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The Time Travelling Antiquarian: Illustrated Tourist guides to North Wales from Pennant to Piper.

Keywords: *Illustration, Tourism, North Wales, Antiquarianism, extra- illustration, picturesque, print culture, temporalities, landscape*

Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the visual tropes of a specific genre of illustrated guide- book, originating in Thomas Pennant's 'extra- illustrated' copy of his work '*A Tour in Wales*' published in stages between 1771- 1776, and its legacy in the design in 20th century depictions of the region. I would like to argue that illustration has contributed to a set of scopic practices and a social imaginary of the Welsh landscape which are established with Pennant's work and which endure into the 20th c with the work of John Piper and the Shell Guides.¹ There is an entanglement of time and space, of real and imaginary landscapes within these images, and I argue they represent a form of imaginative time travel. As well as positioning the traveller in a particular place, the images also refer to particular spots of historical time. The practice of 'extra- illustration' (sometimes called 'Grangerisation') through which the reader customises their copy of a book, also braids multiple temporalities into the reader/viewer experience of landscape. This is mediated by the nature of these extra- illustrations, which are from disparate sources and historical contexts, appearing contiguously within the text. The depiction of the traveller in these images constructs and encourages the performance of a particular kind of touristic persona. The tourist is cast in the role of an 18th c antiquarian- the amateur scholar seeking out archaeological remains, ruined buildings, or 'picturesque' views, equally interested in collecting folklore as they are in historical fact, and engagingly non specialist in their interest in a diverse range of subjects and approaches.

In this article I am concerned to explore the ways in which illustrated guide- books speak to and position the traveller and tourist in the landscape both physically and imaginatively, mediating their experience and understanding of where they are both geographically and historically. By participating in and perpetuating a set of orthodoxies and received notions of what should be expected from visiting a place, illustration shapes a set of received notions of taste and the valorisation of certain characteristics of landscape. This is layered with an imaginative form of time travel, as the materiality of the book as well as its content, means it can represent several kinds of temporality at once.² The reader is encouraged to imaginatively re-enact the cultural performance of the tourist as mediated by printed guide- books since the 18th c. In the set of books I will consider this remains remarkably true to a romantic construction of an antiquarian adventurer, seeking treasure in the landscape, material trophies which were either collected as objects or as printed illustrative artefacts such as topographical or archaeological engravings. Antiquarianism is defined by Myrone and Pelz (1999) as 'at the intersection of aesthetic and intellectual pursuits' and is characterised by a focus on the material remains of the past, a love of collecting objects verging on acquisitiveness rather than as a method of enquiry. The antiquarian is the embodiment of a response to the past which uses 'imagination and feeling' (Battles, 2008) rather than academic rigour as its guiding principle. It is associated with amateur scholarship, hobbyism, and dilettantism in intellectual pursuits. Both the readers and creators of

the early formative 'county guides' shared values, tastes and ideologies associated with this persona.

Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Wales* is both a guidebook and a history, documenting Pennant's attentiveness to the remnants of Welsh antiquity wherever he traveled. An influential publication, it became a handbook for traveling artists, intellectuals, and tourists. It is significant for its consolidation of the antiquarian county guide genre of topographic writing which existed during this time. Combining an interest in the materiality of place in mapping geological data and places of architectural note, with the immaterial qualities of each place- in presenting the *genius loci* via folklore and historical anecdote, these books were the often the product of enthusiastic and amateur scholarship, offering a generalist set of interests, within a set of orthodoxies and ideas predicated upon antiquarian pursuits such as travelling and collecting material remains of the past. They represent a literature created by and for the moneyed and leisured classes. In their original iteration, the county guides were usually sold unbound, enabling the reader/viewer to customise both the binding and the contents to their taste. The practice of 'extra -illustration'³, in which unbound copies of the printed text were collated with images and prints made by topographical artists contributed to a lexicon of visual representations, creating a collage like text of what the 18thc tourist could expect to glean from visiting the terrain, even if this was travel of the armchair kind. Pennant's own copy of his work is bound together with many original watercolours and pencil drawings by his indentured artist Moses Griffiths, who was contracted full time to accompany Pennant and record his travels. It also contains prints and images from broken books from diverse sources. This unique copy resides in the National Library of Wales, and has been recently digitised to a high standard.⁴ The extra illustrated book, although predominantly an 18thc phenomenon, chimes with a contemporary taste for customisation, and affords a template for collaboration between writer, artist and consumer that has much scope for digitally enabled book production.

