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'Spectacles within doors': Panoramas of London in the 1790s

'The interest of the panorama is in seeing the true city – the city indoors'.

Walter Benjamin, *Arcades Project* (1999), 532.

In his ramble around London in Book Seven of *The Prelude* (1805), Wordsworth's poet proposes to 'let us view [...] the Spectacles/ Within doors'. His key example is the panorama:

mimic sights that ape
The absolute presence of reality,
Expressing, as in mirror, sea and land,
And what earth is, and what she has to show.¹

The panorama is a large-scale landscape painting depicting a circular 360 degree view exhibited under special conditions on the inside surface of a dedicated cylindrical exhibition space. The panorama was invented in Edinburgh in 1787, and, as this essay explores, brought to completion in London in the period 1789–94. As an event, the panorama was not only a meticulously staged exhibition of a painting, but also a carefully orchestrated media event comprising advertisements, patent grants, critical commentary and satire. In this debate, the panorama was the subject of two critical discourses, one a language drawn from art connoisseurship and the science of optics, and the other, from the rhetoric of popular spectacle. Although these two discourses cohere around the same painted exhibition, they are

increasingly structured by this debate as a socially-stratified opposition. Wordsworth's response to the panorama in *The Prelude*, although probably based on an experience of the exhibition, also reflects his engagement with the written discourse of the panorama media event.

Although the panorama dates from the late-eighteenth century, its modern historiography begins in the late 1960s, when a series of publications and research projects first subjected it to scholarly scrutiny. Pioneering work by Hubert Pragnell, Scott Wilcox, Richard Altick and Stephan Oettermann,² culminated in Ralph Hyde's innovative Barbican Art Gallery exhibition and catalogue *Panoromania!* in 1988.³ This archival work coincided with the 'rediscovery', preservation and restoration of surviving panoramas, such as the Panorama Mesdag in The Hague, Netherlands.⁴ Although these early studies of the panorama emerged from outside the discipline of art history, they aroused considerable interest amongst practitioners of the New Art History in the 1980s, especially in the emergent discipline of 'visual culture'.⁵ In this context, the panorama has been seen as the paradigmatic point of origin for the rise of mass entertainment, the prototype for a proliferating series of exhibition spectacles (cosmoramas, dioramas, cycloramas, myrioramas, moving panoramas, phenakistiscopes) that inform the emergence of

the new visual media in the nineteenth century (daguerrotype, the photograph, the stereotype, and the cinema). A key early statement of the hypothesis was indicated in Walter Benjamin's discussion of the panoramas of mid-nineteenth century Paris in *The Arcades Project*, which though written between 1927 and 1940, was unknown until first published in German in 1982 (and not translated into English until 1999).⁶ The visual culture reading understands the panorama as a paradigm for modern mass entertainment both as a technical achievement ('a form of reputedly stunning illusionism that approximated both cinema's visual field and time/space continuum'), but also as a watershed event in social history ('a popular medium enjoyed by mass audiences').⁷ The general arc of this argument – that panoramas lay the groundwork for photography and cinema – has been repeated and adumbrated by numerous scholars and theorists of visual culture.⁸ Nonetheless, the consistent focus of this research is teleological, and as such, it obscures the recalcitrant historical complexity that attended the panorama's emergence before its nineteenth century ascendancy. This essay, by contrast, focuses on the panorama in London in its first five years (1789–1794), and is structured around contemporary responses to the first three panorama paintings exhibited in the environs of Leicester-Square.⁹ The primary research materials, given that the panoramas themselves have not survived, are contemporary reports of viewers' experiences, printed critical remarks, visual orientation keys, commemorative prints, and the large number of printed advertisements in handbills and newspapers written by diverse, sometimes anonymous, critics, satirists and poets, Wordsworth included.¹⁰

EDINBURGH IN LONDON _____

On 19 June 1787 Robert Barker (1739–1806), an Anglo-Irish painter working in Edinburgh,

applied for a patent for the panorama: his 'invention, called *La nature à coup d'œil*,' for representing 'natural objects [...] or fancy', was designed 'so as to make observers, on whatever situation he may wish they should imagine themselves, feel as if really on the very spot'. Written before any such painting had been executed, the patent was somewhat evasive about the painted object it describes. It was intended, he said, 'by drawing and painting'

to perfect an entire view of any country or situation, as it appears to an observer turning quite round; to produce which effect, the painter or drawer must fix his station, and delineate correctly and connectedly every object which presents itself to his view as he turns round, concluding his drawing by a connection with where he began.¹¹

The patent further stipulated how the painting was to be exhibited: it required a circular building lit from above, with the observer's movement restricted by an 'enclosure', so that his or her view of both the upper and lower edge of the painting was obscured by an 'interception' (a low railing), and with entry to the enclosure from below, so as not to 'disturb' the cylindrical perspectival plane. The patent itself was first published in a scientific journal in 1796, after the media event described in this essay.

Barker's experimental view of Edinburgh from Calton Hill, executed in distemper, was first exhibited in temporary accommodation in Edinburgh in 1787. Barker commented in a newspaper advertisement in 24 March 1788 that mere description 'is inadequate to impress a just idea of the performance, which, from the entire novelty of the thought, is not perfectly understood until seen.'¹² The small scale of the painting (not much more than a half circle), and the inadequate exhibition spaces, did not show the idea to its full advantage. Having secured the patent, and the interest of Scottish

investors, Barker decided that the much larger audience of London offered him better opportunities for its profitable exploitation.¹³

Barker's removal to London was announced to the public in spring 1789 by a series of newspaper notices and advertising handbills. The original undated handbill is addressed to 'Connoisseurs' and explains that the 'celebrated View of Edinburgh' is exhibited in a building at No. 28, Hay-Market.

There is no Deception of Glasses, or any other whatever; the View being only a fair Sketch, displaying at once a *Circle* of a very extraordinary Extent, the same as if on the Spot; forming, perhaps, one of the most Picturesque Views in Europe.

The Idea is entirely New, and the Effect produced by fair Perspective, a proper Point of View, and unlimiting the Bounds of the Art of Painting.

From early April, Barker used the text of the handbill, almost verbatim, in advertisements in newspapers: first in *The Diary, or Woodfall's Register* (9 April 1789), and subsequently, somewhat revised, in *The Times* (15 April 1789).¹⁴ These advertisements establish much of what is known about the quotidian arrangements of the spectacle: hours of business, cost of admission, the limited number of spectators admitted at one time, and early experiments with artificial lighting. The handbill and advertisements also establish discursive parameters for the painting, distinguishing it from competing spectacles, and reinforcing the painting's novelty and grandeur, and its intellectual ambition ('unlimiting the Bounds of the Art of Painting').

