# Walter Fawkes, 1769 – 1825
# Patron of the Arts

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# ABSTRACT

In 1819 Walter Fawkes, a Yorkshire landowner and reformist Whig politician, staged an exhibition at his London townhouse of artworks drawn from his own private collection. It was the first display in a private residence comprised exclusively of watercolours by British artists. The event attracted great critical acclaim, not only for Fawkes, who was celebrated as a patriotic patron, but also for the artist J. M. W. Turner, whose work featured most prominently in the show. Moreover, commentators thought it a triumph for British artistic society more generally, not least by helping to promote painting in watercolour as the central component of a new national school of landscape art.

This thesis explores how Fawkes used his artistic interests and wider collection of books, pictures, and other objects, as well as events such as the exhibition staged in his London townhouse, in the promotion of his local and regional position and calls for parliamentary reform. Reform was a key word of the period, as much cultural as political, forward looking and progressive yet also retrospective, about the maintenance or restoration of established procedures and structures of society as well as their modernization. Indeed, Fawkes' advocacy of reform was wide ranging, and concerned with the maintenance of the social order at a time when the traditional authority and governance of the landed classes was increasingly challenged by a range of forces. A focus on the hitherto little studied Fawkes opens fresh perspectives on the wider culture of early nineteenth-century reform, helping, for example, to highlight its often-underappreciated significance to an understanding of contemporary artistic patronage and collecting.

In some ways, what follows is as much a biography of a particular place as an individual. Fawkes' collections were housed at Farnley Hall, his ancestral seat in Wharfedale, in the West Riding. His considerable financial investments in the improvement of the property as well as the collections displayed there were indicative of the value Fawkes placed on display and hospitality. It was a modest property in some ways, of the kind rarely featured in histories of the country house, but one Fawkes fashioned into a major cultural and political hub of national as well as regional repute.

Following an introduction establishing the motivations, methods and scope of the thesis, chapters each address individual, but related, aspects of Fawkes' extensive collections and artistic patronage. The first considers the architectural and landscaping projects, initiated by his father, and developed with a Georgic sense of beauty and use by Fawkes. The second chapter investigates the items he amassed pertaining to the Civil Wars, their display

and illustration; the conflicts of the seventeenth century having an autobiographical and political meaning for Fawkes as well as an antiquarian one. Fawkes' assembly of his art collection is the subject of chapter three and is examined chronologically, while the fourth chapter focuses on the libraries at Farnley, the book collection and the natural history and literary interests revealed there. The fifth and final chapter looks closely at Fawkes' patronage and friendship with Turner; here it is argued that the patronage of Fawkes came at a crucial time for the artist, marking a shift in Turner's ambitions and the consolidation of his pre-eminence in the contemporary art world, the showcasing of his work in the 1819 exhibition being something of a 'crowning' moment in the painter's early career.

While shedding new light on a previously little-known early nineteenth-century figure, until now only ever considered with regard to his relationship with Turner, this thesis also seeks to add to current debates around histories of the country house and collecting, highlighting the political dimensions that latter activity could at times come to have. The study furthermore brings attention to the growing importance and assertion of regional culture and identities in the period, noting the complexity of its exchanges with metropolitan society, as manifested in the exhibition Fawkes staged at his London townhouse; an event that showcased a series of views of the Farnley estate by Turner that celebrated the beauty and individuality of the local landscape under Fawkes' stewardship.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

To the memory
of Walter Fawkes, of Farnley.
Born March 2nd, 1769. Died October 25th, 1825.
He discharged the Duties of his Station, with Charity, Credit and Honour.
When invasion threatened his Country, he was found at the post of danger.
In and out of Parliament, he was the intrepid and eloquent advocate of civil and Religious freedom. Beloved as a father, trusted as a friend, and will be remembered as the promoter of literature and the patron of art.

The inscription on Walter Fawkes' ornate tomb in Otley Parish Church, Yorkshire, succinctly summarises the roles he played and the principles he displayed in his life as a country squire, Member of Parliament, patriot, father and friend, as well as patron of the arts (Figs. 1.1 - 1.2). This thesis seeks to locate this significant but now little-known early nineteenth-century collector, patron, politician, and antiquarian Walter Fawkes in his wider historical and social contexts, and to show that there was more to him than his long-acknowledged association with the artist J. M. W. Turner.

Fawkes was active in politics all his life, both locally and nationally, as a prominent advocate of parliamentary reform and wider enfranchisement.[1] However, as the inscription above attests, he was just as well known for his cultural investments. John Raphael Smith alluded to these in a portrait of Fawkes that shows the sitter surrounded by leather bound volumes and a folio of drawings (Fig. 1.3). His cultural pursuits amounted to more than the collection of books and works of art, however. They included the landscaping of the estate park, and the architectural embellishment of Farnley Hall, as well as the creation of a museum to display his collection of Civil War artefacts. He was recognised as a literary figure, publishing his own works and engaging in dialogues with prominent, contemporary authors. His library at Farnley reflected his broad interests, including volumes on history, politics, literature and natural history. Fawkes' collection of paintings was also extensive, encompassing Old Masters as well as contemporary pieces. He consolidated his reputation as a connoisseur and patron of contemporary art by staging an exhibition in his London

[1] See, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825, accessed 31 January 2023.

house in 1819, displaying his collection of watercolours by British artists, with sixty or so of the hundred works hung painted by the artist, and Fawkes' friend, Turner.[2]

