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Leslie Theodore Hilliard (1905-1997)

PHILIPPA BISHOP

On 17 January 1997 Dr Leslie Hilliard died at Oakfield Nursing Home, Bath, aged ninety-one. It had been a long life full of achievement, much of it spent in the cause of caring for others. The example of his father, a doctor working in a London practice, doubtless encouraged Leslie to pursue a similar career. From Westminster School he went to Jesus College, Cambridge, to read medicine. In 1927 he qualified at St George’s Hospital, London, and did a house job for a year. Eventually, after deciding to specialise in psychiatric medicine, he was appointed to one of the L.C.C hospitals at Hanwell.

At this point his brief first marriage was failing, and had reached the final stage of divorce when he was seconded to do a postgraduate course at the Maudsley Hospital. There he met Elizabeth Bunbury, also a consultant psychiatrist, who was to be his second wife. They married at a registry office in November 1936, and thus began a wonderful partnership between two people who not only shared a professional background but whose interests coincided or complemented each other to a remarkable degree. The partnership lasted over sixty years; Leslie and Elizabeth had just celebrated their diamond wedding anniversary in November of last year.

During the Second World war they lived in quarters in Fountain Hospital, where Leslie had been appointed to care for mentally retarded children. The hospital buildings, of hastily constructed corrugated iron, were supposed to have been put up in a matter of three weeks in the 1890s, to serve a fever epidemic. Despite these unpromising surroundings, Leslie did his best to improve conditions for the children by providing more things to occupy and interest them. He had the then novel idea of a pets corner, containing guinea pigs, rabbits, monkeys
Dr Hilliard in 1988

Photo: courtesy of the *Bath Chronicle*
and pigeons for the children to play with and look after. He continued his dedicated work at Fountain Hospital after the war, in due course rising to become Medical Superintendent. As his reputation spread for the progressive views about the treatment of the mentally retarded which he was able to put into successful practice at the hospital, he was invited abroad to lecture and advise, travelling among other places to Ceylon, Hong Kong and Toronto University.

Leslie (as Treasurer) and Elizabeth were active members of the Socialist Medical Association, committed to providing health care for all who needed it, free of charge. Their patient lobbying of Members of Parliament, and the dissemination of information through the Bulletin published by the Association, played an important part in shaping the National Health Service, as well as supplying the impetus to bring it into being.

In their retirement, from the 1960s onwards, the Hilliards were as busy as ever, if not busier. While keeping a pied-à-terre in London for a while, they came to settle in Bath, having previously bought No. 12 in the Royal Crescent. This gave them the taste for acquiring houses that had fallen into disrepair, and the profits made from the sales enabled them to tackle quite large-scale rescue operations that would have daunted a less intrepid couple.

Their most considerable enterprise of this kind came in 1972 when they purchased the semi-ruinous Lansdown Tower (originally build by William Beckford), and embarked on its restoration. By the mid 1980s they had succeeded in repairing the fabric of the building, replacing some of its original features, and creating a small museum about Beckford himself. They then very generously endowed a trust, with the aims of maintaining the Tower and Museum, as well as promoting interest in William Beckford and his works.

Another notable addition was made to the tally of museums in Bath when the Hilliards bought No. 19 King Street, where
William Herschel had lived. Here they refurbished the house and garden, and furnished the rooms as a memorial to Herschel's contribution to music and astronomy. Both Beckford’s Tower and Herschel House are now administered by the Bath Preservation Trust.

The invaluable assets that Leslie brought to their joint enterprise in these undertakings were his handyman skills, and his shrewd grasp of finance. He had always had a good head for figures, and throughout his life gave his services freely as treasurer to a number of causes, including the National Institute for Research into Mental Retardation.

Sadly, towards the end his faculties were undermined by illness. But happily he and Elizabeth could be together in the nursing home and according to his wish she was able to scatter his ashes on the hillside below Beckford’s Tower.

Beckford’s Tower, from T. H. Shepherd’s *Bath and Bristol*, 1829
A Painting of Fonthill Abbey Discovered

DAVID LONGBOURNE

Earlier this year the Curator of the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum was offered a watercolour of Fonthill Abbey by William Turner of Oxford. A picture dealer in Salisbury had been asked by the anonymous owner living in Wiltshire to sell it but nothing of its past history could be discovered. With the help of a grant of £1000 from the Museums and Galleries Commission / Victoria and Albert Museum’s Purchase Grant Fund, the picture was secured for the Salisbury Museum’s collection. Now on public display, it is a beautiful, clear-coloured painting, and quite small, about 10" × 16".

William Turner (1789-1862) was a landscape painter, mainly in watercolour. His early promise was so great that he was elected an Associate of the Royal Watercolour Society at the age of 18, but his ‘youthful ardour, promise and innocence were to be spoiled by experience and sophistication.’ In 1833 he returned to Oxford where he taught painting and produced large numbers of landscapes. He travelled extensively in search of subjects and was most fond of scenes in Scotland, the Lake District, Northumberland, West Sussex and the country round Oxford.

How William Turner came to paint Fonthill Abbey is not known but it was considered to be a marvellous subject for a painting by artists of the time and many went to paint it, including, of course, J.M.W. Turner. That I have found no mention of Turner of Oxford in any books or papers about William Beckford could possibly be because he was confused with his more famous namesake. Perhaps someone reading this can supply more information about this painting and its painter?

The author would like to thank Peter Saunders of Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum for permission to reproduce this painting and for his helpful information about the artist.
From 1777 onwards, Beckford began to show a love of travelling through literary landscapes of the melancholic picturesque and, sometimes, of the apocalyptic sublime. In *The Vision*, written in Switzerland and dedicated to his mentor Alexander Cozens, William had absorbed the central Burkean lesson that out of great fear should come divine revelation:

When on the brink of the burning earth you shrunk back with fear ... the visage of Maleficin was altered and Terminga dreaded you would share the fate of others who had in vain attempted the enterprise. Did you not remark also that instant your heart dictated a contempt of danger, the initiation was effected and you were wafted thro' the flames?¹

In 1778, French landscape provided access to apocalyptic mountain peaks on which Beckford recorded a high moment of adolescent conquest. He had been conducted by a Carthusian monk from the Grand Chartreuse, past a mountain shrine to St. Bruno, to one of the highest local peaks:

A sea of vapours soon undulated beneath my feet, and lightning began to flash from a dark, angry cloud, that hung over the vallies, and, probably, deluged them with storms, whilst I was securely standing under the clear expanse of æther. But the hour did not admit of my remaining long in this proud station.²

By 1780 in *Biographical Memoirs*, the initiation which the youth Benboaro experienced in the landscapes of Mount Etna was no mere circumnavigation of obstacles but integral to the sentimental education of the youth in pursuit of his hero, the painter Og of Basan:
The solitude ... the sullen murmur of the volcano, and all the horrors of the scene worked so strongly on his imagination, that he fancied he beheld strange shapes descending and ascending the steeps of the fiery gullies. As he ascended, Benboaro passed the struggling crucifixes erected over the graves of unhappy travellers.

By 1782 in *Vathek*, the Caliph awoke at a certain point in his travels and felt quite terrified:

‘Where am I?’ cried he: ‘What are these dreadful rocks? These valleys of darkness! are we arrived at the horrible Kaf! ...’

In the Notes Beckford associated the Kaf with the stone called *sakhrat*: at once the pivot of the earth, a vast emerald from which the heavens derived their azure and the reason for earthquakes when the stone moved one of its fibres. The Caliph’s terror at the thought of the Kaf showed his failure to appreciate it as a supreme form of the beautiful.