The exhibition of the Edinburgh panorama in London in 1789 created an immediate media discussion, even before the advertisements appeared. These first responses reflect both a struggle to comprehend the new medium, and a

certain ironic distance from Barker's inflated claims. The first, printed in *The World* on 26 March 1789 and reprinted in *The Times* a few days later, located the exhibition within debate on the theory of painting.

When we reflect minutely on Mr. *Barker's* Exhibition in the Haymarket, we are at a loss to conjecture where improvement will end. To consider an art of the duration of ages, at all periods confined to the space of a limited angle, to which all the World were reconciled, now burst open upon us, as it were the full effect of Nature, in her most unbounded sweep, shews to what the human mind is capable of arriving at.

The anonymous reviewer placed Barker's circular painting at the forefront of an historical progress of painterly 'improvement', utilising here a key term of the Whig ideology of human perfectibility. Where landscape painting had hitherto been constrained to a 'limited angle' between 45 to 60 degrees, Barker's 180-degree view of Edinburgh showed 'the full effect of Nature, in her most unbounded sweep'. Barker's achievement, moreover, made a deep impression on the observer, that the reviewer articulated in the discourse of the sublime.

The vast gratification with which this idea is pregnant, and which we hear that Artist means to pursue, must give real cause for joyful expectancy to every Amateur of an Art which may now, nearly, be called Sublime; it seems surely not far from the summit of perfection.¹⁵

In gesturing to the sublime, the reviewer argued that the technical achievement of the panoramic view occasioned a kind of imaginative revolution.

Further reviews of the painting in its first month elaborated this critic's observations. A writer identified as 'Candour' (in *The World* on

3 April 1789, reprinted the next day in *The Times*), complained rather pedantically that Barker's view of Edinburgh 'flatters' the city by the artificial addition of numerous trees.¹⁶ Admitting that the painting 'forcibly stuck my fancy', 'Candour' nonetheless raises an epistemological concern about Barker's grandiose claims about his painting's realism. This was reiterated a few days later in *The World* (11 April 1789) in a satire on the viewer's delusive sense of being somewhere else. In 'May is the Mother of Love', the satirist observed that 'More trips to Scotland will soon take place, than has done at any preceding season'. Coily referring to those visits undertaken to take advantage of the more liberal marriage laws in Scotland, the satirist quips that 'The expense of conveyance is now only Half-a-crown', because 'an ingenious Artist' has 'contrived to bring not only the Capital of that Kingdom, but also an extensive circle of the surrounding country, into the Hay-market. There seems nothing now wanting to complete the felicity of the Masters and Misses, but the noted Blacksmith of Gretna Green'.¹⁷ Another review in *The Diary* for 22 April 1789 (reprinted in *The Times*) agreed that the painting's immersive sense of place allowed for a new kind of virtual travel: it 'must prove particularly interesting to their Majesties, the Heir Apparent, and several of the Royal Family, who rarely go abroad. To them views of distant countries will be brought, not like descriptions from the pen of the traveler, geographer, or poet, which, while they inform, leave an anxious wish, a natural desire to behold the scene ungratified'. These reviews and notices reiterate Barker's claims about the painting's effects, where the viewer 'can see the same as those who travel'.¹⁸

At the end of April, another puff in *The Times* suggested Barker's exhibition had met with 'the most universal applause from the Nobility and Gentry', and would 'prove one of

the favourite and fashionable entertainments in the metropolis'.

When we consider the great merit this Artist has, in being the first to give real freedom to his art, we are surprised at his genius, which, Shakespeare-like, has spurned at restraint, and dared to 'snatch a thought beyond the rules of art'.¹⁹

Enthusiasing about Barker's ground-breaking achievement, the critic locates the painting within a high-status discourse of art appreciation and connoisseurship, seeing Shakespeare as the model and legitimation for Barker's contravention of the strict rules of his medium, especially the precepts of neo-classical perspective.²⁰ The critic alludes to Alexander Pope's dictum in *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), famously quoted in Sir Joshua Reynolds's first 'Discourse', where he recommends that although students should be obedient to 'the Rules of Art, as established by the practice of the great MASTERS', he admits that those masters were led by genius 'To snatch a grace beyond the rules of art'.²¹ Barker's advertisements were quickly revised to reflect this understanding of his work. In *The Gazetteer* for 7 May 1789, repeated later in *The Times*, Barker ran an advertisement for his 'celebrated VIEW OF EDINBURGH', claiming that the 'original' and 'singularly striking' idea of his painting was based on 'an enlarged freedom given on scientific principles to the art of Painting'.²² The painting's elite social status, addressed to connoisseurs and virtuosi, was reinforced by a high admission price of two shillings six pence,²³ although this was soon reduced to only one shilling, commensurate with the competing London spectacles of that season.²⁴

In the first months of its exhibition in London, the painting's media reception suggests a struggle to find an adequate language to describe it. On one hand, the panorama was

claimed as a scientific experiment in neo-classical realism. On the other, its signal effect of delusive virtual displacement was expressed in a language borrowed from the sublime, even when ridiculed by satirists. As Barker had not yet completed a single full-size painting in a complete circle, an understanding of the panorama was importantly an act of the imagination, prompted as much by written discourse as by the unfinished prototypes.

Barker's Edinburgh panorama, exhibited in London until at least 19 April 1790,²⁵ had several technical difficulties to contend with. Its small size limited the number of paying customers who could be admitted at any one time, and severely mitigated its immersive experience.²⁶ In response to those who queried the propriety of his experiment in perspective, Barker assembled a series of testimonials. Barker inserted an advertisement in *The Times* giving a 'character' sent to him by Thomas Elder, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, asserting that the painting was 'a most correct and just representation of the city'.²⁷ For the 1790 season, Barker's advertisements included a recommendation from the painter Benjamin West, who declared 'Mr. Barker's idea and mode of description to be the greatest improvement to the art of Painting that has ever yet been discovered', calling it 'an improvement of the greatest simplicity, and everything but nature'.²⁸ But despite Barker's testimonials, anxieties continued about the epistemological status of the view.

