IN SEARCH OF SUBLIME SNOWDONIA

Landscape Aesthetics and the tourist mind

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how 18th century ideas about landscape aesthetics prompted the growth of tourism in Wales and continues to influence policy approaches towards landscape protection, internationally. Focusing on circumstances prevailing in Wales at this time, the paper examines the role key individuals played in a process that culminated in radical changes in public attitudes to landscape and became manifest in how the tourism industry was to develop. It concludes by reflecting on how 18th century ideas about landscape aesthetics are still reflected in public policy thinking about the conservation of ‘natural beauty’ albeit the justification and rational for the policies and public preferences for such landscapes may not always be clearly understood.

Key words: landscape, aesthetics, tourism

INTRODUCTION

The 18th century was an age of enlightenment in Europe, marking a period of critical questioning of traditional institutions, customs and morals. It was also a time of great technological change, enquiry and invention that manifest itself in an industrial revolution that brought about social and political change across Britain. The 18th century marked the beginnings of ‘modern’ tourism, an industry that by today is very diverse and accounts for 12% of the global economy, but in those early years, was very much linked to a new found interest in landscape. Much of this interest was focused on Wales and the development of ideas about landscape aesthetics. These ideas continue to dominate policy thinking about the protection that should be afforded to certain landscapes world wide.
As an art historian, geographer, landscape manager and planner and as someone who has lived and worked in Wales for many years I have a particular interest in this subject. These are some of the research questions that interest me:

Why did public attitudes to landscape change in the 18th century?
What contribution did Wales make to this process?
Why was Wales an especially popular destination for late C18th travellers?
How was this popular interest in Welsh landscape developed and exploited?
What have been the consequences of this legacy on public policy?
Over this weekend I hope that together we can explore these more depth.

WALES IN CONTEXT

An appreciation of the geography of Wales and the configuration of its physiographic, social and economic circumstances helps us understand the importance of Wales (generally) and the significance of Eryri (in particular) in these matters.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO LANDSCAPE

Snowdon, the highest mountain in England and Wales stands at 1065 meters. Last year about 400,000 visitors found their way to its summit. Two and a half centuries ago it was a place considered best to be avoided. The following description of Snowdon and its environs reported by a London solicitor travelling in North Wales in 1732 is typical of public attitudes to mountainous landscapes in other regions in the first half of the 18th century.

*The Country looks like the fag end of Creation; the very Rubbish of Noah's Flood; and will (if any thing) serve to confirm an Epicurean in his Creed, that the World was made by Chance*. (Anon, 1732)

Daniel Defoe’s views of Welsh landscapes, unlike those of the anonymous traveller in 1732, were not clouded by Old Testament scriptures but are equally disparaging. Travelling in the County of Brecknockshire which he suggests would
be more aptly named Breakneckshire, he describes hills which are now in the Brecon Beacons National Park as ‘these horrid mountains’. (Defoe, 1726)

By the end of the century attitudes to Wales and Welsh landscapes changed radically and landscapes formerly shunned as places to be avoided suddenly became popular. The change began with a challenge to the Old Testament Biblical accounts of creation of the World with geologists, many of them informed by research in Wales, demonstrating that the shape, form and character of our landscapes were the product of geomorphological processes over millions of years. In 1757, Edmund Burke (1729-1797) the Irish Parliamentarian and philosopher, published a treatise on landscape aesthetics which argued that landscapes evoke strong feelings in people - both awesome and pleasurable. Burke’s *Philosophical Enquiry* avoids references to Christian theology, preferring secular language to explain profound human experiences. His principal interest was to better understand how the human mind responds to landscape experiences in order that he might help ‘establish standards of Taste and find laws for the Passions’. The concepts of the sublime and beautiful were, in Burke’s view, *frequently compounded... and indiscriminately applied*. (Burke 1757). This inquiry commanded the mainstream of eighteenth century intellectual debate for philosophers, poets and painters for the remainder of the century. The opportunity to share views about such issues was helped enormously by improvements in travel and transport which were to make Wales far more accessible.