Even though Fawkes invariably spent the season in London, initially renting property, and in 1819 buying a house in a prestigious area of the capital, Grosvenor Place, most of his cultural investments were displayed at his country seat, Farnley Hall, in Yorkshire's Wharfedale valley (Figs. 1.4 - 1.5).[3] The original Elizabethan house was positioned at the top of a promontory overlooking the valley of the river Wharf, and out towards the rocky outcrop of the Chevin, a renowned area of natural beauty on the opposite bank towering over the thriving local town of Otley.[4] The valley of Wharfedale attracted interest not only for the beauty the river bought to the geography of the area, but also for its history, agriculture, limited commerce, and the presence of the seats of a number of prestigious families, features described in William Mounsey's *Wharfedale* of 1813.[5] Otley and Farnley were included in Edward Mogg's publication of 'remarkable places' to visit in England, Wales and parts of Scotland, attesting to the significance of the Hall and its location.[6] When Fawkes' father modernised the Hall in 1786 he left the original Elizabethan section intact, adding a Georgian wing and creating a distinctive building of two contrasting parts.[7] The Hall remained restrained in size compared to the country seats of the nobility, though the estate, which stood at over 20,000 acres, was one of the largest in England.[8] The land had a significant acreage of fertile agricultural land, managed

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[2] Walter Fawkes, *A Collection of Water Colour Drawings in the Possession of Walter Fawkes Esq,* (London: Benjamin Bensley,1819), National Art Library, London, Box 1.38ZZ 1819. The catalogue lists twenty drawings by various artists in the Front Drawing Room, twenty sketches by Turner in the Small Bow Drawing Room, twenty drawings by Turner and other artists in the Music Room, and forty drawings by Turner in the Large Drawing Room.

[3] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1 March 1819, reports Fawkes' recent purchase of 45 Grosvenor Place.

[4] John Preston Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland* Vol. 5, (London, 1822), unpaginated.

[5] William Mounsey, *Wharfedale; or, a Description of the Several Delightful Features of that Extensive, Splendid and Fascinating Valley, interspersed with other Topographical Illustrations of its Towns and Villages* (Leeds: W. Walker, 1813).

[6] Edward Mogg, *Paterson's Roads Being an Entirely Original and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in England and Wales with Part of the Roads of Scotland etc.* (London: Longman, Hurst Rees, Orme, and Green, 1824), p. 593.

[7] Peter Leach & Niklaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire West Riding, Leeds, Bradford and the North,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 250.

[8] Marion Sharples, *The Fawkes Family and their Estates in Wharfedale, 1819-1936* (Leeds: The Thoresby Society, 1997), p. 1.

through tenant farms, as well as woodland and moorland, catering to Fawkes' passion for shooting, with the rivers Wharfe and Washburn providing excellent fishing.[9] Despite the size of the estate, Fawkes' lack of title meant he represented the ranks of modest, gentry country landowners.

Lying near the market town of Otley, Farnley Hall was strategically placed politically, significant for Fawkes' regional and national presence.[10] It was around 30 miles from York, a city with political heritage as the capital of the Council of the North, and only 11 miles from the city of Leeds, with its established cloth industry and increasing urban population of both working class and wealthy merchants. Farnley was the place where Fawkes carried out the affairs of his estate and political business, entertained, and facilitated discussions pertaining to antiquity, literature, and natural history with the likes of Charles Waterton (natural historian), Thomas Lister Parker (antiquarian and collector), and Charles Lyell (botanist and literary scholar), all visitors at one time or another.[11] Fawkes invested heavily in the property and estates, advocating agricultural improvement and taking advantage of the potential the Hall offered for artistic and aesthetic embellishment, attracting the attention of polite society. Farnley was, therefore, a stage for Fawkes' political, cultural and societal ambitions, though it was not the family seat of his birth or upbringing.

This thesis will investigate how Fawkes' cultural interests were informed by his family history and political career. Reform was a key word of the period, and a concept that Fawkes applied not only in his politics, but also to notions of wealth, status, governance, and patronage. Stephen Daniels has argued that Reform was both forward looking,

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[9] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, pp. 16-17, p. 89. Table 8 on p. 69 gives acreages under arable and pasture for 1839-1845, with a total acreage of the townships at 19,054 acres, with arable and pasture land at 13,892 acres, 72.9% of the total.

[10] The electoral district of the West Riding, that included Leeds and Farnley, was used as an electoral indicator for the rest of the country and therefore had national significance. See www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/constituences/yorkshire accessed 24 July 2019, and, E A Smith, 'The Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807: A Study in Electoral Management', *Northern History*, Vol. 2, no. 1, 1967, pp. 62-90.

[11] There is a caricature sketched by Fawkes' son of Charles Waterton, one of a number made recording visitors to Farnley Hall (Fig. 4.23); The diary of Fawkes' second wife records Parker spending time with the Fawkes family, see A. J. Finberg, *Turner's Water-Colours at Farnley Hall*, (London, Paris, New York: The Studio Ltd, 1912), pp. 2-7; For Charles Lyell at Farnley see Hamilton's entry in Joll, Butlin and Hermann's, *Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner*, p. 104.

promoting progressive change, but was also retrospective, concerned with regaining lost liberties.[12] This thesis will consider to what extent, in each area of his artistic pursuits, patronage or collecting, Fawkes acted with a Reformist agenda, looking to the past on one hand in terms of his commitment to matters of ancestry, local and family history, and on the other to the future with his progressive and modernising efforts. He advocated the continuation of the current structure of government to follow more rigidly the parliamentary principles enshrined in the 1689 Bill of Rights. He believed this return to past precepts would secure the authority granted to the landed gentry by the constitutional settlement of the late seventeenth century. In this interplay between past and present, Fawkes' cultural interests will be investigated to explore how he improved, altered or changed methods, ideologies and assumptions, in efforts to safeguard the status of the landed order and by extension his own family's position.

