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‘Seeing is deceiving’: the lost Manchester Diorama, 1825–7

Tracey May Boyce

It requires an effort to keep in mind that which seems so verdant and so beautiful, so vast and so sublime, is confined within the walls of a brick building in a smoky town. A little girl of four or five years of age who did not trouble herself to inquire how so a scene could extend from the bottom of Cooper-street, said in our hearing ‘Why Papa, you said it was a picture, and these are real things’.¹

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Manchester abounded with multifarious exhibitions, shows, panoramas, spectacles, freak-shows, fairs and demonstrations, overlapping with each other and vying for dominance. They took place in many of Manchester’s public spaces, church halls, assemblies, town halls, theatres, and music halls. These visual amusements displayed and highlighted innovations in science, technology and art, their popularity boosted by changes in leisure patterns, education and transportation. With elaborate Greek-inspired names such as the Panorama, Diorama, Myriorama, and Eidophusikon, visual spectacles of illusion were perfectly placed to exploit the nineteenth-century audiences’ taste for innovative and spectacular amusement.² The Diorama³ in nineteenth-century Manchester, open for just two years, was an important but short-lived part of Manchester’s ‘picture-going’ history, which has sadly been overlooked and is in danger of being forgotten. Building on R. Derek Wood’s 1993 article ‘The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s’,⁴ and his investigations into the Manchester Diorama, this article will offer a history of the Diorama and its reception in Manchester by drawing upon contemporary reviews. In addition, it will investigate the reasons behind its early closure.⁵

The Diorama was the invention in 1822 of two French artists, Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787–1851) and Charles-Marie Bouton (1781–1853). Both were respected artists in France: Daguerre, a set designer at the Paris Opéra and the Théâtre Ambigu-Comique, and Bouton, a well-known landscape and scenic artist.⁶ Together, their collaboration was to introduce to the world a new type of visual entertainment, intended to be an improvement on Robert Barker’s Panorama. Barker (1739–1806), an Irish-born artist living in Edinburgh, had coined the word ‘panorama’ in 1791 to describe a 360-degree view of a vista or landscape.⁷ His Panorama was housed in a specially constructed circular building in Leicester Square, London. It offered the viewer an immersive experience with battle scenes and city landscapes painted on its circular wall on a massive scale. However, the Panorama was a static exhibition and Daguerre and Bouton intended to make their scenes ‘come to life’ with elaborate lighting effects.⁸

Like many other entertainments of the time, the word 'diorama' was a newly invented term deriving from the Greek *dia* (through) and *horama* (view). It opened in Paris on 11 July 1822, on Rue Sanson (near today's Place de la Republique) in a specially designed building. It housed a revolving 320-seat amphitheatre for the audience, two picture rooms, technical apparatus that controlled the flow of light into the building, and the crank mechanism for the amphitheatre.⁹ Designed to exhibit two pictures, the first two subjects at the Paris Diorama were the 'Valley of Sarnen' and 'Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral'. A proven success, a year later, Daguerre's Diorama opened in London on 29 September 1823, operated under an English patent taken out by John Arrowsmith, Daguerre's brother-in-law. Along with his brother Charles Arrowsmith, they managed and set up the first English Diorama, in Regents Park.¹⁰ The Paris and London Dioramas accommodated two huge pictures, each one measuring seventy by forty-five feet, one painted by Daguerre and the other by Bouton,¹¹ and manipulated natural daylight (from skylights) to give the illusion that the viewers were watching a three-dimensional scene. The effect was created by painting two pictures on each side of translucent linen, using opaque and translucent paint. The rear picture, subjected to varied colours and depths of light, shone through onto the front picture, revealing hidden parts of the rear picture.¹² Natural overhead light was manipulated with coloured panels, shutters and curtains operated by pulleys, which modified the intensity and colour of the light.¹³ These effects could produce the impression of night and day, fog and shadows, and brought the pictures to life. The two pictures were presented in sequence, through an opening which resembled a frame, with the picture at the end of a tunnel (possibly painted black), thirty or forty feet long (Figure 1).¹⁴ Once the first picture had been displayed for fifteen minutes, the audience seating in the amphitheatre was swivelled gently to view the other painting (the design of the crank mechanism made it light enough to be operated by a boy even when at full seating capacity), the whole show taking about thirty minutes.¹⁵