Earliest improvements to roads in North and South Wales were to routes linking the ports of Liverpool and Bristol that had grown rapidly because of their association with the slave trade. The introduction of new laws after 1770 made it easier to build and maintain roads to consistent standards. This speeded up travel by stage coach, facilitated the exchange of ideas and opened up places like the mountains of north Wales previously considered too remote to visit. Improved communications with Ireland became a political imperative after unification with

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1 In the 102 years of its publication *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (1731-1833) was the most popular monthly digest of its time. Between 1731 and 1773 it carried fewer than a dozen references to Wales. In the 1770s the Magazine was feeding an insatiable appetite for any information about Wales and through the 1780s and 1790s Wales appeared in every issue of the Magazine!

2 Caves, caverns, deep valleys and mountain lakes were associated with the haunts of the Devil. The entrance to the Blue John Caves, in Castleton, Derbyshire, now one of the most popular tourist attractions in England’s most visited National Park was known as ‘the Devil’s arse’ in the early 1700s.
Britain in 1800. Journeys from Anglesey to London which would have taken days in the 1770s were reduced to a matter of hours by 1850.

Improved transport also helped transform Wales from a predominantly agricultural society to one of the most industrialized countries in the world. In 1770 the population of around 500,000 was almost exclusively involved in agriculture. By 1851 two-thirds of the population of 1,630,000 found livelihoods in mines, quarries, furnaces or other industries. Wales controlled half of the world’s copper supply in 1800 with Swansea alone producing 90 percent of that output. Wales possessed an abundance of metalliferous ores, wood (for charcoal) and coal used in smelting processes, which made it an attractive location for industrial entrepreneurial activity and the manufacture of products needed to sustain the slave trade. During the course of the 18th century Britain perfected the Atlantic slave system whereby bar iron and copper goods made in Welsh factories were exchanged for African slaves. British merchant ships transported almost three million Africans across the Atlantic between 1750 and 1810. Many of these ships were built in Wales and crewed by Welsh captains and seamen plying between the West Indies and Liverpool and returning with the products that Wales consumed – sugar, rum, tobacco and cotton.

A new leisured class emerged, people with disposable incomes to buy imported luxury goods, travel more freely and safely and patronize the arts like never before. Their patronage was directed first at portraiture (of themselves and their families) but quickly extended into the new enthusiasm for landscape painting. One Welsh artist in particular, made the shift admirably. Richard Wilson, born in Penegoes near Machynlleth was quickly hailed as the master of landscape painting in the classical style, travelled extensively in Italy before returning to Britain where his earliest and wealthiest patrons were Welshmen including Edward Lloyd of Pengwern and John Myddleton’s of Chirk for whom he painted several landscapes in the Italianate style.

British society became more jingoistic as the threat posed by Napoleon following the French revolution of 1789 increasingly loomed large. It led people to reflect on the last invasion of Britain in 1066 by the ‘Norman French’ and an interest in Welsh history and the heroic efforts of the Welsh princes who resisted the best efforts of Plantagenet kings until Edward 1st to subjugate the Welsh for a
further 200 years. The British aristocracy showed interest in the language and culture of Wales too, and in 1751 the Cymmrodorion Society was established in London for the encouragement of literature, science and arts associated with Wales. The Bardic traditions of playing the harp, writing poetry and penillion singing and eisteddfodau that had become moribund, again became popular and actively encouraged by the Welsh gentry.

LANDSCAPE, CULTURE AND TOURISM INTEREST

The Bard became an icon of national resistance and after the publication of Thomas Gray’s Romantic poem ‘Ode to the Bard’ in 1757 and became the subject of allegorical paintings by many British artists. It mattered naught that the Druidic figure, the subject of the poem, was chronologically out of kilter, being described and depicted as railing against Edward I's invasion of Wales in 1282 rather than that of the Romans legions 1200 years earlier! Gray never visited Wales yet his poem suggests he had in that it refers specifically to a rocky location overlooking the river Conwy (sic) where he describes the Bard confronting Edward’s army before hurling himself into the torrent below. Edward’s army never met a Bard but this mattered not a jot to 18th century travelers. For them it was the heroism and underlying anti-French sentiment that counted and the thrill of searching along the river Conwy along which Edward’s army marched for a sublime setting for a Druidic suicide! Gray’s poem crystallized several political and philosophical concepts into an icon which continues to exert profound influence on common perceptions of Welsh culture and tourists interest to this day.