To date there has been no overarching study of Fawkes' cultural interests. This thesis addresses this lacuna, exploring Fawkes in his own right, examining his broader collecting and cultural practices. This will not only reveal his incentives and aspirations, but also add to the limited knowledge of the responses of landowners with more modest country houses, to the threats and challenges to wealth and status presented by the social transitions of the time. This study of collecting practices and artistic patronage also looks to enhance our understanding of how those activities were integrated with other social rituals and norms, such as hospitality and status. With Fawkes' cultural interests spread between his country seat and London town house, this thesis also investigates the influence, or exchange, of artistic ideas between the metropolis and region. Regions with particular resources or strengths often invested in public schemes promoting artistic, scientific and mechanical advancement. Fawkes was an active member of the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Leeds, a city that enjoyed the success of its cloth industry. Studying Fawkes' activity in the Society explores the cultural interaction between a regional city, important for the country's economy and with a growing awareness and confidence in its identity, and the ascendency and influence of London as a fashionable center, adding to the debate concerning the dominance of the metropolis on regional cultural affairs in the early nineteenth century.

With Fawkes' family history in Wharfedale and his political career providing the context for his cultural activities, his collecting habits and artistic patronage, this introduction will

[12] Stephen Daniels, 'Mapping the Metropolis in an Age of Reform: John Britton's London Topography, 1820-1840', *Journal of Historical Geography*, no. 56, 2017, pp. 61-82, p. 63.

begin, appropriately enough, with an account of his ancestry and a summary of his life in politics. This will help establish the wider research questions addressed by this thesis and how the issues raised by them will be approached. What follows will then close with a summary of the contents of each chapter.

## The Fawkes Family Lineage and the Wharfedale Country Seat

Walter Fawkes was born Walter Ramsden Hawksworth on 2 March 1769, and was brought up in Hawksworth Hall, south of the river Wharf near Guiseley, in Yorkshire.[13] His father, also Walter Hawksworth, had been orphaned at the age of fourteen and had grown up under the charge of Francis Fawkes of Farnley Hall, a distant relation (see Fig. 1.6 for a family tree).[14] On the death of Francis in 1786 the Fawkes family line ended and he chose to leave the estate to his charge on the condition that he take the name Fawkes and move his residence to Farnley Hall.[15] The Hawksworth family duly moved, and after his father's death in 1792, Walter Fawkes, the subject of this thesis, inherited the estate.[16]

Fawkes was twenty-three and recently returned from a Grand Tour when he came into the family's extensive estates. Having been educated at Westminster School and matriculating from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1786, the young man was well placed to manage the large estate and assume his position amongst Yorkshire's landed gentry.[17] Marrying the daughter of a local landowner the year after his inheritance, Fawkes soon saw the arrival of a family that in time amounted to four sons and seven daughters.[18] After the death of his wife a decade later in 1813, Fawkes married Maria Butler, the widow of the Rev. the Hon.

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[13] Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1894), p. 635.

[14] Alastair Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth* (Otley: Smith Settle, 1991), pp. 22-4.

[15] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, p. 19.

[16] Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History*, p. 635.

[17] See https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 26 May 2022. Email from Libby Stubbs, 14 March 2019, confirming Fawkes' attendance at Westminster School, 5 February 1781 – Whitson 1786; for Trinity College, Cambridge in 1786, see https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=hawksworth&suro=w&fir=walter&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sye=&eye=&col=TRIN&maxcount=50 accessed 18 March 2019.

[18] Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History*, p. 635.

Pierce Butler, and daughter of John Vernon of Clontarf Castle, Ireland, in 1816.[19] This marriage was without issue, with Maria outliving Fawkes after his death in 1825.

Growing up, Fawkes was immersed in his father's lifestyle. The Hawksworth family had a prestigious history with knighted ancestors, and a status considered as 'distinct county rank' from the time of Elizabeth I onwards.[20] Hawksworth Hall, the family seat, situated just over six miles south-west of Farnley on the edge of Hawksworth Moor, was maintained as a fine residence, incorporating modern features enhancing comfort and status.[21] In 1774, the older Walter Hawksworth had improved the Hall with fashionable classicising additions under the York-based architect John Carr, a figure 'who positively rioted among the Wharfedale Mansions'.[22]

From the changes made to Hawksworth Hall, which included the extension of the dining hall, the young Fawkes was brought up in a social, convivial atmosphere, where hospitality was a routine gesture.[23] This seems to have been a primary consideration when the family moved to Farnley Hall, a modest Elizabethan period building with little in the way of modern comfort or style. Carr was immediately employed to construct a new wing abutting the existing Hall, to be built in the fashionable Palladian style.[24] Incorporating a saloon, library, drawing room, billiards room and guest rooms, the new wing appeared to meet all the requirements of stylish visitors.[25] However, whilst his father planned the layout and décor of the rooms, he died leaving Fawkes to complete the furnishing.[26]

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[19] Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History*, p. 635.

[20] William Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions of Yorkshire and their Associations*, 2 Vols (Leeds: Richard Jackson Fine Art Publisher, 1888), pp. 84-5.

[21] Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth*, p. 26 refers to there being seventeen hearths in the Hall recorded in the Hearth Tax roll of 1672, the high number being an indication of the level comfort afforded.

[22] Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions* p. 84. Brian Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, Giles Worsley (ed.), (Otley: Oblong Creative Ltd., 2000), p. 51.

[23] Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth*, p. 27; Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr*, pp. 156-7.

[24] Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr*, pp. 144-5.

[25] John Loudon, *The Theory and Practice of Forming a Country Residence*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1806), pp. 70-1.

[26] Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr*, p. 145.