Pennant's extra illustrated *Tour of Wales* is a patchwork of approaches and forms of scholarship presenting Wales as a timeless place where its heritage can be accessed through the materiality of place, totemic landmarks and picturesque views. As a Welshman writing for a predominantly English audience, Pennant pieces together from the elements of landscape a narrative of Welsh national identity that is both patriotic and nationalistic, presented to the English audience as unthreatening because largely recreated from ruined fragments and material remains and so existing safely in an imagined past. Lichtenwalner (2008:94) suggests that the traveller 'sought out forts castles and Celtic remains as poignant reminders of the transitory nature of power, and (albeit perhaps subconsciously) as reassurances of their own political and cultural superiority' and argues that 'the value of Wales is presented [in these books] not in its present but in its past.' (2008:94) During the 18th century the rhetoric in the literature describing the Welsh landscape 'transformed [it] from barren to beautiful, barbaric to rustic, savage to sublime; above all it becomes a place where one can gain access to the antique...'⁵ She maps the shift in attitudes towards the landscape from the early to late 18th century as travel through Wales remained unfashionable for most of this time. At the earlier end of the century Daniel

³ For a history of extra illustrated books see Pelz, L. (2017) Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture and Society in Britain 1769-1840 Huntington Library Press

⁴I invite the reader of this article to explore this wonderful resource <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4690846>

Defoe declared 'the devil himself must live in this barbarous and inhospitable land'⁶ and John Torbuck called it 'the fag end of creation, the very rubbish of Noah's flood'. Gradually attitudes change as Romanticism offered a lens through which the 'rustic' landscape could be valorised as unspoilt and authentic.⁷ The change in attitudes during the 1780s was also enhanced by the improvement of the road system, making it easier and more comfortable for travellers to access remoter aspects of the landscape of North Wales.

It is also due to changes in what Urry (1990) terms the 'scopic regime' within which the landscape was understood, and which saw the privileging of sight in the tourist literature of the 18th century. During this time a more specialised visual sense developed based upon various technologies of seeing such as the camera obscura, the Claude glass, illustrated guidebooks, the art of sketching and the availability of sketchbooks, and architectural features such as the balcony. Seeing was 'mediated by hybridised and prosthetic technologies' (Ousby, 1990:158), in a way that helps control nature and facilitates it as 'other' to the cultivated metropolitan tourist, to be controlled from afar. The Enlightenment project of the 'scientific method' impacted on travel writing and illustration –the traveller became an eyewitness and aspired to have a 'well trained eye'⁸. The development of the idea of connoisseurship - of buildings, antiquities, works of art and landscapes developed in the late 18th century with the growth of 'scenic tourism' in Britain, very much aided and abetted by print.⁹ Vignettes of 'views' instruct the tourist what to expect and to a great extent what to feel when there, a dynamic which Urry describes as 'performative, embodied practices, highlighting how each gaze depends upon practices and material relations as upon discourses and signs.' (Urry, 2012:6)



Fig 1. Druidical remains in Anglesea J. Smoth c. 1830 PO2887 National Library of Wales (llgc.org.uk)

For instance, in (Fig 1) the tourist is shown using a gridded lens through which to ascertain where his gaze should settle. Other technologies such as the Claude glass require that ‘the gazer stood with his/her back to the scene and consumed it through the petite mirror in which the reflected landscape was neatly trimmed and recomposed’ (Ousby, 1990:157). Through a feedback loop in which the ‘picturesque’ is represented in illustratively in print, and then consumed via devices such as the Claude glass a Romantic visual sensibility develops. These practices encourage a certain stance towards the landscape, in which ‘Nature’ becomes ‘largely to do with leisure and pleasure- tourism, spectacular entertainment, visual refreshment’ and leads to a codification of what the landscape – in this case North Wales- should be; a ‘clichéd distorted image of a culture dictated...by the expectations of the outsider’ (Green, 1990:6). The term ‘views’ itself is predicated on this psychological distance from the landscape, privileging the sense of sight and presenting the landscape as a series of codified picturesque standpoints. The term picturesque gained currency during the 18thc, in part mediated by the writings of William Gilpin who discussed in his *Three Essays* (1792) the codification of nature by way of aesthetic understanding of “that kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture”, ideas which later inform George Borrow’s writings in *Wild Wales* (1862).

What we call a ‘view’ is a landscape or townscape that pleases the eye, because it participates in what China Miéville calls ‘a propaganda of the English imaginary’ (Miéville, 2016) The underlying principles of the picturesque is that it is organised around a unifying consciousness or set of criteria, and notions of what is or what is not picturesque often inform the manipulation of the landscape- attractive ruins are favoured, the working lives of its inhabitants are not. Miéville characterises this as ‘expropriating and exclusionary’ gaze, pointing to the 18thc landscape gardener Humphry Repton’s illustrated ‘Red Books’ which demonstrated through the use of flaps showing prospective clients the views before and after his interventions. Miéville calls this a ‘picturesque tory gaze’ in which the privileged refuse to countenance elements of the landscape that make them uncomfortable or that offer a reproach to their living standards, and at times this becomes ‘sadistic’ in its brutal rearrangement of the world to the landowner’s aesthetic taste. It also refuses to acknowledge the march of progress, and markers of modernity in the form of quarries, mines and factories are rarely depicted. While not trying to attempt to conflate the 18thc tourist with the 18thc landowner, I would argue that these two groups often overlap, were often from the same social class, and shared the same privileged gaze. In this way the set of visual orthodoxies surrounding the marketing and consumption of ‘views’ of North Wales in the 18thc within the print culture of the time participate in and contribute to a powerful fictionalised landscape predicated on colonial and patrician ideologies, aestheticized in visual form.

