



Abbeys Real and Imagined: Northanger, Fonthill, and Aspects of the Gothic Revival

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With all the chances against her of house, hall, place, park, court, and cottage, Northanger turned up an abbey, and she was to be its inhabitant. Its long, damp passages, its narrow cells and ruined chapel, were to be within her daily reach, and she could not entirely subdue the hope of some traditional legends, some awful memorials of an injured and ill-fated nun. (Northanger Abbey 141)

I am staying my stomach with a little pleasure-building in the shape of an abbey, which is already half-finished. It contains apartments in the most gorgeous Gothic style with windows of painted glass, a chapel for blessed St. Anthony (66 ft. diameter and 72 high), a gallery 185 in length, and a tower 145 feet high. (Alexander, England's Wealthiest Son 159)

THESE QUOTATIONS DESCRIBE two very different abbeys—both of them inaccurately. Northanger Abbey is imagined by Catherine Morland through the distorting prism of the Gothic novel, while the second quotation (from a letter from William Beckford to Sir William Hamilton) describes the birth throes of Fonthill Abbey. Far from half finished, the Abbey was then scarcely begun, and the building work would not be completed for another twenty years. Between them they

illustrate something of the range of uses to which the architectural form of the abbey was put in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a range that encompassed Gothic survival, Gothic novel, Gothic ruin, Gothic adaptation, and Gothic creation. This in turn illustrates how Gothic architecture was perceived and how that perception changed, particularly during the twenty years or so between first draft and publication of *Northanger Abbey*.

Catherine Morland's excited anticipation of Northanger forms part of one of four different accounts of the Abbey provided by the novel: her own, Henry Tilney's, the narrator's (sometimes almost imperceptible from Catherine's), and the General's. Henry Tilney's extravagant fantasy (157-60) is the foil to Catherine's fevered anticipation as they approach Northanger, but also anticipates some of the artifacts that Catherine will find: in her chamber the "ponderous chest which no efforts can open" and then the old-fashioned cabinet with its undeciphered manuscripts. Her own perception of the Abbey remains heightened by association, as with "the high-arched passage, paved with stone, which already she had trodden with peculiar awe" (188). The accounts of Catherine and Henry are accordingly the most striking as the most extreme, and the tension between her anticipation and reality is doomed to end in bathos. We see this quite as much in the form of the practical modern Rumford fireplace in the common drawing room and in the office wing, where "Catherine could have raved at the hand which had swept away what must have been beyond the value of all the rest" (184), as in the more obvious humiliations of the cedar chest and the cabinet. It is especially telling that at the point of arrival at the Abbey (161), when excitement and anticipation are at last to be satisfied, a sudden shower prevents her from seeing its exterior at all. Only after her final humiliation will she see the Abbey as something other than a setting for Gothic novels—before Northanger can become "no more to her than any other house" (212).

The use of architecture in Gothic novels was long ago charted by Warren Hunting Smith. He showed how the early novels, such as *The Castle of Otranto*, contain no formal architectural description, but use buildings as background to the narrative and plot elements, as in the subterranean passage that links the Castle of Otranto to the church of Saint Nicholas. By the 1780s, the novels contained more detailed descriptions, as the properties of half-ruined castles and abbeys

played a more prominent role. Charlotte Smith's *The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* (1800) contains in the first of its linked stories a variant of Catherine Morland's fantasy—the half-ruined Palgrave Abbey, where the ostensibly widowed owner keeps his wife a prisoner. By now, the effects of written Gothic were enhanced by their landscape setting, but it is with the novels of Mrs. Radcliffe in the 1790s that the full potential of Gothic was realized. Udolfo is “probably the most interesting building which the Gothic romances have to offer” (Smith 110-11), and her descriptions use height and contrast, light and shade to underline their sublimity and their ability to disturb her characters and her readers. Abbeys such as that of Saint Clair in *The Romance of the Forest* and the convent of San Stefano in *The Italian* would give a stronger head than that of the well-read Catherine Morland an awareness of a Gothic abbey's potential.

