

A Further Panorama by Earle? A View of Rio de Janeiro, 1823

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Abstract

In 1968 Anthony Murray-Oliver noted that the travelling artist, Augustus Earle, had produced a panorama of Rio de Janeiro. Such a work could have provided the basis for Robert Burford's Panorama of Rio of 1827 and 1828 shown in Leicester Square. Burford's presentation is known through reviews, advertisements and the six-penny guide with its accompanying woodcut. Based upon drawings reputedly made in 1823, Burford's spectacle shows a view from within Guanabara Bay, with various ships dotted about the middle distance including some that supposedly participated in the Brazilian struggle for independence. Scholars have sometimes attributed this view to William John Burchell. Earle resided in Brazil between 1820 and 1824 and communicated with Burford regarding his panorama of Sydney at least as early as 1826. While the evidence supporting Earle's authorship remains circumstantial, this attribution offers an intriguing prospect. It prompts us to consider, if Earle had provided these drawings, why would his contribution have been anonymous, what would it tell us about his experience of South America, and how would it extend our understanding of his and Burford's panoramic works.

Keywords

Panorama of Rio de Janeiro, drawing attribution, panoramas Augustus Earle, Robert Burford, William John Burchell, Anthony Murray-Oliver.

Murray-Oliver's Assertion

In his 1968 study of Augustus Earle in New Zealand, Anthony Murray-Oliver listed Earle's then known panoramas. In addition to the view of the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, he wrote that the artist produced drawings for at least three other panoramas: those of Madras, Mauritius and "apparently another, of Rio de Janeiro." [1] While he gave no reference supporting this statement, Murray-Oliver's assertion provokes the question, if Earle had produced such a work, could this have provided the basis for Robert Burford's London panorama of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro of 1827–1828? This spectacle has most recently been discussed by Thiago Leitão de Souza in his essay in the 2019 publication *More Than Meets the Eye: The Magic of the Panorama*, and by Carla Hermann's publications of 2017 and 2020. [2]

Burford's guide to the panorama is entitled *Description of a View of the City of St. Sebastian and the Bay of Rio Janeiro; Now exhibiting in the Panorama Leicester Square;*

Painted by the proprietor Robert Burford from drawings taken in the year 1823. [3] His commentary describes a thriving community with well-established infrastructure, situated within a dramatic landscape. Pointedly, Burford did not name the original artist of the work. As Murray-Oliver's papers are currently unavailable, we have little understanding of the basis of his assertion.

No scholars researching either Earle or the 1827–1828 panorama of Rio de Janeiro have considered this connection. In his 1955 study of Earle in Brazil, David James did not consider that the artist could have produced a now lost panoramic sketch of Guanabara Bay, let alone link it to Burford's show. [4] Therefore, this paper initially considers what evidence supports the hypothesis that Augustus Earle produced the initial sketches for Burford's view of Rio de Janeiro.

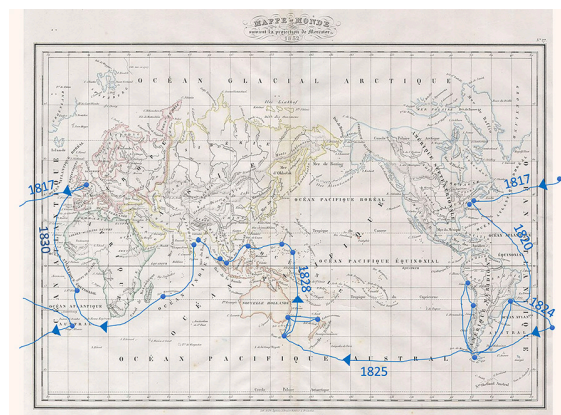


Fig. 1. Earle's Travels 1817–1830. Present author.

The Artist

Augustus Earle (1793–1838) is remembered as a traveling artist who between 1817 and 1830 traversed the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans, drawing and painting as he went. After journeying around the Mediterranean, in 1817 he traveled to New York and Philadelphia. Three years later, on 2 April 1820 he arrived at Rio de Janeiro, before visiting Chile from May to June, and Peru from July to December. [5] Earle then spent three years in Rio de Janeiro between 4 January 1821 and 19 February 1824, before setting out on a seven-year journey that would take him to Tristan da Cunha,

Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales, New Zealand, through the Pacific to South East Asia, and then onto India, Mauritius and Saint Helena (Fig. 1). [6] He later revisited Rio de Janeiro in 1832 while appointed as artist on the first stage of the *Beagle* voyage.



