Marketing Garibaldi panoramas and other visual spectacles to the British audiences: contrasting fortunes of seasoned and less seasoned impresarios

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Despite their substantial 'globalizing' influence and their peculiar ability to connect the local with the global, moving panoramas have been until recently a largely 'forgotten mass medium'.[1] Scholarly debate on this diasporic mass medium has only lately emerged, focusing on the spectacular impact of moving panoramas – veritable magnified travel guides which helped English audiences construct their image of other countries.[2] Erkki Huhtamo, in particular, when analysing this genre, underlined a particular shift: as moving panoramas acquired greater popularity, in the mid-nineteenth century, the element of 'immersive spectacle' which defined them increasingly gave way to a more narrative genre.[3] Moving 'Garibaldi panoramas' coincided with this new trend; it is on their diasporas around the UK that this paper will focus.

In surveying the fortunes of the Garibaldi panoramas circulating around Britain in the aftermath of the liberation of Southern Italy, this paper has relied as its principal source on information drawn from the *Era*, which the *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* describes as 'the leading theatrical journal of the Victorian period' - indeed, a paper considered by the contemporary journalist, James Grant, as surpassing every other weekly journal 'in relation to the amount and accuracy of its theatrical intelligence'.[4] While the list of Garibaldi panoramas which may be mapped by referring to this main source is not exhaustive, as the parallel survey of local newspapers

scrutinized indicates, the *Era* still provides a reliable tool to trace the main itineraries followed by travelling impresarios along the trail of provincial theatres.

Easily transported and therefore able to reach the British provincial audiences, moving panoramas were known in the 1850s for hitting the metropolis first: indeed, most famously, Albert Smith's moving panorama had mainly remained a London attraction for nearly a decade.[5] Yet, as an urban institution, this was an exception, as the versatile mobility of the moving panoramas meant that, after the London debut, provincial tours habitually followed suit. Garibaldi panoramas, in particular, were primarily a provincial attraction. Shown as early as 1860, the first Garibaldi panorama recorded in the *Era* appears within the listing of the 'provincial theatricals' columns. At the height of Garibaldi's popularity established theatre companies in London were more prone to invest more ambitiously in theatrical performances where professional actors would draw the audience of the capital to watch theatre *pièces* of Garibaldian content - as the City of London did in August 1860, with a drama entitled *Garibaldi*. Provincial theatres on the other hand - Music Halls, Assembly Rooms and Corn Exchanges - welcomed the opportunity to stage a Garibaldi show which could be set up with reasonable ease, benefiting from the expertise of family-run panorama companies.[6] The capillary provincial remit of the Garibaldi panoramas in the UK rendered their potential to draw together the local and the global an important feature of this pictorial diasporic medium: impresarios' informed choice of provincial destinations would often determine the level of success of the Garibaldian performances.

Amongst panorama impresarios the name of Moses Gompertz held sway across British theatrical venues; indeed, it was Gompertz's business acumen which led him to introduce as early as 1860 the topic of the Garibaldi expedition amongst the more customary subjects represented within this media genre. It is worth pointing out, however, that while Gompertz is rightly considered an impresario of national importance, there were other, smaller impresarios who made their name regionally and who secured their local reputation in enclaves that Gompertz did not compete in; most notably, Hamilton came to have the monopoly of the Garibaldi panoramas performances exhibited in Yorkshire and in the North-East.

Initially, the Garibaldi theme was tentatively introduced by Gompertz in association with topics already well-established amongst dioramic shows. Typically, a Garibaldi panorama would be shown in conjunction with the illustrated landscapes of the Rhine, performances which were confidently known to attract considerable numbers of spectators, owing to the celebrated 'immersive spectacle' effect of their panoramic views. The first provincial Garibaldi panorama performed, according to the records provided by the *Era*, was shown by Gompertz in early September 1860 in the Victoria Rooms in Bristol: the show was simply described in the listings as *Views on the Rhine and the Achievements of Garibaldi in Sicily*.[7] A degree of didacticism underscored both topics; yet, while the reference to the 'views' of the pictorial landscapes of the Rhine was evocative of the pleasures of virtual travel, the representation of the 'achievements' of Garibaldi hinted to the informative, news-reel like potential of the new addition: it was only in mid-August that Garibaldi had left Sicily to land in Calabria and events were still

developing as the panorama was being unfurled - with British enthusiasts lining up to volunteer with Garibaldi under the flag of the British Legion and setting sail from Harwich as late as 28 September 1860.

