

PANORAMA

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Selected Proceedings from the 31st IPC Conference

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Panorama and Map Cartouche: Scroll-like Objects in Two and Three Dimensions

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Abstract

Wade and Croome's *Panorama of the Hudson River From New York To Albany*, first published in 1845, communicates its detail through an interwoven text and image narrative. While viewing the panoramic representation of the shoreline from Governors Island to Albany (and back again), it is possible to follow along with the aid of a narrative text published separately in 1846. The literary tone engages the viewer additionally in a manner that suggests an extemporized performance of traveling. This narrative treatment relates to mapping traditions; for example, it appears to be a development of the usual deployment of the cartouche as an orientation device on a map. The cartouche is frequently depicted as a floating panel, decoratively cartooned in the form of a scroll or other panel, card or plaque. As such the cartouche has a distinctly burdened role as an image and text endorsement and surrogate for all manners of details that are presented as factual. The extant range of scroll-like, map-related objects and artifacts, from ribbon maps and other travel-related visual aids to scroll panorama performances themselves, has been shown to parallel the growth of popular travel in the mid-nineteenth century. This paper aims to better understand an apparent interplay between the cartouche and the disposition of landscape representations in linear form. Comparison will be drawn between folded maps, scroll panorama, and concertina books alongside maps that include two-dimensional images of scroll-like devices.

Keywords

Moving panorama, ribbon map, ambulatory map, mapping, performance, travel writing, landscape

Panorama of the Hudson River

One of the earliest and amongst the most impressive printed map representations of the Hudson River can be found in William Wade's 1845 publication *Panorama of the Hudson River*. It is impressive because of the scope and dynamism with which it communicates its detail. There is little extant information about William Wade's biography and this elegantly conceived etching appears to be his finest lasting achievement. As an artifact it both strongly anticipates the mid-nineteenth century boom in moving panorama-making while quite humbly meeting the practical needs of a map and guidebook. It provided important information for

steamboat travelers about travel and access to the resources along the river.

The aspirations of Wade's *Panorama* show themselves to be on the one hand map-like and practical, while at the same time reaching for loftier aspirations in both its visual and textual approaches. Produced as a concertina book and made at the scale of a pocket map so that it could be easily carried, when folded inside its covers it measures just six by four inches. [1] Consistent with many other pocket map productions of the same time, Wade's *Panorama* includes a narrative guidebook text. Both the text and image portions of this publication utilize a panoramic format to great effect.

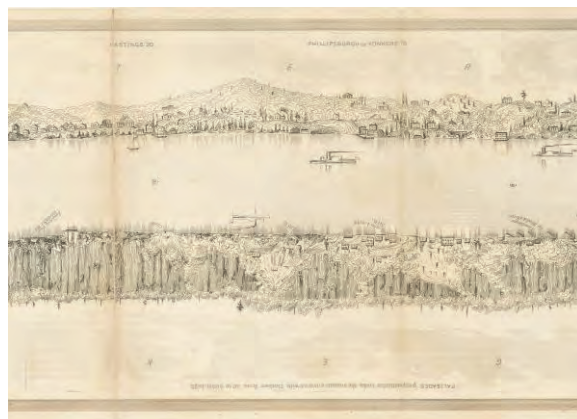


Fig. 1. *Panorama of The Hudson River From New York To Albany*, 1845, William Wade, etching, William Croome, Philadelphia. MacLean Collection. SID34205.

Wade's *Panorama* appears to echo with and anticipate a media boom with panoramic representation at its heart. It is connected to a plethora of contemporary productions intended for popular consumption, from printed cartographic products to less obvious literary publications related to travel and journeys, again arguably panoramic in their scope. These are things that might be understood as ambulatory in nature, and as Martin Brückner demonstrates,

have served to mobilize “cartographic knowledge during the enlightenment” and after. [2] The role maps and associated landscape representations played in supporting the expanding colonial projects of Europe cannot be underestimated.

A Landscape in Motion

When fully unfolded, William Wade’s panorama is just under ten feet wide. It ambitiously depicts the river from Albany to Governors Island. The relationships among landscape features are meticulously rendered. And it is immediately striking how the scope of the representation conflates with the immensity and scale of the spaces it represents. The river’s banks are illustrated through a linear elevation in two orientations, one upright and the other upside down. Each bank of the river is placed in a correctly proportioned communication with its opposite. Traveling or viewing the image in a down-stream direction, from north to south, the image is taken in by turning the folded image as pages from right to left, like a book. Then when traveling in reverse of the river’s flow, (south to north) the “book” requires a re-orientation. The reader is obliged to physically turn it through 180 degrees, so that what was the top is now at the bottom, meaning that it can now be viewed again by turning from left to right. Beginning a journey at Jersey City, a traveler can follow along again, fold by fold, turning from right to left, all the way back to Albany.



