

## Beckford's Arcadia in Bath: Lansdown Tower and its Landscaped Garden

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### 要 旨

文芸をはじめ多岐にわたる芸術領域で業績を残した英国の文人ウィリアム・ベックフォード (1760-1844) の晩年の建築・造園活動について考察する。ウィルトシャー州の領地を処分した後、ベックフォードは1822年、サマセット州バースに移り、晩年を過ごした。この間の約20年間は、一般に隠栖の時代とみられているが、実際には彼はなお営々として自らの夢を紡ぎ続けた。その具体的成果が、原野同然であったランズダウンヒルに約1キロにわたって造成された、絵画的雅趣に富む美しい風景庭園と、その丘陵上に聳(そび)える、古典主義様式の端正な外観を誇るランズダウン・タワーである。彼の想い描いた詩的夢想の具現化ともいべきこのアルカディアの創出こそ、ベックフォードの経歴の掉尾(とうび)を飾る芸術的営為であり、そこには、功利の原則が支配する散文的な時代の中で、詩的真実を一貫して守り続けた彼の反俗的情熱が象徴的な形で表現されている。

### キーワード

Beckford, Bath, Lansdown Tower, Landscaped Garden, Poetical Truth

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The inscrutable personality of William Beckford has long been a source of fascination. He has been reputed to be a man of versatility: writer, bibliophile, patron, traveller, gardener, master builder, aesthete and connoisseur. As the aggregate of these parts, he remains one of the most captivating figures in English literary history. Even in his own lifetime he had already become something of a legend; the despotic Caliph, reigning over the immense domain of Fonthill, seemed inaccessible, standing aloof from mundane existence. As the Caliph's luxurious seclusion added to his celebrity, the air of mystery surrounding this forbidden domain fuelled the growing Fonthill legend. Fonthill had now become an irresistible focus of attention and inquisitiveness.

No wonder, then, that immense interest was aroused in 1822 by the announcement that the celebrated Caliph was to put up for auction his entire Fonthill property, comprising the fabulous neo-Gothic Abbey, the greater part of its contents and its extensively landscaped grounds. A catalogue was produced and in a short space of time sales reached no less than seventy-two thousand copies; while to Fonthill flocked huge numbers of the

curious, including dealers, collectors and society people, in their eagerness to catch a glimpse of the legendary estate in which the Caliph had lived in enigmatic seclusion. Yet the sale, as first announced for 17 September 1822, did not take place and then was cancelled when a John Farquhar, a septuagenarian millionaire as eccentric as Beckford himself, purchased the whole estate, the Abbey and its contents through a private deal for £300,000.

Although it would have appeared a devious transaction, this outcome was all Beckford could have wished for. Despite his aversion to the exposure caused by 'the Fonthill fever', Beckford's real objective was to attract someone with the resources to make the highest bid for the entire property. Beckford was seriously in debt by the early 1820s to the tune of 125,000 pounds.<sup>1</sup> Even for an heir to what was deemed the largest fortune in England – Beckford had once been hailed by Byron as 'England's Wealthiest Son'<sup>2</sup> – his prodigious expenditure on the creation, improvement and preservation of such a stupendous estate had proved no light burden. Furthermore, to his own extravagances were added a marked reduction in income from his West Indian plantations and disastrous lawsuits – all this combined to make the disposal of Fonthill inevitable. While its sale resulted in Beckford having to part with the enormous edifice which had earned him his chief claim to fame, it also enabled him to repay the crippling debts, with enough surplus to ensure his continued existence as a man of exceptional culture and extravagant taste.

Beckford then moved to Bath, the Somerset spa city some thirty miles from his Wiltshire estate, and lived there in comfort for his remaining twenty-two years, surrounded by what he had reserved for himself of his artistic treasures, including paintings, furniture, objets d'art and one third of his library. The Bath decades have generally been regarded as a period of almost total retirement, but they were surely not only that. Bath was in fact to be the stage for the final performance in a life which was itself theatrical. With Lansdown, the northern area of the city, as the great theatre, he was to embark upon his last piece of stage-management. The effects and performance would be magnificent; it was indeed to be one of the greatest coups that he ever pulled off.