Such early viewing of a Garibaldi panorama appears however to have been an isolated case – indeed the only one in 1860 – significantly exhibited during the military advance, prior to Garibaldi's retirement in Caprera on 9 November. On this early occasion the events illustrated were consumed by spectators as the liberation process was being realised, giving the panorama a level of immediacy with the unfolding events which rendered the performance complementary to the journalistic reports in the press. The timeliness of the Bristol panorama indeed signals the pioneering entrepreneurial spirit in Gompertz. Yet, in combining the new subject of Garibaldi in Sicily with the well-known views of the Rhine the impresario had taken a calculated risk: by enticing through the doors of the Victoria Rooms an audience familiar with the more conventionally entertaining topic of the landscape of the Rhine, Gompertz was also introducing the spectators to a magnified, pictorial representation of current affairs in a foreign land. In January 1861 the business potential of the Garibaldian theme started to emerge as one of the most lucrative subjects amongst the circulating panoramas: it was then that the two combined 'beautiful dioramas' – the 'views' of the Rhine and the 'achievements' of Garibaldi in Sicily - were shown again in Southampton, where the *soirée* was reported to have attracted 'large audiences'.[8]

Indeed, 1861 would reap lucrative returns for travelling impresarios investing in Garibaldi panoramas: as 1860 came to a close entertainments in London indicated that Garibaldi was increasingly becoming an attraction able to draw crowds. In December the Christmas Exhibition of Madame Tussaud's Museum had added to its collection of wax figures the images of Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel; the traditional Christmas Pantomime, exhibited by candlelight at Crystal Palace, had unusually introduced in its pièce 'some of Garibaldi's triumphs', reported to have been 'received with general cheering'.[9] Traditional, local spectacles, such as Christmas pantomimes, were being refashioned by including spectacular current events which were taking place beyond the national. The inclusion of the Garibaldian topic within traditional forms of entertainment contributed towards bringing a 'foreign' topic within the familiarity of the local, bridging the gap between Christmas 'tradition' and the immediacy of current affairs. Recent studies in media archaeology have indicated the value of 'travelling' between discourses and analysing a heterogeneity of spectacles:[10] in 1860 the Garibaldian theme had the potential of crossing the boundary between traditional and new spectacles.

Garibaldi panoramas circulated beyond the metropolis amongst smaller communities constituting, in the words of Huhtamo, 'an important source of 'edutainment', 'combining colourful pastime with an opportunity to witness what was happening in the world'.[11] As narrative medium followed 'immersive spectacle', the role of lecturers, previously relegated to a background prop, came to the fore. On 18, 19 and 20 February 1861 a 'large audience' in Nottingham was introduced to a 'Garibaldi panorama', painted by the artist, John Storey, where the narrating entertainer, a certain

Mr Bianco, provided a commentary to the scenes. These included the images of torture which graphically illustrated the ferocity of the Bourbon regime - adding a perversely voyeuristic element to the more reassuring sentiment that the British volunteers had also played a part in defeating tyranny.[12] In the context of the 'poetry' of the Risorgimento, displaying torture instruments would elicit powerful emotions in liberal Britain, where many subscriptions throughout the country had raised funds for the emancipation of Italy.

Garibaldi panoramas often trailed itineraries mapped around provincial Town Halls which had witnessed throughout the summer of 1860 the staging of charitable performances in aid of Garibaldi's 'heroic' enterprise. In August 1860 a 'Grand Garibaldi Concert' had been set up in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and operatic performances had been staged in Birmingham in aid of the 'Sufferers' in Garibaldi's army; a similar event had taken place at the Mechanics' Hall in Aberdeen.[13] While Garibaldi panorama impresarios who reached the provinces in 1861 had no intention of further sponsoring Garibaldi's ambition of completing the territorial unification of Italy, their business acumen often drew them to capitalise on prior manifestations of support for Garibaldi by staging their panoramas in venues where public meetings in support of the Italian cause had previously gathered.

This was certainly the case in Leicester, where on 12 and 13 March 1861 a Garibaldi panorama was shown at the Temperance Hall, a venue which in August of 1860 had seen the Mayor convene a public town meeting to respond to an appeal in aid of Garibaldi. The official event had been a tremendous success, with 'the body of the

orchestra being completely filled and the principal gallery also occupied':[14] local politicians had patronised it, underlining that the contest in Italy was to be considered 'one of those struggles in the great cause of civilization and humanity'.[15] No doubt the arrival of the panorama a few months later could capitalise on the local endorsement that Garibaldi's enterprise had received in the same venue in which the novel attraction was being shown: the panorama consisted of about thirty 'magnificent panoramic views' of Garibaldi's 'Life, Character and Glorious Career', each view covering 300 feet of canvas, introduced by a lecture given by Mr. L. Whitehead, (a name which curiously resonates with that of Mr. Bianco, i.e. Mr. White, in Nottingham). The show was performed in Leicester during two consecutive nights; tickets for the best seats could be reserved in advance for the price of two shillings while second seats were sold for one shilling and cheap tickets were available for 6 d.[16]