As a popular tourist destination from the late 18th c onwards, the influence of the printed image becomes diffuse and mediates both touristic expectations and the way that the inhabitants of North Wales navigate their identity, and earn their livelihoods. For instance (fig 3) shows a commercially produced 19th c photographic postcard of a woman named as ‘Jane Jones’ in traditional Welsh costume taken in 1910 standing next to a wooden stall which is hung with framed topographical prints, an expression of the entangled nature of print culture and performance. Both the representations of the landscape that she is selling and she herself are presented heritage commodities. Jane Jones was a folk figure¹⁰, born in 1782, who lived most of her life in and around the Talylyn area. She travelled with her husband Lewis Griffiths around

the battlefields of Europe, was at the battle of Waterloo and on the battlefield for three days, and died in 1816. By adopting this persona in the early years of the 20thc this print seller becomes a liminal figure, presented via the indexical and scientific medium of photography but also existing in an unstable imaginative zone between fact and fiction. Her collusion with the stereotypical and folkloric character of Jane Jones can be seen as a participation in the marketing and selling a fictionalised version of the landscape, a stance that is both subject to and exploitative of the tourist's expectations.



Fig 3 <http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-jane-jones-in-welsh-costume-at-her-bookstall-betws-y-coed-near-llanrwst-83096815.html>

The longevity of this heritage infused social imaginary associated with Welshness and the reliance on tourism within the economy of North Wales has perhaps contributed to creating a cultural stasis or simulacrum of cultural authenticity, a self-referential performance for the tourist expecting certain experiences from his guide - book. As the set of postcards (fig 4) depicting the 'smallest house' in Conway demonstrate- there has been someone in Welsh dress standing outside its door performing for the camera for over 100 years.



Fig 4 Postcards of the 'Smallest House' in Conway

Another narrative cartographic illustrative convention appears to be similarly stable over time, (fig. 5) shows a mid 20thc postcard of North Wales next to William Hole's map for Michael Drayton's topographic poem 'Poly Olbion' (1612). Drayton's personification of rivers and mountains can be seen as representative of a way of figuring the 'genius loci' of each, participating in an allegorical form of fiction that was popular at the time. The 20thc postcard uses similarly tiny figures as metonymic of the various pastimes that can be enjoyed. The visual mode is the same – a visual shorthand compressing two visual modes- that of the story- book and the map, requiring the reader/viewer to navigate diagrammatic and the figural conventions (one requiring a horizon line, the other an understanding of the conventions of a plan) and checking one against the other. The formal characteristics are similar in both images, however the narratives they contain show a shift in conceptual understanding of the same terrain since the 17thc- from mythic narrative to leisure function, from a sense of mystery and magic personified by pagan nymphs and dryads referencing classical modes of thinking, to a landscape of thought in which North Wales is presented as a site of cheerful and consumable heritage and leisure.





Fig 5
 William Hole's map for Michael Drayton's topographic poem 'Poly Olbion' (1612) showing a segment of North Wales, (courtesy of Flash of Splendour Arts) next to a Postcard of North Wales circa 1960 (private collection, author's own photograph)

At the time of writing in the latter half of the 18th century Pennant was a pioneer traveller in Wales, beating a path that would over time become crowded and noisy – due in great part to the influence and popularity of his illustrated 'Tour' in print. The pursuit of Romantic, solitary encounters with picturesque natural phenomena is another persistent visual trope in the imagery associated with North Wales and can be seen in the repeated depiction of solitary figures in landscapes, dwarfed by their surroundings. Pennant is also interesting in terms of the unique collaboration he has with the illustrator of this book. Moses Griffiths was a self taught 'genius' according to Pennant, who was employed full time by Pennant to accompany him on his travels and to record first hand whatever he found worthy of notice. This ranges from fossilised coal, to flounders, flowers, buildings and 'views'.¹⁴ I would like to argue that the various illustrative modes within Thomas Pennant's 'Tour of Wales' create a visual lexicon constituting elements of the landscape that remains remarkably stable heuristic set of ideas throughout the printed guide books of 19th and 20th c. These elements include categories such as geological and mineral composition of the landscape and natural history, sites of famous battles and events, ancient monuments- especially stones and druidical remains, sites of Architectural interest, picturesque or sublime 'views', 'local colour' in the form of stereotyped characters encountered by the writer in the landscape, and supernatural stories and folklore.

