Notes

Chapter 1

2. Edith Olivier, Four Victorian Ladies of Wiltshire (London: Faber and Faber, 1945), 62.

Chapter 2

Chapter 3

3. National Archives, CP 25(2)/46/321/no.7.
8. Drake, Fasciculus Merviniensis.
12. Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, deeds Mervyn to Castlehaven, 130/18B.
14. See Freeman and Stevenson, Victoria County History, 92.
20. Havran, Caroline Courtier, 77.
22. Havran, Caroline Courtier, 105.
23. South Yorkshire Record Office, Strafford Letters, M/F Reel 1, 23 September 1632; St Stephen’s Day 1633.
24. Havran, Caroline Courtier, 155.
27. There is no mention of Cottington in Frances Haskell’s study of the formation and dispersal of the collections of Charles I and his courtiers, The King’s Pictures (New Haven and London: Yale, 2013).
28. Strafford Letters, M/F Reel 5, 5 August September 1629.
29. Magurn, Letters of Peter Paul Rubens.
30. South Yorkshire Record Office, Wentworth Woodhouse Mss, 17(c). No.209, Garrard to Wentworth, 26 September 1631.
34. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary.
35. Dean Wren’s copy of Sir Henry Wotton’s Elements of Architecture is now in the Perne Library at Peterhouse College, Cambridge.
38. British Library, M636/8, Verney Correspondence.
39. John Watson’s memoirs of the family of Bradshaw are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; see Bradshaw, God’s Battleaxe.
43. National Archives: E178/6519.
44. J. Anthony Williams, Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660-1791 (Newport: Catholic Record Society, 1968), 185.
As the length of formative growth and maximum tree-ring width is critical to the calculation of age estimates, two other Fonthill Cedrus libani in the area of Fonthill Splendens were re-measured and inspected for accessible tree ring evidence. It is clear that, for the Fonthill cedars, the transition from formative to mature stages of growth occurs at approximately 80 years, rather than 60 years as applies to other species. Using the only two data-sets published and applying the Forestry Commission calculations to the 7.27m girth measurement of the Valley Cedar gives a youngest likely planting date of 1673 ("good" site with 60 years formative growth tree rings up to 6mm) and oldest likely planting date of 1448 ("poor" ground with 80 years formative growth and tree rings up to 4mm).

Applying the Fonthill branch tree-ring evidence of an 80-year formative growth period, with rings up to 5mm prior to mature narrowing, results in an acceptable age of 378 years, planted approximately 1639. Roy Wilde is a volunteer archaeologist on the AONB Foundations of Archaeology project, the Salisbury Museum 'Finding Pitt-Rivers' project and (in progress) a small excavation on a Late Iron Age site on the Wilton Estate.


John Harris, "Fonthill, Wiltshire – I. Alderman Beckford's Houses," *Country Life* 140 (24 November 1966). Harris was the first to realise that Alderman Beckford did not immediately rebuild the Cottington mansion.
Chapter 4

3. The purchase of Fonthill from Cottington was tied up in Beckford paying off mortgages that Cottington owed, the course of which can be found in the Abstract of the Title of William Beckford to his Estate in Wiltshire, Wiltshire History Centre, 1990/2/3. See also Schedule of Indenture, Wiltshire History Centre, 413/277.
8. Amount spent annually reported in the Leeds Intelligencer, 25 February 1755.
14. These were the arms of the London branch of the family, Beckford himself having yet to have his own.
18. Wolfe and Gandon, Vitruvius Britannicus; Latham pls. 94–8, Moulsham pls. 30–1 and Kerlington pls. 32–6.

Newspaper accounts show that in February 1764 the copper roof was replaced again when a previous roof was blown off during a storm, suggesting either two such incidents or that the roof remained ‘thatched’ for two years before being replaced, *The Ipswich Journal*, 4 February 1764.


Advert in *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* December 1768. Payment to Moulton in 1769 of £100, National Archives C12/1321/8, 2nd schedule. Moulton continues to be listed as based at Fonthill in *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 29 November 1784.


Drysdale, *Wiltshire Gazette*, 21 February 1924


National Archives, C12/1321/8, 2nd and 4th Schedules.


Soane Museum, Adam 50/31–32, and for ceilings Adam 50/91–2.

Soane Museum, Adam 51/14.

Although the span of the single arch bridge raised on rockwork is smaller in size. Single arch bridge is in the Soane Museum, Adam 51/12.

Soane Museum, Adam 50/30. Thanks to Stephen Astley for first suggesting this is a design for Witham not Fonthill.


Abstract of Sundry Deeds relating to Priory of Witham by Isaac Heard, Bodleian Library, Beckford MS, c.88.


On Beckford possibly turning down a title due to the impact it might have had on his political position see Gauci, *William Beckford*, 125.

Moulton’s advertisement in the *Salisbury and Wiltshire Journal* of 24 December 1768 lists work for Beckford in Wiltshire ‘and Somerset’, meaning Witham.

Wolfe and Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 5 (London: 1771), pls. 38, 39–40, 41–2. Rev. Warner illustrates a version of Witham on the route of his tour in 1800, but there is no mention of any house in his text. Warner, *Excursions from Bath*, 119. The allusions to history and lineage that Witham presented would have been of equally strong importance to the Alderman’s son. However, the son would eventually demolish the Adam house to sell the building materials in 1810 and reluctantly sell the estate in 1812.


*Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 15 June 1767.

The painting was sold alongside other Casali works in 1801 to William Wyatt Diamond of the Theatre Royal in Bath, where they were displayed in the ceiling. In 1845 it was sold again to Col. Blathwayt at Dyrham Park where it can be seen today in the ceiling of the Hall.


Ibid. For the claims over the will see Brian Fothergill, *Beckford of Fonthill* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), 35–7.

“Testimony of Maria Beckford,” in *Passages from the Diary of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwicke*, Oxon., ed. Emily J. Climenson (London: Longmans, 1899), 166–7: Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys used the phrase, the ‘Great Beckford, as he is usually styled,’ on a visit to Fonthill in 1776.
NOTES
88. Advert for the auction in The Times, 23 July 1801, and then running continually throughout the rest of July and into August.
89. Morning Post, 27 May 1801.
92. Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, Thursday 27 August 1801.
94. Farington, Diary, vol. 8, 2887–8 (entry for 16 October 1806); Douglas to Beckford, 27 November 1806, Bodleian Library, Beckford MS, c.20, fol.14-15.
95. Bodleian Library, Beckford MS, c.30, f.175.
96. Gemmett, William Beckford’s Fonthill, chapters 7–8.
98. This name first given to the house on an engraving by Thomas Higham after a view by Thomas Buckler, published by Richard Colt Hoare, January 1829.
100. In 1796 Joseph Farington recorded in his diary a sketch based on a drawing Wyatt had shown him for a tower at Fonthill that he had made four years before. Farington, Diary, vol. 2, 612.
101. Beckford to Wyatt 10 April 1794, Bodleian Library, Beckford MS c.37, fols. 50–1.
102. The possibility that it was Wyatt who recommended Beckford should visit the monasteries is discussed by Aldrich, “William Beckford’s Abbey,” 118–9.
104. Beckford to Sir William Hamilton, 2 February 1797; Alexander, England’s Wealthiest Son, 159.
106. In the collection of Bolton Museum and Art Gallery.
110. Britton, Beauties of Wiltshire, 249.
111. West to Nicholas Williams, 5 January 1801, reprinted in Melville, Life and Letters of William Beckford, 238.
112. Diary of Anne Hamilton, Bodleian Library, Beckford MS e.4, fol. 2–15.
117. See Alexander, England’s Wealthiest Son, 191 and endnote 1, 286.
118. For proposal to the Duke see Alexander, England’s Wealthiest Son, 190–1.
119. For both the 1822 and 1823 sales see Gemmett, William Beckford’s Fonthill, chapters 10–11.
120. Notes on the sale of Fonthill, Bodleian Library, Beckford MS, c.30, fol.124–5.