In March 1861, Mr Hamilton managed to secure a steady flow of spectators through the doors of the northern halls: not only was his diorama, *Garibaldi in Italy,* shown in the Leeds Music Hall in February, but by the following month Hamilton had ensured his presence in one of the towns which was most well-known for its long-term allegiance to Garibaldi, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which the Italian 'hero' had famously visited in 1854. Hamilton's 'magnificent new diorama' - shown in the course of three weeks in two different Newcastle venues, the Assembly Rooms and the Music Hall - was rich with dioramic effects, with 'big guns and mortars of the vessels firing balls and shells' to illustrate the bombardment of Palermo and it was accompanied by a 'descriptive and amusing lecture' by Mr Gregory, of Crystal Palace.[17] The 'NEW

DIORAMA' illustrated 'the Brilliant Achievements of Garibaldi in Sicily and Italy depicting the 'most Interesting Events in the Great Struggle for Freedom commencing with the French Campaign in Italy to the Triumphant Entry of Garibaldi into Naples'.

The rare survival of full descriptions of panoramas merits reproducing in full the following section, drawn from Joseph Cowen's *Newcastle Daily Chronicle and Northern Counties Advertiser*.

> Conducted in a manner similar to other celebrated entertainments of this kind, which combine instruction and amusement, Mr Hamilton's diorama has the advantage of being a public pictorial history of the ever memorable engagements of which the Italian peninsula has so recently been the theatre, and Garibaldi the chief actor. The cities of Genoa and Turin are first represented, and are followed, in due course, by fresh, well- painted and life-like pictures of the battles of Palestro and Solferino and the actions connected to them. After these come the events of Garibaldi's expedition – his departure from Genoa, with a few followers, by moonlight; the progress of the expedition, introducing both a gorgeous sunset and an equally resplendent picture of sunrise at sea; and the bombardments of the city of Palermo. In this scene, by the aid of dioramic effects, the big guns and mortars of the vessel are made to fire balls and shells from the portholes and decks, and eventually a portion of the city is scene in flames. The inland views are remarkable for their truthfulness, an eye-witness having assured us that in the picture of the battle of Volturno, the hill and the valley where the engagement took place, were exactly correct; and as no diorama has ever been known to be deficient in colouring, the effect of these representations are exceedingly striking. The bivouac of the Garibaldians includes grand views of mountain scenery; and after several other pictures of more or less interest and merit, pictures of the street life of Naples are presented to the audience. Several other views, including a sketch of General Garibaldi in his Island home follow; and the exhibition terminates with the representation of monuments of eastern architecture. As the views appear before the audience a gentleman gives a concise *resumé* of the events connected with each; and at intervals suitable airs are performed with the harmonium. The audience last night was not numerous, but we trust that Mr Hamilton, during his stay in Newcastle, will be more extensively patronised.[18]

The panorama was shown in Newcastle in March 1861, the same month in which Italy became officially unified under Victor Emanuel's Kingdom: the 'Great Struggle for Freedom' described could now be set in its historical context, commencing, according to the advertisement, with what was referred to as 'the French Campaign in Italy'.[19]

Interestingly the panorama opened with views of the city of Turin – recently become the Italian capital – and Genoa, which was also depicted in the context of the departure of Garibaldi's expedition 'by moonlight', with only 'a few followers'. The inclusion of the scene of the departure from Genoa of the Garibaldini is not an isolated case: this appeared also in Gompertz's panorama which was to be shown in April in Edinburgh. It is however worth remarking upon the presence of this scene, as it counters Ralph Hyde's interpretation, based on other Garibaldi panoramas, that such a scene had been excluded from panoramic representations, as artists were dependent on the availability of prints in order to compose their scenes.[20] Indeed, it may be argued that, as weeks went by, and the narrative newsworthiness of the 'Garibaldi moment' lost its immediate relevance, new strategies were adopted to compensate for this. In order to continue to attract large audiences 'mythical' episodes of Garibaldi's achievements, not recorded in the sketches of the illustrated press, increasingly came to supplement the missing scenes, which would now be drawn from the imagination of the artist.[21]

Other scenes of Hamilton's panorama which are worth remarking upon are those described as 'pictures of the street life of Naples'. The reference to the 'street life' of the locals suggests that the scenes captured the Neapolitans' everyday life, going beyond the representation of the 'Enthusiastic reception given to British Volunteers' in Naples, depicted in the *Illustrated London News* on 3 November 1860, where 'bare-footed urchins' were set against smartly turned-out British Garibaldians.[22] The reference to the 'street life of Naples' also indicates that the images of the Italians depicted in this panorama reinforced orientalist representations of the South; nevertheless, they may also

have mitigated the stereotype of the 'cut-throat' Italians depicted by George Augustus Sala in his comic panoramas, circulated amongst large audiences in the 1850s.[23]