Fig. 2. *On view at the Maclean Collection. Panorama of The Hudson River From New York To Albany, 1845, William Wade, etching, William Croome, Philadelphia. Maclean Collection. SID34205.*

The activity of viewing the image requires both an imaginative and a physical engagement to orient and manipulate the form. And it is in the combination of these demands where a range of immersive and performative qualities come into experiential play, in strong resemblance perhaps to the Moving Panorama performances of the mid-nineteenth century. One of the most enduringly well known and most popular of the many moving Panoramas was John Banvard’s Panorama of the Mississippi, which was performed throughout the mid-nineteenth century. [3] Banvard, alongside many other impresarios and showmen, presented extensive depictions of river journeys, the effects of which can be understood to have facilitated a vicarious and immersive access to the landscape that vividly mimics a riverboat journey.



Fig. 3. *On view at the Maclean Collection. Panorama of The Hudson River From New York To Albany, 1845, William Wade, etching, William Croome, Philadelphia. Maclean Collection. SID34205.*

It is evident that William Wade was aware of related qualities in the production of his etching of the Hudson River. But Wade’s panorama is also assuredly a map in the mode of a long tradition of pocket maps and guidebooks. In his image, Wade includes distinct orientation marks. There

is a sequence of mileage indicators printed along the upper edge of each elevation, which confirm its use as a map. Closer inspection reveals significant layers of narrative intention. At first these details appear to play casually in a decorative mode, in support of the picturesque qualities. But with more careful reading, they can be seen to add an evident vivacity. There are numerous birds and cloud formations, for example, and rising plumes of smoke coming from the buildings and from the river steamers too. Each of the river boats is accentuated in its linear movement by the addition of directional lines that stand in for reflections. The barest hint of a wake is visible here and there. The river banks are similarly rendered in a reflected form on the river's surface, though the river is otherwise depicted as really smooth and glassy.



Fig. 4. *Panorama of The Hudson River From New York To Albany*, 1845, William Wade, etching, William Croome, Philadelphia. Maclean Collection. SID34205.

These features all contribute to an enlivened depth and dimensionality. There is a feeling of calm, safety, and civility, and the image conveys that it is a good day on the river. The bucolic nature of the Hudson River is an important point of emphasis in such a recently established civil society. We are party to a moment in the life of this landscape which is memorialized by its recent history of revolutionary struggle, and settler incursions into what was considered previously to be a wild landscape full of hardships and marked by violence.

It is a stretch to claim Wade's panorama as an invention of a particular type of illustrated narrative travel publication, but what is clear is the extent to which it captures a mood and responds to the needs of its time. Arguably popular material of this kind will always represent the world that produced it. In strong evidence after the mid-nineteenth century, across fields and genres, is how mass travel and mass-produced communications media bought the world much closer to more people than previously. The confluence

literally of travel opportunities and print availability increased the flow of mostly European populations into new continental landscapes. The increased affordability of trans-Atlantic passage aside, steam-powered mobility into the North American continental interior began with an international consciousness of the rivers—the Hudson, St. Lawrence, and Mississippi—each of which were the subject of both moving panorama performances and guidebook publication. The presence and influence of river journeys in moving panorama performances is well understood. [4] Relevant to the consideration of Wade's panorama in particular are its illustrative qualities, which come across vividly as a surrogate for the journey. While it is impossible to make a direct visual comparison with the visual content from the moving panoramas, most of which have long since perished, evidence of the narrative content does remain in the form of programs from these performances. The interrelationships alluded to above between the moving panoramas and river boat travel are depicted most vividly in an image published in *Scientific American* [see fig. 5] showing John Banvard's patent for the moving panorama mechanism. [5]

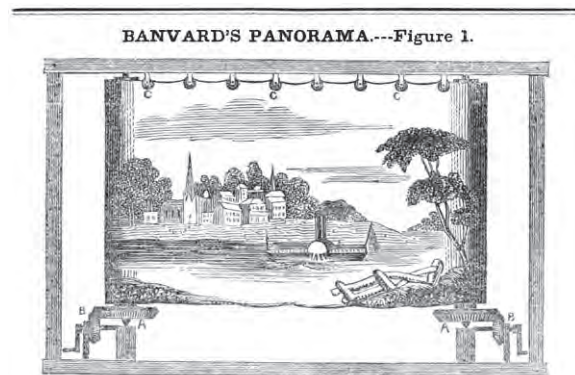


Fig. 5. *Banvard's Panorama*, 1848, illustration in *Scientific American* 4, no. 13 (December 16, 1848): 100.

