, three years after Perkins. Among the surviving photographs taken by the Rev. Ridley are a study of an elderly labourer, Mr White, who lived for 50 years in the manor house at Clopham, and a photograph of a bittern that had been shot by a farmer in the parish. The two pictures mark contrasting aspects of parish life: the sudden death of a bird of passage, and the accumulated years of stability.

Perkins remained a strong advocate for the Survey, both in Dorset and further afield, offering 'Some Instruction in Photographic Survey Work' for the readers of the national photographic press.<sup>299</sup> The Dorset County Museum holds over 200 of his photographs, taken in parishes all over the county – no mean achievement, given his bulky camera equipment and the limited travel network in 19th century Dorset. Perkins was both innovative and versatile in his means of getting about. He had a specially adapted tricycle on which to transport his photographic apparatus, but also hitched rides on coaches, took the train where possible, and even journeyed around the county on a gipsy caravan which conveniently doubled as a portable darkroom.<sup>300</sup> The extent of these photographic travels endowed Perkins with a profound knowledge of Dorset topography, architecture, literature and lore equalled by few others in the county; his work in recording and publishing images of Dorset's landscapes, characters and customs could be seen, arguably, as a visual parallel to the literary work achieved by Thomas Hardy during the same period. The friendship between the two men, and the interaction between Perkins' photography and Hardy's writing, is the subject of the remaining part of this chapter.

## **2.5. Friendship with Thomas Hardy**

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<sup>299</sup> Perkins, 'Some Instruction in Photographic Survey Work', *Amateur Photographer* Vol. XXIII, No.602 (17 April 1896) pp.344-345, was illustrated with four of Perkins' photographs.

<sup>300</sup> Perkins, 'A Photographic Tour in a Gipsy Van', *Optical Magic Lantern Journal*, Vol. IX, No.114 (November 1898) pp.164-166.

Perkins did not appear to have met Hardy until after he moved to St Mary's, and the novelist's hostility towards Christianity might have discouraged further contact - he once remarked that Perkins was 'a pretty decent man in spite of being a parson'<sup>301</sup> - had they not shared other interests such as animal welfare: in an 1898 letter to Florence Henniker, Hardy noted approvingly that 'Mr Perkins and Mr Trist came one day. They've started an anti-vivisection van.'<sup>302</sup> This was also a concern shared by Laurence Warburton Pike, a vegetarian who had campaigned for more humane treatment of horses during the Boer War. Perkins must have met and photographed him, for Hardy possessed Perkins' portrait of Pike and offered it to Clement Shorter for an obituary.<sup>303</sup> He recommended Perkins to Harold Hodge, editor of the *Saturday Review*, who sought a reviewer for Sir Frederick Treves' *Highways and Byways in Dorset*: 'If, either for that book, or any other, you should require the services of a man who knows Dorset well, the Revd T. Perkins, MA, of Turnworth Rectory, Blandford, Dorset, would, I think, be found suitable. He has both written, & illustrated with his own photographs, some volumes of Bell's Cathedral series, & other works of that kind.'<sup>304</sup>

It was Perkins who introduced Hermann Lea (1869-1952) to Hardy, bringing him over to Max Gate for tea sometime in 1898. The son of an English missionary and a German mother, Lea had moved to Athelhampton at the age of eighteen to work on Wood Homer's farm, a short distance from Hardy's ancestors' home at Puddletown. Lea took up photography and joined the Dorset Photographic Club, where Perkins was secretary. The two men became friends and travelled around

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301 Unpublished MS notes of Lea, reproduced in J. Stevens Cox (ed.), *Thomas Hardy through the Camera's Eye* (Beaminster: Toucan Press, 1964) p.21.

302 Hardy to Henniker, 30 August 1898. This was the gipsy van referred to above (see note 76.) Sidney Trist was editor of the *Animals' Guardian*, the publication of the London Anti-Vivisection Society. *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy* p.199. Hardy later recalled their visit in a letter to Trist on 18 May 1910, referring to 'Mr Perkins, whose loss I much regretted.' *Collected Letters*, Vol. IV (1982), p.90.

303 Letter to Clement Shorter, 5 August 1900, *Collected Letters*, Vol. II, p.265. The obituary was printed in *The Sphere*, 15 September 1900.

304 Hardy to Hodge, 28 August 1906, *Collected Letters*, Vol. III (1982), p.223

Dorset together photographing the landscape that was already becoming associated with the fictitious 'Wessex' of Hardy's novels.

Perkins was obviously familiar with Hardy's work prior to moving to Turnworth, for in his 1893 Dorset Field Club paper he praised the photographic quality of Hardy's prose before adding: 'I should also like to see photographs in permanent platinum salts of such men and women as Gabriel Oak with his sheep on the Downs, Tranter Dewy with his hogshead of cider, Old William with his bass-viol, pretty fickle Anne Garland at the mill, noble John Loveday in all his bravery, Old "Sir" John with his maudlin boasts about his lead-coffined ancestry at Bere Regis, and poor pure Tess among the cows on the dairy farm, or hacking swedes on the bleak hills of central Dorset.'<sup>305</sup> While well aware that these characters were fictitious, Perkins recognised that many of the places were thinly-veiled pictures of real locations: Turnworth House, for example, appears in *The Woodlanders* (1887) as Hintock House, home of Felice Charmond. In April 1900 Perkins sent Hardy some photographs, and appears to have asked about the locations in *The Return of the Native* (1878), eliciting the reply:

*Dear Mr Perkins,*

*My sincere thanks for the photographs, which interest me, & are excellent. That you may be less puzzled as to localities I send a copy of the last edn of the R. of N. [Return of the Native], - in which are some corrections & a preface - which please do not trouble to return.*

*Although "Blooms End" embodies vague recollections of Bhompston Farm House it was not intended to be an exact description; & the position was a little shifted, if I remember. I do not know if Bhompston has white palings now towards the heath as it had been formerly - if not the chief feature of my description wd be gone. "The Quiet Woman" too is much changed from what it was when a public-house, & quite open to the heath. I write in haste.  
Yrs sincerely,*

*T. Hardy*

*P.S. On looking into the book I find that "Alderworth" - the fictitious name of Clym's cottage - is a cottage I once drove near to, but shd have some trouble in finding now. It is in the parish of Affpuddle - on Affpuddle Heath I think - but some couple of miles from the village & church of Affpuddle - called "East Egdon" - But all these particulars are "a vain shadow" - not worth preserving!*

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305 Perkins, 'On the Desirability of a Photographic Survey of the County,' (1894) p.20



Perkins did not regard such matters as a vain shadow; on the contrary, he was anxious to preserve memories of place-names and lost buildings, for the same motives that impelled his work for both the S.P.A.B. and the Dorset Photographic Survey. This integrating of social, religious and architectural elements permeates all of Perkins' activities, suggesting a strong affinity with Hardy's outlook. In 'Memories of Church Restoration', Hardy remarked: 'The protection of an ancient edifice against renewal in fresh materials is, in fact, even more of a social – I may say a humane – duty than an aesthetic one. It is the preservation of memories, history, fellowship, fraternities.'<sup>307</sup> Hardy's attachment to church buildings stemmed primarily from the value he gave to human associations, rather than any particular religious purpose.<sup>308</sup> The composition of Perkins' photograph below makes it impossible to view the architecture of his own church in isolation from his own home and the woman and young boy who occupy the foreground.

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306 Hardy, *Collected Letters*, Vol. II (1980) p.245-255

307 Hardy's paper 'Memories of Church Restoration' was read out at a SPAB meeting in the author's absence by Col. Eustace Balfour, but was reprinted in *Cornhill Magazine* (August 1906) pp.184-96.

308 Jędrzewski, *Thomas Hardy and the Church* (1996) pp.60-61, 67



**Fig.2.8.** Rev. Thomas Perkins. *Church of St Mary the Virgin, and Rectory, Turnworth.* (ca.1893-9) Platinum print. P11328, Dorset County Museum

Perkins, somewhat surprisingly for a clergyman, showed no interest in privileging religious values over social ones. When proposing the Photographic Survey, he lamented the changes taking place in rural Dorset:

Next we see old-world habits and customs passing away, the smock frock of the rustic giving place to the shoddy jacket or the fashionable broadcloth. Village life is changing, the maypole is now seldom seen, the fairs are shorn of their ancient glory, the harvest home has given way to the thanksgiving service, and, perhaps, many evils die with these old things, and the changes are changes in many cases for the better ; but yet I, for one, cannot see them disappear without regret.<sup>309</sup>

It is remarkable to find an ordained Anglican clergyman expressing public regret at the loss of pagan (albeit sanitized and sentimentalized) rituals such as the maypole, or the replacement of Christian terms such as 'thanksgiving service' for the older 'harvest home.'<sup>310</sup> In a 1901 article on 'Thomas Hardy's Country', illustrated with eight of his own photographs, Perkins acknowledged the factual basis of Hardy's

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309 Perkins, *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club XV* (1894) p.20

310 Brooks, *The Victorian Church* (1995) p.69, provides some similar references.

accounts of witchcraft in Dorset, and almost implied that – like the frock smock and bass viol – the loss of such lore would be a cause for regret.<sup>311</sup> The article reiterated the same themes Perkins covered in his paper launching the Dorset Photographic Survey, especially when he praised Hardy for preserving ‘much that is interesting and unique in Dorset’ from going ‘down unsung, untold, into eternal silence.’<sup>312</sup> By merging the aims of the Photographic Survey with the narratives of Hardy’s novels, Perkins brought the two into close alignment with his own photography.

Of all the novels, Perkins acknowledged that *Jude the Obscure* had claim to be regarded as perhaps the finest of Hardy’s work, while admitting that the ‘failure of the hero’s life and aspirations makes the book a painful one.’<sup>313</sup> The novel also contains some strong condemnations of cruelty to animals, an issue in which Perkins took a close interest. *Jude* was Hardy’s last novel, and his decision to devote himself exclusively to poems and short stories thereafter is sometimes blamed on the negative criticism aroused by the book’s bleakness. Criticism was not that strong, however, and the myth that the novel was publicly burned by the Bishop How has been effectively dismissed as a mixture of fabrication and careless scholarship.<sup>314</sup> Other clergymen were uneasy about Hardy’s work nonetheless. The Rev. Donald Macleod cautioned Hardy against including ‘anything - direct or indirect - which a healthy *Parson* like myself would not care to read to his bairns at the fireside’ before agreeing to published ‘The Trumpet-Major’ in the journal *Good Words*, of which he was editor.<sup>315</sup> The Church of England’s newspaper *The Guardian* called *Jude the Obscure* ‘a shameful nightmare, which one only wishes to forget as quickly and as completely as possible.’<sup>316</sup>

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311 *Practical Junior Photographer*, Vol.II, No.17 (December 1901) pp.129-30. It is interesting that this was aimed not at a literary or antiquarian audience, but at young photographers.

312 *ibid.*, p.125

313 *ibid.*, p.126-7

314 Francis O’Gorman, ‘Thomas Hardy and the Bishop of Wakefield’, *Notes and Queries* 61:1 (January 21, 2014) pp.86-89

315 Letter of Macleod to Hardy, 20 June 1879.

Although Perkins clearly did not share this hostility, he recommended that readers new to Hardy should start with *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), *The Return of the Native* (1878) and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1892). These three felt particularly familiar to him as they are the novels set in the closest proximity to Turnworth parish. He described cycling around the novels' locations, 'carrying on my tricycle my camera and the novel dealing with the spots visited' as 'a labour of love.'<sup>317</sup> Many of these photographs were later donated to the Dorset Photographic Survey, which was compiling a record of the county that was inextricably entangled with the imaginary Wessex of Hardy's writings.<sup>318</sup> It is revealing that Perkins even used the term 'Wessex' in place of Dorset when referring to photographic business that had nothing to do with Hardy.<sup>319</sup> As Simon Trezise (2000) has shown, 19th century use of the old name 'Wessex' was actually growing before Hardy re-introduced it in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, with William Barnes an influential promoter of its dialect and identity.<sup>320</sup>

The transformation of Wessex into 'Hardy's Wessex' was a complex and gradual process. Unlike Scott's use of real Scottish locations and place-names in his Waverley novels, Hardy renamed recognisable locations, creating a 'parallel world' by overlaying the physical reality of the region with the fictitious topography of the novels. As the idea assumed increasing importance for his work, Hardy amended later editions of his earlier novels, inserting more topographic references into the text.<sup>321</sup> W.J. Keith (1969) has argued that Hardy was responding to a growing

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316 *The Guardian*, (13 November 1895) p.1770. This *Guardian* ran from 1846 to 1951 and should not be confused with the *Manchester Guardian*.

317 'Thomas Hardy's Country', *Practical Junior Photographer*, Vol.II, No.17 (December 1901) p.126.

318 Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (2012) p.203

319 'Our local district – Wessex – amateur photographic association decided to offer two prizes...' in Perkins, 'Popular Taste in Photography,' *Amateur Photographer*, Vol.XXIV, No.619, 14 August 1896 p.127

320 Simon Trezise, *The West Country as a Literary Invention* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000) pp.142-3.

321 Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp.184-6.

number of 'literary tourists' who were coming to Dorset seeking to identify sites associated with the novels – a development that began just as Perkins moved to Turnworth.<sup>322</sup> Hardy's fictitious place-names were rarely total inventions, and often incorporated older or alternate forms. For example, the 'Kingsbere' of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* is actually Bere Regis, with the eponymous family based on the real Turbeville family of Bere Regis. A pivotal scene in Chapter 52 features Tess's visit to the Turbeville tomb in St John the Baptist Church. This church was photographed by both Perkins and Dicker, although the latter concentrated on a close-up shot of the 'Head of a Norman King' that adorned a pillar.<sup>323</sup>

Perkins' photograph of the Turbeville Tomb was later deposited with the Dorset Photographic Survey, but his article on 'Thomas Hardy's Country' featured other locations associated with *Tess*, such as Cross-in-Hand and Wellbridge Manor.<sup>324</sup> There was, of course, a risk involved with identifying and publicising such places, and Perkins' conclusion suggests that he distinguished between literary pilgrims and less cultured visitors to Dorset: 'We do not wish our Wessex to be overrun by ordinary tourists...but the lovers of Mr Hardy's books who come with their cameras to obtain photographs of the spots which he has clothed with the halo of romance, will be heartily welcomed here.'<sup>325</sup> His phrase 'halo of romance' provides yet another instance of Perkins' application of religious language to a secular topic of which at least some of his fellow clergymen disapproved. Clearly he felt no compunction in supporting the commercial exploitation of Hardy's popularity, for the next step in his promotion of the region's literary tourism was to make plans – with Lea and Hardy – for a new edition of the Wessex novels that would be illustrated with photographs. Perkins had already toyed with this idea, for an 1899 article in the *Optical Magic Lantern Journal* revealed how he had created a set of around ten

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322 W.J. Keith, 'Thomas Hardy and the Literary Pilgrims' *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 24:1 (June 1969) pp. 80–92. For a broader overview of the topic, see Simon Gattrell, *Thomas Hardy's vision of Wessex* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.)

323 Both photographs (Dickers P779, Perkins P 781) are in the Photographic Collections of the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester.

324 Perkins, 'Thomas Hardy's Country,' (1901) p.128.

325 *Ibid*, p.130.

photographic illustrations for his own copy of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. These pictures included the Turbeville tomb and Wellbridge Manor photographs mentioned above, views of locations such as Bindon Abbey and Stonehenge ('the camera having been placed on the altar stone on which the poor weary girl was sleeping when she was surrounded by the police'), as well as a portrait of 'Tess in her holiday dress of white, with peeled willow wand and bunch of white flowers' (fig.2.9.) which was reproduced in *Photograms of the Year 1897*. The images were made into platinum prints which he then tipped into the book at the appropriate places.<sup>326</sup> Perkins' homemade illustrated editions attracted the attention of his friends, who offered him 'ample remuneration' to provide more sets of photographs.



**Fig.2.9.** Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Tess*. (1897)  
*Photograms of the Year 1897* (London: Dawbarn & Ward, 1897) p.50.

The success of Perkins' little entrepreneurial venture indicated the potential market that existed for photographs linking West Country locations to Hardy's stories. Others soon followed, beginning in November 1901 with Clive Holland's article in *The Bookman* and continuing with Wilkinson Sherrin's *The Wessex of Romance* (1902)

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326 Perkins, 'On Book Illustration by Photography', *Optical Magic Lantern Journal* Vol.X, No.123 (August 1899), pp.100-101. The 'Tess' portrait was reproduced in *Photograms of the Year 1897* p.50.

and Charles Harper's *The Hardy Country* (1904).<sup>327</sup> Perkins and Lea abandoned their project, however, and an official photographically-illustrated set of Hardy editions would not be published until after Perkins' death.<sup>328</sup> In the meantime the photographs were printed by George Bryan and Co. of Oxford as a set of six picture postcards.<sup>329</sup> On 30 January 1904 Hardy wrote to Bryan: 'You may depend on Mr Perkins for accuracy in each scene, as I know him very well.'<sup>330</sup> A few days later, he advised Bryan to 'get the names from Mr Perkins, who remembers them somewhat more clearly than I do. I have no objection to your making the title of the cards "The Wessex novels series".'<sup>331</sup> Hardy's letter to Lea on 1 March 1904 revealed sound aesthetic sense, derived from his architectural training as well as his artistic skills as a writer:

*The view of Henchard's house which you propose to take will, I fear, make a prosaic picture, being a flat front elevation; unless you cd do it aslant from some upper window on the other side of the street. Otherwise, will it not be better to substitute some scene elsewhere...I merely suggest this, but as I have no practical connection with the matter I leave it to Mr Perkins & yourself to settle.*<sup>332</sup>

Two days later in a letter to George Bryan he added, after expressing his satisfaction with draft copies of the post cards: 'I may just mention to you, what I have already said to Mr Perkins, that all I stipulate is that each picture shall be pleasing & romantic in itself, & that no views shall be used, however truthful in fact, which is bald & prosaic as a picture.'<sup>333</sup> The photographs used were actually taken by Lea rather than Perkins, with the clergyman overseeing the production of the postcards, which sold at 6d (2½ pence) per set. They proved highly popular and rival sets soon

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327 Watson, *The Literary Tourist* (2006) p.195

328 Published by Macmillan in 24 volumes between 1912 and 1931, the 'Wessex Edition' was meant to be the definitive issue of Hardy's collected works. Each volume carried a sepia photographic frontispiece.

329 Martin Seymour Smith, *Hardy* (London: Bloomsbury, 1994), p.602

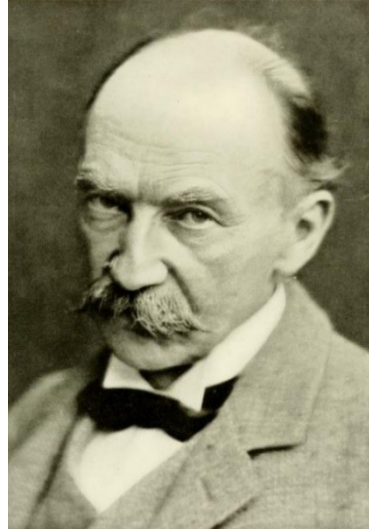
330 Hardy, *Collected Letters*, Vol. III (1982), p.101

331 *Ibid*, p.103

332 *ibid*, p.109

333 Hardy to Bryan, 5 March 1904, *ibid.*, p.110.

followed from other publishers.<sup>334</sup> Perkins and Lea did not limit their photography to landscapes; two portraits of Hardy – one taken by each photographer - were used to illustrate William Archer's interview with the writer in the April 1901 issue of *Pall Mall Magazine*.<sup>335</sup>



**Fig.2.10.** Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Thomas Hardy* (ca.1900)

Insights into Perkins' portrait photography are provided by an article he wrote for *Amateur Photographer* in 1896, wherein he revealed that he charged for the work so as not to undercut professional photographers unfairly. 'I make a nice little sum of money during the year, which I devote to some necessary repairs and desirable improvements in the church or the parish, or hand over to those who are engaged in fulfilling some objective in which I take an interest, such as the protection of animals from the ill-treatment to which unfortunately they are too often subjected.'<sup>336</sup> Careful consideration of a remark such as this allows for a reassessment of the ambiguous position of the clergyman-photographer on the spectrum between amateur and professional. Although he explicitly distanced his financial transactions from those of commercial photographers, it is significant that not only could he make 'a nice little

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334 Gregory Stevens Cox, 'The Hardy Industry' in Margaret Drabble (ed.), *The Genius of Thomas Hardy* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), pp.171-2.

335 *Pall Mall* (April 1901), p.527-537. Lea's portrait is on the first page, Perkins' on the last. Hardy referred to the two portraits in a letter to William Archer on 10 February 1901.

336 Perkins, 'Portraiture without a Studio,' *Amateur Photographer*, Vol. XXIV (20 November 1896) pp.414-5.



sum' but also that this was typically used for '*necessary* repairs' [my italics] i.e. essential work that was integral to his clerical profession.

According to *Crockfords*, the living at St Mary's in 1898 was worth £127 per annum. Over sixty years earlier, Bishop Kaye of Lincoln had claimed that £200 was the absolute minimum on which a clergyman might live.<sup>337</sup> The parish income was low due to the small size of Turnworth's population (less than 150 in 1898), and tithe rates were also affected by the agricultural slump that began in the late 1870s. Despite this, clergy had their income taxed by a complex system that unfairly penalised the less wealthy incumbents, often removing between a quarter and a third of their incomes. Pressing parishioners for tithes or land rents could sour relations within a small community, where there was also little chance of raising extra finances. Dwindling rural populations meant vacant tenancies and even less in the way of fees for duties such as weddings and funerals. Furthermore, as a consequence of the expectation that Protestant clergy would marry and raise families, young clergymen often entered into 'imprudent marriages' and found themselves struggling to feed their dependents.<sup>338</sup> From a financial perspective, Perkins was perhaps fortunate in this regard, as he had no children from either of his marriages. However, the fact that his parochial income would have barely covered his needs demands that his prolific photographic activities – and those of other clergymen-photographers in similar circumstances - need to be assessed in a new light.

Even if a clergyman's income was less than that of many an office clerk, he was still expected to live and behave as a gentleman, which excluded – at the risk of no little social stigma – the undertaking of commercial work to help meet the cost of supporting himself and discharging his parochial duties. As was noted previously, the rapid growth of commercial photographic studios in the 1850s coincided with the emergence of a burgeoning 'middle-class,' so that – in the eyes of first generation of gentleman-practitioners – photography lost its character as an 'art-science' and was

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337 Haig, *Victorian Clergy* (1984), p.304, Knight, *The nineteenth-century Church and English society* (1995), p.132.

338 Canon Hinds Howell, reported in *Chronicles of the Convocation at Canterbury* (1891) p.282. Quoted by Haig (1984), p.305.

demoted to the level of a trade. It would have been regarded as demeaning for clergymen such as Perkins, Lambert or Blake to be seen as practising a lowly commercial trade, and yet there is little doubt that they succeeded in supplementing their incomes considerably through the sale and exhibition of their work, and their ubiquitous appearances in print during the three decades from 1880 to 1910. A consideration of their published writings from this perspective suggests that their emphasis on photography's claims to be taken seriously as a fine art was not motivated solely by aesthetic concerns. Perkins and his clerical colleagues sought to confer a special status on their work, distancing it on the one hand from the Scylla of the amateur snapshotter whose photographs were of no aesthetic value, and on the other hand from the Charybdis of the trade photographer, whose commercial motivations were incompatible with the spiritual orientation and social position of a clergyman.

This argument provides the context for Perkins work as an S.P.A.B. agent, for which he could claim legitimate expenses. Since 1901 Hardy had been a member of the Restoration Committee for Fordington St George Church, but he resigned in a letter to Rev Sidney Boulter on 1 February 1903, due to misgivings about the work being done by Dorchester architect Jem Feacey.<sup>339</sup> When rumours of Feacey's plans reached the S.P.A.B. earlier in January, they asked Perkins to investigate. He wrote to Turner on 31 January 1903, telling him what he could remember about the church from an earlier visit and stating his intention to travel to the church and also to write to Hardy who lived nearby.<sup>340</sup> Perkins' visit led to two things – a detailed report, accompanied by photos, and the resignation of Hardy from the restoration committee.<sup>341</sup> Although the S.P.A.B. records claim that Perkins was no longer a local

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339 Hardy, *Collected Letters*, Vol. III (1982), p.50

340 Beatty (1995) p.29

341 A letter from Perkins to Turner on 7 February 1903 is reproduced in Beatty (1995) p.30. In his report, Perkins stated that Hardy had withdrawn from the restoration committee because he did not wish to appear to be sanctioning work of which he strongly disapproved – see Hardy's *Collected Letters*, Vol. III (1982), p.51. Hardy express his views on the restoration work in a letter to Thackeray Turner on 11 November 1906, *Collected Letters*, Vol. III (1982) p.235-6. He donated one guinea to the restoration fund in January 1906, 'To go towards the cost of replacing the present North aisle arches by stone Gothic ones.'

correspondent after 1899, Perkins' letter to them suggests he was still working in an official capacity:

*I may perhaps just mention that my 3rd class railway fare was 5/8 in addition to which incidental out of pocket expenses came to 1/6 more. I did all as cheaply as possible, walking to Blandford, six miles from Turnworth.<sup>342</sup>*

A letter the following January provides further information on Perkins' methods of travelling around the county:

*The weather and roads have been so bad I have not been able to ride my cycle for weeks, so that I have not been to Piddletown yet, but as there is a carriers van that runs within two miles of us & goes through Piddletown on Saturdays, I will go there this week, though it means starting at 7.30 am and getting back at 8.30 pm. However I have friends I can go to see within reach.<sup>343</sup>*

Despite the extent of all these activities, he had not severed his connection with Bells, who issued a second edition of his *Itinerary of the English Cathedrals* in 1905. Perkins subsequently began on what would be his last book for Bell's, a study of *Romsey Abbey* illustrated with some thirty of his own photographs taken over a twenty year period, and containing further strong criticism of modern restoration work. This was his only book on a medieval convent, and in commenting upon documented cases of immoral behaviour he wrote: 'the life of discipline within "narrowing nunnery walls" is not always able to quell human passion, especially when pressure had been brought to bear by friends and relations upon women scarcely more than children, to induce them to take the veil.'<sup>344</sup> Significantly, he assigns the coercive role to that of family members rather than clerics, distancing himself from the preoccupation of Protestant polemicists with prurient priests, walled-up nuns, secret prison cells and infant cemeteries. In his quiet way, Perkins continued to promote a more sympathetic understanding of the medieval Church, always placing religious life within its wider social context.

*Romsey Abbey's* title page is dated 'Turnworth, March 1907' and must have been completed shortly before his death, which occurred on 21 March. He was still at work editing *Memorials of Old Dorset*, which was completed by the Rev. Herbert

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342 Beatty (1995) p.30

343 Letter from Perkins to Thackeray Turner, 7 January 1904. Text given in Beatty (1995) p.43

344 Rev. T. Perkins, *Romsey Abbey* (London: George Bell, 1907) pp.68-9.

Pentin, Vicar of Milton Abbey and published later that year.<sup>345</sup> Perkins had contributed four chapters (on 'Historic Dorset', 'Dorset Churches', 'Wimborne', and 'Shaftesbury') plus seventeen photographs. His profoundly expressive portrait of Hardy that had appeared in *Pall Mall* was reproduced as a high quality full page plate. Hardy provided both a testimony to his late friend and a photograph for a tribute printed in *The Sphere* on 13 April 1907.<sup>346</sup> Other notices of Perkins' death appeared in publications of the various societies of which he was a member, and his loss was regarded as of such significance as to warrant an obituary in *The Times* the following week.<sup>347</sup>

## Conclusion

The camera's potential for capturing a fleeting, historical moment and making it permanent continues to stimulate much reflection on the nature of photography's relationship with time, as indicated by the essays collected in Green (2006) and Baetens (2010).<sup>348</sup> The camera, as it were, freezes a single instant and preserves it for others to see, including those who are separated from the moment by both distance and time. There is a strong affinity between Perkins' use of photography and Barthes' view that the purpose of the photographic image is 'not to restore what has been abolished (by time, by distance) but to attest that what I see has indeed existed'<sup>349</sup> Perkins explicitly rejected the notion of restoring the past, particularly in regard to Gothic architecture, and although he regretted the loss of Dorset customs,

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345 Rev. Thomas Perkins and Rev. Herbert Pentin (eds.), *Memorials of Old Dorset* (London: Bemrose & Sons, 1907) was part of the 'Memorials of the Counties of England' series. Hermann Lea contributed the final chapter on 'Dorset Superstitions.'

346 See Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy's Public Voice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001) pp.267-8. The photograph was printed on the front page of the magazine.

347 *The Times* (28 March 1907), p.7.

348 David Green (ed.) *Stillness and Time: Photography and the Moving Image* (Brighton: Photoforum/ Photoworks, 2006) and Jan Baetens (ed.) *Time and Photography* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010)

349 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, Ch.35 (London: Vintage Books, 2000) p.82.

dialect and landmarks, he believed that the best response was to capture these fading moments photographically rather than use artificial means of preservation. His work evinces an acceptance of Time's 'mellowing hands' that is both docile – a feature of the clergyman's Christian humility – in its submission to the power of nature, and bold in its opposition to the prevailing practices of clergy and architects.<sup>350</sup> He once asked Thackeray Turner: 'I should be glad to hear the Society's opinion on this general point. Suppose the wind blew down a pinnacle from a tower and it was shattered in its fall beyond repair – should a new one be put up? My own answer would be "no."<sup>351</sup>

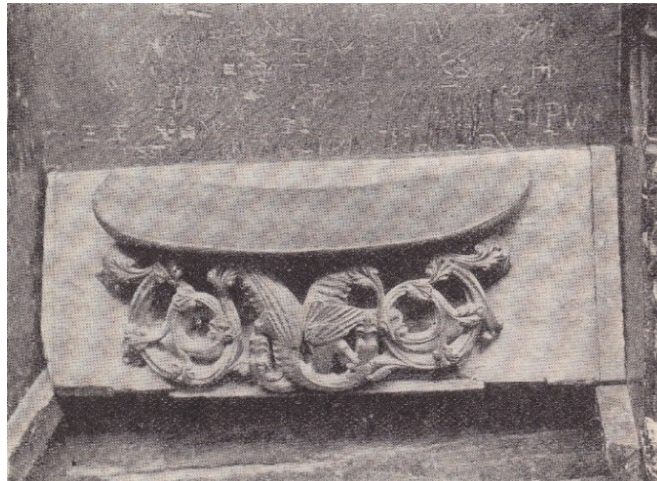
Complex temporalities are central to Perkins' photography, for most of his work engaged with concerns about the relentless flow of time and the consequences of progress. His work for both Hardy and the county survey was presented explicitly as an attempt to preserve disappearing landmarks and customs, while his architectural writings recognise that an unrestored church is an authentic historical record of a unique moment in time: one that, however imperfect, needed to be defended against the threat of defacement at the hands of ecclesiological restorers. The homogenous restoration of medieval buildings represented a refusal to accept that the past had indeed passed. Furthermore, it disregarded the individuality of the work carried out by long-dead stonemasons and craftsmen. Ever-appreciative of the human and social context in which art is created, Perkins insisted that 'The nineteenth-century carver cannot possibly produce work similar to that of the carver who lived in the twelfth century – the conditions of his life are altogether different, his training bears no resemblance to that of the old artist, his work is a forgery and a most clumsy one too.'<sup>352</sup> His preference for the truthfulness of historical damage and human imperfections – against the falsehood of deceptive restoration work and photographic retouching – is superbly represented in his photograph of a carved wooden misericord in Christchurch Priory, dated to around 1300.

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350 Perkins, *Bath* (1901) p.9

351 Perkins to Turner, 7 January 1903, quoted in Beatty (1995) p.29

352 Rev. T. Perkins, *Wimborne and Christchurch* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1899) p.73.



**Fig.2.11.** Rev. Thomas Perkins, *Misericord in Christchurch Priory*.  
Perkins, *Wimborne and Christchurch* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1899)

The centre of the photograph features the ornate wood carving of intertwined leaves, grotesque animal heads and other devices from nature. However, rather than crop the photograph, Perkins deliberately showed the rest of the panel on which layers of initials, dates and abstract symbols have been scratched by the unknown hands of generations of churchgoers. Vulgar and illicit though their actions may have been, the inclusion of this graffiti in Perkins' photograph embodies the 'democratic' sympathy that characterises so much of his work. This chapter has demonstrated how Perkins and others used photographic processes in the service of a set of coherent moral and religious principles. In the next chapter, we will examine the religious dimension of the process itself.

### Chapter 3:

## Portraits, Piety and ‘Pencils of Light’:

### *Evangelical Clergy and Photography at the Time of ‘the Disruption’*

In Hardy’s novel *A Laodicean* (1881), discussed in the previous chapter, Charlotte de Stancy struggles over the implications of a photographic portrait because it seemed ‘so improbable to her that God’s sun should bear false witness.’<sup>353</sup> The concept of such fakery being unknown to her, she seeks advice at the studio of ‘an obscure photographic artist’ whose name is - significantly - ‘Mr Ray.’<sup>354</sup> The idea that the photographic image was the work of ‘God’s sun’ had been a commonplace of photographic discourse long before the publication of Hardy’s novel, and in this chapter I argue that the relationship between this language and the apophatic theology of Scottish Presbyterian ministers stimulated the development of photographic projects within the Free Church and other evangelical movements from the 1840s onwards. With the exception of Schwartz (2000), few modern writers on photography have attended to the religious context in which the diminished human agency of the photographic process was aligned with Calvinist emphasis on divine agency, and I present evidence for this link by drawing on evangelical discourse about light and darkness, tracing the development of the idea through discussion of the sensory appeal of magic lantern shows to the fascination with spirit photography at the end of the century.<sup>355</sup> By doing so, this chapter makes a forceful case for reconsidering the religious context in which early photographic discourse and practice was rooted.

353 Book V, Chapter XIII. Dare’s doctoring of Somerset’s portrait is in revenge for the latter’s showing a photo of Dare to the police after a suspected break-in. (Book II, Chapter V.)

354 The photographic press in 1886 reported on a discussion that had taken place in an American law court: “‘Can the sun lie? Perhaps we may say that though the sun does not lie, the liar may use the sun as a tool. Let us, then, beware of that liar who lies in the name of the sun.’ Anon, ‘The Photograph as False Witness,’ *Albany Law Journal*, Vol.34 (4 December 1886) pp.457-8.

355 Joan M. Schwartz, “‘Records of Simple Truth and Precision’: Photography, Archives, and the Illusion of Control,’ *Archivaria* 50, (Fall 2000) pp.26-7.

The phrase 'pencils of light' (1843) used by Free Church author and editor Hugh Miller was recalled when Talbot issued the first fascicle of *The Pencil of Nature* in June 1844. In the autumn, Talbot undertook a photographic tour of Scotland, publishing his calotypes the following summer as *Sun Pictures in Scotland*.<sup>356</sup> An explanatory note on the fly leaf stated: 'The plates of the present work are impressed by the agency of Light alone, without any aid whatever from the artist's pencil.' Lady Elizabeth Eastlake's musings in 1857 about 'works of light', 'pictures of Light' and 'how far the sun may be considered an artist,' or Oliver Wendell Holmes' 1863 essay 'Doings of the Sunbeam' are only a few examples by influential writers.<sup>357</sup> Numerous other instances can be found in the photographic press, in adverts and cartoons.

George Shadbolt wrote of 'pencil of rays' in 1853.<sup>358</sup> 'The sun was the artist, the camera the vehicle, and the silver plate the canvas,' declared George Robert Berry of the Liverpool Photographic Society in 1856.<sup>359</sup> Samuel Highley, assistant editor of the *BJP*, developed the theme further: 'Nature here depicts herself with her own pencil, ere long from her own palette, and in this resides one of its great values, for truthfulness is insured, and our studies are delineated with a faithful and unbiased

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356 On Talbot's photobook, see Elizabeth Knazook, 'A Picturesque Photographic Tour through Scotland', *Librarian and Staff Publications. Paper 6* (2009) pp.127-59. Graham Smith, 'H. Fox Talbot's "Scotch Views" for Sun Pictures in Scotland' in Patrizio Di Bello, C. Wilson & S. Zamir (eds.), *The Photobook from Talbot to Ruscha* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2012) pp. 17-34, and Stephen Monteiro, 'Inventing Scotland: Photography, Landscape, and National Identity,' in C. Crăciun and D.M. Bostenaru (eds.) *Planning and Designing Sustainable and Resilient Landscapes* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014) pp.45-59.

357 Elizabeth Eastlake, 'Photography,' *The London Quarterly Review*, No. 101, (April 1857), pp.442-468. O.W. Holmes, 'Doings of the Sunbeam', *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 12, No. 69, (July, 1863) pp.1-15, and 'The Stereograph and the Stereoscope', *The Atlantic Monthly* (1859) in which he writes of 'a pencil of fire' on p.748. Michael Harvey, 'Ruskin and Photography', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol.7:2 (1984) p.27 claims that in later life Ruskin began referring to photographs as 'sun stains.'

358 George Shadbolt, 'On the Production of Enlarged Positive Copies from Negatives of inferior Dimensions,' *Journal of the Photographic Society of London*, (21 December 1853), p.146.

359 G.R. Berry, 'On Photography, Retrospective and Prospective', *Liverpool Photographic Journal*, (8 March 1856) p.34.



hand.<sup>360</sup> Marcus Root argued that the agency was more strictly the sun, not light – as the image was derived from actinism rather than luminosity – and sought (unrealistically, he admitted) to have the word photography replaced by ‘heliography’, photograph by ‘sun-paper’, while Rev. William Barnes (father of the clergyman-photographer Rev. William Miles Barnes) campaigned for its replacement by ‘sun print.’<sup>361</sup> American temperance author T.S. Arthur referred to photography as ‘sunbeam art.’<sup>362</sup> In his paper on Talbot’s photography, William Friese-Greene ended with a poem that included the line ‘portraits drawn by beams of light.’<sup>363</sup> The prevalence of such language has not escaped the notice of scholars such as Jennifer Green-Lewis (1996), Geoffrey Batchen (1999) – who discusses it with regard to the relationship between ‘nature and culture’ - and Melissa Miles (2008), who analyses its use of gendered metaphor.<sup>364</sup> Its religious significance, however, has been entirely neglected. Failure to understand this dimension of Victorian photography during an era when religion pervaded almost every area of life can only result in a perception that is stunted, distorted and inadequate.

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360 ‘The Application of photography to the magic lantern, educationally considered.’ *Journal of the Society of the Arts* 9: 530 (16 January 1863) p.141. Later serialised in the *BJP*

361 M.A. Root, *The Camera and the Pencil or the Heliographic Art* (New York: Appleton, 1864), xviii. Rev. William Barnes, *Early England and the Saxon-English: With Some Notes on the Father-stock of the Saxon-English* (London: J.R. Smith, 1869) p.111

362 T. S. Arthur writing in *Godey's Magazine Lady's Book* (1849) quoted in Root, *The Camera and the Pencil* (1864) p.5.

363 William Friese-Greene, ‘Fox Talbot: His Early Experiments’, *The Convention Papers*, supplement to *Photography* 1.36 (1889), quoted by Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1996) p.44.

364 Melissa Miles, ‘Sun-pictures and shadow-play: Untangling the web of gendered metaphors in Lady Elizabeth Eastlake’s “Photography”’, *Word & Image*, 24:1 (2000) pp. 42-50. Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: Conception of Photography* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999.)



**Fig.3.1.** George Madeley, lithographed title page for *The Daguerreotype: a comic song, showing Louis Daguerre as 'sun artist.'* Bill Douglas Cinema Museum, University of Exeter. EXEBD 50381

This chapter aims at addressing this oversight, using as the basis for discussion photographs taken of (and sometimes by) clergymen of the Free Church of Scotland, an Evangelical denomination that dramatically split off from the established Church of Scotland at the 1843 'Disruption.' Despite the Free Church theological alignment being strongly Calvinist - implying an attitude towards the visual arts that was deeply distrustful if not outright iconoclastic – plans were made for the Disruption to be commemorated by a vast painting of collective portraits. To facilitate this task, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson made over 1400 photographic portraits of individual ministers using Talbot's calotype process. Initially conceived as a means to an end, these salt print photographs ended up receiving far higher critical acclaim than was accorded to the completed painting. Drawing on traditional modes of portraiture as well as representational techniques associated with iconography, this series of images resembles a pantheon of Evangelical saints. This chapter will argue that the appeal to Evangelical clergymen of such a daring form of visual representation stemmed from an affinity between the language of 'sun pictures' and 'pencils of light' and the theological imperative to downplay the role of human agency in the creation of the images.

Why is this important?<sup>365</sup> Firstly, in all the literature written about Hill and Adamson's calotypes, there is hardly a word about the religious dimension of the imagery.<sup>366</sup> Conversely, the key texts of the Free Church literature on the Disruption – a substantial body of hagiographical writing that includes works such as Wylie's *The Disruption Worthies: a memorial of 1843* (1881) and Brown's *Annals of the Disruption* (1884) – contain no reference to the calotypes.<sup>367</sup> What follows is an attempt to connect these two currents by presenting a fuller exploration of the theological elements of Victorian photographic culture has been allowed to develop due to historians failing to appreciate the theological concerns of its practitioners and participants.



**Fig.3.2.** D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson, *Begg, Guthrie* [Rev. James Begg, Hugh Miller, Rev. Thomas Guthrie]

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365 As Arnstein, Bright, Petersen & Temperley argued in 'Recent Studies in Victorian Religion', *Victorian Studies* 33:1 (1989) pp.150-153, modern historians have tended to show little interest in ecclesiastical history and theological concerns, resulting in a curiously unbalanced analysis of Victorian culture

366 There are brief references in Sara Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) pp.32-33, 42.

367 Rev. James A. Wylie, *The Disruption Worthies: a memorial of 1843* (Edinburgh: T.C. Jack, 1881) and Rev. Thomas Brown, *Annals of the Disruption* (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1884.)

As the selection of 'God's sun picture' quotes above amply illustrate, photographic rhetoric in the second half of the nineteenth century fully acknowledged the diminished role of human agency in operating a camera, without any need to fill that gap with reference to the mechanised technology associated with modern innovations.<sup>368</sup> On the contrary, it links photography with God's revelation in nature, drawing on the language of 'natural magic' and divinity. It has become commonplace to associate photographic objectivity with the automated process of the industrial revolution, or – like Daston & Galison (2007) – with mid-century developments in scientific practice, but the analysis presented in this chapter points in another direction: for many clergymen-photographers, Evangelical writers and their readers, the 'impersonal' nature of photography created a forum in which certain religious principles had more potential to operate. According to the Calvinist doctrines espoused by Free Church Evangelicals, human nature was totally corrupted by sin: in man's fallen nature, not only human will was vitiated, but also the senses and reason.<sup>369</sup> On this basis, all the actions of fallen man are infected by sin, and any accomplishments – including, most obviously, the visual arts – will be prone to distortion by self-interest and concupiscence in both their creation and reception. The photographic process, on the other hand, could be presented as an unmediated transmission of reality that was made possible by natural channels that bypassed sinful humanity. The Rev. Alexander Keith, for example, equated photography with the vision of the Biblical prophets, aligning his own images with truths revealed directly by God.

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368 Elizabeth Anne McCauley claims on the first page of *Industrial Madness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) that 'Photography, like the flâneur, the railroad, the *roman feuilleton*, and the ready-made frockcoat, was above all "modern."' p.1. For similar, contemporary, alignment of photography with modernism see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990) and Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine* (London: British Film Institute, 1994.)

369 Calvin, *Institutes* 2.2.4 and 2.2.12.

This is a bold claim that demands serious attention, and this chapter will present the case for a theological aesthetic of Victorian photography, arguing that the ideas of Keith and other Evangelicals belong to a wider contextual framework that has not received the critical scrutiny it deserves. Notable exceptions include important essays by Hankins & Silverman (1995) and Plunkett (2013), which emphasise the significance of natural theology for debates about stereoscopic vision, and Nickel (2002), which examines how Brewster and Talbot used the language of alchemy and magic in their photographic discourse and is one of the very few modern published texts to cite nineteenth-century beliefs about photographic images – both daguerreotypes and calotypes - being the work of God.<sup>370</sup>

The unique properties of the calotype process are highly significant here for two reasons. First of all, the deep chiaroscuro tones of the images conform closely with the rhetoric of light and darkness that dominated the Disruption ‘mythology.’ Secondly, the distinctive rough textures created by the fibrous paper surface provided a mottled, irregular effect that is quite unlike the much-vaunted precision of the daguerreotype. The resulting image, with its dark atmospheric shadows and blurred outlines, has little in common with the modern concepts of ‘realism’ that Cray and others would have bound to contemporary technocracy.



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370 T.L. Hankins and R.J. Silverman, *Instruments and the Imagination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), John Plunkett “‘Feeling Seeing’”: Touch, Vision and the Stereoscope,’ *History of Photography*, 37:4 (November 2013), pp.389–96, and Douglas Nickel, ‘Talbot’s natural magic,’ *History of Photography*, Vol. 26:2, (Summer 2002) pp.132-140.



**Fig.3.3.** D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson, *Dr Lee*.

Calotype negative. 21.40 x 16.20 cm, showing (**right**) the positive image  
Scottish National Portrait Gallery  
PGP HA 1303

Building on the premise that the application of photography fitted into a pre-existing framework of ideas and images about the mediation of divine light, this chapter begins by providing a critical assessment of the relationship between the visual arts and Calvinist theology of the Free Church,

before a second section examines the contribution made by Sir David Brewster - an elder of the Free Church and friend of Talbot's, he played a key role in the early development of photography in Scotland. The third section discusses the work of three clergymen-photographers - Revs. Alexander Keith, Calder Macphail and D.T.K. Drummond - whose calotype portraits were taken by Hill and Adamson, demonstrating the links between their theological viewpoints and photographic activities. After a fourth section exploring the implications of this theology in relation to the magic lantern, section five discusses the preaching of the Spurgeons. The chapter ends with section six, focusing upon the most extreme form of photographic 'magic' - the spirit photographs taken of, and by, Archdeacon Thomas Colley. Taken together, the material presented here makes a compelling case for rethinking the nineteenth-century context of photography.

### **3.1. Art of Darkness: Calvinism and Visual Culture**

To understand the context in which these calotype portraits were created, it is necessary to explain the background to 'the Disruption'. The Reformation in Scotland followed a different course to that south of the border, where modified forms of episcopacy and other elements of medieval Catholicism had been retained.

Following the dictates of John Calvin in Geneva, John Knox and his fellow Reformers engaged in a root-and-branch re-ordering of the Church in Scotland, replacing episcopacy with a system of courts or presbyteries, reducing the number of sacraments from seven to two, sweeping away festivals, holy days, the use of Latin, polyphony and instrumental music, and introducing an austere style of worship that focussed almost entirely upon preaching – often in sermons of an hour or two – accompanied only by the congregational singing of psalms. Knox's personality and actions have made him a divisive figure in Scottish culture, although recent studies such as Dawson (2015) have succeeded in presenting a more balanced picture.<sup>371</sup>

Attempts in 1637 to replace Knox's *Book of Discipline* with a new *Book of Canons* led to the drawing up of a 'National Covenant' (1638) in protest. Copies of the document were passed around the country and its signatories – the 'Covenanters' – committed themselves to defending the purity of the Reformed Church. During the following decades of violent unrest and civil war, the Covenanters allied themselves with the English Parliamentarians through the 'Solemn League and Covenant' (1643). After the Restoration of King Charles II, the Covenanters were ruthlessly persecuted during a period known as 'the Killing Time' because of the savagery shown by the royalist troops. Those who died because of their allegiance to the Covenant were referred to as 'saints' and 'martyrs', and were revered by the Evangelicals of the 18<sup>th</sup> and nineteenth centuries. It was this quasi-sacred tradition that inspired Evangelicals during the run-up to the Disruption. In order to reassess the significance of photography for the protagonists of the Disruption, it is essential to appreciate how their conduct - and what one might term the performative aspects of the Disruption - were informed by these visual and literary depictions of the past.

The dispute of 1843 was once again over spiritual independence but centred upon the matter of patronage – the right of landowners to appoint ministers to churches on their property, irrespective of the wishes of parishioners. A series of test cases between 1833 and 1842 – a period known as the Ten Years' Conflict –

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<sup>371</sup> Jane Dawson, *John Knox* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015.) For opposing sides of the argument about the deleterious effect of Calvinism on the arts and Scotland, see Edwin Muir, *Scott and Scotland* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1936) and Donald Macleod, 'Scottish Calvinism: a dark repressive force?' *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 19:2 (2001), pp. 226-256.

convinced the Evangelical party that the Church of Scotland had become a 'degraded establishment', no longer able or willing to uphold its spiritual integrity. When the Evangelical party decided that secession was their only option, a meeting was arranged in the autumn of 1842 to make preparations for the General Assembly the following May. This autumn Convocation of 1842 opened with a sermon from Thomas Chalmers, who – in the words of Rev. Robert Buchanan – 'cheered the perplexed fathers and brethren by announcing as his text, "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness" [Psalm cxii. 4.] Every man looked at his neighbour, and exchanged the silent but strong expression of conscious comfort and encouragement, which the very utterance of these words, at such a moment, called forth.' The sermon proceeded to make subtle distinctions between different types of darkness, the intellectual and moral states involved, and their effect upon the 'untroubled eye.'<sup>372</sup> Their resolve strengthened by Chalmers' preaching, the Evangelical party begin making preparation for a secession that would take place on the occasion of the following year's General Assembly.

On Sunday 18 May 1843, after reading out a lengthy protest to the Assembly gathered in St Andrew's Church in Edinburgh, the outgoing Moderator picked up his hat and walked to the door, followed by Thomas Chalmers. One by one, the protesting ministers left their seats and filed out of the church where a growing column began to assemble in George Street. Linking arms, they walked in procession, four abreast, down the hill through crowd-lined streets to the disused Tanfield hall. Here, at the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (as it was later called), Chalmers was elected as the first Moderator. Once again, he chose a psalm as the text for his sermon, and once again the dichotomy of darkness and light was featured, but this time a remarkable occurrence of nature made the moment truly iconic:

A heavy thundercloud had for some time darkened the heavens, and as the eye ranged at that particular moment over the dense mass of human beings who covered the immense area of the low-roofed hall, individual forms had almost ceased to be distinguishable through the sombre shade. The psalm which Dr. Chalmers had chosen was the XLIII. He began at that touching and beautiful line – "O send thy light forth and thy truth" and as the words sounded through the hall, the sun, escaping from behind his cloudy covering, and

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<sup>372</sup> Robert Buchanan, *Ten Years Conflict*, (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1854) Vol.II, pp.537-9



darting through the windows which pierced the roof, his brilliant beams turned on the instant the preceding darkness into day. It was one of those incidents which only superstition could misunderstand, - but which, at the same time, is entitled to its own place among those traits of the picturesque which belonged to the scenes we are describing.<sup>373</sup>

In his personification of the sun's actions, the Free Church minister who recorded this event was recalling the photographic rhetoric examined at the beginning of this chapter. As will be discussed below, Hill and Adamson's calotype portraits of Chalmers would pick up on the light motif and carry it to an extreme, almost into the realms of abstract art.

In total, 474 ministers left the Church of Scotland, sacrificing their stipends, churches and manses for the sake of principle. Although many of these ministers went on to have successful careers in the newly-formed Free Church, a large proportion – along with their loyal congregations – had to endure a time of severe privation, financial hardship and persecution. The idea of suffering borne for the sake of higher principles encouraged the Disruption Fathers to be regarded as spiritual heroes and martyrs, assuming a place within Scottish Protestant culture akin to that of saints in the Catholic Church.<sup>374</sup> What sort of men were these ministers? The Disruption took place over the principle of spiritual sovereignty of the Church, and those who adhered to this cause were Evangelical, generally conservative in their theology, firmly committed to Scripture. The Disruption was strongly aligned to two preceding historical events, the Scottish Reformation (1560) and the Signing of the National Covenants (1638 and 1643) – in both language and iconography, the Free Church made this identification explicit, which would be confirmed by Hill and Adamson's portrait.

The theology of the first generation of Free Church ministers was firmly rooted in the Calvinist doctrines of the Westminster Confession (1646). Calvin's austere approach to religion placed supreme emphasis on preaching the Word of God;

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373 Buchanan, *Ten Years Conflict*, (1854) Vol.II, p.603.