Fawkes enjoyed his stewardship of Farnley. He was renowned for entertaining, some evenings having upwards of forty chaises waiting on the driveway.[27] He offered excellent shooting and fishing possibilities, had interesting displays of art, and various collections for visitors to view and appreciate. He was also aware that his income was reliant on the productivity of the land and was a keen agriculturalist, researching and promoting improved techniques and breeding programmes to maximise the potential of the estate.

However, his hospitality and investment in art and collections was a heavy drain on estate finances. A trust was set-up in 1819 to protect the interests of the estate and an accountant's note of 1824 warned Fawkes of his ongoing dire financial situation.[28] The grand London property was sold and the family reverted to renting a property in the capital during the season.[29] Fawkes' overriding concern was to keep the Farnley estate in the House of Fawkes. He did not perceive this was jeopardised by his own financial management so much as by the challenge to the assumed authority of the landed gentry resulting from the social changes arising from industrialisation and responses to the American and French revolutions. With his upbringing immersed in Whig ideologies, it is perhaps not surprising that Fawkes looked to political solutions to support a situation where British landholders could still be trusted to administer respectful, good governance.

**Fawkes in Regional and National Politics**

Attending Trinity College, Cambridge, which was known for its practice of academic declamation, its habit of celebrating the 'Principles of the [English] Revolution' and the 'Whig encomium', it is likely that Fawkes met likeminded individuals and honed his political principles, becoming committed to parliamentary reform.[30] Fawkes was first mentioned in political terms in 1794 when he was to have been 'the popular candidate' at York if the illness of one of the sitting members had proved fatal.[31] In the event he was not

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[27] Edmund Bogg, *Higher Wharfeland: The Dale of Romance from Ormscliffe to Cam Fell* (York: John Sampson, Coney Street, 1904), p. 90.

[28] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, pp. 27-31.

[29] Walter Fawkes' diary, January – May 1825, Private collection.

[30] See note 20 for Fawkes' attendance at Trinity College, Cambridge. Christopher Reid, 'Whig Declamation and Rhetorical Freedom at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1770-1805', *The Review of English Studies*, Vol. 64, no. 266, September 2013, pp. 630-50, p. 636.

[31] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 6 May 2022.

required, but a further opportunity arose in May 1796 when he was put forward as a candidate for Yorkshire, though at this point he stood as an independent stating:

> I am connected with no party; I am equally unknown to ministry and opposition; my country's good is my only aim; the only qualifications I can boast of, are my honest intentions and entire independence.[32]

Fawkes was standing against a fresh Tory candidate Henry Lascelles, from nearby Harewood House.[33] Likely due to the heavy costs of campaigning, and after a supporters meeting was inconclusive regarding the expected result, Fawkes withdrew from the contest; Henry Lascelles and William Wilberforce (also an independent) took the seats.[34] Fawkes later learned that he would have had the support of the Whig grandees (including Earl Fitzwilliam, heir of the Marquess of Rockingham), for his campaign.[35] The event served to mark Fawkes' claim for his place in regional politics, just at the time he was also becoming known in artistic circles, building a significant collection of paintings by Old Masters and tentatively commissioning new works.

Although he joined the Whig Club in 1798, and continued to challenge the unconstitutional measures of Pitt's government of the day, he also fell in line with the latter in 1803 pledging his support for war against France following the collapse of the short-lived Peace of Amiens.[36] Giving a rousing speech at a meeting in July 1803 at York addressed to Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders of all political persuasions, Fawkes declared the need for war due to the 'unconquerable antipathy to this country which appears to have taken the mind of Bonaparte'.[37] To defend his country against invasion he raised, and served in, the Yorkshire West Riding militia in 1797-8, holding the position of Brevet Colonel, serving alongside his neighbours Lord Harewood and Sir George Cooke.

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[32] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 6 May 2022.

[33] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 6 May 2022.

[34] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 6 May 2022.

[35] http://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/constituencies/yorkshire, accessed 8 May 2023

[36] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825, accessed 6 May 2022.

[37] *The Supplement to the York Herald of July 30*, 1803, p.10 gave an account of the proceedings of the meeting held on Thursday July 28th, 1803, quoting large sections from Fawkes' speech, see, https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=kBhbAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PA1&hl=en_GB, accessed 15 January 2024.

In 1803-4 he was Colonel of the Wharfedale Volunteers.[38] His stance and actions supported his reputation as a patriot, commemorated in the inscription on his memorial.

In 1806, Fawkes stood again for Parliament, when his attitude towards liberty and the abolishment of slavery placed him at an advantage. Of the two positions available for the West Riding, Wilberforce held a safe seat. Henry Lascelles had held the other from 1797, though he had lately spoiled his support from the clothiers of Leeds by treating them in an 'unwarrantable manner' regarding the rescinding of laws that protected their businesses.[39] Whilst Lascelles found himself in a precarious position, Fawkes campaigned with Wilberforce on the anti-slavery platform. However, Fawkes also knew that the clothiers of the West Riding abhorred the idea of parliamentary reform.[40] Ever the pragmatist, Fawkes therefore eschewed any public commitment to reform, despite declaring himself in the same year 'a *Great Big* Whig all my life'.[41] He took the seat and worked with Wilberforce in the 'Ministry of Talents' government.

Even though local reports of Fawkes as MP were favourable, when a further election was called after the dissolution of the Ministry just seven months later, Fawkes did not stand for re-election for family reasons, instead joining Lord Milton's (Fitzwilliam's son) campaign committee.[42] The decision not to stand could also have been due to the significant costs of campaigning, with the far wealthier Lascelles determined to regain his

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[38] *Caledonian Mercury*, August 25, 1798, p. 4; Hamilton, in Joll, Butlin and Hermann (eds) *The Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner*, p. 104.