¹⁴ An example of the range of images Moses Griffiths produced can be seen in the following selection of images. <https://tinyurl.com/y77ldhllh> an original watercolour illustration of two tiny figures next to a ruin, <https://tinyurl.com/y75zxyjl> a black and white watercolour very finely drawn of fossils found in coal from in the collieries of Mostsyn and Denbighshire

Firstly, the physical and material make up of the landscape is presented in fragmentary form- for instance the mineral composition of the landscape, with detailed drawings of fragments of coal and slate, sometimes containing fossils- pointing to the antiquity of the landscape, and also its portability in fragment form, very appealing to the antiquarian traveller whose inquisitive curiosity was matched by an acquisitive tendency to collect and therefore 'own' their discoveries. This was already an illustrative convention associated with the work of the Royal Antiquarian Society recognised by Royal Charter in 1751, which became active in recording as well as collecting examples of 'antiquity' contemporaneously to the time Pennant was compiling his *Tour*. Sam Smiles writes that

From its inception the Society of Antiquaries of London understood how visual records of relics of the past would benefit scholarship. As early as the 1710s the need to disseminate antiquarian research via high-quality images was acknowledged by John Talman, William Stukeley and others, and, on its reestablishment in 1718, the Society's articles specified the importance of producing engravings of antiquities¹. In much the same way as the Royal Society prioritised the collecting of accurate empirical data from which valid scientific inferences could be drawn, so the Society of Antiquaries undertook to illustrate scrupulously the objects and monuments within its remit. Stukeley, the Society's first Secretary, wrote that 'without drawing and designing the study of Antiquities . . . is lame and imperfect.' Likewise, in 1768, the Director of the Society, Richard Gough, declared, that 'the pencil is as essential as the pen to illustrate antiquities'. (Smiles, 2013)

The ability of Moses Griffith to navigate both the accurate rendering of the physical qualities of geological specimens and 'picturesque views' containing atmosphere and inherent narrative shows him to be both proficient draughtsman and conversant with illustrative conventions of the time.

As well as rocks and fossils, curiosities of natural history, and the flora and fauna particular to each area visited are listed, often depicted free floating on the white space of the page. The landscape is characterised via quantifiable and fragmentary material objects that are embedded within it, translated into the collectable form of the illustrated image or commercially available print.

Moving through this conceptualisation of landscape from detail, the next type of illustration are 'views' which now open up the reader/viewer's imagination to sites of Welsh history- ruined castles, archaeological remains, or fields of combat. This includes places associated with supernatural hauntings, violent traumas, hauntings, healings, Sacred wells, and spots of unexplained power, such as druidical sites, all located in a remote past, and presenting Wales as a site 'rife with the potential for experiences that transcend the mundane' (Lichtenwalner, 2008:104)

The next category that is used to quantify the experience of the landscape is that of 'local colour'. By this I mean characterful local people both dead and alive who are encountered by the writer on the way, and who provide Pennant with anecdotes about local life and oddities, such as folklore and hauntings. This 'local colour' becomes established as part of the tourist trail once celebrated in print. For example Pennant recounts an anecdote about about a Denbighshire woman who hasn't eaten for three years, and through this has become a local celebrity, part of the tourist trail of miracles and marvels in the landscape of North Wales. The 'Ladies of Llangollen', Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby, who lived in their cottage ornée just outside the town were similarly celebrated in print for their relationship, their

independence and their eccentric 'masculine' dress.¹⁵ This, and the fact that their house lay near the main route between London and Holyhead, meant that they became a popular tourist attraction. Many guide books recommended visiting the house and trying to gain an audience with the Ladies, and the many engravings depicting the women and their house testify to their popularity as a tourist attraction for the town.

Each element of the Pennant's patch worked narrative of the landscape - the natural history, the physical remnants of past, the anecdotal sketches of the 'local colour', offers the reader a set of narrative possibilities through which they may inhabit the landscape imaginatively as well as physically, and move as fluidly through time as they do through space. In some cases the three elements are blended- as in the section on Flintshire, where the description of the shrine at Holywell includes a retelling of the folkloric story of St Winefrede, which then leads into a contiguous consideration of the varieties of lichen in Flintshire. The legend of St Winefrede is that she was attacked and beheaded by an amorous assailant, and where her head hit a stone the ground a spring of curative water appeared. The stone in the well is documented as appearing to 'bleed' red at various times of the year. Pennant diffidently offers the suggestion that it is thought by some that it is a form of lichen rather than a form of topographical stigmata that causes the stone to leach rusty red into the water, deftly navigating the various folkloric, religious and scientific possibilities for reading the site. An engraving of St Winefrede's Well with moss and seal from Pennant's extra illustrated *Tour in Wales* can be accessed as a digitised image via National Library of Wales¹⁶ This heterogeneity of interest is reflected in the varied representations of the well in print that he has collected and had bound into this section of his book.¹⁷ The diversity of the sources for the customised, extra- illustration format of Pennant's book has the effect of creating an extra-temporal reading of the landscape, showing the same place at various spots in time.