Moving Panorama and Guidebook Narrative

Soon after Wade's initial publication in 1845, an accompanying narrative 'guidebook' was added, so that in its new 1846 binding the panorama and text were presented in a format that is more consistent with other pocket maps and tourist guide-book publications from that time and after. In this respect too, there is another striking comparison to be made with moving panoramas, which themselves were frequently augmented with a printed program, that included a guidebook-like text. Issued as a program to accompany the performance, the text in many of these publications are

lengthy, including biographic details about the makers alongside narrative explications of what it must be assumed was depicted.

When compared, the moving panorama text and the guidebook narration can be shown to serve almost exactly the same function as each other. Both are written in an episodic manner that replicates a movement through landscape drawing references to particular places along the way. In an authoritative tone, each presents a confident didactic narration of the qualities of life, the histories and the hardships, and the present conditions of the places on view. While moving panorama texts tend to emphasize the wild and the strange, the guidebooks cultivate a more bucolic description of establishment, civil society, and good living conditions. In the traveler guidebook texts the tone is even boosterish in its aims. In the case of both, the text ties together a flow of images.

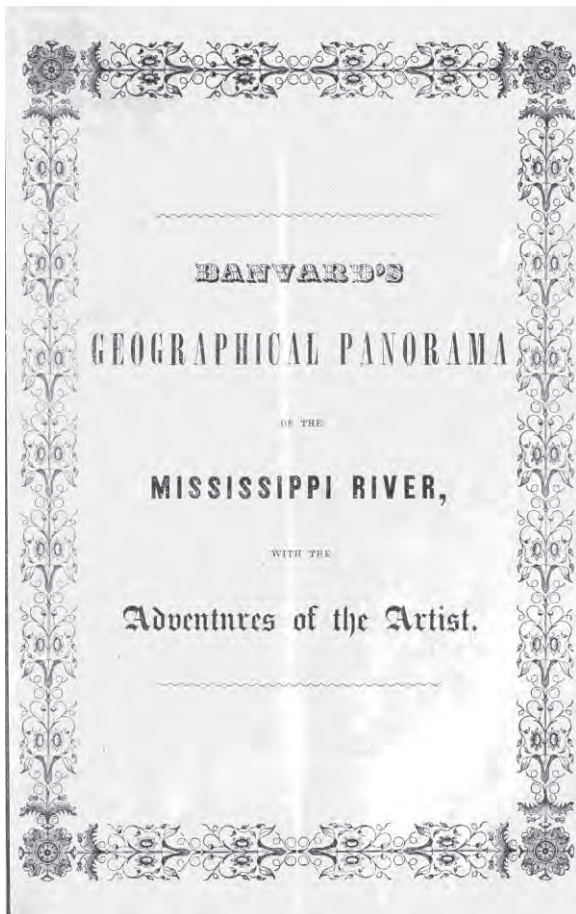


Fig. 6. *Banvard's Geographical Panorama of the Mississippi River, with the Adventures of the Artist*, 1847. A guidebook for the Panorama of the Mississippi. Getty Research Institute.



Fig. 7. *Panoramic Guide from Niagara Falls to Quebec*, 1857, William S. Hunter, Maclean Collection, SID17560.

Another guidebook publication which utilizes a related long-form image mode is William S. Hunter's *Panoramic Guide from Niagara Falls to Quebec*. Published in 1857, the printed image is more map-like than Wade's panorama, and folded within its guidebook covers, it is again a four-by-six-inch pocket map. The main image utilizes a vertical format, oriented as a bird's-eye view. The format is more suggestive of a forward-looking mode of travel, rather than the horizontal moving view that is implied in Wade's publication. In many respects, this is a much more conventional map and indeed the main map image is inset with a series of sub-images that illustrate details along the way. These oval vignettes work in tandem with the narrative text and aid its dramatization of the landscape. A string of buildings and bridges are depicted; there are images of commemorative and historical markers, and there is also a supporting cast of pioneer personalities including fur trapper characters and representations of indigenous people. The vignettes and text work together to produce a sequence of picturesque episodes which in many respects echo with the format of most moving panoramas.