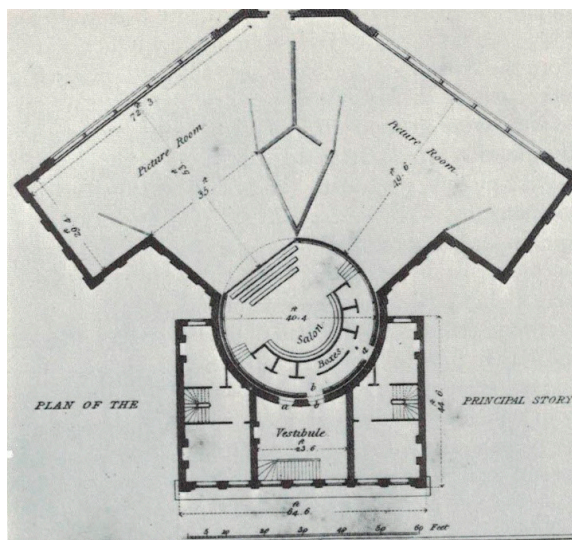


Figure 1: Plan of the Diorama building, Park Square, Regent's Park, London, 1823. From Augustus Pugin, John Britton and William Henry Leeds, *Illustrations of the public buildings of London*, vol. 1 (London: John Weal, second edition, 1838), p. 367

With the Diorama a proven commercial success, entrepreneurs brought the exhibition to the provinces (Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin and Edinburgh). A surviving programme from the Manchester Diorama sold at the door of the exhibition for three pence tells us why these locations were chosen but does not name these 'gentlemen'. At the time the Diorama was wound up, the proprietors were William Henry Coppinger, Thomas Colley Grattan and George Dance. However, it is unknown whether the proprietors remained the same throughout the Diorama's life. A copy of the programme, held at the John Rylands Library, notes:

Struck with their uncommon merit, some English Gentlemen, then in the French Capital, resolved to secure so valuable an acquisition for their own country, and contracted with Messrs. Bouton and Daguerre for the purchase of these two paintings, as well as any of which they might subsequently execute for the Diorama [...] The unbounded success of the undertaking in London being a guarantee for its meeting a similar reception in a few of the leading towns in England, as well as Dublin and Edinburgh, arrangements were entered into with the proprietor, for the purpose of carrying this plan into effect. The vast expense and inconvenience of erecting buildings of such immense size for this exhibition, must preclude its extension beyond a very few places in England. Liverpool and Manchester have been selected as the most proper starting posts for the provincial Diorama. The increasing population, wealth, and prosperity of these two towns, the great influx of strangers for which they are both remarkable, and the liberal encouragement afforded in both to the development of the fine arts [...] have induced the proprietors to erect in both these towns, a substantial edifice.¹⁶

Although no names are mentioned in the programme, the above statement indicates that Manchester and Liverpool at least were owned by the same proprietors. Previous research by Wood suggests that Edinburgh and London had a different set of proprietors. He quotes the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* of 12 December 1827, which announced the opening, and notes that the 'Interior of Chartres Cathedral', 'lately exhibited in Regent's Park, London [...] and all the accessories are by the same proprietors'.¹⁷ As the licensee of London was a Mr Jacob Smith,¹⁸ it is reasonable to assume that he took on a manager to oversee the Edinburgh Diorama, as it was a considerable distance away.¹⁹

The Manchester Diorama building

The *Manchester Courier's* announcement of the opening of the Diorama provides some important information. On 19 April 1825, it mentions that 'the imposing dimensions of the building lately erected for this purpose in Cooper's-street, may convey a notion of the vast size of the picture meant to be exhibited'.²⁰ This confirms two facts; verification

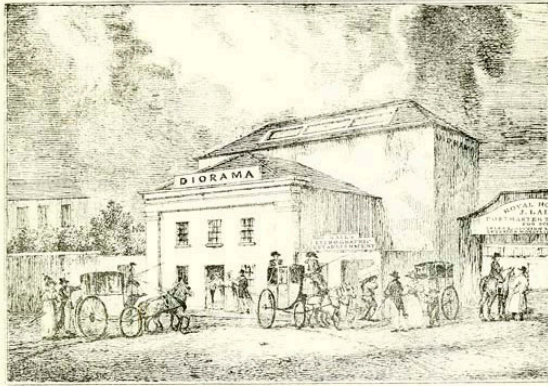
of the position of the Diorama on Cooper Street, and its imposing size. Taken alongside previous evidence from its brochure as to the expense of building the Diorama, Wood notes it is strange that no architectural plans or drawings of the Cooper Street site have survived. What is known, however, is that the new building was of a different design to those in Paris and London. The provincial Dioramas were designed to show only one picture at a time,²¹ though it is not documented whether this was due to a lack of available land space (highly possible in both Manchester and Liverpool), or the possibility to double profits by showing one of the two pictures simultaneously in different locations.