Fig. 2. Earle's panoramas of the Tasman World, with surviving watercolour sketches superimposed. Present author.

A View of Rio

Robert Burford (1791–1861) presented three of Earle's panoramas of the Tasman world in London: Sydney (sketched 1827, exhibited 1828–30), Hobart Town (sketched 1828, exhibited 1831), and the Bay of Islands, New Zealand (sketched 1827–28, exhibited 1837–39) (Fig. 2). [7] Two were shown in the upper drum of the panorama building in Leicester Square with the third, the view of Hobart Town, presented at Burford's site on The Strand (Fig. 3). The Rio de Janeiro panorama was shown in the upper drum from June 1827 to late 1828. [8] As usual, it was accompanied by the six-penny commentary describing the site's development, with a woodblock engraving showing the view's key features (Fig. 4). Forty-nine items were identified including the surrounding topography, islands, distant hills, settlements, notable buildings, infrastructure, larger ships at anchor and smaller vessels. Burford stated:

[The] view taken from the harbor about a mile from the city is the finest and most extensive that can be obtained; From whence its lofty eminence is, crowned with convents, &c. and the beautiful hills in its environs, interspersed with villas, gardens, &c. have a rich and magnificent appearance. [9]

Lord Cochrane, the commander of the Brazilian Naval fleet, was shown heading out in a small boat to his Brazilian Navy flagship, the *Pedro Primeiro*. The former admiral became a mercenary after his controversial dismissal from the British Royal Navy in 1817 following a financial scandal.

First appointed by the Chilean government to command its navy against Spain, Cochrane was then offered command of the Imperial Brazilian Navy. His success at masterminding the Portuguese surrender following the Battle of 4 May helped Brazil achieve independence from Portugal. [10]

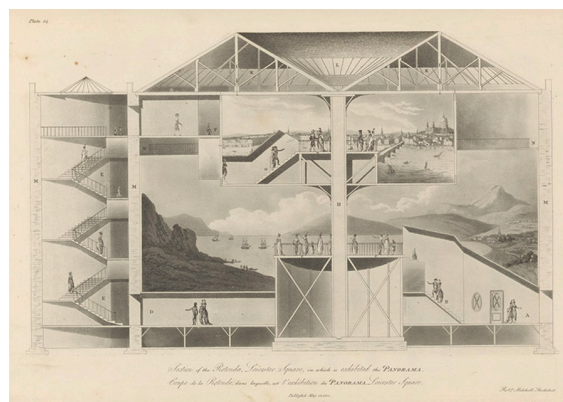


Fig. 3. Drawing of the Panorama Leicester Square, 1801, Robert Mitchell. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 52.519.153.

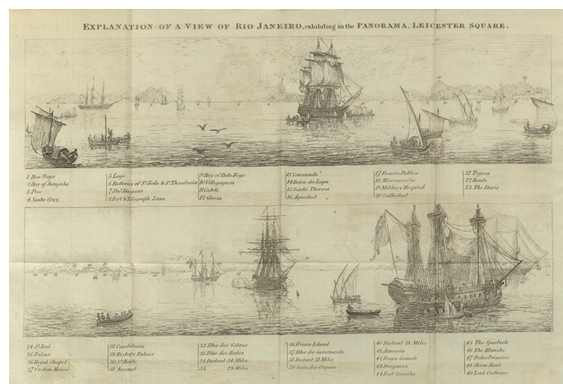


Fig. 4. Burford's Panorama of Rio de Janeiro 1827–1828. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Portugal.