The present essay concentrates on the whole process of Beckford's creation of a second Arcadia in Bath. Although far less modest in conception and achievement than his previous creation at Fonthill, the by no means modest example of garden architecture in Bath was a more individual epitome of his artistic taste. Our primary aim is to shed light on Beckford's concrete accomplishments as a landscape architect and to reassess his pursuit of poetical truth in the context of his personal history, by considering how he strove to realize his dreams throughout his life.

## II

There is still no convincing explanation as to why Beckford chose Bath as his next

place of residence after the beloved home at Fonthill. A variety of factors may have influenced him, though none of them seems to be crucial. First, the Beckfords had had relatives in Bath. On teenage visits to illustrious friends and acquaintances in England, he met his great uncle, who had moved from his estate in Surrey and carried out a landscaping scheme on one of the hillsides of the city.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, Bath was by then on the wane from the zenith of its prosperity, and Beckford could pursue his self-appointed seclusion without coming under peer pressure. Thirdly, in Bath, with adjoining verdant hills, he could have immediate access to the bucolic undulation of the countryside; the city's setting might well have appealed to the part of Beckford's temperament that delighted in nature and scenic beauties.

At all events, Beckford decided to live in Bath and spent his first few months at Great Pultney Street while he looked round for more permanent living quarters. He first showed an interest in purchasing Prior Park, a grand Palladian-style mansion built by Ralph Allen on the southern outskirts, but he eventually took up his abode in Lansdown Crescent. Having been built in 1789-92 by a Bath architect, John Palmer, on the northern terrace of the city, the Crescent houses formed one of the most conspicuous features of Bath. Not as majestic as the King's Circus or the Royal Crescent, they yet retained an equal dignity and formed no less graceful an arc of classical beauty.<sup>4</sup>

Beckford's first acquisition was a residence at number twenty Lansdown Crescent, the west end house of the terrace; from the drawing room he could overlook the city of Bath, and see across to the great bulk of Prior Park, while 'open country stretched from his back windows right into the unspoiled Cotswolds.'<sup>5</sup> Yet a single spacious townhouse in the most aristocratic location in Bath did not fulfill all his wishes, and he presently obtained another residence at number one Lansdown Place West, the first in the adjoining terrace, at that time known as West Wing. Although forming part of the gracious curve of the Crescent, the two houses were separated by a narrow lane, which prompted Beckford to link them together by throwing an elegant bridge across the opening at the first floor level.

In order to carry out the alteration, Beckford employed a young local architect, Henry Edmund Goodridge, who had of late established an architectural practice in Bath and was regarded as a promising advocate of the current Greco-Roman style.<sup>6</sup> Having set Goodridge to work on the connecting bridge, Beckford was delighted to find that there were none of those serious clashes of ego which he had had to endure with James Wyatt, his former architect at Fonthill. This might be one of the reasons the young architect was offered the opportunity, together with other leading experts of the day, to submit designs for Beckford's forthcoming building schemes.<sup>7</sup>

Besides building the bridge, Beckford does not seem to have made any overall structural improvements to the residence at number twenty, though he was assiduous in renovating rooms and rearranging furnishings. When, several years later, he parted with

the West Wing, he conserved the bridge, and purchased a third house at number nineteen Lansdown Crescent, partly to keep his neighbours at arm's length and partly to make space for his ever-growing collection of rare volumes and manuscripts. Thenceforth, Beckford would live in number nineteen until his death in 1844, utilizing both of the houses as a depository for many of his most prized works of art, which commanded the respect and admiration of his prominent visitors.

Meanwhile, Beckford lost no time in drawing up plans for the expansion of his property to the rear. There was the existing garden of number twenty behind the Crescent, but he was aware that the circumscribed area could by no means satisfy him after the vast expanse of Fonthill. Hardly had he settled into Lansdown than he began to cast longing glances beyond the confined ground to a tract of open land that extended to the north as far as the summit of Lansdown Hill. In those days, the unspoiled, exposed down leading up a slight gradient was not inhabited and this probably contributed to his decision to create for himself another pastoral idyll which might make up to a certain extent for his lost Arcadia at Fonthill.

Beckford's intention was to construct a second tower on the vantage point of the hill with its panoramic views over the surrounding countryside. It was to house some of his choice works of art, and to offer him a place of peaceful retreat for study and introspection. Moreover, the intervening, windswept plateau between the site and the Crescent had to be transformed into a picturesquely landscaped domain. Although only a fraction the size of the interminable estate of Fonthill, the uncultivated plateau proved sufficient to offer certain scenic possibilities. Not destined to be long without that which he had so far been accustomed to, a tower and a picturesque garden, the former owner of Fonthill was yet again determined to launch into another serious undertaking in landscape architecture.