That tension between Catherine's expectations and the practicalities of late-eighteenth-century life in a house of medieval origin—the sort of house of which Stoneleigh Abbey is a familiar example—should be seen in the context of the peculiarly English compromise by which many of the dissolved medieval abbeys had been converted to domestic use. Northanger witnesses that compromise in its kitchen, “rich in the massy walls and smoke of former days, and in the stoves and hot closets of the present” (183). Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries large numbers of them (Mottisfont, Forde, Lacock, Bisham, Beeleigh, as a random selection) were adapted to make them consistent with developing domestic requirements. Initially, the disposal of newly dissolved monastic houses tied the Tudor merchants, courtiers, and gentry to the Henrician settlement; by the end of the eighteenth century an abbey lent an aura of age and ancient association to now long-established families.

The domestication of medieval architecture that is reflected in the description of Northanger enabled the survival of many buildings, but was a process pragmatic rather than aesthetic—a matter of compromise and practicalities diametrically opposed to the gloom and terror of Gothic as expounded by the novelists. This dichotomy is perfectly echoed in the account of Northanger. There practical achievements are nicely reflected in General Tilney's patriarchal, proprietorial pride as he takes Catherine on a tour of the Abbey, himself supplying “all minuteness of praise, all praise that had much meaning” (182). His

gratification at Catherine's awe, his vanity for the elegancies and conveniences of life at Northanger, overlay a complacent satisfaction in a settled, ordered, ancient estate.

Although Jane Austen has excited some frustration by the paucity of her architectural descriptions, the account of Northanger Abbey is perhaps the most detailed that she provides: the old porch, the courtyard plan based on the original cloister of which traces survive, and the rich Gothic ornaments on two sides of the quadrangle; the ancient kitchen, a high arched passage paved with stone, three galleries, a large and lofty hall, a broad staircase, and various large bed chambers. In addition, there are the modern elements of the common drawing room, the luxuriously fitted dining parlor, the real drawing room (noble, grand, and charming), the well-stocked library, Catherine's comfortable bedroom with its wallpaper and carpet, the office wing, and the various products of the General's improving hand (161-88).

This is a good deal more detailed than the account of her other abbey, Donwell. Despite the importance of Donwell as the seat of Mr. Knightley, it is curious that its description is limited to being "rambling and irregular, with many comfortable and one or two handsome rooms," in its old-fashioned grounds (*Emma* 358). Otherwise, Donwell is sketched merely in terms of respectability, tradition, and continuity. Even the adjectives used ("respectable . . . suitable, becoming") describe social rather than architectural qualities. This is perhaps an architectural aesthetic of propriety, with Donwell expressing the sturdy, traditional virtues and settled status of Mr. Knightley, just as Pemberley rather more eloquently speaks of the virtues and status of Mr. Darcy: a house or estate should reflect the social position of its proprietor, and architectural forms that are fluid or ambiguous, such as the villa or cottage orné, are suspect.¹ Indeed, it is no coincidence that Pevsner's summary of Austen's architectural descriptions finds her accounts of buildings "without exception vague" but her use of topography—exactly where in London or Bath her characters lived or stayed—unerring in underlining their social position. Stoneleigh Austen described as "one of the finest estates in England" (*Letters* 6 July 1813), but she does not appear to have given any more detailed account of it. Houses, what they are and where they are, anchor individuals in the social scale. In that context it is interesting that the description of Hunsford parsonage is not, beyond its prospect of Rosings, used to

extend the satire of Mr. Collins, but rather is presented as “well built and convenient” and “fitted up with neatness and consistency” (*Pride and Prejudice* 157)—that is, expressive of the solid value Charlotte Lucas obtained from her otherwise unenviable choice of husband.

General Tilney did not build Gothic, but there were many who did, and for a variety of reasons. Sometimes it was the site—as at Wyatt’s Ashridge (from 1808), where the building followed the footings of the thirteenth-century College of Bonhommes, and was described as recalling “the devotion and austerity of the cloister, as well as the generous virtues of our ancient nobility” (Todd 77). Sometimes it was the buildings on the site, as at Milton Abbey of thirty-five years earlier, one of Sir William Chambers’s rare exercises in Gothic, grafted on to the surviving Abbot’s Hall and adjoining the abbey church. Occasionally it was the importuning of the architect, as at Lord Grosvenor’s Eaton Hall (1802-12). There the architect William Porden urged his patron to choose Gothic when recasing his seventeenth-century house because it “is preferable on the scope of preserving that distinction to Rank and Fortune, which it is the habit of the age to diminish,” and because “No architecture can exceed it in the Picturesque effect of its scenery—its arcades and vaulted ceilings, its tracery windows and various embellishments which might be rendered still more various by colour and gilding. Add to all this, it appears the work of our ancestors and not of yesterday” (Acloque 305).² More often, though, and certainly until the beginning of the nineteenth century, it tended to be the patron persuading the architect rather than vice versa. So we see Sir John Soane, that most unwilling of Goths, designing the Gothic library at Stowe to house the Marquis of Buckingham’s Saxon manuscripts.³