Wood notes that the only evidence of the site of the building comes from historical maps of Manchester and Salford from the period.²² The first indication is an advert in the *Manchester Mercury* in 1823 for the sale of a plot of land, possibly the plot on which the Diorama stood, ‘a PLOT of LAND to be SOLD, for building upon, fronting Cooper Street. – Applications to be made at No. 4, Mount-street, Peter-street’.²³ No other plots of land were for sale at the time in Cooper Street and so it is highly probable that this is the Diorama’s plot. (It has been ruled out that this was the land on which the Manchester Mechanics’ Institute was built in Cooper Street in 1825, as the evidence shows a plot which bordered on Back Mosley Street.)²⁴ As Wood notes,²⁵ the Diorama building appears on *Swire’s Map of Manchester and its Environs* in 1824 with the Diorama listed in the key.²⁶ The portion of the map below from 1829 clearly shows the building still in situ, labelled as the Diorama, with a corresponding entry in *Pigot and Son’s General Directory* (1829). Its address in the directory is noted as ‘10 Dickinson-Street, Cooper-street’ (Figure 2).



Figure 2: 1829 Map of Manchester and Salford with the Diorama building shown and labelled. Engraving. Manchester Archives and Local Studies, GB127, Local Studies Street Map Collection; extract from *Pigot and Son’s General Directory of Manchester, Salford, &c. for 1829* (Manchester: J. Pigot & Sons, 1828), p. 15

By combining existing evidence, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of the building. The shape of the building on the 1829 map corresponds to a surviving engraving of the Edinburgh Diorama. Like Manchester, it was designed to show one picture, so it may be assumed that the buildings were of a similar architectural style. The engraving of the Edinburgh Diorama was undertaken by its manager, Mr J. Hall,²⁷ and the image used as an advert in the *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory* (1835–6). The engraving (Figure 3) shows a building with a Georgian frontage and a wider building behind it. This matches the shape of the building shown on the Manchester map. The only other indication of its possible appearance comes from the illustration which accompanied the weekly advertisements for the Diorama in the *Manchester Courier* between 1825 and 1827 (Figure 4), which closely matches an illustration of the Liverpool Diorama in Bold Street, from *The Stranger in Liverpool* (1833) (Figure 5).²⁸



DIORAMA
AND
COSMORAMA

Lothian Road

Open daily, from 10 o'Clock A.M. till dusk.

ADMITTANCE TO THE WHOLE 1/6

Children half price.

W. & A. G. LEITCH

Figure 3: Edinburgh Diorama building, Lothian Road. From *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory* (1835–6), National Library of Scotland, Online Post Office Directories, <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/83224413>, accessed 16 December 2020. The image is also used on Wood's site: http://www.midley.co.uk/diorama/Diorama_Wood_1_3.htm, accessed 21 April 2021

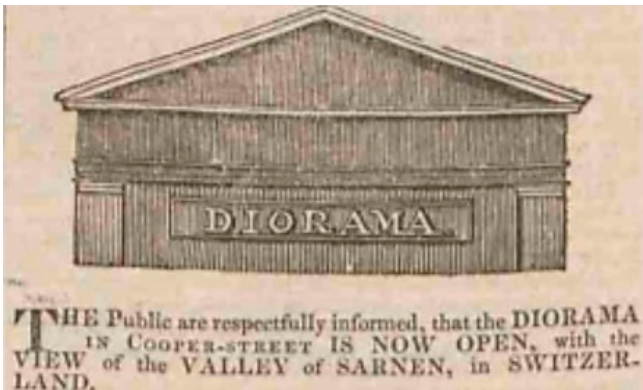


Figure 4: Advert for the Diorama used in the *Manchester Courier*, 1825–7



Figure 5: The Diorama on Bold Street, Liverpool, 1833

The performance and reviews

The Diorama on Cooper Street opened to the public on 5 April 1825 as one of only four provincial sites chosen to host Dioramas at the time (Liverpool opened in February 1825, Dublin in March 1826, and Edinburgh in July 1828).²⁹ Therefore, the inhabitants of Manchester must have felt a sense of pride and excitement to have been chosen to host this novel entertainment. The opening picture chosen for Manchester was one of the first exhibited successfully at both Paris and London, the 'Valley of Sarnen' (the other, 'Trinity Chapel Canterbury Cathedral' was already being exhibited in Liverpool). The accompanying booklet contained a simple illustration on the back page, with a numeric key; each key number accompanied by a detailed description (Figure 6).