It is important to note though how much the references here appear to be informed more by traditional mapping conventions. This habit of situating a sequence of contextual views, supported by a highly decorative and ornate architectural framework, evokes views of spaces beyond the map. Vignettes function like windows and arched doorway openings that project the viewer imaginatively towards untold riches and wonders. This is an approach that comes from much older European traditions typically associated with Dutch cartography during colonial expansion. These views are intended to emphasize the evident resources that are or might be available in the places being depicted. Accompanied as often by text which describes statistical details, whether real or imagined, the informational interplay of text and image forms a language that again supports a long-form narrative about landscape.

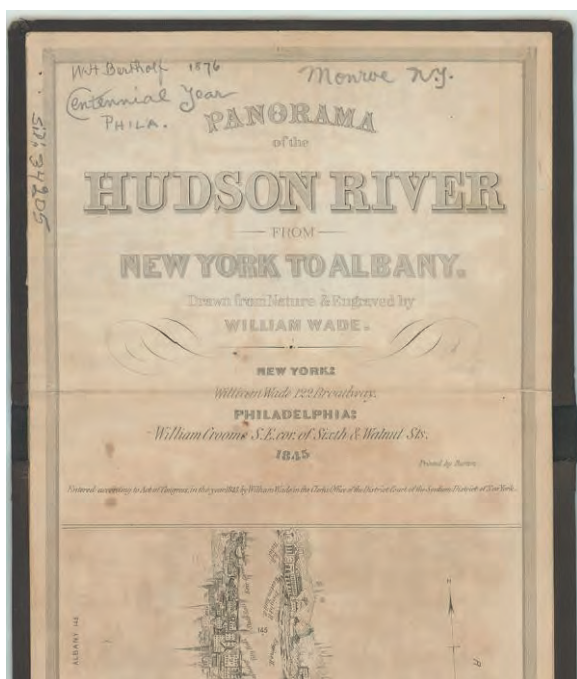


Fig. 8. *Panorama of The Hudson River From New York To Albany*, 1845, William Wade, etching, William Croome, Philadelphia. Maclean Collection. SID34205.

With this thought in mind about the functional role of the vignette, it seems important to briefly revisit William Wade's *Panorama of the Hudson*. At the bound end of the panorama, there is a main cartouche [see fig. 8] and then at its open end there is another smaller cartouche-like object that is inserted like a vignette. [see fig. 9] The smaller cartouche-like vignette functions in a less visually

traditional but nonetheless adamantly indicative mode, more like a legend or a map key. It carries text that in three sentences declares almost all you need to know to understand the technical organization of this object as a map. From left to right it reads, "The view taken from the middle of the river"; "The Counties, Cities, Landings Villages &c are over their locations - And the Miles from N. York attached"; and finally, "The Country Seats and important places named in the River." [see fig. 9] As a secondary didactic frame its intent is both informative and decorative. But of all things in this instance, it begs another line of questioning about its behavioral qualities. Why is the text presented in this way, as a strip of cloth? Why is it presented high in the sky above Manhattan? This untethered double ended flag-like, cartouche-like vignette flutters freely in the wind and is close to the viewer's vantage point, blowing across the scene like a fragment of something larger. It presents the text on a strip of cloth, in an animated, free flowing, long form.



Fig. 9. *Panorama of The Hudson River From New York To Albany*, 1845, William Wade, etching, William Croome, Philadelphia. Maclean Collection. SID34205.

Long-form Narrative, Map, and Text Flows

Arguably the dramatic narrative content of any journey will always lend itself to a long-form mode of storytelling. A number of storytelling and puppet performance traditions around the world include epic journeys at their core. [6] The storytelling elements of both the nineteenth century moving panoramas and traveler guidebooks seems consistent with much older performative modes where landscape is a subject. It seems that the details of traveling into the North American continental interior may have found a currency with audiences on both sides of the Atlantic for the ways it resonated with these older forms. Specifically evident as expressions of travel experience in emergent eighteenth and nineteenth century theatrical entertainment, literature and map publications. Arguably these are popular precedents that anticipate the more developed and embodied panoramic forms popularized by John Banvard and others in the mid-nineteenth century. [7]