The notion of the integrity of the book was more fluid in the 18th century publishing industry, with the printing of the body of the text separate from the binding and the illustrations. Books would be bought in loose-leaf form from the bookseller and would then be bound in the purchaser's taste – to complement his or her existing library. So the concept of the integrity of the book (and its illustration) was not so holistic as it became with the development of the mass-produced book. The practice of extra – illustration, pasting in engravings or even commissioning a 'limner' or jobbing artist to paint onto the pages creates an interestingly dynamic role for the reader, as arbiter, producer of the final form of book alongside the writer and the illustrator. It also created a parallel industry in sheaves of engravings that would be sold alongside the book According to Lucy Pelz; there was a thriving business in topographical engravings that contributed to this 18th c craze for customisation¹⁸. The print culture surrounding this practice is itself characterised by an antiquarian love of collecting old prints.

¹⁵ For more information about the ladies see Brideoake, 2017

¹⁶ <https://tinyurl.com/ycrjbpoh>

¹⁷ To see these images please access the following pages of the digitized version of Pennant's extra-illustrated book held in the National Library of Wales.

<https://tinyurl.com/ycrjbpoh> (p.77) An engraving of St Winefrede's Well with moss and seal

<https://tinyurl.com/ycw8gqqf> (p. 74) A large engraving of St Winefrede's well showing visitors

<https://tinyurl.com/ybaucfpx> (p. 82) a small engraving of the 'North View of St Winefrede's Well' showing clearly the practice of cutting and pasting images from other books.

<https://tinyurl.com/yca9fnek> (p.87) a small original watercolour by Moses Griffiths of two bosses of angels from the interior roof of St Winefrede's well.

Through embedding extra illustrations from many sources, the book becomes a multi dimensional representation of the landscape in time as well as space. Considered in this light the materiality of the printed guide- book offers us a sense of the book as a palimpsest within which several incarnations of a landscape may exist concurrently.

The effect Pennant's account had in stimulating tourism in Wales cannot be underestimated, and a breed of 'literary' traveller, inspired to visit Wales because of the book stimulated a subsequent brisk trade in practical and aesthetic guide books. Later guides to North Wales such as Sabine Baring Gould's *'A Book of North Wales'* (1834) retain the same formula – geological and archaeological 'antiquities', natural history, picturesque views and local colour, but also factor in schedules for 'excursions' as the solitary traveller employing a local guide is replaced by the entrepreneur offering the traveller a more comfortable off the peg experience. The development of mass tourism to the area is symbiotic with an endlessly proliferating print trade associated with practical guides in the 19th and early 20th century, often sponsored by railway or bus companies as an early form of advertorial. For the purposes of this article, I am primarily concerned with the 'antiquarian' guidebook, which is less concerned with timetables and menus as it is with time travel and menhirs. Antiquarian love of curiosities and acquisitiveness extended to a love of collecting topographical books whose purpose was geared more towards armchair tourism of an imaginative sort rather than practical guides for traversing the landscape itself.

The mid 20th century Shell Guides noticeably participate in this construction of the reader as antiquarian. This represents an illustrative continuum in the popular conception of how landscape is narrativised and understood, which can be seen on the covers of the 'Shilling' guides produced by Shell in the 1960's, where the taxonomies established in the county guides and consolidated by Pennant are present in the foregrounding of the material remains or 'antiquities' at the front of the picture plane, the inclusion of 'local colour' in the form of someone in national dress or engaged in 'authentic' rural occupation, the examples of typical natural history, and the evidence of historical events in the form of ruined buildings or ancient sites.