Burford informed his audience:

Lord Cochrane was invited to take command of the fleet, and for that purpose arrived in the Bay, on the 13th of March, 1823. About that time the present view was taken, his lordship's ship, with several others which composed the Brazilian Navy, being represented in various parts of the Bay." [11]

The panorama shows numerous other sea vessels with four large ships expressly named: the Brazilian flagship, *Pedro Primeiro* with a substantial number of British sailors, and the three British ships, *H.M.S. Doris*, *H.M.S. Spartiate* and *H.M.S. Blanche*. [12] At various times in the 1820s, these three ships were part of the British Royal Navy's South America Station that had been established in 1808. [13] None of the three ships were assigned to the Brazilian Navy or were directly involved with its victory against Portugal, despite Burford's inference in the text quoted above. Rather than focusing upon Brazilian independence, the Royal Navy featured prominently. Carla Hermann has discussed this as an illustration of Britain's "informal imperialism" that extended to Brazil and its naval power. [14] At this time Brazil was Britain's third largest market, and there was substantial investment in gold mining. [15]



Fig. 5. *View of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, Lord Cochrane's boat & crew*, Augustus Earle. National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection. NK12/94.

Some members of Burford's audience may have known these ships or their crew members. With the approach of Lord Cochrane in his small boat, the Brazilian flagship is shown firing cannons which animates an otherwise largely static scene. Earle's watercolour of Cochrane's small boat with its crew of six survives (Fig. 5). By the time the panorama was shown in London, Cochrane had been recruited by the Greek government in its struggle for independence. [16]

Several smaller boats and canoes were also shown. Using language characteristic of the time, Burford stated:

Most of the boats and canoes which ply about the Bay have a standing awning covered with reeds, and two large triangular sails; they are manned by four, six, or eight negroes, according to their size, whose savage and uncouth countenances, and tattooed and naked limbs, are an extraordinary sight to Europeans; they rise at each stroke of the oar, and throw themselves backward into their seats, and invariably accompany their work with some wild national air, which they vociferate at the utmost pitch of the voice. The man at the helm is generally a mulatto or white. [17]

As one of the forty-nine items annotated on the woodblock in the *Description*, these smaller vessels may appear to be insignificant; however, they accord with the ethnic diversity apparent in Earle's three Tasman panoramas that show Aboriginal people and Māori. In addition to the 'mulatto' mentioned above, Burford's *Description* includes 'gipsies,' 'native Indians' and 'negroes.' [18] The combination of vessels of Europeans and local people is reminiscent of Earle's panorama of Madras that would be staged by William Daniell and E.T. Parris in London in 1830–31. [19]

Several features are visible in the circular view that are positioned 180° apart, diametrically opposite one another (Fig. 6). When plotted on a map, intersecting lines between these distant sites reveal that the viewer's position was in the anchorage area in Guanabara Bay, on the side away from the city where the naval vessels moored (Fig. 7). [20]

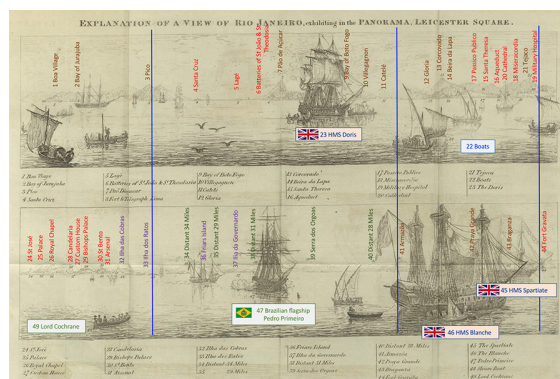


Fig. 6. *Diametrically opposed points on the panorama*. Present author.



Fig. 7. *Intersecting lines charting the diametrically opposed points identify the artist's position, with a white circle showing Burchell's viewing position*. Present author.

This suggests that the view was painted *in situ* by an artist who was positioned on a ship within the bay. Furthermore, the locations of the British ships suggest that the artist's viewing position may have been within a zone reserved for the South America Station anchorage.

Other Possible Artists

Although the panorama was reviewed in the press, no discussion of the view's source has been found. [21] There were several artists in Brazil in 1823 who could have contributed to the presentation. Jean-Baptiste Debret, Johann Moritz Rugendas and Thomas Ender are possible sources, although it seems likely that Burford would favour a British artist. In 1930 Herbert Andrews suggested that the source of the Burford's view of Rio was the traveler and collector, William Bullock, although he acknowledged that Bullock was not known to have travelled that far south. [22]