LONDON FROM ALBION MILL _____

Barker's response was a new painting on a subject that all Londoners could be expected to know: their own city. Barker's plan was announced in *The World* on 27 March 1790, which stated that 'We hear he intends to take London in a more enlarged scale', and indicating that further views of Paris and Rome were planned. Benjamin West was again

co-opted to provide authority for the patriotic assertion that 'the generous Public will encourage an idea conceived in this country, which leaves the rest of Europe so far behind'.²⁹ The new painting was advertised in *The Morning Chronicle* and *The Diary* on Saturday 11 June 1791. This was the first occasion that the term 'panorama' was used in print, a neologism coined by classicist friends of Barker, and suggested by the Greek terms 'pan' and 'hórama' (meaning, it was implied, an all-seeing or all-embracing view). Announced as 'the greatest Improvement to the ART of PAINTING, that has ever been discovered', Barker proudly stressed the great size of his painting at 1479 square feet. Advertisements beginning in *The Morning Chronicle* on Saturday 25 June 1791 announced to the public that

the Subject at present of the PANORAMA, is a view, at one glance, of the CITIES of LONDON and WESTMINSTER; comprehending the three Bridges, represented in one painting [...]. Which appears as large, and in every respect the same as reality. The observers of this Picture being by Painting only, so deceived, as to suppose themselves on the Albion Mill, from whence the View was taken.³⁰

This advertisement, and slight variations on it, was subsequently reprinted in several London newspapers on an almost weekly basis for the next fourteen months, making the panorama one of the most heavily advertised spectacles in London that season.³¹ According to Barker's son, this view was the first to extend more than 'half a circle' (180 degrees)³² to 'three quarters of a circle' (270 degrees).³³ It was exhibited in a temporary building at 28 Castle Street, near Leicester Square, where entrance to the viewing platform was through a door in the incomplete side.

Visitors to 28 Castle St saw a view of the two cities of London and Westminster, from high on the roof of Albion Mill overlooking

Blackfriars Bridge and its approaches. While the foreground is dominated by this locality, the roofs of the mills, and the broad expanse of the river, the twin cities are seen from a distance, including the key urban sites representing church, state, commerce and culture: St Paul's, Westminster Abbey and the city churches; the Monument, the Tower, Parliament and Whitehall; shipping in the Pool and the Falcon Glass Works; the Leverian Museum and Drury Lane Theatre. George Woodward (1760?–1809), the caricaturist and satirical writer, described in his *Eccentric Excursions* (1796) the intense curiosity aroused by the panorama's view over the bridge and street approach:

Looking down-wards the variety of people,
carriages, horses, &c. passing and repassing,
in one continual line of great extent,
heightens the general effect, and brings
Milton's descriptive lines in full force to the
memory:

'Populous cities please me then,
And the busy hum of men.'³⁴

In the panorama, the time is morning – shadows indicate bright sun in the east – and while the tide is coming in, not yet full, the wind is from the west under light cumulus cloud. It is as if the day is dateable: and indeed, at a much later date, Barker's son claimed that the 'scene on the Thames was the Lord Mayor's procession by water to Westminster on the 9th of November.'³⁵ From the roof of the mill, the viewer had a commanding prospect of Albion Place and Albion Place Terrace, the foreground detailing a scene of everyday life. As Woodward notes, the sense of populous detail is palpable: a tradesman knocks at the door of the house nearest the river, his basket on the pavement, while a woman looks out of an open first-floor window. The street is populated by a recognisably wide range of people from many stations of life, including a street sweeper, a porter with a load on his back, two workmen

shoveling horse manure into a cart, a gentleman greeting a man and woman arm in arm. The foreground is detailed, animated, compelling. One contemporary visitor to the panorama was struck by the 'baker knocking at the door, in Albion Place', and wondered why 'the man did not *move!*'³⁶

Barker's 'Panorama of London from Albion Mill' does not survive, although contemporary visual evidence is offered by two descriptive orientation keys and a set of commemorative aquatints. Panorama visitors were given such descriptive keys gratis, not only as souvenirs, but also to inform them of significant sights: they are themselves an important response to Barker's epistemological anxiety about his painting. Two orientation keys survive for Barker's 'Panorama of London': the first, an undated and cheaply printed wood-cut engraving, which can be speculatively dated to 1792 (see Figure 1), and the second, entitled 'Panorama de Londres', with the text in French and English, probably issued in Paris c. 1803.³⁷ Early panorama keys attempted to reproduce a sense of the 360-degree quality of the panorama in two dimensions by using an anamorphic projection, a drawing technique developed in the scientific study of perspective in the fifteenth century.³⁸ Although an efficient guide to its parts, the 1792 key is so poorly designed as to make the circular unity of whole panorama almost incomprehensible. The buildings it delineates are strewn across the sheet in an irregular ellipse, each delineated in a discrete perspective regime that shatters the visual coherence of Barker's 360-degree panoramic view. In its own perverse visual form, this early key displays the spectacular novelty of the panorama itself, depicting a radical disruption of conventional ways of seeing.

In addition to the key, and most unusually, a set of six commemorative aquatints were made between 18 August 1792 and 27 March 1793 by Frederick Birnie from the preliminary sketches

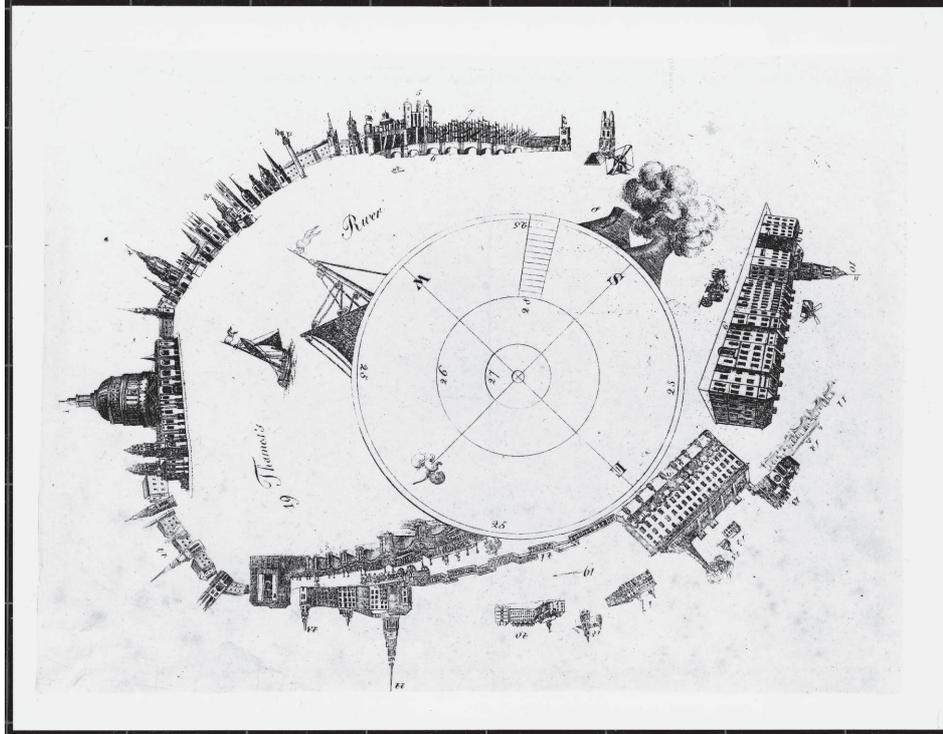


Figure 1. 'Key to Barker's Panorama of London from Albion Mill', [undated c.1792?], 301×228 mm (St Paul's Collection, Guildhall Library, City of London: shelfmark: General Views: 2/12^A). With permission of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral.

by Barker's son, Henry Aston Barker, printed by James Adlard, No. 29, Duke St, Smithfield.³⁹ These prints have been the most informative visual guide to the panorama for recent scholars. Aquatint printing was ideally suited to the flat washes of eighteenth-century watercolours: here Birnie has additionally line-etched the details of some buildings. The subscription handbill for the aquatints proposed that the six prints could be joined together into a 360-degree circle, although this does little to reproduce the immersive *mise en scène* of the panorama itself.