374 On the importance of martyrdom imagery in defining the identity of the Free Church, see Stewart J Brown, 'Martyrdom in Early Victorian Scotland: Disruption Fathers and the Making of the Free Church' in D. Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Studies in Church History*, 30 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 319-32.

churches were stripped of all decoration, and the only permitted music was the unaccompanied singing of psalms. His intransigence has led to a widespread and long-standing impression that 'Calvinism' is to be equated with hostility to the arts.<sup>375</sup> Although it is certainly the case that Calvin opposed the use of art within worship, he did allow that there was a place for secular art, and the ending of church patronage of the arts might have actually stimulated artistic growth in other areas of society. By pushing art further into the secular world, it could be argued that Calvin's stance encouraged artistically-minded Presbyterians to be more open to the idea of applying themselves to visual arts such as photography. This is a complex and nuanced topic that requires further research: as Gay (2013) admits, 'We are still waiting for a serious theological exploration of Calvinist aesthetics in relation to Scottish history and culture'.<sup>376</sup> Calvin may have allowed the representation of sensible images – such as trees and landscapes – for the pleasure of the eyes, but such concessions appear to be made begrudgingly.<sup>377</sup> Calvin's unshakeable belief in the depraved tendencies of sinful humanity instilled among his followers a deep distrust of any interest in images, while his view that 'Man's nature is a perpetual factory of idols' underlies the attitude of Free Church ministers such as eminent theologian William Cunningham, the first Principal of New College: 'the tendency to introduce images... into religious services, is one of the most strongly marked features in the character of fallen and depraved man.'<sup>378</sup>

As Dominic Janes has demonstrated in his *Victorian Reformation* (2009), Evangelical hostility towards religious imagery at this time was also largely driven by the growing interest in liturgy and ritual fostered by the Oxford Movement and the

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375 See Edwin Muir's poems 'Scotland 1941' in *The Narrow Place* (London: Faber, 1943) and 'The Incarnate One', in *One Foot in Eden* (London: Faber, 1956), or Iain Crichton Smith, *A Life* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1983) p.11 and *Murdo: The Life and Works* (ed. Stewart Conn (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001) p. 227.

376 Doug Gay, *Honey from the Lion: Christianity and the Ethics of Nationalism* (London: SCM Press, 2013) p.46.

377 John Calvin, *Institutions*.1.11.12

378 Calvin, *Institutions*, 1.11.8. William Cunningham, *Historical Theology* Vol.1 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1864) p.383.

Ecclesiologists.<sup>379</sup> Crucifixes, statues and religious paintings were scorned as idolatry in public lectures, sermons and polemical writings that condemned ‘the absurdity of endeavouring to express spiritual things, and the most glorious mysteries, by painted wood and stone. What Image, fashioned by art and man’s device, can even pretend to represent to us any one of the infinite perfections of the everliving God?’<sup>380</sup> This last phrase suggests that an image would be more acceptable in the context of a religious application if it was *not* ‘fashioned by art and man’s device’ – a *via negativa* so to speak - and just such a process was about to be introduced in time to commemorate the Disruption.<sup>381</sup>

Among the onlookers that day was the artist David Octavius Hill (1802-70), whose wife’s brother, Rev. Robert Macdonald had ‘come out’ for the Free Church. Deeply impressed, Hill determined to commemorate the scene on canvas with a vast group portrait. When he heard this, David Brewster suggested he use photography to help paint the individual portraits. According to Hugh Miller, he initially considered using the daguerreotype process.<sup>382</sup> Brewster showed Hill a print made with the calotype process and introduced him to one of his protégés from St Andrews, Robert Adamson (1821-48). It is perhaps important at this point to acknowledge the centrality of Brewster in almost all the activities and discourse about photography and theology during this period, for the figure of Brewster embodies the fusion of theological iconography and technical process found in the Free Church calotype portraits. As Robert Crawford (2011) observes, ‘Brewster’s explorations of photography were bound up with his religious apprehension of light.’<sup>383</sup>

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379 Dominic Janes, *Victorian Reformation: The Fight Over Idolatry in the Church of England 1840-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

380 Rev. A.S. Thelwall, *The Idolatry of the Church of Rome* (London: Protestant Association, 1844) p.444.

381 The Via Negativa, or Apophatic Way, is a mystical tradition that insists God is completely beyond human comprehension and language, and can only be discussed in terms of what he is *not*. One of the few writers to connect photography to this tradition is Jean Baudrillard, in his essay ‘La Photographie ou l’Écriture de la lumière: Littéralité de l’image’, in: *L’Échange Impossible* (Paris: Galilee, 1999) pp.175-184.

382 Hugh Miller, ‘The Two Prints’, *The Witness* (24 June 1843) p.3.

### 3.2. Sir David Brewster and Photography's 'Dim, Religious Light'

Like his three brothers, the Revs. James, George and Patrick, he had trained for the Presbyterian ministry and obtained his license to preach in 1804.<sup>384</sup> His first sermon was preached in the prestigious Edinburgh church of St Cuthbert's, but a form of nervous condition related to public speaking prevented him from continuing as a parish minister, although he maintained a close and lifelong interest in ecclesiastical affairs that was surpassed only by his passion for science. Later renowned for inventing the kaleidoscope and the stereoscope, he had been a precocious talent – constructing a telescope at the age of ten, attending Edinburgh University aged twelve, contributing to the *Edinburgh Magazine* while still in his teens and being appointed its editor at the age of twenty-one. Unlike many of his contemporaries in the field of science, he had neither private wealth nor an academic post, and needed to support himself through writing and editing. During his lifetime he published over one thousand articles and research papers, covering physics, optics, theories of light and vision, the physiology of sight, natural philosophy, photography, as well as literature, theology, archaeology and current affairs. These appeared in scientific journals as well as popular magazines and religious periodicals such as the *North British Review*, which was closely linked to the Free Church. A friend and correspondent of Talbot's from the early 1830s, Brewster was involved in photography from the outset and – as Nickel (2002) and Robert Crawford (2011) have pointed out – Talbot's language when discussing photography sometimes reveal the influence of Brewster's writings. In thirteen essays presented in epistolary form, Brewster's *Letters on Natural Magic* (1832) addressed a series of natural

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383 Crawford, *The Beginning and End of the World: St. Andrews, Scandal, and the Birth of Photography* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2011) p.133. On Brewster more generally, see Alison Morrison-Low, *Martyr of Science* (1981) and 'David Brewster and Photography', *Review of Scottish Culture* Vol.4 (1988) pp.63-73.

384 Maria Gordon (nee Brewster), *The Home Life of Sir David Brewster* (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1870) pp.31-2. Although Rev. James Brewster, (1777-1847) minister at Craig, Ferryden, joined the Free Church at the Disruption, his two younger brothers George (1784-1855), minister at Scoonie, Fife, and Patrick (1788-1859), minister at Paisley Abbey church, remained in the established Church of Scotland.

wonders of the visual world such as magic lanterns, brocken spectres, optical illusions, the human eye and the Fata Morgana. Echoes of these writings, such as the phrase 'natural magic,' recur in Talbot's descriptions of his early photographic experiments.<sup>385</sup>

Brewster was instrumental in disseminating details of Talbot's discoveries into Scotland, both in the public sphere and on a personal level. After alerting Edinburgh publisher Robert Chambers to the importance of Talbot's work, an account appeared in the March 1839 issue of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* that quotes Talbot on 'the art of fixing a shadow...natural magic.' Brewster gave public lectures in St Andrews on Talbot's photogenic drawing in late 1840, and in the spring of 1841 he began experimenting with the calotype process with friends from the Literary and Philosophical Society which he had founded in 1838. These friends included local surgeon and lecturer Dr John Adamson and Brewster's neighbour Major Hugh Lyon Playfair. Brewster had a camera built for himself in 1840.<sup>386</sup>

Through these activities, all centred around Brewster, St Andrews developed its reputation as 'the headquarters of photography' – despite the fact that it was a parochial backwater, a university town comprising only three principal streets that were frequently covered in grass. Brewster wrote to Talbot on 9 May 1843, informing him of Robert Adamson's imminent departure for Edinburgh to work as a professional photographer, but also adding: 'You will scarcely believe how little the art is known in Scotland. Here it is so general that several of our Students in Theology and Philosophy are practising it for their amusement.'<sup>387</sup>

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385 Brewster's *Letters on Natural Magic addressed to Sir Walter Scott, Bart* (London: John Murray, 1832) was published as a response to Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (London: John Murray, 1830) Nickel, (2002) pp.135-8, Crawford, *The Beginning and End of the World* (2011) p.14.

386 See Morrison-Low, 'Brewster, Talbot and the Adamsons: the arrival of photography in St Andrews', in *History of Photography* 25:2 (2001) pp.135-6.

387 Brewster to Talbot, 9 May 1843. Letter 4819 in online correspondence <http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk>

It is significant to note, therefore, that in the very earliest period of photographic activity in Scotland, divinity students – predominantly those training for religious ministry – were being singled out for particular attention.

Robert Adamson moved to Edinburgh a week before the Disruption, having been ‘well-drilled in the new art by his brother,’ John.<sup>388</sup> He rented Rock House on the slopes of Calton Hill where the south-facing garden guaranteed plenty of light, and - although Hill would not move into Rock House until the following spring - the two partners were already working in the studio together by the end of May 1843.<sup>389</sup> Here they began taking photographic portraits of the Free Church ministers between sittings of the first General Assembly of the Free Church, which ran until the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June. Lithographed invitations were sent out to the ministers, offering proposed dates for a sitting. This work continued throughout the summer, and together they took over 1,000 portraits of Free Church ministers, both group and individual. The photographic images were a joint work between the two men, with Hill providing the artistic direction while Adamson attended to the technical matters. Hill’s painterly skills are apparent in, for example, the method of lighting the subject from above that recalled the *contre-jour* technique utilised by Henry Raeburn fifty years before. The nuanced play of light and darkness emphasised the burning fervour and strong character of the sitters.

Hill and Adamson’s use of dramatic lights effects is perhaps most apparent in their portraits of Chalmers and his circle, which represent a unique fusion of religious iconography and the innate qualities of the calotype process. A group portrait of Chalmers and his family at Merchiston Castle was taken in direct sunlight so bright that the figures have partially lost their definition; half of the minister’s face is thrown into deep shadow while the other side, along with his mane of hair, is dissolved into pure luminescence. As Sara Stevenson noted, this was an audacious use of the camera: ‘Knowing the difficulties involved, Hill, far from adapting to them, has exaggerated the problem by pushing the coarse character of the process close to

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388 Brewster to Talbot, 15 August 1842, Letter 4573, <http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk>..

389 Ralph L. Harley, ‘The Partnership Motive of D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson,’ *History of Photography* 10:4 (Winter 1986) pp.303-312.

abstraction.<sup>390</sup> Such images meld tightly with the language used of Chalmers in his obituary, such as the extended solar metaphors employed by Dr John Brown, beginning with the image of ‘the broad sun, sinking down in his tranquillity.... when he is gone, the shadow of him haunts our sight with the spectre of his brightness, which is dark when our eyes are open; luminous when they are shut’, reflecting upon how ‘we see everywhere...that dim, strange, changeful image; and if our eyes shut, to recover themselves, we still find in them, like a dying flame, or like a gleam in a dark place, the unmistakable phantom of the mighty orb that has set’ and ending with a lament that Chalmers’ death means the world’ has lost of ‘one of its great lights....a sun is extinguished.’<sup>391</sup>

This fusion was carried over from the calotype images to the oil painting, which had the psalm verse from Chalmers’ 1842 sermon ‘Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness’ emblazoned across its gilt frame. The sunbeam witnessed during his Disruption sermon on ‘O send thy light forth and thy truth’ also appears in the painting, shining down from an unseen window upon Chalmers and his open Bible, illuminating his head in such a way that – as a critic for *The Scotsman* observed - ‘the thin floating hair of the great preacher...forms almost a halo round his head.’<sup>392</sup>

If the halo image seems suggestive of traditional Christian iconography, so too does the way in which various ministers were portrayed carrying objects relating to their field of work, recalling how Christian saints and martyrs were typically depicted bearing iconic emblems – often the torture instruments by which they had met their

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390 Sara Stevenson, *Light from the Dark Room* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1995) p.42.

391 John Brown, *Horae Subsecivae, Second Series* (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1861) pp.57-9. Although a practising physician Brown (1810-82) was also an influential and well-connected writer, who was photographed by Hill and Adamson and published several articles on the calotypes and related photographic topics, e.g. ‘Review of the Royal Scottish Academy exhibition’ in the Free Church paper *The Witness* (22 April 1846), ‘Review of the Photographic Society of Scotland’s exhibition’, *The Edinburgh News* (26 December 1857) and ‘Mr Hill’s Calotypes,’ *The Scotsman* (10 February 1862.)

392 ‘“The Disruption of the Church”. Mr D.O. Hill’s Picture,’ *The Scotsman* (2 June 1864) p.3, col.1.

deaths.<sup>393</sup> The Rev. James Julius Wood carries a book marked 'Malta', the location of his parish, while Dr Alexander Keith holds a bound volume enclosing a map of Palestine. These function as aids to once the portrait the huge canvas, to pick out the the advent of photography and technology that reproduction of best known figures been instantly across the nation.



props also identification was painted onto allowing viewers figures. Before portrait the print allowed mass images, even the would not have recognisable

**Fig.3.4.** Walter Goodman, *A Print Seller's Window in The Strand* (1883)

393 This topic was subsequently the subject of a multi-volume work by Anna Brownell Jameson, who also sat for Hill and Adamson's camera in 1844. *Sacred and Legendary Art* comprised four volumes, *Legends of the Saints* (1848), *Legends of the Monastic Orders* (1850), *Legends of the Madonna* (1852) and *The History of our Lord* (1864) which was completed by Lady Eastlake after Jameson's death in 1860.



In addition to various photographic prints and reproductions of famous paintings, there is string of cartes-de-visites stretched across the display, providing some idea of how William McIntosh (discussed below) may have advertised his carte-de-visite versions of the Disruption calotypes.

What can be learned about the audience reception of these photographs? A Moderate critic of the Free Church published a pamphlet in 1844 that mocked how: 'Portraits of the "the modern Martyrs" are hawked around the streets, and signatures of "the sufferers" sold as a tailpiece to the lithographed Deed of Demission,' proceeding to comment derisively upon 'the commingling portraits of the ancient and *modern Martyrs*, which grace the windows of the book-shops, and adorn the parlours of the professors of the new faith.'<sup>394</sup> Clearly there were some who saw the commercial trade in these images as somehow incompatible with the martyrdom rhetoric that was applied to their subjects.

Entitled *The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland; signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission - 23rd May 1843*, the painting was not completed until 1866. In the interim the calotype images had completely transcended their original purpose as mere artistic aids, to be recognised as an astonishing achievement in their own right. It was not long before they came before the public eye. The chronology of events can be traced through the pages of *The Witness*, the twice-weekly newspaper edited by Hugh Miller (1802-56), closely associated with Free Church views but with a circulation that sometimes exceeded that of *The Scotsman*. Hill announced his plan for the painting on 24 May, the day after the Signing of the Deed of Demission, and on 24 June the use of calotype had been settled upon. The first print went on display in the window of his brother Alexander Hill's gallery in Princes Street at the beginning of July. Hugh Miller wrote a lengthy article on 'The Calotype' which was published in *The Witness* on 12 July 1843:

If nature could be made her own limner, if by some magic art the reflection could be fixed upon the mirror, could the picture be other than true?.. Could aught seem less probable than that the forms of the external world should be made to convert

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394 [A.M. Adams], *The Merry Martyrs; or, Cursory Observations on The Kirk Question by A Churchman* (Edinburgh: Myles McPhail, 1844) pp.19, 29. Twenty years later an anonymous writer made a similarly-pointed attack on the apparent pleasure shown by clergymen in having their photographs taken and reproduced: 'The Photographer's Parson,' *Bristol Times and Mirror* (6 November 1865) p.4.

the pencils of light which they emit into real *bona fide* pencils, and commence taking their own likenesses?<sup>395</sup>

Who actually fashioned the photographic image? Downplaying human input might imply that photography was a mechanical process rather than an artistic one, but it could also salve the Evangelical conscience. If nature was the author, they were vindicated from the charge of using man-made imagery. John Brown made this explicit when he described Hill and Adamson's calotype portrait of Chalmers as 'the art of God', on the basis that 'art is mighty, but nature is mightier.'<sup>396</sup>

Hill's promotion of his work involved touring the painting around the country and commissioning photographer Thomas Annan – also a member of the Free Church – to produce high quality prints of the painting to be sold in three different sizes - 24" x 9", 32" x 14" and 48" x 21¼" – available as a standard print or 'Selected Artist Proof', with prices ranging from twelve guineas to a guinea and a half.<sup>397</sup> Although the prices for Annan's fine art prints were far from cheap, there were other channels by which such images were made available. An advert in the *Fife Herald* by Cupar printseller John C. Orr 'Begs to intimate' that a 'portrait of Rev. John Laird, minister of the Free Church, Cupar...Lithographed in the Finest Style of Art, by Mr Schenk of Edinburgh, from a Calotype by Mr Rodger of St Andrews' was available at prices ranging from fifteen shillings for the artist proofs, to five shillings for a simple print. William McIntosh, an upholsterer from Dunfermline, was offering calotype portraits of Free Church ministers such as Thomas Chalmers for one shilling for a carte-de-visite size print or four shillings for a large print. Miller's Studio, also in

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395 Hugh Miller, *Leading Articles on Various Subjects* (Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1872) p.180

396 Brown, review of 'Dr Chalmers' Posthumous Works', *North British Review* Vol. VIII, No. XVI (February 1848) p.214. He distinguished the calotype portrait from one taken with the daguerreotype process, which 'gives the externality of the man to perfection, but it is Dr Chalmers at a stand still - his mind and feelings "pulled up" for the second that it was taken.'

397For a detailed analysis of how these prints were marketed and sold, see Roddy Simpson, 'Subscribers to the Prints of the Disruption Painting,' *Studies in Photography* (2008) pp.51-7.

Dunfermline, was 'exhibiting calotype portraits of the clergy' at their own premises and in the window of Mr Clark the bookseller.<sup>398</sup>

Lost or

Another view of a by Scottish artist window-shoppers are images on display, even The portrait capturing Evangelical 7th Earl of philanthropic work with discussed later in this

Such a underlines an nineteenth-century



**Fig.3.5.** William Macduff, *Found* (1862)

printseller's window, painted William Macduff. The young still able to engage with the if purchase was impossible. the boys' attention is of the Shaftesbury, whose the magic lantern is chapter.

diverse range of outlets important aspect of photographic

experience that is sidelined by the preoccupation with the activities of the scientific elite shown by scholars such as Crary and Virilio. Due to the intense national interest in the Disruption, the egalitarian nature of the Free Church and the commitment shown by its ministers to pastoral work among the poorest, awareness of the calotypes was disseminated across every strata of Scottish society – and the contemporary documentation cited here makes clear that these photographs were

398 *Fife Herald* (19 January 1860) p.1, *Dunfermline Press* (12 December 1861) p.1, *Dunfermline Saturday Press* (11 January 1862) p.1.

being marketed and purchased, not as technological commodities ushering in the modern world, but as religious objects. A writer in *The Scotsman* expected that the photographs made of Hill's painting 'will enable every Free Kirk cottage and parlour to have its *fac-simile*, far more valuable than any engraving.'<sup>399</sup> This view draws together three significant elements: denominational focus (Free Church worshippers buying photographic portraits of Free Church ministers), a socially-diverse market - 'every Free Kirk cottage and parlour' [my italics] - and explicit acknowledgement of the distinct value of the photographic process over traditional methods of reproducing art works. From such evidence, it can be demonstrated that the Disruption calotypes need to be considered as religious artefacts.

William MacDuff's painting (Fig.3.5) highlights the importance of visual material for poor or illiterate audiences for whom written texts were inaccessible, which is reflected by the wide extent to which reproductions of the Free Church portraits were distributed.<sup>400</sup> As a visual accompaniment to the hagiography of the 'Disruption Worthies', however, they can only be distinguished from Roman Catholic representations of saints by the realism of the photographic process and the existence of a discourse that downplayed human agency. The following sections look at the lives and work of three clergyman-photographers, all of whom had their portraits taken by Hill and Adamson.

### **3.3.1 Calder Macphail and the Calotype Club**

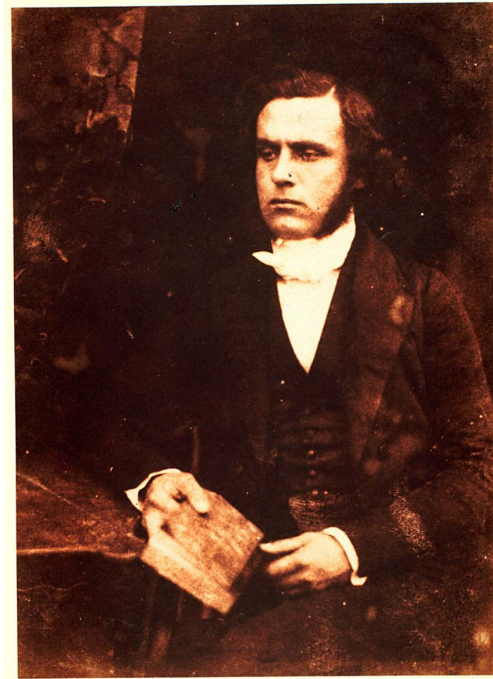
Calder Macphail was only a divinity student at the time this portrait was taken, but he belonged to what is believed to be the first ever photographic society in the world - the Edinburgh Calotype Club. This informal club had only a handful of members and associates, most of them belonging to the legal profession: Cosmo Innes, George

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399 Anon. 'The Disruption - The Signing of the Deed of Demission. A Picture by D.O. Hill' *The Scotsman*, 24 May 1866 p.2, col.6

400 William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986) provides some analysis of working-class consumption of novels and serialised stories, but this remains an under-researched and challenging area. For further background to the topic, see David Atkinson and Steve Roud (eds.), *Street Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century: Producers, Sellers, Consumers* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne : Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

Moir, John Cay, Mark Napier, Hugh Tennent and James Montgomery were all advocates – although Montgomery was later ordained a priest of the Scottish Episcopal Church – while Sir James Dunlop was an army officer and John Stewart a merchant and estate owner. Club meetings involved gathering for meals in the houses of members, after which time was spent sharing photographs and discussing the results of experiments.



**Fig. 3.6.** Hill & Adamson: untitled, no.31. [The Rev. James Calder Macphail (1821-1908)]  
Salt print, from calotype process. 19.3 cm x 13.9 cm.  
Special Collections Department, Glasgow University Library, HA185

As was mentioned earlier in Chapter One, Macphail assisted Cosmo Innes in his antiquarian researches while studying divinity at Edinburgh University.<sup>401</sup> He was also a close friend of Alexander Earle Monteith (1793-1861), Sheriff and Free Churchman, whose second wife was the aunt of James Dunlop. Among the photographs in the Edinburgh Calotype Club album is a series of photographs taken by Macphail and Dunlop during a tour of the Mediterranean. He visited the Holy Land

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<sup>401</sup> On Innes's photography, see Paschal Downs, 'A good deal of calotyping', *Pluscarden Benedictines No. 130* (Autumn 2003.) On his wider significance, see Richard A. Marsden, *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland's Past c.1825-1875* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

later in life and was known to have maintained an active interest in photography, as did his youngest brother Simeon (1839-1912), also a Free Church minister.

Compared to a 'second Elijah' in the 'depth, intensity and fervour' of his preaching, Simeon Macphail was a man of 'singularly Evangelical spirit', as devoted to sacred Scripture and Calvinist theology as he was hostile towards Roman Catholicism, liturgical ritual and liberal criticism of the Bible.<sup>402</sup> Details of his photography remain hazy, but he visited the Holy Land several times and used his camera on at least two of these trips. His *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* has an engraving of Jerusalem captioned 'From a photograph by the author in 1887.'<sup>403</sup> On a subsequent journey he appears to have crossed paths with Methodist missionary George Bond (1850-1933), of whom he took several portraits in the Mediterranean region. One of the prints is captioned 'Our Oriental party' suggesting a link with Bond's expedition to China and Japan in 1907.<sup>404</sup> Some of Macphail's sermons use photography to illustrate theological points. In his sermon 'The Burning Bush of Scripture', preached in April 1904 while he was Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of England, he told the congregation of Clapham Street Church in London:

I held in my hands a few days ago an enlargement of a negative prepared for a process block. As I looked at it - when held before my eye as close as I ordinarily place a book when reading - the entire surface seemed covered by dots and blurs of ink in the strangest confusion of position, size and form, all seemingly jumbled without purpose of any kind. On removing this chaotic confusion of spotted black and white broken surfaces to some distance, my eye caught a definite impression of a face; all the irregular confusion which I before observed now appearing as a careful disposition and proposition of point so as to depict the most perfect details of the face. But this design, let me suppose, was no sooner recognised than a second recognition took place, for my memory and my imagination were deeply stirred by recognising in that face the likeness of my deceased friend. This new manner of viewing the negative went some way to produce the final impression and without that intermediate recognition the other would never have come to me.<sup>405</sup>

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402 See the collection of obituaries, personal testimonies and memorial sermons in the 100-page tribute printed after his death: *In Memoriam: Rev. Simeon Ross Macphail MA, DD.* [n.d., but 1912].

403 S.R. Macphail, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899) p.103.

404 These photographs are held in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies in the Memorial University of Newfoundland which houses Bond's glass slides, albums and paper prints.

This passage illustrates not only the continuing fascination of clergymen with the psychological processes of vision, but yet again how adept clergymen-photographers were at finding spiritual applications for the innovations of modern technology. It is no surprise to find Simeon Macphail using magic lantern slides as a visual aid for public lectures on Biblical and literary subjects.<sup>406</sup> Publicity material for these gave prominence to the use of 'lime-light reproduction', so-called because of the (highly dangerous) chemical process used to provide the powerful light: a mixture of oxygen and hydrogen was drawn into the chamber of the magic lantern, providing a super-heated naked flame that was then applied to a block of quick lime. Heated to a temperature of over 2000°C, the incandescent lime produced enough light to project images in large church halls. The dramatic potential of such imagery made these presentations particularly appealing for Evangelical preachers and Temperance campaigners, as discussed later in this chapter.

### 3.3.2. Alexander Keith and Photographic Evidence

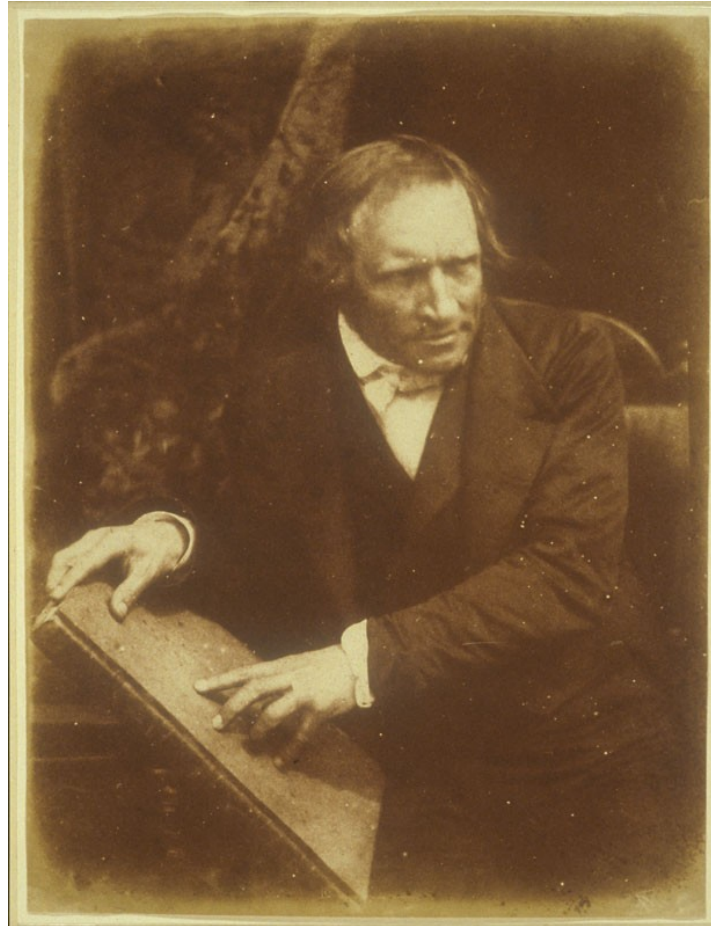
Another Free Church minister, Dr Alexander Keith (1791-1880), also applied the art of photography to spiritual ends and claimed to have been the first person to attempt photography in the Holy Land. He first travelled through Palestine in 1839, having been chosen due to his reputation as an expert on Biblical prophecy. He believed that the truth of these ancient prophecies could be demonstrated visibly by contemporary views of the Holy Land, and expounded this in *Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, a work first published in 1823 that subsequently went through over 40 editions and was translated into almost every European language. According to Chalmers, 'in every home.' When Keith fell ill in Pest on his way back from the Near East, he was cared for by Maria Dorothea, the Archduchess Palatine of Hungary, who had been given an illustrated edition of Keith's *Evidences* as a

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405 Sermon 'The Burning Bush of Scripture' 13 April 1904, p.9. Uncatalogued Macphail papers in the United Reformed Church History Society Manuscript Collections, Westminster College, Cambridge.

406 *Sidelights on Scripture History*, The Iron Church, Blundellsands, November – December 1901. *Sidelights on the New Testament*, YMCA Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, September 1909.

present by her husband the Archduke.<sup>407</sup> In his preface to the 36th edition in 1848, he stated that 'on his first visit to the East, he took with him some calotype paper, &c., the mode of preparing which was then secret; but on reaching Syria it was wholly useless.'<sup>408</sup>



**Fig.3.7.** D.O. Hill & Robert Adamson: *Rev. Alexander Keith* (1791-1880)  
Salt print, from calotype process. 20.5 cm x 15.8 cm. George Eastman House, Neg. 35073

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407 Rev. Alexander Keith, 'Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pesth', *The Sunday at Home. A Family Magazine for Family Reading*, Vol. XIV, No.677 (1867) p.234. The full article was spread over four parts in No.675 (6 April 1867), pp.212-6, No.676, (13 April 1867), pp.232-7, No.677, (20 April 1867) pp.245-48 and No.678, (27 April 1867) pp.261-63.

408 Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion from the Literal Fulfilment of Prophecy* (Edinburgh, 1828; 36th ed., 1848), p.iii.



The claim is startling, given that Keith set out on this journey on 12 April 1839, less than three months after Talbot first showed his photogenic drawings to the public, and over a year before he perfected the calotype process.<sup>409</sup> However, it is perfectly possible that Keith was well-informed about Talbot's early progress, as he had been close to the Brewster family for many years. The Rev. James Brewster lived a short distance from Keith's parish of St Cyrus and had defended Keith in print during a controversy in 1836.<sup>410</sup>

It is more likely, though, that Keith attempted paper photography on his second trip to the Holy Land, which took place after he had been to Hill and Adamson's studio in the autumn of 1843. In a note in *The Land of Israel* (1843), he remarked that 'the hope is cherished of presenting many [proofs] to the Christian public, and of setting them before unbelievers, without the aid either of the pen or of the pencil...By a process which may be said to be natural, the calyotype [*sic*], or daguerreotype.'<sup>411</sup> This certainly suggests that Keith's photographic work still lay in the future, despite the distinction made in the preface of *Evidences* between calotyping on the first trip and daguerreotyping on the second trip, which he made with his son George Skene Keith in the early summer of 1844. George and his brother Thomas were both photographers and physicians, and would later help found the Photographic Society of Scotland in 1856. Although George maintained an interest in photography for most of his life, he seems to have done little in the way of practical photography after the trip with his father, and it is Thomas Keith's

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409 Keith was accompanied by three other Church of Scotland ministers, Alexander Black, Robert Murray McCheyne and Andrew Bonar. Their journey through Egypt, Palestine and Syria, returning through eastern Europe, Hungary and Germany, is vividly described in the bestselling *Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1842).

410 Brewster's 68 page pamphlet *A letter to the editor of the Quarterly Review, in reply to certain strictures in that publication, on Rev. Dr. Keith's "Evidence of prophecy"* (Edinburgh: William Whyte & Co., 1836) was a response to J.W. Croker's attack on Keith in the February 1835 issue of the *Quarterly*, published when Keith was travelling in southern France.

411 Rev. Alexander Keith, *The Land of Israel According to the Covenant with Abraham, with Isaac and with Jacob* (Edinburgh: William Whyte & Co. 1844) p.xiv

photography that has received the greater scholarly attention.<sup>412</sup> In his recent study, Hannavy (2015) tries to account for the discrepancy by suggesting Keith made a second trip to the Holy Land in 1843, before returning in 1844, this time with his son: but there is no record of such a trip, and it seems unlikely – given Keith's oft-mentioned frail health – that the minister could have undertaken two such arduous journeys in quick succession.

Since the late 1820s new editions of Keith's *Evidences* were revised to include engravings and reports that had appeared in recent publications. This not only ensured his work reflected the most up-to-date findings, but also sent out a clear message that the explorations and inquiries of modern science presented no threats to the veracity of Biblical history, but could actually provide further evidence supporting the Evangelical position.

Although the original daguerreotypes taken by George Keith in 1844 have since disappeared, eighteen of them were engraved for the 36th edition in 1848: Mount Zion, the Wall of Caesarea, Jerash (two views), Temple at Jerash, Athlith, Tower of Caesarea, Bay of Beyrout, Hebron, Samaria, Jerusalem – Mosque of Omar, The Palace of Petra, Corinthian Tomb (Petra), El Deir (Petra), Ashkelon, Ashdod, Tyre, and the Ruins of the Cathedral and Wall of Seir.<sup>413</sup> Given how closely these images fit in with the textual discussions in previous editions of the *Evidences*, these photographs must surely have been made under the direction of his father. In the preface, Keith echoes Miller's words in his claim that photography was 'a mode of demonstration that could neither be questioned or surpassed; as, without the need of any testimony, or the aid of either pen or pencil, the rays of the sun would thus depict

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412 On Thomas Keith and the family's involvement with photography, see Gerry Badger, 'Dr Thomas Keith, Surgeon and Photographer' (1981), Hannavy, *Thomas Keith's Scotland: the work of a Victorian amateur photographer, 1852-57* (Edinburgh: Littlehampton, 1981) and *The Victorian Photographs of Dr Thomas Keith and John Forbes White* (Great Cheverell: John Hannavy Publishing, 2015.)

413 George Keith showed the daguerreotypes to the Edinburgh Photographic Society in late 1876 and they were exhibited in Edinburgh from December through to early 1877 – see the reference in *British Journal of Photography* (9 February 1877) p.63. Their fate after that remains unknown, despite diligent researches by John Hannavy and others.

what the prophets saw.<sup>414</sup> In line with this belief, Keith stresses the immediacy of the image in the main body of the text, using phrases such as 'A daguerreotype view may now set its cityless hill before the eye of the reader' (p.245) to emphasise how the photographic process places the reader in direct contact with the scene.

It can be seen that the differing theological aims of Keith's book and Hill and Adamson's portraits were especially suited to the different processes used. Keith's interest in 'evidence' was enhanced by the daguerreotype's reputation for precision and sharp detail, while the dramatic, impressionistic shadowplay of the calotype was more suitable for capturing the religious fervour of the Disruption Martyrs. As the next section reveals, these characteristics were used for equally dramatic effect outside the denominational borders of the Free Church.

### **3.3.3. Rev. D.T.K. Drummond and the Pursuit of Photography 'Under God'**

In the portrait below of the Rev. David Thomas Ker Drummond, the dark shadows serve to highlight the clergyman's drawn and anxious appearance. Lit from above in the tradition of Raeburn, his pale face is surrounded by blackness; dark shadows under his eyes suggest suffering. A book in his hand, presumably a Bible, is gripped tightly in a gesture that resembles the wielding of a weapon. The Rev. D.T.K. Drummond (1806-77) did not take part in the Disruption because he was not a Presbyterian minister. He was, however, a noted Evangelical who had taken part in his own secession from the Episcopal Church of Scotland and was therefore honoured with a place in the Disruption painting. An examination of his photographic work is particularly significant because of the way in which it illustrates the fusion of photographic chemistry and aesthetic style with a personal religious experience of the Scottish landscape and natural world.

Born in Perthshire, Drummond was educated in Edinburgh and Oxford, ordained priest in 1830 and returned to Edinburgh two years later. He spent five years (1832-37) at Old St Paul's, Carubbers' Close, before moving to Holy Trinity, Dean Bridge. Here the incumbent was Rev. George Coventry, who was later

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414 *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion* (Edinburgh, 1828; 36th ed., 1848), p.iii.

photographed by James Montgomery, a member of the Edinburgh Calotype Club who was subsequently ordained a priest for the Scottish Episcopal Church.



**Fig.3.8.** D.O. Hill & Robert Adamson: *The Rev. David Thomas Ker Drummond*.  
Salt print, from calotype process. 19.5 cm x 15.2 cm.  
Special Collections Department, Glasgow University Library, HA0073

Drummond was strongly Evangelical and his ministry laid great weight upon such extra-liturgical activities as prayer meetings and Bible classes. He began leasing out Clyde Street Hall in which to hold such meetings on evenings during the week. These would begin and end with hymn singing and involve Scriptural exposition and extempore prayer. Naturally, he took an interest in similar work undertaken by others, including clergymen of other denominations (except Catholics), and in the early 1840s he spent a summer near Montrose where he met the parish minister of Craig, Rev James Brewster, whose brother David was – as

discussed earlier – playing a key role at this time in the introduction of photography to Scotland. It is possible that Drummond heard something about the new art during this sojourn, especially as the patron of the parish was pioneer photographer Horatio Ross.<sup>415</sup> Brewster invited him to share in his Evangelical work among the fishermen of Usan and Ferryden, and Drummond gladly gave Biblical expositions to the devout families. Despite harsh criticism from fellow Episcopalian clergy, Drummond persisted in these practices. Their objections that he was failing to use liturgy and encroaching upon another diocese were regarded by him as narrow-minded bigotry.

Matters came to a head when the newly-appointed Bishop of Edinburgh, Charles Terrot, objected to the Clyde Street meetings as a breach of Canon XXVII which forbade clergymen to hold non-liturgical services in public. Terrot's requests for Drummond to cease holding prayer meetings was met with a refusal, and soon both men became entrenched in bitter conflict - a sad development, given that they actually held very similar religious views. A vigorous pamphlet war ensued, and subsequent events closely mirrored the Disruption: Drummond resigned from the Scottish Episcopalian Church in the summer of 1842 and – with most of his congregation – established the English church of St Thomas, in Rutland Street (now Glasgow Road) with a door on Shandwick Place.<sup>416</sup> He remained at St Thomas until he retired in 1875, but the struggle – in addition to a series of bereavements - led to the breakdown of his health in the mid-1850s. Sometime around the end of the decade he took up landscape photography, and quickly proved himself a gifted practitioner of the art. He joined the Photographic Society of Scotland (PSS) in 1861, by which time – according to photographer Vernon Heath – he was already 'ranked

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415 On Ross's photographic activities and friendship with the Brewsters, see Br. Paschal Downs "'The Delight of Their Existence": the photography of Horatio Ross of Rossie,' *Studies in Photography* (2006) pp.37-8.

416 Drummond's view of the controversy is stated at length in his *Reasons for withdrawing from the Scottish Episcopal church, and for accepting an invitation to continue his ministrations in Edinburgh, as a clergyman of the Church of England* (Edinburgh: J. Lindsay & Co., 1842) but for later analysis, see Reginald Foskett, 'The Drummond Controversy, 1842', *Scottish Church History Records* Vol.XVI :2 (1967) pp.99-109 and D. Ford, "D. T. K. Drummond and the foundation of St Thomas's Church", *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, New Series, Vol. 4* (1997), pp. 51-67

as one of the best of the amateurs.<sup>417</sup> At the PSS's sixth exhibition in December 1861 he exhibited seven landscapes which were praised in the pages of the *British Journal of Photography* for their 'considerable artistic judgment.'<sup>418</sup> He contributed another sixteen landscapes to the PSS exhibition in 1864, including views of Loch Earn and St Fillans made with a tannin process.

Drummond's technique requires discussion, for he worked assiduously to perfect a modified version of the collodion process, coating his large 12" x 10" glass plates with a malt solution. He was a keen advocate of the malt process, using it for most of his prints and giving talks on the subject to members of the photographic societies to which he belonged. He joined the Edinburgh Photographic Society in 1863 but remained an active member of the PSS until its dissolution in 1873, demonstrating his new 'portable photographic tent' at a meeting in 1862, sitting on the Council in 1862 and 1864, and holding the office of Vice-President from 1864 to 1867. As was discussed in Chapter One, clergymen regularly gravitated towards office-holding positions in the photographic societies, even if they had only recently joined.

Photography seems to have provided him with a measure of relaxation and serenity that eluded him elsewhere: in 1863 he stated: 'It is impossible to say how much, under God, I owe both in mind and body to photography in my hours of leisure, and I would gladly, by any means in my power, put a spoke in the wheel of its advancement.'<sup>419</sup>

Although this statement conforms to the exacting demands of Evangelical theology - photography is both 'under God' and specifically contained within 'hours of leisure' – there is also evident enthusiasm for scientific discovery, which indeed

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417 Vernon Heath, *Recollections* (London: Cassell & Co., 1892) p.117.

418 Anon., 'Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland', *British Journal of Photography* Vol.IX, No.157 (1 January 1862) p.11.

419 D.T.K. Drummond, 'The Malt Process,' *British Journal of Photography* Vol.X, No.202 (16 November 1863) p.444. The paper was read at a meeting of the PSS on 10 November 1863. It was later reprinted as 'Some Remarks on the Malt Process,' *Photographic News*, (22 January 1864), p.42, which indicates the extent to which such communications were diffused and circulated within the photographic community.

characterised Drummond's activities. His fascination with geology and botany ensured that views of plants and gardens feature prominently in his photographs, which are all landscape views. He was a close friend of the eminent botanist Professor John Hutton Balfour, and at a meeting of the Botanical Society in Edinburgh on 11 February 1869, Drummond's 'series of beautifully coloured photographs of plants' were exhibited by Balfour before the Edinburgh Botanical Society. After Drummond's death in 1877, his devotional work *The last Scenes in the life of Our Lord and Saviour* was republished in a third edition, to which was prefixed Balfour's 'Memoir of Rev. D.T.K. Drummond.' One passage makes clear that the priest's interest in nature was strongly opposed to evolutionary theory: 'His Evolution was God's Work, and not the mere development of living beings from an organism set a-going and left to itself to work its way without the constant superintendence of Him who made all things...He saw God in everything, and rejoiced in the contemplation of the minutest of His works.'<sup>420</sup>



Rev. D.T.K. Drummond, *Loch Earn*.

Fig.3.9.

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420 J.H. Balfour, 'Memoir', attached to Drummond *The Last Scenes in the Life of Our Lord and Saviour* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1878), xv.

Drummond's vision of 'God in everything' provided the context for the rich aesthetic pleasure he found in photography, as revealed in his enthusiastic descriptions: 'Nothing can exceed the beauty of a well-prepared plate, either when just covered with the malt and set up to dry, or when it is dried and ready for use... the surface of the picture is exquisitely soft and beautiful.' Even if he relished the sensual pleasures in such pictures, he found ways to turn their beauty to God's work: Balfour records how 'no inconsiderable sum was gained for our Juvenile Missionary Society by the sale of his photographs at the Christmas Tree' and it was hoped that his 'valuable negatives' could 'be the means of gathering in a considerable sum for the support of the poor heathen children in many parts of the world.'<sup>421</sup> As an Evangelical, he viewed the world through the lens of piety, enjoying the things that could be ascribed to God, and struggling with the rest. His descriptive accounts of journeys through the picturesque Alpine regions of the continent - a four-month holiday in the summer of 1852 for the sake of his health - were dominated by his sympathies for the sufferings of Protestant Waldensians and fierce polemic against Roman Catholicism, which he regarded as 'a darkness even worse and more appalling than that of heathenism.'<sup>422</sup>

Associating Catholicism with 'darkness' and 'blindness' – with impaired vision, in other words – was typical of the 'No-Popery' rhetoric deployed by Evangelicals, even if - as Geoffrey Best has remarked - such polemic 'inevitably lowered the tone of the movement which espoused it.'<sup>423</sup> It might be assumed that this was a straightforward binary opposition based upon the positive associations of divine light, truth and perfect sight, but the demands of theological argument was able to add yet

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421 Balfour, 'Memoir' (1878), cxix

422 Rev. D.T.K. Drummond, *Scenes and Impressions in Switzerland and the North of Italy*, (Edinburgh: W.P. Kennedy, 1853) pp.128-39.

423 Best, 'Evangelicalism and the Victorians' in Anthony Symondson (ed.) *The Victorian Crisis of Faith* (London: SPCK, 1970) p.47. For a good example of an anti-Catholic sermon employing the blindness motif to good effect, see *Antichrist unmasked; or, Popery and Christianity contrasted* (1844) by Baptist pastor John D.G. Pike (1784-1854)



another twist to the depiction of vision. In a sermon preached at the Metropolitan Tabernacle in 1866, the famed Baptist preacher Charles Haddon Spurgeon took as his text a phrase from 2 Corinthians 5:7 'For we walk by faith, not by sight':

The highest degree of worldly wisdom seems to be just this - see everything for yourself and do not be taken in... Now the Christian is the very opposite of this. He says 'I do not care about looking after the things that are seen and are temporal. They are like dissolving views, or the scenes from a child's magic lantern - there is nothing in them - they are but phantoms and shadows. The things that are not seen influence me because they are eternal.'

Spurgeon's sermon contrasts the two principles of 'walking by faith' and 'walking by sight', arguing that it demands far greater courage to trust in what is unseen, and warning against the dangers of trusting in the unreliable organ of sight. His sermon therefore conforms to the Calvinist distrust of the senses discussed earlier in this chapter, and Spurgeon is indeed explicit about diverse ways in which the mind can be fooled by optical illusions.

After all, the eye does not see anything; it is the mind that sees through the eye. The eye in every man has some sort of defect in it; it needs to be educated for a long time before it tells the truth, and even then there are a thousand things about which it does not always speak truly. The man who walks by his eye will be deceived in many ways.

Spurgeon's reputation rests upon his skills as an orator. Known as 'The Prince of Preachers' he regularly gave sermons to crowds of over ten thousand, speaking without any amplification aid. He achieved that most desirable Evangelical goal – the conversion of souls – by his voice alone, in keeping with the doctrine of Calvin and Knox. Their emphasis upon listening to the spoken word in bare, unadorned 'preaching boxes' contrasted starkly with the Ecclesiologists' promotion of church furnishings and rich, symbolic decorations and ritual. As George Landow succinctly expressed it, 'Without too much exaggeration, one might claim that the Evangelicals sought the pleasures of the ear and the High Anglicans those of the eye.'<sup>424</sup>

It was therefore quite natural for Spurgeon's sermon to include a disparaging reference to the magic lantern, but during the latter part of the nineteenth century a growing number of clergymen were beginning to use such devices to incorporate photographic imagery into church services. Unsurprisingly, such an innovation faced

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424 George P. Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980) p.17

strong resistance from elements within the Evangelical party. By examining the controversy about this usage, it is possible to further unravel the link between religious debates about human vision and the attitudes towards the photographic image.

### 3.4. The Magic Lantern

It is unlikely that magic lanterns could ever have been introduced into liturgical services had they not first become a familiar feature of the clergy's outreach activities elsewhere. From the early 'Phantasmagoria' lantern shows described by Brewster in *Letters on Natural Magic*, technology had developed in the 1830s to allow skilled lanternists to operate dissolving views and mechanical trick slides, creating an array of visual effects for entertaining audiences. Glass slides were at this time hand-painted, but with the invention of photography it was possible to make lantern slides directly from glass negatives, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the quality of images had improved remarkably.<sup>425</sup> Lantern shows became a profitable business, with firms manufacturing 3 ¼" slides in vast quantities. As well as being a domestic instrument for family entertainment, the device was used by both amateur and professional lanternists who could charge admission to shows promising thrills, jokes, travelogues, pictures of faraway places.<sup>426</sup> Lectures illustrated with lantern slides became a regular part of the work of colleges, universities, museum and Mechanics' Institutions, activities in which – as was demonstrated in Chapter One – the clergy were often closely involved. Magic lanterns soon made their appearance in parish halls and Sunday schools, projecting illustrations of

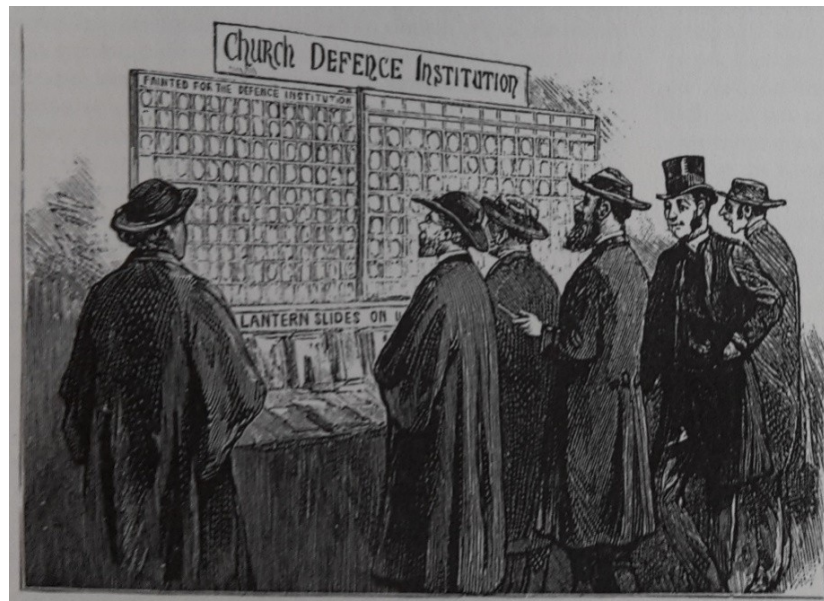
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425 Jens Ruchatz, 'The magic lantern in connection with photography: Rationalisation and Technology' in Simon Popple & Vanessa Toulmin (eds.) *Visual delights: Essays on the popular and projected image in the nineteenth century* (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000) pp. 38-49.

426 For an overview of the diverse range of magic lantern shows and their significance in Victorian culture, see G.A. Household & L.M.H. Smith, *To Catch a Sunbeam: Victorian Reality Through the Magic Lantern* (London: Michael Joseph, 1979) and Steve Humphries, *Victorian Britain through the magic lantern* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1989.)

Biblical stories, photographs of the Holy Land, or morally edifying tales on the theme of temperance or charity.

The extent of religious lantern work was prodigious, and was strongly associated with religious groups such as the Salvation Army and others on the fringe of the established Church. At the peak of its activity, the Church Army Lantern Department was producing up to a thousand lantern slides a week and lending out 1.5 million slides a year. Their catalogue listed 175,000 individual slides of sacred subjects alone, with separate catalogue of secular subjects.<sup>427</sup> In 1905 the temperance association, the Band of Hope reported that it had presented 12,000 lantern shows over the last fifty years. As the cartoon below illustrates, the projected image was regarded as a forceful weapon for the promotion of Gospel values.



**Fig.3.10.** 'Champions of the Church Choosing Weapons.'

From the front page of *The Graphic*, 15 October 1887, reporting on the Church Congress at Wolverhampton.

Temperance campaigners showed particular enthusiasm for the lantern show as it provided an opportunity for vivid depictions of the effects of alcohol on family welfare. Countless slide sets - with titles such as 'The Bottle' - showed the sufferings caused

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<sup>427</sup> Prices for sale were typically 2 shillings (plain glass) or 4 shillings (coloured glass), with overnight loan costing 1 s 6d per dozen, or £1.1s for 350 slides, carriage paid by hirer.

by drunken fathers, communicated through sentimental moralising tales that were accompanied by lurid and often graphic imagery.<sup>428</sup>

Although clergymen were rarely the creators of the photographic images represented on these slides, there were a variety of ways in which they were involved. Some like the Methodist clergymen Rev. J. Williams Butcher (1857-1937) and Rev. Robert Culley established a business hiring and distributing lantern slides for Sunday school use, while the Rev M.B. Moorhouse (1840-1925) wrote doggerel verse for moralising temperance tales, such as 'The Dustman's Darling: a temperance recitation.' (1894)<sup>429</sup> Although these images evince a moral earnestness and are sternly disapproving or frivolous pleasures, they are clearly works of artifice using actors in posed scenes - in contrast to the emphasis placed on unmediated verisimilitude in the work of Alexander Keith. Evidently it was acceptable to use a degree of artifice when it served a higher purpose - if souls could be saved via gaudy hand-painted photographs of life models, acting out staged scenes of poverty and debauchery, then the ends surely justified the means.

### **3.5. Spurgeon's Distrust of the Visual Sense.**

Although Charles Haddon Spurgeon may have held the magic lantern in low esteem, this did not prevent him from giving such a device to his young twin sons in the early 1860s.<sup>430</sup> Both sons followed their father into the Baptist ministry, Thomas (1856-1917) succeeding his father at the Metropolitan Tabernacle while Charles (1856-

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428 On this topic, see Mervyn Heard and Richard Crangle, 'The Temperance Phantasmagoria', in *Realms of Light*, edited by Richard Crangle, Mervyn Heard, and Ine van Dooren (London: Magic Lantern Society, 2005) pp.46–55, see especially pp. 52, 49. Also Annemarie McAllister (2012) 'Picturing the Demon Drink: How Children were Shown Temperance Principles in the Band of Hope.' *Visual Resources*, 28:4, 309-323 and G.A. Household & L.M.H. Smith, *To Catch a Sunbeam: Victorian Reality Through the Magic Lantern* (London: Michael Joseph, 1979.)