By 1783, having observed Vesuvius from Hamilton’s Villa Angelica at its foot, Beckford wrote *Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents* and reported in Letter XXIV of having had a reverie of two spectacles. First, there was the volcano with its liquid fire flooding the beautiful coast ‘with innumerable streams of red-hot lava’. Then there was ‘the blaze of altars’ with the robed priests supplicating by prayer and sacrifice the intervention of Isis ‘who had taught the first fathers of mankind the culture of the earth, and other arts of civil life.’ At this stage Beckford was seeing how the danger of the destructive volcano was intimately linked to the beautiful pagan rites of piety and defiance thriving in its shadow.

By 1787, Beckford had written further oriental tales entitled *The Episodes of Vathek*, all obsessed by disintegration. In the final story, there was a nightmarish sequence where the Climber (the opposite to the good Carthusian guide) led the narrator into a labyrinth of doom:
He opened a door, and made me enter, with him, into a narrow passage, not more than four feet high ... At every step I caught my feet in viscous plants that issued from certain cracks and crevices in the gallery ... the moon’s rays ... shedding light ... upon little wells that had been dug to right and left of our path. Through the black waters in these wells I seemed to see reptiles with human faces.

The apocalyptic imagery in Beckford’s writing during the years up to 1784 can be directly related to his early personal development. The young Beckford was essentially a precocious literary talent who, through London seasons and European travels, persisted in cultivating a considerable level of lonely defiance, self-absorption and arrogant contempt for his elders trapped by the importance of politics. Society was beginning to ensnare him. By 1784, Beckford as a married man became an M.P. for Wells, then quickly sought a barony with the title of Lord Beckford of Fonthill. Only scandal and disgrace were to prevent his ennoblement. When Lord Loughborough accused Beckford of corrupting the seventeen year old William Courtenay (the future Earl of Devon), English society believed Loughborough and began treating Beckford as a pariah. Doubtless the doom-laden side of The Episodes of Vathek owed much to Beckford’s increasing anxiety that in Loughborough’s human revelations may well lie personal catastrophe.

In 1787, Beckford’s family resolved to send him into exile to his Jamaican sugar estates via Lisbon. An ailing Beckford decided to go no further than Lisbon where he stayed for eight months, his first of three visits there. The British Minister, Robert Walpole, refused to receive Beckford or present him to the court of the Queen of Portugal, Maria I. By good luck Beckford was introduced to one of the Queen’s favourites, the Marquis of Marialva, who became Beckford’s devoted friend and arranged for his limited entry into the aristocratic, diplomatic, ecclesiastical and royal circles of Portugal. Beckford’s life-long gratitude to
Portugal and St. Anthony, so well expressed in his journal of the period between May and November 1787, helped him to feel safe from his many English enemies.

Beckford was in Paris on the 14 July 1789 when the Bastille fell. Revolution had its apocalyptic appeal. Radical stirrings were expressed in anonymous pieces: *Modern Novel Writing* (1795) with Pitt’s England lampooned as ‘The Isle of Mum’; and *Azemia* (1797) with its angry castigation of the idle and wasteful rich who treated their horses and dogs better that their poor neighbours. Yet Beckford’s imaginative sympathies with the climate of political revolution were not to be developed by him into further literary works. Instead he began to see himself as a patron of painters who would reflect the new age of catastrophe. The new apocalyptic pictures became an important part of the plans for Fonthill Abbey whose buildings and landscaped grounds would be Beckford’s own revolution in England.

Beckford’s main apocalyptic idea for Fonthill Abbey was that there should be a Revelations Gallery of some 125 feet long and 12 feet wide which would lead to a Revelation Chamber, with 5 foot thick walls:

- in which are to be recesses to admit coffins. Beckford’s coffin is to be placed opposite the door. The room is not to be entered by strangers, to be viewed through gratings. The floor is to be Jaspar. This gallery and room are to be over the Chapel. West is to paint all the pictures.

Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy, was promised £1000 a year while he was completing the pictures. He began producing sketches in 1796, hoping later to produce full-scale pictures and/or stained glass windows. Probably Beckford’s first interest in West was stimulated by the appearance of a version of *Death on a Pale Horse* exhibited first at the RA in 1796, a subject which had become associated with Burke’s cult of the terrible and the sublime. Writing years later (1810) to Franchi, Beckford remembered West’s version as political prophesy:
For the future I discover only phantoms stranger and more terrifying than those in the Apocalypse. Where is the mountain that will hide us from the wrath of a God justly angered by the massacres and ravages caused by our Cabinet, so coldly hypocritical and so basely mercantile? At the recollection of Quiberon and Copenhagen, of the siege of Saragossa and the sack of Evora, on imagining the Russian horrors in Finland, we are forced to expect a day of vengeance ... this terrible day ... will not dawn on Windsor or London, for the Bank, Palace, Castle and cathedrals, all will have vanished. Over deserted, smoking plains pale Napoleon will be seen galloping. It will be West’s Apocalypse, his Triumph of Death, painted in the same terrible colours, a mingling of mire and blood. To such scenes is our fine reign of every kind of borrowing leading us.9

Beckford’s patronage of West may well also have been linked to the fact that George III had commissioned West for an iconographical programme from Revelations in the Royal Chapel at Windsor.

West’s first apocalyptic design for Beckford was probably St Michael which had the Archangel shown with great wings, a golden cuirass and plumed helmet and his defeated adversary given bat wings, a subhuman head and a spiralling tail. In another sketch, A Mighty Angel Standeth Upon the Land and on the Sea, the Angel stood in a contraposto position with the rainbow above him, a book in one hand and an arm raised to heaven. A companion sketch for A Mighty Angel was The Beast Riseth Out of the Sea which showed the Great Red Dragon passing the sceptre of power to the Beast, while a woman holding a child in her arms was beseeching mercy: a most grotesque depiction of the gross abuse of power. There was the sketch of The Woman Clothed with the Sun Fleeth from the Persecution of the Dragon with its vivid contrast between the graceful beauty of the woman,
baby and attendant angels, and the grotesqueness of the demonic forces erupting from below. A West design, probably intended as a cartoon for a painted glass window, was *John Called to Write the Revelation*; West’s John was an athletic young man with a quill in his right hand and a scroll in his left on an island beside an enormous eagle and before the vision of Christ, in the midst of the Seven Golden Candlesticks, commanding his young disciple to write.\(^{10}\) *The Angel in the Sun* was the last of West’s apocalyptic sketches for Beckford.

West’s enthusiasm for the apocalyptic did not originate from Beckford. West drew his own mystical inspiration from the millenarian circle of the Rev. Jacob Duche, a fellow American and devotee of Emanuel Swedenbourgh. Beckford’s reservations about West were technical. He could not help noting West’s unsatisfactory progress in the Royal Chapel at Windsor. The problem with West was inability to develop sketches into full-scale pictures. On 1 November 1797 Wyatt, the architect of Fonthill Abbey, said that Beckford admired West’s sketches for their visionary vitality but doubted if such power would survive in the large finished pictures.\(^ {11}\) Later Beckford discussed with Lansdown his reservations about the painting of West:

\[
\text{the original spirit evaporated long before the completion of the great tame painting, where his men and women too often look like wooden lay figures covered with drapery.}^{12}
\]

West’s apocalyptic pictures were never enlarged for the Revelation Chamber at Fonthill Abbey; indeed, the proposal for such a chamber disappeared from Beckford’s plans. West’s apocalyptic designs were widely dispersed throughout Fonthill Abbey, according to Storer. Two pictures from West’s Revelations were hung in the northern tribune room. A picture of *Saint Michael overcoming the Dragon* was in the state bed-chamber off the Lancaster gallery. In a dressing room reached via the staircase that led to the Great Tower were two other pictures from the Revelations by West.\(^ {13}\)
By the mid 1820s, there was considerable controversy in the London art world about the point and value of apocalyptic pictures. Rev. John Eagles, the Bristol connoisseur, waxed polemical in verse:

... themes sublime - the fiery rain,
  Departing Lot, the blazing plain;
  Heaven’s vengeance upon Egypt dealt;
  Its blood, - its darkness to be felt; ...
  So DANBY finds, an artist’s fame.
  Learn this, ye painters of dead stumps,
  Old barges, and canals, and pumps.