William John Burchell (1781–1863) has been credited as the source of Burford's view. Over a period of five or six weeks he produced another panoramic view taken from a position on the Castelo Hill, two kilometres from the viewing position within the harbour (Fig. 7). [23] This work, which is now held at Museum Africa, Johannesburg,

is dissimilar to the Burford view. Gilberto Ferrez stated that of all the nineteenth century panoramas of Rio:

this is not only the most accurate but also the best, due to its perfectly correct perspective and to its faithfully drawn architectural details, which, when carefully studied, reveal a series of valuable information. [24]

Citing a statement in Burchell's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Ferrez maintained that Burchell had provided the sketches for Burford's view despite his arrival in July 1825, which was two years after the date of the scene. He argued that Burford, "altered the panorama by adding an imaginary scene of the Brazilian Navy commanded by Admiral Cochrane, and dating it 1823..." [25] Margareth da Silva Pereira speculated that Burford's panorama was another view by Burchell, in addition to that now held in Johannesburg. [26] Thiago Leitão de Souza has suggested that Burford may have altered the date to claim authorship over Burchell's work. [27] On the other hand, based upon the time of Burchell's arrival in Brazil, Luciana Martins has queried his authorship. [28] More recently Carla Hermann has expressed doubt regarding Burchell's role based upon the absence of commentary linking him to the Burford view in his own lifetime. [29]

If Burford had access to Burchell's land-based panorama, generating an accurate vista from a hypothetical harbour viewing position, as Ferrez claimed, would have required a detailed map and use of a complicated projection technique. Such complexity suggests that it was more likely that Burford relied on a harbour-centred sketch drawn *in situ* to generate his panorama from within the bay, rather than projecting the features of Burchell's land-based view.

Earle's Images of Rio

Earle's surviving Brazilian images indicate that he immersed himself in the life of the settlement, witnessing royalty, common folk, an expatriate community, indigenous fishing people and slaves. [30] Maria Graham (1785–1842) included six of his images in her 1824 publications on Brazil and Chile, including two views of slave markets (Fig. 8). [31] She would have carried these original views back to England on her return journey in late 1823. They were probably on good terms, with Graham describing Earle as "an ingenious young English artist." [32]

The National Library of Australia holds over twenty works by Earle from Brazil including several views of the area around Rio de Janeiro (Fig. 9). [33] With a three-year residence, it is likely there were once many more.

By Earle's account, during his journey to the Cape of Good Hope in 1824 in Captain Simon Amm's *Duke of Gloucester*, the ship stopped at Tristan da Cunha to load potatoes. Earle went ashore; however, a change in the weather saw the ship depart before he and a companion, Thomas Gooch, had time to re-board, resulting in a stay of eight months. [34]



Fig. 8. *The Slave market at Rio, after Augustus Earle, illustration to Maria Graham's Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1824. J.C. Beaglehole Room, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand*



Fig. 9. *View from the summit of the Cacavada [i.e. Corcovado] Mountains, near Rio de Janeiro, c. 1822, Augustus Earle. National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection. NK12/93.*

Earle kept journals during other legs of his travels, so he probably maintained a similar record in Brazil. One would expect that his paintings and possible journal would have remained on the departing ship. Nevertheless, many Earle images of Brazil exist, which suggests that some of his South American works had already been dispatched to Britain. He did not complain about their loss in his published memoir. [35]

It is plausible that his hypothetical Rio panorama sketches could have been delivered by a traveler such as Maria Graham who departed Rio in October 1823, or by Lady Cochrane, the wife of Lord Cochrane, who left for Britain a few days before Earle departed Brazil. [36] The expatriate community in Rio was relatively small, and Lord Cochrane would have been acquainted with Earle's older half-brother, Commander (later Admiral) William Henry Smyth.

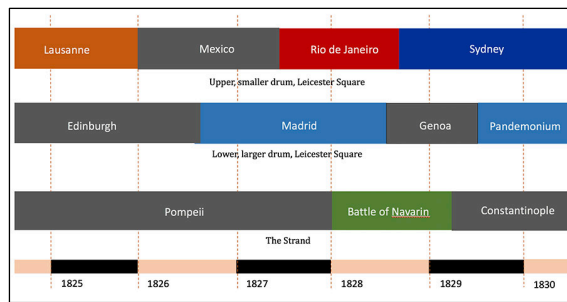


Fig. 10. *The sequence of Burford's panoramas 1825–1830.* Present author.

