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*A Pedagogy of Observation: Nineteenth-Century Panoramas,  
German Literature, and Reading Culture* by Vance Byrd  
(review)

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with Marie. Bellinger argues that this intimate involvement made it possible for Marie to evaluate her husband's notes after Carl's untimely death from cholera at age fifty-one. However, since many of the original documents have been lost, it is difficult to determine the precise nature of Marie's contribution, though it does seem to have been substantial. After all, Carl did not revise the original text himself, but rather left instructions and suggestions for revisions that needed to be incorporated. Bellinger even considers it likely that Marie may have been involved in crafting Clausewitz's famous proclamation that war is the continuation of politics by other means, which is preserved in Marie's handwriting.

Throughout, Bellinger offers detailed information about political events, military and dynastic history, contemporary cultural and literary discourses—certainly a wise choice for a biography of a woman whose life was so intricately interrelated with the various crises of the Prussian state. If I have any qualms about this book, they concern the amount of direct quotation from Marie's letters. To be sure, Bellinger does quote from the letters, but, in light of the relative obscurity of Marie as a political agent and thinker in her own right, I would have wished for more extensive excerpts. In spite of such minor shortcomings, however, *Marie von Clausewitz* is truly a groundbreaking work and a most valuable contribution to women's history, military history, and to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century studies in general.

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*A Pedagogy of Observation: Nineteenth-Century Panoramas, German Literature, and Reading Culture.* By Vance Byrd. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2017. Pp. 218. Cloth \$100.00. ISBN 978-1611488548.

Vance Byrd's smart book examines the literary representations of panoramas as they were first viewed from just before 1800 until the later nineteenth century. His sharply articulated study offers a brief material history of where, when, and by whom panoramas were constructed. However, rather than listing off a historical catalogue of panoramas, Byrd examines the aesthetic dimensions of this new visual technology. He explains that its initial attraction was the ability to immerse viewers in the illusion that they were in a different place. Because its sights were so overwhelming, Byrd claims that the first Germans encountering panoramas had to be taught how to view the images sweeping before them; his book offers a literary history of this theoretical act. His argument incorporates the most important media archeology scholarship, including the early film analysis, while building on the history of reading. Byrd integrates nuanced analysis of visual spectacles with older notions of identificatory consumption of books, in which readers imagined they were immersed in the places depicted by a novel, alongside the characters. His argument concentrates on panoramas as a means

of organizing visual knowledge; thus, he moves beyond the showrooms themselves to the panorama as a textually generated mode of perception. This reviewer was thrilled to see how expertly Byrd integrated visual theory with historical interpretations.

*A Pedagogy of Observation* does not itself offer a panorama of all the panoramas displayed and described during the nineteenth century; instead, it provides five densely argued chapters. Byrd begins by explaining how operators of the new invention instructed viewers how to pick out details in the array of images passing before their eyes. It was not easy for the first spectators to concentrate their attention; thus, the carnival barkers running the show provided a variety of pamphlets, guidebooks, and illustrated keys as pedagogical orientation. Chapter 2 describes the earliest German reports about foreign panoramas. Friedrich Justin Bertuch's *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* translated these spectacles into bourgeois fashion culture. Rather than considering them cheap, low-level distractions, the fashion journal explained how panoramas belonged to the aspirations and practices of the respectable household. They became visions that could educate and edify the enlightened viewer, showing them places they might otherwise never visit. Byrd dives into literary criticism with his third chapter on Achim von Arnim's 1809 novel *Der Wintergarten*, in which a cast of characters pass the time recounting stories in front of a panorama. Rather than fleeing the plague as in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, these proud Berliners are evading the national misery imposed by Napoleonic troops occupying the Prussian capital. Arnim's novel serves as a prelude to Byrd's discussion of panoramic displays of Alexander von Humboldt's scientific expeditions. Once again, the spectacle provides an escape by immersing viewers in a succession of scientifically grounded images, accompanied with a learned lecture. Chapter 4 moves into the heart of Walter Benjamin's famous history of urban crowds by taking on E.T.A. Hoffmann's "Des Vetters Eckfenster" (1822) alongside Edgar Allen Poe's "The Man is the Crowd" (1845). Byrd is anything but heavy handed in providing his own theoretically grounded reading of this canonical intersection of narration and urban spectatorship. With deft restraint, Byrd's philosophical assertions are confined to individual sentences interspersed cautiously within a longer line of analysis. Here, at the doorstep of Benjamin's *Passagenwerk*, and then again when the argument arrives inevitably at a comparison between panoramas and Jeremy Bentham's panopticon prison, Byrd does not reiterate long familiar theoretical discussions but instead remains focused on his particular arguments, trusting that the reader will follow. Hoffmann's story becomes a springboard for Byrd to contemplate the panorama as a model for urban realism's organization of succession of singular characters, settings, and small dramas. The panorama provided a method for arranging these multifarious sights into a coherent work, as it unfolded over time. The final chapter in the book treats the collection *Wien und die Wiener in Bildern aus dem Leben*, edited by Adalbert Stifter, and explains how the panorama competed, at first successfully, with photography as the master trope for urban literature, with Stifter

favoring the panoramic viewpoint as the organizing principle for this succession of vignettes. The book's epilogue considers the moment when the panorama's form of arranging images had been revived to depict military battles during the Kaiserreich and more recently in educational installations about the rainforest. *A Pedagogy of Observation* shows how the viewing techniques we all intuitively apply to our own perception of digital images arise from a long historical process in which audiences have been taught how to look. The panorama is one important link in the history of spectatorship.

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*Beyond the Barricades: Government and State-Building in Post-Revolutionary Prussia, 1848–1858.* By Anna Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Pp. 256. Cloth \$85.00. ISBN 978-0198833826.

*Beyond the Barricades* describes the efforts of leading German Conservatives, most notably the Minister-Präsident of Prussia, Baron Otto Theodor von Manteuffel, to reform the Prussian bureaucracy in the years between 1848 and 1858, until he was dismissed by Wilhelm I. The book's aims are ambitious—namely, to explain how Manteuffel's brand of pragmatic conservatism prevailed for a decade despite fierce opposition from both the ultraconservative and progressive ends of the political spectrum. More importantly, Ross seeks to show how, as a governing philosophy, the new pragmatism informed the Prussian Ministry of State's far-reaching program of institutional, legal, infrastructural, economic, and social reform in the 1850s, and how Manteuffel's revered conservative heir, Otto von Bismarck, both benefited from and strengthened the new institutions. Thematically, the book's six chapters are clearly indebted to Ross's dissertation advisor Christopher Clark's analysis of the most notable post-1848 reforms spearheaded under Manteuffel in his 2006 work *Iron Kingdom* and focus on Prussia's new constitution and parliament, its expanded bureaucracy, criminal and legal reform, the promotion of agriculture and industry, urban governance, and public opinion and press management. Moreover, both Clark and Ross emphasize the continuities between the post-Napoleonic reform program begun by Ministers von Stein and Hardenberg in the 1810s and that which took shape first under Count Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg and, after 1850, under Manteuffel. Ross's exhaustive archival research into the details of Prussian governance under the Ministry of State is impressive, and the book tackles an era too long neglected by historians, bookended by the watersheds of the 1848/49 revolutions and Bismarck's wars of German unification in the 1860s.

Despite the additional details, however, the book's major arguments are elusive. For example, Ross's claims that the energetic reform activities of the Ministry of State