Hamilton heavily marketed his new diorama in Newcastle, advertising in radical and conservative newspapers in town and particularly labouring to entice the local nobility and gentry amongst his audience, evidently keen to sell them the most expensive tickets, for two shillings. The first venue in which the panorama was shown, the Assembly Rooms, was an extremely prestigious one in Newcastle: built in 1776 the Georgian building was one of the finest and grandest in town, intended, according to the inscription on its foundation stone, for the 'most elegant' recreations. Hamilton strove to achieve this; yet he struggled to attract large audiences through the doors and moved his panorama to the Music Hall.[24]

By 29 April 1861 Hamilton's new diorama had moved again: it was being shown at the Mechanics' Institute in South Shields, the location where Garibaldi's ship had docked and where the General was still remembered as a 'Tyneside hero'.[25] The new magnificent building which provided the headquarters for the local Mechanics' Institute had been purchased the previous year: it comprised a library and reading rooms for working men's classes and boasted the largest meeting space in the Borough in the form of a vast hall with a high ornamental ceiling which added a touch of grandeur, a gallery at one end, and a raised platform on the other, providing ample space for a thousand spectators. No doubt the performance was a success, as the viewing was extended another week.[26] Hamilton, in abandoning his ambitions to attract the local gentry and settling for

the working-class pundits, had chosen the safe course of action. Tyneside workers' radical political convictions and association with the 'republican' Garibaldi, who had once visited their shores, ensured the South Shields' audiences' loyalty to the memory of the Italian 'hero'. Yet, it is no wonder that the decision to take the Garibaldi panorama down the social ladder of the Tyneside theatre audiences had been delayed for weeks: the ticket prices for admission to the performances at the Mechanics' Institute had had to drop considerably, the highest ticket prices being sold for one shilling (half the price of the most expensive tickets sold at the Assembly Rooms), while other tickets were being sold for 6d and even, unusually, 3d.[27] The difference in revenue for Hamilton was considerable, as the 2 shillings tickets which had been sold at the Assembly Rooms two months earlier were nearly ten times more expensive than the cheapest ticket sold at the Mechanics' Institute.[28]

The drop in revenue – only partly compensated by the substantial capacity of the Mechanics' Institute Hall – was a signal that, beyond the loyal working-class enclaves, Garibaldi panoramas were rapidly losing the novelty appeal amongst the wider audience. The reason for this rapid change in fashion may be found in the peculiarity of the Garibaldi panoramas as genre: first circulated in 1860, in the midst of the campaign unrolling in Southern Italy, and capitalizing on the extraordinarily 'glorious' events which had unfolded in the last few weeks, early Garibaldi panoramas were fashioned as newsworthy: their success was not only rooted in Garibaldi's recent fame but also in the contemporary relevance of the events narrated. The narrative took precedence on the 'immersive spectacle'.

By the spring of 1861 the unfolding of events in Italy would impact on the news relevance of the Garibaldi panoramas. The same newspapers which were advertising the arrival of Garibaldi panoramas in town were keeping their readers abreast of the current political developments on the continent in their 'foreign affairs' section: soon the prosaic news from Italy would gradually deconstruct the 'poetry' of the Risorgimento, visually rendered in the panorama scenes. On 10 May 1861 a Newcastle Garibaldian, who had fought as a volunteer in Capua, wrote from Turin to the *Newcastle Courant*, relating what he described as the 'late scene in the Turin Chambers'. This is how the scene had unfurled, according to the correspondent:

> He (Garibaldi) spoke of the heroic deeds accomplished by the volunteers in the South of Italy, and their subsequent cold treatment; but the climax was reached when in energetic burning words, he charged the ministry with a war of fratricide between the north and the south of Italy. Upon this there was a tremendous *fracas*. Cavour, who up to this time was sitting calmly (I shan't say comfortably) sprung up from his velvet cushion as he had received a galvanic shock.[29]

Increasingly the recent events described by panorama entertainers were appearing disconnected from the news which could be read in the local papers. Indeed, between April and May national and provincial newspapers reported on how Garibaldi's allegiance to the monarchic politicians had rapidly turned sour and was dividing the celebrated 'hero' from the Italian government. Even loyal punters of the South Shields Mechanics' Institute could read in the local *North and South Shields Gazette* - announcing one more week viewing of the Garibaldi panorama - that three thousand troops of the Italian army had arrived in Naples, where military operations were under way against the insurgents of the Basilicata.[30]

As Gompertz unrolled the scenes of his Garibaldi Diorama in Edinburgh in mid-April, he seemed unaffected by the recent political turmoil in Turin – and able to secure a full house at the Waterloo Rooms, ensuring lucrative returns. This was a substantial achievement, as, according to the *Era*:

> Having had a three months spell of Dioramas, it might naturally be supposed that any new candidate for public favour in the same line would meet with ill-success. Such, however, has not been the case with Mr. Gompertz's panorama, now exhibiting here with the title of 'Garibaldi's Campaign in Italy'. The rooms each evening have been crowded to excess.[31]

Gompertz's success, however, was also a sign of his business acumen: not only was he including once again the viewing of popular panorama subjects within the *soirée* - typically the all 'immersive spectacle', the 'Panorama of the Rhine' and the 'Script of the Holy Sepulchre' - but the seasoned impresario was aiming to reach an even wider audience. As the advertisement announced, apart from the conventional half-price ticket for individual children, Gompertz invited entire school parties to attend at half price.[32] Regardless of current political blunders which might have put into question the 'glorious' success of Garibaldi's achievements, Gompertz was presenting his panorama as a new genre, half way between a history lesson and mythology: the moment of the departure of the Garibaldians from Genoa was significantly included. Capturing the great moments of Italian history, even if this meant giving free rein to artistic licence, was obviously considered by Gompertz a more lucrative affair than attempting to faithfully represent contemporary scenes of Italian politics that, increasingly, were best left to the small print of the national press.

Indeed, as school children were welcomed through the doors of the Waterloo Rooms in Edinburgh, readers of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* could laconically read in the inside pages of the paper the accusations that General Cialdini was waging against the Italian 'hero':

> You are not the man I thought you: you are not the Garibaldi I loved. With that illusion has disappeared the affection for you. I am no longer your friend, and I pass distinctly and openly to the ranks of your political opponents. You have dared to put yourself on a level with the King, affecting to speak of him with the familiarity of a comrade. It is your intention to place yourself above social customs, by presenting yourself in the Chambers in a strange dress: above the Government by treating the Ministers as traitors, because they have not given themselves to you; above Parliament, by loading with reproaches the Deputies who do not think after your fashion; above the country, by wishing to drive it where and how you choose it. Well, General, there are men who are not disposed to bear all that, and I am one of the number.[33]

Surely, enthusiastic British supporters of Garibaldi's greatest achievement - the unification of Italy - must have been baffled when reading such vehement accusations. Mixed messages were reaching the keen British observers of the Italian events, increasingly making more challenging the job of impresarios who had invested in visualizing the wondrous achievements of Garibaldi to create a unified Italy: indeed, according to an article published in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in May 1861, readers might well be excused for having tired of the Italian question.[34]

Gompertz, who evidently desired to prolong further the enchantment of the narrative of Italy's unification, took his panorama back South, as far as the isle of Jersey. Unusual as this destination might have seemed to the *Era*, which expressed some surprise about this, the choice of destination illustrated Gompertz's sophisticated knowledge of

his audience and his awareness that his platforms needed to be selected with even greater care.[35] The panorama was shown in August – typically a month of low season for theatre spectacles. In mid-summer the island could potentially attract visitors, well disposed towards leisure activities. Not only was Jersey well connected to Southampton via steamships, but Queen Victoria's recent informal visit of the island, in 1859, would have rendered Jersey a desirable resort.

Moreover, the island had a further attraction. Jersey - which had a tradition of hosting revolutionary exiles amongst whom Victor Hugo and the Italian Luigi Pianciani, previously editor of the exiles' paper l'*Homme* - had witnessed one of the earliest manifestations of support for Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily, thanks to the presence on the island of Julian Harney, who had welcomed Garibaldi in Newcastle in 1854 and retained strong links with the Italophile, Newcastle radical, Joseph Cowen. Significantly, Gompertz's panorama was shown at the Queen's Assembly Rooms, where meetings of support for the early expedition from Genoa had gathered since June 1860.[36] The panorama, conventionally accompanied by the viewing of the late Mr. Albert Smith's 'Rhine' and his unrivalled 'Crypt of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem', was evidently a success, as the Jersey public was reported to have given 'golden proofs of their admiration of Mr. Gompertz's work of art'.[37] Gompertz's skill in selling his artefacts still proved to be lucrative in September 1861, when the impresario arrived in Cardiff, with a show at Mathew's and Holbrook Hall. Once again, he managed to attract 'large numbers', yet this time the order of the items had been reversed: according to the announcement published in the *Era,* it was 'Gompertz's 'attractive panorama of the

Rhine *and* Garibaldi's triumphant campaign in Italy' (second in order) which were being shown.[38]