### III

Beckford began his ambitious schemes for creating a miniature Fonthill on Lansdown Hill by taking possession of several parcels of rising ground. At the end of March 1823, he signed the lease for a long stretch of down, covering a distance of approximately one and a quarter miles.<sup>8</sup> By June his plan to create an extensive garden was mentioned in the local newspaper: 'Mr. Beckford is... in treaty for an extensive purchase of land in the rear of the Crescent, with a view to erecting a house in the same.... We may anticipate a model of architectural beauty.'<sup>9</sup>

It is worthy of note that from the very outset the structure on the hill and its landscaped grounds had been conceived as an inseparable unit of garden architecture, though the new building he desired to construct was not intended as another residence, but was to be an entirely different structure of a tower of some sort, an idea which had

enchanted him since his early adolescence. A paragraph in the *Observer* of 13th October 1823 gives a vivid picture of the work on the planting and landscaping as well as the building operations:

Lansdown Hill is now the scene of most active labours... From sunrise to sunset there are to be seen 300 or 400 workmen, in different directions, attended by immense numbers of carts &c., busily engaged in building walls about ten feet high with Bath stone, levelling irregularities or hillocks on the summit or about the hill, forming roads, and laying out grounds for the plantation of upward of 200,000 young trees. The summit of the hill is preparing for the erection of a Saxon tower, from the top of which will be seen Fonthill Abbey, a distance of 35 miles!<sup>10</sup>

The reference to 'a Saxon tower' may be an indication of one of Beckford's first plans, sketched in the autumn of 1823, that would exemplify his concept of a neo-Romanesque tower, with round arches, thick walls and prominent overhanging battlements that threw deep shadows upon its surface.

It was these picturesque features that were to be combined with the classical style of architecture in the Greco-Roman tower to be raised three years later. The tower that was begun in October of 1826 was a plain rectangular masonry with four slit windows. Beckford drew much of his inspiration from the type of fortress tower seen in Italian hills and often depicted in the paintings by Renaissance artists, 'a source that was unique in early nineteenth-century European architecture'.<sup>11</sup>

When this tower was erected as high as the block cornice, the intention was to add the roof. Not content with its elevation, however, Beckford made up his mind to add a belvedere, a brilliantly transparent room 'with three floor-length plate-glass sashes on each side'.<sup>12</sup> Yet it was still not high enough and in the spring of 1827 Beckford instructed Goodridge to surmount it with a cast iron lantern weighing ten tons. The tower was thus crowned by a gilded lantern of wood and cast iron, modelled on the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates in Athens.<sup>13</sup> In consequence, it rose at last to the height of 154 feet on the summit of a hill rising 800 feet above sea level.

In its ultimate form, Lansdown Tower consisted of a two-storey rectangular foundation, chaste in appearance, from the northwestern corner of which rose the tower. On the eastern side it was flanked by a single-storey block or annex, that contained chambers for servants and a kitchen, but no bedroom for Beckford himself. A stone parapet pierced at regular intervals by balustrading was placed round the roof; and the windows, with their gilt-edged lattice, introduced a slightly oriental flavour. Despite this rather romantic skyline, the general impression of the whole construction was one of classical order and decorum in contrast to the neo-Gothic fantasia at Fonthill.<sup>14</sup>

If the exterior design of the building reflected his new aesthetic, a revised form of

classicism unique to Beckford, then the interior fixtures and fittings embodied his acquired taste for the opulent and refined; gold latticed windows 'illuminated crimson and scarlet curtains and carpets, marble sills and tabletops, gilded cornices, and joinery of stained and varnished oak'.<sup>15</sup> The main entrance was through an open loggia to the north, even though the majority of visitors used the rear entrance from the garden. Passing through the loggia, one found oneself in a vaulted corridor with a passage to the annex on the left, and on the right to the carpeted, spiral staircase ascending to the Belvedere at the top of the tower. Directly opposite the vestibule was a door leading to the Scarlet Drawing Room, the largest one on the ground floor, the end wall of which gave onto an apse encircled by three of the windows of gilded-iron latticework. The same flight of stairs also gave access to the first floor. Here was to be found the Crimson Drawing Room, and the adjacent Sanctuary, a narrow, top-lit room dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, Beckford's favourite saint. Above the entrance loggia and the vaulted corridor were two rooms devoted to Beckford's bibliophilism, the Small Library and the Etruscan Library.<sup>16</sup>