The Burford Sequence

Examining the succession of Burford panoramas at Leicester Square and The Strand through this period offers further understanding of the circumstances of the Rio presentation (Fig. 10). This was the first spectacle staged by Robert Burford after taking sole charge of the business following the retirement of his father, John Burford, at the end of 1827. [37] It immediately followed the 1826–27 view of Mexico that was based upon drawings made by William Bullock in 1823, which—along with Bullock's 1824 Mexican exhibition at the Egyptian Hall—indicates a continuing focus on the Americas. [38]

The Rio panorama was politically opportune. Britain had recently recognized Brazilian independence, and the new (but short-lived) Prime Minister, Lord Canning, was a notable supporter of its independence and trade with Britain. Rio de Janeiro was presented as a community of some sophistication with comforts of civilization, sited on an outstanding harbour. The controversial issue of slavery, which was officially disapproved of in Britain—and which Earle frequently illustrated—was little discussed in Burford's commentary (Fig. 8). [39] There may have been lobbying for a view of Rio at this time, as there would later be for the view of the Bay of Islands, when colonisation by the New Zealand Company was imminent. [40]

Burford's Rio view was then followed by Earle's panorama of Sydney, which also presented a community enjoying the opportunities of western civilization in a magnificent southern hemisphere harbour setting. By the time Rio opened in Leicester Square, Earle had been in Sydney for a little over two years. In February 1827 New South Wales newspapers reported that Burford had contracted Earle for the impressive sum of 100 guineas. [41] Mail times between Britain and the colony took at least four months, so Burford and Earle would have been in communication for some time before 1827, extending through the period when the Rio view was being prepared in London. Possibly prompted by the prospect of Earle's Sydney view in London, New South Wales newspaper editors informed their readers of the panorama of Rio de Janeiro, without mentioning the name of the artist. [42]



Fig. 11. *View of the Battle of Navarin, Burford's Panorama, 1828.* Reproduced with permission of King's College London, Foyle Special Collections Library.

Burford's Modus Operandi

Six months after the Rio view opened, the naval theme continued with Burford presenting the recent Battle of Navarino off the coast of Greece at his site on The Strand (Fig. 11). [43] He composed the view through a systematic, scholarly process. The position of ships and the manner of attack was taken from official plans, while the view of the town of Navarino and the surrounding country was based upon drawings produced after the battle by Lieutenant Thomas Finmore, with additional "indispensable information" provided by Commander Lord Viscount Ingestre. [44] Andrews suggests that, without permission, Burford may also have used published images of the battle by George Phillip Reinagle, a young unofficial war artist. [45] If this were the case, Burford's explanation of his process may have served to mask this appropriation.

Assembling information from various sources, often with superadded foreground objects, is characteristic of some of Burford's other works including those of the Tasman world. [46] It is plausible that the Rio de Janeiro view was composed from sources which may have been supplied by more than one person. For example, Burford may have amended the shipping from that shown in the initial sketches. An emblem of technological advance, an unnamed "Steam Boat" that appears in the woodblock without commentary, may be such an addition. [47] As with Burford's Battle of Navarino, people who had been in Rio, including those who served at the South America Station, may have advised on the scene.

Burford often acknowledged contributors to his works with artists usually named on the guidebooks' title pages, so his reticence regarding the view of Rio is intriguing. Apart from a footnote referencing Alexander Caldeleugh's 1825 text on South America, if there were other informants, they remain unidentified. This would have been the case with many of Burford's presentations to some degree. It may be

that he communicated with several artists regarding their drawings or that subsequent modifications may have made it difficult to credit only one artist. The images were possibly provided by a third party, or perhaps Burford had not paid for use of the sketches. If this were the case and the images were by Earle, perhaps the project was underway before they started communicating. Currently, we have no way of knowing about this with any certainty, which makes the artist's anonymity perplexing. I have suggested elsewhere that Burford did not acknowledge Earle's input in the Hobart Town panorama of 1831 because the artist was associated with the competing panorama of Madras at that time. [48] If the situation in 1827 was delicate—for whatever reason—discretion could have been required.