Increasingly, new expedients may have been sought by professional panorama impresarios determined to continue to sell tickets by capitalising on Garibaldi's aura: in 1862, the media attention around the Aspromonte episode furnished showmen of the Garibaldi panoramas with new ammunition - another battle. New scenes were added, at least to John Storey's panorama: the centrality of the telescope in the composition of the Aspromonte battle was potentially a very powerful message amongst northern spectators who well-remembered that Garibaldi had been presented with the gift of a telescope on leaving the Tyneside shores. Garibaldi possessed at least two telescopes which had been sent to him by English admirers, to which he regularly referred with gratitude, claiming that all gifts sent him by the 'great and liberal country' had 'an inestimable value' to him.[39] Bearing in mind the level of renewed support for Garibaldi which was witnessed in Britain following the news of Garibaldi's wounding in Aspromonte, placing the (English?) telescope in Garibaldi's hand at the centre of the scene could be powerfully evocative.[40]

It remains to be said that at this stage the marketing success of Garibaldi panoramas could not be assured; the fact that Storey's Garibaldi panorama was sold in Nottingham to Anthony Burford, who would attempt to market it in the United States, is revealing. Despite his marketing skills and despite the British manifestations of solidarity for Garibaldi at Aspromonte, even a seasoned impresario like Gompertz would resort to

showing his panorama in 1863 to minor locations trying to play catch-up with the 'Garibaldi moment' phenomenon: in January 1863 Gompertz's diorama of Garibaldi's campaigns in Italy was shown at the Braintree Corn Exchange. Even here the public needed to be enticed through the door with good offers: the Family Ticket would admit 'an entire party, irrespective of number.[41] The local event was not reported in the *Era.*

Evidence of the dip in popularity of shows centring on Italian matters may be gleaned from the increased marginality that the topic of the Italian question and the memory of the ferocity of the Bourbon regime seemed to acquire in the capital in the ensuing months. In the summer of 1863 St. James's Hall in London announced 'a novel species of entertainment', a 'lecture, or demonstration' by the Italian Dr. Giuseppe Nani, who claimed to have brought to London the original instruments of torture used by the Bourbon police. The instruments consisted of a 'body roaster', a 'foot roaster' and a 'cap of silence'. These and other forms of torture, which had previously enraptured audiences of moving Garibaldi panorama, were being displayed to fully illustrate the inhuman barbarities practised in Italy only a few years earlier: the suggestion was that the Bourbons still constituted a threat to the Italian Kingdom. The lecturer intended to create 'a general feeling of detestation towards the late Government of the Two Sicilies' and towards 'measures now being adopted in Italy to revive an interest in the dethroned and tyrannous Francis the Second'.[42] Nani's exertions to introduce 'and to a certain extent practically employ' the instruments of torture during the low theatre season in London, woefully attracted a very small audience: indeed, the following week the well-meaning improvised impresario, indebted and mortified by his inability to communicate to the

British public the perceived menace of an imminent restoration of the Bourbons, was reported to have committed suicide.[43]

If Garibaldi panoramas, as all moving panoramas, may have been until recently classified amongst the 'neglected and forgotten media', the 'novel species of entertainment', experimented by the wretched Italian 'impresario by default', deserves a mention within the realm of what Huhtamo defines 'dead end, losers, and inventions that never made it into a material product' and yet 'have important stories to tell'.[44] Nani's failure to reach the British audiences is indeed telling. His inexperience of his audience was a defining factor, and his decision to go ahead with the spectacle during the low theatrical season in the capital was a grave mistake – one that seasoned impresarios would not have made. Apart from the performance in Jersey, Gompertz's and Hamilton's panorama shows were performed between the spring and the autumn. However, these impresarios were shrewd businessmen – while Nani was driven by emotion, an impassioned urgency to awake the British people to the fragile equilibrium which was keeping Italy together and to the internal menaces that appeared to threaten her unity.[45] In short, Nani was driven by political conviction, not by business acumen. Seasoned impresarios in 1863 were not investing big capital in Garibaldian entertainments: these were now relegated to small peripheral towns, which were not regional magnets in provincial England, Wales and Scotland, as were Newcastle, Leeds, Edinburgh, Cardiff and, to a lesser degree, Nottingham, Leicester, Bristol and Southampton.

Not only was the 'poetry' of the Italian question becoming a tired subject for entertaining large British audiences, but also the illustrated *tableaux*, once employed as a colourfully novel attraction by panorama impresarios, were increasingly becoming less likely to impress spectators.[46] In April 1864, on the arrival of Garibaldi in London, an enterprising theatre manager in the village of Effingham, Surrey, hastily put together a *pièce de circumstance* which enjoyed 'a most favorable reception'. The drama, which included scenes of Garibaldi in his happy home and the unrolling of Italy's 'glorious' events, was aided by the visual support of *tableaux*, which, according to the knowledgeable *Era*, 'if not altogether new' were 'sufficiently well arranged to make them attractive'.[47]