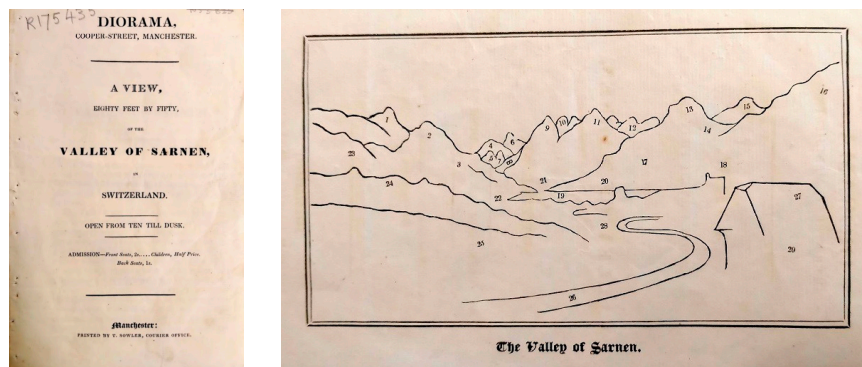


Figure 6: Front and back page of the Diorama programme, 'A view, eighty feet by fifty, of the valley of Sarnen in Switzerland: open from ten till dusk [...]', John Rylands Library, Pamphlet Collection, R175435

The arrival of the Diorama certainly met with favourable responses from newspaper reviewers. The *Manchester Gazette* noted, 'Such an exhibition is a positive increase to the stock of enjoyment of any town, and more particularly in a town like this, which has as yet so little beauty to boast of, and a lounge in the Diorama to him who toils amidst smoke and dust is as refreshing as water to the thirsty'.³⁰

Reviews of the exhibition itself also drew great praise and demonstrated that it was a source of wonder. In particular, reviews of the second picture, 'A view of Trinity Chapel, in Canterbury Cathedral', drew the most comment. The *Manchester Courier* described a pre-exhibition showing, in which it is compared to its predecessor 'The Valley of Sarnen':

The spectator of the former picture fancied himself to be looking from a window on a real and lovely landscape [...]. In the present instance, he finds it utterly impossible to conceive that what he beholds is a mere *representation* of objects. He is irresistibly impelled to walk straight up the centre aisle – to touch the pillars – pore over the monuments – seat himself in the Bishop's chair – do, in fact, precisely what he would do on entering a real Cathedral [...] Doubts have been, and will again be raised, as to the truth of the artist's assertion, that this Diorama is a flat surface.³¹

Indeed, the exhibition was so popular during its opening week that the *Manchester Mercury* was unable to gain entry in order to review it: ‘the exhibition has been extremely well attended. We looked in yesterday, to renew the delight and admiration with which we have often contemplated this magnificent picture, but as we could not obtain even “standing room”, we were compelled to wait for another opportunity.’³²

Although reviews of the exhibition itself are readily available in the press, only one description by an unknown author offers an impression of the inside of the building. This visitor to the Diorama set out his experience in the form of a poem in the *Manchester Courier*, during the ‘Trinity Chapel Canterbury Cathedral’ exhibition:

ON VIEWING THE DIORAMA OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

I’ve heard of Canterbury tales,
As matters past believing;
But its Cathedral - holy place,
Is even more deceiving.

Your money paid - you find upstairs,
A room that’s dark and small;
A skylight there - a fireplace there -
Green benches - that is all.

Henceforth I’ll be a stout Berkelian;
Eyes are not to be trusted;
They say that picture’s wood and stone,
Those walls with age are crusted.

They say those men are fast asleep -
(True – will they ever wake?),
That yonder stone will bear a blow,
That yonder jug will break.

Dioramas were not in the days,
When ‘seeing was believing;’
And henceforth must the proverb run,
That ‘seeing is deceiving.’ – 19 October 1825³³

Closure

The Diorama in Manchester was in operation for only two years. From an analysis of newspaper advertisements, its closure came suddenly and unexpectedly in December 1827. The *Manchester Courier* continued its weekly advertisements up to and including 1 December 1827. On 8 December and 22 December 1827, it announced, 'THE celebrated PICTURE OF HOLYROOD CHAPEL, by *Moonlight*... together with the MACHINERY used in exhibiting the same'³⁴ was to be sold by auction on 22 December at twelve o'clock on the premises. Its owner and new purchaser are not mentioned; however, this picture was later shown at the Dublin Diorama from April 1828, and the Edinburgh Diorama from June 1829.³⁵ There is no indication of how the building was used after its closure, but it remained standing until at least 1833 (Figure 7). It disappears from the maps in 1836 (Figure 8) and so was demolished at some point between these dates.