It must be conceded that Lansdown Tower could not stand comparison with Fonthill Abbey in architectural extent and grandeur. Yet the former was a better reflection of Beckford's individual peculiarities than the latter. At Fonthill, Beckford's wishes had been interpreted to a greater or lesser degree by the tastes of his architect, whereas in Bath, Beckford was master of the construction, with a young architect acting as his technical amanuensis. It was the pinnacle of Beckford's search for the fulfillment of his architectural dream at an advanced age.

#### IV

While work was in progress on the construction of Lansdown Tower, sustained efforts had also been channelled into landscaping its extensive grounds. Still in pursuit of the aesthetic of the picturesque he had long sought, Beckford set about the gardening task, intending to convert every acre of the fields into idyllic, well-composed grounds of startling beauty and charm. Beckford was fortunate in the faithful gardener Vincent who had been in his service since the Fonthill days. Outspoken yet respectful, the proficient gardener continued to perform his duty, diligently working on planting and laying out schemes.

The utmost care was taken to produce various pictorial effects. As was reported in the *Observer*, various types of improvements were undertaken. The rear garden was extended and transformed into a remarkable kitchen garden; ten-foot high walls were built to conceal the enclosed precincts; waste tracts were graded or brought into cultivation; quarry workings were given a new setting; and some buildings erected in a picturesque style. In some places, the walk, carpeted with a fine turf, was meant to

narrow to nothing more than an alley bordered by fruit trees or fragrant flowers; at others it opened out into quite extensive areas. Where shade was required, it was achieved by transplanting full-grown trees so ingeniously that, in Beckford's words, the travellers from Bristol were astonished to see the clumps of luxuriant verdure upon Lansdown Hill where none had been visible a few weeks before: 'they rub their eyes—they cannot believe their own sight—how can it be!'<sup>17</sup> All this greatly flattered the Caliph for whom feats little short of miraculous were not uncommon.

These landscaping activities continued for many years, and engendered a dramatic transformation from the barren, inhospitable down with its rank crop of weeds and nettles into a varied terrain containing a grotto, lovely views, picturesque structures, seasonal flowers, wooded glades and foliage. Even though the first few years must have tested his patience while he awaited the growth of flowering plants and the smallest thickets, the visual effects aimed at by Beckford in his desire to produce a rich variety of scenery were definitely achieved, as can be seen in some accounts of contemporary visitors to Lansdown in the later years of Beckford's life.

One of the best guides to Beckford's garden paradise is Henry Venn Lansdown, a topographical and landscape artist, who had made his acquaintance with Beckford through his friendship with Goodridge.<sup>18</sup> In his *Recollections of the late William Beckford* in the form of a letter to his daughter, Lansdown wrote that the private route to the tower began just behind Lansdown Crescent, across the fruitful kitchen garden. On the adjoining vaulted terrace a massive embattled gateway blocked the view of unsightly objects, and marked the southern entrance to the mile-long walk.

Passing through the gateway, the visitor stepped out onto the more open land which was strikingly different from the walled region. Beckford had contrived to leave the first part of the gradual ascent as fields with scattered thorn bushes, except that to the west of the public road he provided a 300-yard avenue lined with lime trees. Thenceforth the walk ran uninterrupted:

Diversified by plantations and studded with cottages in the Italian taste, the grounds, the whole way, present scenery artfully blended into one harmonious whole. Yet, although the resources of art are put in abundant requisition, there is no trace of cultivation—nothing either park-like or formal—all is kept, as much as possible, in subjugation to the modesty of Nature.<sup>19</sup>

Immediately above was one of the largest of Beckford's plantations, amounting to seven acres in its entirety. Great expertise had been employed in selecting the rich variety of species cultivated, and considerable care taken to position the trees according to their bulk and height, as well as thought given to the colour scheme produced by the leaves throughout the seasons. Beckford's particular skill in this respect was recognized

by one of his contemporaries: 'Mr. Beckford spoke of the effects of contrasts in similar situations, not so much in the trees themselves as with reference to the line of sky and the surrounding objects.'<sup>20</sup> Close by the plantation there was a smaller bypath branching off from the main walk to the left, where an extensive view was afforded over the whole paradisiacal valley of the Avon. This was one of the commanding views which virtually reconciled Beckford to Lansdown after Fonthill's illimitable domain: "'This!' exclaimed Beckford, "'This!! the finest prospect in Europe!'"<sup>21</sup>