John Constable became the representative of the still, small voice as expressed in his picture *Dedham Lock*:

  John Martin looked at the Royal Academy from the Plains of Ninevah, from the Destruction of Babylon, etc ... I am content to look at the Academy from a gate, and the highest spot I ever aspired to was a windmill.14

Beckford’s passion for an artist’s fire led him to admire Francis Danby’s *An Attempt to Illustrate the Opening of the Sixth Seal*. Beckford paid five hundred guineas for it in 1828. The acclaimed picture (mezzotint of 1830 illustrated opposite) lacked John Martin’s sense of historical landscape and architectural reconstructions, but it powerfully depicted a landscape alive with political allegory.15 The two figures most dramatically highlighted in the great earthquake are the King and the Slave. The King has fallen to the dust with his cross and sceptre lying at the foot of the Slave. The Slave, alone and fearless amid the fury of the warring elements, is shaking the manacles off his hands and raising his newly freed arms to the heavens. Perhaps in Danby’s picture Beckford found a compelling image of both the rebellious individual and the doomed tyrant dramatically set down in an apocalyptic landscape. The evocation of ‘the tail of a comet’ in a letter to Franchi of 19 October 1811, provides the best Beckfordian gloss on that slave’s ambition for:
... seeing this infamous realm of cruel, bitter, coarse and hypocritical brutes ended by a stroke of the tail of the comet. Ah, dear comet, suppress the suppressors, the false novelists, the false prophets, the false Kings and the false Shepherds.\textsuperscript{16} 

Danby’s emancipated slave as image must have appealed to Beckford’s personal reverie. The grand passion for self-liberation, necessarily apocalyptic in such a politically oppressive time, never led Beckford to advocate the liberation of other slaves. As a slave-owner whose vast fortunes were the direct result of slavery in Jamaica, instinctively he opposed its abolition and the destruction of his source of patronage. Perhaps if he had not neglected his own development as a writer over the many years of travel, collecting, building and landscaping, Beckford might well have been inspired to use ‘the tail of the comet’ on all kings, including the slave owners. No late stories exhibited the slightest signs of his earlier social and political radicalism.\textsuperscript{17}

Danby lost Beckford’s patronage in 1829, the year in which he exhibited two angels from the Revelations (out of four commissioned) meant to go over doors in Lansdown Crescent, Bath. The art critics pronounced anti-climax. Constable defeated Danby by one vote for a vacancy at the RA. Beckford bought Danby’s \textit{Subject from Revelation} but quickly sold it. The picture depicted a long-haired angel scaled against a murky sky, with the setting sun casting a ruddy glow over his legs.\textsuperscript{18} But Beckford’s patience with unfilled apocalyptic commissions was waning. Even the once admired \textit{Sixth Seal} had been sold by the time it was on exhibition in Bristol in 1835.

Beckford chose to conjure up a picturesque idyllic landscape in his last book of 1835. In a fond vignette of Portugal, he described the occasion of the Feast of St. Anthony when he preferred Nature’s sky to a Church enclosure, thereby strongly hinting at his late latent iconoclastic tendencies towards the liturgical tradition associated with Abbey Churches:
Prayer does not always ascend with the greatest fervency from beneath gilded vaults or gorgeous cupolas ... the simple congregation assembled together in this wild and desolate place to thank the Almighty for his blessings, appeared far superior in my eyes to those pharisaic gatherings attracted to church by worldly motives and the parade of idle vanity.¹⁹

There were the views from the Belvidere of Lansdown Tower: its windows opening out on superb views of the Wiltshire Downs, the Severn Estuary and the mountains of Wales. Unlike young Beckford and the monk on the peaks near the Grand Chartreuse, now the hour permitted old Beckford and guests (well cushioned from storms) to dawdle in this proud position.

In old age, Beckford treasured two unsold West pictures which he had not commissioned. There was the one (painted c. 1788) described in *Views of Lansdown Tower* as depicting ‘a Coronation, including the ancestry of Mr Beckford’ in the Scarlet Drawing Room.²⁰ The description in Christie’s Fonthill Sale catalogue of 1822 was: ‘A Grand Mass in the Interior of St. George’s Chapel at Windsor, in which are introduced the Kings of France and Scotland when Prisoners at Windsor.’²¹ Here was the emblem of Beckford’s claim of royal descent centred on Edward III who had instituted the Order of the Garter in 1348 and who had been assigned a gallery at Fonthill. Beckford left an unpublished manuscript from his last years, *Liber Veritatis*, which was an attack on the new aristocracy who could never be his equal.

Images of storms and eruptions (which had expressed early rebellion against family tyranny and then later sympathies with revolution) ceased to pre-occupy Beckford as an old man; he was haunted by reveries of the lost peerage. Henry Lansdown has reported that West’s sketch of *Lear in the Storm: Act III Scene IV* (probably acquired after West’s death in 1820) remained one of Beckford’s favourite pictures in Lansdown Crescent.²² Did
Beckford perhaps catch a gleam of his own past energy and fire in West’s figure of the old King defiant in the full force of a storm?

Afterword: List of Beckford’s Apocalyptic Art mentioned in this article:

A. BENJAMIN WEST (1738-1820)
1. St Michael (1797), 128 x 60 cm. (Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio)
2. A Mighty Angel Standeth Upon the Land and Upon the Sea (1797), 78 x 53 cm. (Last known owner: Mrs Linden T. Harris, Penn.)
3. The Beast Riseth out of the Sea (1797), 80 x 54 cm. (Professor & Mrs T.J. McCormick)
4. The Woman Clothed with the Sun (1798), 144 x 65 cm. (Hirschl & Adlen Gallery, New York)
5. John Called to Write the Revelation (1797), 144 x 65 cm. (The Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston, Texas)
6. The Angel in the Sun (c.1801), 78 x 51 cm. (Location unknown, but pen and ink wash drawing in Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio)
7. Lear in the Storm (c.1788), 52 x 70 cm. (Detroit Institute of Arts)

B. FRANCIS DANBY (1793-1861)
2. An attempt to Illustrate the Opening of the Sixth Seal, 185 x 255 cm. (National Gallery of Ireland)
3. Subject from Revelations, 61 x 77 cm. (Robert Rosenblum, New York)

Information from:
Helmut von Erffa & Walter Staley, The Paintings of Benjamin West. New Haven: Yale, 1986. Illustrations of the pictures in this work as follows: A1, p. 396 (b&w); A2, p. 392 (b&w); A3, p. 109 (colour); A4, p. 393 (b&w); A5, p. 387 (b&w); A6, p. 398 (b&w); A7, p. 101 (colour).
Morton D. Paley, The Apocalyptic Sublime. New Haven: Yale, 1986. Illustrations of the pictures in this work as follows: A1, p. 43 (b&w); A3, p. 40 (colour); A4, p. 37 (colour); A5, p. 39 (b&w); B1, p. 175 (b&w); B2, p. 177 (b&w).