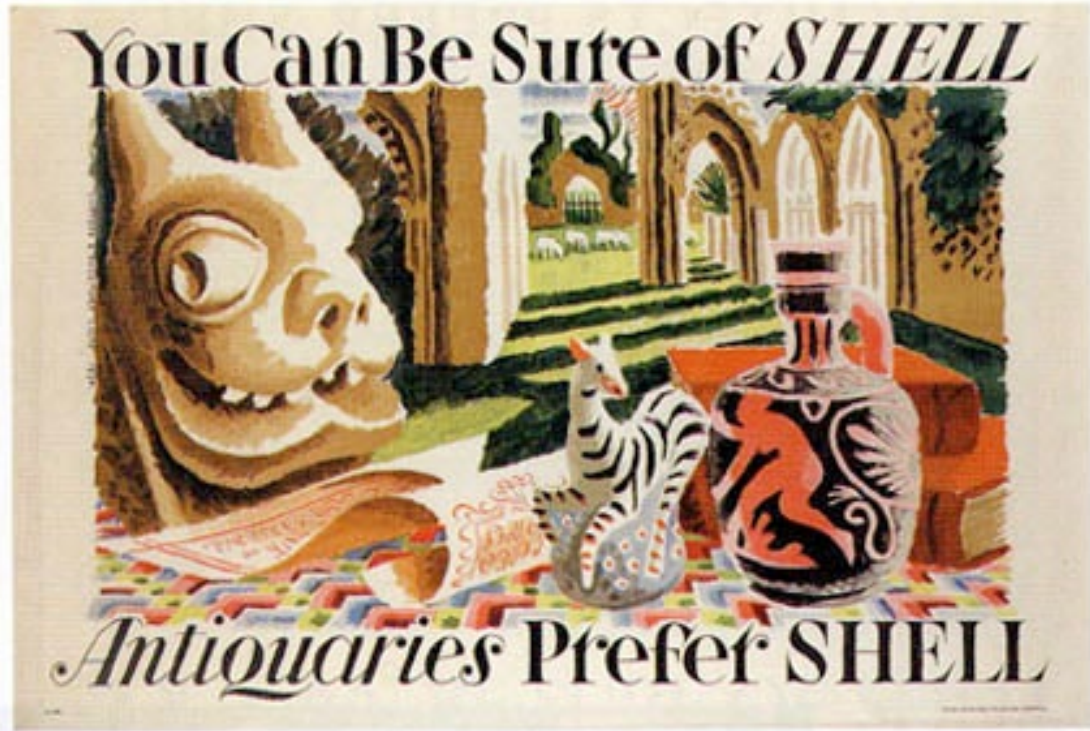


Fig 7 Clifford and Rosemary Ellis (1933) Shell Heritage Art Collection, National Motor Museum NOTE: Have written to request permission

Pyr's Gruffudd talks about the way culture in Britain but particularly in Wales is 'mapped onto an archaeological landscape' in a way that profoundly influences the consumption of the material culture of heritage through objectifying and commodifying it- in a real sense identities are bound up in the myths and narratives these images describe.' (Gruffudd, 1994: 61) The persona of the antiquarian, in desiring to collect and possess the material remnants of the past as they manifest in the landscape, embodies this idea.

The visual lexicon of 'antiquarian' interest in the landscape as characterised by ancient artefacts, ruined buildings, natural history and 'local colour' is part of a wider tendency within the visual culture of Britain which utilises representations of the landscape to symbolise and synthesise elements into comfortably historicised narratives of regional/national identities through which anxieties about the effect of industrialisation and modernity on the landscape, and its effect on 'authentic' national culture and rural patterns of existence can be allayed by creating an escape into multiple histories, a mythic and atemporal spatial field. For instance (fig. 8), in a poster for Shell by Edwin Calligan, several recognisably picturesque elements are visible in the depiction of Plas Newydd- the home of the 'Ladies of Llangollen', along with the codified markers of ruined castle and ancient stones offering 'access to the antique'. There is an entanglement of time and space, of real and imaginary landscapes within this image, and it holds many different temporal moments together in one compositional field, which, I would argue, encourages a form of imaginative time travel as the eye roams the image different objects are totemic to a different spot in time as well as place.



Fig. 8 Edwin Calligan (DATE) Shell Heritage Art Collection, National Motor Museum NOTE: Have written to request permission

The collaged quality graphic design of the early Shell Guides by Piper, Nash and Berners also speak to the scrapbook quality of the practice of extra- illustration. For example it can be seen in Berners' photo montage cover for the guide to 'Wiltshire', subtitled 'A Series of Views'- also pointing to the guide's rootedness in the visual mode of the 18th century 'picturesque'. It too contains the now familiar taxonomies of ancient ruins in the form of Stonehenge, architectural elements in the form of Stourhead, and 'local colour' in the form of agricultural labourers in traditional smocking, and characters engaged in making honey at the front of the frame. A Victorian shooting party, accompanied by their dogs take up the centre of the composition. The uneasy relationship between the characters in the curiously flattened spatial field of the image speaks to the flattening effect of the antiquarian mind set, a form of bricolage thinking predicated on the chanced upon fragment and engaged in amassing collections (in this case of found photographic images) than offering a coherent cognitive schema within which to consider them. Published in 1935 the cover situates a mythic Wiltshire firmly in an indeterminate and heterogeneous past.