Remarkably, however, as the London audiences prepared for the most memorable attraction – the arrival of Garibaldi in person - it would seem that the heyday of 'Garibaldi panoramas' was over, as readers had either tired with the Italian question or were confused by the prosaic news coming from Italy - no matter how 'novel' the 'species of entertainment' presented to them might be.[48] Seasoned panorama impresario now sought their fortunes elsewhere. Gompertz, who was keen to furnish his panoramas with relevant news headlines, had recently been touring the country with a diorama of the War in America, which, in January 1864, still attracted a large audience in Edinburgh.[49] Other impresarios may have had the scenes picturing Garibaldi's enterprises covered by new colourful panoramic views. Certainly, in 1864, the *Era*, supposedly reliable in its 'theatrical intelligence', did not report or advertise any showing of moving 'Garibaldi panoramas'. Conversely, Garibaldi theatrical dramas continued to be performed; yet these

had no ambition of narrating newsworthy events, rather they were simply celebrating the popular hero. The immediacy and relevance of *Garibaldi's Achievements*, originally shown by Gompertz in Bristol in September 1860, was not applicable to the present situation in Italy.

The *Era*, however did report some news surrounding two Garibaldi panoramas in 1864. Both advertisements are interesting in different ways. In the first case a panorama of Garibaldian content appears as a setting: 'magnificent panoramic views', 1600 feet long, created a static setting which encircled the Gardens of Weston Retreat, Kentish Town. Visitors walking the grounds and conservatories containing 'the most luxurious Flowers, the Grottos, Fountain and Cascades' would also enjoy the views of 'the most interesting portion of the Seagirt Island of Caprera, the home of the Italian liberator, Garibaldi, brilliantly illuminated by 100,000 variegated gas jets'.[50] It would appear that the views of Garibaldi's island now unfolding were part of a static installation created as encircling background to the gardens' promenade. The static views were being shown in Gardens that were open 'All Year Round', so they were not expected to attract a concentration of spectators in the space of one week. The length of the panorama, 1600 feet, when compared with that of the only surviving moving panorama, Burford's Garibaldi panorama, measuring 273 feet on each side, would suggest that this was a purposefully built, static installation. Despite the reference to Garibaldi's home, the installation was not publicized for the illustration of Garibaldi's achievements: the landscapes, rather than the action, constituted the attraction. The use of views from Caprera indicates that the Garibaldian theme was detached from the narrative events of

the liberation of Italy which had defined previous Garibaldian panoramas; the value of the scenic painting was, once again, in its 'immersive spectacle' quality.[51] The attraction of the narrative of Garibaldi's campaign had clearly waned.

The other Garibaldi panorama advertised in the *Era* in 1864 seems to confirm this. On 28 August 1864 the *Era* reported that a panorama of the *Campaigns of Garibaldi* was for sale. Each view was 24 feet by 12 feet, 'likewise some Drop Scenes' – supposedly *tableaux* which accompanied the main panorama – and the curtain. The keen seller added that there would be 'No objection to Exchange for Dissolving View Slides'.[52] The alternative suggestion of an 'exchange' rather than a 'sale' indicated that the seller was not so confident that his announcement would attract many punters. Indeed, the diasporas of Garibaldi panoramas had come to an end in Britain. The only hope for impresarios committed to the narrative of Garibaldi's campaign lay in exploring new frontiers. The transatlantic route chosen by Burford for his newly purchased panorama opened up the possibility that American audiences might welcome the pictorial narrative of Garibaldi's campaigns with fresh curiosity.

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[1] Erkki Huhtamo, 'Global Glimpses for Global Realities: The Moving Panorama: a Forgotten Mass Medium of the 19th Century', 2002, http://sengmueller.com/media_archeology/reading_materials/Erkki_Huhtamo-Moving_Panorama.pdf accessed on 5 January 2011. While there is a body of historiography on static, circular panoramas, few studies have focused specifically on moving panoramas, other than Erkki Huhtamo, 'Penetrating the Peristrephic: An Unwritten Chapter in the History of the Panorama', *Early Popular Visual Culture* (2008), 6, 219-38. For an earlier study see Ralph Hyde, *Panoramania! The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View*, Trefoil, 1988.

[2] Alison Byerly, ' "A Prodigious Map Beneath His Feet": Virtual Travel and the Panoramic Perspective', *Nineteenth Century Contexts* (2007), 29, 151-68; Ted Hovet, 'America on Display: Constructing and Containing Images of the United States', *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* (2009), 9.

[3] Huhtamo, 'Penetrating the Peristrephic', 231.