Retracing one's steps and ascending the gradual slope, one soon reached a sort of tableland that seemed to have been an old quarry. Lansdown wrote: 'The remains of these quarries are most picturesque. At a little distance they seem to present the wrecks of stately buildings, with rows of broken arches, and vividly recall the idea of Roman ruins. I afterwards mentioned my impressions on seeing them to Mr. Beckford, who replied, "They do indeed put one in mind of the Campagna of Rome, and are vastly like the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla."<sup>22</sup> It should be added that in the vicinity of the site a splendid beech wood could also be seen which owed its maturity to Beckford and his gardener.

The next stretch of the walk led one through another plantation where the path studded with small fossils wound its way through trees and flowering shrubs. At the very end, a small door set into a wall opened onto another impressive garden, the Dyke Garden, 'nearly four hundred feet long... about eighty feet wide and about twelve feet below the level of the Down.'<sup>23</sup> When Lansdown said to Vincent, 'I understood Mr. Beckford had planted everything on the Down, but you surely found those apple trees here. They are fifty years old,' the gardener was heard to respond, 'we found nothing here but an old quarry and a few nettles. Those apple trees were great trees when we moved them, and moving them stopped their bearing. They blossom in the spring and look pretty, and that is all master cares about.'<sup>24</sup>

What also struck Lansdown was the picturesque effect of the Italiannate building with an archway in the centre that closed the long vista at the extremity of the garden and lead to a subterranean grotto. This ran underground for about seventy feet—a realistic solution worked out by Goodridge when otherwise his master's private walk would have had to traverse a public road. The subterranean passage ended with a rustic flight of steps going up to the open field, where proceeding adjacent to the public path, the walk took its own gently meandering way among clumps of lush vegetation, and became wider by degrees as the Tower was approached.<sup>25</sup>

The final stage of the walk was characterized by the Alpine Garden into which Beckford had successfully introduced numerous exotic varieties: conifers of every species from all parts of the world, including Scotch, Italian, Siberian, Mexican and Brazilian; Irish yews; a fir from the Himalayas; maples from America; and a rose tree specially conveyed from Peking. In addition to the full-grown apple trees mentioned



earlier, herbal shrubs of lavender, rosemary, marjoram and heliotrope had also been carted from Fonthill.<sup>26</sup> Amongst all of them Beckford did indeed create a rural idyll on Lansdown.

## V

As in all of his previous projects, Beckford's efforts were devoted to making his dream come true on Lansdown Hill. Of this fabulous landscape architecture H. V. Lansdown recorded this first impression: 'Who but a man of extraordinary genius would have thought of rearing in the desert such a structure as this, or create such an oasis?'<sup>27</sup> The extraordinary effect produced throughout the years on such a lavish scale reflected not merely the relationship of trust that existed between the master, his gardener, and his architect but also Beckford's own skill and enthusiasm as a landscape architect. The result was one of the most innovative and captivating examples of garden architecture to be seen in early nineteenth-century Britain, which provided a grand finale to his brilliant career.

It was entirely in character that the Caliph on Lansdown gave audience to visitors only when he was in the mood for seeing them. Yet he was then liberal with his courtesies and hospitality. Allowing them to feast their eyes on the varied, bucolic charms of the mile-long walk, he himself would often remain at the Tower, and invite them indoors for a conducted tour of the structure, a prerogative not necessarily enjoyed even by the most distinguished.

What is, then, the inference to be drawn from this beautifully landscaped domain with the tower as its polestar? What did it mean to Beckford? Above all, it was a markedly personal style of creation; it represented his deep yearning, in his own idiom, for Arcadia, which was as much a necessity to him during his twilight years as it had been in his youth.