Chapter 5

2. Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, WRO 413/277.
6. The Annual Register, or, a view of the history, politics, and literature of the year 1826 (London: Baldwick, Cradock and Joy, 1827), 267.
7. The Times, 7 July 1836: lists houses Farquhar owned in Stratford Place, Gloucester Place, Harley Street, Howland Street, Golden Square and Warwick Street.
9. The Times, 1 October 1822.
14. The Times, 1 October 1822.
15. J. P. Neale, Graphical Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, the Seat of John Farquhar, Esq. With an Historical Description and Notices of Works of Art Formerly Preserved There (London: 1824), 9.
16. For full list of responses to the 1823 sale see Millington, William Beckford: A Bibliography.
18. Wiltshire History Centre, WRO 413/69.
19. Mortimer's will, dated 2 July 1829, stated he had purchased the property from Farquhar, however it was 'not yet conveyed.' George Mortimer's will, 2 July 1829, National Archives: Prob 11/1814.
20. Some details of purchase can be found in Grosvenor Estate, 729/5/1 and 729/5/4 WCA 22.
21. P. M. Chitty to Farquhar, 26 February 1826: ‘I hope you are improved in health since I had the pleasure of seeing you in London,’ Grosvenor Estate, 729/5/1.
22. Grosvenor Estate, 729/5/1 and 729/5/4 WCA 22.
27. Neale, Graphical Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey.
28. The Times, 8 December 1835.
29. The Times, 9 October 1824.
31. "Value of Mr Whitaker's Estates at Motcombe by Mr John Gatehouse, 1820, £41,617.10.0 plus timber; Valuation of a capital mansion and sundry farms situate in the parish of Motcombe … belonging to the trustees of the late Wm. Whitaker Esq.’ In Grosvenor Estate Adds 2852/2. 6 July 1825, first payment of £11,000 made for Motcombe estate (total £51,000), Grosvenor Estate, 729/5/4/6.
32. "Report upon an Estate at Motcombe in the County of Dorset the Property of The Right Honourable the Earl Grosvenor," Grosvenor Estate, Adds 2852/4. Peyton found 'the Tenants are generally speaking an easy unenterprising set of people. The buildings are very old and in much decay and the land has been greatly neglected.'
34. Neale, Graphical Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey.
35. Ingraham, Reports of Cases, 121.
36. Devon and Wiltshire Gazette, 9 October 1823, quoted in Robert Moody, Mr Benett of Wiltshire: The Life of a County Member of Parliament 1773–1852 (East Knoyle: Hobnob Press, 2005), 143. Benett was to become tenant of Farquhar paying him rent of £3,663 a year.
37. The Times, 9 October 1824.
38. Wiltshire History Centre, WRO 413/69.
46. Ingraham, *Reports of Cases*, 156.
47. See Moody, *Mr Benett of Wiltshire*.
49. Barry Williamson, *The Arundells of Wardour from Cornwall to Colditz* (East Knole: Hobnob Press, 2011), 149. Philip Chitty, the Shaftesbury solicitor of Earl Grosvenor and Arundell, wrote to Grosvenor on 14 September 1826 of his optimism that Lord Francis Gower might rent Wardour. This also fell through. See Grosvenor Estate, 729/1/1.
56. 1829 sale particulars, Fonthill Estate Archives.
57. *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*, 10 October 1826, reported the manufactory had been recently completed.
58. The Times, 5 October 1826.
60. See Kenneth Rogers, “Wiltshire and Somerset Woollen Mills,” *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* lxiv (1976): 81. Wiltshire Cuttings i.63. v.30; Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, WRO 1780 sale catalogue; the article makes reference to the *Devises and Wiltshire Gazette* of 27 October 1825, 7 May 1829, 9 July 1829, 29 April 1830.
62. Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, WR 413/69.

Chapter 6

1. James Combes to James Morrison, 30 May 1837, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/07/0203.
4. See Fonthill Estate Archives A/07.
5. The surviving claimants were James Mortimer, John Fraser, Charlotte Mortimer, Mary Mortimer, Elizabeth Trezevant and Charlotte Fraser, wife of Sir William Templer Pole. James Mortimer maintained a link with Fonthill, occupying a small country house, Wyke Hall, a few miles further west into Dorset.
12. See accounts of Snells and Seddons in Fonthill Estate Archives, A/07/0204.
14. Anonymous, *Coade’s Gallery or Exhibition in Artificial Stone, Westminster Bridge Road, Specimens from the Manufactory at King’s Arms Stairs Narrow-Wall Lambeth* (1799), 22, no. 37. Quoted in the sale catalogue entry for ‘Polyphemus’, Christie’s, 5 November 2014, sale 10474, lot 100.
17. James Combes to James Morrison, 10 May 1840, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/07/0203.
18. J. B. Papworth to James Morrison, April 1840, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/07/0205/1.
20. Notes on drawing of Fonthill Bishop school, J. B. Papworth, RIBA, 104/1.
33. James Morrison to John Benett, 7 July 1838, Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, 413/69.
34. See Chippenham 413/69.
36. Charles Morrison to James Morrison, 9 October 1840, Fonthill Estate Archives, B/04/0872. ‘I have read your & S’s financial statements & plans, but am not able to understand them in every part – principally because I do not know in what position you stand, or what arrangements you propose to make with respect to 2 formidable items, the payt of the balc of the Basildon purchase money, & the £123,000 Over [Overend and Gurney] bills. I shall therefore say nothg on that head.’
37. 28 May 1838 contract between Marquess of Westminster and James Morrison; deeds of sale of Berwick St Leonard dated 20 January 1844 and 7 August 1845, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/08/0235-7.
45. Motcombe builder Uriah Maskell was awarded the contract to build a new church in 1846; when he died in 1867 he left over £9,000; see Laurence Clark, *A Motcombe Miscellany* (East Knoyle: Hobnob Press, 2012), 95–6.
47. John Benett to unnamed correspondent, n.d. [1844], Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, 413/69.
48. John Benett to John Parkinson, 22 August [1844], Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, 413/69.
49. John Benett to John Parkinson, n.d. (1844), Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, 413/69.
50. James Combes to James Morrison, 20 February 1845, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/07/0203. The sale was the only good news for Benett at the time. His eldest son and heir had become a Roman Catholic and died on 26 December 1844; his daughter died less than a month later.
51. Wiltshire History Centre, Chippenham, 413/376.
53. James Combes to James Morrison, 27 March 1845, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/07/0203: ‘The marquis’ solicitor has apply’d for an answer to his question the other day viz. whether you are disposed to part with Berwick and Hindon.’
54. James Combes to James Morrison, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/07/0203.
58. James Morrison eventually owned over 100,000 acres, including estates at Fonthill, Basildon, Malham, Hole Park, Islay and Cholsey.
60. David Brandon to James Morrison, 16 May 1846, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/09/0333: ‘to inspect the church at Basildon’.
61. See Michael Darby, ”Owen Jones and the Eastern Ideal,” Ph.D. diss., University of Reading, 1974, 158.
65. See A.174, Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.

Jill Allibone, The giant sequoia, or Wellingtonia (named after the lst Duke of Wellington). The seeds were first brought Diary of Marchioness of Grosvenor, 27 April 57, private collection in Somerset. Lady Theodora Grosvenor, James Combes Junior to James Morrison, 27 September 1846: ‘The Stalbridge estate and another … is not Huxley, Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors, 14. Anthony Trollope could well have been thinking of the Marquess of Westminster in his depiction of Mr Palliser (nephew of the Duke of Omnium) in his six ‘Palliser’ or ‘Political’ novels published between 1864 and 1880.


Mark Girouard, The Victorian Country House, 32.

James Combes Junior to James Morrison, 27 September 184: ‘The Stalbridge estate and another … is not yet disposed of – Ld Westminster has been nibbling at them for some time, but from what I can learn he is now lying off.’ The Stalbridge estate was conveyed to the Marquess of Westminster on 10 October 1854. Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, RO D/484/15.

Lady Theodora Grosvenor, Motcombe Past and Present (Shaftesbury: 1867), 92.