[39] Kirsten McKenzie, '"My Voice is sold, & I must be a Slave": Abolition Rhetoric, British Liberty and the Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807' *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 64, 2007 pp. 48-73, p. 56.

[40] J R Dinwiddy, *Christopher Wyvill and Reform 1790-1820* (York: St. Anthony's Press, 1971), p. 17.

[41] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 6 May 2022.

[42] Joseph Farington, *The Farington Diary*, Katherine Cave, Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (eds), 16 Vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), Vol. 8, p. 2897. A note of 6 November 1806, reported that Mr Packe and Revd. Mr Whalley 'spoke highly of Mr Fawkes the new member for Yorkshire, saying that He is a man of great abilities & information; - a scholar, acquainted with arts & sciences & likely to make an excellent member.' R . G. Thorne, however, reports that Fawkes did not match the expectations others had for him in the role, see https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 6 May 2022. The speech Fawkes gave regarding his withdrawal was reported for the *Yorkshire Herald*, 14 May 1807, 'Mr Fawkes's Speech in the Castle-Yard, York on the Nomination Day'. Whilst citing family reasons for withdrawing, he goes on to explain that he could not be a representative within a Ministry whose conduct was 'dangerous, and unconstitutional'.

seat.[43] However, since Fawkes would have had Fitzwilliam's financial support, it is more likely that he did not actually like the work of an MP. Fawkes was reported to have developed 'an aversion' to constituency business.[44] Like other MPs such as his fellow Yorkshireman William Wrightson, Fawkes preferred to control how he spent his time, whether in London or in Yorkshire, in his leisure pursuits and estate business.[45] In any event, he did not stand for Parliament again, but due to his skills in oratory and rhetoric, continued to hold an influential position in Yorkshire's political circles and nationally, particularly with regard to the issue of parliamentary reform.

By this time Fawkes had developed a taste for the work of J. M. W. Turner following his initial purchase of a series of watercolours of Swiss landscapes by the artist in 1804. In 1808, Turner made the first of many visits to Farnley with Fawkes commissioning him to paint scenes around the Wharfe. Fawkes also invested in other forms of art such as the bust of his former schoolfriend and now radical Whig, Sir Francis Burdett.[46] Fawkes had been impressed by Burdett's proposals calling for enfranchisement of tax paying householders, the equalisation of electoral districts, and shortening of parliaments to a 'constitutional' duration.[47] The power of Fawkes' influence was apparent in 1810 when Burdett was arrested over a clash with the House of Commons.[48] The arrest stimulated public interest in Burdett's proposals and instigated discussions between Whig factions – those supporting more radical parliamentary reform measures such as Fawkes, and those desiring more moderate change – to resolve the rift and present a united front to the public. Organisations such as The Society of Friends to Parliamentary Reform and the Hampden Club, were also established to explore the possibility of a unified approach.[49] Fawkes joined the latter, more radical, club, and spoke at their meeting of 23 May 1812, outlining

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[43] McKenzie, 'My Voice is sold', p. 52. The costs of Lascelles and Milton's campaigns were each estimated to be £100,000.

[44] R G Thorne, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 6 May 2022, p. 3/6.

[45] Brian Barber, 'William Wrightson, the Yorkshire Whigs and the York 'Peterloo' Protest Meeting of 1819', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 83, 2011, pp. 165-6.

[46] Fawkes purchased a plaster bust of Burdett from Sir Francis Chantrey in 1811 for 5 guineas, see Alison Yarrington, D Ilene Potts, and Malcolm Baker, 'An Edition of the Ledger of Sir Francis Chantry, R.A., at the Royal Academy, 1809-1841, *The Fifty-Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society 1991/1992* (Leeds: The Walpole Society, 1994), pp. 25-6.

[47] Dinwiddy, *Christopher Wyvill*, p. 21.

[48] Dinwiddy, *Christopher Wyvill*, pp. 20-2.

[49] Dinwiddy, *Christopher Wyvill*, p. 24.

reasons for constitutional reform, and citing corrupt election practice compromising the independence of Parliament.[50] The speech, along with a letter from Fawkes to Lord Milton, seeking his support, was published.[51] The publication was an attempt to bridge the divide between the more radical Whigs and the noble grandees, such as Earl Fitzwilliam, who were resistant to calls for reform. It was the first of several political tracts that Fawkes would publish. In 1817, he published a second, *The Englishman's Manual*, a pamphlet advocating Burdett's plan for parliamentary reform, and its popularity necessitated a second edition.[52]

Turner was by now an annual visitor to Farnley, enjoying the shooting and fishing opportunities on offer. He painted a series of watercolours of the interior of the hall, around the estate and Wharfedale, creating a record of the activities and life at Farnley. Fawkes was also investing in watercolours by other artists, deciding to display the paintings in 1819 at the first exhibition open to the public of a private collection of watercolours by British artists, staged in his newly acquired London home in Grosvenor Place. Fawkes not only held an influential role in political circles, he was also established in artistic society.

Shortly after the close of his 1819 exhibition the Peterloo massacre occurred. The event made headlines when a gathering in Manchester of thousands calling for reform, were set upon by the Yeomanry, killing a dozen or more, and injuring hundreds.[53] There were demonstrations against the violence across the country, and at the Tory government that retrospectively approved the Yeomanry's reaction.[54] The leading Whig, Fitzwilliam, known to oppose reform, stated his abhorrence at the actions of the Yeomanry.[55] In the aftermath, Fawkes supported the notion of a county meeting, seeing it as an opportunity to establish the Whig party and enlightened landowners as loyal to the constitution and respectful of its citizens. He suggested the meeting could be 'a healing measure', arguing

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[50] See https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825 accessed 6 May 2022.