One such work by Philip James de Louthembourg (1740-1812), known as the *Eidophusikon* is frequently cited as the precedent for Banvard's moving panorama innovations. But looking more closely at the *Eidophusikon* and the world in which de Louthembourg was working immediately points to an additional preceding range of printed materials: map and travel related publications that appear as likely to presage panoramic representations. To a large degree de Louthembourg can be seen to have captured in the second half of the eighteenth century the enthusiasms for travel of his time. He worked as a scenographer prior to the creation of his *Eidophusikon*, and amongst his most acclaimed representations was a particular dramatization of travel called, 'An Account of The Wonders Of Derbyshire; or Harlequin of the Peak.' [8] It was first presented in 1779 at London's Theatre Royal Drury Lane, where it remained in repertory for over a decade. [9] Featured as a 'Pantomime Entertainment,' the accompanying program text explains how the narrative utilizes a journey through the English county of Derbyshire as a backdrop for a tryst between Harlequin and Columbine. [10] The drama of this love affair was coupled with views of landscape curiosities, and it concluded with a descent into the underworld palace of Salmandore, a deity associated with lead mining. The performance text appears to have narrated the journey additionally via the poetic work of Charles Cotton.

As a relatively remote interior landscape in the United Kingdom, this subject might be understood here almost to have anticipated the later mid-nineteenth-century experience of travel into the continental interior of North America. Derbyshire had been characterized as a wilderness for some time before de Louthembourg's dramatization of it, and as a subject the county featured in maps and guidebooks with narrated descriptions of the landscape. Commented upon notably by the historian and geographer William Camden, (1551-1623), and then included in route maps by cartographer John Ogilby (1600-1676), the character of the landscape was established. Principally though, the Derbyshire landscape, with its remote and craggy limestone hills, drew a wider public reputation in literary works both by the poet Charles Cotton (1630-1687) and writer Daniel Defoe (1660-1731). The enduring reputation of the same peaked limestone hills appears to have received a certain revival in de Louthembourg's scenographic work.

By looking back, through the iterative developments of de Louthembourg's work, it is arguable that this invention came about for him as a direct synthetic response to his own experiences of travel. Detailed evidence of the *Eidophusikon* itself is relatively scarce, and it is hard to know precisely what made this performance so compelling. But from a few first-hand news accounts and the extant printed playbills, what appears to characterize the connection to moving panoramas is the collation of landscape views presented as an episodic narrated journey.

A fellow scene painter and scenographer, Henry Angelo, comments in his memoirs that, "His [de Louthembourg's] second display was the pantomime called 'The Wonders of Derbyshire'; here he had full scope for his pencil, and I may venture to say, never were such romantic and picturesque paintings exhibited in that theatre before." Henry Angelo confirms in his memories that de Louthembourg visited Derbyshire for inspiration in 1778 at a low point in his creative life and that he returned to make additional visual notes in 1783 of the locations that would later be featured in his pantomime at Drury Lane. [11]



Fig. 10. *A View of Philip James de Louthembourg's Eidophusikon*, 1782, Edward Francis Burney, watercolor, The British Library. The image depicts the closing scene showing a representation of Milton's Palace of Pandemonium with Satan arraying his army.

The de Louthembourg scenography and narrative progressed through a sequence of seven episodes that correspond directly to the scenes of the epic poem by Charles Cotton, published in 1683, called, "The Wonders of The Peake." [12] And as already alluded to above, the county of Derbyshire and its landscape was an enduringly popular subject throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because of its evident curiosities and its reputation as a wilderness. To this day it is popular with tourists for its caves and natural springs, its rural traditions, and dramatic landscape features. The county's reputation as a kind of dark and forbidding interior landscape arises in part from the cool, wet, and often very short summer season and the long harsh winters. Deep snow frequently closes the roads and visitors sometimes perish. All but one of the Wonders of Derbyshire are natural landscape features—caves, natural mineral springs and rock formations—the exception being Chatsworth House, the ancestral home of the Cavendish Family, also called the Dukes of Devonshire.