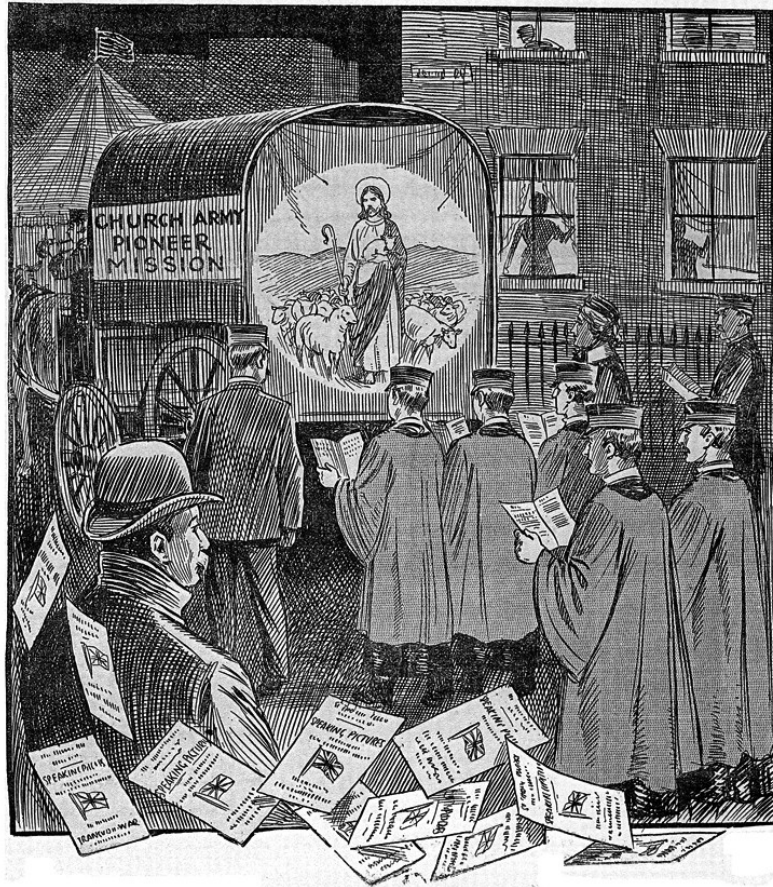
429 See Mike Smith, *The origin of magic lantern stories: a delve into the background of temperance material* in *New Magic Lantern Journal* 2.3 (January 1983) pp.12-15.

430 C.H. Spurgeon, *Autobiography*, Vol. III 1856-1878. (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings, 1899) pp.280-81.

1926) was preacher at the South Street Baptist Church in Greenwich from 1879 to 1903. Between 1884 and 1887 Charles Spurgeon commissioned a local photographer, R.L. Sims, to take a number of photographs of street scenes around Greenwich, capturing the likes of scissor-grinders, matchboys and rabbit-sellers plying their trade. This was a photographic project in which Spurgeon enthusiastically engaged: many of the photographs are clearly staged, with the pastor himself appearing in the scenes as a customer or 'extra.' These images were prepared for a magic lantern show under the heading 'Street Characters and Cries', with Spurgeon linking each slide to the distinctive 'street-cry' used by each tradesmen to advertise their services. It would seem that even when using a selection of visual images, Spurgeon's Evangelical spirit demanded equal prominence for the sense of hearing. No record remains of the lecture content of 'Street Characters and Cries', but it is likely that each street portrait would be used as the basis for some morally edifying discourse. Spurgeon's father once stated that 'A sermon without illustrations is like a room without windows' and was a strong advocate of the 'bridge strategy' of preaching, in which a sermon begins with a reference to everyday events or scenes from the secular world, and then develops these into a spiritual application. Even if the lantern slides were commissioned, created and projected as part of a religious agenda, the idea of holding lantern shows inside churches still met with disapproval and Spurgeon's lantern lecture would almost certainly have taken place in a parish hall or similar building.<sup>431</sup>

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431 David Leggatt. 'The Rev. Charles Spurgeon and his photographs' in *Transaction of the Greenwich and Lewisham Antiquarian Society* (1986) and Morris, *Grandfather's London* (1956.) Leggatt does suggest 'church' (p.33) though this would have been out of keeping with evangelical policy at the time.



**Fig.3.11.** Illustration of 'A Travelling Lantern Show' from the *Church Army Gazette: A Church Army Gospel Paper for the Working Man* (5 May 1900). The reference to 'Speaking Pictures' on the handbills reinforces the desired link between the projections and the spoken word.

The first person to introduce lantern shows into church services was probably the Rev. Wilson Carlile, an Anglican clergyman and founder of the Church Army.<sup>432</sup> Carlile was ordained in 1880, and shortly afterwards bought a magic lantern with which to show slides at a Sunday evening service in Kensington. This was held in the parish school after church hours, with the express aim of attracting non-churchgoers. He began with comic slides then switched to images of the Stations of the Cross and the Crucifixion.<sup>433</sup> His experiences with open air services led to him founding the Church Army in 1882 – it was formally recognised by the Church of

432 See for example *British Journal of Photography* (19 May 1899) p.307.

433 Sidney Dark, *Wilson Carlile: the laughing cavalier of Christ* (London: James Clarke, 1944) p.52-3. Edgar Rowan, *Wilson Carlile and the Church Army* (London: Church Army Bookroom, 1926) pp.61ff.

England the following year. In 1892 he was appointed to the living of St Mary-at-Hill near Billingsgate, where lantern services soon became an almost daily event.<sup>434</sup> There is no denying the success of his approach, and his services were often so well-attended that the congregation overflowed into the street outside even before the service began.<sup>435</sup> Critics, however, remained uneasy about the use of secular photographs in sacred services, accusing Carlile of going too far 'in the direction of attractiveness, not to say sensationalism'<sup>436</sup>

The language of such criticisms - with references to sensory attraction - supports the points made at the beginning of this chapter about Evangelical theology's distrust of the human senses. Calvin's warnings against the trustworthiness of the senses made a sharp distinction between divine transcendence and the realities that could be perceived by the senses. By definition, reaching out to religious worshippers by appealing to their senses was an appeal to the lower aspects of their humanity. Such a theological position was of course allied to, and to some extent shaped by, social attitudes. As academic institutions were increasingly using lantern lectures for educational work, middle-class lanternists and audiences sought to replace the term 'magic lantern' with the more scientific-sounding 'optical lantern', on the grounds that 'magic' lanterns were for children.<sup>437</sup> As Gabriele (2009) has observed, late nineteenth-century lantern producers targeted 'specific audiences that were considered most impressionable and weak, and thus in need of instruction: children, the working class and women.'<sup>438</sup> If 'magic' implied

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434 On Carlile's lantern work, see Bottomore, 'Projecting for the Lord - the work of Wilson Carlile.' *Film History* 14:2 (April 2002) pp.195-209.

435 Rowan, *Wilson Carlile and the Church Army* (1926) p.65.

436 Philip Astor, 'A surpliced army: a novel way of filling a church', *Harmsworth Magazine* 5 (August 1900): pp.61-5. See also Leonard Lillingston, 'The founder of the Church Army: a chat with the Rev. W. Carlile', *Sunday Magazine* (December 1898): pp. 813-814.

437 For examples, see the letter from 'Parkite', printed in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (21 April 1891) p.6 col. 7, and Andrew Wilson, 'Science Jottings', *Illustrated London News* (24 December 1892) p.818, col.1.

438 Alberto Gabriele, *Reading Popular Culture in Victorian Print: Belgravia and Sensationalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) p.129.

association with the supernatural and the trickery of illusion, then such social groups were also regarded as being attracted to the more sensational aspects of popular entertainment, as found in fairground peep shows or music hall performances. A further parallel could be drawn with 'sensation fiction' - a name given disparagingly to literature that was designed to shock readers with content that typically included violent crime, adultery, poison and kidnapping, often taking place in secret behind the outwardly respectable trappings of contemporary British society. The horror was heightened by being presented within realistic settings that were described with methodical detail and 'a taste for the factual' - what Winifred Hughes calls the 'yoking of romance and realism.'<sup>439</sup> The genre rose to prominence in the 1860s and its popularity lasted for two decades, although this only heightened the alarm felt by its critics, who warned against the iniquitous effects such novels could have on impressionable female readers. Influential reviewers such as Rev. Henry Mansel and Margaret Oliphant drew attention to the way in which these novels stimulated the physical senses, recalling Calvin's association of sinful tendencies with the sensory body.

Such a belief that those of a weaker disposition – that is women, children and members of the lower classes – were more likely to be moved by an appeal to the senses, could of course be turned to the advantage of moralising Evangelicals. The philanthropic 7th Earl of Shaftesbury organised lantern shows for the destitute children of the 'ragged schools' he supported, and on one occasion held a show for 400 youngsters:

The last picture represented our Lord standing beside a closed door, and the text at the foot of the picture was "Behold I stand at the door and knock." The effect was startling...and when I said "What you see there, is going on at the door of every house in Whitechapel," they were moved to tears, and the eyes of the old Earl filled and his voice faltered as the scene came back to him again.<sup>440</sup>

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439 Reginald C. Terry, *Victorian Popular Fiction, 1860-80* (London: Macmillan Press, 1983) p.55. Winifred Hughes, *The Maniac in the Cellar: Sensation Novels of the 1860s*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. P., 1980) p.16.

440 Edwin Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, Vol. III (London: Cassell, 1886) pp.470-71



Such a combination of visual imagery, emotional sentiment and social deprivation was typical of Evangelical outreach towards the disadvantaged. Lanternists such as Carlile were realistic enough to see that the crowds who hung around their area would never respond to the aesthetic qualities of formal Evensong or the intellectual arguments of even the most persuasive homilies.<sup>441</sup> The photographic image was therefore a valuable addition to the resources already available for deployment in the service of the Gospel.

Much of this chapter has been concerned with the ways in which the unmediated nature of the photographic process enabled it to be understood within a framework of theological discourse. The limited role of human agency accentuated the quasi-divine actions of 'natural magic', while at the same time ensuring the verisimilitude of the photographic image by distancing it from the activities of what Calvinist Presbyterians would regard as corrupt human nature.<sup>442</sup> Attributing a photograph to the work of 'God's sun' was bold enough, but in the latter half of the nineteenth century a form of photography developed that moved beyond the language and values of religious spirituality, suggesting that not only could photography utilise an invisible and mystical process, but could also capture images from the realms of the immaterial. This chapter will conclude by examining the spirit photography of Archdeacon Thomas Colley.

### **3.6. Archdeacon Thomas Colley and the World of Spirit Photography**

The possibility of using a camera to photograph the souls of the departed may seem incongruous when photography is aligned with the technocratic and realist ideologies

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441 Dark, *Wilson Carlile* (1944) pp.52-3.

442 The term 'natural magic' does not necessarily imply occult magical practices, but rather the art of understanding and manipulating the laws of nature for practical benefit. Giambattista della Porta's *Magia naturalis* (1558) contains one of the earliest descriptions of the camera obscura, as well as discussions of topics such as perfume, distillation and fireworks. The Bill Douglas Cinema Museum has an early English edition, *Natural Magic* (London: Thomas Young, Samuel Speed, 1658).

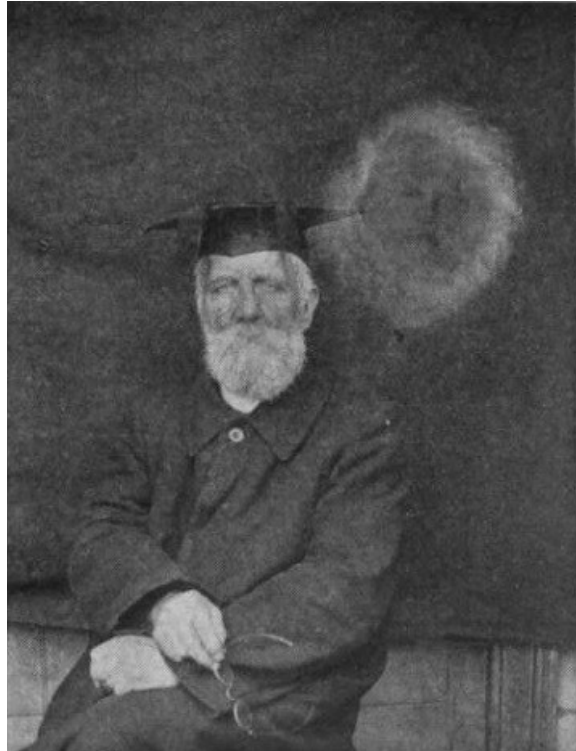
of modernism, but as this chapter has argued throughout, the discourse surrounding photography for much of the nineteenth century was rooted in pre-modern language and concepts such as natural magic, alchemy and religion. As Krauss (1994) pointed out, photography was not only 'the child of science and the Enlightenment, produced by the triumphal concurrence of physics, chemistry and optics. Photography has always contained an element of the irrational as well, a false bottom as it were, which enticed contemporaries to delve into the spheres of the unconscious and the invisible.'<sup>443</sup> Spirit photography is the ultimate extension of the approaches of Keith and Brewster.

Its immediate catalyst, nonetheless, was the rapid growth of a popular 'Spiritualist' movement that originated in 1848 when two young American girls - the Fox sisters – claimed they had made contact with a spirit who communicated via rapping noises. Public demonstrations attracted attention from ever-increasing circles, as the sisters and other associates held séances and attempted to communicate with the spirit world. Interest spread rapidly and a wider network of mediums developed, linking in with a broader religious and social movement affiliated with social reform and feminism, as well as developments in modern technology – there was an obvious resonance between the rappings and the telegraphic machines developed by Samuel Morse. In addition to doctrinal issues, such radical affiliations made most Christian clergy suspicious of spiritualism, but some came out as supporters, seeing in the movement's focus a valuable ally against agnostic materialism.<sup>444</sup> Among the most interesting of these clergy was Archdeacon Thomas Colley (1839-1912).

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<sup>443</sup> Rolf H. Krauss, *Beyond light and shadow: The role of photography in certain paranormal phenomena* (Munich: Nazraeli Press 1995) p.15.

<sup>444</sup> On this, see Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp.69-79, and Georgina Byrne, *Modern spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010) pp.144-181.



**Fig. 3.12.** Archdeacon 'spirit photograph' of Thomas Colley with a the late W.T. Stead, who drowned on the *Titanic* in April 1912. Reproduced in James Coates (ed.), *Has W.T. Stead Returned? A Symposium*. (London: L.N. Fowler, 1913) p.121.

A study of the archdeacon's photographic activities provides evidence of the significance of photography in reconciling the claims of spiritualism with the tenets of Christian faith. Colley's reputation as an experienced photographer added greater weight to his statements about the photographic evidence supporting séances. He also provides some intriguing examples of the way in which photographic images themselves could become 'pencils of a light unseen.'

Ordained priest in 1871 he worked as a curate at St. Thomas's Church, Coventry, before moving to London in 1872 with his appointment to St Anne's, Wandsworth. Here, in 1873, he met Francis Ward Monck, another of Spurgeon's protégés. Monck had originally studied for the Baptist ministry at Spurgeon's College but after discovering his abilities as a spiritualist medium he left the ministry and began giving séances around the country. Monck and Colley shared rooms in London, and the priest remained a steadfast defender of Monck's innocence and integrity despite numerous accusations of fraud. Colley was himself deeply involved in spiritualism by the time he was appointed curate of St Mary's, Portsmouth, in

1874, but he retained a degree of critical integrity: in 1876 he exposed the fraudulent behaviour of a medium named William Eglinton.<sup>445</sup>

In September 1876 Colley was appointed chaplain to the *HMS Malabar*, a troop-ship that ferried British soldiers and their families to and from India.<sup>446</sup> The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 allowed ships to make the journey via the Mediterranean rather than round the Cape of Good Hope. One of these voyages must have enabled him to stop off en route, as he signed himself 'Temporary Chaplain at Naples' at the end of a report on 'Spiritualism in Italy', dated 19 July 1877.<sup>447</sup> The report reveals that he participated regularly in séances with a medium named Baroness Cerrapica, in addition to other activities that seem somewhat incongruous with the duties of an Anglican chaplain. While Colley was in India, his spiritualist friend Rev. Francis Monck had been accused of fraudulent practices as a medium and was sentenced to 90 days hard labour. Although unable to defend him at his trial, Colley continued to believe in Monck's integrity and joined him for séances upon returning from India – these were later recalled in Colley's 1906 pamphlet *Spiritualism not Satanic* – the title being an explicit rejection of a claim made by a number of Nonconformist clergy.<sup>448</sup>

Colley's determination to defend spiritualism against accusations of fraud led him in April 1906 to offer professional magician John Nevil Maskelyne the sum of £1000 if he could reproduce a spiritual materialisation such as Colley had witnessed emanating from Monck's side. Maskelyne (1839-1917) had spent much of his career debunking spiritualists, demonstrating their fraudulent stage tricks as part of his long-

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445 Colley's account of his exposure appeared in the periodicals *Medium and Daybreak* (1878), pp. 698, 730 and *The Spiritualist* (1879), Vol. XIV, pp. 83, 135. (1886), p. 324. They were reproduced by Eleanor Sidgwick in an article, 'Mr Eglinton', published in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* (June 1886), pp. 282-334.

446 *The Navy List* (October 1877) pp.186, 477

447 Emma H. Britten, *Nineteenth Century Miracles* (New York: William Britten, 1884) pp.396-7

448 For an example, see Baptist pastor Rev. B.B. Wale's denunciation, reported in *Leamington Spa Courier* (17 March 1877) p.4, col.6.

running shows at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly.<sup>449</sup> Having performed a dramatic re-enactment on stage at St George's Hall, Maskelyne demanded his money - only for Colley to insist that the conditions of his challenge had not been met. Maskelyne's subsequent pamphlet on the affair, *The History of a Thousand-Pound Challenge*, resulted in a suit for libel from Colley.<sup>450</sup> When the case went to trial in April 1907, Alfred Russell Wallace, who had witnessed Monck's manifestations in the late 1870s and was a convinced defender of spiritualism, appeared in Colley's defence.<sup>451</sup> Maskelyne's mockery of a clergyman went down badly in court and the ruling went in Colley's favour: the magician lost his claim and was fined £75 for libel.

The firmness of Colley's stance can be understood, given that he appears to have been an active participant in séances for some forty years and - if Henslow's reference is correct - he was attempting to make spirit photographs while in his teens, in 1858: this was some three years before William Mumler produced the first known spirit photograph.<sup>452</sup> Colley's support for spirit photography - and by association, for spiritualism - was greatly strengthened by his reputation as an experienced photographer, who had been taking photographs for some fifty years

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449 Maskelyne and Cook's shows ran from 1873 to 1905, and the Hall was renamed the Home of Mystery. According to Maskelyne, Colley had attended shows here in the late 1870s: '£1000 Challenge. Mr Maskelyne's Reply', *London Daily News* (Saturday 26 May 1906) p.9, col.5. After the Hall was demolished, Maskelyne moved to St George's Hall off Regent Street.

450 One of the statements deemed libellous in J.N. Maskelyne, *The History of a Thousand-Pound Challenge: an object lesson for spiritualism* (1906) was the claim that Colley had no right to style himself 'Archdeacon' - an issue that had provoked debate in the correspondence pages of the *Birmingham Daily Post* throughout September 1895 after Colley's return to England.

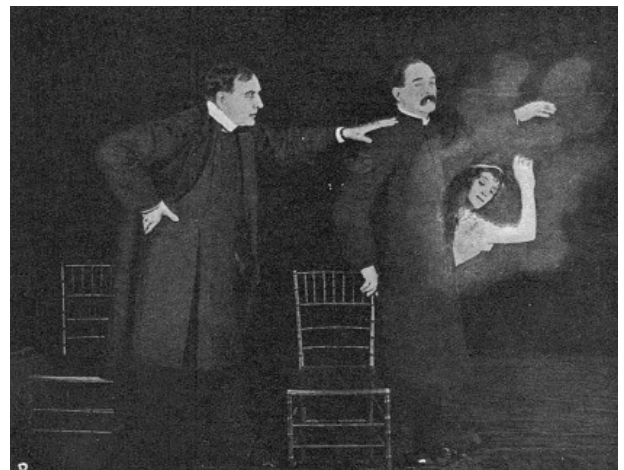
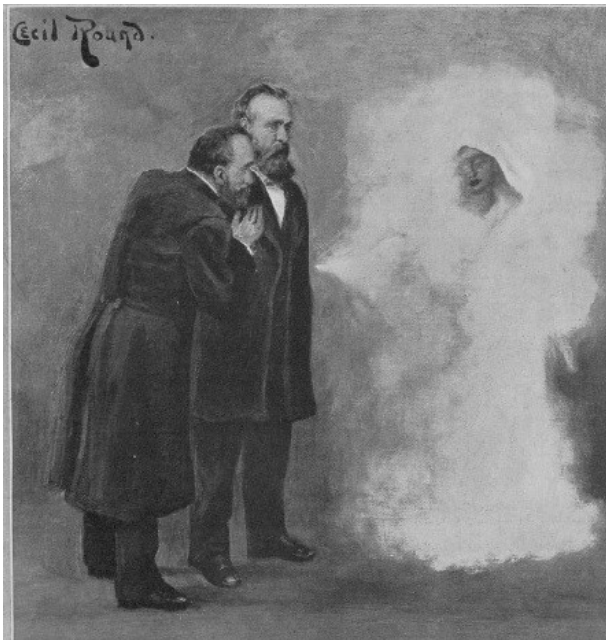
451 Alfred Wallace, *My life: a record of events and opinions* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1905) Vol.II, pp.330-1. An entertaining summary of the court case can be found in 'Ghosts on Trial', *Penny Illustrated Paper* (4 May 1907) p.275.

452 Rev. George Henslow, *The Proofs of Spirit Forces* (Chicago: The Marlowe Press, 1920) claims that 'Archdeacon Colley, however, was really the first to attempt to secure spirit photographs, about the year 1858, when he was a boy' (p.209) and provides a photograph of the 'changing and developing box' he used (Figure 26, p.202.)

before he was introduced to William Hope's 'Crewe Circle' in 1908. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle described this first meeting in his *History of Spiritualism*:

Archdeacon Colley had his first sitting with the Crewe Circle on March 16, 1908. He brought his own camera (a Lancaster quarter-plate which Mr. Hope still uses), his own diamond-marked plates and dark slides, and developed plates with his own chemicals. All that Mr. Hope did was to press the bulb for the exposure. On one of the plates were two spirit pictures.<sup>453</sup>

In the face of so many accusations of fraud and credulity, spiritualists made the most of the support offered by scientists such as Sir William Crookes, and the existence of physical evidence such as photographic images and psychographs provided further 'proof' of the validity of their beliefs.



**Fig.3.13. Left:** Cecil Round. *Alice, clothed with a cloud, appearing from the side of Dr Monck in the presence of Archdeacon Colley.* The picture was 'painted from directions given to the artist by Archdeacon Colley' and shows an incident that Colley claimed took place in 1876 or 1877. According to *The Sketch* Vol. LVIII, No.744 (1 May 1907) – where this illustration appeared on the front page – the painting by Round (1865-1933) was presented in court in support of Colley's case.

**Right:** Photograph (by an unknown photographer) showing Maskelyne's re-enactment of the same incident, with Maskelyne in the role of Monck, his future daughter-in-law Cassie as 'Alice' and actor J.B. Hansard (on left) as Archdeacon Colley.

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453 A.C. Doyle, *History of Spiritualism* (London/New York: Cassell & Co., 1926), Vol. II, p.142.

As Gunning (1995) has observed, the development of spirit photography was part of a shift in spiritualist emphasis from prophetic voice to visual manifestation.<sup>454</sup> Colley's photographic proofs can therefore be compared to the visual images offered in Keith's *Evidences*: both clergymen were using photographic technology to persuade viewers of the reality of an invisible world.

Colley's wider interest in technology including playing gramophones from his pulpit (a practice also favoured by Wilson Carlile) and also building a 'speaking pipe' - basically a form of manual telephone – into the wall of his Stockton rectory, connecting the street outside with a summerhouse in the garden. A notice on the wall invited children to recite their catechism through the pipe, with the Archdeacon rewarding correct answers by rolling an apple or orange back down.<sup>455</sup> There is an obvious parallel between this mode of communication and that used by spiritualist mediums to transmit messages from the spirits of the dead on 'the other side', as well as between the telegraph (from the Greek *tele*, distant, and *graph*, writing) and the Archdeacon's reception (and ultimately, sending) of spiritual texts, for which he again used photographic processes.

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454 Tom Gunning, 'Phantom Images and Modern Manifestations: Spirit Photography, Magic Theater, Trick Films, and Photography's Uncanny.' in Petro, (ed.), *Fugitive Images: From Photography to Video* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) p.51

455 After returning from South Africa, Colley was Rector of Stockton, in Warwickshire, from 1901 to 1912 when he resigned following a confrontation with the local bishop over his conduct during a service in January 1912. The incident, in which the archdeacon climbed into a coffin and was carried around the church during Sunday worship, was widely reported in the press e.g. *Leamington Spa Courier* (Friday 12 January 1912), p.8, col. 5. According to the *Birmingham Daily Post* (21 April 1916) p.2, col.1, this coffin was later sold at auction in Rugby for 35 shillings.

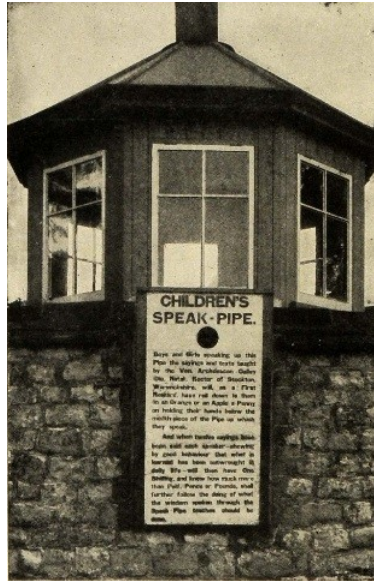


Fig.3.14. Archdeacon Colley's

'speak-pipe'

To these texts was given the name *psychographs*, for they were imprinted directly upon photographic plates that were either placed inside a camera in the presence of a medium, or – more often – held in the hands during a séance. Colley, for example, would buy a packet of twelve quarter plates in Birmingham and sit during a séance led by William Hope or D'Aute Hooper, during which they would join hands and clasp the plates which were still wrapped in their original sealed packet. Colley claimed to receive psychic 'directions' about which plates to develop, and would take these to his darkroom at Stockton rectory, sometimes in the presence of Henslow.<sup>456</sup> The psychographs, when processed, revealed themselves as images of handwritten text, usually from deceased souls known to the circle; the handwriting was clearly recognisable, could be compared to surviving letters, and was also faithful in replicating idiosyncrasies of spelling or grammar. One newspaper reported how the psychographic messages – which were read out in church as part of the archdeacon's sermon - were written in 'penmanship almost microscopic and copper-plate-like legibility and perfection on sensitive-sealed photo-plates sealed up

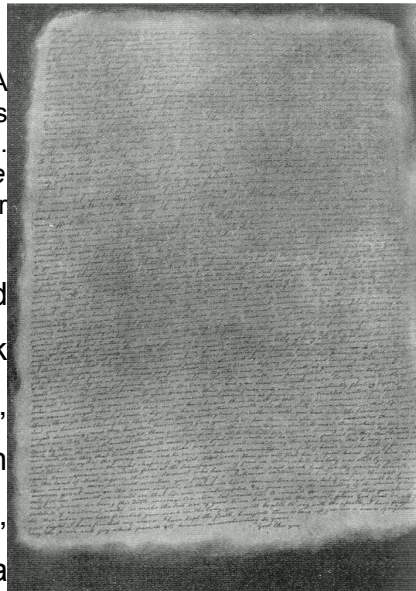
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456 Some of these plates were made into magic lantern slides and projected during a public meeting in Leamington's Albert Hall on Friday 19 August 1910. Colley showed a selection of slides and spirit photographs during the meeting, which – given that it ended with hymns and a prayer – was clearly of a religious nature. See the report in the *Leamington Spa Courier* (26 August 1910) p.4, col.7. An earlier report, entitled 'Archdeacon's Spirit Photographs', describes Colley showing photographs at the end of a sermon in Manchester - *Hull Daily Mail* (7 October 1908) p.3, col.6.



hermetically and held between the hands of his friends at their domestic worship family prayer.<sup>457</sup>

**Fig.3.15.** William Hope, 'A  
by Archdeacon Thomas  
Silver gelatin print.  
Henslow, *The Proofs of the*  
Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner



Sermon on Spiritual Resurrection  
Colley.'  
Reproduced from Rev. Prof. G.  
*Truths of Spiritualism* (London:  
& Co Ltd. 1919), facing page 209.

Colley received  
wife Lily, Francis Monck  
Adanijah) and Umbolo,  
servant while living in  
20 September 1912,  
received a

psychographs from his dead  
(who now called himself  
the archdeacon's Zulu  
Natal. After Colley's death on  
Hope claimed to have  
communication from the

Archdeacon in the form of a psychograph bearing a recognisable signature with his distinctive back-sloping 'T'.<sup>458</sup> If Hope was correct, this would be the only example in this thesis of a clergyman-photographer working from beyond the grave. The issue at

457 Anon. 'A "Message from the Unseen" for Archdeacon Colley,' *Leamington Spa Courier* (5 April 1912) p.8, col.5. See also the detailed account, with illustrations, in Anon., 'Can the Spirits of the Dead be Photographed?' *The Sketch* (21 October 1908) p.45.

458 Rev. George Henslow, *Proofs of Spirit Forces* (1920) p.191, with illustrations. Hope dated the psychograph to 9 October 1912. See also Chapter XVI of James Coates, *Photographing the Invisible* (1909) pp.360-379, which describes how other psychographs were communicated through a Birmingham medium named Dr T. D'Aute Hooper.

stake here is not so much whether or not this actually happened, but rather, what does belief in such occurrences tell us about the conceptual framework within which these clergymen practised and discussed photography.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has advanced a radical rethinking of the way in which nineteenth-century photography is perceived, arguing that its alignment with the technical worldview of modernism has been exaggerated, and seeking to redress this imbalance by rediscovering the religious context of photographic discourse and application. Central to this argument is the understanding that the process by which photographic images are created is one in which human agency is diminished, even if by no means absent. One interpretation of this is to consider photography a mechanical process, whereby human artistry is supplemented, if not quite replaced, by the technical capabilities of the camera and its associated apparatus. However, as the evidence presented in this chapter makes clear, such an understanding of photography was part of a broader framework of discourse that also used the language of natural magic, divine light and alchemy – a religious context that has been largely forgotten, and inexcusably absent from contemporary scholarship on the history of photography.

Evidence of a theological dimension to photography can be found in two distinct but overlapping fields: the application of religious terminology to discussions about photography, and the absorption of photographic terminology to religious discourse such as sermons. Furthermore, as was shown in the sections on the Disruption calotypes and spirit photographs, nineteenth-century viewers were open to the idea that the photographic image itself could communicate some form of 'spiritual message' independently of the intentions and actions of the photographer. Laying aside the controversy about the authenticity of spirit photography, the fact remains that believers from a wide spectrum of theological opinion - from the staunch Evangelical Calvinism of the Disruption Fathers to the Broad Church

liberalism of Christian spiritualists – found religious meaning and value in pictorial qualities intrinsic to different processes of the photographic medium.

When these responses are studied closely within the context of Evangelical hostility to religious imagery – in particular the distrust of the human senses associated with Calvinist theology – the distinctively religious appeal of photography becomes clearer. A comparison could be made with the concept in religious iconography of the *αχειροποίητα* (*acheiropoiète*) or ‘image made without hands’ – a visual representation that has been created without human agency, by a means typically regarded as miraculous. The classic examples are the Turin Shroud, the Veil of Veronica and the Mandylion.<sup>459</sup> The notion of the photograph as ‘an image made without hands’ has received remarkably little attention, with the few treatments being restricted to conceptual meditations rather than studies of historical documentation.<sup>460</sup>

By making a thorough analysis of such documents – including newspaper reports, original letters, printed books and religious ephemera – this chapter has presented a new conceptual framework within which the religious and iconographic elements of the photographic process are brought to the forefront of discussion. Such an approach not only demands a reappraisal of Hill and Adamson’s Free Church portraits, but also reorientates the position of nineteenth-century photography, turning it away from the discourse of modern technocracy and back towards earlier traditions in which the language of sacred scriptures and mystical theology are dominant. The next chapter shifts away from the world of spirits to examine how such an understanding of photography was applied to the natural world.

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459 On Veronica and her links with photography – she was declared the Patron Saint of Photographers in around 1896, see Daniel Grojnowski, ‘Véronique, patronne des photographes,’ *Études* Vol. 416 (2012/13) pp.367-76, and Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a ‘True’ Image* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.)

460 Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Vintage Books, 2000) p.82, Keith Broadfoot, ‘Barthes’s Religious Substance. Photography and Acheiropoietos,’ *Image & Narrative*, Vol 13, No 3 (2012), pp.141-54. Georges Didi-Huberman, ‘The Index of the Absent Wound (Monograph on a Stain)’ *October*, Vol. 29 (Summer, 1984), pp. 63-81.



No. 26. Developing-box made by the Archdeacon when a boy in 1858.

**Fig.3.16.** Archdeacon apparently used for spirit

when he was about nineteen years old. Reproduced from Rev. George Henslow, *The Proofs of Spirit Forces* (Chicago: Marlowe Press, 1920) p.202

Colley's developing box, photography in 1858

## Chapter 4

### Sermons in Stone:

#### *The search for religious meaning in landscapes and ruin*

As Alexandra Walsham observed in her far-ranging study *The Reformation of the Landscape* (2011), although the British landscape has been the subject of an 'extensive corpus of topographical and antiquarian literature':

These works reflect the perspective of the learned clergy and gentlemen who prepared them and eclipse many local traditions of which they disapproved and therefore consigned to the oblivion of silence. Nor were the sketches and drawings, woodcuts and engravings of landmarks and prospects they incorporated in their texts objective depictions: they too were coloured by the religious and intellectual convictions of those who made them, as well as by artistic and generic convention.<sup>461</sup>

The scope of Walsham's work means that her religious analysis of images of the landscape ends before the arrival of photography: this is an area, therefore, that still requires a similar level of extensive research. It is the aim of this chapter to investigate the attitudes of clergymen-photographers regarding the perception and depiction of landscapes, ruins and antiquities, seeking to identify the religious, aesthetic and philosophical concepts underpinning their photographic work, and to clarify whether the images created by clergymen-photographers in the nineteenth century were equally coloured by 'religious and intellectual convictions.' The natural theology tradition discussed in Chapter One remained profoundly influential at this time, rooting popular engagement with the natural world within the context of religious experience and discourse. This chapter responds at least in part to the insistent calls by Christopher Tilley (1994, 2010) for historians and archaeologists to give more thought to the 'experiential dimension' of religious sites: while his phenomenological approach to exploring the British landscape attracted strong criticism, he was right to emphasise the need to appreciate how: 'histories, discourses and ideologies are created and re-created through reference to the special affinity people have with an area of land, its topography, waters, rocks, locales, paths and boundaries'.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>461</sup> Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) p.15.

Such affinities are typically expressed through the creative arts and during this period in Britain artistic engagement with the landscape was characterised by ‘the cult of the picturesque’ – a set of ideals and principles that defined how the visual qualities of the countryside should be appreciated. Although, as Ann Bermingham has observed, by the beginning of the nineteenth century ‘the word picturesque had become so overused that it had become virtually meaningless’, its vocabulary and concepts permeated artistic and literary engagement with the landscape at every level.<sup>463</sup> When the first generation of photographers began seeking outdoor subjects for their cameras, therefore, existing notions of the picturesque provided a template for both the content of their photographs and the manner of their treatment.<sup>464</sup> As both Bermingham and Barrell (1980) have argued, contemplating the landscape through the lens of the picturesque tended to align the viewer with the perspective of a privileged estate owner, unwilling to allow signs of poverty or industry to enter the frame.<sup>465</sup> While there is no denying that the lives of Anglican clergymen were often

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462 Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: places, paths and monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994) p.67. See also his collection of essays, *Interpreting landscapes: geologies, topographies, identities. Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology 3* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010) and the critical review by Andrew Fleming, ‘Phenomenology and the Megaliths of Wales: a Dreaming Too Far?’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 18:2 (May 1999) pp.119-125. While acknowledging the flaws in Tilley’s work, Beatrice Widell, ‘The Monastic Lifeworld: Memories and Narratives of Landscapes of Early Medieval Monasticism in Argyll, Scotland’, *Journal of Landscapes* Vol. 18:1 (2017) pp.4-18 argues for the value in rediscovering the phenomenological ‘lifeworld’ of medieval monks in order to better understand the relationship between ‘sacred events and topographical experiences.’ For a similar approach, see Ian Bradley, *Argyll: the making of a Spiritual Landscape* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 2015).

463 Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987) p.84). For a more general study, see Malcolm Andrews *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

464 For further discussion of the significance of the picturesque for early photographers, see Grace Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1986). pp. 47-9 and Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Victorian Photography, Literature, and the Invention of Modern Memory. Already the Past.* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017) pp.69-71.

465 Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987) pp.68-69, John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: the Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) pp.70-76.

privileged and closely associated with those of rural squires and magistrates, many were actively involved in improving the lives of their poorer parishioners, and some – like Canon Edward Girdlestone - were willing to campaign forcefully on their behalf against injustice and oppression by landowners.<sup>466</sup> Challenging the status quo in this way went against the conservative attitudes inherent in natural theology, which provided a means of discerning God's purpose from the evidence found in the natural world. The picturesque movement – with its insistence on the need to manipulate, objectify and dominate the natural environment - brought further levels of complexity and contradiction to such an approach, while the penchant for the irregular textures of Gothic ruins in the landscape added another layer of interaction between human activity and the environment.

The complex interaction between such issues forms the subject of this chapter, which uses a series of close readings of individual photographs by clergymen to explore the wider social and religious dimensions of their engagement with the landscape. The very different treatments of Somerset locations by the Revs. Francis Lockey (1796-1869) and John G Derrick (1852-1907) reveal the photographers' contrasting agendas and social networks, while the images taken in Scotland by Rev. James Bannatyne Mackenzie (1833-1920) testify to the extent to which Christian and pre-Christian beliefs and practices were shaped by the distinctive features of the Highland landscape. Finally, an examination of the extraordinary life and photographic travels of Rev. George Wilson Bridges (1788-1863) – along with the work of other clergymen who took their cameras to the Holy Land - demonstrates the tension between religious truth and photographic objectivity within the context of British perceptions of the Biblical landscape. These examples of religious or intellectual engagement with the landscape presuppose at least some level of physical contact, and – as Chapter Two discussed – the process of rural depopulation stimulated feelings of loss, anxiety and nostalgia that were reflected in the work of late Victorian clergymen-photographers. Rather than examining such a *response* to the landscape, this chapter begins by considering how pre-existing

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<sup>466</sup> Girdlestone helped organise a trade union movement for Devon agricultural labourers. See R.J. Perry, 'Edward Girdlestone, 1805-84. A Forgotten Evangelical,' *Journal of Religious History* Vol. 9:3 (June 1977) pp.292-301.

convictions and ideals influenced how clergymen-photographers approached the landscape, and how these may have helped shape their photographic work.

The first section examines the link between early photography and the picturesque art tradition – identified by Seiberling (1985) – and suggests that the elements of subjectivity and moral choice provided a religious basis for later clergymen-photographers to build upon. It should be noted that there were already established traditions of reading the landscape in terms of allegorical and typological symbolism: as early as the second century AD Christian theologians were arguing that it was possible to discern God’s revelation through contemplation of the natural world, while later writers postulated the idea of a Book of Nature alongside the Book of Scripture.<sup>467</sup> Such ideas were still prevalent in the popular culture of mid-Victorian Britain: the main character in Charles Kingsley’s novel *Alton Locke* (1850), for example, reminisces about his childhood when ‘I knew every leaf and flower in the little front garden; every cabbage and rhubarb plant in Battersea fields was wonderful and beautiful to me. Clouds and water I learned to delight in... I brought home wild-flowers and chance beetles and butterflies, and pored over them, not in the spirit of a naturalist, but of a poet. They were to me God's angels shining in coats of mail and fairy masquerading dresses.’<sup>468</sup> Sentimental fancy this may be, but it surely bears consideration as a possible context for the microphotographs of insects taken by the novelist’s cousin, Rev. William Kingsley, and exhibited in the 1850s. The latter’s friendship with Ruskin was discussed in detail in Chapter One, and the art critic’s *Modern Painters* contains a sustained argument on how diverse elements of natural beauty found in the created world offer ‘a communion ultimately deep,

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467 Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, Book I, 18: ‘For my part I postulate that a god ought first to be known by nature, and afterwards further known by doctrine - by nature through his works, by doctrine through official teaching.’ Augustine described creation as ‘divine art’ (*On the Trinity*, 6.12) and the theme was further developed by Aquinas and later theologians, distinguishing between ‘revealed theology’ and ‘natural theology’, i.e. knowledge of God that can be obtained through human reason alone, via the contemplation of nature. See James J. Bono, ‘From Paracelsus to Newton: The Word of God, the Book of Nature, and the Eclipse of the Emblematic Worldview’ in James Force and Richard Popkin (eds.), *Newton, Religion, Context, Nature and Influence* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999) pp.45-76.

468 Rev. Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet. An Autobiography* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1850) Vol. I, p.8.



close, and conscious, with the Being whose darkened manifestations we here feebly and unthinkingly delight in.' Ruskin indeed goes further, insisting that theological education and moral values such as purity of heart make it easier for an individual to interpret typological elements in the landscape as expressions of the Godhead.<sup>469</sup>

Some scholarly attention has been given in recent years to the impact made by Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites on visual representations of the landscape in relation both to fine art and photography, and there is no doubt that these new aesthetic approaches to the natural world may have influenced the work of clergymen-photographers who were active at this time. Bartram (1985), for example, points out that in addition to the now widely-recognised fact that many artists were influenced by (and made use of) photographic techniques, photographers too were influenced by Pre-Raphaelite artists: both were 'in a pursuit of common ends by different means.'<sup>470</sup> Using close readings of both literary and visual texts, Smith (1995) produced further evidence of the extent to which the complex interrelationships between Victorian art, literature, visual theory and modes of perception were permeated – in often subtle ways – by what she terms 'the presence of photography as a disruptive cultural discourse.'<sup>471</sup> Waggoner's *Pre-Raphaelite Lens* (2011) accompanied an exhibition of the same name and brought together several scholarly essays that examined – from different perspectives – the dialogue that took place between photographers and Pre-Raphaelite painters, and what both parties learned from about visual representation and pictorial truth.<sup>472</sup>

While acknowledging the richness of this reciprocal relationship, however, the focus of this chapter is not on the continuity and links between landscape painting and photography, but rather on the disjuncture, those elements that set photography apart. Photography not only enabled, but - I would argue – compelled these

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469 For an analysis of Ruskin's views on this, see L. Clifton Edwards, 'Re-envisaging Ruskin's Types: Beautiful Order as Divine Revelation', *Irish Theological Quarterly* Vol. 77:2 (2012), pp.165-81.

470 Michael Bartram, *The Pre-Raphaelite Camera: Aspects of Victorian Photography*. (Boston: Little Brown/New York Graphic Society, 1985) p.180.

471 Lindsay Smith, *Victorian Photography, Painting: The Enigma of Visibility in Ruskin, Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p.77.

clergymen to engage with the landscape in new ways. This idea is tested through studies of four such photographers who engaged with a variety of landscapes in different locations, beginning with an analysis of the work of Rev. Francis Lockey that shows how his photographs of Bath's Prior Park can be read as expressions of anti-Catholic opinion. The following section contrasts Lockey's career with the social world and photography of Rev. John G. Derrick, advancing my argument that the content and composition of their photographs subtly reflects differences in their parish ministries and religious outlook. Although both clergymen made topographical and architectural studies in landscapes familiar to them, they engage with these views differently, and a careful interpretation of these provides insights into the process whereby photographic activities were shaped (consciously or unconsciously) by intellectual and religious convictions. Building on the strong sense of emotional engagement with a specific location found in the work of Lockey and Derrick, the following section looks at Rev. James Bannatyne Mackenzie's work with ancient stones and early Christian tradition, demonstrating how the texture and detail captured in his wet collodion images emphasise the religious preoccupation with stones that is embedded in both his antiquarian writings and the history of his personal and pastoral experience.

The fifth section is devoted to tensions between religious truth and Biblical sites as found in the calotype photography of the Rev. George Wilson Bridges, and this is followed by further discussion of clergymen-photographers in the Holy Land. The shift overseas reveals continuity on one level between the complex interplays of devotional identity and photographic practice, in addition to responses specific to the Holy Land's unique place in the Protestant imagination. While a fascination with Biblical landscapes and typological symbolism was by no means the preserve of

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472 Diane Waggoner et al., *The Pre-Raphaelite Lens, British Photography and Painting, 1848-1875* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2011). Scholarship on this topic is indebted to pioneering work done by earlier writers, such as Graham Ovenden, *Pre-Raphaelite Photography* (London: Academy Editions, 1972), Jeremy Maas, *The Victorian art world in photographs* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1984) and Allen Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape* (New Haven: The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2001. 2nd edition) which was first published in 1978.

clergymen-photographers, the authority granted to their clerical status due to their perceived expertise in Biblical knowledge granted them a unique position as mediators of religious truth, interpreters of the sacred landscape. Again, focussing on those elements of photography that distinguished it from other visual arts, a link is made between the 'objectivity' of the photographic image and the efforts of clergy to defend the veracity of the Biblical narrative. Following a section looking at clergymen-photographers supporting a Christian mission to the Jewish people in Palestine, the chapter concludes by examining two clergymen working in Egypt: a comparison between these two 'Biblical' regions reveals how photographs were produced in order to meet domestic demand for images of the Holy Land, while at the same time balancing this against the needs of antiquarian scholarship and religious verisimilitude.

#### **4.1. Priests, Photography and the Picturesque**

It is an obvious point but one that needs recalling: for the early practitioners of the calotype and wet collodion processes, there was no tradition of landscape photography in existence when they took their cameras out into the countryside. Their aesthetic sense of what a landscape should look like was formed by the conventions of landscape painting, and more specifically, by the concept of 'the picturesque.' As both Batchen (1999) and Hess (2008) have argued, photography emerged from the strong and widespread desire to have a permanent record of human visual experience of the picturesque, while Ackerman (2003) and Jäger (2003) have shown how the choice of subjects – monuments and civic architecture - was closely associated with issues of national identity.<sup>473</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: Conception of Photography* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999) ix; Scott Hess, 'William Wordsworth and Photographic Objectivity' *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (December 2008), p.291. This article provided the basis for a lengthier discussion in Chapter One – 'Picturesque Vision, Photographic Subjectivity, and the (Un) framing of Nature' - of the same author's *William Wordsworth and the ecology of authorship: the roots of environmentalism in nineteenth-century culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012) pp.21-67. James S. Ackerman, 'The Photographic Picturesque' *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 24, No. 48 (2003), pp. 73-94, Jens Jäger, 'Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in Britain and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,' in Ryan and Schwartz, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003) pp.117-140, shows how early British photography was particularly imbued with patriotic ideals.

Although it is not hard to discern in such images concerns about preservation and patriotism, nostalgia and nationhood, the extent to which these works extolled moral and religious values has rarely received any attention. Is it possible, in fact, for a mechanical rendering of a natural landscape to have any religious value? Traditionally, landscape painting was ranked below religious and genre/history painting, which alone were regarded as fine art because of their ability to communicate moral truths. By contrast, reproducing a pre-existing landscape involved no creative leaps or significant choices of selection, limiting the artistic work involved. As Joshua Reynolds dismissively remarked, 'A mere copier of nature can never produce anything great.'<sup>474</sup> This phrase recalls very similar comments made about the lowly status of photography as a mechanical process associated with mere reproduction of nature.<sup>475</sup>

A shift in the British attitude towards landscape painting was initiated in 1757 with the publication of a treatise by young Irishman and future MP Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. His ideas drew on theories of physiology, linking the perceiver's experience of the sublime or beautiful to physical sensations such as the tightening or relaxation of muscle fibres.<sup>476</sup> As the previous two chapters have argued, philosophical theories about the workings of the human eye and theological views on the salvific role of the senses provide a context for mid-Victorian debates about the function of photography that demands reassessment. The Rev. William Gilpin (1724-1804), an Anglican clergyman who was both a prolific sketcher of landscapes as well as a collector of paintings, responded to Burke's ideas by developing a third category, that

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474 Reynolds, 'A Discourse delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy on the Distribution of the Prizes, December, 14, 1770, by the President,' *Seven Discourses Delivered in the Royal Academy by the President* (London: T. Cadell, 1778) p.69. Such principles were of more relevance to Reynolds' reputation as President of the Academy than to his practice as a painter

475 Lady Eastlake contrasted the work of the artist with the photographer as: 'whatever appertains to the free-will of the intelligent being, as opposed to the obedience of the machine' 'Photography,' *The London Quarterly Review*, No. 101 (April 1857), p.466.

476 See Section XVI. 'Why Darkness is Terrible.'

of the picturesque – a term he continued to refine in successive essays written during the late eighteenth century.<sup>477</sup> It is possible to regard the category of the picturesque as occupying a middle ground between the sublime – which evoked awe and terror - and the beautiful – which was smooth and aesthetically pleasing. Picturesque landscapes combined irregular, asymmetrical features with rugged textures and varied patterns of light and shadow to create an effect that stirred the viewer's senses while providing aesthetic satisfaction. As a clergyman he did not relinquish his responsibilities towards the spiritual welfare of those who looked at picturesque views, warning against the possible conflict between the aesthetic and the moral.<sup>478</sup>

His views were shared by the Jesuit priest Fr. Thomas West S.J., (1720-79) a member of the Society of Antiquaries and a noted historian whose works included *The Antiquities of Furness, or An Account of the Royal Abbey of Furness* and the hugely popular *A Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland Westmorland and Lancashire* (1778) which had gone through eleven editions by 1821.<sup>479</sup> In his guidebook, West directed readers towards a series of viewing 'stations' along the lakeside where they could obtain the best picturesque effects.<sup>480</sup>

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477 *An Essay on Prints* (1768), *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* (1794)

478 Gilpin addressed the idea that 'moral and picturesque ideas do not always coincide' in *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England* (London: R. Blamire, 1786) Vol. II, pp.44-45, admitting that the picturesque need for untamed nature, wildness and irregularity necessitated the omission of any signs of economic labour and cultivation, but the inclusion of images suggesting otherwise reprehensible activities – such as gypsies, bandits and monks. In his earlier *A dialogue upon the gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (London: B. Seeley, 1748) two characters discuss the 'distinction between natural and moral beauties', perturbed by their irrational attraction to 'Prospects of a ruinous kind' rather than 'views of Plenty and Prosperity' (p.5.)

479 On West's literary significance, see John Seward (ed.) *Firmly I Believe and Truly: the Spiritual Tradition of Catholic England 1483-1999* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) pp.334 ff

480 Parallels can be made with the later 'Kodak spot' – see David T. Doris "It's the Truth, It's Actual...": Kodak Picture Spots at Walt Disney World', *Visual Resources*, 14:3 (1999), pp.321-338,

Rev. A.H. Blake followed this approach in the lengthy series of articles he wrote for the *Amateur Photographer* magazine on 'Picturesque Spots.'<sup>481</sup> These take the form of a personal itinerary and address the reader directly; the following excerpts reveal typical picturesque tropes such as the desire to emulate fine art paintings, the significance of literary associations and a penchant for ruin and decay

Taking his camera with him from the station, he will at once command a fine view of the Castle, looking up Castle Hill...He has only to turn the camera towards the Town Hall to command what under certain lighting is really a fine picture and has often been painted.'<sup>482</sup> 'A walk of about half a mile will bring you to a place where your road is crossed by another so as to form the letter T, and then on your right you will see a piece of water known as Horton Mere...It is best to visit it in the winter, when the reeds are dry and withered. The writer had a picture from there which took a medal some time ago in an A.P. Landscape Competition, and was entitled,

'There by the many-knotted water flags  
That whistle dry and stiff against the marge.'<sup>483</sup>

Churches appear frequently in Blake's guides, including a passing reference to 'a brother clergyman', author of 'some interesting articles on Church Architecture which he contributed to these columns' who can be identified as Rev. Thomas Perkins from Chapter Two.<sup>484</sup> His reflections on Charles Kingsley's parish church at Eversley in Hampshire demonstrate Blake's belief that the mere sight of a building in a landscape can evoke powerful feelings on the strength of its religious connections:

No one who loves the great rector who once ruled here, can gaze unmoved at the little church, from the pulpit of which were first heard those sermons which have been as the plank to the drowning man for thousands of those in doubt and perplexity.<sup>485</sup>

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481 Between January and August 1896 over thirty articles were written for this series, most of them by Blake with occasional other contributors. The first article was written as a one-off response to an inquirer, but popular demand encouraged Blake to continue. Locations included London, Eton, Windsor, North Cornwall, the Isle of Sark

482 Rev. A.H. Blake, 'Picturesque Spots near London on the G.W.R.', *Amateur Photographer* (24 January 1896) p.62.

483 Blake, 'Picturesque Spots II, On L. & S.W.R.', *Amateur Photographer* (14 February 1896) p.131. The verses are from Tennyson's narrative poem 'The Passing of Arthur'.