18


5 Ibid. p. 219.


10 See M.D. Paley, The Apocalyptic Sublime, 1986, especially pp. 35-47. Also this article’s Afterword.


13 J. Storer, A Description of Fonthill Abbey, 1812, pp. 16-20.

14 G. Grigson, The Harp of Aeolus, 1974, pp. 69-70. See also pp. 66-78. Beckford’s comment on Martin’s The Capture of Babylon was ‘Oh, what a sublime thing!’ in Life at Fonthill, p. 279.

15 See M.D. Paley, op. cit. pp. 172-181. Also a copy of the advertisement for the exhibition of Danby’s Sixth Seal at the Bristol Institution, Park Street, in 1835 (acquired by the British Library in 1971).

16 Life at Fonthill, p. 107.


18 See M.D. Paley, op. cit., pp. 176-7, including bibliography of Subject from Revelations.

19 Recollections of an Excursion... (Centaur ed. 1972), p. 189.


21 Lot 97 on the Seventh Day.

Ramalhão: Beckford’s First Sintra House

MALCOLM JACK

Long before Byron wrote excitedly to Francis Hodgson on 16 July 1809 that he was in the ‘village of Cintra in Estremadura … the most beautiful, perhaps, in the world’¹, Sintra had captivated poets and writers and it had been the haunt of Portuguese fidalgos who had followed their monarch to the ‘pepperpot’ chimneyed palace in the heart of the ancient village. Sintra’s attractions had always been a near perfect balance between woodland and orchard, mountain mist and ocean influence. With plentiful water from its translucent streams, it had naturally appealed to the Moors during their occupation but it was the Portuguese fidalgos, who, over the centuries, emulated the Horatian ideal of the civilised, rustic life in their well-appointed quintas or country houses on Sintra’s verdant slopes.²

Beckford first visited Ramalhão, just outside Sintra, on 9 July 1787, after several scorching months of residence in his villa of S. José de Ribamar in Belém, near Lisbon.³ His friends, the Marialvas, had just built an elegant house designed by Pillement at S Pedro de Sintra, a short distance away.⁴ Ramalhão, up for rent, was at that time owned by a wealthy lawyer, the splendidly named José Street Arriaga Brum da Silveira, of Luso-Irish extraction. The site of Ramalhão had already had a long history by the eighteenth century as Francisco Costa has shown in his elegant book.⁵ In 1470, King Afonso V granted land to a gentleman in the service of the Court, one Diogo Gomes, where the road from Lisbon meets the road from Cascais, in exactly the spot where we find the modern Ramalhão. Some fifty years later royal permission was given for the building of a house, already to be called Ramalhão, to a new tenant, Fernando Eanes Canaval, on the same site. It seems that a hospital also operated at Ramalhão and for many years a charitable institution coexisted
with the house.

Early in the eighteenth century building began on the mansion which Beckford later rented. In 1707 the owners were consulting lawyers in Sintra about renovation and rebuilding. By 1748 the house had its characteristic longitudinal dimensions. Its owner was now one Luís Francisco García de Bivar, something of a colonial hero involved in struggles against the Spanish in South America, a continent that was to figure again in the history of the house after Beckford’s time. Clearly the house suffered some damage during the great Lisbon earthquake for we find that after 1755, de Bivar’s widow is involved in rebuilding. It was probably at that time that the ‘spacious and airy’ suite of apartments that Beckford so much admired was added.

By now the mansion or quinta was of considerable proportions and it was set on a raised terrace, visible as one approaches the foothills of Sintra. Behind it the serra (mountain) rose to its jagged and majestic peak; in front a vast expanse of country stretched towards the coast. A veranda/terrace ran along the entire length of the south-east front, affording a sweeping view to the ocean in the distance. As Beckford was to discover, Ramalhão’s exposed position meant that it could be blasted by winds which, even in the height of summer, would suddenly roll across from the littoral. The air was alternately bracing or balsamic; the changes in climate seemed to reflect the disturbed and volatile mood that we find in Beckford’s _Journal_, part of which must have been written in the house.

Nevertheless, Ramalhão’s salons were grand enough for Beckfordian whimsy to operate on its usual scale. Beckford had the main room, a lofty, grand salon, done up in the oriental style. Quite intentionally, this ‘lantern-like apartment hung round with curtains of beautiful English chintz, and furnished with ample sofas’ soon had the air of the tent of a grandee at the Moghul Court. Great entertainments were arranged with music provided (at a cost that was later to shock Beckford) by Jerónimo
Francisco de Lima, a leading Portuguese composer of the day. When such excitements were not taking place, the ancient Abbade, already in his nineties, would waddle over from the Marialvas’ villa for a chat amid the snug draperies of that Aladdin’s cave while the wind whistled about outside.

Beckford’s days in Ramalhão could be solitary as well as social. It was from there that he took his rambling rides alone through the valley of Colares with its ‘scenery [that] is truly Elysian’ or up to the old Capuchin monastery with its severe relics of the hermetic life. Already we find the reclusiveness that was to become so pronounced in his later life at Fonthill. But the solitariness of these Sintra days could be balanced by sociableness when he wanted it to be: the Marialvas were nearby in S. Pedro, always ready to receive their English friend. Just to the other side of Sintra village, the opulent Dutch Consul, Daniel Gildemeester, was building the palace of Seteais, where Beckford, as a guest, describes a banquet, with its fine Cape wine and Mrs Gildemeester’s triumphant ‘dessert frame fifty or sixty feet in length, gleaming with burnished figures and vases of silver flowers of the most exquisite workmanship.’ On the way to the Gildemeesters’ was the Quinta do Relógio, the charming house of Thomas Horne, Beckford’s agent, with its terrace shaded by a lovely old cork tree and which ‘commands the most romantic point of view in Sintra.’ Down the road from Horne’s house, in a valley with verdant slopes lay Gerard de Visme’s country seat at Monserrate, with its castellated, mock-Gothic front. It was at Monserrate, on later visits, that Beckford began his experiments in landscape gardening.

Ramalhão has another important association for Beckford too. It was to this house that Gregorio Franchi, then a seminarian at the Patriarchate in Lisbon, fled in order to enjoy some privacy with his English hero whom he regaled with fine playing of Haydn on the piano forte, music which we must imagine spilling over on to the terrace and down to the lawns below. Beckford
was enthralled by Franchi’s devotion, a kind of emotional experience he had had little of at home. But such excitement had its price: when Franchi had gone Beckford says that the rooms of Ramalhão ‘wore a silent deserted appearance’.12

Beckford’s first stay in Sintra was undoubtedly a happy time in his life. Despite the frustration of the failed attempt to get presented to the Queen, there is every indication that in his own whimsical way Beckford was enjoying himself. Like many Portuguese artists and writers, like Southey and Byron after him, Beckford found Sintra enchanting. And though Ramalhão was not a perfect house -- on his very first visit Beckford had noticed its lack of chimneys, which portended badly for windy, autumnal days -- it was set in this beautiful place, near countryside that delighted him, near friends with whom he could wile away happy hours of that vivid, Portuguese summer.