The same “wonders” are featured by Daniel Defoe in his 1724 text, “A tour through the whole Island of Great Britain.” Defoe knowingly draws upon the same reputation, though in a rather more cynical tone. His book is narrated rather self-consciously as a series of letters, and in this work, Defoe is understood, in literary terms, to have invented travel writing. In volume three, in the eighth letter, he complains about the cold and discomfort he experienced while visiting Derbyshire. And in this way, he repeats, and possibly invents, some popular mythologies about the region. Significant amongst these myths is the idea that the county is populated by unkempt, sickly, and dangerous people. [13] Defoe puts forward the idea that the “Wonders” are perhaps not as wonderful as Charles Cotton suggests. He lands though with rather more enthusiasm on a colorful description of Chatsworth House and of the Duke of Devonshire himself. [14] He writes, “Chatsworth is indeed a most glorious and magnificent house... indeed a palace for a prince... in spite of all the difficulties or disadvantages of situation.” These concluding remarks echo directly with Charles Cotton’s poem, which sets a tone to be followed when it extolls the virtue of Chatsworth as nothing short of an artistic and civilized idyll:

“To give account of ev’ry thing throughout,
 The Rooms of State, Stair-cases, Galleries,
 Lodgings, Apartments, Closets, Offices;
 Or to describe the splendors undertake
 Which ev’ry glorious Room, a Heaven make,
 The Picture, Sculpture, Carving, Graving, Guiding,
 T’would be as long in Writing as Building.” [15]

The Dukes and Dutchesses of Devonshire had built and maintained a sophisticated and fashionable household in Derbyshire since 1549. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and up to the present time, Chatsworth House has had a reputation as a haven of the arts and culture. It is hailed for its evident artistic life alongside and its grand landscape design in the midst of this wild and difficult, though nonetheless picturesque, place. The tone of Charles Cotton’s writing backs all of this up, and in the closing section of his poem, which makes up almost a quarter of the 85 pages, the text is full of showering praise for the house and gardens, its water features, and parkland. All in all, Chatsworth is confirmed as a wonder of human agency over nature. He writes:

“But let me lead you in, ‘tis worth the pains,
 T’examine what this Princely House contains,
 Which, if without so glorious to be seen,
 Honor and Virtue, make it shine within.” [16]

It’s clear that Chatsworth occupied a particular place in the popular imagination evidently and especially so for the literary, artistic and theatrical milieu. By including Chatsworth House in his work, de Louthembourg, like Charles Cotton and Daniel Defoe, made both a fashionable move and a calculated business decision. Bolstering the

reputation of a Duke, aside from anything, was exceedingly good business sense.

Route Maps as a Continous Landscape Flow

John Ogilby’s *Britannia*, an atlas of 1675, was initially published as a bound portfolio and is amongst the earliest route map books of its kind. It was later revised and reprinted in 1699 in a smaller more portable format as *The traveller’s guide, or, A most exact description of the roads of England*, and it is pertinent to consider this size-reduced edition in relation to this discussion of tourist guidebooks, alongside linear and panoramic representations.



Fig. 11. *Britannia, Volume the First. Or an Illustration of the Kingdoms of England and Dominion of Wales*, 1675, John Ogilby, David Rumsey Map Collection.

The introduction to the revised edition clearly declares its intentions as an aid to self-guided travel: “Wherefore since it is on all hands granted to be a work exceedingly useful to that purpose, [the direction of travelers] it is hoped, that the reducing it into this pocket-volume, will be an acceptable service to those persons whose occasions require them to travel.” [17] The map sheets are organized as a long series of routes between places and the binding includes an overview map image of England and Wales with all the routes marked as a matrix connected by places as if they are nodes on a network. The main route maps show the individual routes depicted as linear strips. Each road is shown as if it were printed on a ribbon of landscape. Visualized as a scroll that flows in a long spiraling arrangement, it takes the reader from the top right of the page to the bottom left. This mode of visual representation seems to resonate strongly with the development of

panoramic formats. While not strictly speaking panoramic in its form, by drawing the route as if it were on a strip of rolled paper or cloth, it presents an image of landscape through the idea of a single continuous image, and in this way, it effectively emphasizes each route as a linear experience. Traveling by road in the 1690s was essentially a front-facing experience, unlike that described previously in relation to William Wade's Panorama of the Hudson River, which visualizes the landscape as a laterally scrolling image. In Ogilby's supporting texts, the journey is narrativized as a point-to-point experience, joining places in space as a continuous flow of destinations.