484 Blake, 'Picturesque Spots III, 'Bath and District', *Amateur Photographer* (21 February 1896) p.156

485 Blake, 'Picturesque Spots V, 'Eversley by L. & S.W. Railway', *Amateur Photographer* (13 March 1896) p.223.

References such as these to paintings, literature and religious biography indicate not only that Blake expected his readers to be sufficiently educated and informed to appreciate the allusions, but also that he believed these cultural associations to be a vital part of the photographer's experience of the landscape. This suggestion that nature needed in some way to be augmented, or mediated, can also be found in Fr. West's advocacy of the use of the 'landscape mirror.' Also known as the Claude glass, this device enabled visitors to turn their backs on the scene of interest and examine the landscape in a handheld convex mirror that presented the view in an oval, pictorial frame with the mellow gradation of tones that painters sought to achieve.<sup>486</sup> As Hess (2008) observed, the Claude glass used 'a distinctively picturesque technology of framing' and can justly be considered a 'technical cousin to the photographic camera.'<sup>487</sup>

This emphasis on the importance of an individual's subjective perception of the landscape raises questions about the relationship between the photographic image and objective reality. In Chapter Two there was a discussion of the debate between the Rev. Thomas Perkins and Col. Gale about the extent to which photography should attempt to emulate human vision. However, as both Burgin (1980) and Snyder (1980) have explored in detail, for all its apparent realism the photograph falls far short of duplicating the effects of embodied human vision.<sup>488</sup> A similar paradox arises with the stereoscope, which originally severed the link between vision and reality – by proving that what humans see is constructed by the brain – before being marketed as a popular commodity that accurately represented the real world.<sup>489</sup>

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486 West, *Guide to the Lakes* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. (London: Richardson & Urquhart, 1780) pp.11-12.

487 Scott Hess, 'William Wordsworth and Photographic Objectivity' *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (December 2008), p.290.

488 Joel Snyder, 'Picturing Vision', *Critical Inquiry*, 6 (1980), pp.499-526, addresses the question of what makes a photograph appear 'real' – is it the resemblance to the subject depicted, or the recreation of visual experience? See also Victor Burgin, "Seeing Sense" (1980), in his *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity* (London: MacMillan, 1986), pp. 51–70, esp. pp. 51–53.

Moreover, by stressing the significance of individual perception of the landscape and suggesting there were right and wrong ways to experience topography, an argument can be made that this was a space for exercising subjective, moral judgments. From here it was a short step for the priest-authors to gently introduce the notion that the picturesque landscape could provide a path for spiritual progress. Gilpin's modest hints in this direction, 'If however the admirer of nature can turn his amusements to a higher purpose...it is certainly the better,' were expressed far more directly by Fr. West, whose wish that the viewer's mind will be raised 'from nature to nature's first cause' reflects the difference in theological training behind an Anglican cleric of the Broad Church tradition and a Jesuit priest.<sup>490</sup> These currents would continue to play once photography arrived, and a new generation of clergymen began engaging with the landscape through the lens of the camera rather than a Claude glass.<sup>491</sup> This reiterates the point made in Chapter Three: namely, that despite the 'modernity' of photography that is trumpeted by Cray and others, the experience of early practitioners was shaped much more by well-established and richly-textured traditions of fine art and moral discourse. This is particularly relevant when considering the photographic work of Rev. Francis Lockey, to whom we now turn.

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489 See Laura Burd Schiavo, 'From Phantom Image to Perfect Vision: Physiological Optics, Commercial Photography, and the Popularization of the Stereoscope,' in Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree (eds.), *New Media, 1740-1915* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003) pp.113-138.

490 William Gilpin, '*On Picturesque Travel*' in *Three Essays* 2nd edition (London: R. Blamire, 1794) p.47. Thomas West SJ, *A guide to the lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, by the author of The antiquities of Furness* (Kendal: W. Pennington, 1821) pp.3-4.

491 On photography and the picturesque, see Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999), Peter Galassi, *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981), pp. 12–22; and Heinrich Schwarz, *Art and Photography: Forerunners and Influences*, ed. William E. Parker (Rochester, N.Y.: Gibbs M. Smith in association with Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1985), pp. 85–117.



## 4.2. The Romish Ruins of Rev. Francis Lockey (1796-1869)

A skilled and prolific practitioner of both the calotype and waxed paper processes, Lockey belonged to the second generation of photographers with his earliest surviving image bearing the date of 1849. He was therefore a mature man in his mid-fifties when he first picked up a camera, someone who came to photography with views and habits that had been reinforced over half a century of experience. It is therefore no surprise to discern in Lockey's photographic images a number of religious and intellectual convictions drawn from the previous decades.

Lockey studied at Cambridge before being ordained in 1823, serving as priest-in-charge of the Somerset parish of Blackford-in-Wedmore from 1823 until 1838. From 1836 he lived in the village of Swainswick, a short distance from the city of Bath which provided the setting for most of his photographs. In addition to numerous well-executed views of churches, public buildings and riverside scenes, Lockey made a series of calotype images of Prior Park on the other side of the city, including this view of an unfinished chapel:



**Fig.4.1.** Rev. Francis Lockey. *Uncompleted Chapel, Prior Park No.172* (circa 1855/59). Salt paper print from a calotype negative. 277 x 219 mm. Royal Scientific and Literary Institute, Bath Reference Library. No. 172

Built in the mid-eighteenth century for the mayor of Bath, Ralph Allen, the mansion of Prior Park was set in a grassy valley that had been landscaped by Capability Brown and included a Palladian Bridge, grotto and serpentine lake.<sup>492</sup> Gilpin's theories of the picturesque had been developed and elaborated by Payne Knight and his near-neighbour Sir Uvedale Price, both of whom were critical of Brown's approach to landscape gardening, which failed to implement their ideals on the picturesque; Brown aspired to a form of regularised, smooth classical beauty and elegant curves, rather than rugged variety and rusticism. Gilpin much preferred ruins to a pristine Palladian manor, so much so that he advised constructing facsimile ruins.

Lockey's photographs of Prior Park are notable for their oblique angles and the absence of any signs of human life. Although his views show vast terraces, rows of pillars, sweeping driveways etc, the landscape appears eerily deserted. There are no figures, animals, parked carriages, visible anywhere. Although there is no visible damage on the structure, the buildings appear as deserted as ruins. This could be interpreted as in keeping with Gilpin's principle – discussed above - but it is also possible to offer a further line of argument.

After Allen's death in 1764 the estate passed through family hands before being offered up for sale in the 1820s. It was bought in 1828 by Peter Augustus Baines, a Roman Catholic and former Benedictine monk who had been appointed to Bath in 1817 and was consecrated vicar apostolic of the Western District shortly after.<sup>493</sup> Two years after Baines arrived in Bath, while Lockey was still an undergraduate at Cambridge, he wrote an anonymous pamphlet with the title *Protestantism or Popery. The Dangers Threatening the Religious and Civil Liberties*

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492 Palladian architecture was built in the style of Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580)

493 He received episcopal ordination in 1823, as co-adjutor to the ailing Bishop Collingridge, whom he succeeded in 1826. Prior to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850, England was classed as an 'Apostolic Vicariate', governed by bishops who were appointed to 'titular sees' i.e. defunct dioceses from early Church history. Baines was titular bishop of Siga, an ancient Roman port in Algeria. For more on Baines' career, see Pamela J Gilbert, *This Restless Prelate: Bishop Peter Augustus Baines 1746-1843* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2006.)

*of the British Nation by the Admission of Roman Catholics to Political Power* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819). It reads like the work of a young man, peppered with multiple exclamation marks and forceful denunciations, but the hostility towards Roman Catholicism is tangible. The thrust of the pamphlet is legal and constitutional rather than religious, and according to Venn, Lockey was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1814 and may have had leanings towards a career in law before turning to Anglican ministry.<sup>494</sup> His chief concern is to warn legislators about the dangers to England's safety if concessions were made to Roman Catholics: his references to their 'idoltrous rites, superstitious ceremonies' (p.9) 'idolatry' (p.11), 'antichristian' (p.12), 'pagan rites' (p.18) make it abundantly clear that he believed Roman Catholicism to lie beyond the pale of the Christian faith.

His photograph of the Prior Park chapel seems to support this. By choosing a low camera angle Lockey accentuated the height of the pillars, and the resemblance to an ancient pagan temple – such as those currently being excavated in Greece and Egypt – is surely deliberate. Furthermore, this angle exposes the open sky above the pillars, drawing attention to the unfinished roof and the thwarted aspirations of the Catholic prelate.<sup>495</sup> The calotype's mottled texture and tones give a dark, ruinous feel to the image, suggestive of decay. The tangled undergrowth creeping over the stones conforms to the picturesque aesthetic yet offers a comment too on the claims of Catholicism to 'universal temporal supremacy' (p.17ff) that Lockey condemned in his pamphlet. Worldly ambition has come to nothing.

A similar interpretation can be applied to his photograph of Malmesbury Abbey (Fig.4.2), which has been taken from the north-east and emphasises the vast open space visible through the ruined archway. This arch had once supported a huge 430 foot spire – probably the tallest in the country at that time – but this collapsed to the ground during a storm in the early sixteenth century. The tower was never rebuilt and

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494 J.A. Venn, *Alumni cantabrigienses; a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*. Part II, Vol. IV. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951) p.196.

495 The foundation stone for the chapel had been laid in 1844 but it remained unfinished at the time Lockey took his photographs. It was not opened for worship until 1882. More information on Prior Park is included in Chapter Five.

following the dissolution of the monastery under Henry VIII, all the masonry and monastic buildings to the east of it gradually disappeared.<sup>496</sup> Lockey has angled his camera so that the picture includes dwelling houses to the east, leaving no doubt in



the viewer's mind about the physical limits of the ruin. Such a reading reveals that the clergyman made creative choices based on his religious and intellectual convictions about Roman Catholicism.

**Fig.4.2.** Rev. Francis Lockey. *Malmesbury Abbey* (ca.1853).  
Gelatin silver print from original calotype negative. 276 x 216 mm  
Patrick Montgomery private collection

His persistence in using waxed paper and calotype aligns him with the art-photographers chiefly interested in the aesthetics of landscape, but he appears to have worked in isolation, eschewing either public exhibition of his work or

496 Rev. Thomas Perkins, *The abbey churches of Bath & Malmesbury, and the church of Saint Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1901) pp.52-3, 78 ff.

membership of any photographic society. His enthusiasm for photography was part of a wider interest in mechanical and optical devices, as revealed by the auctioneer's advert for his household contents following Lockey's death. In addition to 'a quantity of philosophical and photographic apparatus', items for sale included an unusual example of a 'fine toned Euterpeon, with six barrels' – a self-playing musical instrument made by German inventor Martin Blessing that often attracted curious interest at fairgrounds – a Gregorian reflecting telescope with 6-inch aperture, a refracting telescope, a double-barrel air pump, with extra barrel, a large plate electrical machine, an electric battery with twelve Leyden jars, a telegraphic apparatus with electro-magnetic machine attached, a Wheatstone's telegraphic indicator, an electro motive machine, with several working models attached, a galvanic clock, a rolling press and turning lathe. His cottage was sold off at the same time, and the description referred to the 'excellent photographic studio' that Lockey had built on to Swainswick Cottage.<sup>497</sup>

#### **4.3 Figures in a Landscape: Rev. John G Derrick (1852-1907)**

Although he did not take up photography until almost twenty years after Lockey's death, the Rev. John Derrick also spent much of his time in rural locations in Somerset and Gloucestershire and – also like Lockey - used a horse and cart and at least one servant to transport his photographic equipment around the county. Some overlap in content and style might have been expected, but a comparison of their surviving work reveals more dissimilarity than resemblance. The one obvious difference between their work is the prominence of the human figure in Derrick's photographs.

Derrick's life was full of movement, travel and social engagement. Ordained in 1876 he was appointed curate of St John's, Cheltenham in 1877, supplementing his modest income with lectures while he studied part time at Trinity College Dublin. He married in March 1885 and the following day set off for Calcutta, where he had obtained a chaplaincy in the Indian Army. After travelling overland to India via Brindisi

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<sup>497</sup> For details of the cottage, studio and contents, see the advertisements in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (6 August 1874) p.4 and *The Times* (27 August 1874) p.16.

and visiting Verona and the Italian Lakes, he found the heat on the sub-continent too much to bear and returned to England where he secured a post as a workhouse chaplain. Through further supplementary work as a tutor and lecturer, in 1887 he was able to buy a house at 2 Royal Crescent, Cheltenham.<sup>498</sup> It was around this time that he obtained his first camera, buying it from a young man in need of financial help. If the purchase was an act of charity, it is possible that he had not intended at first to take up photography. However, his seriousness was in little doubt, and when he adapted and modernised the new house to his own designs, he constructed a dark room in the semi-basement. He also showed an interest in the magic lantern, and took part in Sidney Herbert's lantern lectures on ancient Egyptian art.<sup>499</sup>

Although over 300 of Derrick's glass plates and celluloid negatives survive, barely a handful of these depict Cheltenham. The vast majority were taken during his biannual holidays which saw him and his young family travel to places such as Kilve, East Brent, Lympsham, Porlock, Quantoxhead, Cheddar Gorge and Exmoor. His photographs record not only the Somerset countryside, with picturesque views of churches, stone bridges and woodland copses, but also a range of crafts and agricultural activities such as cider-pressing, gardening, wheel-making, thatching and rick-making. Through repeated return visits to these locations over the years, he established trusting relationships with rural workers, and – like Alfred Malan with the railwaymen (Chapter One) - was able to use these acquaintances to improve his pictures. When he wanted to take a photograph of wheelwrights William and Alex Frampton at their workshop in Kilve, for example, he asked them to choose a pose in which they could stand still for some fifteen minutes.<sup>500</sup> The Framptons – father and

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498 The local press carried regular adverts of Derrick's tutorial services, suggesting a steady need for more pupils, as well as reports of his work as an army chaplain and schools examiner.

499 These were given at the Cheltenham Ladies' College by local artist Sydney Herbert (1847-1914), with Derrick operating the lantern in March – see the *Cheltenham Looker-On* (18 March 1893) p.20 – and providing his own slides of ancient Egypt a few months later: *Cheltenham Looker-On* (28 October 1893) p.11. Herbert was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society for his work in Egyptology and Biblical archaeology.

500 *In a Good Light* (Glastonbury: Friends of the 2006) p.46



son – were not the only workers who appear in Derrick's photographs. Other images depict the staff of the Hood Arms in Kilve, the popular barmaid Lucy of the Ship Inn at Porlock, workmen employed on the construction of his holiday cottage at East Brent, tennis players, friends of his wife, harvesters and schoolchildren. The importance of family and friends can be seen in a comparison of two views of the ruined Kilve Chantry, the first of which – from an 1848 engraving reproduced (above) in the *Illustrated London News* – depicts the ruin in a typically picturesque style.



**Fig.4.3.** Remains of Kilve Chantry, *Illustrated London News* (25 November 1848) p.4.

Derrick's photograph has retained elements of the picturesque, with the low camera angle emphasising the height of the ivy-clad walls, and the overhanging branch helping to frame the picture and direct the viewer's eye towards the centre. However, in the heart of the ruin there is no symbol of desolation such as a fallen pillar or solitary figure, but rather a pleasant picnic scene.

The fourteenth century ruin has traded its romantic atmosphere in order to function as a backdrop to a family picnic, in which the priest's wife and three children - Kathleen (1888-1971), Leslie (1890-1917) and Freda (1893-1969, later an artist

and author) - gaze towards the lens.<sup>501</sup> Reports of the family's removal from Cheltenham for their summer holidays in Kilve were noted in the 'Arrivals and Departures' column of the local press, and motivation for visiting the medieval chantry can easily be identified by the simple fact that it lies on the path from the Hood Arms – where they were staying – to the beach.<sup>502</sup>



**Fig.4.4.** Rev. J.G. Derrick, *Family at Kilve Priory* (ca. late 1890s).  
Derrick Collection 28/1999/30 Somerset Heritage Collection.

Derrick's interaction with West Somerset's ecclesiastical antiquities cannot be separated from his family's recreational activities, but an examination of the glass plates preserved in the Somerset Heritage Collection reveal this to be a consistent pattern, repeated year after year. As successive photographs depict the children

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501 Freda Derrick's published books included *Gothic Wanderings in Somerset. Notes on Somerset churches. With illustrations.* (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1930) and *Tales Told in Church Stones. Symbolism and Legend in Medieval Architecture and Handicrafts. With 54 Illustrations by the Author* (London: The Lutterworth Press, 1935.) Several well-informed and affectionate studies of traditional handicrafts in the region – such as *Country Craftsmen* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1945), *Cotswold Stone* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1948) and *A Trinity of Craftsmen: the mason, the carpenter, the smith* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1950) indicate that she had inherited her father's sociable interests.

502 See for example, the *Cheltenham Looker-On*, 11 July 1896, p.16 and 3 July 1897, p.20.



growing up against the same landmarks, accompanied by a slowly ageing population of local tradespeople, labourers, craftsmen, clergy and farm workers with whom they clearly enjoy a long-standing relationship, a picture emerges of a clergyman whose family life has become intimately associated with a specific and clearly-delineated area of the West Country. The title of Freda Derrick's well-known book, *Tales Told in Church Stones*, could be aptly applied to her father's way in which it chronicles his family's love for the local landscape. Rather like the parson-naturalists discussed in Chapter One, Derrick's unwavering devotion to a single location allowed this relationship to develop.



be aptly applied to photography and the chronicles his local landscape. naturalists discussed Derrick's unwavering location allowed this

**Fig.4.5.** Rev. J.G. Derrick, *Cleeve Abbey, Mrs Derrick at Gateway* (ca. late 1890s). Derrick Collection 28/1999/114 Somerset Heritage Collection.

#### **4.4. Sermons in Stone: Rev. James Bannatyne MacKenzie (1833-1920)**

Rev. James Bannatyne MacKenzie (1833-1920) was born on 'possibly the most photographed island in the world' - St Kilda, an isolated archipelago situated forty

miles out in the Atlantic Ocean and arguably the remotest settlement in Britain.<sup>503</sup> His father, the Rev Neil Mackenzie (1795-1879), came to the island in 1829 as the first Church of Scotland minister to reside here for a hundred years. He was deeply concerned at the islanders' poverty and insanitary living conditions, and over the next few years succeeded in building twenty-five new houses, after obtaining twenty guineas to be presented to the first islander who volunteered to demolish his house and build a new one. Life on St Kilda was permeated with religious fervour: church services were held every day except Mondays and Saturdays, with two services on Sundays. Mackenzie eventually left the island in the mid-1840s when he was translated to a mission church in Appin, allowing his eldest son James to begin his schooling on the mainland. He went on to study divinity at Glasgow University, was ordained a minister in 1858 and three years later moved to Colonsay as the island's first resident minister, by which time he had already taken up photography.



**Fig.4.6.** Rev. James B. Mackenzie. 'Ossian's Stone', Fowlis Wester, Perth.(ca.1870)  
National Museums of Scotland. Photograph album No. 187/28 Vol.2.

Mackenzie showed the same concern for the living conditions of his parishioners on Colonsay as his father had done on St Kilda. Writing in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* some thirty years later, he recalled a visit to an elderly parishioner living in a stone hovel:

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503 Tom Steel, *The Life and Death of St Kilda* (London: HarperCollins, 1988) p.128

There had been a good deal of illness in some miserable old houses where I was visiting, and in speaking to an old man about it, I expressed my wonder that the people did not remove some boulders which obstructed the light out of the small windows, and the drainage about the doors; and added, that it could easily be done and would make the houses more healthy. No doubt it would he agreed, but then it would not do to destroy these old worship stones (*Clachain Aoraidh*). He said that there had been one near his own door which was very much in the way, but that he had, with great labour dug a hole into which he had let it drop and covered it up, for it would never do to incur the anger of the spiritual beings by breaking it up.<sup>504</sup>

Similar references to sacred stones, such as the semi-transparent *Clach Aotaig* which was supplied by ravens, also known as the *clach buaidhean* or 'stone of virtues', were recorded by Neil Mackenzie on St Kilda. During the years spent on St Kilda, Neil Mackenzie had carefully gathered notes on the island's history, customs, antiquities, flora and fauna, and something of this curiosity must have passed to his son. Along with the curiosity, both father and son possessed a disciplined and methodical approach to recording data. Where Neil Mackenzie had been limited to notebooks, his son was able to make use of a camera as he began surveying the ancient ecclesiastical remains in Argyllshire.<sup>505</sup>

After ten years (1861-72) as parish minister of Colonsay and Oronsay, Mackenzie was 'translated and admitted' to the parish of Kenmore in Perthshire, where his pastoral duties were light enough to allow enough leisure time to pursue his antiquarian interests. As his photographic work continued through the 1870s he accumulated numerous pictures of both natural rock and carved stones, taken on the islands of Colonsay and Oronsay as well as Keills, Knapdale, and on the shores of Loch Swyn and Loch Tay. Several of Mackenzie's photographs were reproduced – either as photographic plates or engravings - in Joseph Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (1881).<sup>506</sup>

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504 Rev. J. B. Mackenzie, 'Notes of some Cup-marked Stones and Rocks near Kenmore, and their Folk-Lore', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 34 (1899-1900) p.330.

505 He later edited some of his father's notes and had them published, firstly in 'Antiquities and Old Customs in St Kilda, compiled from Notes made by Rev. Neil Mackenzie, Minister of St Kilda, 1829-48', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 39 (1904-05) pp. 397-402 and then in a privately printed volume, *Episode in the Life of the Rev. Neil Mackenzie at St. Kilda from 1829 to 1843* (Aberfeldy, 1911.) James Mackenzie was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on 30 November 1871, the year before he moved to Kenmore.

The church, like that at Loch Columcille, is a simple rect-

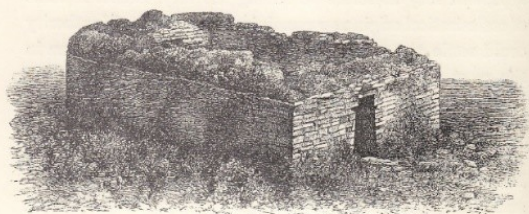


Fig. 33. — Church on Eilean na Naoimh.  
(From a Photograph by Rev. J. B. Mackenzie.)

angular cell, 21 feet 7 inches in length internally. Its



Fig. 34. — In the burying-ground, Eilean na Naoimh.  
(From a Photograph by Rev. J. B. Mackenzie.)

walls are built of undressed stones, entirely without mortar.



**Fig.4.7.** Photographs by Rev. J.B. Mackenzie used to illustrate the work of Joseph Anderson. **(Left:)** Eilean na Naoimh from Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times. The Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1879*, (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1881) p.96. **(Right:)** a Pictish stone carved around 800 AD: 'The Monument, formerly at Milton of Cadboll, now at Invergordon Castle', which was used as the frontispiece to Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times, (Second series). The Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1880*, (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1881)

Mackenzie himself published several articles in the *Proceedings*, using his own photographs to support the arguments he made linking carved stones to folklore traditions. On the 13th May 1889 Mackenzie displayed an album of his photographs at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries. There were about 150 prints in the album,

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506 In 1869 Anderson was appointed both Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and editor of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, posts he held until 1913 and 1916 respectively. For an oversight of his career and significance for Scottish historical studies, see D.V. Clarke, "'The foremost figure in all matters relating to Scottish archaeology": aspects of the work of Joseph Anderson,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 132 (2002) pp.1-18.



drawn from glass negatives, and depicting ecclesiastical antiquities in and around Argyll, as well as several portraits of his family, acquaintances, group excursions and Highland buildings. It is impossible to examine Mackenzie's photographic work without being struck by how his visual landscape is dominated by stone in all its various forms: there are standing stones, recumbent stones, natural rock formations and gravestones, figures seated on the ruined stones from old chapels or stood against rocky outcrops and shores strewn with boulders. Placed alongside one another, these images almost suggest a long drawn-out sequence by which stones emerge from the earth to fulfil some spiritual or mythological function, only to fall again in time and be buried once more. In his attempt to understand the meaning of the rituals by which these stones were carved and carried up to remote 'high places', Mackenzie recounted how 'It was only by peeling off the turf which had almost covered the flat rock surface that I came upon them.' Analysis of the stone revealed that 'soon after it was finished it got covered up by the soil as it is now. One cannot look at it without asking oneself: How came it about that this laborious work is no sooner finished than it is abandoned?'<sup>507</sup> The minister suggested that it was the coming of Christianity that saw these sacred stones abandoned to the elements, but it is clear from his observations that belief in their supernatural powers was still very much alive in the Highland communities he served. A parallel could be made for the ruined chapels that he photographed, the stones of which appear almost indistinguishable from the surrounding rocky landscape.

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507 Rev. J. B. Mackenzie, 'Notes of some Cup-marked Stones and Rocks near Kenmore, and their Folk-Lore', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 34 (1899-1900) pp.325-327.



**Fig.4.8.** Rev. James B. Mackenzie. *Front view of Ruins of Priory, Oronsay.* (ca.1870)  
National Museums of Scotland. Photograph album No. 186/50.

Mackenzie died in Edinburgh at 6 Woodburn Terrace, Morningside, on 25th December 1920, aged 88. Like so many of those born on St Kilda, he ended his life in the middle of a city. Ten years later, the entire population of St Kilda was shipped off the island. In its obituary, *The British Journal of Photography* hailed Mackenzie as 'one of the oldest amateur photographers in the Kingdom,' who 'had practised photographic processes since 1860.'<sup>508</sup> His valuable collection of photographs was presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.<sup>509</sup>

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508 *British Journal of Photography* Vol. LXVIII, No.3171, (11 February 1921) p.81

509 The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was founded in 1780, with its (primarily archaeological) collections passing into public ownership in 1851 as the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. These collections, which had had various homes previously, were housed from 1891 until 1995 in specially built galleries in Finlay Buildings, Queen Street, Edinburgh (also occupied by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery). In 1985 the Royal Scottish Museum (founded in Chambers Street as the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art) was amalgamated with the National Museum of Antiquities to form National Museums Scotland. On the management of the museums' photographic collections, see Chantal Knowles, 'Negative space: tracing absent images in the National Museums Scotland's collections' in Edwards & Lien (eds.), *Uncertain images: museums and the work of photographs* (Ashgate, 2014) pp.73-94.

**Fig.4.9.**  
 Rev. James B Mackenzie. At  
 Kilchrenan. (ca. 1870)  
 National Museums of Scotland. Photograph album 186/121.  
 The photograph shows the gravestones of Mackenzie's family in the graveyard of  
 Kilchrenan Parish Church, Argyll.

**4.5. The**



**'Waywor'n  
 Wanderer': Rev.**

**George**

**Wilson Bridges (1788-1863)**

George Wilson Bridges did his fair share of island-hopping, but his travels were far more extensive than those of Mackenzie, and his life contained more drama and tragedy than any other individual whose work is examined in this thesis. As the brief summary below demonstrates, the clergyman's voyages through different locations and landscapes – both with and without a camera – need to be understood not only within the context of profound grief and disorientation, but also as part of a lifelong engagement with the relationship between Christian faith, religious truth and the objectivity of the photographic image.

Born into a prosperous Essex family, he was acquainted with John Constable as a youth and appears in one of the painter's rare group portraits, *The Bridges Family, Lawford Place, Essex* (1804).<sup>510</sup> After obtaining his BA from Oxford in 1812 he was ordained priest at the end of the same year, but a scandal caused by

<sup>510</sup> On this portrait and the relationship between the two families, see D.S. MacColl, 'Constable as a Portrait-Painter', *Burlington Magazine* Vol.20 (1912), pp.267-273.

his elopement to Gretna Green with a pregnant lover necessitated his departure for Jamaica; here he remained for almost twenty years as rector of the parishes of Manchester (1817-23) and then St. Anns (1823-37). Not long after his arrival Bridges began researching the history of the colony and went on to publish a massive two-volume work, *The Annals of Jamaica* (London: John Murray, 1827). The first edition was suppressed but the second edition of 1828, despite filling over 1,000 pages, received wide circulation. The book provided a wealth of information on local history and topography, but the attention it received was due partly to the boldness with which Bridges defended slavery: a view he had already expounded in numerous pamphlets.<sup>511</sup> Bridges tried to justify slavery with arguments from Scripture, but also poured forth savage scorn against the Nonconformist – ‘sectarian’ - missionaries who were fighting for abolition. His prejudices raise questions about the value of his work as a historical record, but despite his clearly partisan stance, the title page of his work bore the Scriptural motto:

*‘Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Exodus 20:16.’*

Debates over slavery were heightened after the ‘Great Jamaican Slave Revolt’ (1831-2), sometimes called the Baptist War because it was led by a preacher. From his arrival on the island Bridges was a staunch opponent of the campaign to abolish slavery, implicated in criminal charges relating both to treatment of his slaves and the destruction of Methodist churches and manses.<sup>512</sup> Then, within three short years, tragic events deprived Bridges of most of his family. His wife left him in 1834, taking one of their sons – George – back to England, and after a fruitless search for

511 These include *A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq, MP* (London, 1823), *A Voice from Jamaica, in Reply to William Wilberforce, Esq, MP* (London, 1823) and *Dreams of Dulocracy; or, the Puritanical Obituary: “An Appeal” not to the Romantic Sensibility, but to the Good Sense of the British Public* (London, 1824.)

512 Bridges’ maltreatment of one of his slaves, Kitty Hilton, was grave enough to be reported to the Colonial Office in London. Correspondence and reports were compiled in an official government pamphlet, *COPY of any Information which may have been received from Jamaica, respecting an INQUIRY into the TREATMENT of a FEMALE SLAVE, by the Reverend Mr. Bridges, Rector of St. Ann’s, in that Island; with the MINUTES of EVIDENCE taken by the MAGISTRATES on that occasion, and the result of the Inquiry* (London: House of Commons, 1831). Bridges’ involvement with the ‘para-military’ Colonial Church Union, who were formed to intimidate opponents of slavery, was widely reported in the Jamaican press and missionary literature. See Mary Turner, *Slaves and missionaries: the disintegration of Jamaican slave society, 1787-1834* (Kingston, Jamaica: The Press University of the West Indies, 1998)



her, he returned to Jamaica where, on New Year's Day 1837 he watched helplessly as all four of his daughters drowned before his eyes in a freak boat accident in Kingston Bay.

Bridges was, understandably, profoundly shaken by these events, which marked a turning point in his life. When two Quaker abolitionists called on him at the rectory, they recorded how Bridges 'received us kindly, and expressed a lively interest in the object of our journey' – a dramatic change, given the violent hostility he had hitherto shown to the island's Nonconformist abolitionists.<sup>513</sup> Turning his back on both England and Jamaica, he sailed with his youngest son William to Canada, attempting a fresh start in the wilderness, living in a forest cavern and then an octagonal wood building named Wolf Tower.<sup>514</sup> Concern for William's health led him to Quebec where he boarded the first available boat, taking them through Sicily, Naples and Malta before reaching England in 1843. Here, Bridges met Henry Talbot through a school connection with his son.<sup>515</sup> Curious about this clergyman with an eccentric reputation, Talbot's mother considered him as curate at Lacock.<sup>516</sup> Impressed by early fascicles of *The Pencil of Nature* he saw there, Bridges received

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513 Joseph Sturges and Thomas Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837 : being the journal of a visit to Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Lucia, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition of the Negro population of those islands* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1838) p.189

514 He was inspired by the descriptions of pioneering life in *The backwoods of Canada: being letters from the wife of an emigrant officer, illustrative of the domestic economy of British America* (London, 1836) by English author Mrs Catherine Parr Traill (1802-99) who had emigrated to Canada in 1832. In gratitude, Bridges offered Wolf Tower to the Traills when he left Canada; they occupied it from 1846 to 1847. A letter from Henry Talbot's mother reveals that he was still wearing 'a Cloke formed of Buffalo skin which he used to sleep on in Canada' in England ten years later. Lady Elizabeth Feilding to Henry Talbot, 17 December 1845. <http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk>. Doc. 5481

515 William Bridges attended the local school at Maisemore, where he struck up a close friendship with the Hon. William Henry (1832-1917), the younger son of Lord Valletort (1797-1861), 3rd Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, and his wife Caroline, the half-sister of Henry Talbot.

516 Bridges' friend and predecessor as Rector of St Ann, Rev Lewis Bowerbank (1782-1853), held the curacy at St Cyriac's, Lacock from 1846 to 1847.

basic instruction and materials from Talbot's photographic assistant Nicolas Henneman before sailing from England in January 1846.<sup>517</sup>

He reached Malta in early March and sought out Calvert Jones – who was discussed briefly in Chapter One - for further tuition. By April he was able to write to Talbot reporting his first successes, and by October he had a list of seventy-three negatives, although he was clearly struggling with the process.<sup>518</sup>



**Fig.4.10.** Rev. George Wilson Bridges. *Valletta, Malta.* (1846)  
Print from calotype negative.

Moving to Sicily in the summer of 1846, Bridges stayed at the Benedictine Convent at Catania and took photographs inside the smoking crater of Mount Etna – an experience he described in almost apocalyptic terms:

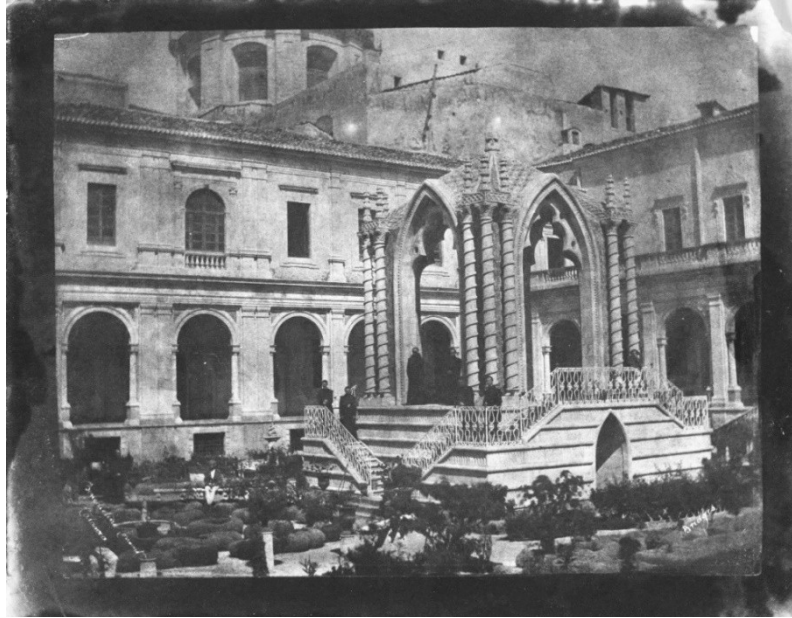
No 66 & 67 were taken under peculiar circumstances the first both from the bottom of the great Crater. The first when I had just planted the instrument there upon the very edge of the fiery gulf which descends thence, - at the moment an explosion took place - I ran off & came back when it had passed, 3½' [minutes] had elapsed - & No 66 - stood depicted - No 67 I caught between the explosions, & shews the very mouth of that tremendous abyss.

From Sicily he proceeded to wander through Greece (1848), Constantinople (1849), the Holy Land (1849-50) and Egypt (1851). He was in Jerusalem in October 1849 as

<sup>517</sup> There are 23 letters from Bridges to Talbot, dating from the 16th January 1846 to the 9th November 1852, available online at <http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk>.

<sup>518</sup> Letter from Bridges to Talbot, 25 October 1846 (Doc. 5759).

he met Elizabeth Anne Finn (nee McCaul) (1825-1921), the wife of James Finn the British Consul.<sup>519</sup>



George Wilson  
*Benedictine*  
*Catania, Sicily.* (1846)

**Fig.4.11.** Rev.  
Bridges.  
*Convent,*

Salted paper print from calotype negative. (17.1 × 21.7 cm) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Bridges' friendly interaction with the Benedictine monks of St Nicolo's Convent on Sicily, and the inclusion of named individuals from the monastery in some of his photographs, contrasts starkly with his fierce denunciation of Roman Catholicism earlier in life – further proof of how much his thinking had been shaken by personal tragedy.

His travels were partly dictated by his desire to photograph different landscapes and locations, but he was also keeping a close watch on his son William – understandable, given the loss of his other children. At the age of fifteen William Bridges had signed up for the Royal Navy, joining Admiral Parker's flagship *HMS Hibernia* at Lisbon in 1846 and later spending some time on a survey ship, *HMS Volage*. Rev. Bridges presented a photographic album to Admiral Parker at Malta on 9 May 1851. The album, entitled *Solar Transcripts*, was embossed with Bridges' family crest and contained forty prints made from calotype negatives; Bridges signed himself 'Decayed Traveller'. Some of the photographs had been taken onboard the

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519 Elizabeth Finn, *Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1929) pp.89–90. As a consequence of her conversation with Bridges about photography, she arranged for camera equipment to be sent out to her.

*Hibernia*, including a shot of Admiral Parker boarding in Palermo in 1848.<sup>520</sup> Bridges' itinerary for landscape photography was therefore partly determined by his religious and cultural interests, but also by the events earlier in life that had impelled him to leave Jamaica.

The clearest statement of how he perceived his photography can be obtained from the preface printed at the front of one of the folio volumes that he tried to sell to subscribers. The publication history of these books is complex, as they were issued in various and inconsistent formats. Bridges returned to England in 1852 with 1,700 photographic negatives, from which he intended to compile a large folio volume to sell commercially. He hoped to attract subscribers who would support full publication of a multi-volume work with the lengthy title *Selections from Seventeen Hundred Genuine Photographs: (Views – Portraits – Statues – Antiquities). Taken around the Shores of the Mediterranean between the Years 1846-52... With, or Without Notes, Historical and Descriptive. By a Wayworn Wanderer*. Interest was slow, however, and he had found employment meanwhile as private secretary to the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, James Henry Monk (1784-1856), who had once taught Talbot at Cambridge. After Bishop Monk died, Bridges tried again with *Palestine as It Is: in a Series of Photographic Views, Illustrating the Bible* (London & Dublin: J. Hogarth, Messrs. Hodges, Smith, and Co., 1858) which was designated as Volume V in the *Selections* series and contained twenty-one large plates.<sup>521</sup> The preface to this work is worth citing at length:

The Photographs contained in this Work were taken several years ago, in the infancy of this astounding Art – when chemistry and science had not developed the wonders since arrived at. Other travellers have devoted their thoughts and learning to invest into the topography of this Sacred Land, while artists and amateurs have attempted to exhibit to the eye sketches of its most picturesque localities, assisted with all the adventitious embellishments of artistic image; but hitherto no one has thought of presenting to the student of Sacred History *fac-similes* of these scenes, satisfying at once the requirements of tradition and the delight connected with a display of the beauties of Nature.

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520 This album was auctioned by Cheffins of Cambridge on 9 March 2016 as Lot 654 in their Fine Art sale. See the online description at <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/cheffinsfineart/catalogue-id-srche10083/lot-8e7369d1-cc6e-4c56-ac27-a5b8010082a4>

521 There are only three copies known to have survived, one of which has only nineteen plates. The other two - including the copy consulted for this research in the National Library of Scotland - have twenty one plates.

The Notes, containing Scriptural References, are but the obvious impressions made by the spot described and which must occur to the mind of every traveller in the Holy Land, irrespective of all controversy upon the identity of these places; and it is hoped that, while they escape criticism from the supporters of more slipshod theories, they may tend rather as an additional inducement to search into the pages of the very best of all Guides to Palestine – **The Book** which cannot err.

In this short passage Bridges makes a three-fold connection between the accuracy of the photographic image – reiterating Rev. A.A. Isaacs' use of the word 'fac-simile' - the objectivity that could be inferred from the consensus of all travellers, and the religious truth that he believed could be found uniquely in the Bible. The claim to authenticity implicit in the title of Bridges' volume, *Palestine As It Is*, can be compared to the celebrated phrase of historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), 'wie es eigentlich gewesen,' which is commonly translated as 'how it actually was,' – although it is worth noting that *eigentlich* in nineteenth-century German usage had the meaning of 'essentially.'<sup>522</sup> One might argue that the photographer's task, like that of the historian, is to penetrate to the 'essence' or inward meaning of his subject. The development of new critical methods and archaeological discoveries strengthened confidence that the past could be reconstructed, and photography seemed likely to support this: the inscription printed on the introductory pages to each section of *Selections from Seventeen Hundred Genuine Photographs* reveals the extent of Bridges' confidence in photographic verisimilitude:

Whoever doubts the truth of these views, doubts the truth of Heaven's own blessed light itself! For them:

'No hireling Artist plants his paltry desk,  
To make degraded Nature picturesque.'  
They are delineated by no earthly pencil.'<sup>523</sup>

It is evident from such turns of phrase that Bridge saw the value of photography in a similar light to Rev. Alexander Keith, and this is further demonstrated by the way in which his 'historical and descriptive' notes seek to

<sup>522</sup> See David Bebbington, *Patterns in History: a Christian view* (Nottingham: Intervarsity Press 1979) pp.107-8, and Stephen Bann's essay 'The historian as taxidermist: Ranke, Barante, Waterton' in *The clothing of Clio : a study of the representation of history in nineteenth-century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) pp.8-14.

<sup>523</sup> The lines are adapted slightly from a poem by Byron's friend Rev. Francis Hodgson, 'Lines on a Ruined Abbey in a Romantic Country', found in *Lady Jane Grey, with Miscellaneous Poems in English and Latin* (London: J. Mackinlay, 1809).

establish the historicity of the Biblical narrative through visual proofs drawn from his photographs. However, the way in which archaeological comments are interlaced with lines of sentimental poetry indicates how much writers such as Bridges relied upon later literary traditions for their interpretation. As Lord (2011) observes, the combination of Bridges' presumptions about Biblical veracity and his limited knowledge of near eastern antiquities resulted in arguments that tend to be sentimental and circular, with little power to convince on their own grounds.<sup>524</sup> His determination to forge a link, however, is an example of what Howe (1997) has termed 'geopieté' – 'the attempt to illustrate the close connection between geography and the Bible.'<sup>525</sup> The two images below show Bridges' depictions of trees – a red mulberry and an oak, respectively – associated with Old Testament figures. Throughout his notes he dismisses any cause for doubts about identifying these sites, drawing on texts from both the Bible and Byron to support his claims.

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524 Russell Lord, "Faithful Delineations": Rev. George Wilson Bridges and Photography,' in D.A. Dunkley (ed.) *Readings in Caribbean History and Culture* (Plymouth: Lexington, 2011) pp.119-121.

525 Kathleen Stewart Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land: The Photographic Exploration of Palestine* (Santa Barbara Museum of Art and the University of California Press, 1997) p.28.





**Fig.4.12.** Plate XI (left) *The Traditional Site of Isaiah's Martyrdom*. Plate LXIX (right) *Abraham's oak*. Rev. George W. Bridges. *Palestine as It Is: in a Series of Photographic Views, Illustrating the Bible* (1858)

Despite such confidence, Bridges failed to attract subscribers for his folio volumes, partly due to the fact that a large number of such anthologies already existed, typically with lower prices and a more coherent structure. He ended his days near the Welsh border as vicar of Beachley, earning a meagre annual living of £40 in stark contrast to the annual income of £3,000 a year he was estimated to have had in Jamaica. Here he wrote a remarkable 34 page memoir, *Outlines and Notes of Twenty-Nine Years, 1834-1863*, in which he recorded his wife's desertion, the loss of his children and the devious family politics that had deprived him of all his inheritance and broken his heart. The 'wayworn wanderer' died on 20 September 1863 and was laid to rest in the churchyard at Beachley beneath a rough-hewn stone with the epitaph:

*A tale to be told in that light only  
which shines beyond the grave.*

Although the privately printed memoir omits any reference to photography, its preoccupation with lies, deceit and fraud provide a 'negative' background against which his photographic pursuit of Biblical truth can be read as a 'positive' response. Just as the Rev. D.T.K. Drummond found solace through photography during a period of ill-health and suffering – as discussed in Chapter Three – so too did Bridges' photographic odyssey offered him meaningful diversion from pain and

bewilderment. Indeed, his photographs can be interpreted as an attempt to find order and meaning in life, to expiate the past and explore the things and places and communities he railed against while in Jamaica. After fierce denunciations of Roman Catholicism, he found himself lodging with Benedictine monks, receiving hospitality from the abbot and including named individuals, such as Padre Cafici OSB, in his photographs.<sup>526</sup> *Annals of Jamaica* contained numerous harsh condemnations of paganism, but once he reached the Mediterranean the clergyman devoted much of his time to photographing pagan monuments and edifices, such as the 'Temple of Wingless Victory' in Athens and the Temple of Saturn in Rome. Bridges' photographic odyssey represents a journey through a cultural landscape as new to the clergyman as the physical one in which he travelled.



**Fig.4.13.** Rev. George Wilson Bridges. *Padre Cafici in the garden of the Benedictine Convent in Catania, Sicily* (1846). Salted paper print from calotype negative. (17.2 cm x w 22.1 cm) National Science & Media Museum, 1937-2148.

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526 Dom John Cafici was born in 1815 and took his monastic vows in 1836. He was never ordained priest.



This analysis of Bridges' application of photography to the 'lands of the Bible' has illustrated how particular strategies were deployed to frame - and market - visual representations for a domestic audience of readers and collectors. As the name 'the Holy Land' signifies, this region possessed a unique character among all the other places to which clergymen-photographers took their cameras. For Christians, the area was the focus of intense and devout fascination because of the belief that it contained the actual physical locations of Jesus' birth, ministry and crucifixion. Equally distinctive was the fact that knowledge of these events was derived from the Bible and Christian tradition, rather than from discoveries made in the region: as Bar-Yosef (2005) observes, Christians in Victorian Britain felt a personal affinity with the Holy Land that pre-dated – indeed was entirely independent of – anything that could be learned through travel, research or exploration.<sup>527</sup> Even before placing their eyes over their cameras, clergymen-photographers in the Holy Land were already contemplating the landscape through the lens of Scripture. In this final section, I will examine the ways in which the work of clergymen-photographers in Palestine and Egypt was shaped not only by their strong religious prejudices about the land and the people they encountered, but also by the expectations of benefactors and supporters of their mission - a rich and distinctive example of Helvia's 'photography complex' that illuminates the extent to which visual and religious cultures were intertwined.

#### **4.6. 'Biblical picturesque': Revs. Alexander Keith, James Graham, A.A. Isaacs and the Mission to the Jews**

Modern scholarship on the history of photography in the Holy Land owes much to the pioneering studies by Nir (1985), Perez (1988) and Wahrman (1993).<sup>528</sup> This debt is

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<sup>527</sup> Eitan Bar-Yosef. *The Holy Land in English culture 1799-1917: Palestine and the question of Orientalism*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005) pp.8-9.

<sup>528</sup> Yeshayahu Nir, *The Bible and the Image: The History of Photography in the Holy Land, 1839-1899* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), Nissan Perez, *Focus East: early photography in the Near East, 1839-1885*. (New York: Harry Abrams, 1988) and Dror Wahrman, *Capturing the Holy Land: Mendel John Diness and the Origins of Photography in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Semitic Museum, 1993).

acknowledged by writers such as Wheatly-Irving (2007) and Hary (2011), who have drawn attention to the diverse factors influencing British photographers' response to the Holy Land, including improved transport networks, the granting of more access to the region by the Ottomans, a growing interest in 'sacred geography' and imperial interests in developing British presence in the region.<sup>529</sup> In the following section I want to develop some of these ideas by examining the activities of clergymen-photographers, presenting their work as a form of 'Biblical picturesque' that extended the modes of engagement with the landscape discussed earlier in this chapter, and demonstrating how this was additionally shaped by the demands of a British market hungry for images of the Holy Land.

As the clergymen discussed in this section were all of an evangelical disposition, the Biblical roots of their devotional identity should be outlined. Sixteenth-century Protestant reformers condemned the notion of physical pilgrimage espoused in medieval Catholicism, seeing it as part of a system linked to veneration of the saints and the earning of salvation through 'good deeds'. This formed part of a wider suspicion of the 'materialism' of Catholic theology that ascribed varying degrees of holiness to specific places or objects – such as shrines or saints' relics. Instead, Protestants upheld the doctrine of *sola Scriptura*, believing that the only way to God was through the Bible, using the intellect and the heart. On this basis, the concept of pilgrimage was spiritualised and transformed into a metaphorical, interior journey rather than a physical one using the external senses. As the humanist Erasmus had remarked in 1532, 'I think that Christianity would be no worse off if no one ran off to Jerusalem but rather looked for the traces of Christ in books and transferred his effort and expense to the assistance of the poor.'<sup>530</sup>

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529 Linda Wheatley-Irving, 'Holy Land Photographs and Their Worlds the "Tour in the East"' *Jerusalem Quarterly* 31 (2007) pp.79-96; Maggy Hary, 'The Holy Land in British eyes: sacred geography and the "rediscovery" of Palestine, 1839-1917' in Guido Abbattista (ed.), *Encountering Otherness. Diversities and Transcultural Experiences in Early Modern European Culture* (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2011) pp. 339-349.

530 *Controversies: Declarationes ad censuras lutetiae vulgatas sub nomine facultatis theologiae Parisiensis* (1532), in *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (Trans. Clarence H. Miller.), Vol. 82:12, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (1993) pp.273-4. Erasmus ridiculed the practice of pilgrimage more extensively in his satirical *Colloquy* 'Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake', written in 1526. Although Erasmus remained a Catholic after the Reformation, he had undeniable sympathies with Luther and his fellow Reformers, many of whom acknowledged a debt to his writings and translation of the Bible.

Approaching God in this way may well have been direct and unmediated inasmuch as it did not involve priests, relics or shrines, but it was not completely internal: the individual still required a physical book in which to read the Word of God. Whether illustrated or not, books therefore played a crucial part in Protestant devotional practices, and in the case of photographically-illustrated books on the Holy Land, they allowed believers to picture themselves in the actual location of Christ's life, ministry and death. As Dr. Charles Ellicott expressed it:

To modern travellers in Palestine the student of Scripture is under obligations which as yet have not by any means been fully recognized. By the aid of their narrative we can sometimes almost place ourselves in the position of the first beholders, and see the whole scene of mystery or mercy disclose itself before our eyes... We can feel ourselves almost led to the spot where the opening view of the Holy City called forth the first shouts of the jubilant multitude; we can realize the strange pause, and feel the naturalness of the transition from meek triumph to outgushing tears, when some turn in the rocky road made the City of the Great King rise up suddenly, even as the modern traveller tells us it still is found to do...<sup>531</sup>

Ellicott wrote these words for a book of essays edited by Bishop William Thomson as a riposte to the Broad Church collection *Essays and Reviews*, which had caused a sensation – and considerable unease – when it was published the previous year. Thomson's own contribution on 'The Death of Christ' was followed by the concluding essay on 'Scripture and its Interpretation' by the then Dean of Exeter, Dr Charles Ellicott. Both essays were direct and explicit refutations of Benjamin Jowett's writings, which drew on the 'higher criticism' of liberal German theologians to insist that the Bible should be read like any other book: Jowett argued that interpreters of the Bible needed to set aside notions of divine inspiration and instead try to recover the Scriptural authors' original intentions, using independent sources and critical methods to analyse the process by which the Biblical text had been assembled. In reply, Ellicott argued that the text should be interpreted using 'the analogy of faith' i.e. explaining one part of the Bible with reference to other parts, on the grounds that it was impossible for the divinely-inspired Word of God to contain errors or inconsistencies,

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531 Charles John Ellicott, 'Scripture and its interpretation,' in Rev. William Thomson (ed.), *Aids to faith; a series of theological essays* (London: John Murray, 1861) pp.430-31.

and the only reliable means of understanding contradictions or passages with difficult meanings was to seek an explanation elsewhere in the Bible.

As was mentioned in Chapter One, both Thomson and Ellicott were photographers, but it was no coincidence either that Thomson was also President of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Addressing its members at their opening meeting in 1865, he made a bold claim about Britain's relationship to the Holy Land:

This country of Palestine belongs to you and me, it is essentially ours. It was given to the Father of Israel in the words: 'Walk through the land in the length of it, and in the breadth of it, for I will give it unto thee'. We mean to walk through Palestine in the length and in the breadth of it, because that land has been given unto us. It is the land from which comes news of our Redemption. It is the land towards which we turn as the fountain of all our hopes; it is the land to which we may look with as true a patriotism as we do in this dear old England, which we love so much.<sup>532</sup>

In the following section I will show how these three strands – photography, the desire to defend the truth of the Bible, and the intense identification of British Protestants with the Holy Land – came together in the work of a group of evangelical photographers.



**Fig. 4.14.** Keith 'Samaria' *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion* (36th ed). 1848 p.249  
'I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley and discover the foundation thereof.' Micah 1:6

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532 *Report of the Proceedings at a public meeting, 22 June 1865*, 8, PEF/1865/2. Cited in Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture* (2005) pp.7-8.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, George Skene Keith took a series of daguerreotype views under his father's direction during their trip to the Holy Land in 1844. These were engraved for the 36<sup>th</sup> edition of *Evidences* and the manner of their use, and the way in which Keith comments on the pictures in the text, provides some insight into how the Palestinian landscape was perceived.