‘On a rock whose haughty brow
Frowns o'er old Conway's foaming flood
Robed in the sable garb of woe
With haggard eyes the Poet stood’

(an extract from Ode to a Bard by Thomas Gray)

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3 Thomas Carte an English historian created a myth that Edward 1st had ordered the massacre of all Welsh bards in order to curtail the oral transmission of the history of the nation. It was in Carte’s ‘History of England’ that Gray read of this alleged act of genocide and he was later inspired to complete his epic poem on hearing John Parry, the blind harpist of Wynnstay playing in Cambridge.
Gray’s poem and the many allegorical paintings by eighteenth and nineteenth century artists including Thomas Jones, Peter de Loutherbourg, William Turner, Paul Sanby and John Martin, all drew on its influence using Druidic iconography and depicting Welsh landscape locations which fit the concept of the sublime. Martin’s picture (Figure 1) is typical, juxtaposing elements of a north Wales landscape (craggs, a river in spate, an Edwardian castle and army and wind blasted oak woodlands) into a composition which maximizes the sublime quality of the setting of the Bard’s demise! In reality Snowdonia’s landscapes are much tamer than this, but such images clearly whetted the tourists imagination in ways today’s picture postcards never could. So popular did Wales become that in the seventy years or so after the publication of Burke’s Enquiry and Gray’s Ode to a Bard more than a hundred guidebooks were written many illustrated with prints of sublime and picturesque views.

Local landowners and entrepreneurs were quick to latch onto the business opportunities that the sudden fashion for wild scenery had brought them. The following account of a Swiss tourist Julius Rodenburg, travelling with a party of English companions to the Swallow Falls near Betws-y-Coed, is an amusing example of entrepreneurial opportunism.

The waterfall appeared in all the splendor of the setting sun, surrounded by bare and sinister rocks. The contrast of rushing water, lit by the setting sun, with the dark mass of the pool below was a surprise to the eye. Up in the wood a lady with the black hat and red shawl was waiting for us.

‘Sir, you will remember me!’ she said. ‘Don’t forget me, Sir!’
‘No’ I said, I won’t forget you, I will keep you in my thoughts’. But that was not what was meant . The lady wanted money.
‘What for, then?’ I asked.
Because you have seen the waterfall, Sir!’ she replied
‘Who’s given you the waterfall, on lease, then? I asked
‘The dear God who made it has given it to me on lease’ she answered calmly.
It was no good - we had to give her money.
‘The crazy woman!’ cried one of the Englishmen.
‘The shameless creature!’ cried another.
Swallow Falls still remains a popular tourist spot. Health and Safety requirements have sanitized the experience. Less hazardous today but less sublime too. The nearby Conwy Falls and Fairy Glen also charge visitors who wish to experience these views.

In less than a century Wales had been transformed from a place travelers sought to avoid to a fashionable place they were increasingly willing to pay to visit. In the last quarter of the 18th century North Wales had become an important destination for the *cognoscenti* and well to do who would pay considerable sums to experience first hand the natural wonders of Wales. New tourism business opportunities beckoned.

**LANDSCAPE AESTHETICS AND TOURISM ENTREPREISE**

Two men stand out as having profited from changing attitudes to landscape aesthetics in 18th century Wales – Richard Pennant (Lord Penrhyn) (1737 -1808) and Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (1749-1789). Both had strong Welsh connections, were contemporaries, politicians and wealthy landowners and in different ways both profited from the growing fashion for visiting north Wales. It should be noted that there were other landowners (notably, Thomas Jones, (1748-1816) of Hafod, near Aberystwyth) as, if not more, passionate about the picturesque who bankrupted themselves in its pursuit. (Macve, 2004)

**Richard Pennant** (Lord Penrhyn) (1737 -1808) was an industrialist, entrepreneur and politician. Like many Welsh industrialists he owed his wealth to connections with the slave trade. Born the second son of a Liverpool merchant, he inherited a huge estate in Caernarvonshire, an 8000 acre sugar plantation in Jamaica and 600 slaves. The sheer profitability of the slave trade to entrepreneurs like Pennant becomes very evident when it is considered that by the middle of the 18th century the value of exports from Jamaica were five times greater than those from the
American colonies. Pennant extended his wealth and power and doubled his land holding in North Wales by marrying Anne Warburton in 1765 the heiress of the Penrhyn estate. In 1767 he became the Member of Parliament for Liverpool before losing his seat in 1780 to a slave abolitionist. In 1783 he again returned to Parliament (as Lord Penrhyn), after a Baronetcy linked to an Irish peerage was bestowed upon him. Throughout his time in Parliament Pennant was prominent in opposing demands for the abolition of slavery and in 1788 established a Parliamentary sub-committee for this express purpose. But sensing the tide of public opinion was fast changing against him Pennant resigned his seat in the Commons in 1790 to concentrate on developing other business interests.