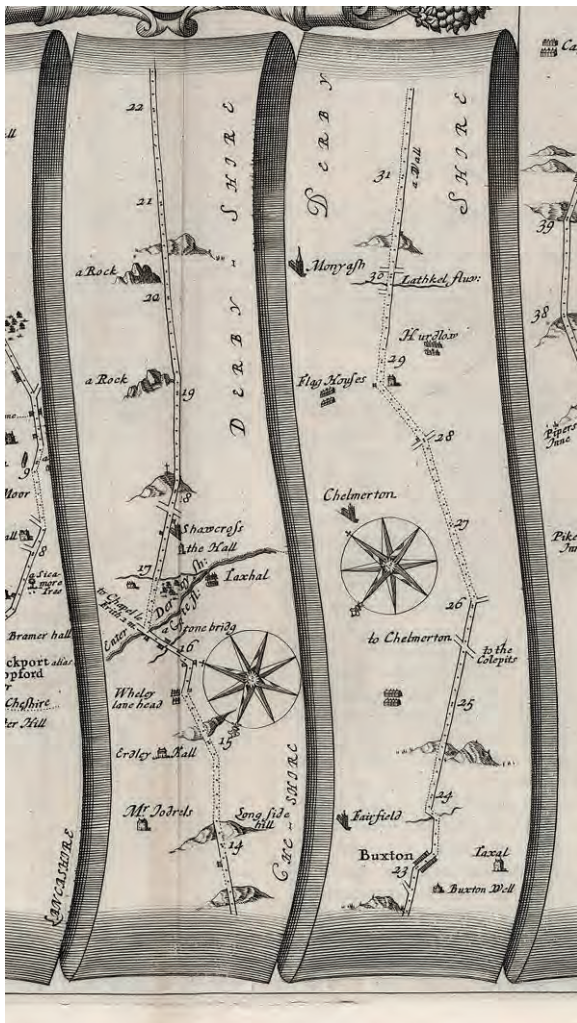


Fig. 12. A detail depicting Derbyshire from *Britannia, Volume the First. Or an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales*, 1675, John Ogilby, David Rumsey Map Collection.

As a final aside, another precedent to all of these publications can be seen in William Camden's 1610 publication "Britain or A Chorographical [sic] Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdoms." Written first in Latin and published under the name "Britannia" (1586), as its title suggests, this book is a description of the regions of England and Wales. [18] The opening text describes the historical contexts of England and Camden declares his aim to "restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britain." [19] The publication is bound with a number of plan view maps and is rather more text-oriented than visual. It is of note because it precedes all the other publications previously mentioned and because it includes one of the oldest published descriptions of Derbyshire. Again, Derbyshire is described both for its natural wonders and as a forbidding and dark interior wilderness. It is important to note also that Defoe references Camden's work as a major structuring influence for his journeys and his writing.

The popular fascination with travel and landscape is evident in so many ways across all of the material included above, and all of these items might be understood as having informed to some degree the moving panoramas of the mid-nineteenth century. At the very least the maps and guidebooks produced prior to the 1790s display an anticipation of the travel guides and moving panoramas of the nineteenth century. It is compelling to speculate just how much the performative and theatrical focus of de Louthembourg's scenography, moving diorama performances, and his Eidophusikon informed the moving panoramas, and how these in turn served to build a popular familiarity with intense and episodic landscape prone experiences. The dramatic idea of a forbidding interior landscape at the core of these examples appears to have contributed to building a public imagination and a familiarity with the experience of travel itself, and towards a comfort with such intense subject matter. A significant number of the mid-nineteenth century moving panorama performances rely upon dramatic articulations of experiences of travel into wild, frequently unpredictable, 'savage,' and yet 'picturesque' landscapes.

I will close with a reflection on William Wade's panorama with its double-ended, free-floating, banner-like, vignette. The visual qualities of this feature appear to be making a conscious gesture to the preceding scroll form media, like the maps and image motifs discussed above, while also projecting forwards into the implications of landscape experiences in the new world. What is evident in Wade's echo of the scroll form maps by Ogilby is perhaps that by placing the orientation information on a free flowing ribbon, Wade elevates the information it carries to a place where it can flutter freely in the wind. Intent perhaps on retaining a sense of the wild and the unpredictable to be found in the landscape beyond the Hudson River, the ribbon might be understood as a fleeting stand-in for a

romanticized version of the continental interior. Much like the closing scene of de Louthembourg's 1790s iterations of the Eidophusikon, where a series of adulating scenes and natural wonders were followed by a representation of Milton's Palace of Pandemonium, complete with Satan arraying his army of fallen angels, an image resonant as the precipice of industrialization [see fig. 10 above]. [20] Then as a discernable echo, Wade's banner-like image, with the metropolis of Manhattan in plain sight, seems to herald the impending loss of paradise in the great North American interior.