In his advertisements, Barker made much of the viewpoint: as he said, observers were 'so deceived, as to suppose themselves on the Albion Mill, from whence the View was taken'.⁴⁰ Preparatory sketches for the panorama

were made on site by Barker's sixteen-year old son during the winter of 1790–1791. The mill was a noted spectacle itself, the highest landmark on the southern bank of the Thames between the cities of London and Westminster, at the foot of Blackfriars Bridge. This bridge, built in 1760–69, was the third, and newest, to be constructed over the Thames. The locality was also home to the Leverian Museum at No. 3 Albion St: in the panorama, a hackney coach is stopped outside its grand portico. Albion Mill itself, a 'patriotic pile of building' according to *The Times*, was of considerable intellectual curiosity, for it was the first purpose-built industrial building in the world worked 'by the force of steam'.⁴¹ The mill's rotary steam engine, built by Matthew Boulton and James Watt, had become a destination for

virtuosi and tourists alike.⁴² The mill was a significant vantage point: not only high, but also modern and commercial. Built to supply all London's milled flour, its near monopoly of the trade led in the late 1780s to numerous accusations that the mill-owners were manipulating the bread price.⁴³ In August 1789 *The Times* denied a rumour that soldiers were stationed at the Albion Mills because the owners had received threats of arson. These 'alarming and incendiary reports' – redolent of the bread riots common in Paris at that time – continued to circulate for some days.⁴⁴ Such reports established the Albion Mill as a suggestive symbol for the modern commercial system. On 2 March 1791, before the panorama opened, the mill was destroyed by fire, and although the ruin was still visible as late as 1803, it was no longer possible to take in the roof prospect.

The Albion Mill panorama was exhibited throughout the season of 1792–1793, continuing at 28 Castle Street until at least the end of December 1793.⁴⁵ It was this panorama that made Barker's fortune, providing sufficient evidence of the idea's potential to interest investors such as Lord Elcho in the joint-stock company that enabled Barker to build a new exhibition hall. Henry Aston Barker later reported that the elderly, and nearly blind, Sir Joshua Reynolds came to visit the painting. While he had not been convinced of the theory, Reynolds is said to have remarked that 'the present exhibition proves it is capable of producing effects, and representing nature in a manner superior to the limited scale of pictures in general'.⁴⁶

THE GRAND FLEET AT SPITHEAD _____

Whilst the 'London from Albion Mill' panorama continued to be exhibited at 28 Castle Street, Barker had a permanent panorama building constructed at a site on the north side of Leicester-Square, opening in May 1793.

The new circular building, designed by the architect Robert Mitchell, had a central rotunda 90 feet in diameter and 57 feet high, allowing a colossal exhibition surface of over ten thousand square feet. The building was subsequently altered in 1795 by the installation of an upper tier allowing a 'double exhibition' of panoramas, exhibited one above another in concentric circles.⁴⁷ The building brought the architecture of the panorama to maturity: visitors were conducted to the viewing platform through a darkened passage below, emerging into an exhibition space brightly lit by a concealed skylight from above, the upper edge of the painting plane obstructed by the platform canopy, and the lower by the platform railing.

For the new panorama building, Barker prepared a vast new painting. As the advertisements announced, the subject was 'a View of the Grand Fleet moored at Spithead, being the Russian Armament in 1791, taken from the Center; together with Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, and entire surrounding objects'. Unlike the earlier panoramas, completed in distemper, this was painted in oil. The new panorama was announced to the London public in an advertising campaign in *The Times* and *The Morning Chronicle*, beginning on Tuesday 25 June 1793, as well as an undated handbill.⁴⁸ The panorama depicted the grand spectacle of a Royal Navy fleet anchored at Spithead in 1791. The fleet had been mobilised by William Pitt's ministry to exert diplomatic pressure on Russia, then at war with the Ottoman Empire, by threatening a naval expedition to the Baltic – a geo-political crisis known as the 'Russian Armament'.⁴⁹ Throughout the summer of 1791, Pitt's fleet, comprising thirty-six ships of the line, nine frigates and one fifty-gunner, remained fully commissioned and sea-ready at Spithead, the natural harbour on the south coast of England between Portsmouth and Southampton, until it was put out of commission again in late August.

Barker's handbill stated that the panorama depicted 'true Portraits' of all the 'Ships of the Line' in the fleet, adding that 'the centre Frigate, where company are supposed to stand, is the IPHIGENIA',⁵⁰ an Amazon-class frigate of thirty-six guns built in 1780.⁵¹ The handrail of the viewing platform was made to resemble the gunwale of the frigate, a technique that blended three-dimensional stage properties with the two-dimensional perspective effects of painting (later called *faux-terrain*). An early viewer was the Rev. James Woodforde, who noted his visit in his diary on 26 June 1793. From his lodgings at the Angel Inn, near the Strand, he was joined by his nephew, the painter Samuel Woodforde (1763–1817), where

being fine Weather we all walked to Leicester Fields, and there saw the Panorama, a fine deception in painting of the British & Russian Fleets at Spithead in the Year [blank space]. It was well worth seeing indeed, only one Shilling apiece. – I p.d – 0: 3: 0. We stayed about an Hour there – Company continually going to see it.⁵²

Even before it opened, the new panorama made a successful media coup when it was visited by the royal family on 24 May 1793.⁵³ The next day, *The St James Chronicle* reported that 'their Majesties, and the Princesses, except the Princess Sophia, went in two carriages to Leicester-square, where they viewed the new Panorama, displaying a view of the fleet at Spithead.'⁵⁴ *The Times* added that the royal party 'expressed the highest approbation of this singular production of genius and art'.⁵⁵ A similar report in *The Morning Chronicle* praised the panorama's 'new and magnificent mansion', and commented 'It is an Exhibition of the British fleet. – It takes in at one grasp of the eye the whole of the horizon'.⁵⁶ Royal patronage like this reinforced the panorama's self-construction as an improving and patriotic venture appealing to a high-status clientele.