Figure 7: 1833 Map of Manchester and Salford. Engraving. Manchester Archives and Local Studies. GB127. Local Studies Street Map Collection/1833 Fisher

Figure 8: 1836 Map of Manchester and Salford. Engraving. Manchester Archives and Local Studies. GB127. Local Studies Street Map Collection/1836 Pigot

Various theories for the Manchester Diorama's closure are possible, but without financial records, it is difficult to ascertain whether visitor numbers were declining. One comment in the *Manchester Courier* on 9 April 1825 does note that, 'some time must elapse before they can be even reimbursed for the vast expense which the necessary preparations have cost them', a direct quote as to how long it might take to recoup its expenditure.³⁶ There is also the possibility that lack of adequate natural daylight in the city was a factor in its decline. As can be seen from Appendix 1 the Diorama remained open throughout the winter months. As Wood notes, this would have been a difficult challenge as it necessitated and relied on good natural daylight to be effective.³⁷ Advertisements show that the exhibition was 'open from 10 till dusk', and as two of the pictures, 'Trinity Chapel' and 'Harbour of Brest', were shown over the winter months, this must have limited their opening hours, and consequently their takings. This, however, is also true of both Liverpool and Edinburgh, but the Liverpool Diorama operated until 1832 and Edinburgh until 1836. A survey of the *Manchester Mercury* and *Manchester Courier* for the three months prior to the closure of the Diorama indicates little in the way of direct competition.³⁸ The Theatre Royal carried on its usual programme of shows and lectures, with nothing of note until December 1827 when the 'Tyrolean Minstrels' were performing at the Exchange Rooms along with an exhibition of authentic 'Chinese Ladies'.³⁹

Both the considerable investment into the building itself and the high admission cost may have contributed to the Diorama's failure. Admission to the Diorama's first picture (in April 1825), 'The Valley of Sarnen' was two shillings for an adult, one shilling for children under twelve, and perpetual (season) tickets were seven shillings and sixpence, the same as that of London. Considering London audiences saw two pictures for the same price, Manchester's Diorama was comparatively expensive. However, by its second picture showing of 'Canterbury Cathedral' in October 1825, the perpetual ticket price reduced to five shillings. This seating and cost structure remained in place until its closure in 1827. Apart from the short periods when the Diorama was closed for the changeover of pictures, adverts for it appeared weekly in the *Manchester Courier*. These adverts held a prominent front-page position accompanied by an illustration. The *Manchester Mercury* also carried front-page advertisements for the 'Valley of Sarnen' throughout its run, therefore indicating a large investment in advertising.⁴⁰ Population figures for Manchester and Liverpool do not offer up any evidence as to why Manchester was less successful than Liverpool. In fact, the population in Manchester was greater. In 1821 Manchester and Salford's population was 133,788, whilst Liverpool's population was 118,972.

The programme for the 'Valley of Sarnen' (Figure 6) suggests that the Manchester and Liverpool Dioramas may have had the same proprietors. By investigating the background of the Liverpool Diorama proprietor, the puzzle of the Manchester Diorama proprietor and its sudden closure is solved. William Henry Copping is listed as the Liverpool 'Diorama Keeper' in *Gore's Directory of Liverpool* (1825, and also 1827).⁴¹ Copping and his two partners were declared bankrupt in the *London Gazette*, on 29 January 1828. This notice also contains vital information about the Manchester Diorama, as the notice lists Copping as 'carrying on business jointly with Thomas Colley Grattan and George Dance, as Proprietors of the Provincial Diorama, as established at Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin and Cork' (Figure 9).⁴²

On Wednesday the 20th day of January 1828, at the same Hour and Place.

Copping, William Henry, formerly of Warwick-Street, Golden-Square, Westminster, Middlesex, afterwards of Duke-Street, Liverpool, afterwards of Bold-Street, Liverpool, afterwards of Rose Cottage, Edghill, near Liverpool, then of Mill-Street, Liverpool, all in Lancashire, and late of Church-Street, Woodside, Cheshire, carrying on business jointly with Thomas Colley Grattan and George Dance, as Proprietors of the Provincial Diorama, as established at Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin, and Cork. South. George. formerly of No. 5. Smith's-Place. Skinner.