Notes

1. For a more detailed discussion of the context of the *Panorama of The Hudson River From New York To Albany* (1845) and its cultural proximity to river boat travel ephemera and mid-nineteenth century panoramic media, please see my previous essay in Volume 5 of this journal. Nicholas C. Lowe, "Mechanical Theatres of Travel: Scroll Panoramas, Ribbon Maps, and Handheld Media" *International Panorama Council Journal*, 5 (2021): 92-99. William Wade, was evidently active as an artist from 1844 – 1852, a small collection of etchings attributed to Wade can be found in the New York Public Library digital collections. Aside from these details little else is known about his biography.
2. Martin Brückner. "The Ambulatory Map: Commodity, Mobility, and Visualcy in Eighteenth-Century Colonial America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, no. 2/3 (2011).
3. The extended title of this panorama is "*Banvard's panorama of the Mississippi River: painted on three miles of canvas, exhibiting a view of country 1200 miles in length, extending from the mouth of the Missouri River to the city of New Orleans, being by far the largest picture ever executed by man.*" In 1848 John Banvard patented the winding mechanism most commonly employed to display these exceedingly long paintings, though there were evidently many versions and competitors. [See fig. 3] Banvard's life and work is well explored in the scholarship on moving panoramas, the most comprehensive of which is in the writing of John Francis McDermott, who presents a rich survey of Banvard and his milieu. See *The Lost Panoramas of The Mississippi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).
4. See John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989). See also Bertha L. Heilbron, "Documentary Panorama," *Minnesota History* 30 (March 1949): 14.
5. *Scientific American* 4, no. 13 (December 16, 1848): 100.
6. See Max von Boehn, *Dolls and Puppets* (Boston: Branford, 1956) and John Bell, *American Puppet Modernism* (New York: Palgrave, 2008).
7. For more contextual readings of moving panoramas and their relationships with other panoramic immersive media, see the following publications: Huhtamo Erkki, *Illusions in Motion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2012).; Ralph Hyde, *Panorabilia*, (London: Barbican Art Gallery/Trefoil, 1988).; K. Trumpener and T. Barringer, *On the Viewing Platform* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).; D.B. Oleksijczuk, *The First Panoramas* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2011).; Stephen Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium* (New York: Zone Books, 1997).
8. An account of the Wonders of Derbyshire, as introduced in the Pantomime Entertainment at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane. Printed by G. Bigg, London, 1779.
9. D. W. Shimwell, "Images of the Peak District, A.D. 1150-1950," *The Manchester Geographer*, n.s.. I (Winter, 1980).
10. Shimwell, "Images of the Peak District, A.D. 1150-1950."
11. Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo With Memoirs of his Late Father and Friends* (London: Printed by Henry Colburn, 1828).
12. The earliest poetic publication that took the Derbyshire landscape as its subject is to be found in Thomas Hobbes's 1636 publication "De Mirabilibus Pecci," which translates as the 'Wonders of the Peak.' Written and published in Latin, it was certainly aimed at a more exclusive readership. By comparison, the more enduringly well-known 1683 text by Charles Cotton, was written and published in English making it accessible to a much wider audience.
13. The reputation of sickness and potential danger is compounded in particular by two historical details. The region is known for its lead mining history and visitors (including Daniel Defoe) noted the presence of a pallid sickly-looking population. Defoe comments that a man he encountered was "a most uncouth spectacle ... he was lean as a skeleton, pale as a dead corpse, his hair and beard a deep black, his flesh lank, as we thought, something of the colour of lead itself." The mineral springs of Derbyshire are plentiful but the warm springs in Buxton carry an odor of sulphur which again drew attention to something foul beneath the ground. It is surprising that none of these sources reference the occurrence of bubonic plague in the Derbyshire village of Eyam. It is well known that to prevent the spread of bubonic plague in 1665, the villagers decided to self-isolate when it was realized that an infected shipment of wool had been delivered to the village tailor.
14. Chatsworth House is the ancestral home of the Dukes of Devonshire.
15. Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of The Peake*. p. 80. (Printed by J Wallis, London. 1683). The quotation is given exactly as it appears in the original edition.
16. Cotton, *The Wonders of The Peake*. p. 77.
17. John Ogilby, *The traveller's guide, or, A most exact description of the roads of England* (London: Printed by T. Ilive for Abel Swall, 1699).

18. William Camden, *Britain, or A Chorographical Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdoms*. [sic] (London: George Bishop, 1610).
19. Camden, *Britain, or A Chorographical Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdoms*.
20. See John Milton, *Paradise Lost, A Poem Written in Ten Books*. First published in 1667.

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