'A MOST WONDERFUL PERFORMANCE' _____

By 1793 a visit to Barker's panorama had been firmly established as one of the major sights of the London season. The success of 'London from Albion Mill', which was exhibited until December 1793 at 28 Castle St, persuaded Barker to repaint it in oils and 360 degrees in 1795, when it was exhibited in the new upper circle of the Rotunda as a 'View of London and the surrounding Country'.⁵⁷ In this format, the view of London was exhibited from 28 March 1795 to 13 February 1796 in London, before making an extensive tour of Europe, exhibited in Hamburg, Leipzig, Prague, Vienna and Paris.⁵⁸ It was this image, then, that defined the panorama, even after Barker replaced the Spithead panorama with a view of Bath (exhibited in the large circle from 7 July 1794 to May 1795), and then another naval scene, depicting Lord Howe's victory over the French at Ushant on 1 June 1794 (exhibited from 2 June 1795 to 2 April 1796).⁵⁹ The diarist Caroline Powys (1738–1817), who took a keen interest in exhibitions of painting when visiting London, made a visit to 'the panorama views of the cities of London and Bath' on 29 April 1795, where she observed that they were 'so very pleasing and exact, altogether a most wonderful performance'.⁶⁰ Powys's response balances the exact, the language of science, with the 'wonderful', the language of spectacle.

Descriptions of the panorama experience from this period dwell increasingly on moments of wonder and delusion. The excited reactions to the Edinburgh panorama in the London newspapers in 1789, recording its peculiar sense of virtual travel, are early iterations of this trope. The panorama's delusive power featured in a scene in the four-volume scandal novel, *Joan!!! A novel* (1796), which records a visit to the panorama by a garrulous chambermaid called Mrs. Sarah Earle, as part of her tour of fashionable exhibitions in London, including

the Leverian Museum and Mrs Sylvester's incomparable waxwork. At each place she mistakes the point of the exhibit, confusing the exotic birds of Leverian taxidermy, for example, for a display of millinery feathers. At the Panorama, showing a nautical scene, she is alarmed by its life-like dissimulation:

The Panorama did not suit her taste, for having been once frightened on the water, her nerves were affected; but she was really astonished how the sea, for sea it was, and the water was salt, could come up to Leicester Fields: she supposed it ran at the back of the houses; – she thought that river had been the Thames – at least so she been told.⁶¹

Sarah's reaction to the panorama testifies to the compelling immersion of the experience, but in the scheme of the novel's satire, it also records anxieties about the audience for panorama.

The peculiar force of the immersive experience was widely noted, and repeatedly described by the trope of wondrous delusion. Henry Aston Barker later claimed that, on the occasion of the royal visit in 1793 to the Spithead panorama, 'Queen Charlotte is reported to have said that the sight of this picture made her feel sea-sick'.⁶² This was a joke that bore constant repetition. Discussing the same view of the Grand Fleet at Spithead, a later commentator reported that

One feature in this picture was the capsizing of a ship's boat, with sailors struggling in the waves. It happened that a gentleman who visited the exhibition of this picture was accompanied by a Newfoundland dog, and the animal, on seeing this part of the painting, sprang over the hand-rail, to rescue the drowning men.⁶³

As numerous connoisseurs and virtuosi noted, the panorama experience was not one that required refined taste or exquisite education to feel. As they observed, women, the lower

orders and even animals experienced the painting in the same way as those of a refined and educated taste. Inexperience and ignorance were as good a preparation for viewing a panorama as wisdom and study.

Gaining renown as the most compelling deception known to the period aroused further hostility to the panorama. In her bad-tempered treatise on modish diction called *British synonymy* (1794), Hester Piozzi (1741–1821) attacked the panorama as an example of the debased fashionable thinking of the period, which she saw focused in its delusive powers – in her words 'a mere deception, *ad captandum vulgus* [to attract the rabble]'.⁶⁴ As Piozzi argues, it was the simplicity of the panorama's illusion that made it such a dangerous moral lapse, as bad as, she thought, 'droll' men who made light of grave and serious topics. Other satirists attacked the panorama's grandiose name. The day before the royal party made their visit to the panorama in May 1793, *The St James Chronicle* had published a fictional letter from a young woman, 'Jenny Gadabout'. Under the title '*Grecian Exhibitions*', the satirist belaboured the '*terrible hard names*' by which many of the current exhibitions were are 'distinguished', for 'their abominable ugly names go out of one's head; or, if they remain, break one's teeth in uttering them'. Gadabout relates that, accompanied by a learned gentleman, she has been on a tour of the London exhibitions, including the Panorama, the Polygraphic Rooms, the Eidophusikon, the Vitropyrix, and concluding at the Eidorion.⁶⁵ Gadabout finds the exhibitions more ingenious than this 'barbarous jargon' led her to believe; but she reserves her best joke for Barker's panorama. As she argues,

one of the names is pure English, only a little mis-spelt – *Panorama*, as it is now advertised, should certainly be written '*Pon-a-roam-a*, which, indeed, very clearly explains the nature of the amusement. – You

are supposed to set upon upon a roam, or ramble to some place, from whence you behold one of the most enchanting views imaginable as naturally as if you were on the very spot; and by means of this ingenious artist, who, I hope, in future, will correct the title of his Exhibition, we *roam'd* from London to the Isle of Wight, where we had a view of two and thirty, sail of men of war, in a double line of battle; and returned in safety in less time than I have been writing this letter.⁶⁶

Gadabout's punning deconstruction of the panorama's name exploits the ridiculous disparity between the classical learning implied by the painting's name and the absolute modernity of its delusive wonder. While the name claims allegiance to a learned audience of virtuosi, Gadabout's satire exposes the painting's broad appeal to all comers. The following Saturday, in the same paper, Barker or someone from his party, under the name of 'Tom Testy', replied to Gadabout's 'nonsensical letter', complaining that 'The girl's a fool'. As to her 'ridiculous explanation and anglicising the elegant and appropriate name *Panorama*,' Testy asserts that 'it comes from the Greek *PAN all*, and *ORAO, to see*; by which the Artist means that you see all round you'.⁶⁷ But clarifying the Greek origins of the name only further annoyed moralists. The Anglican educationalist and divine Vicesimus Knox (1752–1821), in his miscellany *Winter Evenings*, argued that Greek titles for popular works were inappropriate and, worse, insincere. Drawing attention to the 'pompous titles derived from Greek and Latin' adopted by 'public sights and public places and buildings', such as the '*Holophusicon, Eidureaneon, Panorama, Vitropyrix, Microcosm, Lactarium, Rhedarium, and Adelphi*,' he complained these places aimed to attract 'the illiterate' – meaning those illiterate in ancient Greek, such as those whose education did not extend to the great

public schools and university, most especially women and the middling sort. The ridiculous gap between title and audience, he implied, was a moral error.