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2A good introduction to Sintra’s history may be found in V. Serrão, Sintra, Lisbon: Presença, 1989.
3The name ‘Ramalhão’ may derive from the Portuguese word ‘ramalho’ meaning dead bough or branch.
4For a discussion of the exact location of the Marialva house, see F. Costa Beckford em Sintra no Verão de 1787, Sintra: Câmara Municipal, 1982. 22ff & 89ff.
5F. Costa, op. cit. This delightful book is an important source for Beckford’s stay in Sintra in 1787.
6Ramalhão was sold to Queen Carlota Joaquina in 1802 by Brum Silveira’s widow. The Queen, a Spanish Princess, was estranged from King João VI with whom she had been in exile from 1807 to 1821 in Brazil. To remind herself of happier days she had frescoes with Brazilian floral motifs painted in one of the rooms where they can still be seen. She died at the house in 1830, four years after the death of the King.
8Ibid. p.165. See also pp. 185, 192.
9Ibid. p. 237.
10Ibid. p. 145.
11Ibid. p. 142.
12Ibid. p. 204.
In the introduction to Views of Lansdown Tower illustrated by Willes Maddox (Bath and London, 1844), the upholsterer, cabinet-maker and auctioneer Edmund English wrote, 'It may not be generally known, that the first embellishments of this charming edifice were sold a few years ago, with the view of refurnishing the whole more classically, as it now stands'. It was in 1841 that Beckford sold through Edmund English's auction rooms1 'several paintings and much furniture from the tower ...'.2 The new furniture for Lansdown Tower, very little of which is known to survive, dates from the late 1830s and early 1840s.

Lansdown Tower (1825-27) was designed by Henry Goodridge (1797-1864) under the supervision of William Beckford himself. The oak coffer illustrated here, originally one of four, once stood in the Tower’s Scarlet Drawing Room. Its form can be reasonably attributed to Goodridge and, as with the Tower itself, it is probable that Beckford assisted in its creation. Two of the coffers are clearly shown in plate 3 of Views of Lansdown Tower, and in the accompanying text (pp. 6-7) English described them as ‘carved oak coffers contain[ing] numerous specimens of japan, elaborately inlaid with pure gold and coral.’

Although there does not appear to be any surviving documentation, it is possible that the coffers (and other 1840s furniture from the Tower) were made by either Charles Perry or Thomas Perry, both of whom were listed as cabinet-makers in Bath.3 Two pieces of evidence support this suggestion. First, in a letter written to English and dated 18 March 1839, Beckford referred to a bookcase design received that morning from Goodridge. Beckford had agreed to have the capitals cast to
prevent ‘great inattention when Parry [sic] begins his work.’ Secondly, both Charles Perry and Thomas Perry were subscribers to *Views of Lansdown Tower*.

Over seven days, starting on 20 November 1845, English and Son sold the ‘SPLENDID FURNITURE, CABINETS, PAINTINGS ... THE PROPERTY OF THE LATE WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQUIRE;’ On the final day, lot 520 was:

A pair of superb trunk-headed coffers, of Riga and pollard oak. These cabinets are of singularly fine design - the tops are curiously panelled, and studded with large square water gilt nails; they are enclosed with plate glass doors; and are intended for the display of rare objects. The pedestals on which they stand have arched recesses; the sides are intended for books; and are enclosed by doors. Five feet 9 inches high, by 3 feet 4 wide.

Lot 521 was ‘A pair of ditto, exactly to match; except that in one of the pedestals are ten drawers.’

It is possible that Beckford was not at first convinced by the innovative design of these coffers. This might be an explanation for the appearance of four examples of virtually identical description and almost the same dimensions in the 1841 sale, lots 24 and 25. Lot 24 was:

A PAIR of SARCOPHAGUS-HEADED COFFERS and Stands, of Riga and Pollard OAKS, 3 ft. 4 wide, 5 ft. 5 high. – This pair of cabinets are singularly beautiful in design and workmanship, and every part is finished with the greatest possible care, and the carving is most minute and exquisite. The coffers are intended for rare China, and are lined accordingly with rich silk and each enclosed with a glazed door framed in or-molu gilt. The Pedestals of the under Cabinets open, with shelves for Books, &c.
It is conceivable that the coffers on stands offered in 1841 were slightly simplified and indeed earlier versions of those which were to furnish the Scarlet Drawing Room (illustrated opposite). If, on the other hand, the coffers described in the 1841 and 1845 sales are the same pieces, either they failed to sell or Beckford had a change of heart and decided to keep them.

In any event, a letter dated 19 May 1841 from Beckford to English clearly referred to additional work on what can be taken to be the coffers finally used in the Tower. Beckford described a distinctive detail absent in the 1841 description, ‘I must urgently recommend the gilt mouldings studs &c of the Coffers to your immediate & most perseverant attention - it would be provoking indeed to be delayed on account of them ...’.6

The ‘trunk-headed’ coffer illustrated here, probably completed in May or June 1841, is an exciting addition to the small group of furniture which has been identified from the last phase of furnishing at Lansdown Tower.

1 'LANSDOWN TOWER, BATH / CATALOGUE / OF/ VALUABLE PAINTINGS, / Magnificent Cabinets, / AND / SPLENDID FURNITURE ... SOLD BY AUCTION, / BY / Messrs. ENGLISH & FASANA ... Jan. 4th, 1841, and following day, ...

4 The letter, in a private collection, was written from Park Street and is signed ‘WB’. Philippa Bishop has noted that during the 1830s Beckford contemplated buying a property from a Dr Parry, but this is unlikely to be the person referred to in Beckford’s letter (see ‘Beckford in Bath’ in Bath History II, 1988. P. 103).
5 Other notable cabinet-makers who subscribed to this work included Robert Hume, William Smee, Thomas King and William Pocock.
6 Yale University: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Although English included cabinet-making among his services, it is as likely that Beckford was writing to him in the capacity of an agent. I am most grateful to Clive Wainwright for supplying a copy of Beckford’s letter.
Situated in Fonthill Old Park, Beckford’s tunnel and grottoes sadly remain overshadowed by the spectre of the Abbey site. However, they provide an evocative reminder of Beckford’s early creative vision at Fonthill. In contrast to the Abbey these features appear to provide a clear indication of Beckford’s early spiritual affinities with the underworld, and almost certainly represent an extension of Beckford’s passion for subterranean entertainment during the 1780/1790s. Above all, there is evidence to suggest that these features may also have served to induce a state of spiritual enlightenment.

Beckford expressed an early fascination for the underworld in his manuscript, *The Long Story*, 1777. This related a rites of passage through grottoes and caverns in order to consult nature and attain spiritual enlightenment. This romantic vision of the underworld later found more tangible expression in the Christmas festivities of 1781, the year in which he came of age. The extraordinary transformations made to the interior of Fonthill Splendens by P.J. de Loutherbourg gave the impression that one was descending into another world, prompting Beckford to remark, ‘the solid Egyptian Hall looked as if hewn out of a living rock...I still feel warmed and irradiated by the recollections of that strange, necromantic light which Loutherbourg had thrown over what absolutely appeared a realm of Fairy, or rather, perhaps, a Demon Temple beneath the earth set apart for tremendous mysteries...it was in short, the realisation of romance in its most extravagant intensity’.

Such attractions were not unique. For instance, a similar scheme was proposed by the inventor, J.J. Merlin, for his own museum, which by 1788-9 had become one of the major attractions in London. Between 1785-91 he invited subscribers to contribute towards the establishment of ‘Merlin's Necromatic
Cave’, and although the cavern never became reality, several exhibits in the museum were related to the scheme. These included a mechanical ‘artificial bat’ and also a model for ‘Merlin's cave’, both appearing in the Museum catalogue in 1794. A handbill of the proposal reads as follows:

“Plan: 1. On Entrance...In the centre of the Saloon will be the NECROMANTIC CAVE, on which the Automaton figure of AMBROSIOUS MERLIN will be feated; holding in his Right-hand a Leaden sceptre, or conjuring rod, a symbol of his abfolute power, by which he will apparently animate all inanimated things, fuch as chairs, Paintings, and magical looking-glaffes.