This view of Samaria (Fig.4.14) is typical in its pairing of specific physical elements of the landscape with precise phrases from Scripture. Keith was able to match the wording of Micah 1:6 and other verses with detailed observations in the field, finding confirmation of the prophetic texts not only in the existence of stony ground, but in the arrangement of heaped stones and the direction in which they were strewn.<sup>533</sup> He saw in this desolate terrain proof that the ancient prophecies had been fulfilled: the land had fallen into ruin because the Jews had not recognised Christ as Messiah. By preferring their Bible to their Baedeker, travellers such as Keith chose to look beyond the actual appearance of the landscape before them, scanning the view for textual allusions and failing to acknowledge the realities of contemporary Palestinian life. Keith's photographs were intended to establish a direct connection between the landscape and a set of religious beliefs (shared by both the photographer and viewer), in a process that bypassed the present inhabitants of the land. For Keith, the photograph offered an unmediated visual engagement with the location, as is indicated by his reference to the Samaritan illustration: 'A daguerreotype view may now set its cityless hill before the eye of the reader'.<sup>534</sup> The associations of photography with 'divine light' presented in Chapter Three gave such images additional authority, aiding Keith and others in their defence of Biblical veracity against the insinuations of German rationalists that were being mediated to British readers by the authors of *Essays and Reviews*.

This approach was also favoured by James Graham, who – although not in holy orders – was a lay missionary in Jerusalem appointed to the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.<sup>535</sup> This body shared the same aims as Alexander Keith's 'Mission of Enquiry', both forming part of a much wider interest in

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533 Rev. Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion* (1848) pp.250-251.

534 Keith, *Evidence* (1848) p.245

the land of Israel that by the 1840s was involving the Free Church, Church of Scotland, Anglican and Lutheran missionaries. In England the driving force behind most initiatives was The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. Generally known as the London Jews' Society (henceforth LJS), it was founded in 1809 with the aim of evangelising the Jewish people and encouraging their return to Palestine.<sup>536</sup> The LJS wielded considerable influence upon both political and religious affairs in the Near East, especially as its President from 1848 to 1855 was Earl of Shaftesbury, son-in-law of Foreign Secretary and future Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston.<sup>537</sup>

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535 The fact that Graham was a lay missionary has caused some confusion about his clerical status and he is referred to as 'Rev. James Graham' in Sara Stevenson and Duncan Forbes (eds.), *A Companion Guide to Photography in the National Galleries of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2001) p.33. Several of his photographs are held in The Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

536 There is no mention of Graham in the official history by W.T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews: from 1809 to 1908* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 1908.) For a detailed account of Graham's career and photography, see James Downs, 'Shadows of the Truth: the Photography of James Graham (1808-69)', *Studies in Photography* (2011) pp.42-59

537 Shaftesbury was an ardent evangelical who wore a ring engraved with the word 'Jerusalem.' Although his father-in-law's keen interest in the east was far from other-worldly, he shared Shaftesbury's concerns - see Isaiah Friedman, 'Lord Palmerston and the Protection of Jews in Palestine 1839-1851', *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 30, No. 1 (January 1968), pp. 23-41.

Graham.  
(1854).  
negative.  
Fund



**Fig. 4.15.** James  
*East Gate of Damascus*

Albumen print from a  
Palestine Exploration  
collection, PEF/P/2163

Graham's view of the  
Damascus (Fig.6.2.)  
an engraving in *Five*  
(1855) by the Irish  
missionary to the  
Leslie Porter (1823-  
have asked Graham  
view.<sup>538</sup> Unlike Keith's

East Gate of  
was reproduced as  
*Years in Damascus*  
Presbyterian  
Jews, Rev. Josias  
89), who seems to  
to photograph the  
illustrations, this

one is captioned with a quote from the New Testament - Damascus is of course significant as being the scene of Paul's conversion, the context for the reference to 'Street called Straight' and Acts 9:11. Nonetheless, the scene is equally devoid of human presence.

Graham was almost as unenthusiastic as Keith about human activity in his photographs, which are almost completely devoid of figures except where they occasionally appear as a guide to scale. His focus was exclusively upon topographical views, from architectural studies to panoramas of the dry and dusty hills surrounding the city of Jerusalem. The same sense of grim satisfaction can be discerned in Graham's images and their almost deliberate suppression of signs of human existence.<sup>539</sup> When this concept is superimposed upon the LJS missionary

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538 'For the annexed view of the northern side arch, opening into the "street called Straight", I am indebted to my friend James Graham, Esq., who at my request took the photograph.' Rev. J. L. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus* (London: Murray, 1855) p.40. The illustration is printed on p.24. Porter was appointed Professor of Biblical Criticism at Assembly's College, Belfast, in 1860, and in his writings on Scripture adhered to Alexander Keith's view that evidence for the fulfilment of prophecies could be found in the landscape of Palestine. See a review in *The Athenaeum* (25 March 1862) p.421.

539 This tendency has been commented upon by Issam Nassar in "Biblicization" in the Service of Colonialism: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-century Photography' *Third Text. The Conflict and Contemporary Visual Culture in Palestine and Israel* 20:3-4 (2006) pp.317-326.

agenda, a vaguely unpleasant sense of superiority becomes apparent: the Holy Land can only be 'read' correctly by those who have seen the light.

Unlike Keith and other photographers who passed through Jerusalem on their travels, Graham was the first resident photographer in Jerusalem and his position there meant that he came into contact with other clergymen-photographers such as the Rev. Albert Augustus Isaacs (1826-1903), another associate secretary of the LJS. As his name suggests, Isaacs was of Jewish ancestry, although his father had converted to Christianity some years earlier. Born in Jamaica where his father was a planter, he was sent to England for his education and was ordained priest in 1850 after studying at Cambridge. He worked for the LJS during the 1850s, and around this time must have acquired some knowledge of photography, for he was able to take a camera and wet collodion equipment with him to Palestine in the winter of 1856-7 and is also credited with introducing photography to Jamaica when he returned there for a visit about 1860.<sup>540</sup>

His visit to Palestine occurred at an auspicious time, as the Sultan had just issued the decree *Hatti-Hümayun* on 26 January 1856, granting new privileges to Christians in the region as a goodwill gesture to mark the end of the Crimean War. One of these new freedoms was that for the first time in over six centuries 'infidels' could be permitted access to the Haram – the sacred space of the Temple Mount - under special circumstances. Isaacs and Graham took advantage of this, allowing Isaacs to spend several hours within the enclosure and take six photographs using the collodion process. The excursion was described vividly in Isaacs' book *A Pictorial Tour in the Holy Land* (1863), the title page of which emphasises that the work is 'Illustrated from photographs taken on the spot by the author.'<sup>541</sup>

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540 Rev. Aaron Bernstein, *Some Jewish Witnesses for Christ* (London, Operative Jewish Converts' Institution, 1909) p.285

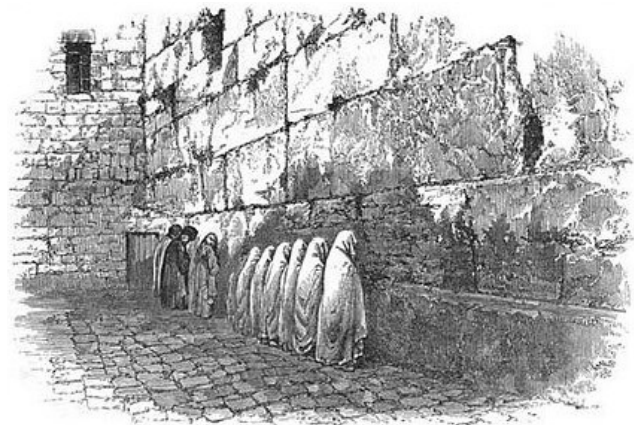
541 A. A. Isaacs, *A Pictorial Tour in the Holy Land* (London: Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, 1862), pp.48–65.





**Fig. 4.16.** *The Wailing Wall* (1856)

Albumen silver print, 21.9 x 27.5 cm.  
CCA Collection. PH1983:0517.01:013



**Fig. 4.17.** The same photograph adapted for an engraving.

*A Pictorial Tour of The Holy Land* (London, 1862) p.44/45

This wording stresses the qualities of immediacy, actuality and spontaneity, overlooking the fact that the limitations of reprographic technology at this time meant that Isaacs' photographs could only be rendered through the intermediary of an engraver. In his recent study of the discourse around contemporary periodical illustrations, Geoff Belknap (2016) has drawn attention to the 'epistemic value' accorded to photographs as a guarantee of authenticity, and the need for publications to demonstrate a direct reprographic connection between their photographic source and the image on the page.<sup>542</sup> For Isaacs, the introduction of this form of third party agency raised concerns: 'We well know how often the *pencil* is proved to be treacherous and deceptive; while on the other hand the *fac-simile* of the scene must be given by the aid of the *photograph*.'<sup>543</sup> Isaacs' belief in the power of the camera to expose deceptions was apparently vindicated when he visited the regions around the shores of the Dead Sea with Graham in December 1856. Isaacs was keen to challenge claims made by French scholar Félicien de Saulcy that

542 Geoff Belknap, *From a Photograph: Authenticity, Science and the Periodical Press, 1870-1890* (London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016) pp.51-55.

543 A. A. Isaacs, *The Dead Sea: or Notes and Observations Made during a Journey to Palestine in 1856-1857, on M. De Saulcy's Supposed Discovery of the Cities of the Plain* (London & Edinburgh: Hatchard & Son, 1857), p.4. Italics original.

nearby rock formations marked the remains of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. His photographs revealed the Frenchman's descriptions as fanciful in the extreme. De Saulcy, like Alexander Keith, was determined to show the consistency of the Biblical record with the evidence of the contemporary landscape; it was ironic that photography – the same technique Keith chose to support his arguments – revealed the falsehood of his claims.<sup>544</sup>

After returning to Britain Isaacs held parishes in Leicester (1866-1891) and Bath (1891-99), during which he continued to promote the conversion of Jews to Christianity. 'He was a familiar figure at Evangelical gatherings....and was always to be counted on to take an uncompromisingly Protestant view of any question that might be under discussion.'<sup>545</sup> In 1886 he published a biography of another clergyman-photographer who worked on the Jewish mission – the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern (1820-85), a German Jew who came to London seeking work in 1837, received Christian baptism in 1840 and sailed for the Holy Land in 1844 as a missionary to the Jews.<sup>546</sup> He was ordained deacon in Jerusalem, and then travelled through Persia ministering to both Jews and Moslems before returning to England where he was ordained priest in 1849. Most of the next twenty years were spend on similar journeys, but before leaving for Egypt and Abyssinia in 1859 Stern spent time at the Regent Street studio of John Jabez Mayall, one of London's most eminent photographers who specialised in daguerreotype portraits.<sup>547</sup> In May 1860 Mayall took the first carte-de-visite portraits of Queen Victoria, a sitting which contrasts dramatically with Stern's experience at a church in Abyssinia around the same time:

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544 *The Dead Sea* (London & Edinburgh, 1857), pp.41 and pp.95 ff.

545 Obituary, *The Times* (Thursday 19 November 1903) p. 9, col. 6.

546 Isaacs, *Biography of the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern, D.D. , for more than Forty Years a Missionary Amongst Jews : containing an account of His Labours And Travels in Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Abbyssinia, and England* (London: James Nisbet, 1886)

547 Isaacs, *Biography of the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern, D.D* (1886) pp.143-44. On Mayall, see John Plunkett, 'Mayall, John Jabez Edwin', in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 907-8. Two of these portraits are reproduced in John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) pp.152, 155.

Half-a-dozen fanatical monks, who had come from a remote province to worship at the shrine of the holy fathers, when they saw me levelling my photographic camera, which they mistook for a hostile gun; fiercely seized their massive clubs, and, in a compact line, marched on the imaginary enemy. I disarmed their monkish wrath by reversing the instrument. They had still some suspicion about my design, but, on showing them the portrait of the Aboona, and the process of taking a view, their fears were forgotten in bewildering amazement, and they emphatically ejaculated, '*Be Aboona Salama ye mool*' '(By the death of Aboona Salama), you are a magician!'<sup>548</sup>

Several clergymen recorded similar experiences where their use of photographic apparatus provoked fear or suspicion. Graham was fortunate to escape unscathed from an encounter near the Wadi Kerith in the company of the artist William Holman Hunt and Dr Robert Sim from the LJS hospital. While the three men were pursuing their respective activities – 'Graham was to photograph, Sim was to shoot, and I to draw' – a group of Arabs tried to steal their equipment. While both parties began exchanging gunfire, Hunt

saw that Graham's camera was surrounded by five men apparently in great dread of it, but Graham was beating a retreat – if a very leisurely walk may be so described...first we had to rescue the camera. So far, our guns were only loaded with shot and slug. We discharged them one by one, and reloaded with bullet. The reports made a reverberation among the cliffs, and we knew it would draw many Arabs to the spot. We lost no time, but marched at once to the still dreaded camera, took possession and packed it up.<sup>549</sup>

While the surviving photographs of Keith, Graham and Isaacs support the argument that Evangelical clergymen-photographers were almost exclusively interested in capturing aspects of the Holy Land that confirmed their doctrinal beliefs, there are – as always – exceptions to the rules, and the photographs of the Rev. Alexander Boddy (1854-1930) are of particular interest in this regard.

#### **4.7. Out of Egypt: Alexander Boddy, William Macgregor and Claude Sutton**

Boddy made two prolonged visits to the Holy Land, during which he travelled through Syria and Egypt as well as Palestine. The first expedition in the autumn of 1895 had an emphatically devotional focus and resulted in the book *Christ in his*

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548 Isaacs, *Biography of the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern, D.D*(1886), p.184.

549 William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* (London, 1905), vol.1, p.425-8.

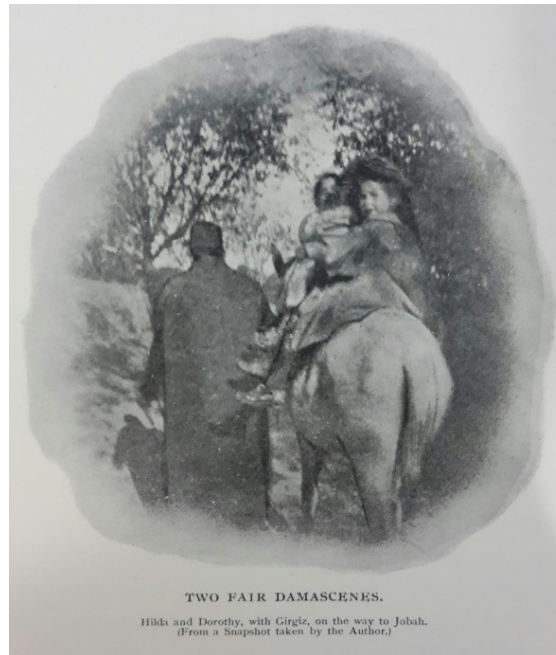
*Holy Land* (London: S.P.C.K., 1897), an illustrated and reverential account of the life of Christ. Notes of a more general nature gathered on this and Boddy's second visit in autumn 1897 provided the material for *Days in Galilee and Scenes in Judaea* (London: Gay & Bird, 1900), which resembles a conventional travelogue in the attention given to local culture, costumes, traditions and colourful anecdotes. The latter sojourn also included an eight-month chaplaincy at Ramleh near Alexandria, which was the focus for *From the Egyptian Ramleh* (London: Gay & Bird, 1900). Both these books were illustrated with photographs, some by members of Jerusalem's 'American Colony', and others taken by Boddy himself using a Kodak hand camera.<sup>550</sup> The latter are of smaller size, often crudely cropped, and generally poorer quality, resembling candid snapshots. This does give them, however, a sense of spontaneity and immediacy absent from the typically reverential views of holy landmarks and barren landscapes.<sup>551</sup> Boddy occasionally refers to his own pictures as 'snapshots', a term originally coined by John Herschel and drawn from the language of game shooting, when it referred to a quick shot fired without aim.<sup>552</sup> Such photographs were barely possible in 1860, but the development of handheld cameras and increased film speeds allowed photographers to seize a momentary scene using exposures of a mere fraction of a second.

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550 On the photographs of the American Colony, see Rachel Hallote, 'Photography and the American Contribution to Early "Biblical" Archaeology, 1870-1920,' *Near Eastern Archaeology* vol. 70, no. 1 (2007), pp.32-33; Barbara Bair, 'The American Colony Photography Department: Western Consumption and "Insider" Commercial Photography,' *Jerusalem Quarterly* Vol. 44 (Winter 2010) pp. 28-38.

551 For an interesting discussion of this contrast in terms of practices and strategies, see Joshua A. Bell, "'For scientific purposes a stand camera is essential': Salvaging photographic histories in Papua', in Christopher Morton and Elizabeth Edwards (eds.) *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame* (London: Routledge, 2016) pp.143-169.

552 Boddy, *Days in Galilee* (1900) pp.297, 303. Sir John Herschel, 'Instantaneous Photography,' *The Photographic News*, Vol. 4, No. 88 (1 May 1860), p. 13.



**Fig.4.18** Alexander Boddy. 'The Fair Damascenes. Hilda and Dorothy, with Girgiz, on the way to Jobah. From a Snapshot taken by the Author.' Rev. Alexander Boddy, *Days in Galilee* (1900) p.297

One of the most delightful examples in Boddy's work (above) shows the young daughters of the Rev. Joseph Segall of Damascus, riding a white donkey on the way to Hobah.<sup>553</sup> Five-year old Kathleen has just glanced back at Boddy, who has been able to take a quick snap of the girls in motion. Although it would be absurd to expect uniformity of work and personality from every clergyman classed as 'Evangelical', the contrast between this type of picture and the work of Keith and Isaacs demands some attempt at explanation. It is possible that this can be found in the photographer's background. Boddy had shown a keen interest in foreign travel long before his priestly ordination, visiting Western Europe and Scandinavia as a young man before venturing further afield into unusual and challenging regions including North Africa (1883), northern Russia (1886) and Canada (1889-90). His published accounts of these travels reveal an open-minded spirit that was

553 Segall was also a photographer. See his *Travels through Northern Syria* (London: Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 1910) and the photographs reproduced in E. W. G. Masterman, 'The Water Supply of Damascus,' *The Biblical World* 21:2 (February 1903) pp. 98-107. A Romanian Jew by birth, he took British nationality and converted to Christianity before working for the LJS in Constantinople, Jerusalem (1888-90) and Damascus (1890-1910) before taking a post as Special Lecturer in Arabic at the University of Bristol. See Gidney (1908) pp. 427, 428, 448, 450, 461, 462, 502, 559, 560, 579, 594, 612.

appreciative of other cultures and respectful of religious traditions other than his own – traits not always associated with the Evangelical party – and it seems likely that his broad-mindedness was as much a consequence of his travels as it was motivation for them.

His book about a Tunisian Muslim shrine, *To Kairwan the Holy* (1885) led to him being elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society the same year. His respectful and well-informed observations about Jewish and Muslim customs contrast markedly with the harsh remarks made by Keith and his companions earlier.<sup>554</sup> Unusually too he wrote positively about his encounters with Roman Catholic clergy, both in Africa - 'Religious differences are much diminished in the presence of a common adversary and in a distant country' - and in North America.<sup>555</sup> During his travels through Lapland and northern Russia he demonstrated an appreciative knowledge of the Russian Orthodox liturgy and doctrinal distinctions.<sup>556</sup>

Early in his career Boddy was an enthusiastic giver of lantern lectures, although it is possible that these were using commercial lantern slides rather than his own photographs.<sup>557</sup> He had a profound spiritual experience in 1892 and by the end of the decade he turned his energies away from travel towards a ministry stressing the work of the Holy Spirit, eventually becoming a pioneer in the British Pentecostal movement. Although Boddy has been the subject of two major monographs, his photography receives only a cursory reference – another example of the failure to connect religious studies with the history of photography that this thesis aims to address.<sup>558</sup> Boddy was a prolific photographer, and his book *From the Egyptian Ramleh: sketches of Delta life and scenes in Lower Egypt* (London: Gay & Bird,

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554 Compare the passages in Boddy, *To Kairwan the Holy* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co., 1885) pp.22-25, 44 and 108-11, with those in *Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews* (1842) pp.530-2.

555 *To Kairwan the Holy* (1885) p.120, *By Ocean Prairie and Peak* (London: S.P.C.K., 1896) p.53.

556 *With Russian Pilgrims* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1892)

557 'I was much pressed by my clerical friends to give lantern lectures, and gave more than 100 of such lectures, going sometimes long distances' (Wakefield p.59 fn 8, *Confidence* January 1923 p.65)



1900) contains some 270 of the 700 photographs he took while in Egypt. Although he managed to visit the pyramids of Giza and Sakkara and the tomb of Rameses II, his photographs are focussed largely on contemporary subjects, illustrative of chapters such as 'With the Army of Occupation' and 'Anglo-Egyptian Life.'



**Fig. 4.19.** Rev. William McGregor, *Hypostyle Hall taken from the south. On the right, lotus-bud capital, now in Boston Museum.*

Plate V from Edouard Naville, *Bubastis (1887–1889)* (London: Kegan Paul, 1891)

The photographs taken by the Rev. William McGregor (1848-1937) were, however, much more strongly connected to the study of Egyptian antiquities. As his name suggests he was of Scottish ancestry, but McGregor was born in Liverpool and served as Anglican vicar of St Editha's, Tamworth, from 1878 to 1887.<sup>559</sup> Due to ill-health he was advised to spend the winters in the dry climate of Egypt, and after arriving there in 1885 grew fascinated with the region's archaeological history. He

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558 In the 240 page biography by Gavin Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy. Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer* (Milton Keynes: Authentic Media, 2007), there is only one reference to his photography, on p.68: 'Boddy also developed his skills in photography, illustrating his books as a result and being able to give lectures on the Holy Land once he had returned home himself.' Despite Boddy's prolific photographic work, there are no illustrations in the biography.

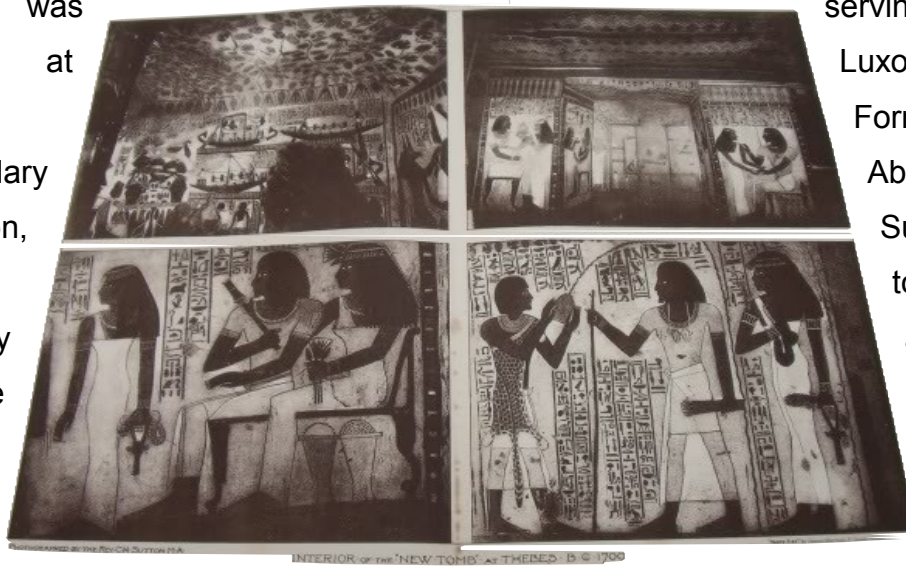
559 David Brown, 'The Reverend William MacGregor (1848-1937) and the Improvement of Tamworth', *Midland History* 24:1 (1999) pp.129-146.

joined the Egypt Exploration Society and began assisting Edouard Naville, acting as photographer for the excavations at Bubastis, Tell el-Yahudiya and Memphis. In 1889 he was elected to the Committee of the Egyptian Exploration Society and became a significant figure in Egyptology, both as a collector and as a decision-maker. His photographs can be seen in Edouard Naville's *Bubastis (1887–1889) Eighth memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*. (London: Kegan Paul, 1891).

**Fig. 4.20** Rev. Claude H. Sutton, *Interior of the New Tomb at Thebes BC 1700*  
 Reproduced from *The Building News* March 7th, 1890

While MacGregor was at work with his camera, the Rev. Claude Hope Sutton (1856-1925) was chaplain at Nile.

of St Mary Kensington, appointed chaplaincy for the season. During there he



servicing as Luxor on the Formerly vicar Abbot's, Sutton was to the new at Luxor winter 1888-89. this time visited

the small but ornately-decorated tomb of Sennefer, mayor of Thebes during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (ca.1550-1292 BC), which had been originally discovered in 1826. This was in the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna district of the Theban Necropolis, opposite Luxor. He took photographs of the interior which were later published in *The Building News*.<sup>560</sup> These attracted praise at the Royal Photographic Society exhibition in 1889, where a reviewer commented 'Some exceedingly interesting photographs of the tombs at Thebes. They are, without

<sup>560</sup> 'Interior of the New Tomb at Thebes B.C. 1700. Photographed by the Rev. C.H. Sutton, M.A.' *The Building News* March 7th, 1890. His photographs were referred to in Flinders Petrie and J.E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1895) p. 68.



doubt, worth the study of those learned in Egyptian lore, and show much care and knowledge of the original work in depicting them for historical study.<sup>561</sup>

After returning to Britain, Sutton was appointed as a missionary for the Diocese of Exeter (1890-3), a post he held concurrently with that of domestic chaplain at Killerton (1892-3).<sup>562</sup> He continued his photographic activities, and his preaching duties as diocesan missionary provided an outlet for showing his slides in the form of magic lantern lectures. At Buckfastleigh he showed 'oxyhydrogen lime-light views' to support a Biblical lecture by Canon Edmonds and the following year delivered a lantern lecture to the members of the Cathedral Guild of St. Peter and their friends in Exeter entitled 'Six Months In Bible Lands', the slides almost certainly coming from his own photographs.<sup>563</sup> Later that year the local press reported him taking photographs at a village fayre at Upton Pyne in association with 'a musical entertainment and an exhibition of waxworks' that were given in the evening.<sup>564</sup>

A different focus can be found in the photographs of the Rev. Charles Henry Stileman, a Protestant missionary in Persia and the first Anglican Bishop of the region.<sup>565</sup> Like Boddy, he was a keen user of the bicycle, and there are accounts of him and his wife cycling 862 miles in the summer of 1904 as well as the clergyman cycling 425 miles back to the mission at Kerman.<sup>566</sup> He must have been equally enthusiastic about photography, given that one of the largest lantern slide companies

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561 Anon., 'The Photographic Society's Exhibition,' *British Journal of Photography*, Vol. XXXVI, No.1541 (15 November 1889) p.744. *Exhibition Catalogue of 1889 [Thirty-fourth] Photographic Society of Great Britain Exhibition*, 'A Day in the Tombs at Thebes' No.617, Catalogue (1889) p.14.

562 Killerton was owned by the Acland family, and references to Sutton amongst the Acland papers hint at his character – for example the letter from the Rev. Peter Acland (1819-99), Vicar of Broadclyst, to his son Thomas, 16 August 1892: 'Mr Sutton, I think, improves on acquaintance.' Devon Record Office, Acland MS 1148 M/add 14 Series I, Corr. 97a and 1148 M Add 23/F 31.

563 *Totnes Weekly Times* 2 May 1891; *Exeter Flying Post*, 30 April 1892, p.5, col.1.

564 *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 29 August, 2 September 1892.

565 He was appointed as the first Anglican Bishop of Persia in 1912 and held that position until 1916. See the papers in the Church Missionary Archive, CMS/B/OMS/G2 PE L, University of Birmingham.

in the country at this time – Newton & Co. - was able to publish a set of over 100 lantern slides of Persia made from Stileman's photographs, taken while he was serving on the missions in Baghdad (1889-1891) and Julfa (1891-1893), and on the CMS Persia Mission (1895-1906). His photographs were also used to illustrate his book *The Subjects of the Shah or, the Land of pussy cats and poverty, etiquette and error etc* (London: CMS, 1902) and a highly-respected work by the American linguist A.V. Williams Jackson, *Persia past and present* (London: Macmillan, 1906).<sup>567</sup> Stileman's photographs include views of Baghdad and the River Tigris, Shiraz, churches and mission buildings in Julfa, Khabis and Kerman, as well as pictures such as 'Persian Doctor and Three Convert Boys' which allow an insight into the achievements of the mission.<sup>568</sup>

Such photographs represent only a small proportion of those taken by clergy-photographers in Egypt and the Middle East, which can be attributed to two key factors: firstly, the relatively low priority given to proselytizing missions in strongly Muslim regions, and secondly the obvious dominance of magnificent ancient ruins and architecture.<sup>569</sup> For missionaries working in central Africa or the Pacific regions, 'before and after' photographs of native converts could demonstrate vividly the

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566 Robin Waterfield, *Christians in Persia: Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973) p. 160.

567 Nine of Stileman's photographs appear in A.V. Williams Jackson, *Persia past and present; a book of travel and research, with more than two hundred illustrations and a map* (London: Macmillan, 1906.) The nine photographs were The Lion of Hamadan (p.160), Bridge leading into Shiraz (p.323), View of Yezd (p.348), A Street in Yezd, Showing a Wind-Tower (p.348), Scene in Yezd (p.355), The Reservoir in the Metdan at Yezd (p.855), A Wind-Tower at Yezd (p.366), Zoroastrians of Kerman and Persian Gleaners (p.412.) Jackson erroneously refers to Stileman's book as *In the Kingdom of the Shah*, confusing it with Edward Treacher Collins' book published in 1896.

568 The series was entitled 'A Series of Photographs by Rev. C.H. Stileman', *Catalogue of Lantern Slides: Part II* (London: Newton & Co., 1913), pp. 649-650. A full listing is given on the Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, [www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-refs.php?id=3008860](http://www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-refs.php?id=3008860). Accessed 12 May 2017.

569 For further details on the interactions between eastern and western culture, see Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (University of Chicago Press, 2016)

civilising effects of Christianity. Such evidence was essential for evangelists who were working in remote regions on the behalf of missionary societies, and needed to prove their effectiveness to attract financial support from benefactors and congregations back in Britain. However in Egypt or Palestine, clergy-photographers were much more likely to serve as chaplains attached to British expatriate communities, and the agenda of these groups tended to shape the focus of the clergy's photography. In Egypt, this meant that photography was focussed more on ancient archaeology and less on explicitly Christian content.

## **Conclusion**

The photographic work of the clergymen studied in this chapter have been examined in detail in order to trace how their interaction with the landscape, its artefacts, structures and natural features, can be shown to be rooted within a wider framework of religious culture. As centuries of ecclesiastical history have demonstrated, the way in which individuals and societies are shaped and defined by religious belief is highly complex. Even if matters of dogma are presented as 'black and white', the manner in which they play out in human events can be nuanced and inconsistent. For this reason, an examination of religious culture in relation to landscape photography must not be limited to issues of theological doctrine but must also take into account a broader context, such as the social setting of a clergyman's ministry or the artistic circles with which he was connected. By choosing a more biographical focus for this chapter, it has been possible to trace the development of the various dispositions and convictions with which these clergymen approached their photographic projects.

The importance of the picturesque movement for early photographers is widely acknowledged, but I have suggested here that the moral and spiritual sentiments implicit in this aesthetic ideal provide a means of exploring the religious elements present in photographs of picturesque landscapes, especially ecclesiastical ruins. Building on this hypothesis, a comparison of the photography of Francis Lockey and John Derrick examined their distinctive approaches to photographing ruined monasteries and other West Country locations. Lockey's rural isolation and lack of contact with other photographers and exhibition networks is reflected in his

atmospheric, depopulated images, full of empty space in which his religious beliefs found expression, while Derrick's sociable nature – he was based in the centre of a busy town with a plethora of engagements as a college lecturer, tutor and military chaplain – spills over into his photographs, in which contemporary human activity takes precedence over the religious past. An appreciation of Rev. James Mackenzie's photographs of carved stones and ruined churches must be based, I argue, not only by looking at the geological characteristics of the Highland communities in which he was raised and which he served as a parish minister, but also by understanding the deep-held religious traditions that were attached to sacred stones in this region; these pre-Christian beliefs and superstitions form part of the 'spiritual landscape' that needs to be overlaid on the geographical maps of the parish. Visual images need to be read with these invisible landscapes in mind.

The photographic activities of the Rev. George Wilson Bridges illustrate how the interaction with such landscapes can be shaped by a combination of religious, cultural and personal factors; the tragic events in Bridges' life helped to determine both his geographical itineraries and his commercial initiatives. His belief that his photographs confirmed the veracity of Biblical sites was shared by other clergymen-photographers working in Palestine including a group of Presbyterian 'missionaries to the Jews': lay missionary James Graham, the Revs. J.L. Porter, Alexander Isaacs and Dr Alexander Keith, who deployed illustrations based on daguerreotype images of the landscape as evidence in support of his beliefs about the fulfilment of ancient prophecies.

All of these clergymen produced images that were widely distributed back in Britain, either as illustrations in published books or in exhibitions around the country. The extent of public interest in the Holy Land is indicated by, for example, the fact that Dr Keith's book ran to over forty editions, as well as the extent of individual titles of books describing travels through Palestine – Wheatley-Irving (2007) identified over 200 published between 1830 and 1870 listed the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*.<sup>570</sup> As the quote from photographer Bishop William Thomson reveals, there was a strong feeling among British Protestants that they had special claim to

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<sup>570</sup> Linda Wheatley-Irving, 'Holy Land Photographs and Their Worlds the "Tour in the East"' *Jerusalem Quarterly* 31 (2007) p.80.

the Holy Land, and the consumption of photographic images of the region was shaped as much by such beliefs as it was by their content or composition. As James Ackerman has observed in his survey of 'The Photographic Picturesque', 'Both the photographer and the public had formed a clear concept of what a landscape or a representation of architecture should look like'.<sup>571</sup> In the case of the Holy Land these expectations were also shaped by familiarity with paintings of the Holy Land such as those by David Roberts, which drew upon established picturesque principles: [Bartram quote]

There were other ways in which the images of these clergymen-photographers can be presented as a form of 'Biblical Picturesque.' Firstly, their itineraries and the arrangement of photographic images tended to adhere to established sequences that evokes the 'viewing stations' discussed earlier in this chapter. As Wahrman (1993) and Moscrop (2000) have commented, most of the photographers took very similar images from very similar spots, rendering their work almost indistinguishable.<sup>572</sup> Just as the imposition of picturesque theory on garden designs risked introducing a degree of homogeneity on different sites, so too did the imposition of the Biblical gaze on the Palestinian landscape tend towards replicating a fairly limited series of views. Richard Payne Knight insisted that the picturesque views could only be appreciated by 'a mind richly stored', not by 'the eye of the uninformed observer', and there is a degree of elitism in the way in which elements not conducive to the picturesque – such as traces of industry or working-class cottages – were removed as part of picturesque 'improvements' in the landscape.<sup>573</sup> Clear parallels can be drawn between this attitude – driven by the educated estate-owners belief that they possessed an inherent right to shape and exploit their land

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571 J.S. Ackerman (2003), "The photographic picturesque", *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol.24:48, p.76.

572 Dror Wahrman, *Capturing the Holy Land: M.J. Diness and the beginnings of photography in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Semitic Museum, 1993), pp.17-35, and John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem: the Palestine Exploration Fund and British interests in the Holy Land* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000) pp. 63-4. For some of the copyright and plagiarism issues that arose from this, see Downs (2011) pp.

573 Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, 4th ed. (London: T. Payne, 1808), pp.143, 146.

and all that stood on it – with the generally disparaging view shown by these photographers towards the indigenous Arab people who lived in Palestine and Bishop Thomson's belief that the Holy Land 'has been given unto us.' Similarly, the role of the aesthetic connoisseur in enabling travellers to see and understand the picturesque features of the English landscape was adopted by the clergy in acting as theological interpreters of the Holy Land. Even where images were produced by commercial photographers, the written text was usually undertaken by ordained clergymen, as it was presumed that their Biblical learning and theological erudition made them the most reliable guides to understanding the landscape. Therefore it was through the clergy, whether or not they were themselves photographers, that images of the Holy Land were usually mediated for domestic consumption in Britain.

## Chapter 5

### Light from the Cloister:

#### ***Religious Communities, Diocesan Clergy and the Uses of Photography in the Roman Catholic Church***

After discussing clergymen-photographers from Protestant denominations in the preceding chapters, it is now time to turn attention to members of the Roman Catholic Church. To justify such exclusive treatment, it is first necessary to explain the unique position of Catholics in nineteenth-century Britain. One of the key arguments of this chapter is that the troubles of the recent past not only defined the modes of photography undertaken by Catholic priests, but also provided the essential materials – both in terms of historical records and ‘mythical’ symbols – for many of the actual photographs themselves. This examination of the work of Catholic clergy thus provides a cogent case for the close relationship between religious and photographic cultures.

The value of this is twofold. Firstly, it demonstrates the validity of the hypothesis that underpins this research project – namely, that a definite relationship may be identified between the religious culture of individual clergymen and their photographic activities. Secondly, it uses this relationship as a template for examining the personal lives of individual Catholic priests. While biographical studies on senior figures in the Catholic hierarchy such as Wiseman, Manning and Newman abound – the online bibliography of works devoted to Newman's life and thought listed by the International Centre of Newman Friends stretches to over 400 *pages* – the lives of minor prelates and ordinary priests receive scant attention in comparison with their Anglican counterparts.<sup>574</sup> Published research on Catholic clergy in the nineteenth century tends to focus upon either institutional issues – such as priestly education or relationships between religious, social or political factions – or on

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574 <http://www.newmanfriendsinternational.org/bibliography/>. Ford K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) p.403 claims that the majority of these biographies were of evangelical clergy, followed by studies of evangelical laymen and High Church clergy.

individual priests who became prominent due to a role in noteworthy ecclesiastical or public affairs. The absence of research into the routine lives of unremarkable Catholic clergy is not hard to explain, given the challenges in obtaining material. *The Catholic Directory for England and Wales* was first published in 1839 but – unlike its counterpart in Scotland - did not contain individual obituaries of clergymen. Those published in *The Catholic Directory for Scotland* are therefore invaluable for the profiles they offer of the lives and activities of ordinary diocesan priests, although a survey of these obituaries reveals a striking homogeneity.<sup>575</sup> Unlike Anglican clergy, who were allowed a large degree of latitude about the number and form of liturgical services celebrated during the week, Catholic priests were bound to daily Mass and Divine Office, and in general had their time much more closely proscribed. The massive growth in the Catholic population during the nineteenth century – particularly in urban centres where Irish immigration was high – provided more than enough pastoral work to fill a priest's time, allowing him less opportunity for idiosyncrasies such as personal hobbies. However, this does not justify the lack of scholarly attention paid to the ordinary lives of Catholic priests, and this neglect has diminished our knowledge of how doctrinal and ecclesiastical policy impacted upon clergy at a grassroots level. It is hoped that the research undertaken in this chapter might initiate a reappraisal of the relationship between Catholic clergy and the world of Victorian visual culture.

One of the trends identified here is that Catholic clergy tended to come to photography much later in the century than their Anglican or Presbyterian counterparts, and the technological innovations of this period mean that this chapter has a slightly different structure and arrangement from those preceding. The character of photography had been altered dramatically during 1880s and 90s, so that – as Alfred Stieglitz observed in 1897 – ‘Every Tom, Dick and Harry could, without trouble, learn how to get something or other on a sensitive plate, and this is what the public wanted - no work and lots of fun.<sup>576</sup> The introduction of smaller and

575 On the history of this work, see David McRoberts, 'The Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1829-1975', *The Innes Review*, Vol. 26:2 (Spring 1975) pp.93-122.

576 Alfred Stieglitz, 'The Hand Camera – its Present Importance', *The American Annual of Photography* (1897), p.19.



lighter hand-held cameras, more sensitive film and shorter exposures turned photography into something that was quick, easy, accessible and highly mobile; pleasure was found in the novelty of taking instantaneous snapshots of everyday life. Cameras were everywhere, photography was omnipresent, and its techniques were beginning to be applied across almost every field of activity – artistic and domestic, industrial and administrative. The focus in this chapter is therefore, inevitably, more individualistic, engaging less with the sort of relationship between dogma and photography examined in Chapter Three, and more with how Catholic priests as individuals used photography: this is explored within the context of a devotional identity formed by the distinctive experience of Catholics in Britain and – in certain cases - the specific elements that were unique to the different religious orders.

The case studies included here are thus more disparate than in previous chapters, reflecting the way in which photography had now scattered across a multifarious range of applications, processes and types of apparatus. The Catholic clergy discussed below had far less influence or impact upon the development of photography than the Anglican and Presbyterian innovators featured in the first two chapters of my thesis. What it is of interest is how they adapted existing techniques and technologies to their distinctive situation, and how their use of the photographic medium was shaped by questions of devotional identity. As was established in the Introduction, Roman Catholicism differed from Protestant denominations in its positive attitude towards the use of the visual arts in liturgical and devotional practices, and this chapter presents evidence that these clergymen-photographers were more likely to use the medium in support of agendas specific to the Catholic community.

The special nature of the relationship between the religious culture and photographic practices of the Catholic clergy is reflected in three distinctive trends that set them apart from the other denominations discussed previously. Firstly, Catholic priest-photographers typically operated much later in the century. Secondly, they tended to be drawn from the higher ranks of the clergy and generally possessed some unusual privileges in background. Thirdly, their photography was much more likely to be driven by religious motives or feature religious content. In discussing individual priests below, these factors will be examined in greater detail.

The roots of these distinctive differences can be found in the fact that for almost two centuries (1580-1779) the Catholic Church was an underground movement in Britain and its priests risked death by carrying out their religious duties. Had photography been invented a decade or two earlier, the conditions would have been much more conducive to practical involvement by Catholic clergy. During the period of around 1780-1830 the Catholic community was largely formed of wealthy gentry and their chaplains, who ministered to private households, estates and small rural congregations. The combination of lighter duties, private lay patronage and rural seclusion was ideal for the pursuit of scholarly research or scientific activities, such as the paleontological work undertaken by Fr. John MacEnery (1797-1841).<sup>577</sup> After the 1830s, however, there was a massive shift of the Catholic population from rural areas to urban centres, while control passed from the gentry to the episcopal hierarchy, resulting in heavier pastoral pressures, strained financial resources and closer clerical supervision. For the rest of the century, the opportunity to pursue the 'black art' of photography would be a luxury enjoyed by very few Catholic priests. It is the task of this chapter to assemble evidence about the factors that enabled, and motivated, those who did so. This involves a shift away from the emphasis of the preceding chapters: rather than focusing on the contribution made by clergymen to broader photographic practices or involvement in popular science, this chapter examines the ways in which the work of Catholic priests responded to the possibilities offered by photography. By demonstrating how specific ecclesiastical structures and doctrines intersected with photographic praxis, further weight is given to my contention that the religious element of nineteenth-century photography has been unjustly neglected.

After an introduction providing some necessary historical background to explain the challenges faced by Catholic clergy at the dawn of photography, the second section presents studies of the photographic activities of five diocesan priests. Acknowledging the significance of Rome in their respective careers, a third

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<sup>577</sup> MacEnery was chaplain to the Cary family who lived at Torre Abbey in Torquay; he carried out excavations in nearby Kent's Cavern. See Rev. Thomas Sheehan, 'Father John McEnery and Palaeolithic Man 1796-1841', *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, Vol. XXI (September 1932), pp. 471-79, and E.M.M. Alexander 'Father John MacEnery: scientist or charlatan?', *Devonshire Association Report and Transactions*, Vol. 96 (1964), pp. 113-46.

section examines the importance for Catholic clergy in Britain of papal attitudes towards photography, as well as other Vatican policies regarding the relationship between the Catholic Church and the secular world of learning and technology. The following four sections are then dedicated to different religious orders – the Benedictines, Jesuits, Oratorians and Dominicans – seeking to establish patterns between the distinctive characters of each institution and the photographic work undertaken by their members. A conclusion draws these strands together, arguing that the scope and character of these photographic activities opens up new ways of thinking not only about Catholic culture in Victorian Britain, but also about the relationship between religious doctrine and photographic practice.

### **5.1 Catholicism During the Post-Reformation Era**

A brief summary of post-Reformation Catholic history will be helpful here, both in order to explain the circumstances in which Catholic priests found themselves during the early period of photography, and also to outline the context of the historiography undertaken by priest-photographers. By the Act of Supremacy in 1535, King Henry VIII appointed himself Head of the Church of England and assumed all powers of jurisdiction over church doctrine, clergy appointments, rituals, revenues and lands that had previously belonged to the Pope. Over the next seven years his vice-regent Thomas Cromwell oversaw the ‘dissolution of the monasteries’ by which all religious houses were disbanded. During the turmoil that followed, Roman Catholics found practising their faith increasingly difficult, but it was not until 1570 that active persecution began in earnest.<sup>578</sup> In 1585 Queen Elizabeth passed an ‘Act against Jesuits, seminary priests, and such other like disobedient persons,’ which declared that any priest ordained during her reign could be executed for high treason if found

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<sup>578</sup> The Anglican Church took on a more Protestant character under Henry’s son Edward VI (1547-53) before suffering a violent reversal under the rule of Edward’s Catholic half-sister Mary I (1553-58.) It was only under the long reign of Mary’s half-sister Elizabeth I (1558-1603) that a more moderate form of Anglicanism was established, retaining some external forms of Catholicism – such as the episcopate – while rejecting papal authority, and at the same time avoiding the extreme Protestantism practiced in Calvin’s Geneva. The Elizabethan Settlement was a strategic compromise, intended to accommodate diverse religious views and thus bring an end to the conflict and bloodshed of recent decades.

on English soil. There was a raft of other 'penal laws' excluding Catholics from public life or owning or inheriting property, as well as providing incentives for others to inform on Catholic relatives or neighbours. This situation persisted until the late 18th century when a blend of factors, such as a new spirit of religious toleration built on Enlightenment principles, political issues relating to Ireland and an influx of exiled clergy from Revolutionary France led to the gradual relaxation of the penal laws.<sup>579</sup> Concessions made by the Papists Act (1778) and Catholic Relief Acts (1791 and 1829) were far from being universally accepted - in reaction to the Papists Act, the Gordon Riots in 1780 claimed over 300 lives – and Catholic monks and nuns were still forbidden from wearing their distinctive religious habits in public, as well as from making public profession of religious vows. These stipulations were still capable of being enforced as late as 1924, when they were debated in the House of Commons.<sup>580</sup>

During this period there was no official Catholic hierarchy in Britain, and the needs of clergy and laity were overseen by a handful of 'vicars apostolic' who acted on behalf of the Roman Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.<sup>581</sup>

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579 On this period, see Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth* (London: Blandford, 1967), John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1975), J. C. H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London, 1976), Alexandra Walsham, *Church papists: Catholicism, conformity and confessional polemic in early modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993) and Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.) Bossy argues against the continuity of the Catholic community, suggesting that the Counter-Reformation mission introduced to England what was essentially a new form of Catholicism. His opinions were staunchly contested by Christopher Haigh in a series of articles: 'The fall of a church or the rise of a sect?', *Historical Journal*, 2 (1978), pp. 181–6; 'The continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 93 (1981), pp. 37–69; 'From monopoly to minority: Catholicism in early modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 31 (1981), pp. 129–47; and 'Revisionism, the Reformation, and the history of English Catholicism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 26 (1985), pp. 394–405.

580 See *Hansard* House of Commons Deb 8 July 1924 vol 175 cc. 1935-7, also McGhee 'Carfin and the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926', *Innes Review*, Vol. 16:1 (1965) pp. 56-78.

581 See Nicholas Schofield and Gerard Skinner, *The English Vicars Apostolic (1688-1850)* (Oxford: Family Publications, 2009) for biographical studies of individuals prelates and their work, and Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009) for a look at the wider political context,

There were no dioceses, just regions (London, Northern, Midland and Western), in which clergy had care of 'missions' rather than parishes. It was not until 1851 that the hierarchy was restored in England and Wales; Scotland had to wait until 1878.<sup>582</sup> Although Robert Peel's Catholic Relief Act (1829) removed most of the penal laws that discriminated against Catholics, this was less than ten years before Daguerre and Talbot announced their respective photographic processes to the world. In early Victorian Britain, therefore, there were still numerous limits on the opportunities for Catholic clergy to take part in the photographic activities of their Anglican and Nonconformist peers. Wheeler (2006) provides ample evidence of the degree of fear and suspicion with which Roman Catholicism was still regarded at the time photography emerged in Britain.<sup>583</sup>

In addition to the cultural and social gap separating Roman Catholic priests from their Protestant counterparts, it needs to be remembered that there are two distinct categories of clergy in the Catholic Church: secular/diocesan priests who carry out parish work under the bishop of a specific diocese, and regular clergy who belong to religious congregations (such as the Jesuits or Benedictines) and live under a rule (Latin *regula*) that is specific to their community. Although the way of life followed by 'regulars' was generally more restrictive than that of the diocesan clergy, it was much more conducive for photography, as will be explained in the second half of this chapter.

Secular clergy laboured under many disadvantages: they lacked the university education that was mandatory for their Anglican counterparts, tended to come from further down the social scale and could certainly not expect much financial support

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especially links with the Jacobite movement.

582 On the situation in Scotland, see Peter Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878* (Montrose: Standard Press, 1970) and Mgr. David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878,' *The Innes Review*, Vol. 29:1 (Spring 1978), pp.3-29.

583 Michael Wheeler, *The Old Enemies: Catholic and Protestant in Nineteenth-Century English Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.) See also Denis Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992)

from their parishioners.<sup>584</sup> A Catholic priest was meant to be accessible to his parishioners at all times, which formed part of the justification for priestly celibacy. Anglican clergy were allowed a degree of privacy and leisure time because of their families, while a Catholic priest spent most of his evenings in pastoral work or running devotional groups. The clearest statement of this ideal was expressed in Cardinal Manning's book *The Eternal Priesthood* (1883), which is uncompromising in its condemnation of wasted leisure time: In Chapter X, 'The Value of a Priest's Time', the author insists that any time left over after fulfilling all other daily duties should be spent either in the confessional, in private prayer or in sacred study, warning against 'recreations which, though without sin, are out of all proportion and out of all harmony with the gravity of the priesthood.'<sup>585</sup> The point is reiterated in a chapter on 'The Priest's Liberty' that takes as its text the words of St Paul (1 Cor 6:12), 'all things are lawful to me, but not all things are expedient.'<sup>586</sup> Such an understanding of the priesthood was unlikely to encourage the pursuit of photography, even if nothing about it could be considered intrinsically immoral. It is therefore unsurprising to find that the priest-photographer Fr. Aeneas Chisholm explicitly rejected this view, both in his personal life and in his pastoral advice after being appointed Bishop of Aberdeen.

This is not to imply that taking up photography was merely a matter of choice. Of the three resources essential for the early amateur photographers – money, education and time – the Catholic diocesan priest had meagre amounts, which indicates why records of photographic activity within this group are extremely rare.<sup>587</sup> In the following section, the activities of five priest-photographers will be examined in order to identify the factors that enabled them to overcome these challenges. One

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584 In the 1850s, around 80% of Catholic parishioners were Irish and working-class. Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) p.7. See also G. P. Connolly, 'The transubstantiation of myth: towards a new popular history of nineteenth-century Catholicism in England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35 (1984) pp. and 'Irish and Catholic: myth or reality? Another sort of Irish and the renewal of the clerical profession among Catholics in England 1791-1918', in S. Gilley (ed.) *The Irish and the Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1985)

585 H.E. Manning, *The Eternal Priesthood* (London: Burns & Oates, 1883) p.134

586 Manning, *The Eternal Priesthood* (1883) p.203.

obvious observation to begin with is that four of them - Bishop Aeneas Chisholm of Aberdeen, Mgr. Charles Moncreiff Smyth, Mgr. James Williams and Mgr. William Giles D.D. - held prelatical rank, while the remaining priest-photographer, Fr. John Gray, was far from being a typical parish clergyman.

### **5.2.1. Fr. John Gray (1866-1934)**

Ordained in Rome in 1901 after studying at the city's Scots College, Gray spent the rest of his priestly life in Edinburgh, first at St Patrick's in the Cowgate and then at St Peter's, Morningside. He was not Scottish, however, having been born and raised in London, where he became a leading spirit in aesthetic circles as a friend of Oscar Wilde, Beardsley and Dowson. His verse collections *Silverpoints* (1893) and *Spiritual Poems* (1896) contain both original poetry and translations from French 'Decadents' such as Verlaine, Baudelaire and Mallarmé. He converted to Catholicism in 1890, lapsed, then returned to the faith in 1895. He made a complete break from his life as a 'dandy' following the imprisonment of Wilde and the death of Beardsley, announcing before he began his priestly studies that he would never write again.