Figure 9: From the *London Gazette*, 29 January 1828, p. 20

The Provincial Diorama company was obviously in financial difficulty and one theory is that the struggling company chose to wind up a Diorama to pay bills and debts. Manchester and Liverpool were close together and so it makes sense that one of these had to close (although why Manchester was chosen over Liverpool is unknown). Two weeks after the Manchester Diorama was closed, and its contents auctioned, 'Provincial Diorama' was declared bankrupt. Dublin, the group's other Diorama, was closed a year later in December 1828 (possibly whilst under new management). The Liverpool Diorama continued (possibly also under new management) until October 1832.

Conclusion

After the closure of the Manchester Diorama, the building remained in situ for a number of years. Once demolished, the site was used between 1837 and 1842 for a building to house another visual spectacle, Laidlaw's Moving Panorama (Figure 10).⁴³ Ten years after the closure of the Diorama, Laidlaw's advert notes that his spectacle was situated on the site of the Diorama, indicating that the structure must have been a well-known and remembered feature of the city centre.

Laidlaw's Moving Panorama,
IN DICKINSON STREET,
BOTTOM OF COOPER STREET, ON THE SITE OF THE DIORAMA.

The Exhibition commences daily punctually at Twelve, and in the Evening it is brilliantly illuminated with Gas, and commences at Seven, and again at Half-past Eight.

NOW OPEN,
A MOST SPLENDID
PANORAMA
OF THE CITY OF
JERUSALEM
EMBRACING ALL THE
HOLY STATIONS MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE,
WITHIN TWENTY MILES OF THE CITY.

Painted on 2520 square feet of Canvas, 140 feet in length.

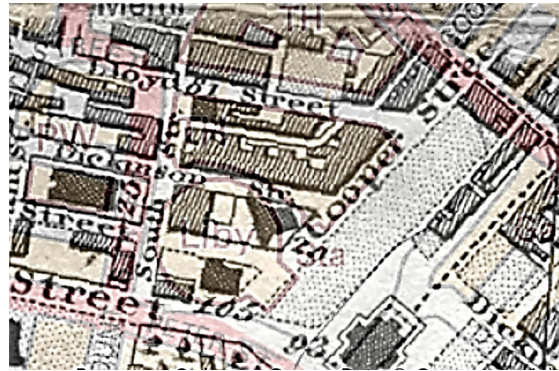
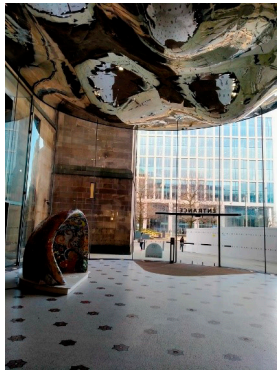
THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
Taken from the centre of the Broadway, exhibiting all the Public Buildings and Streets, with upwards of 6000 Figures, the Park, the Harbour, and Coast Scenery, as far as the Narrows, the Jersey Shore, &c. painted on 2480 square feet of Canvas. Likewise two very extensive Views of the Perilous Situation of the
WHALE SHIPS IN DAVIS' STRAITS.
AND A VIEW OF THE
BOULEVARD DU TEMPLE,
In Paris, when an attempt was made by FRANCE, to destroy the Royal Family of France.

MR. LAIDLAW most respectfully begs to announce to the Public of Manchester, Salford, and the Vicinity, that he has opened, for their recreation, his newly exhibited PANORAMA; and in order that it might be seen in perfection, he has erected, at a great expense, a Building on purpose. The various Views represented, which are replete with Scenery, as well as Modern History, are finished in a style by far superior to any thing yet presented to the delighted curiosity of the present day, and will be found to surpass, in interest and instructive gratification, any thing yet brought forward in the Metropolis, or the Provinces.

Figure 10: James B. Laidlaw, 'Laidlaw's Moving Panorama in Dickinson Street, Manchester', broadside, printer: Wilmot Henry Jones, Manchester, c.1837. Reproduced by kind permission of Erkki Huhtamo Collection (Los Angeles)

The building in which Laidlaw exhibited his moving panorama does not appear on maps of the period, indicating a temporary structure. No buildings appear on available maps until 1850, and entries in the available Manchester *Directories* (although there are many gaps) do not show any businesses at 10 Dickinson Street until 1887 when the occupiers were Bottger, Skurken & Co., Merchants.⁴⁴

Figure 11: The exact position of the Manchester Diorama: entrance to Manchester Central Library and Town Hall Extension, December 2020 (author's photo). Overlay of Pigot's 1824 map onto today's map. Manchester Historical Maps: <https://manchester-publicprofiler.org/beta/index.php>, accessed 22 December 2020



Today, the parts of Cooper Street and Dickinson Street on which the Diorama building stood no longer exist. By overlaying historical maps with a map of the city centre today, the exact position of the Diorama is now the glass entrance to the library and the Town Hall extension (Figure 11). Unless in the future, new evidence comes to light, the reasons why the Diorama was so short-lived will remain as a theory, and therefore offers intriguing avenues for future research.