Diary of Marquess of Westminster, 1 September 1855: ‘brought from Mr [Fuonis] a pasteboard model of Fonthill given to us by Mrs Whieldon’. Private collection in Somerset. This is the model acquired by John Benett when he bought the Abbey estate and included in his inventory of 1852. Presumably it was then acquired by Mrs Whieldon of Wyke Hall, Gillingham. Her first husband was James Farquhar, nephew of John Farquhar; Wyke Hall had been renovated by James Farquhar and the Farquhar coat of arms displayed inside and out.

Diary of Marquess of Westminster, 6 March 1857, private collection in Somerset.

Diary of Marchioness of Westminster, 6 March 1857, private collection in Somerset.


Diary of Marchioness of Westminster, 4 May 1857. The seeds were first brought to England in 1853.


Diary of Marchioness of Westminster, 27 April 1857, private collection in Somerset.

“Selim.” “Two Cottages Dwellings for Labourers, Under One Roof,” in Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture vol. 1, ed. J. C. Loudon (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman), 1846, 184–5. Selim also contributed a design for the restoration of the manor house at Berwick St Leonard. This would wait for the attention of Hugh Morrison and Detmar Blow 60 years later, see Chapters 7 and 18 in this volume.


Diary of Marquess of Westminster, private collection in Somerset. On 30 April 1860 the Marquess wrote ‘Ly W went in the Phaeton … to Fonthill to meet Mr Pulham about rockery work for the American Garden. I rode over & Thinned Trees’. On 16 April 1862 ‘we met Mr Pulham to arrange the rockery & works’.
102. Diary of Marquess of Westminster, 11, 12 September 1862, private collection in Somerset.
103. Diary of Marquess of Westminster, 23 June, 25 and 27 September 1862, private collection in Somerset. The urns are listed, but the description is vague, suggesting they were bought at the Paris International Exhibitions of 1855 or 1867. The diaries suggest the 1862 International Exhibition in London is a more likely source.
106. See Christie’s sales 27 May and 23 September 2010. But they are more likely to have been bought at the 1862 International Exhibition than the 1851 Great Exhibition (before the new Abbey was built).
108. Diary of Marquess of Westminster, 14 September 1863: ‘settled to rebuild church at Fonthill – Ly W went to see Mr Ratcliff about it’. Private collection in Somerset.
112. The urns are listed, but the description is vague, suggesting they were bought at the Paris International Exhibitions of 1855 or 1867. The diaries suggest the 1862 International Exhibition in London is a more likely source.
114. ‘The improvements which have been carried out in the gardens and grounds [of Fonthill Abbey] during the interval from the year 1865 – 1881 testify to the skill and ability of the late gardener Mr Annandale,’ *Journal of Horticulture*, 26 July 1888.
116. Hugh, born 1825, married 1852 to his first cousin Lady Constance Leveson-Gower, in the presence of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert; Eleanor, born 1820, married 1842 Lord Prudhoe, who became Duke of Northumberland; Mary, born 1821, married 1842 Lord Parker, who became Earl of Macclesfield; Elizabeth, born 1824, married 1846 Richard Lawley to become Baron Wenlock; Caroline, born 1828, married 1848 William Leigh, to become Baron Leigh; Octavia, born 1829, married 1852 Sir Michael Shaw Stewart; Agnes, born 1831, married 1858 Sir Archibald Campbell – he died 1866 – she then married a doctor, Philip Frank, in 1871; Jane, born 1834, married 1855 Baron Muncaster – he died 1862 – she then married Hugh Lindsay in 1863.
117. Diary of Lady Theodora Grosvenor, 29 April 1867, private collection in Somerset: ‘[to] the Old Castle [Wardour] got off & inspected it thoroughly (with a view to the Gentleman’s Mag).’
118. Diary of Lady Theodora Grosvenor, 13 August 1867, private collection in Somerset.
119. The 3rd Marquess, the future Duke of Westminster, had an income of £37,000 a year from country property and £115,000 from London. He carried on the work of his father – at Eaton building 48 farmhouses, 360 cottages, 8 schools, 7 village halls and 3 churches. See Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, 1.
120. Fonthill Archive, F/1/1100. The property was made up as follows: Fonthill estate £157,690; Porton estate £16,380; additional inheritance from James Morrison £245,000; Chesapeake and Delaware Railway Shares £10,227; Philadelphia City Loan shares £20,986; Delaware Division Canal Bank shares £16,363.
121. For further details of Alfred Morrison’s collection see Caroline Dakers, *A Genius for Money*. By coincidence, the Marquess of Westminster’s youngest son, Richard de Aquila Grosvenor, witnessed the burning of the Summer Palace in 1860.
123. See ‘estimate of account’ in Fonthill Estate Archives, total £4,232, F/2/1121.
125. Receipt from Jackson and Graham for £2,500 dated 10 July 1868, presumably for London work, Fonthill Estate Archives, F/2/1121.
128. For all Devey drawings relating to Fonthill see RIBA PB 809/DEV [49] 1–11.
129. Devey invoice, December 1864, Fonthill Estate Archives F/2/1121.
130. Fonthill Estate Archives F/2/1121.
132. Diary of Lady Theodora Grosvenor, 2 September 1866 and 10 September 1866, private collection in Somerset.
134. Madeline Wyndham to Mary, Lady Elcho, 22 October 1885, Stanway Estate Papers.
139. His first wife (married 1874) was Beatrice Vesey, youngest daughter of the 3rd Viscount de Vesci of Abbey Leix; his second (1879) was Eleanor Hamilton-Stubbbs, a neighbour of the Vescis in Moyne.
140. The Marchioness of Westminster to Robert Annandale, 15 May 1874, Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, D1452/1.
142. Lady Theodora Grosvenor laid the foundation stone on 25 May 1871.
144. Lady Theodora Grosvenor, 30 August 1875, private collection in Somerset. Disraeli visited the Marchioness again in 1878 at Barcote.