Recreating a Shipless Profile

Digitally removing shipping from the view indicates the coastal profile that the original artist supplied to Burford (Fig. 12). While many artists could have drawn such a view, Earle produced similar views in South America and beyond, some of which were annotated as the basis for large panoramas. His 2.2m view of Callao records Cochrane's naval blockade near Lima in December 1820 (Fig. 13). [49] Earle showed ships near San Lorenzo island flying Chilean colours while those in the harbour flew those of Spain. With its numbered annotations, Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones has identified this as a study for a larger panorama (Fig. 14). [50] While in Brazil, Earle also produced a vista of "St. Juan", i.e. Cape Frio (Fig. 15). [51] In New South Wales he produced similar studies, along with views of Sydney Harbour with sailing ships like those in Burford's view.

Earle's Callao and St. Juan views prompt speculation that he may have prepared a panoramic view of Rio de Janeiro. Guanabara Bay has a more dramatic setting than that at Callao. Upon arrival in Rio, Maria Graham described its impact, which may parallel Earle's experience:

Nothing that I have ever seen is comparable in beauty to this bay. Naples, the Firth of Forth, Bombay harbour, and Trincomalee, each of which I thought perfect in their beauty, all must yield to this, which surpasses each in its different way. Lofty mountains, rocks of clustered columns, luxuriant wood, bright flowery islands, green banks, all mixed with white buildings; each little eminence crowned with its church or fort; ships at anchor or in motion; and innumerable boats flitting about in such a delicious climate,—combine to render Rio de Janeiro the most enchanting scene that imagination can conceive. [52]

It seems likely, then, that Earle would have produced panoramic views of Guanabara Bay during his three-year residence. Furthermore, the site had often been described in Britain, which—with its additional British naval presence—would have attracted a larger London audience than a view of Cochrane's 1820 blockade in Peru.



Fig. 12. Upper half of the woodblock of the *Panorama of Rio de Janeiro* looking towards Pão de Açúcar (Sugar Loaf Mountain), with shipping digitally removed. Present author.

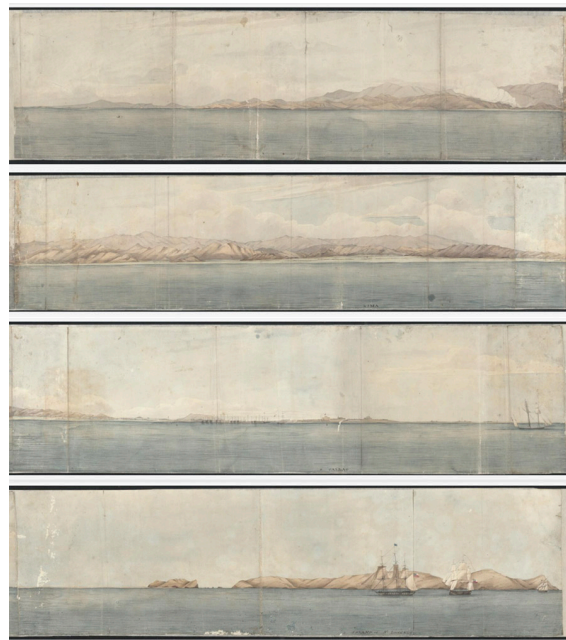


Fig. 13. *Lima, Callao, Island of St. Lorenzo*, 1820, Augustus Earle. National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection. NK12/113.

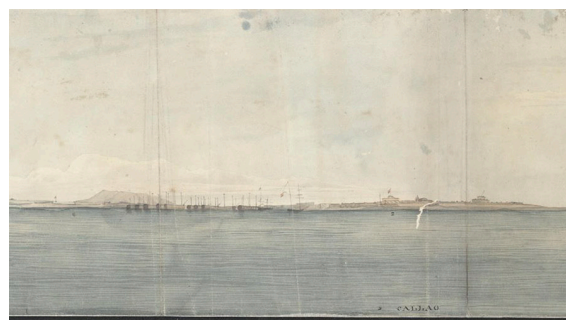


Fig. 14. *Lima, Callao, Island of St. Lorenzo*, 1820, detail, Augustus Earle. National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection. NK12/113.



Fig. 15. *The river and town of St. Juan*, [Cape Frio], Augustus Earle. National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection. NK12/115.