But a recurrent thread in the choice of Gothic is concern for family pride and lineage, underlining the age and status of one’s family by providing a seat that put the visitor in mind of the medieval England to which you wished your family to be traced: hence the widespread use of armorial decoration in so many Gothic Revival houses. Illustrations of this are endless, from Strawberry Hill onward, showing the pride, sometimes mixed with insecurity, of the patron in his ancestry.

Two obvious examples are Eaton Hall and Fonthill. At Eaton Hall there were coats of arms on the turrets, over the plaster vaulted



Figure 1: *Lee Priory, Kent, as rebuilt by James Wyatt for Thomas Barrett, 1782-90, engraving from W. Angus, The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in Great Britain and Wales, 1787-97—one of the collections of engravings of gentlemen's seats in which Mary Crawford thought Mansfield Park should be included (MP 48).*



Figure 2: *Fonthill Abbey in 1825, after the collapse of the tower, engraved by Thomas Higham from a drawing by John Buckler from Nichols's Historical Notices of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire, 1836.*

ceilings of the main reception rooms, and in the saloon stained-glass portraits of ancestors and the celebrated Heraldic Lustre made by Mr. W. Collins of the Strand, containing “twelve shields with the arms of the most distinguished branches of the Grosvenor family, from the Conquest, commencing with that of William the Conqueror” (Neale). Beckford’s Fonthill Abbey, not to be outdone, was awash with heraldry. The heraldry spread throughout the building, over the furniture and silver: Beckford called the Abbey “the kingdom of the cinquefoils,” and *The Gentleman’s Magazine* took three separate articles in 1822 to attempt to describe it all. The climax was King Edward’s Gallery where “The arms of the sovereign founder of the illustrious order of the garter, and seventy-one knights, all within the garter, are placed in the frieze of the entablature, from all of whom Mr. Beckford is lineally descended” (Rutter 37).⁴

But there was an additional range of references available to the builder in Gothic. Your building might be something more than a house; it might be a castle, an abbey, or a priory. Medieval castles might receive fresh Gothic additions, such as John Carr’s highly effective entrance hall at Raby Castle of the 1780s; or you might even build a new castle, such as Payne Knight’s Downton of the 1770s, with its convincingly irregular exterior and equally convinced classical interiors, or Smirke’s Eastnor, at the end of our period.

Abbeys, however, introduced an ecclesiastical allusion that spoke not merely of age but of Catholicism, of monks and monkish practices, of abuses theological and otherwise, of superstition and mystery. There was a wealth of such buildings, whether surviving as ruins—Netley (visited by Jane Austen in 1807), Tintern (of which Fanny Price had a transfer in the East room at Mansfield Park [*Mansfield Park* 152]), Fountains, and a host of others familiar to the picturesque tourist—or converted to domestic use in the sixteenth century. These were ideal for a little Gothic embellishment, such as had been given by Sanderson Miller to Lacock Abbey in the 1750s, and as was to be given by Byron’s successor Colonel Wildman to Newstead Abbey in the 1820s. And if you had not inherited such a property, you might create one, as did Horace Walpole’s friend Thomas Barrett when commissioning James Wyatt to transform an essentially early-sixteenth-century house into Lee Priory in the 1780s. Walpole praised it extravagantly (“a child of Strawberry prettier than the parent”

[*Correspondence* 111]) and also contributed a paragraph on the house to Hasted's *History of Kent*, which emphasized its picturesque qualities, its cheerfulness, and the romantic fiction of its newly assumed monastic past: the grounds "seem to form a site selected by Monks, much at their ease, with a view rather to cheerful retirement, than to austere meditation..." (174). This was no more a setting for the terror and brooding sense of evil of the Gothic novel than Strawberry Hill itself.