Before entering the Scots College in October 1898, Gray was clothed as a lay Dominican and retained a close association to the Dominican Order from then on. Links to his former life lingered on, however. In 1905 he moved to the more respectable district of Morningside where a new Italianate church was built through the financial generosity of his long-standing friend (since 1888) André Raffalovich, who bought a house nearby. Sewell (1963) describes how Gray and Raffalovich established a kind of literary salon here, hosting dinners for a carefully selected company of artists and writers, their formal manners and carefully-orchestrated table talk recalling the culture of an earlier, distinctly *fin-de-siècle*, age.<sup>588</sup> Although many of the church furnishings were brought directly from Rome, Fr. Gray had lithographs by

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<sup>587</sup> Letters of enquiry sent to the archivists of Catholic dioceses around the UK drew a complete blank, with none of the respondents having any knowledge of secular clergy who were photographers in this period. No doubt other priest-photographers have yet to be discovered, and there are some additional examples that require further research, such as Fr. Richard G. Davis (1837-1914), parish priest of Cowes on the Isle of Wight and President of Cowes Camera Club for a few years before his death, or Very Rev. Thomas Lee, parish priest and vicar general in Cork who exhibited three photographs in Scotland in 1855.

Shannon and Ricketts hung on the walls of the presbytery, as well as the work of other contemporary artists such as Sir Frank Brangwyn and John Duncan. The artist and former monk Peter Anson recalled how '...the sheets on the narrow bed were of black linen. The whole house was in a dim, mysterious and elusive twilight.'<sup>589</sup>

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588 Brocard Sewell, *Footnote to the nineties: a memoir of John Gray and André Raffalovich* (London: C. & A. Woolf, 1968). On the relationship between photography and the 'decadent' movement, see James Downs, *A Carnal Medium: fin-de-siècle essays on the photographic nude* (Portsmouth: Callum James Books, 2012).

589 Peter F. Anson, 'Random Reminiscences of John Gray and Raffalovich', in Brocard Sewell (ed.), *Two Friends, John Gray & André Raffalovich* (Aylesford: St Albert's Press, 1963), p.135; Jerusha Hull McCormack. *John Gray: Poet, Dandy, and Priest* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991)







































Gray was clearly cut from a very different cloth than the other priests serving in Edinburgh and is the only secular priest of this period to have attracted biographers. Despite the literature on Gray, his photography has been overlooked, with only a passing reference made in a letter from a fellow priest following a visit to the Hebridean island of Eriskay in the spring of 1903. Fr. Donald Mackintosh thanked Gray for ‘the souvenir of our visit to Eriskay. Anything reminding me of that eventful day would be treasured. I had forgotten that you played the artist that day, and the souvenir you so kindly sent me came as a most charming surprise. I shall have it framed and hung up in my sanctum wherever my lot shall be cast.’<sup>590</sup> The parish priest of Eriskay, Fr. Allan Macdonald, also wrote to express gratitude for the priest’s photographs: ‘I have not been very well of late, hence the delay in thanking you for the nice photographs. They were wonderfully successful and I am thankful to have them as a keepsake of one of the happiest days of my life.’<sup>591</sup> Gray was made a Canon of the Diocese in 1930 and the photo on the right below shows him walking on the island of Skye that same year, with what may be a camera case strapped over his arm.



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590 NLS Dep 372/6. Donald Mackintosh, Mingarry, to John Gray, 13 August 1903. I am grateful to Alasdair Roberts for drawing my attention to this reference.

591 NLS Dep 372/34. Fr Allan to Gray, 24 June 1903. Fr. Gray probably also took the photograph of ten diocesan priests that is printed in John Lorne Campbell, *Fr Allan MacDonald of Eriskay, 1859-1905: Priest, Poet and Folklorist* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1954) facing p. 20.

**Fig.5.1.** Two portraits of John Gray, both by unknown photographers. On the left, the poet in 1893 around the time of the publication of *Silverpoints*.

### **5.2.2. Rt. Rev. Aeneas Chisholm (1836-1918), Bishop of Aberdeen**

Chisholm was not a bishop when he took up photography. Ordained in Rome in 1859 he served in Beaulieu and Elgin before being transferred in 1866 to Glengairn, a large district on the eastern edge of the Cairngorm mountains. Once a month he had to 'cross a high hill, bleak and bare, and exposed to every wind that blows and often deep in snow, to say Mass at Tornahaish in Strathdon.'<sup>592</sup> The dangers of such an isolated life were not just physical: the solitude and loneliness felt by some priests often led to problems with drink or depression. The years spent in Glengairn taught Chisholm

the benefit to priests in small missions of leading busy and occupied lives. . . [and] he would often dwell on the subject in speaking to his priests. Photography, which was one of the occupations he took up, was then only in its infancy, a fact which in a sense added to its interest. For to an enquiring mind like his it was always presenting problems only partially solved, and hence giving occasion for interesting experiments.<sup>593</sup>

The benefit of maintaining a wide breadth of interests was not merely psychological, and in an age and region where there was still deep hostility felt in many quarters towards Catholic clergy, Chisholm soon learned that his involvement in hobbies such as golf and fishing, reading groups and scientific societies helped to dissolve sectarian divisions. As Mgr. Meany wrote in his obituary, 'He kept pace with the development of many branches of science, and loved to make personal researches in electricity and photography. He was fascinated by every phase of scientific progress, and took up every hobby which his means could afford.'<sup>594</sup> This was an unusual trait in a Highland priest, and the breadth of Chisholm's intellectual interests led to his appointment in 1892 as Rector of Blairs College, the Roman Catholic seminary for training priests in Scotland. Within seven years he had been elected a Canon of the Cathedral, a Domestic Prelate and – in 1899 – Bishop of Aberdeen.

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<sup>592</sup> Alice, Lady Lovat, *A Highland Bishop. The Rt. Rev. Aeneas Chisholm, LL.D., Bishop of Aberdeen: A Character Sketch* (Edinburgh: Sands & Co., 1927), p.16.

<sup>593</sup> *Ibid*, p.18

<sup>594</sup> Obituary, *Catholic Directory for Scotland* 1919

After his death, a biography was published that included several unattributed photographs that can be presumed to be the bishop's work.



**Fig. 5.2 Our Lady of Mount Carmel Catholic Church, Banff.**  
*Possibly taken by Fr. Aeneas Chisholm, parish priest of Banff 1879-92.*

### **5.2.3. Mgr. Charles J Moncreiff Smyth (1846-1912)**

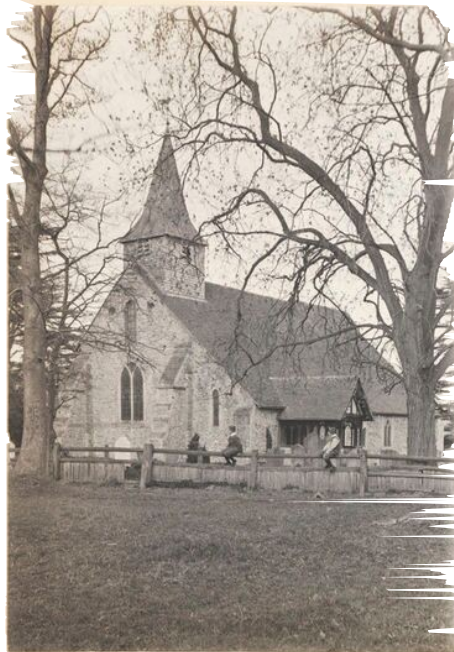
Mgr. Charles Moncreiff Smyth was a member of both the Royal Photographic Society and London's Camera Club.<sup>595</sup> He also took part in the photographic survey movement discussed in Chapter Two: a set of six photographs of the church of St Michael's & All Angels, at Copford near Colchester in Essex, taken in April 1901, were submitted to the National Photographic Record and Survey and are now held in the Victoria & Albert Museum.<sup>596</sup> A history graduate of Cambridge University, Smyth was a convert to Catholicism and later held the post of Canon of Westminster Cathedral as well as important administrative posts in the archdiocese. Although a busy man, he was a wealthy one – at his death, he left £1,000 for the benefit of

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595 He only seems to have exhibited one photograph at the Royal Photographic Society, a carbon print entitled Church of Brou. Tomb of founder (Margaret of Austria.) *Exhibition Catalogue of the Forty-fourth Annual Exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society* (1899) p.10. The French monastery at Brou had been home to Augustinian friars until the Revolution.

596 The platinum prints were formerly in the British Museum. Brief reference is made in Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (2012) p.46.

Westminster Cathedral, £3,000 to the Secular Clergy New Common Fund, and a large sum to Nazareth House.<sup>597</sup> His photograph of 'The Church of the English Martyrs, Cambridge' – a vast, recently-opened church built in the Gothic revival style - was reproduced as the frontispiece to



*From the South West.  
Copford Church, Colchester.*

the



*Nave. 14<sup>th</sup> century Screen.*

*Photographic Journal* in June 1900.<sup>598</sup> The

church's dedication reflected the beatification in 1886 and 1895 of over sixty Catholics who had been executed for their faith in the 16th century.

**Fig.5.3.** Rev. Charles Moncrieff Smyth. **(left:)** *Copford Church, Colchester, from the South West.* **(right:)** *Interior of Copford Church, showing nave and 14<sup>th</sup> century screen.* (Both April 1901) Platinum prints. Victoria & Albert Museum E.2031-2000 and E.2035-2000

The construction of such a prominent Catholic church and its dedication to the Catholic martyrs struck a triumphalist and polemical note that caused some controversy among local Anglicans and members of the university.<sup>599</sup> It is tempting to

597 Obituary in *The Tablet*, (1 June 1912) p.30.

598 *Photographic Journal*, Vol. XXIV, No. 10 (June 1900.)

599 See Nicholas Rogers (ed.) *Catholics in Cambridge* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2003) pp.84-5, 100-1 for details of this opposition. Construction was funded by Yolanda Lyne-Stephens, widow of Stephens Lyne Stephens (1803-60), reckoned the wealthiest commoner in England at the time.

see Moncreiff Smyth's contribution to the *Photographic Journal* as a subtle way of introducing a symbol of Catholic strength and identity into the world of photography. Although the descriptive architectural annotations of Copford Church conform to the objectivity demanded by the survey movement, there are hidden details that engage with the same narrative of Catholic martyrdom. The owner of Copford Hall from 1540 until his death in Marshalsea Prison in 1569 was Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, who was imprisoned for refusing to subscribe to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. Since then, the twelfth century church had been used for Anglican worship. However, in 1809 a workman discovered Bonner's coffin hidden underneath the altar that appears in Moncreiff Smyth's photograph, indicating that at some point after his death loyal Catholics had secretly moved his body from the churchyard of St George's, Southwark, to a sacred resting place beneath the altar. There is therefore in the photographic images a hidden history of post-Reformation courage in keeping the faith.

Manning may have seen the Catholic community as very much at odds with the secular world, but he believed strongly that – rather than keeping themselves separate – Catholics were instead to find ways of using their faith as a 'leavening effect.' He argued that - second only to its duty to save souls - it was the task of the Church 'to ripen and elevate the social and political life of men by its influences of morality and of law.'<sup>600</sup> Mgr. Moncreiff Smyth's photography reflects Manning's strategy, while leaning more towards Bishop Chisholm's belief that cultivating photography and other convivial hobbies did more than doctrinal debate to promote Catholicism, because it enabled him to 'become all things to all men that he might gain all.'<sup>601</sup>

Examples of such involvement by Catholic clergy in the wider community have been largely overlooked by modern scholars, due to the effects of sectarian division upon the development of historiography. Until recently studies of faith communities were almost exclusively undertaken by their own members, and treated

600 Manning, 'The Work and Wants of the Catholic Church in England', *Dublin Review* (July 1863), reprinted in *Miscellanies* Vol. 1 (London, 1877) p.29.

601 Mgr. Meany, Obituary of Bishop Chisholm, *Catholic Directory for Scotland* 1919, quoted in Lovat (1927) p.27.

in isolation from one another (Ritchie, 2016).<sup>602</sup> Roman Catholic historians demonstrated more interest in the growth and internal coherence of Catholic institutions rather than the lives of individual clergy – a logical decision given the paucity of materials that might survive the itinerant nature of diocesan priestly life.<sup>603</sup> Historical studies of nineteenth-century clergy in journals such as *Recusant History* (now *British Catholic History*) or the *Innes Review* are thus far more likely to include statistical analysis of clerical patterns or collective growth, than detailed examinations of how individual priests engaged with those outside the Catholic community. This inward-looking tendency was also a consequence of the ‘fortress Catholicism’ mentality adopted in response to the loss of power in an increasingly secular modern world – a stance that historian Lord Acton blamed for stultifying the development of Catholic historiography in Britain.

#### **5.2.4. Mgr. James Williams (1835-1915)**

Born in Newport, Monmouthshire, brothers James and Edward Williams studied at Prior Park College shortly before Rev. Francis Lockey photographed the buildings in the 1850s (see Chapter Four). Both brothers studied for the priesthood in Rome – the older Edward at the Beda College and the younger James at the ‘Venerabile’, or English College, where he was a contemporary with doctoral student William Giles, who is discussed below. Financial reasons forced the closure of Prior Park College in 1856 but it was reopened in 1867 with staff and pupils from The Bristol Catholic Grammar School, with Fr. Edward Williams as President and his brother James as

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602 Elizabeth Ritchie, ‘The People, the Priests and the Protestants: Catholic Responses to Evangelical Missionaries in the Early Nineteenth-Century Scottish Highlands’, *Church History* Vol. 85:2 (2016) p.275 (pp. 275-301.)

603 Alasdair Roberts is one of the few scholars to have produced several detailed studies of the careers of individual Catholic priests, such as ‘Maighstir Eobhan MacEachainn and the orthography of Scots Gaelic,’ *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 63 (2002–2004), pp.358-405, ‘William McIntosh in the West Highlands: Changing the Practice of Religion,’ *Innes Review* Vol. 54:2 (2003) pp. 111-141, ‘Paul Maclachlan and the ironmaster: a case study in controversy’, *Recusant History*, Vol. 29: 1 (2008) pp.77-100, and ‘John Gray, André Raffalovich and Father Allan MacDonald of Eriskay’, *Innes Review* 61 (2010), 207-31.

Vice-President.<sup>604</sup> From 1870 until his death in 1886, retired Archbishop George Errington also served on the staff, developing a warm relationship with the Williams brothers as well as the college pupils: Mgr. James Williams wrote a touching tribute to Errington for the college magazine, and when Edward Williams died on 9 March 1891, he was buried in the chapel alongside Bishop Errington.<sup>605</sup> James Williams took over as President, holding the office until 1895 when the College passed into the hands of the Christian Brothers. He continued to say Mass at the college chapel, even after the Christian Brothers closed the school in 1902.

When Williams' interest in photography began remains unclear - and the loss of masses of archival material in the fire of 1991 means that uncovering further details may be impossible – but it seems likely that he received instruction from one of Bath's earliest photographers, John D.D. Cogan (1817-1912), who was a close friend of the priest and lectured on photography at Prior Park.<sup>606</sup> Cogan was a pioneer in the calotype process and from 1853 was offering tuition in photography at his house, a service he continued to provide after opening a studio in Milsom Street.<sup>607</sup> Cogan developed an innovative process reproducing photographic images

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604 James Williams is recorded as Vice-President on the 1871 census. Much archival material relating to the history of the college was destroyed by fire in 1991, but an overview can be found in Rev. J.S. Roche, *A History of Prior Park College and Its Founder Bishop Baines* (London: Burnes, Oates & Washbourne, 1931) and Rev. Peter Cornwell, *Prior Park College: the Phoenix, an illustrated history* (Tiverton: Halsgrove, 1995.) Mgr. James Shepherd's *Reminiscences of Prior Park* (London: Pitman, 1894) devoted a chapter to Edward Williams. Roche on James pp.242, 246, 255, 260, 261 and 280

605 James Williams' tribute to Errington appeared in the *Prior Park Magazine*, 1/3–4 (Jan-Feb. 1886), p.6. See Serenhedd James, *George Errington and Roman Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) pp. 237 ff. The burial of Edward Williams was reported in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (Thursday 19 March 1891) p.2.

606 *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (3 August 1912) p.5. Cogan was significant enough to merit an obituary, 'Death of a Photographic Pioneer', in the *British Journal of Photography* No. 59 (9 August 1912) p.611. See also Roger Taylor & Larry Schaaf, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007) p.611. Although none of Cogan's calotypes survive, later portraits from the 1850s and 1860s are preserved in the National Portrait Gallery and other collections.

607 *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (6 October 1853) p.2, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (12 January 1854) p.2. Cogan seems to have sold his studio business to Frederick C. Bird in 1866,



on miniature ivories, and in addition to selling chemicals, stereoviews and cameras from his studio, he gave popular science lectures at various venues around the city.<sup>608</sup> He was a regular speaker at the Bath Literary and Philosophical Institution in the 1870s, during the period when both Williams brothers were active members.<sup>609</sup>



**Fig.5.4.** Unknown painter. *Very Rev. Mgr. James Williams*. Oil painting, formerly at Prior Park. Photographed by Graystone Bird, the son of Frederick C. Bird, former partner of John Cogan.

Mgr. James Williams was one of the founding members of the Bath Photographic Society at its formation in September 1888, and was elected to the Society's Committee the following month.<sup>610</sup> In January 1896 he took part in a

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according to the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (22 November 1866) p.4.

608 The ivory miniature process appeared regularly in his advertisements, e.g. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (12 January 1854) p.2. Sale of cameras was advertised in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (21 December 1854) p.2. Cogan was giving public lectures on scientific and technical topics: see the *Bristol Mercury* (16 April 1842), *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (23 January 1862) p.5, (27 February 1873) p.8. Subjects included astronomy, calico printing and the electric telegraph.

609 *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (25 February 1875) p.7.

610 *Amateur Photographer* (5 October 1888) p.220, reporting on a meeting the previous week at which Williams took part in a discussion with the Society's chairman James Glaisher RPS, Bristol photographer and cinematography pioneer William Friese-Greene and C.H. Talbot of Lacock Abbey, son of the late 'father of photography', William Henry Fox Talbot.



*conversazione* at the Royal Literary and Scientific Institute in Bath under the auspices of the Literary and Philosophical Association. Studies by Alberti (2003) and Plunkett & Sullivan (2012) have drawn attention to the power of such *conversaciones* to bridge the gap between scientific elites and the general public, and have described how local clergymen often played a part in such exhibitions.<sup>611</sup> Neither of these studies recorded the presence of Roman Catholic clergy, however, nor suggested that the *conversazione* might also provide an opportunity for clergy of different denominations to participate in shared activities. Much of the programme was filled by the Bath Photographic Society, and Williams 'gave illustrations of snapshot work with stereographs from cut films.'<sup>612</sup> Other photographs shown that evening included enlargements made by the Rev. Edward Purvis from quarter-plate snaps. Although Purvis was not present in person that evening, both he and Williams are recorded the following year as serving together on the Committee of the Bath Photographic Society.<sup>613</sup> By 1910 the President of the Society was Rev. James Dunn (1841-1919), a High Anglican who had introduced to his Bathwick parish 'Catholic' liturgical practices such as Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>614</sup> As was demonstrated in Chapter One, photographic clubs often proved as successful as antiquarian societies in transcending denominational boundaries and tensions.<sup>615</sup>

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611 Samuel Alberti, 'Conversaciones and the Experience of Science in Victorian England,' *Journal of Victorian Culture* Vol.8, No.2 (Autumn 2003) pp.208-230, and John Plunkett & Jill A. Sullivan, 'Fetes, bazaars and conversaciones: science, entertainment and local civic elites,' in Kember, Plunkett & Sullivan (eds.), *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840-1910* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012) pp.41-60, especially 44-55.

612 *British Journal of Photography* Vol. XLIII No.1863 (17 January 1896) p.45.

613 *The British Journal Photographic Almanac* (1898) p.576. Rev. Edward Purvis (1857-1935) was ordained in 1880 and held various curacies in the diocese of Salisbury and Bath before moving to Marston Meysey, Wiltshire, in 1907.

614 Dunn was vicar of St John's Bathwick from 1879 to 1919.

615 Although Bath was regarded as a fairly tolerant town, there was some hostility towards Catholic clergy. See Brian Griffin, 'Anti-Catholicism in Bath from 1820 to 1870', *British Catholic History*, Vol. 31:4 (October 2013), pp.593-611. See also J.A. Williams, *Bath & Rome: The Living Link, Catholicism in Bath from 1559 to the Present Day* (Bath: Searight's Bookshop, 1963) and the 2-volume *Post-Reformation Catholicism in Bath*, (London: Catholic Records Society, 1975.)

No single element in Canon Williams' situation should be credited with his success in pursuing his photographic activities, but it is possible to outline a number of contributing factors. These would include the removal from external pastoral duties afforded by his post at Prior Park, which also provided technical and chemical resources unavailable to priests living in urban parishes. His ecclesiastical career was also remarkably stable: after some thirty years at Prior Park, he served as a chaplain at Midford Castle – barely a mile away and possessing close links with the college – before taking up residence at nearby De Montalt Place in Combe Down, which was also part of Ralph Allen's estate.<sup>616</sup> The advantages of such a secure and congenial environment would have been irrelevant had not Williams possessed the right personal characteristics, but there is ample evidence to show that he was a priest of cultivated tastes with a broad interest in artistic and literary culture.<sup>617</sup> He was, like Bishop Chisholm, a keen golfer, which provided him with social contacts outside the Catholic community.<sup>618</sup> He was also progressively-minded enough to appear on a platform at Bath Guildhall to support of the cause of anti-vivisection.<sup>619</sup> Both he and his brother were active participants in the meetings of the Bath Literary and Philosophical Association, where the topics – such as Mgr. Edward Williams'

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616 Obituary, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (27 March 1915) p.2. Midford Castle was a folly built in 1775 and bought by the Connolly family in 1810. A chapel here was served by priests from Prior Park, with Mgr. Charles Parfitt (1817-86) residing at the castle from 1846. When Jane Conolly died in 1871 she left Midford and its contents to Mgr. Parfitt, although her daughter-in-law Louisa Brancaccio, Marchesa di Sant Agata (1823 -1899) had a life interest in the estate and continued to live at the castle while Mgr. Williams was chaplain.

617 Reference was made at his funeral in Bristol Pro-Cathedral to his attainments as a classicist and in mathematical science - *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (3 April 1915) p.2.

618 Obituary, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (27 March 1915) p.2. By contrast his obituary in the Catholic periodical *The Tablet* (3 April 1915) p.29 focusses squarely on his ecclesiastical career.

619 *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (28 November 1907) p.7. Mention should also be made of his remarkable physical energy: for fifty years Canon Williams played a lead role in the liturgical celebration of the Passion during the Holy Week ceremonies at Bristol Pro-Cathedral, and at the age of 76 was still singing the solo parts 'with the vigour and the freshness of a man half his age' - *Western Daily Press* (15 April 1911) p.6.

paper on 'Aristophanes and Moliere' – were far outside the narrow theological parameters associated with a certain image of Catholic clergy.<sup>620</sup> Aware that his priests were educationally and intellectually ill-equipped to deal with the rapid progress of secular scholarship, Cardinal Wiseman founded an 'Academia of the Catholic Religion' in 1861, with the aim of providing 'an intellectual center for the English Catholics which would enable them to keep abreast of current science and literature.'<sup>621</sup> Under the control of Wiseman's successor Cardinal Manning, however, papers given at meetings of the Academia increasingly limited their focus to doctrinal statements of the Catholic position on scientific or literary issues, rather than exploring these topics in their own right.<sup>622</sup>

Such intellectual pursuits serve as a reminder of the multi-faceted composition of the Catholic Church in Victorian Britain, and a riposte to the dismissive view of the likes of William Ward, who told Bishop Jowett that 'English Catholics don't know what education means. Many of them can't write English. When a Catholic meets a Protestant in controversy, it's like a barbarian meeting a civilised man.'<sup>623</sup> As Heimann (1995) has observed, discussion of the intellectual standards of English Catholics, both clerical and lay, has been hindered by a preoccupation with 'party politics' i.e. distinctions between liberals and Ultramontanes, converts and Old Catholics, Irish immigrants and continental emigrés.<sup>624</sup> The existence of contradictory individual examples such as Mgr. Williams is rarely acknowledged, but provides a means of opening up more nuanced understandings of the place of Catholic clergy in Victorian Britain.

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620 *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (10 December 1885) p.7.

621 Josef L. Altholz, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England* (London: Burns & Oates, 1962) p.152. See also John D. Root, 'The "Academia of the Catholic Religion": Catholic Intellectualism in Victorian England,' *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 23: 4 (Summer 1980), pp. 461-478.

622 See the discussion in Root (1980) pp.470 ff.

623 Wilfrid Ward, *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1912), p. 75.

624 Mary Heimann, *Catholic devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) pp.3-5.

### 5.2.5. Mgr. William Giles D.D. (1830-1913)

Among the small number of Catholic priests who were also practical photographers, only one has seen his photographic work recognised, and he too was a senior cleric whose ecclesiastical achievements led to his appointment as domestic prelate. In 1836 William Giles was received into the Catholic Church at the tender age of five, along with the rest of his family, by the future Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, who was then Rector of the English College in Rome. It was Wiseman who ordained him priest in 1854, after Giles had studied at University College London – where he was the first Catholic to receive an MA – and the Collegio Pio in Rome. Although ordained for the Westminster Archdiocese, Giles was only briefly there, and almost his entire career was spent in Rome, where he studied for his doctorate (1855-57) and held the posts of Vice Rector (1865-88) and Rector (1888-1913) of the Venerable English College. In recognition of his achievements, he was appointed a domestic prelate in 1904. He began experimenting with photography in the 1860s, and his earliest known surviving photograph records demolition work on the college chapel in 1867. He photographed construction of the new chapel in 1869, with the then Rector, Dr Henry O’Callaghan, and the Pro-Protector of the College, Monsignor George Talbot, inspecting progress. Other photographs in the Giles Photographic Collection show the local countryside – the Roman *campagna* – in which Giles spent many happy days in vacation time both photographing and painting. One of his best-known photographs (below) shows the 1885 College Gita picnic at Tusculum.<sup>625</sup>

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<sup>625</sup> VEC Archives: Giles Photographic Collection, Boxes 1 and 3. Marjorie Corner completed a monumental PhD thesis on Giles's life and work, and an accompanying catalogue of his photographic and artistic work in 2013. This is entitled *William Giles (1830–1913): His Paintings and Photography* (The Open University, 2013)



**Fig.5.5.** Rev. William Giles, 'Picnic at Tusculum' (1885).  
Archives of the Venerable English College, Rome.

Holding such a senior position for almost fifty years implies singular abilities and there is no doubt that Giles would have been a busy man - but it is clearly no coincidence that of the handful of British Catholic diocesan clergy who are known to have been active photographers, no less than four held the rank of monsignor. This honorary title was bestowed by the Pope in recognition of distinguished contributions made by a priest to the life of the church.<sup>626</sup> If the differences between Protestant and Rome Catholic clerical photography are to be fully understood, then it seems likely that at least some of the answers might be found in Rome itself, which is where we now direct the investigation.

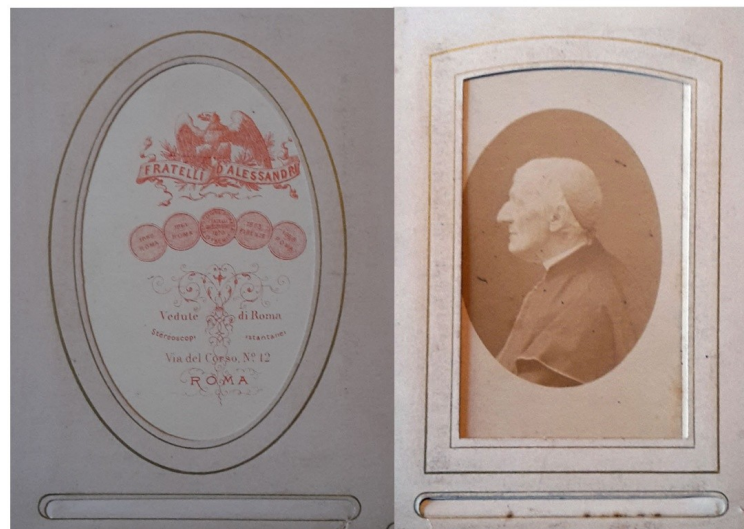
### **5.3. Photography and Papal Rome**

The importance of Rome as a formative influence is indicated by the fact that Chisholm, Gray, Giles and Williams all studied and were ordained in Rome around

<sup>626</sup> Such use of ecclesiastical honours has since been significantly curtailed, most recently by Pope Francis who - in January 2014 - abolished its conferral for any priest under the age of 65.

the same time. Here, priests were exposed to – indeed surrounded by - arguably the richest traditions of classical and renaissance art and culture, living in a city that was actually an ecclesiastical state where all the administrative, cultural, municipal and political functions were carried out by ordained clergy. The first Pope to be photographed, Gregory XVI, had his portrait taken in 1845 by the Jesuit priest, Fr. Vittorio della Rovere (1811-55), an accomplished scientist who published papers on chemical aspects of the daguerreotype process.<sup>627</sup> The first official Vatican photographer was also, naturally, a priest - Fr. Antonio D'Alessandri (1818-93) was appointed *Fotografico Pontificio* in 1858 and over the next three decades ran a highly successful portrait studio in collaboration with his brother Paolo Francesco D'Alessandri (1827-89) and other relatives.<sup>628</sup>

visite of  
Studio  
  
Archives of  
Birmingham



**Fig.5.6.** Carte-de-Cardinal Newman, Fratelli Alessandri Album in the the Oratory,

627 Della Rovere left the priesthood in 1851 and continued to practise photography before his death in 1855. See Maria Francesca Bonetti & Maria Maffioli, *L'Italia d'argento: 1839-1859: storia del dagherrotipo in Italia* (Rome: Fratelli Alinari, 2003.)

628 See Kathleen Collins, 'Photography and politics in Rome: The edict of 1861 and the scandalous montages of 1861-1862.' *History of Photography*, 9:4, (October-December 1985) pp.295-304, and Piero Bechetti, *Roma nelle fotografie dei fratelli D'Alessandri 1858-1930*. (Rome: Casa Editrice, 1996)

The end of the nineteenth century saw an unusually long reign by Pope Leo XIII, who occupied the pontifical throne from 1878 until his death in 1903. Compared to his predecessor Pius IX, he held a more positive attitude towards the modern world and demonstrated a remarkable interest in new technology. In the 1880s he commissioned a series of frescoes in the Galleria dei Candelabri, next to the Sistine Chapel, and the themes of these paintings - The Union between Pagan and Christian Art, The Harmony of Faith and Science - demonstrate the extent to which Pope Leo was willing to recognise the positive aspects of the secular and technical world. In an allegorical painting the artist Domenico Torti depicted photography among the other major and minor arts, paying homage to religion. It is interesting to note that the device held by the *putto* who represents photography is clearly modelled on Louis Daguerre's 1839 wooden camera, built for him by his brother-in-law Alphonse Giroux.<sup>629</sup> In 1898 Pope Leo was filmed by William Kennedy Dickson using a motion picture camera that the Scotsman had recently developed while working for Thomas Edison.<sup>630</sup> The 'home movie' entitled *Sua Santità papa Leone XIII* shows the elderly Pope walking around the Vatican Gardens and giving a papal blessing directly into the camera. On 5 February 1903 Leo's voice was recorded chanting the *Ave Maria* in Latin, using early recording technology operated by pioneering sound engineer Gianni Bettini.<sup>631</sup> Leo's interest in media technology can be traced back much earlier, as in 1867 – while still Archbishop of Perugia – he composed the following poem, *Ars Photographica*.

Expressa solis spiculo  
Nitens imago, quam bene  
Frontis decus, vim luminum  
Refers, et oris gratiam.

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629 Ferdinando Buranelli, 'Domenico Torti e l'allegoria dell'arte fotografica in Vaticano', *Bollettino - Monumenti musei e gallerie pontificie* 21 (2001) pp.449-466. Buranelli observes that late 19<sup>th</sup> century commentators on the frescoes ignored the references to photography, because they did not recognise its status as a fine art.

630 See Paul Spehr, *The Man Who Made Movies: W.K.L. Dickson* (John Libbey, 2008) pp.499-510, which provides a detailed analysis of Dickson's work at the Vatican.

631 The recording was made on a wax cylinder and publicised with an elaborately decorated brochure.

O mira virtus ingeni  
Novumque monstrum! Imaginem  
Naturae Apelles aemulus  
Non pulchriorem pingeret.

Translation:

*On The Art of Photography*

Sun-wrought with magic of the skies  
The image fair before me lies:  
Deep-vaulted brain and sparkling eyes  
And lip's fine chiselling.



Copyrighted, 1884, by American Mutoscope Company.  
PHOTOGRAPHING HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. IN THE GARDENS OF THE VATICAN WITH THE BIORAPH CAMERA.

Apelles, Nature's rival, wrought  
No fairer imaging!<sup>632</sup>

○  
miracle of  
human  
thought,  
○  
art with  
newest  
marvels  
fraught -

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632 Vincenzo Pecci (Pope Leo XIII.) *Poems, charades, inscriptions of Pope Leo XIII: including the revised compositions of his early life in chronological order. With English translation and notes by Rev. Hugh T Henry* (New York: Dolphin Press, 1902) pp.44-45.



**Fig. 5.7** Pope Leo XIII being filmed by W.K. Dickson, 1898

As will be discussed below, a number of Pope Leo's other initiatives – such as his advocacy of Thomist philosophy and the opening up of the Vatican archives – had significant consequences for the work of priest-photographers, both in Rome and at home in Britain. Nonetheless, the semi-theocratic integration of church and state that British clergy experienced while visiting or studying at the Vatican was in marked contrast with the recent history of Catholics at home, where active persecution still lay within living memory and hostile discrimination remained the norm in many parts of the country.

As the nineteenth-century advanced and the position of Catholics became increasingly normalised by developments such as the Emancipation Act and the restoration of the hierarchy, the 'age of persecution' became a subject for historical study as well as religious commemoration. The Catholic population was augmented not only by immigration from Ireland and Europe, but also by an influx of converts from Protestant denominations. A significant number of these were from academic backgrounds and brought with them a level of intellectual rigour that was less common among native Catholics. Although the difference in standards has been exaggerated, the form of learning promulgated by Roman Catholic institutions tended to favour detail and precision over critical analysis and independent thinking.<sup>633</sup> Convert scholars – many of whom entered religious orders and were ordained priests – played a significant role in improving the quality of Catholic historical research, introducing higher standards in areas such as documentary evidence. Vidmar (2005) provides a valuable overview of the way in which English Catholic historians have studied and written about that most contentious of topics, the Reformation, but in the next section I will focus on a significant issue that has been overlooked in these studies: the use of photography as a tool to underpin

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<sup>633</sup> Edward Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) pp.287-9.

historical research and heighten the visual impact of polemic.<sup>634</sup> Examination of the photographic activities of ten clergymen belonging to four different religious orders begins with the historical research undertaken by Benedictine monks.

First, however, the question needs to be asked: why were Benedictine and other religious communities so much more successful with photography than their diocesan counterparts? Of the three elements mentioned earlier – money, education and time – the diocesan priest had meagre amounts. By contrast, the communal life of religious congregations required pooled resources, making it easier to fund the purchase of photographic equipment that might be shared – in principle if not in practice – by many members of the community. The disciplined regularity of monastic life assured space for approved pursuits, and religious clergy were less vulnerable to intrusive demands from outside. Those in contemplative monasteries might have no parochial duties and live in quiet rural locations. Many religious congregations encouraged members to pursue lines of work to which they were especially suited, granting them freedom to travel. The significance of such factors will become apparent in the following case studies.

#### **5.4. The Benedictines**

*Taking their name from Saint Benedict of Nursia (ca.480-543 AD), the Benedictines are a loose confederation of monastic communities, grouped together within some twenty congregations. Each individual monastery is autonomous, governed by an abbot or prior, and unlike other religious orders such as the Jesuits or Dominicans there is no ‘Superior General’ with centralised authority. Accordingly, there is great diversity between the characters of different monasteries and the nature of the work undertaken. Some abbeys run schools and colleges, others follow a more enclosed, contemplative life with little or no pastoral work undertaken outside the cloister.*

##### *a) Bede Camm OSB (1864-1942)*

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634 John Vidmar O.P, *English Catholic Historians and the Reformation* (Sussex Academic Press, 2005)

Reginald Camm was a graduate of Keble College, Oxford, who had served as an Anglican curate before being received into the Catholic Church in 1890 at the Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium. Shortly after his conversion, he entered the Abbey and took the religious name of Bede before completing his studies in Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1895. Fr Bede returned to England and joined the Benedictine community at the Abbey of St Thomas in Erdington, Birmingham, where he began devoting his time to researching the history of the Benedictine and other Catholic martyrs of England. His first book, *A Benedictine Martyr, Dom John Roberts* (London: Bliss, Sands & Co., 1897), commenced a relentless flow of publications, including *In the Brave Days of Old: Historical Sketches of the Elizabethan Persecution* (London: Art & Book Co., 1899) and *Blessed Sebastian Newdigate* (London: Art & Book Co., 1900), as well as numerous articles for *The Dublin Review*, *The Month* and other periodicals. He also compiled and edited the two-volume *Lives of the Blessed English Martyrs, declared blessed by Pope Leo XIII in 1886 and 1895*, (London: Burns and Oates, 1904-1905) which included contributions from other Oratorian and Jesuit authors.<sup>635</sup>

By early 1905 Camm's research interests took him travelling around Devon and Dorset in search of medieval rood screens to photograph: his diary records visits to parish churches such as Payhembury, Cullompton, Kentisbeare, Feniton, Newton Abbot and Plymtree, as well visits to Exeter – where he met with sculptor and woodcarver Harry Hems (1842-1916) – and Sidmouth, where he dined with Sir George and Lady Ryder at the Victoria Hotel, with Marie Corelli sitting at the next table. Like Abbot Hunter-Blair of Fort Augustus, he was never one to let his monastic vows interfere with his social life.<sup>636</sup> He used the photographs to examine closely the carved figures on the screens, to help identify with more accuracy the saints depicted there. Many of these carvings had been erroneously named in guidebooks of the preceding centuries by Protestant clergymen with little interest in Catholic

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635 On Camm's research methods and surviving papers, see Aidan Bellenger OSB, 'Two Antiquarian Monks: the Papers of Dom Bede Camm and Dom Ethelbert Home at Downside' *Catholic Archives* No. 6 (1986) pp.11-16.

636 H.J.A. Sire, *Philosopher of Christian Love: Fr Martin D'Arcy*, (Leominster: Gracewing, 1997) p.33.

iconography, but even with Camm's substantial knowledge of saints' lives and emblems, it was a formidable task. There is a real sense, however, in which Camm's historical research was fully integrated with his spiritual and emotional life, as is indicated by this diary entry written while lodging with the Benedictine nuns of Teignmouth:

**22 April 1905** Easter Mass at 8 – 10.15. *Alleluia!* Wrote some of my paper. Heard confessions at parish 3-5, 6-9.30, about seventy. Went to confession myself. *Alleluia! Christus resurrexit! Alleluia!* Showed nuns my beautiful photos of screens and set of tracings of saints from panels.<sup>637</sup>

In addition to the seamless fusion of writing and photography with the devotional duties of the priest's day, it is worth noting how the monk's evident pride in the quality of his photographs is fused with the outpourings of religious exuberance. Some of this research was published in the *Ampleforth Journal* but was later expanded into a lavish two-volume work written in collaboration with Frederick Bligh Bond: *Roodscreens and Roodlofts* (London: Isaac Pitman, 1909). This included photographs taken by Camm and others, plus line drawings executed by monks and pupils from Ampleforth College.<sup>638</sup>

As Camm travelled around the country he visited many places associated with Catholic martyrs and recusant families, staying with their descendants and seizing the opportunities to examine family documents and personal relics that had been faithfully preserved – often at the risk of death – down the generations. His growing collection of on-site photographs and archival material provided a rich resource for historical articles, and a note in his diary for 15 October 1906 mentioned that the

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637 MS Diary 22 April 1905, Downside Abbey Archives. See Camm's *Forgotten Shrines* (London: Macdonald & Evans, 1910) p.80 and, for a history of the nuns, *A history of the Benedictine nuns of Dunkirk, now at St Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, Devon, edited by the Community, with a preface by D.B. Wyndham Lewis and an introduction by Dom John Stéphan* (London: Catholic Book Club, 1957.)

638 See James Downs, *Joseph Pike: the happy Catholic artist* (Kibworth: Matador, 2018) pp.18-35. Other Downside monks are known to have experimented with photography during this period, but the abbey's photographic archive are only just being catalogued and details are sketchy. The *Downside Review* Volume 23, Issue 3, December 1904 has a photograph by Fr. Ethelbert Horne OSB as its frontispiece, but most of the negatives and lantern slides in the Horne collection are from the 1920s and later. There are two photographs from around 1890 showing Dom Aelred Kindersley OSB (1860-1934) (later first Abbot of Belmont) with photographers, one of whom is an unidentified monk.

editor of *The Messenger*, Fr. Wynne S.J, would be 'pleased to have any article on "Pilgrimages to Forgotten Shrines."<sup>639</sup> As late as April 1907 he was still referring in his diary to a series of articles but within the next couple of years the size and scope of the project was reshaped to become Camm's *magnum opus*, a hefty 400-page volume entitled *Forgotten Shrines* (London: Macdonald & Evans, 1910). Ostensibly a commemoration of English Catholic martyrs and places associated with their lives, the book challenged the prevalent notion that Roman Catholics were somehow less English than Protestants: the 16th century policy of prosecuting Catholics on political rather than religious grounds had become part of a larger narrative that depicted Catholics as subjects of a foreign power (the Roman pontiff) with ethnic and cultural characteristics that cast doubts over their patriotic identity.<sup>640</sup> Camm's counter-argument rooted the Catholic martyrs in English topography, weaving their stories into the physical fabric of ancient buildings, winding lanes and countryside crosses. Evocative phrases such as 'oaken doors' recur regularly, evoking romantic ideas about the past and suggesting a sense of permanence and solidity. Joseph Conrad

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639 Bede Camm, MS Diary, 15 October 1906. Downside Abbey Archives. *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* had been edited by Fr. John J. Wynne, S.J. (1859-1948) since 1892, but in 1902 he split the magazine in two. *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* carried more devotional content relating to the Apostleship of Prayer, while *The Messenger* had more general interest and in 1909 was renamed *America*.

640 For examples, see Geoffrey Best, 'Popular Protestantism in Victorian Britain,' in *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain: Essays in Honour of George Kitson Clark*, ed. Robert Robson (London: G. Bell, 1967), pp. 124-126. Denis Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992) pp.80, 163, and E.R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London, 1967), p.18. Proponents of these ideas capitalised on the popular association between Catholicism and Irish immigrants, but were also able to point to the introduction of continental devotions – although the extent of these influences has been questioned by Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.) The situation was not helped by papal condemnations of values cherished by British liberals – Gladstone's tract, *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulation* (1874) argued that Pius IX's condemnation of modern liberal thought made it impossible for Catholics to fulfil their civic obligations. The dominant school of British historiography – dubbed *The Whig Interpretation of History* by Herbert Butterfield in his 1933 essay – emphasised the integral role of Protestantism in the economic growth and prosperity of the British Empire. By contrast, Catholic countries were explicitly targeted for their poverty and backwardness. See also David Hilliard "'Unenglish and Unmanly": Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter, 1982), pp. 181-210.

lamented on the tendency of the English language – in contrast to French – to load words with multifarious meanings: “oaken” in English connotes innumerable moral attributes: it will connote stolidity, resolution, honesty, blond features, relative unbreakableness, absolute unbendableness – also, made of oak.<sup>641</sup> It is little surprise that Camm uses the word ‘oaken’ no less than sixteen times. Elsewhere he emphasised associations between Catholic martyrs and the pastoral landscape, such as in his description of the Yorkshire home of ‘the old apostle of the moors’, Fr. Nicholas Postgate (executed in 1679), which corresponds perfectly with what Wolfgang Kemp (2010) has called the ‘checklists of picturesque conditions.’<sup>642</sup>

In complete contrast to the wild lingy moor behind him, here is nature in her softest mood: splendid woods, green pastures, the rippling river, framed by the distant moors and hills around. There are few spots, even in this favoured county, more romantic and beautiful than Egton Bridge and Glaisdale. The paradise of the tourist and the angler, it has also special joys for the Catholic pilgrim.<sup>643</sup>

Camm’s rhetorical strategy is supported by his photographs, which encourage the reader to view what are effectively Catholic shrines through the lens of the English picturesque tradition.

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641 Ford Madox Ford, *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance* (Boston: Little Brown, 1924) p.217.

642 Wolfgang Kemp (translated by Joyce Rheuban), ‘Images of Decay: Photography in the Picturesque Tradition’, *October*, Vol. 54 (Autumn, 1990), p.108.

643 Camm, *Forgotten Shrines* (London: Macdonald, 1910) pp.291. 298.



**Fig.5.8.**

Bede Camm OSB, 'Harvington Hall'  
Frontispiece for *Forgotten Shrines* (London: Macdonald, 1910)

This photograph of Harvington Hall provides an excellent example of Camm's ability to fuse Catholic recusant history with Gilpinesque pictorial techniques discussed in the previous chapter. The view is framed between the two trees, with the diagonal lines of the fence and inclining tree trunks leading the viewer's eye into the picture. The still water provides an aura of calmness, offset by the irregular outlines of the rambling cluster of medieval and Elizabethan buildings. That this should be attributed to the skill of the monk-photographer there is no question, for as Wolfgang Kemp has observed, the picturesque is 'not a matter of an objective condition, but of camera position, of the right moment, of framing.'<sup>644</sup> Camm was here following other painters in the British picturesque tradition who eschewed the classical scenery and symmetrical temples that formed the subjects of the European 'Grand Tour', focusing instead on the native elements – old castles, ruined dwellings and rustic bridges – found in their local landscape.

As his aim was to link this tradition to the religious lives of the recusants, Camm also devoted much of his time to photographing physical objects associated with their stories, such as personal belongings - Missals and clothing - medieval charters and

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<sup>644</sup> Wolfgang Kemp (translated by Joyce Rheuban), 'Images of Decay: Photography in the Picturesque Tradition', *October*, Vol. 54 (Autumn, 1990), p.110.

handwritten testimonies. In her essay, 'Fr. John Gerard's object lessons', Myres (2007) described how the sixteenth century priest had preserved, venerated and circulated holy artefacts of Catholic martyrs along with his own personal effects as a form of 'spiritual currency' to strengthen coherence within the Catholic community.<sup>645</sup> Camm's photographs of sixteenth century relics performed the same function, along his task was easier given the reprographic powers of modern photographic technology. As much of this was done in collaboration with the Jesuit photographer Fr. John Hungerford Pollen, more detailed discussion of such work will be undertaken in the section on the Jesuits below.

*b) Odo Blundell OSB (1868-1943)*

Unlike Camm, Dom Odo Blundell was not a convert to Catholicism and the recusant tradition was part of his ancestry rather than a mere historical passion. The Blundells were 'one of the most ancient families in Lancashire' and had retained their Catholic faith throughout the Reformation, paying their recusant fees in the 16th century and later accruing wealth through careful management of agricultural lands and intermarriage with other Catholic families. He had a wide network of affluent, pious relatives, many of them priests or nuns, and when he joined the Benedictine monastery at Fort Augustus in 1890 he already had three cousins among his fellow monks. Following his ordination in 1896 he held a number of important offices in the abbey before serving as a naval chaplain during the First World War, but his real strength lay in antiquarian studies, a field in which he produced several volumes. Like Camm's *Forgotten Shrines*, Blundell's *Ancient Catholic Homes of Scotland* (London: Burns & Oates, 1907) used historic buildings as the framework for celebrating the lives and sufferings of those families who had remained loyal to Catholicism during the penal era. Blundell's style, however, is noticeably different

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<sup>645</sup> Ann M. Myres, 'Father John Gerard's Object Lessons. Relics and Devotional Objects in *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*,' in Ronald Corthell (ed), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, ID: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007) p.223.



from that of Camm, employing far less in the way of flowery rhetoric, and taking a more anecdotal approach to the material.<sup>646</sup>

Despite his monastic base, Blundell's scholarly publications reflect the fact that he was an eminently sociable man who enjoyed company and sought the collaboration of his relatives and fellow priests in the writing, revising and illustrating of his texts. He travelled around Scotland, visiting noble houses such as Caerlaverock and Terregles, as well as traversing remote Highland passes in midwinter and sailing out to the western islands. His historical studies drew heavily upon oral testimony recorded from tenant farmers and foresters whom he met on the hills during these lengthy walks: Blundell's researches were 'field studies' in a very literal sense.

The illustrations in *Ancient Catholic Homes* (1907) comprised twenty-four 'halftone blocks' (i.e. photographs) and seventeen 'line blocks'.<sup>647</sup> The photographs of Fort Augustus Abbey, Kirkconnel and the churches at Tynet and Preshome are all unattributed; on the presumption that Blundell took the photograph of his own monastery, the others may also be his work. The frontispiece of *Catholic Highlands of Scotland* Vol. 1 (1909) has its frontispiece 'From a Photograph by the Author' and a further nine are by him, out of thirty-one illustrations varying in style and attribution. The second volume, published in 1917, has ten photos that – given the lack of attribution – can be presumed to have been taken by Blundell. When Denis Gwyn, then an editorial adviser for Burns & Oates, queried the inclusion of Dom Odo's photographs for one of his later works, he replied with feeling:

'I consider from experience that the illustrations are the most important features of the book... Many of the buildings were photographed at considerable cost and trouble to myself, and although they may not be of great artistic merit, they are of great local interest.'<sup>648</sup>

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646 These different styles of historiography are compared in Paschal Downs OSB & Alasdair Roberts, 'Dom Odo Blundell OSB (1868-1943): a different kind of historian', *Innes Review* Vol.56:1 (Spring 2005) pp.42-44.

647 Both types of reproduction are forms of relief printing. In order to reproduce the tonal gradation found in photographs, the half-tone process transformed the original image into a mass of tiny black dots. These needed to be printed on smooth paper in order to reproduce them as finely as possible, which is why the photographs are inserted on separate sheets while the line drawings are printed on the same coarse paper as the text.

Just as Rev. Thomas Perkins and Henry Peach Robinson had argued that some landscapes are better photographed by local amateurs than professionals from outside (as discussed in Chapter Two), so too Blundell insists that the significance of certain images for the local – and Catholic – community outweighed their value as judged on the secular criteria of art or publishing professionals. This outlook mirrors precisely the methods of the photographic survey movement as discussed by Edwards, but it is also a reminder of the denominational parameters that shaped the readership for whom Blundell was providing both text and image, with the ‘devotional identity’ shared by the monk and his readers offering a religious counterpart to the geographical groupings used by the amateurs of the photographic survey. Such faith concerns can sometimes be traced in the photographic images themselves, as can be seen in this image of the Catholic Church of the Incarnation at Tombae



**Fig. 5.9.** Odo Blundell OSB, ‘Tombae, Glenlivet’.  
*The Catholic Highlands of Scotland* Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Sands & Co., 1909) p.43

Here, Blundell has deliberately chosen a distant vantage point, eschewing the opportunity of a close-up shot that would show the glories of the building in order instead to accentuate the bleak terrain in which it is located. This supports the narrative thrust of his book, which praises the stamina and heroic endurance of the priests who ministered in these regions during the penal era, crossing such desolate expanses in all weathers to bring the sacraments to isolated communities.

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648 Letter from Blundell to Gwyn, 3 September 1936, Fort Augustus Collection, Scottish Catholic Archives.

c) 'Irregular regulars': William Dodson (1866-1955) & Asaph Harris (1876-1960) OSB

Both Fr. Bede Camm and Fr. Odo Blundell used photography in support of narratives that stressed the continuity between contemporary British Catholicism and that of the pre-Reformation and penal eras. While the tone of their writing was respectful and free from the vitriol and hyperbole employed by some of their contemporaries, their focus was firmly on the Roman Catholic tradition to which they both belonged.

Although Benedictine monasticism had always been associated exclusively with Catholicism, this changed during the second half of the nineteenth century as a small party of 'Anglo-Catholics' sought to revive monastic life within the Church of England. Influenced by the ideas and writings of Newman, Pusey, Keble and other members of the 'Oxford Movement', they rejected the identification of the Church of England as a Protestant denomination and argued that it had just as much a claim as the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches to belong to the 'one true Catholic and Apostolic Church.' Anglo-Catholics therefore placed especial emphasis upon ancient tradition, the doctrine of apostolic succession, the role of the episcopal hierarchy and reverent celebration of the sacraments and other liturgical rites. The foundation of religious communities was consistent with such views, but developing these was a gradual process, the history of which has been told in detail by Peter Anson.<sup>649</sup> The formation of these communities was by its very nature sporadic and irregular, often emerging on the fringes of Anglican orthodoxy with little in the way of authorisation, training or supervision, and frequently associated with some of the

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649 Peter Anson (1889-1975) joined the Anglican Benedictines on Caldey Island in 1910, converting to Catholicism with most of the community in 1913 but later leaving religious life to spend a peripatetic career as an artist and writer, while retaining close links to the communities. His histories of Protestant religious communities remain unsurpassed for detailed knowledge. *The Benedictines of Caldey: The Story of the Anglican Benedictines of Caldey and Their Submission to the Catholic Church, with illustrations by the author* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1940), *The Call of the Cloister: Religious Communities and Kindred Bodies in the Anglican Communion* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1956) and *Building up the Waste Places: The Revival of Monastic Life on Medieval Lines in the Post-Reformation Church of England* (London: The Faith Press, 1973)

more eccentric individuals in the 'Anglo-Catholic underworld'.<sup>650</sup> This febrile atmosphere resulted in 'a succession of short-lived, often clandestine, brotherhoods and guilds whose members delighted in religious ceremonial and the picturesque neo-Gothic externals of monastic life.'<sup>651</sup> The two most famous communities were those founded by Fr Ignatius Lyne (1837-1908) and Aelred Carlyle (1874-1955), and in the annals of their complex, colourful and intersecting histories can be found records of the activities of two monk-photographers.