**Chapter 7**

10. In 1894 the property comprised Stalbridge (4,769 acres and a rental income of £9,363); Motcombe (8,835 acres and a rental income of £15,363); and Shaftesbury (rent £4,492). Grosvenor Estate, ADDS 2576/6.
11. Lady Alice’s aunt was Beatrice Vesey, the first wife of Richard Baron Stalbridge. Stalbridge was Lady Octavia Shaw Stewart’s brother.
15. In the 1911 census her unmarried son Archibald was staying at Fonthill Abbey.
16. At Wardour, the 12th Lord Arundell died in 1906 without an heir. His widow was left the estate for her lifetime. A cousin, Gerald Arundell, was named as heir and lived with his wife in the east wing, unable to prevent the Dowager making erratic decisions about the estate up to her death in 1934. Wardour never recovered: most of the estate was sold in 1946, the New Wardour Castle was sold to the Jesuits in 1947 and most of the contents of New Wardour Castle were sold in 1948. At Pythouse, Vere Fane Benett died in 1894, a few years after taking out a mortgage of £104,000 to pay for extensions to the house, a yacht and an estate in Madeira. He left the estate to his widow who lived until 1932. She married again and moved out in 1905 but their son Jack Benett was not legally recognised as owner of the property until 1938. He died in 1947, his widow in 1957, when the mansion was sold to the Mutual Houses Association and converted into apartments.
18. Among his purchases was an exquisite rock-crystal vase once owned by Rubens, and now in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.
19. Entry in diary of Hugh Morrison, 22 December 1897, Fonthill Estate Archives, M/01/1379.
20. Unidentified source, in scrapbook of obituaries kept by Hugh Morrison, Fonthill Estate Archives, M/01/1385.
21. Will of Alfred Morrison, Fonthill Estate Archives, F/05/1179.
22. Fonthill Estate Archives, M/2/1415.
26. Hugh’s brother Archie Morrison was left Basildon and the art collection of James Morrison, also £270,000 trust legacy to provide him with an income to live at Basildon, an agricultural estate at Cholsey and leases on London commercial properties.
27. The Builder, 6 February 1914.
29. Lady Mary Morrison to Hugh, 24 June 1909, N/01, Fonthill Estate Archives.
30. Mabel to Hugh Morrison, 6 June 1909, G/01, Fonthill Estate Archives.
31. Mabel eventually bought Shawford House near Winchester, a large country house dating from the late seventeenth century, with 60 acres and a model farm. In 1923 she downsized to Littleden, Highcliffe-on-Sea, an eight-bedroom house. She died in 1934. Fonthill Estate Archives, G/1/1202; G/1/1212; G/1/1209.
34. Newspaper cutting from the Salisbury and Wiltshire Journal, 3 April 1915, in Fonthill Estate Archives.
35. Newspaper article, 21 July 1921, in Wiltshire Cuttings 16, 192, Wiltshire Museum, Devizes.
36. Huxley, Nellie, 3.
38. When the house was acquired by Dorset County Council for Shaftesbury School, the Owen Jones pieces were sold through Sotheby’s.
40. Viscount Hambleden was another patron of Detmar Blow, commissioning North Bovey House on Dartmoor.
42. At university, ‘in spite of every influence exerted by his family, he could not be helped to a degree. He spent far too much time on sport, and far too much of his allowance on fox-hunting’ – Patrick Cosgrave, “Obituary of Lord Margadale,” The Guardian, 29 May 1996.
43. Fonthill Estate Archives, A/08/0269.
44. James Morrison’s agent James Combes wrote to him on 8 April 1838: ‘I always suspected the place was built above Hindon by Mr Beckford and I dare say such was the fact, and now it is finished and fit for occupation it is to be sold – the valet is not dead but says he does not like the place.’ Fonthill Estate Archives, A/7/0203.
45. Fonthill Estate Archives, A/8/0293.
46. Sotheby’s, 7 December 1927.
47. See Maxwell, “Dispersal of the Hamilton Palace Collection.”
48. Conveyance of Motcombe estate, 19 November 1925, Grosvenor Estate, Adds 2576/12; Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, D-HDS/SP/125/40.
49. See reports in The Times, 13 July 1936 and 14 July 1936.
50. Fonthill Estate Archives, S/24/2517.
52. See reports in The Times, 13 July 1936 and 14 July 1936.
53. Fonthill Estate Archives, S/24/2517.
56. Will of May Beatrice Shaw Stewart.
63. H. W. Pook to Rawlence & Squarey, 18 November 1940, Fonthill Estate Archives, S/17/2140.
64. Fonthill Estate Archives, S/17/2140.
66. Fonthill Estate Archives, A/08/0269.
70. Cosgrave, “Obituary.”
75. Fonthill Estate Archives, S/7/1926.
76. Fonthill Estate Archives, S/7/1927.
77. Fonthill Estate Archives, S/7/1926.
79. “How Fonthill was Missed,” The Times Diary, 12 June 1972.
81. In the opinion of Michael Drury; see Chapter 18 in this volume.
82. Young, “How Fonthill was Missed.”
83. Also see Lord Margadale to Stephen Weeks: ‘The house contained 125 rooms and was totally uneconomic to run,’ 4 April 1972, Fonthill Estate Archives, S/7/1926.

Chapter 8

10. Alison and Peter Smithson, Upper Lawn Solar Pavilion Folly (Barcelona, 1986), 28. See also Dirk van den Heuvel and Max Risselada, “Building of the Month August 2004: Alison and Peter Smithson’s Upper...
7. Stephen and Benetta Morant, pers. comms., 2017. Fanny Nisbet was the first wife of Horatio Nelson, who visited Fonthill Abbey in 1800, but not with Fanny; he was accompanying his mistress Emma Hamilton and her husband Sir William Hamilton.
8. François Pinault, founder of the luxury goods company PPR, which includes Gucci, bought the West House in 2011 for £20 million.

Chapter 9

1. PAST Landscapes is a collaborative research project based at Salisbury Museum, which aims to understand south-west Wiltshire in the later prehistoric and Roman periods.

Chapter 10

4. The Journal of Elizabeth Hervey, Stafford Record Office D6584/ C Journal 21 July 4 1797: ‘a new terrace, a very bleak spot in my opinion, nor can think it will be tolerable ‘til the plantations have at least 30 years growth.’
5. Ploughland is not a term used with great precision, referring as it does to the amount of land that could be ploughed in a season by a team of oxen, six to eight in number. That has been taken to amount to somewhere about 120 acres (see Oxford English Dictionary; under Carucate). It is not an exact term of measurement and relates to tax assessment rather than surveying. For a discussion about ploughlands in this part of England see “Introduction to the Somerset Domesday,” A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 1 (1906), 383–432. Accessed 2 July 2014, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=117314. Clearly, the measurement could not be exact since it would depend on ground conditions, and the quality of the plough team.
7. Quite apart from any religious observance, under the so-called Cecil’s Fast, an Act of 1563 to ‘increase the Navy and fishing’, it became an offence not to eat fish on Wednesdays, Fridays or during Lent. People living away from coastal areas were not exempt and so had to rely on fish ponds for the supply of the necessary fish.
12. Like many terms the meaning of a ‘coronary garden’ has enlarged over time. Originally it was a place for the growing of plants to make wreaths and victor’s crowns, hence the name. At some stage it came to describe a place for the growing of flowers suitable for the making of garlands. By the seventeenth century it had come to mean a place for the growing of special plants, including valuable recent introductions of a kind that one might not wish the general run of visitors to see (or have the opportunity to pinch).
14. Edward Pocock, a churchman, became professor of Arabic at Oxford University. He was chaplain to the English merchants in Aleppo from 1630–5 and returned to the Near East for three years in 1637, basing himself in Constantinople.
15. These measurements have been carried out by Roy Wilde and they lead him to suggest a likely planting date of 1639. It is evident that, in any event, there was the planting of *Cedrus libani* at Fonthill in the second half of the eighteenth century, as was the fashion of the day.
20. Jean Huber (1721–86), soldier, artist and confidant of Voltaire at Ferney, became a father figure for Beckford during his stay in Geneva. He and his two sons, François (1750–1831), an artist, and Jean-Daniel (1754–1845), an authority on the honey-bee, were dedicated naturalists.
23. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, or La Nouvelle Héloïse*, trans. Judith H. McDowell (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987). ’I thought I saw the wildest, the most solitary place in nature’ ... ’It is true’, she said, ’that nature has done everything, but under my direction and there is nothing here that I have not ordered ...’ Book IV, Letter XI.
25. Literally a ‘Friesian horse’. The people of Friesland, having few horses themselves, created portable barriers with wooden spikes to defend themselves against cavalry.
28. From the Journal of Elizabeth Hervey (Beckford’s step-sister), Stafford Record Office C 6584 Journal 22, 28 July 1797.
29. It appears that in the early stages of the construction of the Abbey some visitors would not be allowed to see the building work. Stafford Record Office C 6584 Journal 22, 1 August 1797.
30. It is said that from Stop Beacon, with a glass, both Exeter Cathedral and the Isle of Wight can be seen.
31. Paulus Potter (1625–54), a Dutch painter and etcher celebrated for his paintings of animals within landscapes. Meister’s reference to his work suggests that there were quite a number of grazing animals to be seen on his tour.
33. A fever recurring every three days, usually associated with malaria but here just an example of Beckford’s literary embroidery.
45. Journal of Elizabeth Hervey, Stafford Record Office C 6584, 1797.
Chapter 11

1. A portrait of the Alderman Beckford, of ca. 1760–70 and attributed to Tilly Kettle (1734–86), is in the Parliamentary Art Collection. It was bought in 1952 for £5. Beckford is seen holding in his right hand, a plank of wood, a piece of 3 x 2 inches, a builder's level or measure, which is marked with numbers at the top. It was exhibited in William Beckford (Bath: Holburne of Menstrie Museum, 1966), 18.