2. Under the Entrance to the cave will be a dark subterraneous cavern ten feet deep, wherein the Author will make ufe of his fuppofed Necromantic Power, in imitation of the celebrated AMBROSIOUS MERLIN, called the NECROMANCER...By an extraordinary Difplay of Mechanical Ingenuity, the Prince of Darknefs and Chief of the Devils, will be disovered in a deep, extenfive and tremendous Cavern, which will also contain all the furies and infernal Harpies”.

Although there is not necessarily a correlation between Beckford’s entertainments and Merlin’s intended scheme, it is interesting to note that both men shared a mutual artistic liaison in the figure of Loutherbourg. Loutherbourg was one of the few artists to establish a working relationship with Merlin. The 1781 production of Eidophusikon benefited from mechanical improvements devised by the inventor, helping to make it one of the most popular productions of its day. These included a stage of illuminated pictures opening with mechanical objects and figures. These kinds of developments in visual entertainment were exploited by Loutherbourg and must have provided the catalyst for Beckford’s own entertainments at Fonthill; more so because Eidophusikon in particular ‘showed Satan arraying
troops on the banks of a lake with Rising Pandemonium’.

However, it is also interesting to consider that the concept behind such thematic entertainments may not have been intended purely for artistic effect, but motivated instead by recent theological developments. For instance, Loutherbourg was one of the first subscribers to a theological doctrine which also captured the interest of William Blake - Emanuel Swedenborg’s New Jerusalem Church. In this light, could Loutherbourg’s transformations of Splendens have been an expression of his religious beliefs, in other words, an expression of the visionary writing of Swedenborg? Similarly, could this in turn provide an explanation for the creation of a tunnel by Beckford, engendered for spiritual enlightenment?

Beckford would certainly have been familiar with Swedenborg’s theology as the Fonthill library contained an edition of his book, *Heaven and Hell* (lot no. 1057, 1823 sale). This is particularly interesting because it provided an ideology similar to Beckford’s, assimilating his two great interests, the spiritual and the natural worlds. In particular, this text concentrated on an internal vision, or ‘correspondences’, as Swedenborg called them, with the spiritual world which he believed was contained within all men. Beckford must have been fascinated by the fact that Swedenborg had supposedly managed to enter both the realms of heaven and hell whilst corresponding with the spirits.

As we have noted, in *The Long Story*, 1777, Beckford had himself expressed the need to undergo a rite of passage through the underworld, in order to attain spiritual enlightenment: ‘had I not been supported by extraordinary power, I should never have ventured a mere look down on this formidable deep’⁴. In this light, it is tempting to think that Beckford envisaged the Fonthill tunnel as an essential means of evoking spiritual enlightenment, before arriving at the hermitage. This is borne out by the atmosphere and transcendental feeling that must have been induced as Beckford entered a realm of darkness, only
punctuated by the light filtering through the air shafts above. As Swedenborg wrote: 'with every man there are two gates...those who are in evil and its falsity have the gate to hell opened to them, and only through chinks from above does something of light from heaven flow into them, and by that inflowing they are able to think, to reason, and to speak'\textsuperscript{5}. Furthermore, such sensations would clearly have been compounded on arriving at the hermitage, as the spectator witnessed the kaleidoscopic painted ceiling and philosophical figures.

Thus, the subterranean features of Fonthill Old Park offer an intriguing insight into how Beckford's fascination with the underworld, first conveyed through his writing and theatrical entertainments, were then extended into his own landscaping.

\textsuperscript{1} John Britton describes it as: 'the basement storey, which was rusticated to the height of thirteen feet, contained an arched Egyptian Hall, eighty-five feet ten inches in length...supported by immense piers of solid stone', \textit{The Beauties of Wiltshire.} London, 1801.

\textsuperscript{2} J.W. Oliver, \textit{The Life of William Beckford}, 1932, p. 89. (Based on a letter dated 9 Dec 1838, an appendage to a transcript of letter to Louisa written in the Spring of 1782.)


\begin{flushright}
‘A Scene in the Alpine Gardens’
from Rutter’s \textit{Fonthill}, 1823
\end{flushright}
Keszthely

JON MILLINGTON

At the western end of Lake Balaton in Hungary lies the small town of Keszthely, a popular resort in the summer. Visitors come for the sailing and to see the magnificent Festetics Palace, rebuilt in baroque style in the 1880s (illustrated opposite). It is of interest to Beckfordians because one of Beckford's great granddaughters spent most of her life here.

She was Lady Mary Douglas Hamilton (1850-1922), only daughter of William, 11th Duke of Hamilton (only son of Beckford's younger daughter, Susan) and Princess Mary of Baden, cousin of Napoleon III. Lady Mary's first marriage to Prince Albert of Monaco in 1869 proved disastrous, although she bore him a son from whom Prince Rainier is descended. When the union was finally dissolved in 1880, she married Count Tasziló Festetics of Hungary.

Three years later the Count took over the Keszthely estate and at once employed a Viennese architect to remodel and double the size of the former castle, adding a handsome bulbiform tower influenced by the Zwinger in Dresden. On either side of the gate under the tower are the Hamilton and Festetics coats of arms in stone. At the same time the Count created an English park for his wife. Did it, perhaps, remind her of the High Parks of Hamilton Palace, stocked with the wild-looking Cadzow cattle? Earlier this century generous but unwise gifts of land to Keszthely families, to persuade them to stay, greatly reduced the size of the estate.

The palace continued to be occupied by the Festetics family until the Second World War when it was badly damaged. Since then the palace has been beautifully restored, and contains many portraits; in the Rose Saloon Lady Mary, painted at the time of her marriage by Henrik Angeli, is flanked by charming portraits of her and her brother as children.
If Mary inherited her great grandfather’s love of books, she would have been delighted by the only room in the old castle to remain unaltered in the 1880s rebuilding, the Helicon Library, one of the finest aristocratic collections in Europe. It was created at the beginning of the 19th century by György Festetics, the Count’s great grandfather, who founded at Keszthely in 1797 the first agricultural college in Europe.

Walking round the palace and grounds today, one gets the impression that Count Tasziló did his best to make Mary happy, and the atmosphere of the place suggests that he succeeded. He was much loved by his tenants, and in 1911 Franz Joseph I created him a duke. When he died in 1933, he joined Mary in the Festetics family mausoleum in St Nicholas’ Cemetery, Keszthely. All descendants from the four children of the marriage (all born in the 1880s) are, of course, directly descended from Beckford.
Rice Pudding à la Vathek

PAT MILLINGTON

While browsing through a copy of Eliza Acton's *Modern Cookery for Private Families*, (1855), I was interested to see a recipe for 'Rice Pudding à la Vathek'. This inspired me to try the recipe myself, and also to find out a little more about the author.

Eliza Acton, the daughter of a brewer, was born in 1799 and spent her early life in Suffolk. At first her literary talent was directed towards writing poetry but, while spending some time in France because of her health, an interest in cookery may have been aroused. When a publisher said he would rather have a cookery book than further verses, she embarked on *Modern Cookery for Private Families*. This was written for the middle class housekeeper, and as she was unmarried and catering for a small household, her recipes are easier to adapt today than those of some of her contemporaries.

In the early 19th century, although men might eat out at their clubs, or at an inn when travelling, this was not done for pleasure and certainly not often by women. However, the new railways were changing life by distributing goods over the entire country. Also, Eliza spent her adult life at Tonbridge and Hampstead, sophisticated places where she would have found a range of ingredients such as imported fruits or ready made sauces available as never before. This resulted in a book which was ahead of its time.