	Paris	London	Liverpool	Manchester	Dublin	Edinburgh
Valley of Sarnen (Daguerre)	11 July 1822 to 18 Feb 1823	29 Sept 1823 to August 1824	10 Apr 1827 to March 1828	5 Apr 1825 to 8 Oct 1825	March 1826 to Jan 1827	July 1828 to 30 May 1829; May 1831 to 6 Aug 1831
Trinity Chapel Canterbury (Bouton)	11 July 1822 to 27 July 1823	29 Sept 1823 to August 1824	21 Feb 1825 to 1 Oct 1825	24 Oct 1825 to 28 Oct 1826	January 1827 to July 1827	25 August 1831 to <May ? 1832
Harbour of Brest (Daguerre)	19 Feb 1823 to 19 Oct 1823	30 Aug 1824 to mid-march 1825 (& 1837)	14 Oct 1825 to 11 Mar 1826	18 Nov 1826 to 31 Mar 1827		4 August 1834 to 4 April 1835
Chartres Cathedral (Bouton)	27 July 1823 to 21 Feb 1824	30 Aug 1824 to Dec ? 1825 (& 1837)	early-May 1830 to March 1831			12 December 1827 to 14 June 1828
Holyrood Chapel (Daguerre)	20 Oct 1823 to 23 Sept 1824	21 Mar 1825 to Dec ? 1825	early-Apr 1826 to March 1827	16 Apr 1827 to Dec 1827	19 Apr 1828 to 20 Dec 1828	June 1829 to 29 May 1830
Roslin Chapel (Daguerre)	24 Sept 1824 to 14 Aug 1825	20 Feb 1826 to May 1827	26 Apr 1828 to end - May 1829		end-July 1827 to 8 Apr 1828	April 1835 to 31 Oct 1835
City of Rouen (Bouton)	20 Apr 1825 to 30 Nov 1825	20 Feb 1826 to May 1827	June 1829 to early - April 1830			June 1830 to April ? 1831
Ruins in a Fog (Daguerre)	15 Aug 1825 to 4 May 1826	4 June 1827 to <Mar ? 1828				May 1832 to end-Jan 1833
Environs of Paris, St. Cloud (Bouton)	27 Nov 1825 to 23 Aug 1826	4 June 1827 to <Mar ? 1828	May 1831 to Jan 1832			November 1836 to December 1837
Village of Unterseen (Daguerre)	24 Aug 1826 to 21 Aug 1827	24 Mar 1828 to May 1829	30 Jan 1832 to Oct 1832			June 1833 to 19 July 1834; Jan 1838 to 21 Apr 1838
Village of Thiers (Daguerre)	11 Nov 1827 to 26 July 1828	May 1829 to <Apr ? 1830				May 1838 to 15 June 1839
Mont St. Gothard (Daguerre)	27 July 1828 to 3 Aug 1829	April 1830 to <June ? 1832				November 1835 to 5 Nov 1836

Appendix 1: The early dioramas by Daguerre and Bouton, compiled by R. Derek Wood, in his 'The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s', *History of Photography*, 17:3 (1993), p. 288