4. Gouache and watercolour on several sections of seventeenth-century handmade laid paper, attached to a wooden panel, 43.3 x 72.3 cm. Areas of the image were latterly overpainted with gouache. Conservation work on the picture has been carried out by Heather Norville-Day, print, drawing and watercolour conservator, to whom the author is most grateful for information concerning the painting.


13. Gouache on panel, signed lower left, 39.5 x 55.5 cm.
18. Published as ‘Fonthill (in 1566)’ in Storer, *Description of Fonthill Abbey*.
20. Oil on canvas, 162.5 x 196 cm., signed bottom right of centre, inv. no. 7074.
22. Phillips, Seventeenth Day’s Sale, 1 October 1823 (lot 722).
23. Phillips, 9 July 1825 (lot 26).
24. Christie’s, 5 March 1900 (lot 94), bought Parsons. It was later with S. J. Smith & Son of 42 Duke Street, St James’s, London and sold by them at Christie’s, 12 December 1903 (lot 85), bought Johnson for £9.9s. – this was probably Oscar Johnson, the dealer.
25. From whom it was bought by Gooden & Fox, dealers, London.
27. Watercolour and graphite on medium, slightly textured, creme wove paper, 22.7 x 22.7 cm., acc. no. B1975.2.25.
32. Christie’s, 15 June 2001 (lot 57).
34. Both oil on canvas, 86.3 x 124.4 cm. The attribution was very kindly communicated by Charles Beddington, the specialist on the works of Joli, on an inspection of the paintings on 17 February 2017.
37. Phillips, 22 August 1807 (lots 600, 601, 602, 603).
43. They were listed by James Storer, 12.
46. Included in list of Alfred Morrison’s heirlooms, 1896, Fonthill Estate Archives.

48. Bodleian Library, MS Beckford, c.58, Inventory of 19–20 Lansdown Crescent, Bath, vol. 5, fol. 81, no. 48 ‘18 Views by de Cort’. The six known watercolours are *Pencil and wash drawing*, Christie’s, 8 July 1986 (lot 46), with a number of other views dated 1791 and 1792. Two other views (lot 45) of the *Portico of Fonthill House*, one with an inscription. Works on paper, Christie’s, 2 July 2013 (lot 72) *Fonthill Splendens. Two Views from the Portico towards the Right Wing; and View from the Right Wing across the Entrance*, and two more drawings (lot 73) of *Fonthill Splendens 1791–1798*, of views across the lake.


50. Oil on panel, 56 x 75.6 cm.

51. Nos. 421 and 69.

52. See Templeton, “A Second Visit to Fonthill Abbey,” Appendix I, 308.

53. Phillips, 15 October 1823 (lot 328) bought by Nixon; presumed bought in.

54. Phillips, 9 July 1825 (lot 86); presumed bought in.

55. MS Beckford, c. 58, op. cit., fol. 12, Small Library ‘View of Fonthill – de Cort’.


58. Christie’s, 8 December 2010 (lot 259), bought in.

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**Chapter 12**


2. J. L. Chester, *The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Register of the Collegiate church or Abbey of St Peter Westminster* (London: n.p., 1876), 193–4. Note 8 says that there is no record of Anne’s burial in the Register, ‘which is defective at that period’.


4. Avery, “Hubert Le Sueur,” 163 and 188, Cat. no. 41.

5. An inspection was undertaken by Susan Jenkins, Charles Avery and Patricia Wengraf on 5 February 2016.


9. J. B. Nichols and Son, *Collectanea topographica e genealogica* vol. 11 (London: 1835), 13; reference kindly provided by Dr. Luis Ramón-Laca Menéndez de Luarca, Lecturer in the Department of Architecture, University of Alcalá.

10. The National Archives, PROB/11/321, Valladolid 16 June 1652. The will was proved in England on 15 August 1666 (according to Chester, *Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Register*, 193–4, note 8).

11. Probably Francis Seymour, 1st Baron Seymour of Trowbridge (1590?–1664), third son of Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp.

12. English College of Valladolid Archive: Series II, L5, No. 11, letter from John Newport in London to Father Rector, dated 22 December 1676, with thanks to Fr Peter Harris, Honorary Archivist of the English College, Valladolid.

13. Chester, *Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Register*, 193–4, note 8 records that, ‘The monument erected by Lord Cottington’s nephew and heir states that his remains were brought to this country in 1679, but the date of interment, in both official and unofficial registers, is distinctly 1678’.


17. As suggested in email correspondence in December 2015, Dr. Luis Ramón-Laca Menéndez de Luarca, Lecturer in the Department of Architecture, University of Alcalá.
20. Avery, 163.
21. Westminster Abbey Muniments (WAM) Chapter Minutes, vol. 15, f. 288. The fine for Watt's monument by Chantrey was £141.11s.4d, paid on 26 May 1825 (WAM, Funeral Fee Book).
24. Westminster Abbey Muniments 51003.
27. Chester, Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers, 522: an unpublished note states that she died between 18 December 1658 and 22 November 1659. WAM 6368 and 6376, burial fees 'for the Lady Bradshaw £13:06:08'.
30. WAM 44030 (A) 1661.
32. Ibid.
34. Pepys, Diary vol. 2 (1661), 31, note 4. For the fate of Cromwell's head see Pepys, Diary vol. 5 (1664), 297 – apparently it remained on display at Westminster Hall for about 25 years.

Chapter 13

4. University College London’s Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership, as well as researching slave-ownership, is examining the impact of slavery’s role in shaping British history and the legacies which reach into the present. http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs. Members of the Beckford family are included within its scope.
6. John Burke lists: Pitt, Baron Rivers; Ellis, Baron Seaforth; Ellis, Baron Howard de Walden; Courtenay, heir presumptive to earldom of Devon; and Carleton, Baron Dorchester. John Burke, A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1835), 679.
9. Gentleman’s Magazine, Dec 1735, 737a. This has a spending power of £25,800,000 if converted to 2015 prices (National Archives currency convertor).
11. The three brothers would have a presence in England. Richard (1712–56) was MP for Bristol (1754–6) and owned a grand London town house, 1 Greek Street. Julines (ca. 1717–64) was MP for Salisbury 1754–64, and purchased a country estate, Stepleton in Dorset. Francis (ca. 1719–86) married firstly Lady Albinia Bertie, daughter of the Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, and secondly the heiress Susanna Love of Basing Park, Hampshire.


14. For his landholdings 1754–80, see Gauci, William Beckford, 148 (Table 6.1).


17. National Archives. PROB/11/959/139.


22. Alexander, England’s Wealthiest Son, 210


25. Christie’s, A Capital and Truly Valuable Collection of Original High-Finished Drawings ... by the Younger Cozens... April 10, 1805.


30. Alexander, Life at Fonthill, 106.


32. Alexander, Life at Fonthill, 291.


34. Alexander, Life at Fonthill, 340.


Chapter 14

1. Some years back it was intimated that Isaac de Caus may have been responsible for the stables of the early house (John Harris, “Fonthill, Wiltshire - I,” Country Life (24 November 1966): 1370–74), but the late architectural historian Howard Colvin rejected this view. See Howard Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840, 4th edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 306–8. Colvin’s entry in the Dictionary of National Biography continues to reflect his conclusion. However Giles Worsley, in his book The British Stable (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005) and in the Georgian Group Journal revived the suggestion, though there is still no direct evidence. See Chapter 3 for further discussion.

2. Tour No. 76. On Monday 12 June John Loveday was en route to Wardour Castle via Fonthill and Tisbury. I am grateful to the executors of the late Sarah Markham for a copy of the transcript of this tour and for permission to reproduce this extract.


4. Deed of Covenant to produce Title Deeds, 20 January 1744, old series (i.e. 1745), Wiltshire History Centre (hereafter referred to as WHC), 413/277.

5. James Pelham to Newcastle, Claremont, 22 June 1750, British Library (hereafter referred to as BL), Add MS 33066, fol. 137v.