Few of the original watercolour panels of Burford's panoramas survive. Of the Australasian views, three of the nine Hobart panels, five of the six Bay of Islands panels and all eight of the Sydney panels are now lost (Fig. 2). Carla Hermann has found that eight oil paintings, which were said to be the basis for Burford's Rio panorama, were advertised for sale in London in 1836. [53] Whether these were Burford's source material, or if they were painted after an original set of watercolour sketches is not known. Back in Britain, artists including Earle and Burchell reworked some of their earlier sketches in oils. [54]

Conclusion

Augustus Earle had the means and motivation to provide the preparatory drawings for the panorama of Rio de Janeiro. Earle was in Brazil in 1823 when the original sketches were reported to have been produced. He wrote to Burford regarding the Sydney view at least as early as 1826, and they may have had earlier communication. Returning travelers may have delivered his drawings to London. Earle's other panoramas, including his view of Callao, prompt speculation that he would have been moved to produce a similar long, annotated view of Guanabara Bay.

Site analysis and complexity indicates that the view was almost certainly generated from a shipboard location, rather than being transferred from a land-based view as has sometimes been argued. Therefore, it seems that Murray-Oliver's assertion that Earle was responsible for a Rio panorama is very likely. It is reasonable, then, to list Burford's *View of the City of St. Sebastian, and the Bay of Rio Janeiro* alongside those of Sydney, Hobart Town, Madras and the Bay of Islands as panoramas shown in London that originated with Earle. Although two of these presentations did not bear his name, the first four spectacles gave London audiences the opportunity to see views by Earle through a continuous five-year period from mid-1827 until the latter part of 1832. This is an impressive achievement.

Nevertheless, with no preparatory images from the harbour viewpoint surviving, the argument that Earle produced such drawings remains one that is based upon circumstantial evidence. Until the sketches or the oils advertised for sale in 1836 are located there can be no certainty of authorship. Should these works emerge, then the business of attribution can begin.

Notes

1. Murray-Oliver, *Augustus Earle in New Zealand*, 23–24.
2. Hermann, "Landscape and Power," para 10–19; Leitão, "Un'Opera Brasileira and Quattro Atti"; Hermann, "Robert Burford, Rio de Janeiro, 1827."
3. Burford, *Description of a View of the City of St Sebastian*.
4. James, "Um Pintor Ingles no Brasil," 157.

5. Earle, *Narrative of a Residence*, 50; "Noticias Maritimas," *Gazeta do Rio*, April 5, 1820.
6. "Noticias Maritimas," *Gazeta do Rio*, January 5, 1821; "Noticias Maritimas," *Imperio do Brasil*, February 21, 1824; "Noticias Maritimas," *Semanario Mercantil*, March 4, 1824; Earle, *Narrative of a Residence*, 50–51, 204, 243; Murray-Oliver, "Earle, Augustus."
7. Lum, "'Our Transporting Antipodes';" Skinner, "'... Dreamt of, Indeed'."
8. "Panorama"; "Sydney Now Open."
9. Burford, *Description of a View of the City of St. Sebastian*, 6.
10. Vale, *Audacious Admiral Cochrane*, 153.
11. Burford, *Description of a View of the City of St. Sebastian*, 6.
12. *H.M.S. Doris* (1808) was a 36-gun fifth-rate frigate. *H.M.S. Spartiate* was originally a French 74-gun ship of the line that was captured in the Battle of the Nile. *H.M.S. Blanche* (1819) was a 46-gun fifth rate.
13. Ship arrivals in Rio were: *H.M.S. Doris* February 1822; *H.M.S. Spartiate* November 1823; *H.M.S. Blanche* August 1824 (after Earle's departure). This suggests that the scene depicted was not 1823, or, if Earle painted it in his final months in Rio, then the ship in the foreground was renamed as the *H.M.S. Blanche* in the 1827 panorama as that ship was then known to be in Brazil. *H.M.S. Blanche* transported Brazilian gold bullion back to Britain in September 1827. *H.M.S. Spartiate* was in Rio harbour when Earle departed Rio in February 1824. "Marine List"; "Imperial Brazilian Mining Association"; "Portsmouth"; Earle, *Narrative of a Residence*, 203. See also, Hermann, "O Rio de Janeiro para Inglês Ver," 56–57.
14. Hermann, "Landscape and Power," para 15–18; Hermann, "Robert Burford, Rio de Janeiro, 1827," 50.
15. "Imperial Brazilian Mining Association"; Fausto, *Concise History of Brazil*, 76; Bethell, *Brazil*, 64.
16. Cochrane returned to England on 26 June 1824, left Brazilian service in April 1826 and arrived in Greece in March 1827. Vale, *Admiral Cochrane*, 166, 172, 176.
17. Burford, *Description of a View of the City of St. Sebastian*, 10.
18. Burford, *Description of a View of the City of St. Sebastian*, 8, 9, 10.
19. Skinner, in prep.
20. Blunt, *American Coast Pilot*, 487.
21. "London Exhibitions"; "Panorama"; "Panorama of Rio Janeiro," *London Morning Post*; "Panorama of Rio Janeiro," *London Weekly Times*; "Rio Janeiro" amongst others.
22. Andrews, "Leicester Square and Strand Panoramas," 75.
23. Letter to William Hooker, July 8, 1826, cited in Martins, *O Rio de Janeiro dos Viajantes*, 119. This letter includes no reference to Burford. Luciana Martins, email to author, December 3, 2021. Burchell was in the vicinity of Rio through April–June 1826 which ties with the timeframe of