The reception of the panorama in the early 1790s has here been characterised as a contest between the discourse of connoisseurship and that of delusive wonder, in which these mutually reinforcing discourses were increasingly channeled into a socially-stratified opposition. On the one side, the panorama was associated with theoretical innovations in the science of painting, especially that of perspective theory. On the other, it was associated with delusive spectacle through its signature effect of spatial dislocation and capacity to inspire wonder. Barker's fourth panorama at the Leicester-Square Rotunda, depicting Lord Howe's victory over the French, inspired a review in *The Morning Chronicle* (10 June 1795) that undercut any easy alliance between science and the discourse of connoisseurship. The reviewer began by restating the neo-classical principle that '*the end of painting [...] is to hold the mirror up to Nature*'. But he attacked the pedantic 'cant' of the critic and 'Connoisseur', who he says quibbles over the 'manner' of painting in obscure and ridiculous equivocations:

He does even pretend to be struck with a painting from its *natural* appearance, but tells his hearers it has either the savage wildness of Salvator, the tender tints of Claude, the cattle of Cuypp, the water of Ruysdael, or the corregiosity of Corregio! Of all the cants of this canting world, I pray with Sterne, that I may be preserved from the cant of Connoisseurs.

The reviewer replicates Sterne's satiric intensification in *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67) of Reynolds's parody in *Idler* No. 76 (1759) of a voluble but foolish connoisseur ('those orators who annex no ideas to their words').⁶⁸ Although

the canting connoisseur cannot see it, the reviewer argues that Barker is a rule-breaking genius like the novelist Laurence Sterne. His panorama represents 'a complete illusion. This is what painters have always professed to aim at, but never so far succeeded before. It may be very fairly be called, *The Triumph of Perspective*, for there never was so happy an appropriation of the art.' And despite minor objections to the 'drawing of the figures', the reviewer concludes that the delusive spectacle of Barker's painting is the product of the science of perspective and as such, exemplifies the neo-classical principles of Reynolds.⁶⁹

The panorama's deceptive powers were the result of Barker's research in perspectival science and exhibition practice. The panorama was a circular picture where the top and bottom of the image were obscured, so as to make the viewer believe it had no frame. The panorama proposes that the viewer will be so captivated by the painting that they will ignore the various artifices designed to achieve this effect: not only the balustrade and overhanging roof of the circular viewing enclosure, but above all, the paint and canvas of the image itself. When the painter Charles Robert Leslie (1794–1859) went to see a panorama in 1812, as an eighteen year old art student, he observed that panoramas 'are perfect in their way. The objects appear so real, that it is impossible to imagine at what distance the canvas is from the eye.'⁷⁰ Leslie astutely observes that by being bent through 360 degrees, the painting's surface and its perspectival plane becomes incoherent to the viewer. Restrained from approaching close enough to see the brush-strokes by the railing, the perspectival plane effectively disappears to the viewer, causing or allowing a vertiginous experience of being there. The satirists' anecdotes of immersive wonder in this sense reinforce the virtuosi's opinion that the panorama was an 'illusion [...] as complete as it is possible to imagine'. The silly chambermaid, the princess, and the Newfoundland dog have

simply elongated the moment of wonder, and in this way, advertise it. The hyperbolically enhanced realism of the panorama is in this sense an enlightenment achievement.

The locality paradox produced by the panorama made viewers unable to rationalise the relationship between the place they know themselves to be in (Leicester Square) and the locality they now see themselves in (the roof of Albion Mill, the deck of a frigate at Spithead). Sooner or later, however, depending on the viewer's perspicuity, this confused state gave way to a realisation that the delusive prospect is a painting: brush strokes, the edges of the cylindrical perspectival plane, the view's still immobility, all these technical limitations become apparent. Finally, the viewer sees truly that they are not transported by supernatural powers to another place, but have been deluded by a painter. In this sense, the panorama is not really a technique for producing the immersive delusion, but rather, a demonstration of how delusion works and a celebration of the viewer's capacity for rational clarification. The panorama was a machine for disillusionment, a spectacle of illusion clarified. It was the enlightenment, open every day, Sunday excepted, for a shilling.

'OF LIFE, AND LIFE-LIKE MOCKERY' _____
Wordsworth's lines on the panorama from Book Seven that begin this essay have received detailed discussion only recently, in the light of the new panorama histories noted in the introduction.⁷¹ Most critics assume that Wordsworth wrote from experience, responding to a visit to a panorama undertaken on one of the eight known visits Wordsworth made to London between 1788 and 1795.⁷² The particular panorama he saw is unknown: in the absence of decisive evidence, it might have been 'London from Albion Mill' in his first visit in 1791 (the period when Book Seven is set), the 'Grand Fleet at Spithead' in his visit of November 1793, or the second 'London from

Albion Mill' in his third visit in 1795.⁷³ In any case, the particular subject is unimportant. Wordsworth's criticism is general: he rejects the panorama as a medium, not as a particular painting. But his argument about the panorama responds also the media controversy carried on in the newspapers he voraciously consumed in this period.⁷⁴

Wordsworth's criticism concludes firmly that the panorama is a delusive spectacle, or an ape-like mimicry, as he puts it in the lines quoted at the beginning of the essay. Wordsworth contrasts the panorama with the higher ambitions of painting:

I do not here allude to subtlest craft,
By means refined attaining purest ends,
But imitations fondly made in plain
Confession of man's weakness and his loves.
Whether the Painter, fashioning a work
To Nature's circumambient scenery,
And with his greedy pencil taking in
A whole horizon on all sides, with power,
Like that of angels or commissioned spirits,
Plant us upon some lofty Pinnacle,
Or in a Ship, on Waters, with a World
Of life, and life-like mockery, to East,
To West, beneath, behind us, and before
(252–64).

Gillen D'Arcy Wood has argued that Wordsworth's repudiation of the panorama asserts here the 'orthodox academic principles' embodied in Reynolds' *Discourses*.⁷⁵ But Wordsworth also engages with the media debate on the panorama, rejecting the argument made by critics and satirists, as well as by Barker, Benjamin West and Reynolds himself, that the panorama was an orthodox expression of the 'science' of perspective, and as such, the 'Triumph of Painting'. Wordsworth's difficulty is with the legibility of the panorama, and precisely, its wide appeal: they are 'imitations, fondly made in plain / Confession of man's weakness and his loves' (254–55). The panorama's delusive spectacle is

seen here as an example of human intellectual weakness. Like the satirists before him, and the moralists like Piozzi and Knox, Wordsworth denigrates the vulgarity of the audience: apish and greedy, it appeals to baser instincts and is possessed of a delusive 'power' analogous to the popular supernatural, 'Like that of angels or commissioned spirits' [demons charged with particular tasks] (260). Wordsworth rewrites the delusive wonder of the panorama as a kind of painted mockery no better than the trickery of the gothic – repudiating its signal delusive effect because it makes him feel duped, like a chambermaid, a princess, or a dog. This unwelcome feeling disturbs for Wordsworth the proper relation between imagination and nature.