As well as editing the Shell Guides John Piper lived in glorious isolation in North Wales for periods during the mid 1930s. He began writing a guidebook, and although this has never been published it is available in manuscript form in the Tate archives. His taxonomies are remarkably similar to Pennant's although he combines an artist's eye with the antiquarian's interest in tracing the past through the materiality of place. Written in faded blue- black fountain pen ink, Piper heads up sections with titles like 'walls' or 'the colour of the stones', 'clouds' 'sheep' and 'bracken'. He was very aware of the antecedents to his project and references Pennant several times, sometimes retracing journeys that Pennant and Moses had undertaken. No illustrations for this project exist, although Pipers '*Stones and Bones*' series of lithographs seem to me to chime with the writing. Superficially Piper's categories seem to break up the landscape like a modernist collage, into impressions, fragments and abstract shapes and concepts. Piper's

writing is acutely visual and evokes an intense sense of place- the hawk - eyed attention to star moss and the colours of lichens, the different shape of walls for example. Underlying this is an even stronger sense of the anthropocene nature of the landscape- the 'fact' of bracken is a natural occurrence but triggers a meditation on the colonial violence behind its introduction, a 19thc interpolation into the landscape. The walls and sheep tell stories of settlements and enclosures, and the imposition of different farming practices. Piper reads the landscape's 'stones and bones' for hidden narratives and reconstructs history from fragments in what I would argue is an antiquarian mode.

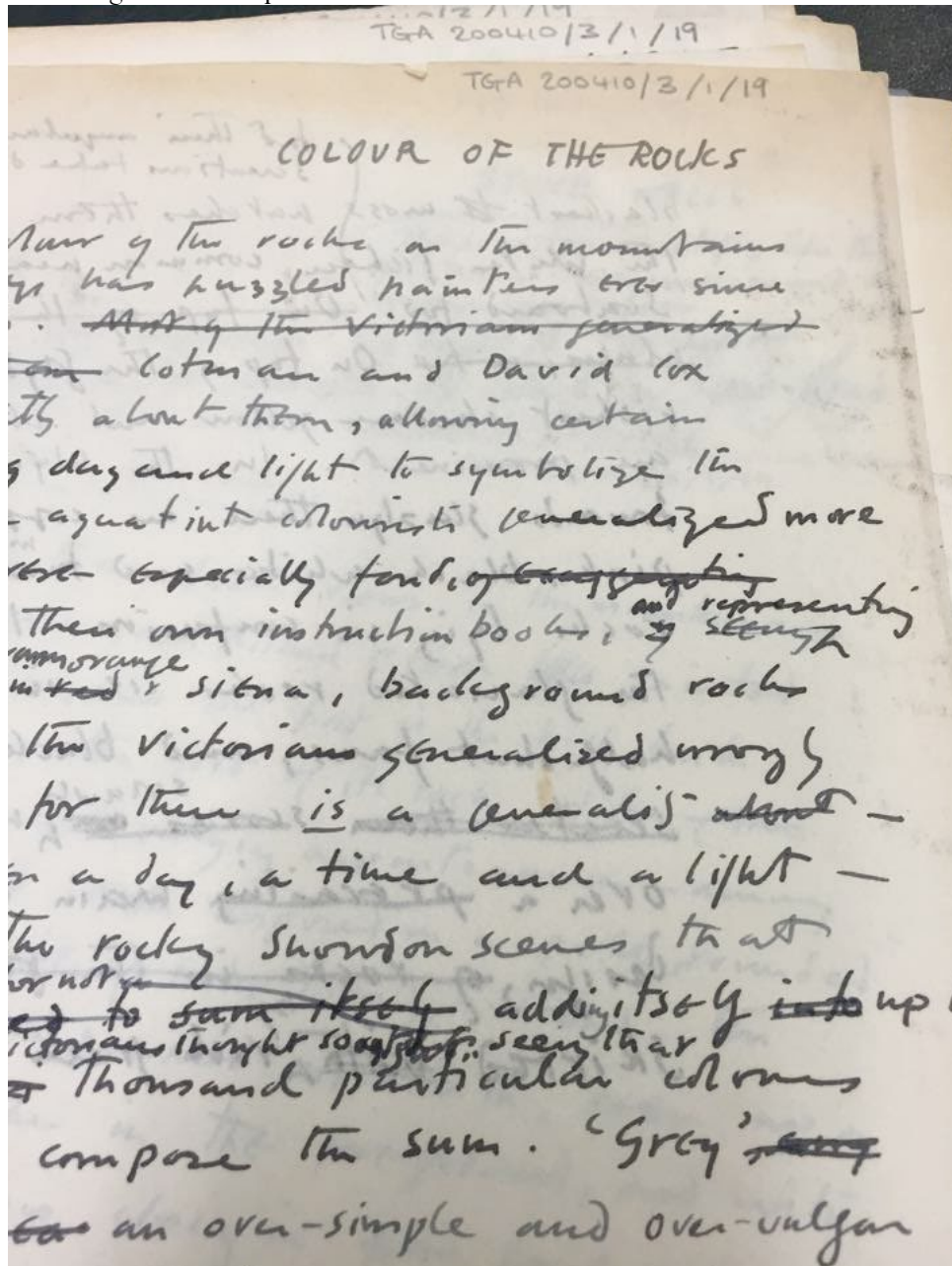


Fig 9 NOTE: I have written to request an official image of this page from Tate Images
PENDING