Endnotes

- 1 'Diorama', *Manchester Gazette*, 9 April 1825, p. 3.
- 2 Tracey May Boyce, 'Staging the Empire in Manchester' (unpub. PhD, Manchester Metropolitan University, in progress).
- 3 Throughout this essay, Diorama with a capital letter will refer to Daguerre and Bouton's invention.
- 4 R. Derek Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s', *History of Photography*, 17:3 (1993), pp. 284–95.
- 5 Some of the general information in this article has been drawn from Wood's article and website and I would like to thank him for his help and advice when writing this paper.
- 6 Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in motion: media archaeology of the moving Panorama and related spectacles* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2013), pp. 140–1.
- 7 Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: history of a mass medium* (New York: Zone Books, 1997), p. 6.
- 8 Huhtamo, *Illusions in motion*, p. 145.
- 9 Huhtamo, *Illusions in motion*, p. 141.
- 10 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 284.
- 11 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 284.
- 12 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 284.
- 13 Huhtamo, *Illusions in motion*, p. 146.
- 14 Richard D. Altick, *The shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 165.
- 15 Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *L.J.M. Daguerre: the history of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype* (New York: Dover Publications, 1968), p. 19.
- 16 'A view, eighty feet by fifty, of the valley of Sarnen in Switzerland: open from ten till dusk [...]', John Rylands Library, Pamphlet Collection, R175435, pp. 8–9.
- 17 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 290.
- 18 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 291.
- 19 The Edinburgh Diorama was managed by Mr Hall, as mentioned in *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 June 1829, p. 3.
- 20 *Manchester Courier*, 19 March 1825.
- 21 The 'View of the Interior of Trinity Chapel, in Canterbury Cathedral' was shown in Liverpool, with 'The Valley of Sarnen' shown in Manchester: 'A view, eighty feet by fifty', p. 9.
- 22 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 288.
- 23 'A view, eighty feet by fifty', p. 3.
- 24 GB 133 MMI/3/3: Agreement between (1) Clark Rampling and (2) Benjamin Heywood and Hugh Birley, dated 25 July 1825, whereby (1) agreed to sell a plot of land at Cooper St., between lands of Mr Novelli and Mr Baxter to (2). The document includes several amendments and alterations and is probably a draft document. Signed by Rampling, Heywood and Birley. GB 133 MMI/3/4: Agreement between (1) John Wallis, builder, and (2) the Trustees of the MMI, dated 7 June 1826 to construct a building for the Institution at a site on Cooper St., Manchester. The document is signed by Wallis, and Benjamin Heywood and William Duckworth on behalf of the Institution. GB 133 MMI/3/5: A rough plan of the plot of land of Mr Rampling situated between Cooper St and Back Mosley St, which was purchased by the MMI for its new building. Includes dimensions of this and adjoining plots. All documents relating to this purchase at University of Manchester Library Special Collections, GB 133 MMI/3/3–5.
- 25 http://www.midley.co.uk/diorama/Diorama_Wood_1_3.htm, accessed 11 March 2021.
- 26 'Manchester and its Environs, engraved from an actual survey made in 1824, by William Swire, Leeds', *A collection of four historic maps of Manchester from 1807–1876* (Walsall: Mapseeker Archive Publishing, 2014).
- 27 *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 June 1829, p. 3.
- 28 *The Stranger in Liverpool, Or, An Historical and Descriptive View of the Town of Liverpool and Its Environs* (Liverpool: Thomas Kaye, 1833), p. 4.
- 29 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 288.
- 30 'Diorama', *Manchester Gazette*, 9 April 1825, p. 3.
- 31 *Manchester Courier*, 22 October 1825.
- 32 'The Diorama', *Manchester Mercury*, 1 November 1825, p. 1.
- 33 'The New Diorama – a View of Trinity Chapel, in Canterbury Cathedral', *Manchester Courier*, 22 October 1825.

- 34 *Manchester Courier*, 8 December 1827, p. 1.
- 35 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 288.
- 36 'Cooper Street Land', *Manchester Mercury*, 8 July 1823, p. 1.
- 37 Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain', p. 292.
- 38 *Manchester Mercury*, 4 September 1827 to 4 December 1827; and *Manchester Courier*, 1 September 1827 to 1 December 1827.
- 39 *Manchester Courier*, 1 December 1827.
- 40 It is probable that the *Manchester Gazette* also carried many advertisements, but due to Covid-19 closure of archives, I have been unable to research this point fully.
- 41 *Gore's Liverpool Directory* (Liverpool: J. Gore and Son, 1825); and *Gore's Liverpool Directory* (1827).
- 42 'The court for relief of insolvent debtors', *London Gazette*, 29 January 1828, p. 209.
- 43 After this, Laidlaw's equipment and panoramas were auctioned in 1842 (*Manchester Guardian*, 24 September 1842).
- 44 *Slater's Manchester and Salford Directory* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1887), p. 368. The *Pigot & Sons Manchester and Salford Directory* for 1824/5 does not have a street directory, the 1826 and 1827 *Directories* cannot be located, and the 1828 *Directory* cannot be accessed due to Covid-19 closures, thus leaving intriguing gaps in the research.
- 45 Representations of the Manchester, Liverpool, and Dublin Diorama cannot be located and therefore, this surviving engraving of the Edinburgh Diorama with its 'one-picture' design, similar to that of the other provincial Dioramas, provides an impression of the architectural style of the building.