Using money generated by the sugar and rum from his family's Jamaican plantations, Pennant invested substantially in the Penrhyn estate, rebuilding his stately home near Bangor as a castle and opening up slate quarries in nearby Bethesda. He quickly built a network of roads linking these interests and created a new harbour (Port Penrhyn) to which he transported slates via an ingeniously engineered railway from his Bethesda quarries to ports across the world. Pennant was very aware of the business opportunities linked to travel and transport. He invested in improving roads beyond his Bethesda slate quarries linking with the route of the old Roman road through the highest and inhospitable mountain passes in Wales which, when reinstated as a toll road, he realized, would greatly speed up travel between London and Holyhead. This road had fallen into disrepair and was not shown on maps printed before 1787. He collaborated with Robert Laurence a Shrewsbury innkeeper, to encourage the building of inns along this ‘old’ road so as to draw traffic away from the alternative route via Chester and the north Wales coast. His endeavors were rewarded when in 1797 the route through the heart of Snowdonia became a turnpike road thereby creating a new business opportunities for stabling and watering horses, feeding and entertaining travelers. In 1808 the Shrewsbury to Holyhead Royal mail Coach was diverted from the North Wales coast road to run along what became to be known as ‘the Great Irish Road’. He rose to this new business challenge with gusto and aplomb building tollhouses, creating and maintaining roads, developing hotels and gardens, offering visitors facilities such as sea bathing huts, toilets and sketching opportunities and even supplying the slate milestones along the new toll road from his Bethesda quarries.
In his portrait of Pennant of 1805 the artist Henry Tompson has been commissioned to depict his patron as a successful entrepreneur (Figure 2) showing his new Capel Curig Inn through the open window to the right of the picture and him pointing to a map marking new roads he had constructed in the vicinity.

Pennant invested heavily in the development of substantial hotels along the toll road - in Bangor (Penrhyn Arms), Bethesda (Douglas Arms) and notably at Capel Curig where Wyatt, the foremost architect of his day was commissioned by Pennant to design him an Inn in the fashionable Gothic Revivalist style. The Capel Curig Inn commanded a spectacular view of the Llynau Mymbyr lakes and Snowdon and was greatly admired and early visitors included, Joseph Paxman, Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott.

The Reverend J Evans who stayed there in 1812 wrote:

..the late Lord Penrhyn erected, for the accomodation (sic) of the public, a handsome inn; so that travellers through this dreary region may now meet with good entertainment; and very excellent lodging. Since this inn and hotel has been occupied, it has become a fashionable resort. During the summer months, numerous genteel families, and others, make a temporary residence at Capel Curig, to enjoy the numerous diversified and interesting walks and rides, amidst the magnificent objects of the surrounding scenery’. ⁴ (Evans, 1812)

Although Pennant seemingly never chose to extoll the virtues of the aesthetics of ‘sublime and beautiful’ in landscape he contributed greatly to providing opportunities for others to do so. Henry Wigstead who visited Capel Curig with the artist Thomas Rowlandson in 1799 compared the landscape with that of the Alps which, following the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars in 1797, had effectively become out of bounds for British travellers on their ‘Grand Tour’ to Italy.

‘From hence to Llanrwst, a most sublime extent of scenery reveals itself, the most luxuriant vale, embracing everywhere the basis of cloud-capped mountains, constitutes the general feature. We, in contemplating this beautiful burst, considered it as comparable to any of the most admired situations in Switzerland, or in the environs of Tivoli’. (Wigstead 1800)

Watkin Williams Wynn (1749-1789) was a contemporary of Richard Pennant who was driven by the ambition to be the foremost patron of the arts in

⁴ Evans’ use of the word ‘dreary’ was complimentary, meaning likely to inspire feelings of melancholy
Wales. In 1749 he inherited from his father, 3rd baronet of Wynnstay, the largest landholding in Wales - an estate of over 100,000 acres estimated to have generated an annual income of between £15,000 and £20,000. He too was a politician but unlike Pennant, his chief interest was in the arts generally and landscape art in particular.