Elizabeth David felt that *Modern Cookery* was a book to read rather than merely to look up recipes in, as Eliza added notes to her recipes, comparing different methods and explaining why those she gave were the best. In nearly every case she had tried out the recipe at home and gave detailed instructions. Her book is very readable, and maybe Eliza's early poetic skills surfaced in the imaginative names she gave some of her recipes such as
'Fashionable Apple Dumplings' which are boiled in little knitted cloths, and 'Publisher's Pudding' which 'can scarcely be made too rich' contrasting with 'Poor Author's Pudding'. 'Rice Pudding à la Vathek' was probably inspired by the current fashion for anything Oriental, being a *turban au riz*. Although *Modern Cookery* was first published in 1845, this recipe did not appear until the revised edition of 1855.

In some ways Eliza Acton was unfortunate to have been writing at a time of rapid change, with the Industrial Revolution bringing commercial products such as custard powder which were greatly to alter people's attitude to cooking. Even so, her book was frequently reprinted and it was not until 1918 that Longman's let it lapse.

Throughout her life Eliza complained of the many authors who plagiarised her work, and in 1861, the year after her death, *Mrs Beeton's Household Management* was published. It, too, contained some of Eliza's recipes, though they were unacknowledged. Although Mrs Beeton died very young, a series of books on cookery and kitchen management came out in her name, compiled by a number of authors. These books were so popular as kitchen manuals that 'Mrs Beeton' became a household name, her books being found in most kitchens in the country.

Now that people are again becoming interested in the
technicalities of cooking, maybe as a reaction against too many convenience foods, perhaps Eliza Acton, with her detailed observations and advice, will be read again for enjoyment as well as instruction.

Some notes on how to make 'Rice Pudding à la Vathek'

This recipe gives six quite generous helpings and was written before the introduction of the Imperial pint. Here one pint equals 16 fluid ounces.

To save time and energy, almonds can be prepared in an electric grinder and castor sugar used.

If you cannot find bitter almonds, apricot kernels can be substituted. Otherwise add a little almond essence. (In France the term almond is used loosely to include the stones of apricots or peaches.) Hydrocyanic acid, poisonous in large amounts, gives bitter almonds their distinctive flavour.

Carolina rice is short-grained pudding rice.

Simmer in a thick-bottomed pan as slowly as possible for at least 20 minutes.

Continue with butter and sugar for about 40 minutes, when it will be very thick and sticky.

Make into a paste using a hand blender or a wooden spoon.

Press into sides of 8 inch diameter and 2 inch deep spring clip ring tin with loose bottom which has been very well greased.

Chill.

Run a knife round, release the clip and remove the ring carefully. Then run the knife underneath and ease on to an oven-proof plate.

Brush with melted butter.

Bake at regulo 5 or 6 for 30 to 40 minutes until golden brown. Watch the temperature to avoid uneven browning.

As jam might be too sweet, fill with stewed apricots. These can be spun out by thickening the juice with cornflour.
RICE A LA VATHEK, OR RICE PUDDING A LA VATHEK.

(Extremely Good.)

Blanch, and then pound carefully to the smoothest possible paste four ounces of fine Jordan almonds and half a dozen bitter ones, moistening them with a few drops of water to prevent their oiling. Stir to them by slow degrees a quart of boiling milk, which should be new, wringing it again closely from them through a thin cloth, which will absorb it less than a tammy, and set it aside to cool. Wash thoroughly, and afterwards soak for about ten minutes seven ounces of Carolina rice, drain it well from the water, pour the almond-milk upon it, bring it very slowly to boil, and simmer it softly until it is tolerably tender, taking the precaution to stir it often at first that it may not gather into lumps nor stick to the pan. Add to it two ounces of fresh butter and four of pounded sugar, and when it is perfectly tender and dry, proceed with it exactly as for Gabrielle's pudding, but in moulding the rice press it closely and evenly in, and hollow it in the centre, leaving the edge an inch thick in every part, that it may not break in the oven. The top must be lightly brushed with butter before it is baked, to prevent its becoming too dry, but a morsel of white blotting paper will take up any portion that may remain in it. When it is ready to serve, pour into it a large jarful of apricot jam, and send it immediately to table. If well made it will be delicious. It may be served cold (though this is less usual), and decorated with small thin leaves of citron-rind, cut with a minute paste-cutter. The same preparation may be used also for Gabrielle's pudding, and filled with hot preserved fruit, the rice scooped from the inside being mixed with the syrup.

Eliza Acton's Recipe

Editor's note. This recipe is well worth trying, and the result is a tasty ring of baked rice with an almost cake-like consistency. You can fill the ring with the fruit of your choice.
The question as to whether William Beckford was, in the words of Henry Venn Lansdown, 'the pupil of Mozart', is of considerable interest. Most biographers accept that he was. Guy Chapman, for instance, says, 'the latest musical prodigy of London, an eight-year-old Viennese, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, was brought to Soho Square to drum five-finger exercises into its junior's head, to such effect that some seventy years later, whether by the inspiration of old age or perhaps merely because it was true, the pupil laid claim to the invention of the air of Non piú andrai. Other writers have been more dismissive. In the absence of conclusive evidence we must consider the balance of probabilities.

All references to Beckford and Mozart derive from two sources: Cyrus Redding and Henry Lansdown. Both are from the later part of Beckford’s life in Bath. Redding’s statements relate to a period in 1834-5 and Lansdown’s in 1838, both more than seventy years after the events they describe and in some details contradictory. The only other reference to Beckford and Mozart is in a copy made by Beckford in 1838 of a letter to Louisa Beckford. Writing of Burton’s compositions, Beckford says they have 'a cast of that wildness and energy I used to admire so much in those of that moonstruck, wayward boy Mozart.' This does not appear in the original version in Louisa’s Copy Book, which shows the letter’s date as 14 July 1781.

Cyrus Redding states, ‘it may be remarked that at a very early age Mozart visited the Lord Mayor Beckford in London and Fonthill, and been entertained by him with the elder Beckford’s usual hospitality. The son was then not more than seven or eight years of age. At that time he [Mozart] so much pleased the boy
that he took a liking to the renowned musician, and afterwards
determined to take lessons from him. When the musician had
gone to Vienna, he paid that city a visit in order to see him
again.4 Beckford told Henry Lansdown that, 'My father was
very fond of music, and invited Mozart to Fonthill. He was eight
years old and I was six. It was rather ludicrous one child being
the pupil of another.5

On 23 April 1764 Leopold Mozart, his wife Anna Maria, his
son Wolfgang Amadeus and his daughter Maria Anna arrived in
London as part of an extended European tour that was to last
nearly three and a half years.6 The tour was designed to exploit
the talents of the children and to reap such rewards as these
prodigies might earn. A performance was given before George
III and Queen Charlotte on 27 April by Wolfgang and his sister.7
Further royal performances and private and public concerts
followed. A concert in Hickford’s Great Room, Brewer Street,
on 2 May, was advertised as including ‘Concerto on the
Harpsichord by Master Mozart, A Boy who is Seven Years old,
and allowed to be a Prodigy for his Age.’8 This was one of many
such performances. Wolfgang was 8½ years old but Leopold
deliberately said his son was younger to create more interest.