6. Richard Pococke’s visit of 2 July 1754, BL, Add MS 22999, fol. 66v.

7. See Chapter 11 for attribution of the paintings. I have some concerns about attributing the two Fonthill paintings to Joli, although they certainly embrace the spirit of the mid-eighteenth century Italian school,
especially Canaletto and his followers. Aside from two views of Richmond (and decorating the entrance hall of Heidegger House there), all of Joli’s works in England are of London scenes, not further afield (see Ralph Toledano, Antonio Joli: Modena 1700–1777 Napoli (Torino: Artema, 2006), 234–5 and 274–80). There is also a time factor. The window for Joli to have depicted certain Fonthill features as shown in these paintings, and completed the canvases, is very limited. The church was not completed until May 1749, and maybe even later given that it was not consecrated until September that year (see WHC D1/60/1 and D1/61/4/15). Joli, it seems, returned to Europe shortly after the death (5 September 1749) of John James Heidegger. Another key feature, the rotunda, was not created until almost five years later after Joli left England (see BL, Add MS 22999, fols 66–67). If Joli were the painter, the compositions may be part capriccio, to represent the owner’s intended works; otherwise, it may be that features were added in or completed later. Certainly the earlier square prospect tower in Lambert’s painting would have appeared incongruous. Either would account for showing the church in its pristine condition, and the later rotunda being in place (and it would certainly help explain its non-conformist roof).


9. See John Andrews and Andrew Dury, A Topographical Map of Wiltshire, on a Scale of Two Inches to a Mile from an Actual Survey (London: n.p., 1773), in 18 imperial sheets, where this feature is still quite evident.

10. The Lambert painting that was auctioned at Christie’s on 15 June 2001 (lot 57, realised £71,950) is useful in that it shows that the garden temple would have been deep enough to accommodate seating.

11. As with many garden structures, this temple may have acquired a different use in later life as a banqueting house, used for drinking tea. Unpublished Diary of Sophia, Countess of Shelburne (1746–71), vol. 5, 14 July 1769 to 15 September 1770, 6, Bowood House Archives. I am grateful to Min Wood for our interchange of views on the possible evolution of this building.


13. These are probably the paintings referred to by Britton, op. cit., 234, as ‘Two other views of the same mansion and its environs, in 1753, as improved by the late Mr. Beckford previous to the fire.’

14. The equestrian statue bears a marked resemblance to that of Marcus Aurelius at Wilton, but there are visible differences such as the horse’s raised leg. That the figure was of the Alderman attired in Roman garb has to be a distinct possibility.


16. The date of the visit can be determined from an accompanying cash book (KPL 283), Worcester Archive and Archaeological Service (The Hive), reference: 899:310, accession number: BA 10470/2 (KPL 294). Note book of Edward Knight Jnr.

17. See Chapter 4.

18. 1740, Government Art Collection 7074.

19. BL, Add MS 6767, fols 38–37’. The account is written in the rear of James Essex’s ‘Antiquities of Cambridge,’ and while often considered anonymous, the writing corresponds with that of Essex’s less-polished manuscripts, plus there are other indications in the work to suggest that both sections of the book were contemporaneous.


22. Sir John Soane’s Museum, S. M. Adam volumes 51/12, 51/13 and 51/14 (which features an artistic backdrop of cascades); a date range of 1758–70 has been given. A fourth, associated design, 2/183, while ‘tagged’ as for Fonthill, is more likely to be a rough sketch by Robert Adam for a bridge at Croome for Lord Coventry. I am grateful to Amy Frost for bringing these drawings to my attention.


26. The National Archives [hereafter referred to as TNA], PRO 30/8/7, fols 169–69. Hester Pitt to William Pitt, Hayes; the letter is undated, but Vere Birdwood gives 1760 as the year (see So Dearly Loved, So Much Admired. Letters to Hester Pitt, Lady Chatham From Her Relations and Friends 1744–1801, ed. Vere Birdwood (London: HMSO, 1994), 226.

27. William Gilpin, Observations on the Western Parts of England, Relative Chiefly to Beauty... (London: T. Cadell Jnr. And W. Davies, 1798), 116. In the Dedication (iv), Gilpin states that the book ‘has lain by me these twenty years’.

28. St Giles’s Muniments FC1, letters from William Beckford to Lord Shaftesbury, Spanish Town, 25 May and 9 July 1749; John Cope, William Beckford’s steward, to Lord Shaftesbury, Spanish Town, 30 July 1749. I am grateful to Suzanna Fleming for these references.

29. WHC, PR/Tisbury: St John the Baptist, 812/8; Bishops Marriage Licence Bonds for the Diocese of Sarum, D1/62. I am grateful to Linda Keightley for sharing her work on the Lane family tree with me.

30. WHC, 383/4, fols 9–9. ‘A Bill for stone P work done for y’ use of Henry Hoare Esq.’ 1748 About yr Grotto at Stower Head by Wm Privet & Co.’


32. Richard Warner, Excursions from Bath (Bath: Printed by R. Cruttwell, 1801), p. 211. Warner was actually making a comparison with the grotto and cascade at Bowood, but failed to differentiate Lane father and son.

33. Charles Hamilton was the fourteenth child, youngest son of nine, of the 6th Earl of Abercorn.

34. The first recorded payment to ‘Jos Lane’ was for £43.2s.10d on 16 January 1764, which would be for work of the previous year. Royal Bank of Scotland, Drummonds Accounts, DR/427/48.

35. Michael Cousins, “The Cascade and Grotto at Bowood,” Follies Magazine no. 59 (autumn 2004): 18–21. There are strong associations that lend support to the Lanes’ progress with grotto-building: Henry Hoare’s Stourhead was less than 15 miles from Fonthill and as neighbours reciprocal visits were made. Painshill’s owner, Charles Hamilton, was also a friend of Henry Hoare, and he gave assistance in aspects of Stourhead’s layout. Based on their similar interests, gardens, planting, the arts, etc., it is sensible to assume that the subject of ornamental buildings and features such as grottoes was a frequent topic of discussion.


38. Bowood House Archives, unpublished Diary of Sophia, Countess of Shelburne, vol. 5, 14 July 1769 to 15 September 1770, 4–9; the visit to Fonthill House was 25–30 July 1769. I am grateful to Kate Fielden, Bowood’s former curator, for providing a transcript of these diary entries, and to The Trustees of the Bowood Collection for permission to quote from this.


40. TNA, C12/1325/21, 12 December 1770 (Taken without Oath by Order dated 4th Dec 1770).


42. BL, Add MS 42168, fols 12–14. Mrs Lybbe Powys, “Five Days Tour”; her visit to Fonthill occurred 7 August 1776.


46. Bodleian Library, MS. Beckford c. 84, fol. 110.


49. John B. Papworth to James Morrison, 10 Caroline Street, 20 February 1838: ‘I think I understand Mr Coombe’s letter: that the removal of the Earth mound is to cover bare sloping surfaces at the Quarry so that verdure may be produced instead of shewing the Rock part, that is neither picturesque nor fertile — there are many places there of the Kind at the spot, & it will be an improvement, necessarily.’ Fonthill Estate Archives, A/7/0205.

Elizabeth Hervey, Combes letters, folder 2, James Combes to James Morrison, [Fonthill], 4 May 1837, Morrison Estate. It is marked as such on the first edition 25-inch Ordnance Survey map, 1st edn (1887), LXIV.11.

Meister, Letters, 303–4 [Souvenirs…, 245–6].

Britton, Beauties of Wiltshire, 247 and 251.

Britton, Beauties of Wiltshire, 247. See also Anonymous, “Account of the Works Now Executing at Fonthill,” 105, describing this area near the end of the century: ‘This whole range of scenery, but particularly the quarry part, the wood having now attained a very considerable growth, may, in point of beauty and original effect, challenge any garden scenery in the kingdom.’

“Fonthill Property,” The Times, 4 October 1822, 3.

My sincere thanks to Dr Dianne Masters of the Grotto for providing this reference.

Important Autograph Letters, 25.

82. Beckford clearly pampered his companion in such a manner – one of the small gardens in the Abbey grounds ‘had a small hot-house in it, not much bigger than a cucumber frame […] for a favourite dwarf’ (see John Claudius Loudon, The Gardener’s Magazine, vol. xi, no. 66 (September 1835), 444).