The cheerfulness stressed in this description underlines a fundamental division between built and written Gothic, certainly in the early years of the Gothic novel. Gothic Revival houses, while stimulating the imagination with their medieval associations, were intended to be light, airy, and cheerful—remember Mrs. Austen's surprise when she visited Stoneleigh Abbey in 1806: she wrote to Mary how she "had figured to myself long avenues, dark rookeries and dismal yew trees, but here are no such melancholy things" (*Family Record* 139). Remember also how Catherine Morland found the panes of the windows in the common sitting room at Northanger "so large, so clear, so light" (162). General Tilney and his kind did not wish to live in gloom and decay. The additional layers of allusion provided by the medieval references of built Gothic were a far cry from Gothic as used by the novelists. To them Gothic was suggestive of past events and past mysteries; Mrs. Radcliffe, for example, in her travel journals responds to Canterbury Cathedral by writing that it "looked very tall and solemn, like a spectre of ancient time, and seemed to hint of what it had witnessed" (18). In the novels the style is exploited for its qualities of otherness, as it seemed to a generation imbued with the classical aesthetic. Gothic was intricacy, mystery, verticality, irregularity, complexity, darkness, and chiaroscuro—qualities of the sublime, whereas built Gothic was still aspiring to the picturesque. Where built Gothic deceived, it did so playfully, most obviously in the garden follies of which Blaise Castle is one example.

If written Gothic, meanwhile, aspired to the sublime, the effects of Mrs. Radcliffe and her heirs were dependent not merely on scale and height, but also on obscurity; and it was at this time, in the fifty years from 1770 to 1820, but particularly in the decades either side of the century, that that obscurity was to be undermined. For this was the great age of Gothic architecture as a subject of academic research and of popular appeal, when medieval cathedrals could be the object

not just of wonder, but of antiquarian research, and when the origin and stylistic development of medieval Gothic could be charted. From Bentham's influential *History of Ely Cathedral* of 1771, with its early account of Gothic, to Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* of 1815, which finally established the nomenclature of the Gothic styles, there was a flood of publications on medieval architecture. There were contributions from scholars, antiquarians, clerics—Grose, Warton, Milner, Whittingham, and innumerable others, including the draughtsman and polemicist John Carter and the publisher and publicist John Britton. Indeed, in his *Chronological History of Christian Architecture* of 1826, Britton lists over sixty studies of the origins and development of Gothic in as many years, debating how and where it evolved: was the style brought back from the Crusades? Did it originate in England, and if so, from what? Or could it have come from France? It was an often impassioned dispute that left its somewhat bemused audience wondering why discussions on pointed arches need themselves be so pointed.

Yet it was an important scholarly debate that not only expanded dramatically knowledge and understanding of Gothic architecture, but was also addressed to a wider and wider audience on a rising tide of general interest—partly nationalistic—in England's historic architecture and antiquities. This is seen in the number of articles in journals like *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and in the flood of increasingly inexpensive books of engraved architectural and antiquarian views provided by John Britton, the Storsers, and others. As a result, Gothic forms were used with increasing accuracy: an example is the west towers of Westminster Abbey, added by Hawksmoor in the 1730s. In 1771 Horace Walpole described his work at Westminster as judicious (*Anecdotes* 44), whereas by 1813 John Carter called its stylistic impurities “a heterogenous body of architectural absurdities” (Crook 45). Knowledge had moved on. This in turn led to increasing archaeological correctness in the design of built Gothic, though that very correctness excluded something of the charm and fancy of eighteenth-century Gothic: as John Morley has put it, “the worm of sterility lay within the apple of knowledge” (163-64).

Built Gothic was no longer a matter of mystery and irrationality, and there was a large public interested in its development and achievements. All this is, of course, wholly inconsistent with the use of Gothic

architecture as the essential setting of threat and suspense in the Gothic novel. Once built Gothic had become a subject of antiquarian research and general topographical interest, its function for the Gothic novel was damaged. I would suggest that this, and perhaps the increasingly stereotyped and extreme use of Gothic settings in the novels, may have contributed toward the shift in emphasis away from the suspense of Mrs. Radcliffe—who as “a mistress of hints, associations, silence, and emptiness, only half-revealing her picture leaves the rest to the imagination” (Varma 103)—to the described horror and demonic characters of Monk Lewis and the later novelists. Written Gothic no longer had the same need of the trappings of architecture.