[51] Walter Fawkes, *Speech of Walter Fawkes, Esq. on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and also The Letter to Lord Viscount Milton, M.P. on the same subject* (London: Ridgway, Piccadilly; and Johnson and Co., 1813)

[52] Walter Fawkes, *The Englishman's Manual or A Dialogue between a Tory and a Reformer*, 2nd Ed. (London: Longman, Hurst and Co., 1817).

[53] Barber, 'William Wrightson', p. 168.

[54] Barber, 'William Wrightson', p. 168.

[55] Barber, 'William Wrightson', p. 168.

'if we identify ourselves with the people . . . it will teach them to look . . . to the enlightened and landed aristocracy of the country'.[56] Fawkes duly spoke at the meeting held in York on 14 October 1819, uniting people in following the agreed resolutions for the meeting, without any mention of parliamentary reform.[57]

Fawkes' time to call for reform did come in summer of 1822, when other fellow Yorkshiremen sympathetic to his brand of politics discussed holding a county meeting to reignite the campaign for radical reform.[58] Lord Milton chaired the meeting in January 1823 and Fawkes opened it with a speech 'no less argumentative than eloquent'.[59] Again, he resisted calling for his own desired reform programme, recognising that having gained support for Parliamentary reform from Lord Milton, he needed to acquiesce to moderation to win any gain at all.[60] The meeting was hailed by *The Times* as 'one of the most important domestic occurrences that have taken place in our time', the petition that resulted being signed by over 17,000 people.[61] Since Yorkshire was the largest and most independent constituency in England, such a statement paved the way for national opinion, and the eventual passing of the Reform Act in 1832.

In terms of artistic investment in this period, Fawkes satisfied himself with the works his friend, Turner, made to support Fawkes' various personal projects. These included illustrations for an ornithological collection, and watercolours to accompany historical accounts and selections of poetry. Fawkes held the position of Sheriff of Yorkshire in

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[56] E A Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), p. 347.

[57] Barber, 'William Wrightson', p. 169; The resolutions were fundamentally concerned with the right of the people to hold meetings, that to break up peaceful meetings with violent means was unlawful, and that the events of 16 August approved by the Prince Regent therefore indicated infringement of the Constitution and threatened common liberty. The resolutions are included, pp. 172-4.

[58] Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics*, pp. 369-70.

[59] Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics*, pp. 370-1.

[60] For Lord Milton's change in stance to support parliamentary reform see Ellis Archer Wasson, 'The Great Whigs and Parliamentary Reform, 1809-1830', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 24, no. 4, October 1985, p. 457. Fawkes had made an address in 1822 published as *A Letter to the Editor of the Yorkshire Gazette, on the subject of Mr. Fawkes's Late Address to the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, of the County of York. To which annexed The Address Itself. By a Yorkshire Freeholder,* (York; Yorkshire Gazette office, 1822), in which he outlines his own personal desire to see the elimination of boroughs with too few electors, and the extension of the elective franchise to householders and triennial parliaments, p. 29. Interestingly in the address he states that he is 'a Man of no Party', distancing himself from the Whigs as he did at the start of his political career, p. 30.

[61] Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics*, p. 371; Dinwiddy, *Christopher Wyvill*, p. 31.

1823, but suffered from ill health from May 1825, and there is little further reported evidence of political activity, though a diary from the last few months of his life shows he continued to meet friends with political interests almost daily.[62] He died in London in October that year.[63] Accounts of the funeral procession from London to Otley, which was evidently a grand affair, were testament to the respect Fawkes held in regional and national society, sentiments reflected in the memorial quoted above.[64]

However influential Fawkes was in contemporary politics, he is now best known as an important early patron and friend of Turner. Fawkes remained not only a patron but also became close friends with the artist. Over time Fawkes amassed over two hundred works by the painter and Turner developed an ongoing relationship with Fawkes and his family. A diary the landowner's second wife kept notes the number of family events the artist attended, and in the final months of the landowner's life, Fawkes' own diary reports the frequency Turner dined with him.[65] Fawkes made a public declaration of their relationship in his dedication of the catalogue to his 1819 exhibition, noting the intense feeling of the 'delight I have experienced, during the greater part of my life, from the exercise of your talent and the pleasure of your society'.[66]

The declaration above attests to the relationship the men shared from Fawkes' perspective, developed over decades, and where success was measured in terms of fame and fortune, both of which Turner achieved. Turner has been a focus of attention for art historians since his death and many biographies of the artist's life mention Fawkes, presenting the greatest part of the existing scholarship on the landowner. Such studies inevitably examine Fawkes' and Turner's relationship through the lens of the artist's career (as discussed further below). Previous scholarship on Turner does provide information on Fawkes' life in terms of visitors, recording events at Farnley Hall and some of his interests, but a focus on the development of patronage to friendship, a complicated and blurred transition, has been rare.

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[62] Walter Fawkes' diary, January – May 1825, Private Collection.

[63] *The Leeds Mercury*, Saturday, 12 November 1825.

[64] *The Leeds Mercury*, Saturday, 12 November 1825.

[65] Finberg, *Turner's Water-Colours at Farnley Hall*, pp. 5-17; Walter Fawkes' Diary January – May 1825, Private Collection.

[66] Fawkes, *A Collection of Water Colour Drawings.* The dedication is quoted in full at the start of chapter 5.