Joseph Leicester Lyne – better known by his religious name, 'Father Ignatius of Jesus' - was an Anglo-Catholic curate with a skill for Evangelical preaching who began wearing a Benedictine habit in 1861. After setting up a quasi-monastic settlement in Norwich, he moved to the Welsh mountains where he built New Llanthony Abbey at Capel-y-ffin, above the medieval Augustinian ruins of Llanthony Priory.<sup>652</sup> Among the many young men who came to the monastery was William Marriot Dodson (1866-1955), who entered the community at Llanthony on 29 August 1886 at the age of twenty. He was clothed in the habit of a novice on 30 November and – as 'Father Michael Mary of the Advent' - took his final vows on 1 March 1890, shortly before leaving for America with Father Ignatius on a fundraising mission that lasted thirteen months (June 1890 – July 1891). Fr. Michael's published account of this trip refers to the party taking photographs in Ireland, without specifying himself as the photographer.<sup>653</sup> It is likely that he was practising photography by this time,

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650 For insights into these excesses and eccentricities, see Anson's works as well as Michael Yelton, *Anglican papalism. A history, 1900-1960* (London: Canterbury Press Norwich, 2005) and David Hilliard, 'Unenglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality,' *Victorian Studies* Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter, 1982), pp. 181-210.

651 David Hilliard, 'Unenglish and Unmanly' (1982), p.192

652 Hugh Allen, *New Llanthony Abbey. Father Ignatius's Monastery at Capel-y-ffin* (Tiverton: Peterscourt Press, 2016.) Fr. Ignatius was a cousin of Stephens Lyne-Stephens, whose fortune financed the Catholic Church in Cambridge photographed by Mgr. Moncrieff-Smyth.

653 Fr. Michael, *Father Ignatius in America* (London: John Hodges, 1893), p.332 and 356. The frontispiece shows Dodson with Fr. Ignatius and two Red Indian chiefs. This photo is reproduced in Arthur Calder-Marshall's biography *The Enthusiast*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1961) p. 193

however, for in one of the albums compiled by a visitor to Llanthony named Alfred Field, a group photograph taken outside the north cloister shows Fr. Michael with a large wooden camera on his knee.



**Fig.5.10.** Monastic group, Llanthony Abbey (ca. 1892)

Fr Michael Dodson seated centre with camera. Fr. Cadoc (later Cyprian) Alston, standing second from right and his brother William Alson in scapular on the left. On the right stands the 'Steward of Llanthony Abbey', Br. David (William) Pritchard  
Photograph album of Alfred Field, Father Ignatius Collection, Abergavenny Museum A1993.137.5

Henry George Alston (Br Cadoc) entered Llanthony in May 1888 but was joined there by his brother William in the summer of 1890 while Fr. Ignatius, Fr. Michael and Br. David were in America. William had been registered as an 'Associate' in 1889, which is why he is wearing a monastic scapular. According to an anonymous account written in 1891, Fr. Michael was responsible for the kitchen garden while Fr. Cadoc was organist, sacristan, cellarer and looked after the monastery hens.<sup>654</sup> Alston left in December 1894, spending a few years with another Anglican community, the Cowley Fathers, before joining the Roman Catholic Church

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654 1891 ms p.32. Allen (2016) p.306.

in 1898. He then became a Benedictine monk at Downside Abbey where was later joined by Bede Camm, and spent some time with him on Caldey Island in 1913.<sup>655</sup>

With Ignatius frequently absent from Llanthony, monastic life was fairly chaotic with constant arrivals and departures. A comment in the Llanthony Register for November 1893 stated that Fr. Michael 'Broke his vows & left' while Ignatius was away. He settled nearby in Bettws-y-Coed where he continued to practise as a photographer, submitting entries to the Royal Photographic Society exhibitions: a platinum print, *The Last Touch of Winter* was exhibited in 1898, and the following year he had a carbon print, *By silver birch, by wood and stream*, on display, both for a price of two guineas.<sup>656</sup> The artistic titles and use of the carbon and platinum processes suggest a degree of artistry, but some of the photographs he did at Llanthony have a whimsical streak too, such as his image of Frs. Asaph and Gildas pretending to fish in the monastery pond. Despite Dodson's abrupt departure from the monastery he continued to take publicity photographs for the community: Asaph (Alfred Harris) did not come to Llanthony until 10 July 1898, taking the name of Brother Asaph in September, although he had to wait until January 1906 before he made his profession. The same year that Asaph entered Caldey saw the publication of Emily Hewlett Edwards' book, *Castles and Strongholds of Pembrokeshire* (Tenby: J.E. Arnett, The Library, 1909) containing thirty-six photographs by Dodson, including three of the ruined priory on Caldey. In the census two years later, Dodson recorded his profession as 'Photographer; working at home & on own account,' and his work can be found illustrating a number of books on Welsh antiquities and church buildings.<sup>657</sup>

After the death of Father Ignatius in 1908, the monastic property at Llanthony was bequeathed to Fr. Asaph and Mother Tudfil, but without the monies raised by Ignatius' preaching tours it proved impossible for the small community to support

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655 Fr Cyprian's 'Reminiscences of Llanthony' was published in the journal of the Caldey Benedictines, *PAX* No.38 (December 1913) pp.60-70. See also Allen, *New Llanthony Abbey* (2016) p.310.

656 *Exhibition Catalogue of the Forty-third Annual Exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society* (1898), p.16, No. 323, and *Exhibition Catalogue of the Forty-fourth Annual Exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society* (1899), p.20, No.318.

itself, and within a year Asaph had joined Abbot Aelred Carlyle's community of Anglican Benedictines on Caldey Island, off Tenby on the Pembrokeshire coast. Carlyle was a former medical student who had founded a small monastic community in 1896 at 'The Priory', a terraced house on the Isle of Dogs. Unlike Fr. Ignatius, he was firmly committed to following Benedictine traditions and practices, and believed that this could be done – and should – be done within the Church of England, going so far as to obtain official approval from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Nonetheless, Carlyle's small brotherhood struggled to find a stable home in its first years, moving from place to place before they were offered a home on Caldey Island in 1906.

When Asaph joined them here in 1909 he was asked to begin his novitiate again, and did not make his solemn vows until October 1912. Even at Llanthony he had shown a gift for inventing things, harnessing the flow of a nearby stream to provide power for the abbey in what must be reckoned one of the country's earliest hydro-electric schemes. A photograph taken during a visit to Llanthony in 1905 by staff and pupils of a London school shows Asaph examining closely their elaborate photographic equipment.<sup>658</sup> When he actually began taking photographs is unclear, and although there is no evidence of him having received any instruction from 'Fr. Michael', the fact that Dodson was taking photographs at both Llanthony and Caldey would make such a scenario possible. Given Asaph's reputation for inventiveness and practical ingenuity, he would have had little difficulty in teaching himself. In the September 1910 issue of the Caldey Benedictine periodical there is a frontispiece showing a view of the monastery from the southwest 'taken with a telephoto lens from the high ground in front of the Priory.'<sup>659</sup> It seems certain that the photographer

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657 *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire* (London: HMSO/Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, 1911), various editions of the Cambridge County Geography series including A. Morris, *Merionethshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913) and J. M. Edwards *Flintshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914)

658 The visit from Bellenden Road Higher Grade School, Peckham, took place in Easter Week - on 26 April 1905 – and is commemorated in a photographic album held in Prinknash Abbey Archives. See Allen (2016) p.347.

659 *PAX* Vol. IV, No. 25 (September 1910) p.1.

was Dom Asaph, given that a cheque stub preserved in the Prinknash Archives shows that he bought a telephoto lens from Kodak for the sum of £7 2s 6d the preceding January.

Dom Asaph made his solemn vows in October 1912. Almost the entire Caldey community, including Asaph, joined the Roman Catholic Church on 5 March 1913. He later moved to Prinknash and then to their daughter house, Pluscarden Priory in Scotland, where he died in 1960.



**Fig.5.11.** Monastic life at Llanthony, photographs by W.M. Dodson. Father Ignatius Collection, Abergavenny Museum

## 5.5. The Jesuits

*Founded in Spain in 1540 by a former soldier of noble birth, Ignatius of Loyola, the Society of Jesus (or Jesuits) has maintained its military character, its highly-centralised organisation*



headed by a Superior General and placing great emphasis on obedience. The Jesuits played a major part in the Counter-Reformation and became renowned for their spirit of learning, innovation and missionary enterprise. The training of Jesuit priests is a lengthy process that includes successive stages of novitiate, regency, ordination, tertianship and a final fourth vow (unique to the Jesuits) of obedience to the Pope; this period of formation can take up to seventeen years. This section demonstrates how this framework shaped the photographic work of four priests – Frs. John Hungerford Pollen, Stephen Perry, Cuthbert Cary-Elwes and Francis Browne S.J. -

a) Fr. John Hungerford Pollen S.J. (1858-1925)

Father Pollen was born in 1858, the eldest son of John Hungerford Pollen (1820-1902), a former Anglican priest who converted to Catholicism in 1852 and served under John Henry Newman at the Catholic University in Dublin as professor of Fine Arts. After being educated with his brothers at the Oratory School, the younger John Pollen entered the Society of Jesus in 1876, and was ordained priest in 1891. In order to understand Pollen's significance as an archivist and historian, it is necessary to return to Leo XIII – author of the *Ars Photographica* poem – and his election to the papacy in 1878. As Chadwick (1978) notes, the unique historical collections of the Vatican archives had previously been treated as an 'unapproachable sanctuary' with access forbidden to all but very few officials.<sup>660</sup> In May 1879, a year after his election, Leo created a number of new cardinals including John Henry Newman and Joseph Hergenröther, who was appointed the new Prefect for the Vatican Archives.

On 18 August 1883 Leo issued his *Letter to Three Cardinals* which extolled the lofty ideals of disinterested study of history, effectively arguing that the Catholic Church had nothing to fear from the truth, and by opening up the archives to professional scholars everyone would benefit from a renewed writing of history using accurate documentary sources. The opening of a reading room in 1880 symbolised a

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660 Owen Chadwick, *Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) p.76. The change in policy owed much to the death in June 1879 of Hergenröther's predecessor, Mgr. Rosi-Bernardini, whose maxim had been 'No one goes in, nothing goes out.'

new era of open access, albeit with a degree of supervision and restriction, but the situation was further improved through the appointment in 1895 of German Jesuit Fr. Franz Ehrle S.J. (1845-1934) as Vatican Librarian.<sup>661</sup> Ehrle was a distinguished scholar and historian, who had studied in England in the 1870s – he was ordained priest in Liverpool – with a particular interest in historical bibliographies. After his appointment as Prefect he reorganised the Vatican Library, cut the bureaucratic red tape that had so hindered scholars, and greatly improved the cataloguing, administration and staffing of the library and archive system. Although relatively inexperienced in the practical aspects of librarianship and archive management, Ehrle applied himself diligently to the task and was soon raising standards far beyond the Vatican. In 1898 he organised the first ever international conference looking at the preservation of historical manuscripts. The conference led to the appointment of an international committee and the publication of proceedings that helped to change archival practices – and therefore the nature of historical research – across the world.

In 1894 the newly-appointed Superior General of the Jesuits, Fr. Luis Martin, called for the various Jesuit provinces to start gathering materials for histories of their respective regions, entrusting Fr. Ehrle with the task of training the priest-historians. The English Province selected Fr. Pollen, who was sent to Rome to learn about the proper use of archives, record-keeping, filing and annotation. Beginning with articles in the Jesuit periodical *The Month* he began publishing historical studies of Scottish and English Catholics, including early Jesuits, demonstrating his meticulous use of original documents. His standards and practices may be contrasted with those of the Benedictine Aidan Gasquet, whose careless inaccuracies and repeated errors drew fierce condemnation from G.G. Coulton: between 1905 and 1937 the Cambridge scholar published dozens of attacks on Gasquet's work as an example of the sort of deliberate mendacity that should be expected from a Catholic priest. For Coulton and other militant Protestants, any histories written by Catholics – especially priests, and

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661 E. Heyse Dummer, 'Cardinal Franz Ehrle: In Commemoration of a Double Anniversary', *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, Vol. 16: 4 (Oct., 1946), pp. 335-340

worse still, those in religious orders – were bound to be tainted by self-serving religious prejudice, devoid of the 'objectivity' expected of the professional historian.<sup>662</sup>

Fr. Pollen's work seems to have brought about a change of attitude among Protestant scholars, who invited Pollen to edit volumes for the Scottish History Society and praised his 'candour and fairmindedness.'<sup>663</sup> In 1898 the Society's Secretary David Hay Fleming, a staunch Calvinist and author of several works on the Scottish Reformation, complained in a letter to Pollen about the 'perversions' of a recently deceased Jesuit historian, Fr. Joseph Stevenson, who had 'so frequently perverted facts to suit his theories.'<sup>664</sup> The word 'perversion' was at this time used by Protestant polemicists as a derogatory synonym for 'conversion', implying deviancy, and it is likely that Fleming's comments reflected a hostile view of Stevenson's conversion to Catholicism as much as any perceived manipulation of historical records.<sup>665</sup> By contrast, scholars such as Andrew Lang and Thomas Graves Law expressed their respect for Pollen's meticulous standards and he eventually edited three volumes for the SHS. Such work required detailed analysis of sixteenth-century

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662 On the bitter (albeit one-sided) feud between Coulton and Gasquet, see Alec Corio, 'The Development of G.G. Coulton's Critique of a Roman Catholic School of History', *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 49 (2016), pp. 417–429, Gerald Christianson, 'G.G. Coulton: The Medieval Historian as Controversialist', *Catholic Historical Review* 57 (1971), pp.421-41 and David Knowles OSB, *Cardinal Gasquet as an Historian* (London: University of London Press, 1957).

663 Andrew Lang, quoted in the obituary of Fr. Pollen written by Fr. John Keating SJ for *The Month* 145 (1925) p.447.

664 D. Hay Fleming to Pollen, 10 August 1898 and 29 July 1898. ABSI RB/2. Fleming's works included *The Martyrs and Confessors of St Andrews* (Cupar, 1887), *Mary Queen of Scots from her birth to her flight into England* (London, 1897), *The Scottish Reformation* (Edinburgh 1903) and *The Story of the Scottish Covenants in Outline* (1904).

665 Stevenson, a convert to Catholicism, entered the Jesuits in 1877 at the age of seventy one after a distinguished scholarly career at the Public Record Office where he was a pioneer of the Rolls Series. He edited over twenty volumes of medieval documents for various antiquarian societies in addition to seven volumes. See Fr. Pollen's memoir, *In Memoriam. Father Joseph Stevenson, S.J. A Biographical Sketch, with a List of His Published Works* (London; reprinted from *Month*, March-April 1895). David Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1963).

handwriting, and Pollen realised that a means of photographically reproducing such documents would be of immense value for scholars.

On his way back from Rome in 1899 the Jesuit stopped off in Paris where he visited Mgr. René Graffin (1858-1941), an Orientalist at the Institut Catholique and inventor of the photostat process. This used a normal camera fitted with a prism, which inverted the image so as to produce a positive copy directly onto the paper, and used rolls of highly photo-sensitive bromide paper instead of glass plates. The prism also allowed both the camera and the book to be placed on a horizontal surface, one above the other. At the Exposition Universelle held in Paris the following year, Mgr. Graffin submitted his *Publications syriaques, caracteres syriaques; appareil pour la reproduction des manuscrits* for which he won the jury's silver medal.<sup>666</sup> Pollen wrote to Ehrle at the Vatican, 'I had a long interview with Mgr. Graffin, and did some photographing with him. I am very pleased, and have reported in full to the General. I am now continuing my investigations.'<sup>667</sup> This letter forcefully illustrates how Pollen's acquisition of photographic skills was nonetheless immediately communicated to the supreme authority of the Jesuit order.

Other letters in the archive reveal the significance of Fr. Pollen's photographic expertise for other Jesuits in Rome. There are two letters from the influential musicologist Fr. Angelo de Santi S.J. (1847-1922), sent from the offices of the Jesuit periodical *La Civiltà Cattolica*, requesting photographs of various locations and scenes in London and Oxford to illustrate a forthcoming article.<sup>668</sup> Fr. de Santi confessed that in all of Rome, he was unable to find a single image of England ('*In tutte Roma non se ne trova una sola con vedute d'Inghilterra!*'), but it was clear that

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666 Paris, Exposition universelle, 1900. . . . *Catalogue général officiel*. Paris Lemercier, [1900]. Tome I, Groupe I, Classe 3, p. 12. Paris, Exposition universelle, 1900. *Liste des récompenses*. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1901, p. 64.

667 Pollen to Ehrle, 21 July 1899, ABSI RB/2.

668 Typed letters from Fr. Angelo de Santi to Pollen, 26 January 1905 and 20 March 1905 (ABSI RE/2.) De Santi campaigned forcefully for reform in liturgical music and was a major influence on the papal *motu proprio* ruling on the primacy of Gregorian chant and polyphony against secular musical styles, *Tra le sollecitudini* (1903.) He visited England in 1904 as part of the papal commission on sacred music, visiting Benedictine monasteries such as Stanbrook.

he had specific requirements: real photographs rather than postcards to ensure adequate quality for zincographic reproduction in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, printed on paper rather than card, in order to keep postal costs down: a reminder of the vow of poverty.<sup>669</sup> Fr. de Santi had first of all contacted a Jesuit in Oxford, Fr. Vincent Hornyold, but he was only able to send postcards. These letters highlight how much Jesuit priests relied upon the networks within their own religious order, and how photographs taken by priests would be transmitted along the lines of communication connecting the central offices in Rome with the various provincial houses around the world.

Given that the Society of Jesus was organised along military lines, there is a pleasing logic in the fact that the British Army took an interest in Fr. Pollen's photographic work. Correspondence in March 1900 between the priest and Captain G.H. Mills - Deputy Assistant Adjutant General of the Intelligence Division at the War Office - reveals that the army thought Fr. Pollen's photographic device 'may be found of considerable use...for military purposes.'<sup>670</sup>

WEST DRAYTON, MIDDLESEX. 14, NEW UNION STREET, MOORFIELDS, LONDON, E.C. 4. 5513-  
 Telephone "ROTAPHON, LONDON." 1100 LONDON WALL.  
 LONDON, 23 June 1903

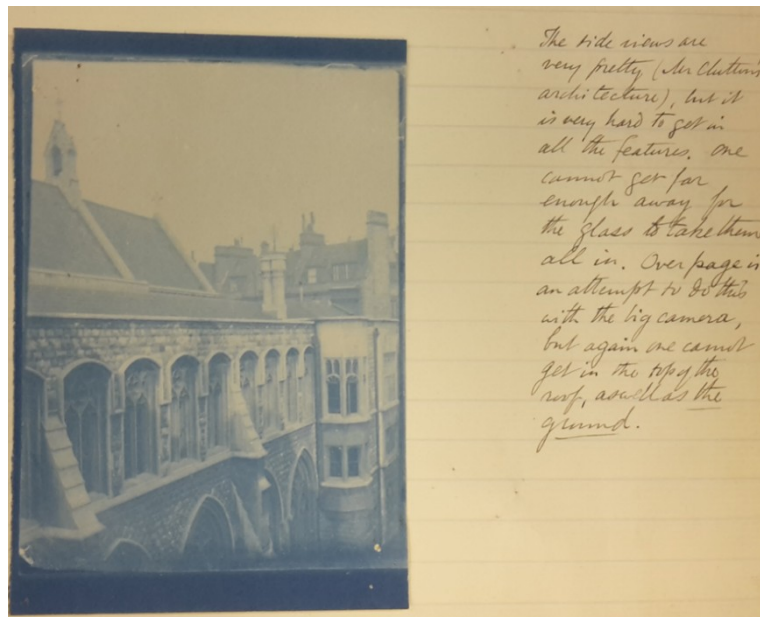
Mrs. J. H. Bellon  
 31, Farnham Street  
 Berkeley Square, W.

Dr. to The Rotary Photographic Co., LIMITED. 8478

Payments to be sent direct to the Office of the Company, or made here against official receipt.

Item	"Rotaphone" Flexible Paper	Grain	Print Cards	Developers	"Rotaphone" Paper	Grain	Rotaphone Paper	Printed	Rolls	Price	C	D	E
25418	4 rolls	C								6/-	1	4	-
Hett													

14, New Union Street, Moorfields, E.C. 4.  
 891  
 E. J. A. O.  
 For THE ROTARY PHOTOGRAPHIC CO., LTD.  
 J. H. Bellon  
 With Compliments and Thanks.



669 De Santi to Pollen, 26 January 1905. The letter contains a list of images that the Italian Jesuit wished to obtain, including that of a choirboy in white surplice and a Church Army lady missionary I am grateful to Angela Mandrioli for assistance in interpreting these letters.

670 Letters from Captain Mills to Fr. Pollen, 13 and 14 March 1900 ABSI RB/3.

**Fig.5.12 (left:)** invoice from the Rotary Photographic Company for four 25 ft rolls of 8” bromide paper ABSI RC/2. **(right:)** Photograph by Fr. Pollen of the roof of the Jesuit church at Farm Street, showing the distinctive blue tones of the bromide process. ABSI PC/1/25/6

Word appears to have got round about Fr. Pollen’s photographic expertise with relation to photographing manuscripts. In December 1902 R.A. Roberts, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records and Secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, asked the Jesuit to ‘call and make arrangements to photograph the papers in the Hatfield volume.’<sup>671</sup> F.W. Maitland wrote to him in April 1903: ‘Photography is a great resource. I have been living this winter [in Gran Canaria] on photographs of legal manuscripts from the British Museum.’<sup>672</sup> Similar requests came from Frs. William Macmahon S.J. at Oxford and Fr. Thomas O’ Reilly OFM, librarian of the Franciscan Friary at Merchant’s Quay in Dublin.<sup>673</sup> In March 1907 he was contacted by Clement Egerton, an acquaintance of Fr. Bede Camm, who had heard about the ‘Rotary bromide process’ and wanted help to build his own camera equipment to copy manuscripts, as he had ‘330 double pages awaiting’ him at the British Museum.<sup>674</sup> Egerton borrowed some of Pollen’s apparatus, combining it with an ‘antique Eastman roll holder’ that he acquired for five shillings.<sup>675</sup> He later wrote to Pollen telling him he had taken 500 photographs at the museum but could have done double the number had the roll holder’s handle and controlling spring not broken.<sup>676</sup>

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671 Letter from Roberts to Pollen, 30 December 1902, ABSI RC/1, This was possibly in connection with the two volumes (Vols. 11 and 12) of the *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury ... preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire* edited by Roberts around this time, and published in 1906 and 1910 respectively.

672 Maitland to Pollen, 23 April 1903. ABSI RC/2

673 Fr. Thomas (Anthony) O’Reilly (1858-1916) spent much of his priestly life in his native Dublin, following studies in Italy and brief spells in Clonmel and Drogheda. He published the first Franciscan magazine in Ireland, and as librarian for the Irish Province corresponded with many literary figures.

674 Letter from Egerton to Pollen, undated but early 1907 given the dating of subsequent letters on 13 and 21 March 1907. ABSI RF/1.

675 Egerton to Pollen, 21 March 1907. ABSI RF/1.

676 Egerton to Pollen, 3 July 1907 RF/2.

His letters suggest that he made considerable demands upon Fr. Pollen's patience and generosity, but he collaborated with Bede Camm in photographic activities, and the monk acknowledged his help later that summer in printing some negatives.<sup>677</sup> Egerton's photographs at the British Museum were likely part of research for his book *A handbook of church music: a practical guide...* (London: R. & T. Washbourne, 1909) but Egerton was later ordained by a schismatic Old Catholic bishop, Arnold Matthew, being raised to the episcopate as 'Bishop of Norwich.' He did not remain long in holy orders, and by 1913 had become a Roman Catholic as well as joining the army.<sup>678</sup>

By emphasising their use of original documents, unaltered and fully-sourced and annotated, Catholic scholars were deliberately identifying their methods with the new scientific approach to historical research described as 'modernism' by Bentley (2005).<sup>679</sup> This approach was characterised by a range of developments in organization, methodology and focus, including the professionalisation of historical studies as an autonomous discipline, demonstrated by its concentration in universities and academic institutes, the creation of academic journals, bodies, exams and qualifications; a new emphasis on social structures and processes rather than romanticised accounts of individuals, and an insistence on rigorous examination of primary sources. There are obvious parallels with the professionalisation of science that took place earlier in the nineteenth century, and – as was discussed in Chapter One of my thesis – such a substantial shift in attitudes inevitably created some tension regarding older traditions of religious historical writing.

While these tensions have been discussed by historiographers and church historians such as Gooch (1913) Iggers (1997), Berger (1997, 1999) and Vidmar

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677 Bede Camm, MS Diary 20 August 1907, Downside Archives.

678 Peter F Anson, *Bishops at Large* (London: Faber & Faber, 1964) pp.182. 201. Henry R. T. Brandreth, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1947), pp. 16, 22. His father was Rev. Frederick Edward Egerton (1856-1940), an Anglican priest in Knottingley.

679 Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism, 1870-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) pp.11-13. This point is discussed by Corio (2016) pp.419 ff.

(2005), their work has unfortunately failed to make any connection with parallel debates about the use of value of the photograph as documentary evidence.<sup>680</sup> The fact that both Fr. Pollen and Fr. Bede used cameras to support their published research into the controversies of the 16th century is surely significant and can be seen as a visual counterpart to what Corio (2016) calls the 'rhetoric of primary source research.'<sup>681</sup> In his 1904 critical edition of an important 16th century letter from Mary Queen of Scots, Pollen used a series of close-up photographs of the original manuscript to support his detailed palaeographic and orthographic analysis.<sup>682</sup> The seriousness with which Fr. Pollen approached this work is revealed in Bede Camm's diary entries:

*17 July 1906 Fr Pollen photographed with his huge camera the Grene MS (E) from Oscott. He also did the Oates plot cards but they are not very good.*

*23 July Fr Pollen and I spent nearly the whole day photographing the Oates plot cards. We have done them both half-plate and 10 x 6 sizes. He went to dine at the Oratory. My photos of the cards came out splendidly.*<sup>683</sup>

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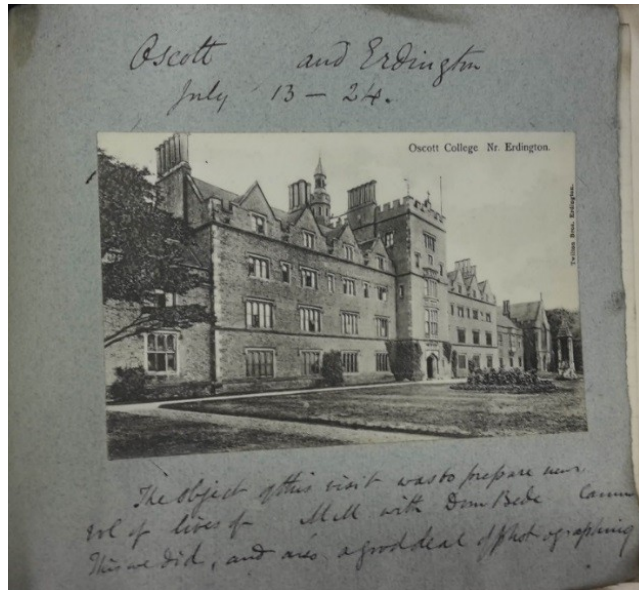
680 G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*. (London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1913), Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown, CT, 1997) and Stefan Berger et al., eds, *Writing National Histories: Western Europe since 1800* (London, 1999), Warren, J., 'The Rankean Tradition in British Historiography, 1840-1950', in S. Berger, H. Feldner and K. Passmore (eds), *Writing History: Theory and Practice* (London, 2003), pp. 23-41 and John Vidmar, *English Catholic Historians and the English Reformation 1534-1954* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005.)

681 Corio (2016) p.417. On photography as evidence, see Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Cornell University Press, 1996) p.189; Charles C Scott, *Photographic Evidence* (St Paul, 1969.)

682 J.H. Pollen (ed.) *A letter from Mary Queen of Scots to the Duke of Guise, January 1562; reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript in the possession of the late John Scott, of Halkshill*. (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1904)

683 Camm MS Diary, July 1906, Downside Archives. Half plate = 4½ × 6½, or 4¾ × 6½





**Fig. 5.13.** Postcard of Oscott College pasted into one of Fr. Pollen's photograph albums. Reference is made to 'a good deal of photographing' undertaken with Dom Bede Camm.

Although it is amusing to note the hint of rivalry between the Benedictine and the Jesuit regarding their photographic accomplishments, the content of the images was serious enough. The 'Oates cards' were a set of playing cards commemorating the so-called 'Popish Plot' of 1678, a fabricated panic that arose from accusations made by Titus Oates and resulted in the capture and execution of over 30 Jesuit priests.<sup>684</sup> The Grene MSS were papers collected by Fr Christopher Grene S.J. (1629-97), who began gathering records of the Catholic martyrs. These and other papers were later collated for publication by Br Henry Foley S.J. (1811-91), who compiled the monumental eight-volume *The Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (1877-84).<sup>685</sup> Pollen advanced from his role as historian of the English Jesuits and Catholic martyrs to an official post as Keeper of the Jesuit Archives at Farm Street, Mayfair. It is worth emphasising that his archival research and administration was undertaken many years before the ground-breaking

<sup>684</sup> 'The Strange Story of a Pack of Cards' *The Strand Magazine*, Vol. XXXIV, No.199 (July 1907), pp.27-32. S. A. Hankey, 'Remarks upon a Series of Forty-Nine Historical Cards, With Engravings, Representing the Conspiracy of Titus Oates', *Archaeological Journal* 30 (1873), pp.187-8.

<sup>685</sup> An overview of the continuity of the historical work of Grene, Foley and Pollen is given by Fr. Thomas McCoog SJ in *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541-1588: Our Way of Proceeding?* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) pp.3-5.

publication of Hilary Jenkinson's *Manual of Archival Administration* (1925), which laid down many of the principles now taken for granted in archive management but which were far from universally held or understood in the 1890s. Fr. Pollen's use of photography can be seen as part of his visionary approach to good practice regarding historical evidence, but the polemical application of the images supports this chapter's hypothesis that the primary purpose of photographic activities undertaken by Catholic clergy was to defend and advance the claims of the Roman Catholic community.<sup>686</sup>

It made sense for such a campaign to be furthered by every means possible and the founders of the Jesuits were shrewd enough to recognise that secular methods could be used for spiritual ends.<sup>687</sup> To counteract the effects of both the Protestant Reformation and the pagan revival associated with certain strands of renaissance humanism, Ignatius of Loyola founded a religious order that was willing to embrace all arms of secular science and technology as part of its strategy to spread the Gospel. This was easier for the Jesuits because their foundation coincided with the birth of modern science, and so their colleges and institutions were not encumbered - unlike their counterparts in the Benedictines or Franciscans - with such strong ties to medieval tradition.<sup>688</sup> Jesuit priests took up any area of apostolic activity that was requested, whether it was university teaching, preaching, medical care, mathematical study, operating printing presses or scientific research, and they showed themselves open to accommodating themselves to whatever the

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686 Fr. Pollen's contribution to historical scholarship is the subject of an essay by Fr Thomas McCoog SJ. 'The Hues of History (1858-1925): John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., English Martyrs, and Jesuit Historiography,' in Broadley & Phillips (eds.) *The Ministry of the Printed Word: Scholar Priests of the Twentieth Century* (Stratton-on-the-Fosse: Downside Abbey, 2016) pp.

687 Steven J Harris, 'Transposing the Merton thesis: apostolic spirituality and the establishment of the Jesuit scientific tradition,' *Science in Context* 3 (1989) pp.29-65, argues that the Jesuits' emphasis on Christian service in the world led inevitably to an active engagement with secular activities and study, which was developed into a definite strategy once the Jesuits expanded their work in education and missions. See also Agustín Udías SJ, *Jesuit Contribution to Science: A History* (Springer, 2014)

688 Agustín Udías SJ, *Searching the Heavens and the Earth: The History of Jesuit Observatories* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2003) pp.8-9.

environment demanded. Missionaries abroad such as Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656, India) and Matteo Ricci (1552-1610, China) adopted the clothes and customs of eastern holy men in their adopted countries. In order to gain access to the imperial court Ricci spent years in the Forbidden City earning the respect of the Chinese officials through his mastery of their language, his prowess as a mathematician and astronomer, and his construction of numerous mechanical devices such as clocks and astrolabes. No less accomplished was the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher S.J. (1602-80), whose work *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (1646) represented a significant milestone in both the development of the magic lantern and religious attitudes to visual imagery.<sup>689</sup>

The achievements of Jesuit scientists during the early modern era provides strong evidence in defiance of the 'conflict thesis' on the relationship between science and religion that became prominent in the late 19th century. The Jesuit photographer and astronomer Fr. Pietro Angelo Secchi (1818-78), who helped develop the observatory at Stonyhurst College in Lancashire in 1848 - was described as 'a striking example of one who knew how to unite religion and science', and in his 1877 report on the work of the Collegio Romano observatory he explicitly rejected the existence of any opposition between the two fields of study.<sup>690</sup> Secchi was one of the first astronomers to realise the importance of photography in recording evidence, and from the 1860s onwards he used his own specially-constructed cameras to photograph solar eclipses, sun spots and other phenomena.

*b) Fr Stephen Perry S.J. (1833-89)*

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689 Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher's Theatre of the World: His Life, Work, and the Search for Universal Knowledge* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009.) On the specific claims about the magic lantern, see R.A. Houston, 'Athanasius Kircher and the Magic Lantern,' *Science Progress*, Vol. 45, no. 179 (1957) pp. 462-464, H.M. Gosser, 'Kircher and the *Lanterna Magica* — A Reexamination' *SMPTE Journal*, Vol.90: 10 (October 1981 ) pp.972-78.

690 Rev. A.L. Cortie S.J., 'Angelo Secchi SJ (1818-78)' in Bertram Windle (ed.), *Twelve Catholic Men of Science* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1912.) pp.149-51.

While Secchi was carrying out this work, the Stonyhurst Observatory was under the direction of Fr. Stephen Perry S.J. who made significant advances in applying photography to astronomy. In addition to the post of Director of the Observatory, he was also professor of mathematics and physics at Stonyhurst, combining world-class scientific research with the task of educating Catholic school boys and Jesuit novices. His expertise in solar spectrography led to his election as a Fellow of both the Royal Society and the Royal Astronomical Society, who chose him for expeditions to Spain, Russia, the West Indies and the Caribbean.<sup>691</sup> Already ill with dysentery, he forced himself to remain in the open air to capture a solar eclipse off the Salut Islands near Guiana, but after securing the two minute exposure he collapsed and died a few days later. Among all the Jesuit martyrs, Fr. Perry must be the only one who gave his life for a photograph. After his death the American writer Mabel Todd wrote of Perry in suitably military language:

Like the fighting bishops of old he was always eager to gird on his armor in the sacred name of Science: the discomforts and anxieties, nay the real dangers of the crusade never daunted him for a moment; and we can claim for him all the laurels due to the soldier who pays for victory with his life, and dies bravely, cheerfully, nobly at the moment of success.<sup>692</sup>

Describing 'the sacred name of Science' to a crusade further undermines the notion of a conflict between science and religion that was challenged in Chapter One, and certainly Fr. Perry and other practitioners did not see their work in that light. Despite his dedication to scientific pursuits, Perry was also well-known within the photographic community and the year before his death gave an address on 'The Photographing of the Heavens' to the Photographic Convention in Birmingham, which would 'long be remembered by those who had the good fortune to hear it.'<sup>693</sup>

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691 P.D. Hingley, 'The priest and the stuffed penguin: Father Stephen Perry, SJ and the transit of Venus expeditions to Kerguelen Island, 1874, and Madagascar, 1882', *Journal of the British Astronomical Association* Vol. 115:3, (2005) pp. 150-70. See also the obituaries in *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 48 (1890) pp.xii-xv, and the Jesuit *Letters and Notices* 20 (1890) pp.131-46. His fellow Jesuit Fr. A.L. Cortie SJ wrote about him in *Father Perry F.R.S. The Jesuit Astronomer* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1890), and 'The Scientific Work of Father Perry' in *The Month* 68 (1890) pp.474-88. For a more recent appraisal, see G. D. Bishop, 'Stephen Perry (1833-1889): Forgotten Jesuit scientist and educator,' *Journal of the British Astronomical Association*, 89 (1979) pp. 473- 484.

692 Mabel Loomis Todd, *Total eclipses of the sun* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1894) p.226.

Born into a wealthy London family, Fr. Perry was educated by the Benedictines at Douai College in France before entering the Jesuit novitiate in 1853, where his aptitude for science was quickly recognised. He wrote about his photographic work, as well as on meteorology, astronomy and magnetism, in a wide range of scientific publications including the journals of The Royal Society and the Royal Astronomical Society, *The Observatory*, *Copernicus*, *Nature*, the Jesuit periodical *The Month* and the *British Journal of Photography*.<sup>694</sup> Reading through these reports, as well as secondary material - such as the diary of naval lieutenant Cyril Corbet who accompanied the priest on his 1874 voyage to South Africa to photograph the 'Transit of Venus' – reveals the extent to which the priest was an integral part of the international scholarly community.<sup>695</sup>



**Fig.5.14.** Fr. Perry (seated, third from left) with members of the 1874 Transit of Venus expedition. Royal Astronomical Society ADD MS 96 p1. Fr. Perry is easily identifiable with his Roman collar and clerical robes, but - along with three other members of the group - he is wearing a 'smoking cap', typically worn by Victorian gentlemen to

693 Anon., 'Photography and the Solar Eclipse of 22 December', *British Journal of Photography* Vol. XXXVI, No.1547, 27 December 1889) p.838. This comment was published on the day the priest died.

694 See for example 'Manila photographs of the transit of Venus', *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. 36, No.2 (10 December 1875) pp.53-54, 'Celestial Photography' *The Month* (1885), 'The Total Eclipse of The Sun on August 29, 1886', *The Month* (1886), 'Further progress in spectroscopic photography' *British Journal of Photography* (25 January 1889) pp.52-3.

695 Lieut. Cyril Corbet R.N., '*Venus' at the Isle of Desolation: My Private Journal During the "Transit of Venus" Expedition in 1874* (Southampton: Alfred Randle, 1875)

protect their hair from the smell of tobacco, but favoured by astronomers because there were no brims to get in the way of telescopic eyepieces.

This does not by any means mean that his religious duties were neglected. Corbet complained in his diary about Perry choosing to give a fundraising lecture for a Catholic charity during the voyage, rather than raising funds for sailors, which he felt would be more appropriate. He also visited the recently founded Jesuit college in Bombay, St Xavier's, to give a lecture on the Transit of Venus.<sup>696</sup> During the 1882 expedition to Madagascar Fr. Perry attended the deathbed of an alcoholic French servant from the island of Nos Vey, off the coast of Madagascar, and presided at the Requiem Mass for him, with two officers from *HMS Fawn* attending in full dress uniform.<sup>697</sup> Despite Corbet's grumblings, the naval officer and priest seemed to have got on well, spending much time on long walks together, Perry taking photographs of the view – with 'one or the other of us always appearing in the foreground' – as well as of Corbet's observation station. They later worked together to make transparencies of these images to send home to the astronomer Sir George Airy, and Corbet noted with gratitude how Perry gave him the prints to use 'without any restriction of copyright.'<sup>698</sup> The amount of non-astronomical photography on such expeditions was no doubt natural, given the exotic locations and unusual flora and fauna, but it also provided a selection of images that could be shown at meetings back home if (as was often the case) the results of the celestial observations proved disappointing. When bad weather or low visibility resulted in poor images, at least the scientists could return with slides of local inhabitants, rare species and scenery to show to learned society members who may have invested considerable sums in

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696 Corbet, *'Venus' at the Isle of Desolation* (1875) pp.40, 133. Corbet did not attend the lecture, choosing instead to visit a local theatre for a performance of Mr D'Arcy Read's 'Ghost, or Spectroscope' – a form of entertaining optical illusion along the lines of 'Pepper's Ghost.'

697 Walter Sidgreaves SJ, 'The Last Scientific Voyage of H.M.S. Fawn' *The Month* Vol. XLVII, No. 226 (April 1883) p.477. Fr. Sidgreaves, who assisted Fr. Perry in his work, also recorded how the Jesuit gave a 90 minute lecture on 1874 Kerguelen Land expedition on board the Fawn, which was better attended than the dances (p.460)

698 *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 103, 110, 116

sponsoring the expeditions. In consequence, as Hingley (2005) has noted, 'RAS meetings following eclipse expeditions tended to resemble those of missionary societies.'<sup>699</sup>

The high risk of failure when attempting to secure high-definition images of distant celestial bodies raises another aspect of Perry's work, providing further insight into how Victorian astronomers perceived the distinction between hand-executed drawings of the solar system and astronomical photographs.<sup>700</sup> Recalling the Rev. Isaacs' words on photography in the Holy Land and his condemnation of the 'treacherous and deceptive pencil', Fr. Perry admitted that

photography must always possess the great advantage in this descriptive work of being far more independent, than any method of sketching, of the bias of the astronomer, although it must be allowed that the photographer still retains some command of the results, by varying the times of the exposure and the nature of the development, especially where faculae and faint penumbrae are present.

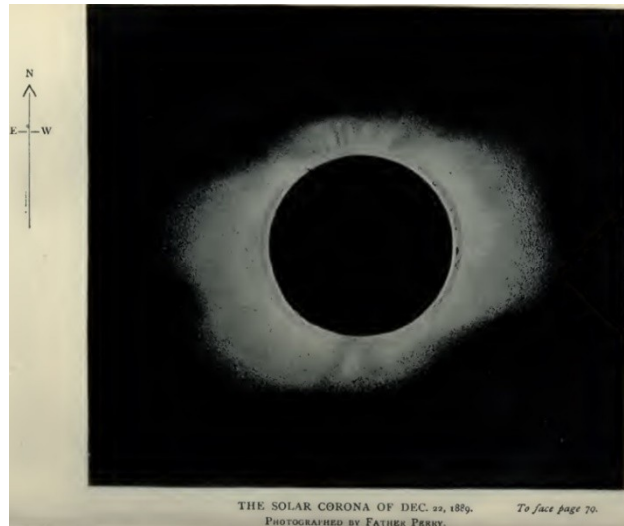
Tucker (2005) has drawn attention to the uncertainty among the public and general readers surrounding the relationship between astronomical photographs and drawings, especially at a period when mass print reproductions often blurred the aesthetic distinctions between the two mediums. As she observes, 'despite the powerful claims that photographs were evidentiary, drawings were often used as auxiliary tools to supplement the truth claims made about photographs.'<sup>701</sup>

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699 P.D. Hingley, 'The priest and the stuffed penguin' (2005) p.154. This observation is said to have been made by astronomer Arthur Eddington (1882-1944)

700 For a detailed and perceptive study of these drawing practices, see Omar W. Nasim, *Observing by Hand: Sketching the Nebulae in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013)

701 Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed. Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2005) p.226. See also Omar W. Nasim, *Observing by Hand: Sketching the Nebulae in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) for a detailed study of how astronomers used hand-drawn sketches as part of both a private observation process and public communication medium, as well as a means of familiarising themselves with heavenly bodies.



**Fig.5.15.** Fr. Stephen

Perry S.J., *The Solar Corona of December 22, 1889.*

From A.L. Cortie S.J., *Father Perry F.R.S. The Jesuit Astronomer* (1890) p.79.

However, although Perry expressed his belief that ‘a daily photographic record of the Sun’s surface [was] a necessity of primary importance for the study of solar physics’, he also made the point that solar drawings often produced results that were as accurate as photographs, especially in poor weather, producing several pages of data tables as evidence.<sup>702</sup> Such drawings were usually produced by an artist sitting at the telescope, doing a rapid sketch while looking through the eyepiece. With the sort of innovative approach for which the Jesuits were renowned, Fr. Perry devised a new method using a light frame fitted to the end of the telescope so that the images were projected onto a drawing board, from which his assistant McKeon could trace directly.<sup>703</sup> Other descriptions of the apparatus used by Fr. Perry in 1889 indicate the technical challenges the priest faced in assembling and using a complex mix of large telescopes with attached cameras, slide holders and lenses.<sup>704</sup> Given the amount of intellectual work and physical labour involved in such tasks, it is easy to forget that

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702 Fr. S.J. Perry, ‘Photographs and Drawings of the Sun’, *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. 49 (1888) pp.273-89

703 Accounts of artists and astronomers producing drawings suggest they generally drew while looking through the telescope, removing their eye from the eyepiece every few seconds to produce a quick sketch that was later filled in with more detail, perhaps supplemented by consultation with photographs. Alex Soojung-Kim Pang, *Empire and the Sun: Victorian Solar Eclipse Expeditions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002) pp.87-92. Details of Fr. Perry’s method, with an engraving of the telescopic attachment, are found in Cortie, *Father Perry* (1890) pp.42-3.



these were integrated with his priestly duties. Like all Jesuits, he was bound to the daily religious devotions laid down in St Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, including morning meditation and daily *examen* or examination of conscience, during which the priest looks back on the day and tries to discern God's presence. His biographer noted how, even at work in the observatory overnight, 'should a quarter of an hour intervene between two observations he would immediately seize the opportunity of making his night examination of conscience.'<sup>705</sup> At Stonyhurst he served as lecturer in mathematics for over twenty years, as well as confessor to the students. Unsurprisingly, he used photography as a teaching aid, and a description of his methods suggests he retained almost as high standards as Fr. Pollen in organising his source materials:

All his photographic slides, for he always lectured with the aid of a lantern, were most carefully ticketed, numbered, and catalogued by his own hand, while little notes in the catalogue give the source from which the slide was taken, and the chief facts about the subject therein depicted. He even entered so far into details as to gum a piece of paper on each slide preparatory to a lecture, which was intended to serve as a guide to the operator at the lantern and to save him trouble.<sup>706</sup>

The Jesuit motto *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam* expresses the belief that all of their activities, whether literary, scientific, theatrical or academic – must be dedicated 'To the Greater Glory of God' and contribute some way to spreading the Gospel. It is for this reason that Fr. Perry's photograph album, containing over 140 images from his 1874 and 1882 expeditions, has the gilt letters 'A. M. D. G.' embossed on the covers in much larger type than the album's title, 'Transit of Venus Photographs, Kerguelen Island & Madagascar.'<sup>707</sup> It is a reminder that, whatever the technical achievements of the Jesuit photographer, in life and in death there was always a higher purpose.

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704 Ralph Copeland, 'The Total Solar Eclipse of 1887, August 19' and Rev. S.J. Perry "The Total Solar Eclipse of August 19, 1887,' *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Volume 48: 1 (11 November 1887) pp.48-51, 51-54.

705 Cortie, *Father Perry* (1890) p.17.

706 Cortie, *Father Perry* (1890) p.29.

707 P.D. Hingley, 'The priest and the stuffed penguin' (2005) p.150.

c) Fr Cuthbert Cary-Elwes S.J. (1867-1945)

Fr Cuthbert may not have made the ultimate sacrifice but he came perilously close, according to an eyewitness account of him photographing a waterfall in British Guiana in the early 1900s:

There was a particular view from the fall which he wished to secure. Nearer and nearer he drew to the verge of the gorge until the tripod was placed with one foot resting in a crevice beyond the edge of the cliff. Fr Cary stepped to the side of the camera, bent over, balancing on one foot, with the other waving in thin air above that awful abyss and made the needful adjustments as though there had been a drop of about a few inches instead of a thousand feet beneath him.<sup>708</sup>

Cuthbert Cary-Elwes was the son of a Catholic convert, and his early years followed similar patterns to those of Frs. Pollen and Perry, as he was born in France and educated by the Benedictines prior to entering the Jesuits in 1887.<sup>709</sup> All three priests therefore spent part of their childhood in Europe, and attended schools run by religious congregations, establishing a network of cultural and personal connections. His uncle, Fr. Augustus Law S.J., had served on the South African mission with Fr. Alfred Weld S.J., predecessor of Fr. Perry as Director of the Stonyhurst Observatory.<sup>710</sup>

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708 A. Hyatt Verrill (South American explorer) in article in *Wide World Magazine* quoted in Bassett, Bernard (1968) *The English Jesuits: from Campion to Martindale* (Herder & Herder, New York) p.440. No further details are given, but this is possibly from the third part of Verrill's five-part series 'In Unknown British Guiana', *Wide World Magazine* (November 1918). See also Verrill's similar description in 'Glimpses of the Guiana Wilderness', *Timehri: the journal of the Royal agricultural and commercial society of British Guiana* Vol. V (August 1918).

709 His father, Capt. Windsor Cary-Elwes, converted to Catholicism in 1857 at the age of seventeen under the influence of his future father-in-law, William Law, who had been deeply shaken by the Gorham judgment. Cary-Elwes married Law's daughter and their children included both Fr Cuthbert and Fr Luke Cary-Elwes OSB, one of Odo Blundell's contemporaries at Fort Augustus Abbey.

710 It was Weld - a cousin of Dom Odo Blundell and director of the observatory (1846-51, 1856-60) - who had directed Fr. Secchi towards the study of astronomy while he was studying theology there. On the Observatory, see Fr. John Gerard SJ, *Stonyhurst College: its Life Beyond the Seas, 1592-1794, and on English Soil, 1794-1894* (Belfast: Marcus Ward, 1895) pp.285-92.



**Fig.5.16.** 'Fr Cuthbert with tripod on cliff.'  
ABSI 1/1/3/7/1

Fr Cuthbert was ordained in 1900 and sent out as missionary to Demerara, in British Guiana, four years later. After three years in Georgetown, headquarter of the British colony, he travelled into the interior to establish a mission station at Morawhanna, near the Venezuelan border. In 1909 he headed south through the Amazonian forest towards the Brazilian border to open a new mission in the territories of the Macushi and Wapishana tribes, whose language was unknown to him. He spent the next fourteen years travelling – mostly on foot - between three mission outposts 280 miles apart, until he collapsed from mental exhaustion and was brought back to England.

He brought back with him some 160 photographs taken during his time in South America, depicting scenes of tribal life, landscapes and local flora and fauna, including a praying mantis and a tapir.<sup>711</sup> Many of these he intended to use as illustrations for the autobiography, *Amazon Valley*, which he wrote in London during the last ten years of his life. The five volumes of typescript, comprising fifty chapters,

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<sup>711</sup> His photographs include studies of 'curious insects', (ABSI 1/1/3/10/3) a tapir (1/1/3/12/3) and a panoramic view of Morawhanna made from six separate prints (1/1/3/2/1-6).

conclude with two carefully-annotated lists of illustrations that specify where in the text his photographs and drawings were to appear.<sup>712</sup>

As can be imagined, facilities for processing and developing his pictures were hard to find in such a remote spot. A photograph of Cary-Elwes with two boys is marked on the back 'Amateur Developing and Printing by Loquan Photo Studios,' indicating that the negatives had been processed by Samuel M. Loquan, a photographer in Georgetown, some 120 miles away. Another photograph is printed on Velox paper, which may suggest that it was printed from a negative in the early 1940s after Cary-Elwes had returned home and was working on his autobiography. However, in his autobiography he mentions receiving much practical help from local cattle baron Harry P.C. Melville and his Scottish assistant John Ogilvie, both of whom he stated to be 'expert in photography' – a remark borne out by the fact that William Curtis Farabee's book *The Central Arawaks* (1918) contains photographs of Wapishana tribespeople attributed to Melville and Ogilvie.<sup>713</sup> One of the priest's photographs is captioned 'H.P.C. Melville at home' and shows the trader sitting in a book-lined study, with bare wooden boards and a spinning wheel at his feet.<sup>714</sup> Cary-Elwes' memoir suggests that the priest's living conditions were often even more basic than this, and it is a tribute to the Jesuit ability to adapt to the environment that he was able to take such a large number of high quality photographs in such a setting. Once again, the mere fact that a Catholic priest pursued this activity in these difficult circumstances highlights the value that was attached to photography.

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712 ABSI SJ/1/1/2. Although Cary-Elwes' autobiography remains unpublished, an account of his work can be found in John Bridges, *Rupununi Mission The Story of Cuthbert Cary-Elwes S J Among the Indians of Guiana* (London: Jesuit Mission, 1985).

713 Rev. Cuthbert Cary-Elwes SJ, *Amazon Valley Vol. I* (n.d.) p. 70. (SJ/1/1/2/1) also reveals that Melville had a dark room at his home, in which Fr. Cuthbert said Mass. Melville was of Scottish origin, born in Jamaica in 1864. He arrived in Guiana in the late 1880s after working as a gold prospector in Barbados, and established a number of cattle ranches such as Dadanawa. Ogilvie is described as Melville's 'guide and companion.' Both men were fluent in the local language. William Curtis Farabee, *The Central Arawaks* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1918).