In 1770 Williams-Wynn invited the English landscape painter Paul Sanby to his stately home Wynnstay near Ruabon, North Wales. They got on well and Sanby returned to Wales the following year to undertake a fortnight’s tour of picturesque sites of North Wales with an entourage comprising three gentlemen, nine servants and fifteen horses pulling their belongings. It was an adventurous excursion for someone so young (Williams-Wynn was barely 20 years of age) into one of the most inhospitable parts of England and Wales without any guide books or maps of any quality and little prospect of commodious accommodation en route. Moreover, it was a hugely expensive expedition, the fifteen day tour costing them £111.7.6d - the equivalent of over 11,000 euro today’s money! (Officer, 2008). Starting in Chirk near Llangollen on 21st August the party travelled to Bala, Dolgellau and Harlech before turning north via Aberglaslyn and Caernarfon and included excursions to Llanberis and Beaumaris before returning home along the north coast. (NLW)\(^5\). This tour, which included visits to several waterfalls, castles and included an ascent of Snowdon and excursions by boat, ‘appears to have been the first picturesque tour of this kind through North Wales’ and is widely acknowledged to be the first extensive tour in Wales undertaken for the appreciation of landscape. (Hughes 1972) This event represents an early example of a ‘packaged holiday’ and established a fashion for touring and route that many other artists and patrons were to follow in the next half century.

The collaboration between Williams-Wynn and Paul Sandy was clearly fruitful and mutually beneficial. Paul Sanby was commissioned by Wynn ‘to prepare a series of prints of the finest water-colours of the 1771 tour’ and in 1776 he published *XII Views of North Wales*. The prints are in the form of aquatints, an etching process that allows for more tonal variation than traditional line etching so that light and shadow could be more realistically depicted thereby enhancing the romantic qualities of landscape. Such tonal effects had never before been achieved in graphic art before, thereby allowing the dramatic qualities of sublime landscapes to be ‘mass produced’ encouraging more artists and travelers to follow. Sandby was also interested in bardic tradition of the ancient Britons which would have

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\(^5\) Details of the route, activities and costs of this and subsequent tours were recorded in the Wynnstay Estate account books now kept in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
endeared him to Williams-Wynn. In 1761 he is known to have exhibited at the Society of Artists Exhibition ‘An Historical Landskip, representing the Welsh Bard, in the opening of Mr Gray’s celebrated Ode’. This painting has since been lost but contemporary descriptions of it make clear that it was a tour de force of the sublime.

In later years Sandby revisited some of his sublime water-colour paintings to produce as aquatints, less dramatic images of these subjects. They were scaled down in size and modified so as to be less awesome, more in keeping with the ideas about ‘picturesque’ qualities in landscape advocated by the Reverend William Gilpin (Gilpin 1782). Sandby undertook further tours of North Wales for Williams-Wynn in 1776, 1777 and 1786 and from these combined experiences produced 25 aquatints in all. This effort was clearly lucrative for Paul Sandby and served Williams-Wynn’s interests well too, establishing him as the foremost patron of the arts in Wales. Twenty new guidebooks to Welsh tours had been published by his death in 1789 the year which witnessed the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars. These wars seriously curtailed opportunities for artists to take ‘the Grand Tour’ to Italy and so further encouraged artists and poets to visit Wales among them Wordsworth and Coleridge who came in 1794 and Turner who undertook the first of his five tours of Wales in 1799.

**CONCLUSIONS**

Perhaps the most lasting legacy to tourism left by Richard Pennant and Watkin Williams-Wynn was creating the fashion for visiting the countryside and sightseeing. The late 18th century witnessed a growth in services and paraphernalia required by these visitors with people offering themselves as guides, maps and tour guides being published, picnicking becoming fashionable and more portable equipment including artists sketch books, paints, easels and parasols and sophisticated travelling clocks being developed.