**Previous Scholarship on Fawkes**

In 1851, the critic John Ruskin published an important text on Pre-Raphaelitism largely given over to a discussion of Farnley Hall, and Turner's experiences there.[67] This pamphlet established a manner of understanding Fawkes and Turner's relationship that has persisted throughout much of the subsequent literature, viewing their association almost exclusively through the lens of the painter's art.[68] More recent art historians have provided detailed accounts of the landowner's patronage of Turner, giving an insight into Fawkes' interests in history, literature, and natural history, but still with the focus firmly on the painter and his work.[69]

The exhibition Fawkes staged in 1819 has also attracted scholarly interest, not only for the part it played in promoting Turner's skill in the media, but also for what the event and

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[67] John Ruskin, *Pre-Raphaelitism* (New York: John Wiley, 1851), pp. 39, 41, 49-51, 54. The text is dedicated to Francis Hawksworth Fawkes (Fawkes' eldest son).

[68] These works in chronological order include: Walter Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner Founded on Letters and Papers Furnished by his Friends and Academicians*, Vol. 2 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862), p. 34, pp. 84-92; Cosmo Monkhouse, *Joseph Mallord William Turner* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd., 1894), pp. 42-5; Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.* (London: Seeley, 1895), p. 60; Sir Walter Armstrong, *Turner* (London: Thos. Agnew & Sons, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), pp. 84-9; Charles Swinburne, *Life and Work of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.* (London: Bicker & Son, 1902), pp. 166-75; Finberg, *Turner's Water-Colours at Farnley Hall*, pp. 1-28; Bernard Falk, *Turner the Painter, His Hidden Life – A Frank and Revealing Biography* (London: Hutchinson & Co Ltd., 1938), pp. 79,89-94; A J Finberg, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 170; Jack Lindsay, *Turner: His Life and Work* (Herts: Panther Books Ltd, 1973), p. 22 and p. 146; David Hill, *In Turner's Footsteps through the Hills and Dales of Northern England* (London: John Murray, 1984), pp. 17-22; John Gage, *J. M. W. Turner: 'A Wonderful Range of Mind'* (London: Book Club Associates by arrangement with Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 157-63; James Hamilton, *Turner: A Life* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997), pp. 94-6, 110-111; Eric Shanes, *J. M. W. Turner, A Life in Art: Young Mr Turner - The First Forty Years* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 321-3.

[69] David Hill gave detailed accounts of Fawkes' patronage of Turner from the men's first meeting to Fawkes' death: *Turner in Yorkshire* (York: York City Art Gallery, 1980); *Turner and Dr Whitaker* (Burnley: Towneley Hall Art Gallery, 1982). In a study of Turner's interest in natural history, Anne Lyles provided an account of Fawkes' interest in the subject as well as aspects of life on the estate, in *Turner and Natural History: The Farnley Project* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1988). James Hamilton, *Turner's Britain* (London and New York: Merrell, 2003), pp. 169-73, included a synopsis of the vignettes the artist created for Fawkes for the landowners' historical projects, revealing Fawkes' antiquarian interests. Jan Piggott similarly revealed Fawkes' literary interests in *Turner's Vignettes* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1993), pp. 32-4, which described the works the artist completed to illustrate poems selected by the landowner.

critics' reviews revealed of the wider exhibition culture of the period.[70] Themes of patriotism, the status of watercolour painting, and the 'genius' displayed in the bravura of application, have all been considered within a description and analysis of the display in Fawkes' London residence.[71]

In terms of research based on Fawkes and his family, Marion Sharples, a local historian, conducted two studies. In 1990 she studied the art collection at Farnley Hall from 1792-1937, scrutinising records for the cost of the collection and how subsequent sales from it bolstered estate finances.[72] In 1997 she considered the management of the Farnley estates owned by the family from 1819-1936, touching on the later years of Fawkes' control.[73] However, while all these individual bodies of work afford some insight into certain aspects of Fawkes' life, they do not explore the habits and motivations behind his practice.

This thesis examines Fawkes' wide ranging artistic and collecting habits, including not only paintings, but also architecture, landscape, Civil War memorabilia and books. The context of Fawkes' activities as a political campaigner and owner of a modest country seat widens the scope of the research to consider Fawkes' practices as he operated within, and reacted to, the contemporary mood for reform, as well as issues surrounding increasing influence from London, and the changing nature of hospitality. This study, therefore, also offers the opportunity to broaden our knowledge not only of Fawkes' place in British artistic history, but also regarding the issues facing country landowners and the strategies used to overcome threats to wealth, authority, and status presented by the social transitions occurring at the time.

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[70] Lucy Bailey, 'Turner's Purposeful Patron: Walter Fawkes' 1819 Watercolour Exhibition', *Turner Society News*, no. 131, Spring 2019, pp. 16-20.

[71] Kay Dian Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 110-12; Holger Hoock, '"Struggling against a vulgar prejudice": Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 49, Issue 3, July 2010, pp. 566-91, p. 585; Greg Smith, *The Emergence of the Professional Watercolourist: Contentions and alliances in the artistic domain, 1760-1824* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 193-5.

[72] Marion Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection and the Art Collection at Farnley Hall, Otley, 1792-1837: A Great Estate Enhanced and Supported', *Journal of Northern History*, Vol. 26, Issue 1, January 1990, pp. 131-59.

[73] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, pp. 19-26.

**Reform, Locality, Hospitality and Collecting**

The span of Fawkes' life from 1767 to 1825 corresponds with the period retrospectively considered the 'age of reform'.[74] Whilst the era is now recognised for the significance it played in the development of the current democratic systems of government and authority, social responsibility and care, this study offers the potential to consider what was significant to Fawkes in the period, as shown through his cultural interests, living through the particular events that affected and drove his continued call for parliamentary reform.