83. Devon Heritage Centre, 2741M/FC16/2a–2b fols 2–3, Maria Ley (of Treyhill, Cornwall) to her brother William. Although undated, other commentary in the letter indicates it was written ca. 4 June 1799.

84. Michael Cousins, “The Cascade and Grotto at Bowood,” op. cit. According to the OED, a tumbler is a dialect term for a ‘detached mass of rock; a rolled stone or boulder’. Although Warner uses the term ‘tumblers’ in the construction of Bowood’s rockwork, it should not be applied by default to the materials used in Fonthill’s tunnels.


86. While absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, a survey of the estates of the then owner, Francis Yerbury (Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Wilts. C. 2, fol. 29, Survey by James Sartain and Son, 1777), shows no such feature or setting that would suggest that the grotto was present at that time.

87. Barnard’s father, Ezekiel Dickinson (1711–88) purchased the estate in 1751; the earlier house of 1720 was never completed, and was demolished when it was replaced by the present house by James Wyatt in 1796. It is unlikely that the grotto preceded the house.


89. John Claudius Loudon, “Notes on Gardens & Country Seats, Visited from July 27 to September 16 1833,” The Gardener’s Magazine xii, no. 79 (October 1836): 505. In The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion (London: Longman, Orme, Green, and Longmans, 1838), 441, Loudon revises Lane’s income to ‘nearly a pound a day, when employed’. Morrison would later (1844) buy a coloured copy of Repton’s Landscape Gardening from Mrs Loudon (Fonthill Estate Archives, A/2/0112).


91. WHC, PR/Tisbury: St John the Baptist, 812/19. P2/L/779, ‘last Will and Testament’ of Joseph Lane, in

92. Meister, Letters, 304. The Hermitage is bereft of any opening from above, and although the nearby tunnel did have a number of oculi, its floor does not lend itself to being laid with mosaic, and certainly not one where a mariner’s compass (invariably round) would sit comfortably either physically or with the description: ‘in the centre’. The floor of the cold bath behind the lakeside grotto, however, would fit that bill admirably, as does Loudon’s description of ‘the orifice in the roof of this cave, by which it is lighted’. Note the orifice, i.e. singular; the tunnel had more than one oculus (only one is left open with a grille, the others having been filled in, but when any of these works happened is open to question). Even the comment that the orifice ‘is unprotected by any fence or grating, and may be considered as a trap for the destruction of men or other animals’ is still appropriate for this grotto, considering its size. The comment about animals may be pertinent as this is the side of the park where Beckford had the menagerie and also the deer park, although whether the latter was ever stocked has not been established. Loudon could, of course, have been referring to another quarry cave entirely.

93. Wyatt Papworth, John B. Papworth, Architect to the King of Wurtzburg: A Brief Record of his Life and Works (London: privately printed, 1879), 79–84; 90–2. From 1828–9 Papworth had been engaged to make alterations at the Morisons’ town house in Harley Street. Papworth, however, was not the sole architect engaged by Morrison; William Atkinson it seems was also involved with works at Fonthill. See Fonthill Estate Archives, A/7/0203, Combes letters, folders 1 & 2. This section draws heavily on the archive, and references are given only where appropriate.

94. Papworth, John B. Papworth, 80. Elsewhere the hot-house was repaired, a former greenhouse converted into an orange house, and a further orange house proposed.

95. Combes letters, folder 2, 15 June 1837, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/7/0203.

96. Combes letters, folder 2, 22 November 1837, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/7/0203.

97. Combes letters, folder 2, 5 February 1838, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/7/0203. The covering also included ‘The piece from the Lodge to the entrance at the House, … a Considerable portion of the enclosure below the Gardens, part of the Terrace, part of Ice House [in] Park, and several Hundred Loads in patches in the Park south of the House…’. Morrison had ‘apply’d to three places for Deer viz. – Longleat, Hale, and Avingdon [Avington, Hampshire, belonging to the Marquis of Buckingham]’. Despite being offered ‘10 Couple of Deer … fine fallow Deer Black & Spotted’ by the latter for 40 guineas, there were difficulties in acquiring them. See Folder 3, letters of 27 March, 5 and 14 April 1839.

98. The sale by Rushworth & Jarvis started 21 July, and lasted four days.

99. Papworth to James Morrison, 20 July 1843, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/9/0318. In Coade’s Gallery, or Exhibition of Artificial Stone, Westminster-Bridge Road… (London: S. Tilson, 1799), 22, this work is
described as a group and occupied ‘a space of 20 feet in height by 12 in width, the Polyphemus is a statue of 10ft 6in. a cave is formed in the rock, at the entrance of it lays the Acis and Galatea, much larger than life’. Papworth’s proposal suggests that they were separate pieces. The fragment of the torso of Polyphemus was sold by Christie’s in 2014 for £69,700.

100. W. King’s bill for ‘Goods b’ by Auction’, 3 Day, lot 119 and 4 Day, lot 195, Fonthill Estate Archives. According to Caroline Dakers (from information conveyed by Lord Margadale), one head has been recovered; the majority, it is feared, were broken or stolen during the Second World War when soldiers were billeted in the park.

101. Combes letters, folder 2, James Combes to James Morrison, Fonthill, 30 May 1837, Fonthill Estate Archives, A/7/0203.

Chapter 15

2. Lewis Melville, The Life and Letters of William Beckford of Fonthill (London: William Heinemann, 1910), 92. This is a letter from Beckford at Lucca to Miss Burney, 22 September 1780.
4. The complexities of the terms ‘aristocracy’ and ‘aristocrat’ are too many to broach here, whether considering how eighteenth-century people used the term or how historians have used it in general and in reference to Beckford: Amanda Goodrich, ‘Understanding a Language of ‘Aristocracy’, 1700–1850,’ Historical Journal 56 (2013): 369–98.
10. Beckford’s speech on the Address, 1761, quoted in Gauci, William Beckford, 107: ‘When I talk of the sense of the people, I mean the middling people of England – the manufacturer, the yeoman, the merchant, the country gentleman – they who bear all the heat of the day and who pay all taxes to supply all the expenses of court and government. They have a right, Sir, to interfere in the condition and conduct of the nation ... the people of England taken in this limitation are a good-natured, well-intentioned and very sensible people, who know better perhaps than other nations under the sun whether they are well-governed or not.’
13. Alexander, England’s Wealthiest Son, 95, where Beckford is quoted as writing that he preferred ‘the company of young pathics “to all goods or titles and to all glory present and future”’. Beckford had a reluctance to exchange his life of super-sensibility and poetic melancholy for the public activities into which he was being pressed by his family’, according to Lees-Milne, William Beckford, 16.
considered 'a unique and exotic creature, a brilliant but bizarre eccentric'. In that essay, Watkin related Beckford to John Soane and Thomas Hope (outsiders who designed their own houses which then served in significant part as repositories for collections). Watkin's goal was to remove Beckford from the status of isolated eccentric.


16. Alexander, England's Wealthiest Son, 12. Late in life, his vocation was still on his mind: Redding recorded Beckford's 'impatient feeling ... of his not having done enough in the way of acquirement, of his having thrown away his times and opportunities' (Alexander, England's Wealthiest Son, 137).

17. William Beckford, Vathek, ed. Thomas Keymer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 82. Vathek was written in 1782 in French and had a complicated publishing history in the 1780s (x-xii).


22. Melville, Life and Letters, 4. He wrote this at the age of 17. It was preceded by the remark: 'he was determined not to be what to-day is called a “horsey” man, nor “to despise poetry and venerable Antiquity, murder Taste, abhor imagination, distrust all the charms of Eloquence unless capable of mathematical demonstration, and more than all ... be vigorously incredulous”'.

23. Melville, Life and Letters, 42.


28. The Earl of Abingdon, for instance, was an active politician in the House of Lords for four decades. The Earl of Sandwich was, famously, the first lord of the Admiralty. Henry Cavendish (1731–1810), a duke's grandson, is an interesting case: a great scientist, he was socially ill at ease; his life was nonetheless embroiled in the public science of the later eighteenth century.