Book Seven's signal effect is excess: things, artefacts, people, places, events, piled up much like each other, offering stimulation to the widest possible audience. As Hartman suggests, in the city Wordsworth shows a desire for 'distractions' that 'shows the imaginative impulse asserting itself blindly, yet being reduced to superstition and torpor by too quick or crude a satisfaction'.⁷⁶ In the earlier Preface (1800) to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth had voiced a similar sentiment: 'the increasing accumulation of men in cities' Wordsworth argues, 'produces a craving for extraordinary incident which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies'. This 'degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation' is exemplified by the panorama, which for Wordsworth is a spectacle that reveals how the city does not value signs correctly: that they are not worth the value placed on them by the crowd of urban society.⁷⁷ The purpose of his analysis is corrective: he wants to see through the delusive wonder of the panorama, to expose it for the simple deception it is, so as to lead the reader to revalue the true seeing afforded by nature. In doing so, he repeats both the rhetoric of the panorama's defenders and its critics.

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NOTES

1. William Wordsworth, *The Thirteen Book Prelude*, ed. Mark Reed (2 vols, Ithaca, NY, 1991), VII, 245–51.
2. Hubert John Pragnell, *The London panorama of Robert Barker and Thomas Girtin, circa 1800*, London Topographical Society Publications, 109 (London, 1968); Scott B. Wilcox, 'The Panorama and Related Exhibitions in London' (unpublished M. Litt. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1976); Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA, 1978); Stephan Oettermann, *Das Panorama* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981); trans. as *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (New York, 1997).
3. Ralph Hyde, *Panoromania!: The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View* (London, 1988).
4. Paul Zoetmulder, *The panorama phenomenon: subject of a permanent exhibition, organised on the occasion of the centennial of the Mesdag Panorama in the Hague, which was inaugurated on the 1st of August 1981: catalogue* (The Hague, 1981).
5. Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London, 1999), 93–4.
6. Walter Benjamn, *Das Passagen-Werk* (1982), ed. Rolf Tiedemann, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (7 vols, Frankfurt, 1972–1989), v; *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA, 1999). In the convolute on panoramas (527–36), Benjamin appears unaware of the British origins of Fulton's first Paris panorama of 1799.
7. Angela Miller, 'The Panorama, the Cinema and the Emergence of the Spectacular', *Wide Angle*, 18 (1996), 34–69, 38.
8. See for example Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, 1993), 15–32; Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine* (1994), 40; Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1994); Oliver Grau, *Virtual Art: from illusion to immersion*, trans. Gloria Custance (Cambridge, MA, 2003).
9. William Galperin notes the 'relative unavailability of public response to the Panorama, especially during its early and critical stage of development' in *The return of the visible in British Romanticism* (Baltimore and London, 1993), 36.
10. The primary resources include: Daniel Lysons, *Collectanea: or, A collection of advertisements and paragraphs from the newspapers, relating to various subjects: Vol I: Publick exhibitions and places of amusement* ([London, 1661–1840]), British Library: C.103.k.11 (hereafter abbreviated as LC in the footnotes); the Burney Collection of British Newspapers at the British Library; and related contemporary materials in the Guildhall Library, City of London. See also Scott Wilcox, 'The Early History of the Panorama' in *Das Panorama in Altötting: Beiträge zu Geschichte und Restaurierung*, ed. Michael Petzet, Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege, 48 (München, 1990), 9–16.
11. 'XX. Specification of Mr. Barker's Patent for Displaying Views of Nature at large, by Oil-Painting, Fresco, Water-colours, &c.', *The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures: consisting of original communications, specifications of patent inventions*, IV (1796), 165–168, 167, 165–66.
12. *Edinburgh Evening Courant* 24 March 1788 (quoted in Wilcox, 'The Panorama and Related Exhibitions', 24).
13. G. R. Corner, *The Panorama with memoirs of its inventor, Robert Barker, and his son, the late Henry Aston Barker* (London, 1857); reprinted from *The Art Journal*, February 1857.
14. *The Diary, or Woodfall's Register*, 9 April 1789, 3; *The Times*, 15 April 1789, 3.
15. *The World*, 26 March 1789, in LC 171; reprinted *The Times*, 1 April 1789, 3.
16. *The World*, 3 April 1789, in LC 171; reprinted *The Times*, 4 April 1789, 3.
17. *The World*, 11 April 1789, in LC 171.
18. *The Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, 22 April 1789, 3; repeated *The Times*, 24 April 1789, 4.
19. *The Times*, 28 April 1789, 3.
20. Wilcox argues these claims for novelty were overstated; 'The Panorama and Related Exhibitions', 22.
21. Alexander Pope, *Essay on Criticism* (1711), Part I, 155: 'And snatch a grace beyond the rules of art' (*Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, ed. E. Audra and Aubrey Williams (London, 1961), 256); Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert Wark (New Haven, 1975), 17.
22. *Gazetteer*, 7 May 1789, in LC 171; repeated *The Times*, 25 May 1789, 1.