Shell Guides were conceived by John Betjeman and were written specifically for those who could tour the countryside by motorcar. As Shirley (2016:47) points out 'the perspective of the Shell Guide is that of the (predominantly male) urban middle class motorist who wanted to visit the countryside. He too aims to be independent of the tourist industry, however his

independence is granted through his means of transport, the personal motorcar. Free from the restrictions of railway routes or pre-organised tour parties, the Shell Guide traveller cannot only devise his own itineraries (with help from the guide) but he can also 'discover' parts of the countryside, which are newly accessible to the motorist.' Shirley argues that 'the Shell Guide traveller is engaged in re-discovering a landscape that had never been lost.' (2016: 48) which involves close reading of 'ordinary things' (2016:51) and attending to the 'palimpsest of undiscovered intricacy' (51) that enable both an understanding of embedded narratives in the landscape and the construction of the touristic persona as adventurer, collector, antiquarian valorizing the material evidence of the past.

The Shell Guides ostensibly propel the reader out into the landscape to see for themselves. Another kind of illustrated guide, for the armchair traveller whose antiquarian tastes extends to collecting topographical prints and books, can be seen in the King Penguin '*A Prospect of Wales*' written by Gwyn Jones (1948) with illustrations by Kenneth Rowntree. The framing device of an artist's portfolio spilling images on the cover points to an awareness of the already established market for collecting images of views. We see this portfolio through another frame—an ovoid shape, reminiscent of the Claude Glass, which schooled the gazes of earlier tourists, but this also references the modernist sculpture of Moore and Hepworth, a peephole that simultaneously looks forwards and backwards in time. In the essay accompanying this set of images, for Jones the essence of this landscape can be found 'not in the famed vistas ... but in some corner of a field, a pool under a rock, in a bare sheep-walk or a cottage folded in a gully.'¹⁹The depth of field has shifted to consider the materiality of the landscape at closer range. In Rowntree's images lonely chapels, views of terraced houses, pit heads, ferns and stone walls are foregrounded creating a mid century picturesque that refocuses the attention towards textures and patterns in the landscape, and attention to the landscape as a place of the modest everyday. Images of the landscape serve to create a ground, which the viewer/reader can inhabit, a space in which s/he can roam imaginatively, engaging with heterogeneous temporalities and narratives associated with each place.

Conclusion

This paper set out to consider the ways in which illustrative print cultures surrounding Pennant's '*Tour of North Wales*' consolidated and popularised an existing set of scopic practices that in turn have fed an enduring set of social imaginaries of North Wales, specifically focussing on their mid twentieth century iterations. The taxonomies through which Pennant presents the landscape; the geological and mineral composition of the landscape and natural history, sites of famous battles and events, ancient monuments, elements of architectural interest, picturesque or sublime 'views', 'local colour' in the form of folkloric characters- living or dead- encountered by the writer in the landscape. These sets of images have become metonymic for disparate temporalities which co exists in the material and visual composition of the book. They are held together through the conceptual spatial field of a notion of landscape akin to the extra-illustrated book, full of collectable items, which reflect eclectic tastes and interests and gravitate towards certain kinds of narrative which are driven by the sensibility of the 18th century antiquarian. Pennant's focus on the interplay between the material shards of the past and the immaterial presence of stories in the landscape puts his and Griffiths' representations of North Wales 'at the intersection of aesthetic and intellectual pursuits'. This is also evident in the ways in which the text and illustrations encourage and construct a performative identity of the tourist as antiquarian. Illustrations are influential in positioning and addressing the touristic traveller within the landscape of North Wales as a character in a particular kind of narrative-

that of an antiquarian treasure hunt. The books instruct the nascent tourist which places to seek out to access a form of imaginative time travel. The images present a highly constructed and ideological understanding of the landscape. John Urry talks about the way images activate both 'imaginative mobility' and 'memory travel' enabling the reader/viewer to move around geographic and temporal locales within the spatial planes of the page and the landscape. I would like to suggest that the guide book itself operates as a site, a 'block of 'space time' operating 'beyond the people or place or events to which they refer' (Urry1990: 155) and contribute to an extra-illustrative collage of quasi fictionalised imaginaries that are informed by the eclecticism and collecting practices of the 18th century antiquarian.

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