As a corollary, the sublimity and the scale of written Gothic were not necessarily consistent with the aspirations of the Regency patron: remember General Tilney’s pride in practical offices, and, no doubt, chimneys that do not smoke. Nonetheless, the sublime had its appeal, and the scale of much Gothic building in the early years of the nineteenth century was substantial—houses such as Wyatt’s Ashridge, or Taymouth (from 1806), both with extraordinary staircase halls, and Toddington (from 1825) are reminiscent of the Elizabethan prodigy houses of two centuries earlier, sharing their bravura, their self-assurance and their love of display—and something of their eclecticism.

In a sense it is where these extrovert dynamics override practicalities and archaeological correctness, when the fantasies of the creator are realized in a fantastical building, when the building itself takes on a fictional quality, that built and written Gothic are closest. Follies were a form that encouraged this originality and self-indulgence, not least as they were intended for display, not habitation, and their relatively small scale invited experimentation. Among country houses, Thomas Johnnes’s Hafod is interesting in this context, a Gothic fantasy set in an Arcadian landscape, hidden among the harsh, unpromising hills of Cardiganshire. Some of the Irish mock castles of the early years of the nineteenth century—Charleville Forest, Birr Castle, and Slane Castle, for example—exploit the sublime and fantastical with their wild skylines and sometimes tenuous hold on reality.

But in the decades either side of the century, one Gothic Revival house stands out from all the rest in its aspirations of sublimity, in its scale, its magnificence—and in its futility. The year 1998 is not merely the bicentenary of the writing of *Northanger Abbey*; it is also the bicen-

tenary of the first recorded use of the name Fonthill Abbey for William Beckford's extraordinary, briefly realized vision.⁵ Beckford was extremely rich, highly cultivated, a bibliophile and a collector and connoisseur of real eminence, author of *Vathek*, and socially unacceptable from sexual scandal. The architect Beckford instructed was James Wyatt, but between 1794 and 1797 Wyatt's instructions developed from a chapel to a convent building to "a little pleasure-building in the shape of an abbey." Its origins were accordingly as a folly, and this fact and the piecemeal growth of the design always conditioned its appearance and facilities. The development of the design has been charted by John Wilton-Ely, but as built, the basic plan was a cross centered on an octagon under the great tower, with an entrance hall filling the west wing, the living accommodation (some of it surprisingly modest) mostly to the south, and the great vista from south to north of St. Michael's and King Edward's galleries, a run of 312 feet past serried ranks of candles, objets d'art, and purple hangings, culminating in the rich gloom of the oratory dedicated to Beckford's adopted patron Saint Anthony.

More than any other Gothic Revival building Fonthill realized some of the elements of written Gothic. It did so in its great scale, with its tower 270 feet high; its verticality both externally and in the octagon beneath the tower; its creative use of light and shade and use of stained glass; above all its drama, consciously manipulated by Beckford. The doors of the western hall were thirty-two feet high, and for effect Beckford was said to have employed his dwarf to open them. The Abbey's extraordinary riches of paintings, books, silver, and precious objects were not shown to the public, and the grounds were enclosed by a high wall to exclude the outside world. Curiosity and rumor spread as to what mysteries were enacted within. As one visitor exclaimed, as recorded in an untraced newspaper report of 18 August 1823, "What a place this is for a reader of Romances!" On Christmas Eve 1800 Beckford entertained Nelson, returned from the victory of the battle of the Nile, with Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and the detailed account of the event in *The Gentleman's Magazine* reads like fiction. The visitors were met by thousands of lamps alongside the approach road through the woods, interspersed with bands of musicians and suitably picaresque soldiers. They dined in the Oak Parlour, which was groaning with plate; they mounted stairs lit by wax torches

held by living figures in hooded gowns; they heard music from hidden galleries, and watched Lady Hamilton perform her attitudes to great acclaim; they were dazzled by the display of silver, gold, and ebony reflected in the light of innumerable candles. "On leaving this strange, nocturnal scene of vast buildings and extensive forest, now rendered dimly and partially visible by the declining lights of lamps and torches, and the twinkling of a few scattered stars in a clouded sky, the company seemed, as soon as they had passed the sacred boundary of the great wall, as if waking from a dream, or just freed from the influence of some magic spell" (March 1801, 206-08; April 1801, 297-98).