[4]Louis James, 'Era', in Brake, Laurel and Demoor, Marysa (eds.), *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (Gent-London: Academia Press and British Library, 2009), p.206
[5] Huhtamo, 'Global Glimpses for Global Realities'.
[6] *Era,* 12 August 1860.
[7] *Era,* 9 September 1860.
[8] *Era*, 20 January, 1861.
[9] *Era*, 30 December 1860.
[10] Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Panikka, *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications and Implications*, University of California Press, 2011.
[11]Huhtamo, 'Global Glimpses for Global Realities'.
[12] *Nottingham Daily Express*, 1 February 1861. On Anthony Burford's panorama see http://dl.lib.brown.edu/garibaldi/panorama.php accessed on 1 March 2011. For Mr Bianco see http://dl.lib.brown.edu/garibaldi/review.html.
[13] *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 31 August 1860; *Era*, 26 August 1860; *Era*, 23 and 30 September 1860.
[14] *Leicestershire Mercury*, 25 August 1860.
[15] Ibid.
[16] *Leicestershire Mercury*, 9 March 1861.
[17] Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe, 'Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment' in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1854-1861), *Modern Italy* (2010), 15, 129-44, http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a921127671~db=all~jumptype=rss .
[18] *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 11 March 1861
[19] *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 11 March 1861.
[20] Ralph Hyde, 'The Campaigns of Garibaldi: A Look at a Surviving Panorama', p. 10 http://dl.lib.brown.edu/garibaldi/Ralph_Hyde_Garibaldi_Panorama.pdf?PHPSESSID=c9419b842969a236cf3af1143aa7f971.
[21] For the concept of the 'Garibaldi moment' see Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*', Yale University Press, 2007.
[22] Annemarie McCallister, *John Bull's Italian Snakes and Ladders: English Attitudes to Italy in the mid-nineteenth Century,* Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, p. 197-8.
[23] Peter Blake, 'George Augustus Sala and the English Middle-Class View of America', *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* (2009), 9.
[24] For a more detailed analysis of the local associations of Garibaldi with Newcastle and the strategies adopted by Hamilton to lure the local audiences see Sutcliffe, 'Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment' in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1854-1861)'.
[25] *North and South Shields Gazette*, 29 April 1861. D.M. Jackson, 'Garibaldi or the Pope! Newcastle's Irish Riot of 1866', *North East History* (2001), 34.
[26] *North and South Shields Gazette*, 4 May 1861.
[27] The different social status and political inclination of the audience of the South Shields' Mechanics' institute - coupled with the lowering of the price of the ticket - provide an explanation to the suggestion I made in my previous article published in *Modern Italy* that Hamilton might have found a successful formula in presenting anew his panorama to the Tyneside audiences in May. As it transpires from these documents, the later success of Hamilton's panorama was due to the change of venue, from the Music Hall in central Newcastle to the outskirts of Newcastle, in the Mechanics' Hall of South Shields. See Sutcliffe, 'Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment' in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1854-1861), 140.
[28] The calculation is based on the currency converter of the National Archives for 1860. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default0.asp#mid.
[29] *Newcastle Courant*, 10 May 1861.
[30] *North and South Shields Gazette*, 4 May 1861.
[31] *Era,* 21 April 1861
[32] *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27 April 1861.
[33] *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 27 April 1861.
[34] *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 18 May 1861.
[35] *Era*, 18 August 1861.
[36] *Jersey Independent*, 9, 13, 15, 30 June 1860.
[37] *Era*, 18 August 1861.

[38] *Era*, 29 September 1861.
[39] Garibaldi's gratitude for the gifts received by the British were often published in British and Irish protestant newspapers. See for example *Newcastle Daily Journal,* 5 April 1861; *The Downshire Protestant*, 2 November 1860.
[40] Sheridan Gilley, 'The Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *The Historical Journal* (1973), XVI, 697-732.
[41] Advertisement cutting, *Joseph Poole Scrapbook*, 1863, Essex Record Office, T/B 576/2.
[42] *Era*, 23 August 1863.
[43] *Era*, 23, 30 August 1863.
[44] Huhtamo and Panikka, *Media Archaeology*, Introduction.
[45] For a recent reassessment on the organisation of a 'white international' and of armed expeditions supported by the Bourbons see Simon Sarlin, 'Fighting the Risorgimento: Foreign Volunteers in Southern Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* (2009), 14, 476-90.
[46] On the uses of tableaux see Huthamo, 'Global Glimpses for Global Realities' pp. 16-7, http://sengmueller.com/media_archeology/reading_materials/Erkki_Huhtamo-Moving_Panorama.pdf.
[47] *Era,* 10, 16 April 1864.
[48] On the presentation of addresses to Garibaldi at Chrystal Palace see the *Era*, 10, 17 April 1864.
[49] *Era* , 17 January 1864.
[50] *Era*, 22 May 1864.
[51] As Lucy Riall has suggested. 'Garibaldi's home at Caprera became and integral part of hi fame'. Riall, *Garibaldi*, pp. 306-11.
[52] *Era*, 28 August 1864.