23. *The Times*, 25 May 1789, 1.
24. *Gazetteer*, 7 May 1789, in LC 171.
25. *The World*, 19 April 1790, in LC 172.
26. Corner, 5.
27. Elder's letter was dated 'Edinburgh, May 15, 1789', in *The Times*, 5 June 1789, 1, reprinted 23 June 1789, 1, 29 June 1789, 1; reprinted *The World*, 31 July 1789, 1.
28. *The Times*, 1 April 1790, 1.
29. *The World*, 27 March 1790, in LC 172.
30. *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 June, 1791, 1; repeated 14 May 1792, 1.
31. *The Times*, 2 July 1791, 1. From 23 July 1791 this was repeated weekly until 18 September 1792. Barker also had an almost identical handbill printed by James Adlard at No. 39 Duke Street Smithfield (BL LC 176).
32. Corner, 6.
33. H.T. Ellacombe, 'First Panorama', *Notes and Queries* (16 August 1851), 118–19.
34. George Murgatroyd 'Mustard' Woodward, *Eccentric excursions or, literary & pictorial sketches of countenance, character & country, in different parts of England & South Wales* (London, 1796 [1797]), 30. The quotation is from Milton's 'L'Allegro', *Poems* (London, 1645), 117–18, misquoted: 'Towred cities please us then, / And the busie humm of men'; lines made famous in Charles Jennens libretto for Georg Friedrich Händel, *L'allegro, Il Penseroso ed Il Moderato: An Ode* (London, 1740), part 27.
35. Corner, 6.
36. B.G. 'First panorama', *Notes and Queries* (12 July 1851), 21.
37. [Key to Barker's Panorama of London from Albion Mill], [undated], 301×228mm, St Paul's Collection, Guildhall Library, City of London: General Views: 2/12^A; 'Panorama de Londres', [undated], St Paul's Collection, Guildhall Library, City of London: General Views: 2/12^A. Hyde suggests the latter was issued in Paris c. 1803 (*London from the Roof of the Albion Mills: A Facsimile*, [iii]). It records some differences in the view, perhaps introduced in the 1795 version painted for the Upper Circle: two pugilists fight on the east side of Albion Place, egged on by a circle of onlookers; on the south side of Blackfriars bridge members of the trained bands march in characteristic disorder towards the City; and the river traffic includes a ceremonial barge.
38. Oettermann, 60–61.
39. Frederick Birnie, '[A view of London taken from the top of the Albion Mill, Blackfriars], B. Barker delint., F. Birnie aquatinta; publish'd Jany 18, 1792', Guildhall Library Print Room, 6 sheets, V gp 3 (grisaille aquatints); Ralph Hyde (ed.), *London from the Roof of the Albion Mills: A Facsimile of Robert and Henry Aston Barker's Panorama of 1792–3* (London, 1988). See also Corner 6.
40. *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 June 1791, 1.
41. *The Times*, 4 October 1787, 3; *Ambulator; or, the stranger's companion in a tour round London, within the circuit of twenty-five miles*, 3rd edn (London, 1787), xvi.
42. John Mosse, 'The Albion Mills, 1784–1791', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, 40 (1967–8), 47–60.
43. *The Times*, 8 December 1788, 3.
44. *The Times*, 5 August 1789, 2. See also *The Times*, 28 March 1791, 2.
45. *The Times*, 21 May 1793, 1; *The Times*, 24 December 1793, 1.
46. Corner, 6.
47. Robert Mitchell, 'Section of the Rotunda, Leicester Square, in which is exhibited the Panorama', *Plans and Views in Perspective, with Descriptions of Buildings Erected in England and Scotland* (London, 1801), 7–8, plate 14.
48. *The Times*, 25 June 1793, 1; *Morning Chronicle*, 3 October 1793, in LC 176). Advertisements in *The Times* were repeated regularly on Tuesday in the 1793 season until 24 December 1793.
49. For the best account see Rivington's *Annual Register [...] for the year 1791* (London, 1795), 251; and Paul Webb, 'Sea Power in the Ochakov Affair of 1791', *International History Review*, 2 (1980), 13–33.
50. *Panorama, Leicester-Square [...] The present subject is a v[iew of the Grand Fleet] at Spithead, being the Russian armament in 1791* (London [1793]). Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce Adds. 138(343).
51. Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail, 1793–1817: Design, Construction, Careers and Fates* (London, 2005), 195.
52. *The Diary of James Woodforde: Volume 13 1791–1793*, ed. Peter Jameson (Castle Cary, 2003), 258. Woodforde was not the only viewer to misunderstand the panorama's title by supposing that some of the warships were Russian.

53. For the best account see Denise Oleksijczuk, 'Gender in perspective: the king and queen's visit to the Panorama in 1793', in *Gendering Landscape Art*, ed. Steven Adams and Anna Gruetzner Robins (Manchester, 2000), 146–61.
54. *The St James Chronicle or, British Evening Post* (25 May 1793), 3.
55. *The Times* (25 May 1793), 3.
56. *The Morning Chronicle* (27 May 1793), 3.
57. *The Times* (28 February 1795), 1.
58. September 1799: Hamburg, Grosse Neumarkt; Easter 1800: Leipzig, Rossplatz; c.1800: Prague [dates and location unknown]; Summer 1801: Vienna, Prater; April 1802: Paris, 13 Boulevard Montmartre. See Hyde, *London from the Roof of the Albion Mills: A Facsimile*, [ii]–[iii].
59. Wilcox, 'The Panorama and Related Exhibitions', Appendix C, 254–55.
60. Caroline Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon. A.D. 1756 to 1808*, ed. Emily Climenson (London, 1899), 281.
61. Matilda Fitz John, *Joan!!! A novel* (4 vols, London, 1796), i. 265.
62. Corner, 7.
63. 'Panoramas', *Chamber's Journal*, 13 (No. 314, Saturday, 7 January 1860), 33–5, 34. This article relates several more incidents of a similar nature.
64. Hester Lynch Piozzi, *British synonymy; or, an attempt at regulating the choice of words in familiar conversation* (London, 1794), 163.
65. All spectacles exhibited in London in the 1780s and 1790s (Altick, *Shows of London*). Loutherbouurg's Eidophusikon (1781) a painting enhanced by theatrical effects (121–7); the Eidouranion (c. 1781) was an illuminated orrery (81); the Polygraphic Rooms exhibited a mechanical process for copying paintings; and the Vitropyrix was a show of stained glass.
66. *The St James Chronicle* (23 May 1793), 4; reprinted in *The Public Advertiser* (25 May 1793), 1.
67. *The St James Chronicle* (25 May 1793), 4.
68. Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, ed. Melvyn New (3 vols, Gainesville, FL, 1978), i. 214; Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'No. 76. Saturday, 29 September 1759', *The Idler*, ed. Samuel Johnson, in *The Idler and The Adventurer*, ed. W. J. Bate (New Haven, CT, 1963), 235–9, 237.
69. *The Morning Chronicle* (10 June 1795), 3.
70. Charles Robert Leslie, 'Letter to Miss Leslie, 19 April 1812', *Autobiographical Recollections*, ed. Tom Taylor (2 vols, London, 1860), ii. 4–6. The panorama in question was Barker's 'Panorama of Lisbon': it was the third he had been to see.
71. See for example Ross King, 'Wordsworth, Panoramas, and the Prospect of London', *Studies in Romanticism*, 32 (Spring 1993), 57–73; Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760–1860* (New York and Basingstoke, 2001), 104, 111–13.
72. Mark Lafayette Reed, *Wordsworth: The chronology of the early years, 1770–1799* (Cambridge, MA, 1967).
73. Philip Shaw, "'Mimic Sights': a note on Panorama and other indoor displays in Book 7 of *The Prelude*", *Notes and Queries* (December 1993), 462–64.
74. Duncan Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1770–1799* (Cambridge, 1993), 104.
75. Wood, 106.
76. Geoffrey Hartman, *Wordsworth's Poetry 1787–1814* (New Haven, CT, 1964), 239.
77. William Wordsworth, 'Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1800)', *Prose Works*, ed. W.J.B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser (3 vols, Oxford, 1974), i. 128.