Having spent the first night in London at the White Bear,
Piccadilly, the family lodged at Cecil Court, St Martin’s Lane9
until 6 August when, owing to Leopold becoming ill, they
moved to Fivefields-Row, Chelsea. It was here that Mozart
composed his first symphonies, probably K16, 19 and 19a & b.
Leopold wrote on 9 August, ‘I am now in a spot outside the
town,...It has the most beautiful views in the world.’10 Chelsea
was still a village and considered a very healthy place. Upon
Leopold’s recovery the family returned to London, and from 28
September until they left on 25 July 1765, they stayed at 15
Thrift Street (now Frith Street), Soho. ‘...they did not leave the
London area during their English sojourn.’11 It follows that there
could have been no visit to Fonthill.
Leopold’s letters reveal that money was his constant concern and that he was much preoccupied with rewards, costs and profits. In a letter of 8 June 1764 he writes of ‘the shock of taking one hundred guineas in three hours.’ On 13 September, while recuperating, he writes, ‘Once I leave England, I shall never see guineas again. So I must make the most of our opportunities.’ The enforced ‘lay-off’ due to Leopold’s illness must have had an adverse effect on the family’s finances. On 11 March 1765 the Public Advertiser announced a concert and, referring to the ‘prodigies of nature’, said that every day from 12 to 3, visitors could visit the Mozarts’ lodgings in Thrift Street, hear the prodigies perform in private, test them and buy concert tickets. Similar daily arrangements were advertised during the remainder of the Mozarts’ stay.

It is only a short walk along Frith Street to Soho Square. Considering Leopold’s apparent keenness for financial gain, and that he had met Lady Effingham, the Alderman’s sister, it is likely that he would have arranged for his son, now nine years old, to visit the Alderman’s home in the Square and to give young William some instruction. Mozart was perfectly capable of carrying out this work, having already written symphonies, the violin sonatas (K10-15 and 26-31) and other works. But how was Beckford able to assimilate such instruction? We know that his learning ability was advanced for his years, and as I have stated elsewhere, he could well have started music lessons at an early age with Benson Earle, the Salisbury Cathedral organist. So a child of nine teaching a child of five might not be so ‘ludicrous’.

Beckford told Redding that ‘the fine air “Non piu Andrai,” in the “Marriage of Figaro,” was originally struck out as a theme, during one of his lessons, on which the pupil was to compose variations.’ On the same subject Lansdown quotes Beckford, ‘he [Mozart] wrote to me saying, “Do you remember that march you composed which I kept so long? Well, I have just composed

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a new opera and introduced your air.” Lansdown asked, ‘In what opera?’ and was told the Nozze di Figaro and Beckford played the air to him.19

It is quite possible that the tune was used in the course of the lessons and later reused by Mozart. Non piú andrai appears in the opera at the end of act one, when Cherubino is given his warrant to join the army and his companions tell him he must give up his life of pastimes and pleasure, and embrace that of a soldier. ‘Some day you’ll come back victorious’, etc. It is a relatively simple tune and has been described as ‘rhythmically quite unlike anything that Mozart is known to have written in 1764 or 1765.’20 It is curious that Beckford claimed to have originated it; although this may seem unlikely, it is by no means impossible.

Evidently the theme was important to Beckford. Redding writes of him having preserved the music ‘and used to exhibit to his friends with exultation, never failing to sit down to the piano, singing the air, and accompanying it himself on the instrument with great spirit.’21 Lansdown relates that ‘Mr Beckford opened a piano, and immediately began what I thought a sort of march, but soon I recognised “Non pìu andrai.” He struck the notes with energy and force, he sang a few words, and seemed to enter into the music with the greatest enthusiasm; his eyes sparkled, and his countenance assumed an expression which I had never noticed before.’22 Beckford was also given to quoting from the text, as in a letter to Franchi on 10 October 1807, ‘Let us march to victory, to military glory.’23 and on 10 February 1819, ‘like Cherubino in Mozart’s Figaro – “to victory, to military glory”.’24

Non pìu andrai seemed of some importance to Mozart also. He began composing The Marriage of Figaro in Vienna in October 1785, and it was first performed there on 1 May 1786.25 The tune was used again in Don Giovanni, first performed the following year. It is played by the stage orchestra in the last act,
during the banquet scene. Leporello comments, ‘Now that is a tune I know only too well!’ Mozart used it yet again in one of his sets of Contredanses, K509, composed about 1787-8.\textsuperscript{26}

Evidence of Beckford’s relationship with Mozart is, at best, somewhat tenuous. There are gaps in our knowledge of Beckford’s European travels and confirmation of his visit to Vienna is lacking. As regards the letter he was claimed to have received, it has been said of Mozart’s letters, ‘The surviving correspondence must be considered incomplete. Numerous letters and other documents make reference to correspondence that is now lost’.\textsuperscript{27} This could also be true of Beckford’s letters. In the end the only tangible thing we have is \textit{Non piu andrai} and what resonances it may have.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Henry Venn Lansdown, \textit{Recollections of the late William Beckford}, 1893. Kingsmead reprint, [1970], p. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Guy Chapman, \textit{Beckford}, 1937, p. 35. \textsuperscript{3} Ibid. pp. 330-1.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Lansdown, op. cit., p. 33.
\item \textsuperscript{6} Maynard Solomon, \textit{Mozart}, 1995. p. 45. \textsuperscript{7} Ibid. p. 46.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Otto Erich Deutsch, \textit{Mozart, A Documentary Biography}, 1990. p.33.
\item \textsuperscript{9} Emily Anderson, \textit{The Letters of Mozart and His Family}, 3rd edn, 1985. p. 45 and note 1.
\item \textsuperscript{10} Ibid. p. 50 and note 3.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Anderson, op. cit., p. 48.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid. p. 52.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Deutsch, op. cit., p. 43.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Anderson, op. cit., p. 48.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Robbins Landon, op. cit., p. 258.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Beckford Tower Trust \textit{Newsletter}, Spring, 1984, p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Redding, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 54. \textsuperscript{19} Lansdown, op. cit., pp. 33-4.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Redding, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 54.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Lansdown, op. cit., pp. 33-4.
\item \textsuperscript{20} C. B. Oldman, ‘Beckford and Mozart’, \textit{Music and Letters} 47, April 1966, p. 112.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Redding, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 55. \textsuperscript{22} Lansdown, op. cit., p. 34.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Lansdown, op. cit., p. 34.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Boyd Alexander, \textit{Life at Fonthill}, 1957. p. 50 and note 2. \textsuperscript{24} Ibid. p. 282.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid. p. 282.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Solomon, op. cit., pp. 302-3.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Robbins Landon, op. cit., p. 277.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid. p. 161.
\end{itemize}
Editions of William Beckford’s Works
Published since 1967

JON MILLINGTON

In 1967 Robert J. Gemmett’s ‘An Annotated Checklist of the Works of William Beckford’ was published in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 61 (1967), pp. 243-258. This is a comprehensive and invaluable guide covering all Beckford’s works, and what follows is an attempt to bring his list up to date.

International Standard Book Numbers (ISBNs) have been added to the entries where possible. Coincidentally these were introduced in Britain in 1967, but without the ‘International’ which did not appear for another three years. From then, the first digit, or group of digits, indicates the language or country of origin of the text. Those relevant here are: 0 and 1, English; 2, French; 3, German; 84, Spanish; 88, Italian; 90, Dutch and 972, Portuguese.

Inevitably there will be mistakes and omissions in what follows and I would be delighted to hear from any reader who can help to make the list more complete. Information about new publications would also be equally welcome.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF EXTRAORDINARY PAINTERS
(1780)


Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters. Facsimile of 1780


DREAMS, WAKING THOUGHTS AND INCIDENTS (1783)


VATHEK (1786) and the EPISODES


Storia del principe Alasi e della principessa Firuzkah. Translation


**PORTUGUESE JOURNAL (1787-8)**


OTHER WORKS


Da Trieste alla laguna veneta con scrittori del passato. Translation into Italian and introduction by Franca Piazza. (Extracts from William Beckford, Chateaubriand, William Howells and Stendhal.) 32 colour plates. Florence: G Barbèra, 1968. NUC74-323622. Also issued in English, French and German.