No Gothic novelist could ask more of any abbey, but this account may well have been written by Beckford (who provided the plate that illustrates it) and records his vision of the entertainment. As a prosaic antidote to this potentially fictional construct, we need only turn to the relevant entry in Farington's *Diary*. It is far shorter, lists the main guests, says that they went to the Abbey by torchlight to dine, and concludes: "Lady Hamilton, in the evening between eleven & twelve displayed Her attitudes.—She is bold & unguarded in her manner, is grown fat & drinks freely" (1537).

The effect of the building was overpowering and could be oppressive. William Hamilton the artist described it as filling the mind "with a sentiment which is almost too much to support, certainly of too melancholy a cast to be long dwelt upon" (Farington 1452). Its completion became an obsession to Beckford—"some people drink to forget their unhappiness; I don't drink, I build" (Alexander, *Fonthill* 128).

Wyatt was killed in a carriage accident in 1813. In the meantime Beckford's income had failed, and the shortcomings of the construction were becoming more and more apparent. The tower had first fallen in 1800, only to be rebuilt, for this Gothic vision was not bricks and mortar, but lath and Wyatt's compo cement. At length in 1822 the disenchanted and financially stretched Beckford put the Abbey and its contents up for sale by auction, for it to be sold privately beforehand to John Farquhar, an eccentric gunpowder manufacturer and entrepreneur. Beckford retired to Bath. Three years later the tower, whose foundations were inadequate, finally collapsed.

The ruins lingered for some years. There is a most evocative account by Henry Venn Lansdown, attached to his *Reminiscences of Beckford*, privately printed in 1893. It records a visit to the Abbey ruins

in 1844 and combines a melancholy, elegiac tone for the richness and splendor that was lost, with repeated exclamations of awe at the scale and wonder of what remained. It reads rather like the accounts left by picturesque and sentimental travellers to, say, Tintern or Netley Abbey, but heightened by the extraordinarily compressed time scale. It even includes an encounter with an old woman at the Abbey gates, reminiscing fondly of Beckford's generosity and kindness—a curious mixture of Salvator Rosa staffage and the housekeeper at Pemberley. The Gothic Revival had now provided its own undesigned ruins, its own myth, and the Abbey was subsequently to disappear almost entirely.

And so we are left with the paradox that Northanger, for all the incompleteness of its description, is anchored in actuality: the Abbey adapted to late Georgian life, an English compromise of ancient kitchens and hot closets, of Gothic quadrangle and common drawing room. Fonthill, extravagant, theatrical, fantastical, sublime, has dissolved into fiction.

NOTES

1. See Philippa Tristram, *Jane Austen's Aversion to Villas*, in *The Georgian Villa*, ed. Dana Arnold (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996), and more generally Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Architectural Setting of Jane Austen's Novels," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 31 (1968): 404-22.
2. For a contemporary account in verse of Eaton Hall echoing Porden's arguments, see William Combe, *The Second Tour of Doctor Syntax*, 3rd ed. (London, 1820) 160-65, with a plate after Rowlandson.
3. For Soane's distaste for contemporary Gothic see David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996) 390-91. For the library at Stowe see Michael McCarthy, "Soane's Room at Stowe," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XLIV, no. 2 (May 1985): 29-46.
4. See also *The Gentleman's Magazine* XCII (September 1822): 201-04; October 1822: 317-20; and November 1822: 408-14.
5. The biographical literature is very substantial, but as a sample see Alexander; also Guy Chapman, *Beckford* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), and James Less-Milne, *William Beckford* (Tisbury: Compton Russell, 1976). More specifically for Fonthill, see H.A.N. Brockman, *The Caliph of Fonthill* (London: Werner Laurie, 1956) and Boyd Alexander, *Life at Fonthill 1807-1822* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957).

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