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6 An entry in the Wynnstey MSS for 25th July 1776 runs: ‘Pd Mr Sandby for 51 days in Wales last year as per account - £145.19s’

7 By 1768 Thomas Mudge had perfected a small travelling clock ‘the Polworth’ that was not impaired by bumpy carriage journeys, needed to be wound only every eight days, and allowed the owner to review progress even at night simply by pulling a cord which sounded the last hour and a quarter.
It also marked a change in social attitudes and cultural practices as the following account by Elisabeth Priesland of Walford Hall, Shropshire of her visit to Pistyll Rhaiadr (the highest waterfall in Wales) suggests:

_The next day we set out to see the finest fall of water my eyes ever beheld. On the road we see a variety of beautiful views, and at last come in face of the Rock, which is prodigious high, and seemingly the end of the world, down the middle of it falls the cascade, broad and beautiful….by dinner time there met at least twenty gentlemen, ladies and servants, who brought out all sorts of provisions, which was set on a long table, with here and there a knife, without forgetting some few trenchers (pewter plates ?), off which we eat with as much pleasure as if china itself, we had many different kinds of liquor, our punch bowl a large pail, which the ladies took a taste of; they servants rather too much, after dinner our desert was Welsh songs, and drole stories, by this time we were in spirits to ascend the Rock...._

Whilst Mrs Priesland could by no means be counted among the literati she is evidently was the type of traveler that had increasingly to be catered for as the 18th century drew to a close. These were people who Thomas Rowlandson, the caricaturist who accompanied Henry Wigstead on his tour to Wales in 1797, began to have his misgivings about. This led him to produce his Dr Syntax series of cartoons that lampooned the Reverend William Gilpin as _An artist Travelling in Wales_ (1799) (Figure 3). Gilpin had become ‘both the arbiter and exemplar of taste in landscapes in the 1780s and 1790s’ (Zaring 1977) and by setting out ‘rules’ to help visitors in their search for picturesque views to paint or gawp at to his enormously popular descriptions of his journey through south Wales ran to five editions by 1800.

Burke’s ideas on landscape aesthetics were poorly understood in his day. They still remain so today. Burke was particularly concerned about ‘the abuse of the word beauty’ and in his preface to the first edition of the ‘Philosophical Enquiry ‘he refers to such abuses being ‘attended with still worse consequences’. Most of the political and policy thinking about landscape since the 19th century has focused on conserving what is referred to as ‘natural beauty’ in landscape. This arose from concerns about the loss of countryside, industrialization and the expansion of cities. It led to amenity societies such as the Open Spaces Society
(1856) and the National Trust (1898) being established with the express objective of protecting ‘natural beauty’. Reference to ‘natural beauty’ can be found in laws enacted in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries in Britain. It is one of the cornerstones of UK planning policy, the reason why substantial areas of the countryside have been designated for special protection and why there are a plethora of public bodies in the UK charged with conserving it! The dilemma is that nowhere is ‘natural beauty’ defined in law. Debates about natural beauty and aesthetic qualities in landscape are often hotly contested. The consequence is that the concept of beauty in landscape is as open to misinterpretation and abuse today as it ever was.

While we still struggle to understand landscape aesthetics, the ideas of Burke still resonate. The experience of the National Trust suggests that public interest in sublime, beautiful and picturesque landscapes is as strong as ever. The Trust, or to give it its full title, the National Trust for Historic Buildings and Natural Beauty, has a membership of over 2,500,000 making it the biggest charity in England and Wales by far. It is also the biggest landowner in Wales and includes within its estate the stately homes of both Richard Pennant and Watkins Williams-Wynn, the two people who, perhaps more than any others, gave practical expression to aesthetic theories about ‘picturesque’ landscapes by encouraging and making provision for people to visit Wales and thereby, making popular in the tourist imagination the romantic ideal of Wales as a mountainous and beautiful country. This is their common legacy to tourism. Whether it is a legacy merely founded on fashion for such landscapes or one to be explained as inherent to the human condition will remain open to question.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1.
The Bard (1817) - John Martin (1789-1854).

Oil on canvas, 127 x 102 cm,

(Yale Centre for British Art).
Figure 2.
Richard Pennant, Lord Penrhyn of County Lough and his dog ‘Crab’ – Oil painting by Henry Tompson, RA.

Courtesy – The National Trust
Figure 3.
Thomas Rowlandson, *An artist travelling in Wales*.
Aquatint 1799 310 x380
Collection of the author