the Hooker letter. Smith and Smith, "Itinerary of William John Burchell," 495.

24. Ferrez, *O Mais Belo Panorama*, 4.

25. Ferrez, *O Mais Belo Panorama*, 7. An 1863 obituary informed Burchell's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. "Obituary Notices," xxxv; Chichester, "Burchell, William John," 290.

26. Pereira, "O Olhar Panorâmico," 149n.

27. Leitão, "Un'opera Brasiliana and Quattro Atti," 62.

28. Martins, *O Rio de Janeiro dos Viajantes*, 123n.

29. Hermann, "O Rio de Janeiro para Inglês Ver," 60–61.

30. Martins, "A Bay to be Dreamed of."

31. Robert Fitzroy's *Voyage of the Beagle* (1839) also includes images by Earle.

32. Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, 302.

33. James, "Um Pintor Ingles no Brasil," 160–161; Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle*, 59–74.

34. Earle, *Narrative of a Residence*, 205–206.

35. Earle, *Narrative of a Residence*.

36. "Noticias Maritimas," *Imperio do Brasil*, February 19, 1824.

37. Andrews, "Leicester Square and Strand Panoramas," 75.

38. "Mexican Curiosities."

39. He stated that the lower parts of the two or three storeyed houses of the higher classes "are occupied by the slaves, cattle, and for other domestic purposes." Burford, *Description of a View of the City of St. Sebastian*, 7.

40. Skinner, "'... Dreamt of, Indeed'," 391.

41. "We understand that ..."; "Panorama of Sydney."

42. "Panorama of Rio de Janeiro...," *The Australian*; "Panorama of Rio de Janeiro," *The Monitor*.

43. "Mr. Burford's Panorama of the Battle of Navarino"; "Sydney—Now Open."

44. Burford, *Description of a View of the Battle of Navarin*, 8. Ingestre advised on the Navarino views by John Theophilus Lee that were engraved by R.W. Smart.

45. Andrews, "Leicester Square and Strand Panoramas," 75.

46. Lum, "'Our Transporting Antipodes'," 131–37; Skinner, "'... Dreamt of, Indeed'," 384, 387–88, 394.

47. Two armed steamships, the *Britannia* and *Hibernia*, were supplied to Brazil in 1826 and were renamed *Correio Brasileiro* and *Correio Imperial*. A Liverpool-built steamship, *Conte de Palmela* ["Patmella"], reputedly travelled from Portugal to Brazil in 1820. Vale, "English and Irish Naval Officers," 111n; Kennedy, *History of Steam Navigation*, 34.

48. Skinner, "'... Dreamt of, Indeed'," 386.

49. Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle*, 4, 56; Lum, "'Our Transporting Antipodes'," 126–127.

50. Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle*, 56.

51. Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle*, 71.

52. Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, 159.

53. Hermann, "Robert Burford, Rio de Janeiro, 1827," 50.

54. On Burchell, see Martins and Driver, "'Struggle for Luxuriance'," 70–71.

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