34. Alderman Beckford suggested both the expectation and the disappointment in a letter to John Kirke, 1754, quoted in Gauci, William Beckford, 77: 'I had much rather shew all the respect and regard in my power to a lover of liberty and his country (although poor) than to the first nobleman in the kingdom who had barter’d away the freedoms of the people and his own independency, for the sake of empty titles or the lucre of place, pension or employment.'


41. Gauci, William Beckford, 140, tells us that, when Fonthill burned in 1755, a contemporary noted that the loss of a country house could have a devastating impact on the local economy: prior to the fire, Beckford had pumped £5,000 per annum ‘in improvements … whereby the poor labourers of the several neighbouring parishes have been constantly employed and their families happily supported’.


43. Thomas Mortimer, The Universal Director; or, the Nobleman and Gentleman’s True Guide to the Masters and Professors of the Liberal and Polite Arts and Sciences; and of the Mechanic Arts, Manufactures, and Trades, Established in London and Westminster, and Their Environs (London: for J. Coote, 1763), v.

44. Alexander, England’s Wealthiest Son, 168–70.


Chapter 16


13. *Pencil Sketch of Vathek’s Tower* by William Beckford, 1843. Collection of Philip Hewat-Jaboor. The authors would like to thank Amy Frost of Beckford’s Tower Archives and Library for bringing this image to our attention, and Philip Hewat-Jaboor for permission to reprint it in this chapter.


20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Beckford c. 46, f. 35.

21. Three stories related to the original novel by Beckford but not published together until 1912 by Lewis Melville.


29. Beckford, *Vathek*, 5. This parallels his assessment of the tower at Antwerp Cathedral: Beckford wished ‘to stretch myself out upon its very summit, and calculate, from so sublime an elevation, the influence of the planets’. Quoted in Brian Fothergill, *Beckford of Fonthill* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), 130.


42. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1975.4.1880.

43. London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Sa55/5, 3.


47. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Beckford c. 29, fol. 171r.


49. Rutter, 24.

Chapter 17

1. Begun 1796, collapsed 1825, and subsequently largely demolished.
2. This replaced the first Fonthill House, destroyed by fire in 1755, itself demolished 1807. For an account of the disappearance of the houses on the Fonthill estate, culminating with the demolition of Detmar Blow's 1904 house built for Hugh Morrison (1869–1931), see Simon Blow, “Blow by Blow,” Guardian Weekend, 24 February 1979, 11. See also this volume, Chapters 4–8.
11. Ostergard, William Beckford, 64.
13. Phillips, 23 September–22 October 1823, lot 1347 (£252) to Robert Hume; Robert, 2nd Earl Grosvenor, and by descent; Christie’s (London), 5 July 2012, lot 12. The catalogue entry for the sale at Christie’s was based on information supplied by Bet McLeod. Earl Grosvenor was buying land in Dorset, close to Fonthill, early in the nineteenth century, and his son Richard acquired the Fonthill Abbey estate.
16. Christie’s, South Kensington, 20 September 1994, lots 70–3. Among other lots from the sale, a tazza entitled La Fantaisie is now in the collection of the Saint Louis Art Museum (Hurstel and Levy, “Charles Lepec,” figs. 6–8), and two plates are divided between the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hurstel and Levy, “Charles Lepec,” figs. 8 and 12) and the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Limoges (Hurstel and Levy, “Charles Lepec,” figs. 8 and 11).
24. Hamilton Muniments, Hamilton District Library, NRA (S) 3438, Hamilton Palace Inventory 1876, Tapestry Rooms, Sitting Room, 'Articles of Vertu in Ebony and Pietra Dura Cabinet, from the Beckford Collection': A small China Cup & Saucer Chocolate Ground with raised white Flowers, both lined with silver gilt and engraved.


26. Other furniture from the 1820s and 1830s, all of fine oak and some with gilded wood and metal embellishments, has emerged over the past few decades: this includes a wall cabinet probably from Lansdown Tower, acquired by a private collector at Sotheby’s in the 1970s; a hanging cabinet identified in a private collection, probably from Lansdown Crescent, now at Lansdown Tower, and a pair of pier cabinets identified at Kivells, Holsworthy, Devon, 16 December 2014, lot 33.


29. Lansdown Tower sale, English and Son, 20 November 1845 and following seven days, day seven, lot 500.


32. The Builder, 9 May 1874, 385.


34. Plymouth Auction Rooms, 5 November 2014, lots 291 and 292.

Chapter 18

1. ‘Approximate Estimate’ dated 29 March 1902. Fonthill Estate Archives, M/2/1416. Additional costs included the architect’s fees at £350 and a clerk of works at £150.

2. Fonthill Estate Archives, M/01 1379.

3. Draft letter from Hugh Morrison to Mr Squarey of Lawrence and Squarey, Salisbury, on the back of the estimate dated 29 March 1902.


9. See for example The Times, 9 April 1901.


15. Weaver, “Little Ridge,” 573; ‘The dining room is lined with oak panelling, with lightly-carved stiles, that recalls the days of the old manor house. A recessed cupboard, still standing in its ruinous walls, had formed a cache where a remnant of old panelling was discovered surviving. This was faithfully reproduced – Stephens, the joiner, with his men, carrying out the work to perfection by treating in traditional manner oak from trees felled long before in the park and seasoned in the estate yard.’

16. Weaver, “Little Ridge,” 573. Stallybrass ‘was assisted by most capable local men – by Charles Lamb and his son, of an old race of plasterers who could model and cast anything, and who, though seemingly spoilt by modern influences, were only too ready to be brought back to the right traditional lines; and so enthusiastic
did they become over this effective but inexpensive form of decoration, that they perhaps outstreod the imagination of their forbears in the craft.'

18. Fonthill Estate Archives, M/02 1416.
20. Fonthill Estate Archives, M/01 1379.
21. Fonthill Estate Archives, M/01 1384.
22. Blow drawings, RIBA Drawing Collection, T424.
23. This and subsequent references are taken from Fonthill Estate Archives, S/7/1926.
25. Robin Young, “How Fonthill was Missed,” The Times Diary, 12 June 1972.
26. Young, “How Fonthill was Missed."
27. Lord Margadale to Peter Walker, Secretary of State to the Environment, 12 June 1972, Fonthill Estate Archives, S/7/1926.

Chapter 19

4. The only other monograph of the house to be written permits Beckford and his presence at Fonthill a single paragraph; Bruno Krucker, Complex Ordinariness: The Upper Lawn Pavilion by Alison and Peter Smithson, (Zurich: gta Verlag, 2002), 29.
5. Alison and Peter Smithson, Upper Lawn Solar Pavilion Folly (Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 1986). The book is largely written and compiled by Alison, with assistance from Enric Miralles.
8. Smithson and Smithson, Upper Lawn, 15.
10. Smithson and Smithson, Upper Lawn, 9.
11. Alison Smithson’s notes for Upper Lawn publication, Smithson Family Archive.
15. Smithson and Smithson, Upper Lawn, 16.
17. Alison Smithson, “Three Pavilions of the Twentieth Century: the Farnsworth, the Eames, Upper Lawn,” lecture given in 1985, published in Smithson and Smithson, Changing the Art of Inhabitation, 141.
18. Peter’s thoughts on ‘Life in a polythene bag’ are printed in Smithson and Smithson, Upper Lawn, 22.
26. Beckford owned *St. Jerome Awakened from a Trance by an Angel Sounding a Trumpet* by Guercino, as noted by John Britton in * Beauties of Wiltshire* (London: Vernor and Hood, 1801), 226. He also owned pictures of the saint by Domenichino and Veronese.
28. Smithson, “In the Time of the Presentation of Upper Lawn Book.”
34. Published in Smithson and Smithson, *Upper Lawn*, 26. The original is believed to be in the Smithson Family Collection but has not yet been located.