714 ABSI 1/1/3/11/3

d) *Fr Francis Browne S.J. (1880-1960)*

There is no doubt that of all the photographers that have been active in the Society of Jesus, the most prolific was Fr. Francis Browne. Born in Cork, Ireland, he was orphaned while still young and supported by his uncle Robert Browne, Bishop of Cloyne, who gave him (and his brother William, also a Jesuit priest) his first camera in 1897 as he was about to leave on a tour of Europe following his graduation. He took photographs with this fairly primitive Kodak Box camera throughout his travels in France, Italy, Switzerland and Germany. When he entered the Jesuits in September 1897, however, he had to give up his camera, either leaving it behind or handing it over as a 'superfluity.' While studying at Turin (1903-6) he was able to borrow a camera during his summer holidays in 1904 and 1905, allowing him to take photographs on holiday in Venice and Monte Carlo respectively.

It was only when he returned to Dublin in 1906 to teach at the Belvedere College that he was able to acquire his first camera as a Jesuit – he founded the college's Camera Club during his first year there and supplied the college magazine *The Belvederian* with his own photographs. He took a photograph of Pope Pius X while in Rome in 1909, and – most famously of all – took his camera aboard the *RMS Titanic* after his uncle bought him a first-class ticket. After travelling from Southampton to Queenstown (now Cobh) via Cherbourg, he asked for permission to sail to America after a wealthy family offered to pay. The curt reply from the Jesuit Provincial - 'Get off that ship' – probably saved his life. After returning to his theological studies at Milltown Park in Dublin, news arrived of the ship's sinking.

His photographs were immediately in demands for the front pages of newspapers across the world. He had taken photographs of the captain, crew, passengers from all three classes, exterior and interior shots of all areas of the ship, including the only extant photograph of the radio room. His final photograph shows, poignantly, the last known image of Captain Smith, gazing into a lifeboat as the liner sailed from Queenstown.



**Fig.5.17.** Rev. Francis Browne S.J. A page from his *Titanic Album*, compiled in 1920. Father Browne S.J. Collection. Society of Jesus, Dublin

In addition to selling his photographs to the press, Fr. Browne also made glass slides from which he gave an illustrated lecture on the ship. His later photographic work lies outwith the parameters of this thesis, but include war photography while serving as a chaplain, thousands of photographs of Irish topography and parish life, foreign travels in Asia and Australia and Europe, photographs of antiquities commissioned by the British Museum, and numerous contributions to Kodak Magazine – the company provided him with a lifelong supply of free film as a consequence of his Titanic photographs. Later in life he earned regular frees through photographic commissions from Kodak, the British Museum and the Church of England, among others, but used this money to finance ‘Brownie burses’ – an allowance to support young Jesuit students to learn photography, affectionately named after the camera with which he himself had started back in 1897.<sup>715</sup> This

<sup>715</sup> Following on from the Kodak Brownie, Fr. Browne’s used various cameras during his life, beginning with a Newman & Guardia Special Sibyl. At the end of the war he was stationed in Germany (November 1918-1920), during which time he picked up a Plaubel ‘Makina’ camera. He later used a Contax No.2, which he gave to a younger priest, Fr John Moore SJ, after he bought his last camera – a compact Leica – in the early 1950s. E.E. O’Donnell SJ, *The Life and Lens of Father Brown* (2nd ed. Dublin: Messenger Publications, 2014) pp.57-8, 101.

reveals not only the personal value of photography in Fr. Browne's memories, but also that he perceived practical photography as being a valuable skill for young Jesuits to cultivate.

## 5.6. The Oratorians

*Unlike the other religious institutes discussed here, members of The Congregation of the Oratory – founded in Rome in 1575 by Saint Philip Neri – are not bound by solemn vows, but instead make a commitment of charity to live together in community. It was John Henry Newman who founded the first Oratorian community in Britain in 1848 at Old Oscott College, which he renamed Maryvale. They later moved to Edgbaston, a suburb on the edge of Birmingham city centre. As Oratories are autonomous and its members are bound by a commitment rather than vows, much emphasis is placed on fraternal charity and the personal relationships that bind the community together.*

If there is truth in the hypothesis that the respective character of different religious congregations might have bearings upon the photographic activities undertaken by their members, then a poignant example can be found early in the history of the Birmingham Oratory. Father John Joseph Gordon (1811-53) entered the Oratory in 1848, a year after his reception into the Catholic Church, and was instrumental in establishing the Oratorian mission in Birmingham, based in a former gin distillery in Alcester Street. Newman was then caught up in a legal dispute with an ex-priest, Achilli, and relied heavily upon Gordon at this time, delegating the priest with some of his work as well as entrusting him with travels to Italy to gather evidence for the court case. His death from pleurisy in February 1853 caused Newman deep pain. 'We could not have a greater loss than Fr. Gordon,' wrote Newman. 'He was the life of our Oratory. I do not know what we are to do without him.' His death was described as an 'inexpressible loss...the greatest blow the Congregation has ever had – the greatest I have had a long time.'<sup>716</sup> It would appear that the Oratorians brought in a professional photographer to take a *memento mori* daguerreotype portrait of the priest on his death bed. No other members of the

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<sup>716</sup> Letters from Newman to Mrs Serjeant Bellasis, 10 February 1853) and Henry Wilberforce (23 February 1853). John Henry Newman, *Letters and Diaries*, pp.296, 309.

community were photographed in this way, which highlights the singularity of the case, and indeed of the place occupied by Fr. Gordon in the hearts of the community.<sup>717</sup>



**Fig. 5.18.** Unknown photographer, Death portrait of Fr. John Joseph Gordon (1811-53) Daguerreotype. The Cardinal Newman Archives of the Birmingham Oratory. GNB02 B005

As the following discussions of the photography of Frs. Anthony Pollen and Robert Eaton illustrate, such personal associations and relationships continued to characterise the work of the Oratorians.

*a) Fr. Anthony Hungerford Pollen Cong. Orat (1860-1940)*

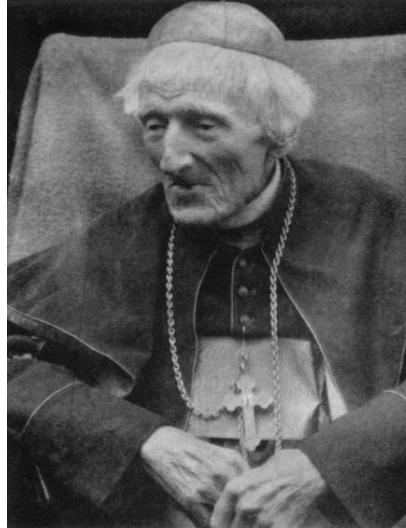
Fr. Anthony was the third son of John Hungerford Pollen (1820-1902) and brother of the Jesuit photographer discussed earlier. Like his brothers John and George, he was educated at the Oratory School and was thus personally familiar with both Newman and the Oratorian way of life before he entered the Birmingham Oratory in 1883. By the time he was ordained priest in December 1889, Newman's health was in decline. The elderly cardinal drew up his will in June 1888, appointing Anthony – then still a sub-deacon – as one of his executors. Newman celebrated his last Mass on Christmas Day 1889, four days after Fr. Anthony's priestly ordination in the

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<sup>717</sup> Newman's poem *The Dream of Gerontius* was completed in February 1865, just before the anniversary of Gordon's death, and dedicated to him. The 1888 edition contained a biographical memoir of Gordon.



Oratory church. Precise details about how and when Fr. Anthony took up photography remain unclear, but he is known to have taken several portraits of the elderly Newman during these final stages of his life, as well as views of the Oratory classrooms, showing pupils taking part in lessons, costume shows and other school events.<sup>718</sup>



**Fig. 5.19.** Fr. Anthony Pollen. *Cardinal Newman* (n.d. but probably late 1880s) Detail. From the *Oratory Photographs* album in The Cardinal Newman Archives of the Birmingham Oratory.

*b) Father Robert Eaton Cong. Orat (1866-1942)*

Newman's first Oratory had been in a former gin distillery in Alcester Street, a slum area populated with Irish immigrants, but in 1852 they moved to a more pleasant site on Hagley Road, Edgbaston, where another church was built next door to the Oratory house. After Newman's death it was decided that a new church should be built as a memorial to him. The foundation stone was laid on the 25th March 1903 and opened exactly six years later, on 25th March 1909. There are five photograph albums in the Oratory archive attributed to Fr. Robert Eaton, three of which chronicle the building work: using exterior and interior shots, these images record both the demolition of the old church and the construction of the new.

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718 The red leatherbound album – which has 'Oratory Photographs. A.H. Pollen' gilt-stamped on the front and spine - has recently been rediscovered and remains uncatalogued, but the prints of Newman can be matched to glass negatives elsewhere in the archive (GNB03 B004).

Another album contains photographs of Oxford, the place dear to Newman and where he really wished to have an Oratory.<sup>719</sup> It is possible that the album was compiled by Fr. Robert for Newman, whom he had known since coming to the Oratory School at the age of twelve in 1878. When Newman died on 11 August 1890 it was Fr. Robert who announced his death; a fortnight later he gave an eloquent sermon on the cardinal's life to the congregation at the Oratory church. He was a popular preacher and much-loved priest of versatile talents, including cricket and music, as well as author of several scholarly works later in life.<sup>720</sup> For many years he attended the Oberammergau Passion Play, a subject on which he gave lantern lectures in many venues around the region, including at the Oratory on 11 March 1903. For three years (1902-5) he was Prefect of the Little Oratory, a fraternal association for promoting spirituality among laymen, with a regular programme of devotional services, lectures, prayer meetings, debates and pilgrimages. On Sunday 7 February 1904 there was a 'Musical Oratory' which included a discourse by Dom Bede Camm OSB on 'Gregory our Father, who sent us baptism', once again stressing the continuity between the nineteenth-century Catholic community and the earliest traditions of English Christianity.

Lime-light lectures were a regular feature of the Little Oratory programme; on 5 November 1902 Bede Camm spoke on 'The English Martyrs' using his own photographs, and on Wednesday 24 February 1904 Fr. Robert gave one on 'Stamford and its Neighbourhood.' It can be presumed that the slides were also made from his own photographs rather than being a commercial set, for Stamford was his place of birth and the fifth of his albums in the Oratorian archive is labelled 'Photographs of Churches near Stamford, Newark etc.'

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719 Fr. Jerome Bertram Cong. Orat., *Newman and the Oxford Oratory* (Oxford: Oxford Oratory, 2012)

720 Publications included Scripture commentaries, such as *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1933), spiritual treatises such as *The Sword of the Spirit. Chapters on the spiritual life* (London/Edinburgh: Sands & Co., 1931) and *The Garden of God: Chapters on the Religious Life* (London: Burnes Oates, 1938) plus a history of a nearby community of nuns, *The Benedictines of Colwich, 1829-1929* (London: Sands & Co., 1929) which was based on extensive archival research and actually provided a fairly comprehensive history of English Benedictine nuns after the Reformation.

These photographs are beautifully composed and skilfully executed, such as this one showing the fourteenth century market cross in Harringworth, some ten miles from Stamford.



**Fig. 5.20.** Fr. Robert Eaton Cong.Orat. *Harringworth*. (The Market Cross)  
From Photograph Album in The Cardinal Newman Archives of the Birmingham Oratory.

Another speaker at the Little Oratory was local Catholic physician, Dr Leonard Mackey, who led a discussion on 'Alcohol: its use and abuse' on 6 November 1907. He belonged to a distinguished Catholic family, and his uncle Fr Peter Paul Mackey O.P. will be the focus of the next section.<sup>721</sup>

### **5.7. The Dominicans – Fr. Peter Paul Mackey O.P. (1851-1935)**

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<sup>721</sup> The father of Dr Leonard Mackey (1877-1940) was George Mackey (1845-1913), brother of the artist Edward Walter Mackey (1806-71.) Leonard Mackey married Pugin's grand-daughter Florence Marion, the eldest daughter of Peter Paul Pugin (1851-1904) in 1910.

*The Dominicans, also known as the Order of Preachers (O.P.) were founded in France in the early 13th century by a Spanish priest, St Dominic Guzman, with the aim of combating the Albigensian heresy. Moving away from the model of the Benedictines and other monastic orders, Dominican friars did not belong to autonomous houses but were organised in provinces under a central Master General; they lived in small communities, often in urban centres, and could be sent around the country to wherever they were needed. There was an emphasis on theological study – and therefore close links to universities - and informed preaching. The most famous Dominican was St Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) whose systematic studies of theology, natural law, metaphysics and philosophy provided the basis of the ‘Thomist’ scholastic system that continues to underpin much of Catholic doctrine and teaching.*

Daniel Mackey was born in Erdington, Birmingham, in 1851. His father was a convert to Catholicism and Daniel was educated at Oscott College, where he studied law before entering the Dominicans.<sup>722</sup> He completed his studies at Louvain in Belgium, after which he was called to Rome in consequence of another of Leo XIII's initiatives. In August 1879 the Pope published the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* which called for a renewed study of the philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas. In response to the encyclical a commission was set up in 1880 to produce a new critical edition of the Latin writings of Aquinas. This task was, naturally, entrusted to the Dominican Order, and evidently Fr. Mackey's superiors thought he could make a valuable contribution. Mackey arrived in Rome in 1881 and began working with other Dominicans on the text. In addition to these duties, He was external confessor to the Scots College at the time John Gray was a student, and also had some contact with the infamous Frederick Rolfe, who was also a photographer.<sup>723</sup> However, Mackey's

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722 Edward was an artist in oil and watercolours who lived in Erdington High Street, had a studio in Birmingham and taught art at Oscott. His sons included Fr. Peter Paul OP (Daniel), (Edward), a physician and later Dominican friar, George (1845-1913), Patrick (1843-72), a Catholic priest who died at the age of 29, and Henry Joseph (1847-).

723 *Immagini e Memoria* pp.32-33. On the aesthetic context of Rolfe's photography see James Downs, *A Carnal Medium: fin-de-siècle essays on the photographic nude* (Portsmouth: Callum James, 2012).

interests were not confined to medieval philosophy, and after his arrival in Rome he soon became fascinated by its ancient ruins. Developing a deep knowledge of archaeology, he began using his camera to photograph sites in and around the ancient capital.



**Fig.5.21.** Fr. Peter Paul Mackey O.P. *Foro Romano, general view from Palatine*. (ca.1890-1900) Gelatin silver print, 13 x 17 cm. Mackey Collection, British School at Rome.

Through this work he fostered acquaintances within the British School at Rome, attended meetings and participated in the group excursions to the Roman campagna organised by members of the British and American Archaeological Society founded by John Henry Parker (1806-84).<sup>724</sup> Other members of this Society

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<sup>724</sup> Although not a photographer himself, J.H. Parker commissioned local photographers to take photographs of Roman buildings and antiquities under his direction, creating a collection that would eventually contain over 3,000 negatives – although most were destroyed by fire in the 1890s. His uncle was the Oxford bookseller Joseph Parker, publisher of *Tracts for the Times* and many of the works of John Henry Newman; he maintained his friendship with Newman even after the latter's conversion to Catholicism in 1845.

included Thomas Ashby, Director of the British School at Rome from 1901 to 1925, and the two sisters Dora and Agnes Bulwer were also members and amateur photographers. Their friendship with the priest led to the deposit of his photographs with the collections of the British School, of which he was elected as Associate Member in 1906. This set of over 2000 prints (and negatives, which were subsequently lost) were accompanied by a detailed handwritten catalogue, and formed the nucleus of the School's photographic archive. Mackey's photographs record archaeological work as well Rome's appearance during the last decade of the nineteenth century as well as his travels in Italy, Greece and Sardinia during 1898 and 1899. The historical significance of these latter photographs led to a recent exhibition of Mackey's work in Sardinia.<sup>725</sup> In 2005 the British School at Rome held another exhibition of Mackey's work which later went on display at Sir John Soane's Museum in London.<sup>726</sup>

## Conclusion

The evidence presented here clearly demonstrates that Catholic priests during this period were far more likely to pursue photography if they belonged to a religious order or congregation. Diocesan clergy who *were* successful in taking up photography appear to have required unusual backgrounds that granted them privileges unavailable to the majority of priests. Letters of enquiry sent to diocesan archivists across the UK failed to produce any known details of secular clergy who were photographers during the period in question. Due to the paucity of accurate records, however, it is possible that individual priests may have taken photographs

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725 The photographs were displayed in the Sardinian cities of Sassari, Cagliari and Nuoro in 2000 and accompanied by the catalogue, *Images from the past. The archaeology of Sardinia at the end of the 19th century in the unpublished photographs of the Dominican Father Peter Paul Mackey*, (British School at Rome Archive, 5) Sassari 2000.

726 This exhibition is described in the catalogue by Robert Coates-Stephens, *Immagini e memoria. Rome in the photographs of Father Peter Paul Mackey 1890-1901* (London: British School at Rome, 2009)

that remain unidentified or undiscovered, and further research may yet reveal new names.

There are, however, elements intrinsic to monastic life that were not conducive either for the practice of photography or the preservation of the resultant photographs, and this needs to be taken into consideration before drawing conclusions from the evidence in this chapter. Saint Benedict's ruling 'On the Artists in the Monastery' is severe:

If there be skilled workmen in the monastery, let them work at their art in all humility, if the Abbot giveth his permission. But if anyone of them should grow proud by reason of his art, in that he seemeth to confer a benefit on the monastery, let him be removed from that work and not return to it, unless after he hath humbled himself, the Abbot again ordereth him to do so. But if any of the work of the artists is to be sold, let them, through whose hands the transaction must pass, see to it, that they do not presume to practice any fraud on the monastery. Let them always be mindful of Ananias and Saphira, lest, perhaps, the death which these suffered in the body (cf Acts 5:1-11), they and all who practice any fraud in things belonging to the monastery suffer in the soul. On the other hand, as regards the prices of these things, let not the vice of avarice creep in, but let it always be given a little cheaper than it can be given by seculars, That God May Be Glorified in All Things (1 Peter 4:11).<sup>727</sup>

St Benedict's Rule provided the basic template for almost all religious constitutions until the Reformation, and the fundamental principles remain: artistic activities undertaken by any member of a religious order are at all times contingent upon the belief of the superior that they are of benefit to the community. Any monk or friar who was a keen photographer knew that the privilege of being able to purchase, use and store photographic equipment (a large investment in money, time and space during the earlier part of the nineteenth century) could be removed at any time. The emphasis on humility also meant that monks were discouraged from promoting work in their own names either within or outside the community. One consequence of this is that photographs in religious archives often lack personal signatures, presenting difficulties in identifying the names of monastic photographers or matching up individuals who are known to have been photographers with surviving images. One example is of the Italian Servite friar, Fr Pyritheus Simoni OSM (1842-95), a gifted artist who arrived in England in 1870 and undertook decorative work on altars and vestments for three separate Servite communities. A passing reference in 1889

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<sup>727</sup> *The Rule of St. Benedict*: Chapter 57.

reveals that he subscribed to the periodical *Amateur Photographer*.<sup>728</sup> Regular clergy are bound by a vow of poverty, and as the Servite mission was particularly short of funds at this time, Simoni's superior would only have authorised payment had the subscription been seen to have practical value for the community.<sup>729</sup> It is reasonable to conclude that he was a practical photographer, but no trace remains of his work.

It is easy to imagine the disappearance of any photographs taken by individuals bound by the vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience. Poverty meant they owned nothing: items for personal use were regarded as temporarily in their care and often marked with 'a/u' for *ad usum* ('for the use of..N') Celibacy meant no children to inherit, therefore inability to determine what happened to personal effects after death. Obedience meant their superior could request that they cease an activity, take up a new one, or even travel to another country to assist in a new foundation - a common occurrence during the rapid expansion of the mid-nineteenth-century. Photographs left behind might as easily be forgotten in a cupboard or attic, even dumped, as preserved in the community's archive. This is no mere conjecture: when the Jesuit Fr. Francis Browne died in 1960, he was a relatively obscure, elderly priest, whose photographic activities were largely unknown to his peers. His collection of almost 42,000 negatives lay hidden in metal trunk for over 25 years until they were rediscovered by accident in 1986.<sup>730</sup> Other collections were less fortunate; the whereabouts of Bede Camm's photographs remain unknown, and it is thought that – in violation of monastic policy – he passed them to friends or family before his death.

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728 *Amateur Photographer* Vol. X (9 August 1889) p.66.

729 G.M. Corr, *Servites in London: How the Servites came to England* (Newbury: Servite Fathers, 1952) p.73. Fr. Simoni suffered poor health and spent five years in America before returning to England where he died aged 53.

730 See E.E. O'Donnell S.J., "My Browne Heaven: the Father Browne S.J. Collection", *Catholic Archives: the Journal of the Catholic Archives Society* No. 12 (1992) pp.32-8. *BJP* February 1991. See also O'Donnell, 'Photographer Extraordinary: The Life and Work of Father Browne,' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 79, No. 315 (1990) pp. 298-306, O'Donnell, David Davison and Edwin Davison, *Frank Browne: A Life Through the Lens* (Yale University Press, 2014) and E.E. O'Donnell, *The Life and Lens of Father Browne* (Messenger Publications, 2014). Father Browne's photographic archive is now preserved in the archives of Gonzaga College in Dublin.



It should also be remembered that – until recently - the responsibility for looking after the archival records of individual monasteries was not always seen as a priority, nor as a serious duty requiring professional skills that carried obligations beyond the particular community or religious order. There was little or no standard practice for the storage, preservation and cataloguing of papers or photographs, which often lay heaped in attics or storerooms that were unlocked and used for other purposes. The situation has improved dramatically since the foundation of the Catholic Archives Society in 1979, which has resulted in special training for religious archivists and the production of standardised guidelines for good practice. For decades, however, the care of such items was often the responsibility of members of the community who may have lacked the time, aptitude, skills or training that the collections in their hands deserved.

Nonetheless, as the second half of this chapter has illustrated, the photographs that *have* survived provide evidence that at least a partial correlation can be made between the respective characteristics of the different religious orders and the nature of the photographic work undertaken by their members. The distinctive historical experience of the Catholic community as a whole, however, is reflected in the way that religious and cultural agendas dominate the photographic work of both secular and regular clergy. Their images they created can be seen to serve specific roles in strengthening the community, providing a visual identity that stressed continuity with the past – and specifically, the past in the native landscape, with all the roots of heritage and patriotism that this implied – as well as ties with other Catholics. The photography undertaken by Catholic clergy had therefore both synchronic and diachronic functions, forging links with both the past and the present: synchronic, in the way that photographs were transmitted up and down established communication lines between clergy and institutions – often with Rome as the central point – both within and between the different religious orders, and diachronic, in that photographic images were used to support narratives reaching back into the histories of individual locations, connecting with the experiences of Catholics in the preceding centuries.

## Conclusion

Shortly after the outbreak of World War One, Fr. Bede Camm borrowed a Kodak camera from one of the nuns at a convent he was visiting. Of the six photographs he took with the camera, he noted that 'Three came out well.' Two years later he decided to buy a Kodak camera for himself, complete with tripod and bag. 'The whole thing costs about £7 or rather more' he reflected in his diary, but the camera did have an automatic shutter (meaning that it was released with a single action and did not require cocking) and could take quarter-plate slides.<sup>731</sup> The monk was then serving as an army chaplain, as was Fr. Francis Browne S.J., who picked up a Plaubel Makina 1 camera in Germany where he was stationed at the end of the First World War. Both cameras were lightweight and were constructed with folding struts, allowing them to be packed away flat and fitted inside a pocket. In 1925 at the Leipzig Spring Fair in Germany the first Leica camera was launched. Although other 35mm film cameras had been marketed, the Leica was the first to enjoy commercial success and it revolutionised photography through its combination of precision engineering, simple design, compact size and almost silent mechanism. Tripods such as those purchased by Fr. Bede were no longer required for such cameras, nor was it necessary to carefully reload the plate after each shot. In an age not only of mechanical reproduction but of totally mechanised warfare, Leicas and their imitators provided the technology required for the 'new vision' of photography championed by László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946) and the Bauhaus School – a modernist vision that found expression in abstract photo-montage and surrealist experimentation as well as documentary photo-journalism and urban street-photography.

By this time, the transformation of photography from a specialised scientific pursuit into a ubiquitous popular hobby was complete, both in terms of aesthetics and application. On this basis, the decision to end my research into clergymen-photographers with the outbreak of the First World War requires little justification. --

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<sup>731</sup> Bede Camm, *MS Diary*, 18 August 1914 and 22 December 1916. Downside Abbey Archives. The camera was probably a Kodak No.3 folding camera, which took 118 film but could be fitted with a combination back allowing the use of glass plates.

Throughout my thesis I have challenged what I regard as misguided attempts to present nineteenth-century photography as a self-evident and uncomplicated *product* of the modern world, a view that can only be maintained by ignoring the extent to which photographic discourse was embedded within a much older, richer and more complex set of traditions. The technical limitations of photographic apparatus during this period meant that the pursuit of photography represented a substantial investment in time, resources – both financial and material – physical labour and intellectual effort. As my research has demonstrated, such a commitment by clergymen-photographers could never be divorced from the context of their religious beliefs and practices, nor from the socio-cultural roles of the clergy during a period when they remained key members of local communities.

In this thesis I have examined how practical photography was balanced against the commitment of religious life and pastoral ministry, exploring the patterns and relationships between photographers and their religious culture, their denominational background and their ecclesiastical networks. The central hypothesis throughout this research has been that a number of direct and indirect relationship exists between religious culture and photographic activities, and that the understanding of both these areas is diminished if (as has been the case until now) the strength of this correlation is overlooked. In order to prove this point, it was essential that a thoroughly interdisciplinary approach was brought to the research, one that could apply the same rigour to theological reflection as it could to technical articles in the photographic press, and that was capable of identifying the connections between visual aesthetics and liturgical rubrics. My approach has been in line with that advocated by Leonardi and Natale (2017), namely that of ‘decentering the dominant narratives of canonical and new histories of photography, in the attempt to build a more inclusive, diversified, and empirically orientated approach to the study of photographs and photographic apparatuses.’ As those authors note, ‘the history of photography has so far been constructed primarily as a history of images and authors. Cameras, supports, presentational forms, modes of distribution and so forth have been largely overlooked.’<sup>732</sup> For this reason, the

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<sup>732</sup> Leonardi and Natale (eds.), *Photography and Other Media in the Nineteenth Century* (2018) p.2-3.

research presented in this thesis is rooted firmly in empirical data and material evidence gleaned from a range of diverse archival collections, understood as forming part of a rich array of processes, networks, media and apparatus that aligns with the 'photography complex' proposed by Hevia (2009).<sup>733</sup>

Cameras, for example, can reveal something about the sort of photography that the clergyman intended to do, with the cost indicating something not only of his financial resources but also about his level of commitment to photography in relation to other activities. As was discussed in Chapter Three, James Graham and the Rev. Alexander Keith – in collaboration with his son – both used cameras and photographic processes that demanded tripods and long exposures, as well as the challenge of mixing and applying chemicals in an environment of extreme heat and dust. Taking photographs in such conditions was no light undertaking and required a high degree of preparation, diligence and premeditation, congruent with the serious theological intent of the clergymen. This can be contrasted with Rev. Alexander Boddy and his Kodak box camera, which allowed the taking of spontaneous candid snapshots, encouraging the capture of any subjects of picturesque or human interest that caught his eye. Boddy's style of photography also needs to be framed within the bigger picture of his wider travels; his travels in the Holy Land were preceded by journeys through Scandinavia, Russia, Canada and North Africa, which places his response to Palestine in a very different perspective to the purposeful agendas of Keith and Graham, who travelled from Scotland to Jerusalem on a specific 'mission to the Jews.'

These examples underline my argument that photography cannot be treated in isolation, and any discussion of the images themselves needs to be presented as part of a wider complex that encompasses an understanding of their material and technical origins, as well as the social and religious culture from which these practices emerged. Both religion and photography enjoyed a deep and all-pervasive cultural presence at this time, permeating society at almost every level and interacting with everyday activities at frequent points. Given that nineteenth century

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<sup>733</sup> James Hevia, 'The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China, 1900-1,' in Morris (ed.), *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia* (2009), p.81.

clerical duties encompassed a range of social and professional activities, the diversity of practices and correspondences between devotional identity and photographic uses is unavoidable.

Throughout this thesis a considerable amount of biographical information has been provided on individual clergymen-photographers, partly to address the paucity of information hitherto available but also to root their activities firmly within specific social and cultural contexts. During the course of the thesis a number of observations have been made about the patterns emerging from such details. It is now time to summarise the findings that have emerged from this study.

In the Introduction, three key research questions were identified:

- 1) What was the extent of clergymen's involvement with photography during this period, and did this engagement take distinctive forms?
- 2) Is there evidence for a relationship between a clergyman's particular religious culture and his photographic activities? If so, how did factors such as denomination or devotional identity influence the way photography was applied, or how photographic practices were integrated within pastoral life?
- 3) What are the implications of such a relationship for our understanding of both Victorian photography and nineteenth century religious life?

In providing a response to the first question, over 200 clergymen have been identified as active photographers and individual case studies have been presented here to demonstrate how their work was applied in the fields of devotional literature, religious polemic, moral edification, architecture, astronomy, education, literary studies, topographical and landscape studies, antiquarianism, photographic surveys, technical writing, portraiture, archival documentation, scientific experimentation, spiritualism, archaeology and ancient history, fine art and the picturesque. There is hardly any area – except perhaps for pornographic or erotic images – in which the clergy did not participate. The range of activities demonstrates the social and cultural importance of clergymen during the nineteenth century, and just how much their involvement in cultural life extended beyond issues of religious dogma and liturgy. While it might be expected that the photographic work of clergymen would mirror their spiritual interests and parochial activities, their importance in the broader context of nineteenth-century society makes this study particularly significant.

A comparison of clergymen and secular photographers working in the same areas does not, however, produce any evidence that the photographic images created were *in themselves* substantially different. In other words, an individual photograph taken in isolation should not be expected to provide any indication as to whether the photographer was in holy orders or not. In line with Leonardi and Natale's drive (discussed above) away from a mere 'history of images and authors', my research aimed at situating both the images and their creators within a 'photography complex' that encompassed not only every aspect of the photographic process - from the choice of camera through to the publication or projection of images and their subsequent archival preservation – but also the religious and cultural context in which each stage of this process was embedded. By doing so, it was possible to find evidence that clergymen-photographers did indeed operate in a distinctive way; the fact that these distinctions were thrown into sharper relief when comparing different devotional identities provided even stronger evidence that a relationship could be traced between their religious culture – in the broadest sense - and photographic activities.

Chapter One, for example, discussed at length the network of social connections and scientific or antiquarian societies within which Anglican and Presbyterian clergymen-photographers shared their photographic knowledge. One clear point that emerges from my research is that the relationship between religion and science during the nineteenth-century needs to be reconsidered in the light of clerical photographic activities, the significance of which have been overlooked in almost every study of the subject. Roman Catholic clergy, however, were largely excluded from these networks until much later in the century, because of social and religious barriers as well as their limited access to financial and educational resources. So, while Protestant clergymen-photographers distributed the results of their photographic experiments through a range of *Proceedings*, *Transactions* and respected journals, the networks used by Catholic priest-photographers were almost entirely religious in nature, channelling their photographic work within the framework of devotional identity. Thus, the beautiful topographic studies of Fr. Robert Eaton – which document areas with which he had strong connections and stand comparison with some of the work undertaken by the photographic survey movement – were

shown as magic lantern slides during the devotional activities of the 'Little Oratory', integrated with recitation of the Rosary and the singing of hymns. Other clergymen-photographers such as Bede Camm OSB and John Hungerford Pollen SJ delivered lantern lectures for these meetings, as well as collaborating themselves on projects relating to Catholic history. Unlike their Anglican or Presbyterian contemporaries, most of their photography can be specifically attached to a clear religious or polemical agenda aimed at advancing the interests of the Catholic community, both internally (through spiritual edification) and externally (by challenging the claims of Protestant controversialists and promoting the place of Catholics in public life.) Taken together, therefore, the findings presented in Chapters One and Five demonstrate the strength of the correlation between religious denomination and the application of photography by revealing the distinctive modes of distribution and reception operating within communities expressing different devotional identities.

This relationship – the subject of my second key research question – was explored in detail throughout the thesis, with evidence accumulating over successive chapters. These include the moral unity demonstrated in Chapter Two between Rev. Thomas Perkins' views on church restoration, medieval Catholicism, focus, depth of field and retouching of images; the affinity between the rich shadows of the Free Church calotype portraits, the apophatic theology of Calvinism and the Disruption rhetoric of light and darkness examined in Chapter Three; the hostility to Catholicism shown by Rev. Francis Lockey and the aesthetic choices made in his architectural studies, as well as the folklore beliefs cherished by Rev. John Mackenzie and the significance of his life's work in photographing stones in the landscape, both of which are discussed in Chapter Four, alongside the excursions into 'Biblical picturesque' pursued by the Revs. Bridges, Keith, Isaacs and Boddy. In all these case studies I have established a sense of the devotional identity of each individual photographer, presenting evidence drawn from biographical information, ecclesiastical records, and personal writings both published and unpublished. This has allowed the relationship between their religious culture and photographic activities to stand out more clearly.

While the chapter structure is chiefly thematic there is an underlying chronological dynamic from the early scientific experimentation of the 1840s discussed in Chapter One through to the relatively late arrival of Catholic priest-

photographers towards the end of the century that feature in Chapter Five. By this time, photography had become a ubiquitous element of British life, and the marketing of many cameras specifically for women and children meant that familiarity with the concept and apparatus of photography was widely disseminated across society with increasingly minimal distinctions regarding class, age and gender. My later chapters therefore take a more functional approach to the photographic activities of the clergy, emphasising more the way photography was deployed within a wider context of religious propaganda, devotional practices and theological projects. The weightier conceptual and semantic discussions of Chapters Two and Three give way to a stronger emphasis on biographical narratives, both individual and collective, that foreground the changing role of photography in an increasingly fast-paced, secularized and media-orientated culture. As Cecilia Strandroth (2009) has argued, we have entered a 'third phase' of the study of photographic history with a need to recognise that 'photography is not only a medium capable of providing images for enjoyment and pleasure but also one deeply embedded in all the processes of modern and contemporary society, its modes of power, control and consumerism, as well as personal remembrance.'<sup>734</sup>

The chronological developments charted in my thesis reflects some of the difficulties and methodological challenges of photographic history itself, as Strandroth and other scholars of the 'new photographic history' have observed. The sort of essentialist history of photography advocated by Beaumont Newhall becomes harder to maintain as the surrounding culture becomes increasingly permeated by elements of photography. *Ministers of 'the Black Art'* follows these changes by shifting attention away from preoccupation with the medium itself towards its integration with a more fluid and fragmentary whirl of visual culture. While I hope that this thesis can make a significant and original contribution to the understanding of this visual culture in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, there still remains much work to be done in this area.

While much of this thesis has argued for greater attention to be paid to the role played by religious beliefs and practices in studying photography, an equally

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<sup>734</sup> Strandroth, Cecilia. 'The "New" History? Notes on the Historiography of Photography', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 78:3 (2009) p.150.



valid point could be made about how the significance of photography has been no less overlooked in religious studies. This was addressed briefly in Chapter Five within the context of Catholic historiography but it is a topic that merits deeper and more extensive analysis, and it is hoped that the material presented in this thesis on the relationships between photographic practices and religious culture could provide a foundation and stimulus for such research.

For logistical reasons, the current research confined itself to clergy in or from Britain, excluding clergymen-photographers active in Europe or America, such as Slovenian priest Fr. Janez Puhar (1814-64) who invented his own 'hyalotype' process for developing photographs on glass around the same time as Talbot was working on his calotypes, Italian Catholic missionary Fr. Leone Nani (1880-1935) who took numerous photographs of rarely-seen parts of China, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem Yessayi Garabedian (1825-85), who learned photography during a four-month sojourn in Istanbul in 1857, expanding his knowledge during a European tour in 1863 which took him through London, Manchester and Paris, and proceeded to establish a photographic studio within the Armenian Convent of St James in Jerusalem, or the French priests Abbé François-Napoléon-Marie Moigno S.J. (1804-84), who corresponded with Sir David Brewster, and Abbé Desprats, who experimented with the use of resin in trying to make the wet collodion process more effective.<sup>735</sup> Across the Atlantic equally entrepreneurial work was being undertaken by the likes of Rev. Hannibal Goodwin (1822-1900), an Episcopalian priest in New Jersey, who patented his own method for nitrocellulose roll film in 1887. Although the patent was not granted until 1898, after George Eastman had already begun making his own roll film, Goodwin's film was used in Thomas Edison's Kinetoscope.

Research into the contribution made by such clergy needs to be undertaken on a regional and national level, as well as within the perspective of different denominations and religious orders. Hopefully some of the ideas and methods presented in this thesis may provide pointers as to how this research could be pursued. The progress made in organising, cataloguing and digitising religious archives means that new material is becoming available all the time, but the

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<sup>735</sup> The French priest's letter, dated 14 January 1857 from Louhans (Saône-et-Loire) was published in *La Lumière* Vol.7:4, (24 January 1857) p.14.

challenge of collating this mass of data is considerable, especially if it is to be used to aid the sort of comparative studies outlined above.

Given the enormous differences in ecclesiastical history in these different regions, there is the potential for further research in investigating how these clergymen's photographic activities were related to their respective religious cultures. As a recent edition of *The Oxford Handbook of the Study of Religion* notes, 'Although photography has been closely linked to the early notion of the spirit *medium*, it has been largely ignored in the contemporary history of religion.'<sup>736</sup> This failure has been to the detriment of both our understanding of the history of photography and of the history of religion. It is to be hoped that by addressing these issues, *Ministers of the Black art* will initiate significant changes in how this aspect of visual culture is studied, understood and appreciated.

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<sup>736</sup> Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Study of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) p.388

**Appendix. Select list of Clergymen-Photographers active 1839-1914**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	
<b>Denomination</b>		
Rev Charles L Acland (1833-1903)	Essex	Church of
England (CE)		
Rev Frank Aldrieve	Congo	
Baptist		
Rev John M. Bacon (1846-1904)	Cambridge, Coldash	
CE		
Rev John Barlow (1799-1869)	Sussex, London, Northants.	
CE		
Rev William Miles Barnes (1840-1916)	Dorset	
CE		
Rev Samuel W Barnes	Lincolnshire	CE
Rev Charles F. L. Barnwell (1853-1933)	Staffordshire	CE
Rev Henry Bartram (1849-1934)	Ramsgate	CE
Rev Joseph Beanland (1865-1942)	Wilsden, W. Yorks.; Skirbeck	
CE		
Canon St Vincent Beechey (1805-99)	Lancashire	CE
Rev. Robert Walker Berry (1873-1937)	Lancashire	
Cong		
Rev Alfred H W Blake (1854-1941)	Eton, Windsor	
CE		
Rev Odo Blundell OSB (1868-1941)	Scotland, Lancashire	
RC		
Rev Alexander A Boddy (1854-1930)	Egypt, Holy Land	
CE		
Rev William Howell (1838-1911)	Hereford; Sissinghurst	CE
Rev Andrew O'Brien Brandon (1857-98)	Ireland, London	Church of
Ireland/CE		
Rev George W. Bridges (1788-1863)	Jamaica, Chepstow	
CE		
Rev George Brown (1835-1917)	Samoa, Polynesia	Methodist

Rev Francis Browne S.J. (1880-1960)	Dublin	RC
Rev William Browne SJ (1876-1938)	Dublin	
RC		
Rev William Pelham Burn (1859-1902)	Norwich	CE
Rev James Cameron (1800-75)	Madagascar	LMS
missionary		
Bede Camm OSB (1864-1942)	Erdington, Caldey, London	
RC		
Rev Herbert R. Champion (1869-1941)	Ely	CE
Rev Cuthbert Cary-Elwes S.J. (1867-1945)	British Guiana	
RC		
Rt Rev Aeneas Chisholm (1836-1918)	Aberdeen	RC
Rev Edward Travers Clark (1864-1929)	Devon	CE
Rev Constantine Clementson (1855-1901)	Sheffield	
CE		
Rev John M Coates (1847-1911)	Manchester, Lincolnshire	CE
Rev Robert H Codrington (1830-1902)	Melanesia	Methodist
Rev Edward Collett (1847-1924)	Bowerchalke	CE
Archdeacon Thomas Colley (1839-1912)	South Africa, Stockton	
CE		
Rev William Thomas Collings (1823-82)	Wells, Guernsey	
CE		
Rev William H Cooper	Sheffield	CE
Rev Arthur B Cotton (1833-1918)	Sussex	
CE		
Rev James Galloway Cowan (1825-75)	London	CE
Rev Nehemiah Curnock (1840-1915)	Essex	
Methodist		
Rev Charles Daman (1813-95)	Windsor	CE
Rev Henry Daman (1842-1915)	Eton, Buckinghamshire	CE
Rev Robert D. Darby (1864-1947)	Congo, Leigh, Wigan	
Baptist		
Rev Robert J. Davidson (1864-1942)	China	
Quaker		

Rev. Richard G. Davis (1837-1914) RC	Cowes	
Rev Henry Moore Dauncey (1863-1928) Cong	New Guinea	
Rev James E.L. Dawson (1854-1933)	Chislehurst, Kent	CE
Rev. Ernest Hermitage Day (1866-1946) CE	Radnorshire, Leicestershire	
Rev Henry George Day (1830-1900) CE	Sedbergh School; Riverhead	
Rev Henry L R Deck (1818-98) CE	Halifax, Manchester	
Rev John G Derrick (1852-1907)	Somerset	CE
Rev Charles W H Dicker (1855-1912) CE	Dorset	
Rev William Marriot Dodson (1866-1955) CE	Llanthony	
Rev Charles Dodgson (1832-98) CE	Oxford	
Rev H Mudie Draper (1872-1958) Methodist	Douglas, Isle of Man	
Rev John Dredge (1818-97)	Devon	
Rev J Drew	Chipping Sodbury	
Rev David T K Drummond (1806-87) Episcopalian	Edinburgh	Scottish
Rev. James Dunn MA (1841-1919) CE	Bathwick	
Rev Charles E Eastgate (1850-1936)	London/Ramsgate	CE
Rev. Roland K Edwards (b.1830) CE	Naval chaplain, Ryde	
Rt Rev Charles Ellicott D.D. (1819-1905) CE	Bristol	
Rev William Ellis (1794-1872)	Madagascar	CE/LMS
Fr Cuthbert Cary-Elwes S.J. (1867-1945) RC	Guyana	

Rev. Samuel Benjamin Fellowes (1858-1933)	New Guinea	Methodist
Rev George H. O. Fenton (1870-1945)	Sydenham, Dunedin	
CE		
Rev John Fereday (1813-71)	Tasmania	
CE		
Rev Samuel E.V. Filleul (1855-1931)	Dorchester	
CE		
Rev Charles Frederick Fison (1857-1926)	Norfolk	
CE		
Rev. Alfred H. de Fontaine (1846-1920)	Surrey	CE
Rev John Lawson Forfeitt (1859-1928)	Congo	
Baptist		
Rev William Forfeitt (1861-1939)	Congo	
Baptist		
Rev Henry Elliot Fox (1841-1926)	Oxford, London, Durham	
CE		
Rev Hilderic Friend (1852-1939)	Sussex, China, Devon	CE
Rev Charles Gape (1836-)	Rushall, Scole, Norfolk	CE
Rev William Giles D.D. (1830-1913)	Rome	
RC		
Rev Matthew K Gilmour	Papua New Guinea	Methodist
Rev Aurelius J.L. Gliddon (1857-1929)	Twickenham	
Methodist/Cong		
Rev. Edward Godfrey (1820-1918)	India	
CE		
Rev George G.P. Glossop (1827-94)	Twickenham	
CE		
Rev George M. Gorham (1829-1904)	Walkeringham, Masham	CE
James Graham (1806-69)	Palestine, Egypt	lay
missionary		
Rev John Anderson Graham (1860-1942)	India	Church of
Scotland		
Rev Robert Graham (1818-1900)	Errol	Church of
Scotland		

Rev. James Greenshields (1872-1961)	Muirkirk	UFC
Rev Maze Wm Gregory (1825-1905)	Leamington	
CE		
Rev George Grenfell (1849-1906)	Congo	
Baptist		
Rev Thomas WP Griffiths	Ashbourne	CE
Rev. Lewis Richard Cook Griffiths (1826-64)	Swindon, Gloucestershire	
CE		
Rev Frederick E Gutteres (1822-)	Devon	CE
Rev Frederick J Hall	Hertfordshire	
CE		
Rev Frederick Hardwich (1829-90)	London/Shotton	
CE		
Rev Henry Bassano Hare (1828-1909)	Frome, Somerset	CE
Dom Asaph Harris OSB (1866-1960)	Caldey, Prinknash,	
Pluscarden CE/RC		
Rev Charles H. Hartshorne (1802-65)	Northamptonshire	CE
Rev Edward Healy	Yorkshire, North London	CE
Rev John Hedley (1869-1936)	China	
Methodist		
Rev Thomas Hervey	Hampshire	
CE		
Rev. Alexander Hetherwick (1860-1939)	Africa	Church of
Scotland		
Rev. Edward H. Higgs (1826-1904)	India	
CE		
Rev Frederick C Hipkins (1848-19)	Derbyshire	
CE		
Rev James Stephen Hodson (1816-90)	Edinburgh	Scottish
Episcopalian		
Rev. Dr Henry Holden (1814-1909)	Durham	
CE		
Rev Albert Augustus Isaacs (1826-1903)	Leicester	
CE		

Rev Calvert Richard Jones (1802-77) Wales	Wales	Church of
Rev Alexander Keith (1791-1880) FC	St Cyrus, Palestine	
Rev Arthur Kelly (1861-1942) CE	Westbury-on-Severn	
Rev John Kinder (1819-1903) CE	New Zealand	
Rev. William Towler Kingsley (1815-1916) CE	Thirsk	
Rev R H Kirkland Baptist	Congo	
Rev Albert Knight (b.1876) CE	Leeds	
Rev Angus C. Knight (1874-1931) CE	Derby	
Rev Frederick C Lambert (1852-1932)	London	CE
Rev William Law (1812-1900) CE	Marston Trussell, Northants.	
Rev. William G. Lawes (1839-1907) Cong	Papua New Guinea	
Rev. James Hay Lawrie (1849-1929) Scotland	New Hebrides	Church of
Very Rev. Dr. Thomas M. Lee	Cork	RC
Very Rev James Prince Lee (1804-69)	Manchester	CE
Rt Rev Augustus Legge (1839-1913) CE	Lichfield	
Rev. Francis Lockey (1796-1869)	Bath	CE
Rev Percy M. Lousada (1823-59) CE	Bristol	
Rev Somerset Corry Lowry (1855-1932) CE	Bournemouth	
Peter Paul Mackey O.P. (1851-1935)	Rome	RC



Rev. Lawrence Mann OSB (1863-1945)	Fort Augustus	
RC		
Rev Locke Macdona (1853-98)	Cheshire	CE
Rev John HC McGill (1847-1917)	Croydon, Surrey, Canterbury	
CE		
Rev. William McGregor (1848-1937)	Tamworth, Egypt	
CE		
Rev. J. B. MacKenzie (1833-1920)	Scottish Highlands	Church
of Scotland		
Rev Roderick C MacLeod (1852-1934)	Skye, Northumberland	CE
Rev J. Calder Macphail (1821-1908)	Edinburgh	
FC		
Rev Simeon Ross Macphail (1839-1912)	Elgin, Liverpool	FC
Rev. John Richardson Major (1797-1876)	London, Cambridgeshire	CE
Rev. John Richardson Major (1821-71)	Norfolk, London	CE
Rev Alfred H. Malan (1852-1928)	Cornwall	CE
Rev. William James Mann (1850-1936)	Bristol	CE
Rev. Frederick A.S. Marshall (1813-74)	Northamptonshire	CE
Rev Thomas Trotter Matthews (1842-1928)	Madagascar	FC/LMS
Rev Thomas Mellodey (1848-1927)	Lancashire, Bradford, Yorkshire	CE
Rev John Smyth Memes (1785-1858)	Ayr, Edinburgh	Church of Scotland
Rev Thomas Meyler (1799-1852)	Wiltshire	CE
Rev James F. Montgomery (1818-97)	Edinburgh	Scottish Episcopalian
Rev Joseph Mullens (1820-79)	India, Madagascar	Cong
Rev Charles New (1840-75)	East Africa	Methodist
Rev Edward Powell Nicholl (1831-1902)	Lacock	CE
Rt Rev Francis Russell Nixon (1803-79)	Tasmania	CE
Rev Canon Henry E Nolloth (1846-1929)	Beverley	CE
Rev Theodore Tracey Norgate (1868-1921)	Norwich, Durham	CE
Rev Thomas A. O'Reilly OFM (1858-1916)	Dublin	RC
Canon Edward S. Palmer (1855-1931)	East Africa	CE
Rev Henry James Palmer (1834-96)	Manchester	CE
Rev Thomas Bernard Parley (1867-1951)	Norfolk	CE
Rev Harry Parsons (1878-1952)	China	Bible Christian

Rev. Thomas Perkins (1842-1907)	Dorset	CE
Rev George Jubb Perram (1819-1904)	Hampstead	CE
Stephen James Perry S.J. (1833-89)	Stonyhurst	RC
Rev Samuel Pollard (1864-1915)	China	Methodist
Anthony H.Pollen Cong.Orat. (1860-1940)	Birmingham	RC
John Hungerford Pollen S.J. (1858-1925)	London	RC
Rev Edward J Pope (1848-1912)	Dorset, Wiltshire	CE
Rev Edward A Purvis (1857-1935)	Bath	CE
Rev. James Purvis (1810-??)	Oswestry	CE
Rev William G. Rainsford (1840-1910)	Crewe	CE
Rev Thomas Milville Raven (1828-96)	Yorkshire	CE
Rev Thomas FT Ravenshaw (1829-82)	Wiltshire	CE
Rev William James Read (1824-77)	Manchester	CE
Rev Joseph Bancroft Reade (1801-70)	Buckinghamshire	CE
Rev Richard H Rickard (1858-1938)	Papua New Guinea	Methodist
Rev John Ridley (1844-1930)	Dorset	CE
Rev Thomas L Ritchie (1852-1919)	Brechin, Edinburgh	FC/UFC
Rev Leonard P Robin (1862-1918)	Melanesia, Melbourne Derby	CE
Rev Joseph E Rogers		CE
Rev George F Sharland (1859-1940)	Suffolk, Norfolk	CE
Rev Avison T Scott (1848-1925)	Liverpool, Wimbledon	CE
Rev Joseph Segall (1856-1926)	Damascus	CE
Rev George Shaw (1876-1939)	Dufftown, Scotland	RC
Rev Pirotheo Simoni OSM (1842-95)	London, Hampshire	RC
Rev William Simpson (1828-1902)	India, Glasgow	Scottish Episcopalian
Rev. Joseph Lawson Sisson (1816-91)	Norfolk	CE
Rev Kenred Smith (1866-1949)	Congo	Baptist
Rev Thomas Smith (1817-1906)	Calcutta, Edinburgh	FC
Rev Charles J Moncreiff Smyth (1846-1912)	London	RC
Rev James E Somerville (1843-1923)	Glasgow, Dundee, Mentone	FC
Rev William Edward Soothill (1861-1935)	China	Methodist
Rev John Sparshatt (1855-1938)	Exeter	CE
Rev Thomas R R Stebbing (1835-1926)	Oxford	CE
Rev Aaron Stern (1820-85)	Persia, Egypt	CE

Rt Rev Charles Henry Stileman (1863-1925)	Persia	CE
Rev Frederick W Stow	Yorkshire	CE
Rev Charles Stuart (1867-1950)	Africa	Baptist
Rev Claude Hope Sutton (1856-1925)	Egypt, Killerton	CE
Rev James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905)	China	Methodist/Baptist
Rev James B. Thomson (1849-1910)	Greenock	United Presbyterian
Most Rev William Thomson (1819-90)	York	CE
Rt Rev George Tomlinson (1794-1863)	Cambridge, London, Gibraltar	CE
Rev Mowbray Trotter (1848-1913)	Sheffield, Gloucester	CE
Rev George Tugwell (1829-1910)	Ilfracombe	CE
Rev R Osborne Walker	Yorkshire	CE
William R. M. Waugh (1818-1905)	Portland, Dorset	Cong
Rev William F.W. Watson (died 1869)	Hertfordshire	CE
Rev John H Weeks	Congo	Baptist
Rev Daniel West (1815-57)	Africa	Methodist
Rev Charles Watts Whistler (1856-1913)	Hastings, Somerset etc	CE
Rev William Wickham (1849-1929)	Wigan	CE
Rev William E Wigfall (1864-1946)	Beverley	CE
Mgr James Williams (1835-1915)	Bath	RC
Rev George F Wills (1843-1905)	Wigan, Devon	CE
Rev John Saumarez Winter (1807-75)	Tottenham, Weedon	CE
Rev. Augustus Edward Wright (1853-1928)	Binsted	CE

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