I fear I shall never be...good for anything in this world, but composing airs, building towers, forming gardens, collecting old Japan, and writing a journey to China or the moon.<sup>28</sup>

As he had prophesied in his early twenties, the two activities of 'building towers' and 'forming gardens' never left him for the greater part of his life. To Beckford the combined achievement of building and gardening became an outlet for a suppressed artistic temperament, being an outward expression of his inner truth. I have suggested that the setting of Lansdown Hill may have provided him with the incentive to indulge his love of gardening and building. As an experienced landscapist, he had learned to consider building, vegetation and grounds as the essential ingredients of an organically

unified work of garden architecture. Having realized the scenic possibilities offered by the uncultivated stretch of the Hill, he could now regard it as a new realm for the attainment of his ideal, which was that of the total rural environment, enjoyed as a visual, dreamlike experience.

It should be recollected that for Beckford the realms of fantasy and imagination, like the realm of art, had always possessed as solid a reality as the world of everyday life.<sup>29</sup> There is no doubt that nostalgic recollections of his adolescence inspired him to create in Bath a little world of his own in which to live his sequestered life, a life of romantic and contemplative seclusion. In this respect Beckford was a quintessential romantic, forever living out the self-conscious role of the eternal child. In reflecting upon childhood as the primary source of happiness, he may have anticipated the Wordsworthian outlook in *The Prelude*. His dreams, however, unlike Wordsworth's, were not confined to what had occurred in the past, but were representations of what should be occurring in the present.<sup>30</sup> The adult who confronted the bitter realities of life with the stigmata of childhood struggled to create and live out a vision of his own Arcadia. Yet his was not a mere theatrical expedient. His entire life and fortune were devoted to cherishing and fulfilling the poetical truth of his dreams. Some of his contemporaries engaged in similar landscape-gardening, when they created in their domains scenes like those found in paintings by Claude Lorrain, and attempted to recreate Claude's vision of an imaginary Arcadian period.<sup>31</sup> Beckford alone remained resolute and consistent in the dedicated pursuit of his ideal, from which no practical concerns could distract him. In the course of realizing his ideal, he became the incarnation of romanticism, a living legend in his own lifetime.

In life, Beckford endeavoured to be aloof from the city; in death, he was surrounded by the local citizens in the Bath cemetery, unable to escape the ordinary ways of the world.<sup>32</sup> Today, only faint remnants of his glorious achievement survive except for Lansdown Tower. Yet towards evening twilight when the western sky is tinged with a rosy flush by the declining sun, the Tower, hovering over the trees and rising into the sky, stands strong and proud in splendid isolation. Landscape architecture in Bath bore lasting testimony to Beckford's lifelong commitment to protect the realms of poetical truth against the infringement of the mundane values of conventional society.

## Notes

- 1 Boyd Alexander, *Life at Fonthill 1807-1822* (London: Ruper Hart-Davis, 1957), p. 189.
- 2 Gerge Gordon Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto I, XXII.
- 3 James Lees-Milne, *William Beckford* (Tisbury: Compton Russell, 1976), pp. 89-90.
- 4 H. A. N. Brockman, *The Caliph of Fonthill* (London: Werner Laurie, 1956), p. 185.
- 5 Lees-Milne, p. 87.
- 6 Brockman, pp. 186-187.
- 7 Philippa Bishop, "Beckford in Bath", *Bath History* II (1988), p. 90.
- 8 Christopher Woodward, "Beckford's Tower in Bath" in *William Beckford 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent*, ed. by Derek E. Ostergand (New Haven: Yale University press, 2002), p. 281.
- 9 Lees-Milne, p. 87.
- 10 Woodward, p. 282.
- 11 Woodward, "Bath: The Final Years, 1822-1844" in *William Beckford 1760-1844*, p. 391.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 391.
- 13 Brian Fothergill, *Beckford of Fonthill* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), p. 323.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 324.
- 15 Woodward, "Bath: The Final Years", p. 391.
- 16 Fothergill, p. 325.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 328.
- 18 Bishop, p. 93.
- 19 Lees-Milne, p. 99.
- 20 Bishop, p. 96.
- 21 Lees-Milne, p. 100.
- 22 Bishop, p. 97.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 26 Lees-Milne, p. 101.
- 27 Fothergill, p. 325.
- 28 J. W. Oliver, *The Life of William Beckford* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 65.
- 29 Fothergill, p. 333.
- 30 Lees-Milne, pp. 139-140.
- 31 Boyd Alexander, "William Beckford, Man of Taste", *History Today*, vol. X (October 1960), p. 691.
- 32 Woodward, "Beckford's Tower in Bath", p. 293.