In their study of the period 1780 - 1850, Joanna Innes and Arthur Burns noted how the losses in the War of American Independence (1776-83) drew attention to misrule and unjust treatment by the British polity and heralded the use of the term 'reform' to mark a restructuring of the relationship between public and parliament – a traditional enough demand, but with a new slogan.[75] Reform, however, was not only concerned with an overhaul of governance but also a reconsideration of morals, intimated in the reaction to the perceived 'unjust' practices of the government in their dealings with the American colonies.[76] Innes and Burns have also pointed out how public calls for reform waxed and waned over the decades, affected by various events and moral concerns, before eventually resulting in the relatively minor changes of the 1832 Reform Act.[77] For this reason they considered the period to be one of aspiration rather than results.[78] Fawkes' political career illustrated the pushes and pulls towards and against political reform, and his activities and roles indicated how he was affected by, and sensitive to, these institutional and moral concerns.

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[74] See Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes (eds), *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Other useful sources are G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963); F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Paul Ltd., 1963); Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783-1867* (London and New York: Longman, 1991); Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[75] Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, 'Introduction', in Burns and Innes, *Rethinking the Age of Reform*, p. 7.

[76] Burns and Innes, 'Introduction', pp. 2-3.

[77] Christopher Harvie and H. C. G. Matthew, *Nineteenth-Century Britain: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 35, forty-one large English towns, including Manchester, Bradford and Birmingham, got representation for the first time, but the average size of an English borough electorate (and these returned almost half (324) of the total of 658 MPs) remained under 900; see also Burns and Innes, *Rethinking the Age of Reform*, p. 46.

[78] Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, 'Introduction', p. 1.

The movement was given an initial boost at the start of the French Revolution in 1789 when the revolutionaries were drafting ambitious schemes for a broad franchise that excited British reformers concerned with individual rights and democracy. French-style caps of liberty became a popular symbol, and one that Fawkes used in illustrations painted by Turner (Fig. 2.19). However, support for the Revolution from the British, except for the more extreme radicals, quickly evaporated with the onset of the Terror, and calls for reform were replaced by the fear of a similar revolution on home soil. Edward Burke, a politician and statesman, had foreshadowed this turn of events in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in 1790 when the French situation still seemed to promise a reasonable constitutional outcome.[79] When France went to war against Britain in 1793, any support for its continental neighbour disappeared as the Conservative Prime Minister, Pitt, called the country to arms, a call supported by the Whigs, including Fawkes.[80]

As well as influenced by events on the continent, calls for reform came from home soil. Developing expertise in mechanical engineering had seen some urban families grow wealthy. They had come to have local influence on a parr with landed gentry and they sought equivalent enfranchisement. There were, though, also many thousands existing in poor living conditions and squalor, in both urban populations and rural areas.[81] Working conditions were desperate for many, with long hours and low wages, and children working to support the family income. Bad harvests and high prices in 1795 and 1800 brought the growth of poverty to greater attention resulting in the Poor Bill of 1807, where the state began to take responsibility from local communities for its poor.[82] Indeed in 1795, Fawkes was noted as providing wheat for his estate workers, and local millers were so impressed by his gesture that they ground it for free.[83] Whilst some landowners seemed 'more whip than carrot', such as Lord Egremont at Petworth who installed a water supply to a village on his estate at the same time as building a prison, Fawkes appeared to follow a less

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[79] Harvie and Matthew, *Nineteenth-Century Britain*, p. 22.

[80] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825, accessed 6 May 2022; Burns and Innes, 'Introduction', pp. 12-13.

[81] Harvie and Matthew, *Nineteenth-Century Britain*, p. 19 discusses how business owners and other business and professional leaders gained influence with organisations such as the General Chamber of Manufacturers; see p. 31 for urban and rural poverty.

[82] Burns and Innes, 'Introduction', p. 26.

[83] Bogg, *Higher Wharfeland*, pp. 90-1. Fawkes also paid out 'poor money' as noted in the Statement of Mr Fawkes's Income and Outgoings, 1824, Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS), Special Collections Leeds University Brotherton Library ref, DD161/7/g.

threatening regime in his estate management.[84] When he entered his cattle into the local Agricultural Society shows, he declined to compete so that his tenant farmers might benefit from the prize money.[85] He believed that supporting independent enterprise would realise benefits not only to the farmer but also to himself through increased rents.

This commercial acumen was also visible when Fawkes campaigned with Wilberforce for election in 1806. The Leeds clothworkers were facing the retraction of laws that protected them from competition. Lascelles, also campaigning for election, heckled the workers for their demands to retain the laws. Fawkes and Wilberforce carefully managed the situation to keep the votes of the workers while supporting the need to abandon the laws to protect commercial interests.[86] Both workers, Fawkes, and Wilberforce understood the need for commercial growth, but each also knew the success of the industry would not be achieved without the support of the workers. The labourers expected some respect for their efforts.

Wilberforce was recognised for his work to abolish the slave trade enacted in 1807.[87] Fawkes, 'a warm advocate for the abolition of the slave trade', also fought for Catholic emancipation.[88] He believed in wider education, paying a subscription for the salary of teachers at four local schools.[89] The concern that Fawkes displayed with the wellbeing of others was echoed in wider society with legislation enacted in the period over issues such as the care of prisoners and the punishment of criminal behaviour.[90] It was in this broader consideration of a moral code that calls for political and parliamentary reform remained alive. With the growth of urban populations and their contribution to the country's wealth and status, it was unjust, as well as unrepresentative, that counties such as Yorkshire with a

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[84] Alun Howkins, 'J. M. W. Turner at Petworth: Agricultural Improvement and the Politics of Landscape', in John Barrell (ed.), *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art 1700 – 1850* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 231-251, p. 241.

[85] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, pp. 119-20.

[86] McKenzie, 'My Voice is sold', p. 56.

[87] Slave Trade Act 1807. For Wilberforce see, http://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/wilberforce-william-1759-1833, accessed 7 May 2023.

[88] http://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawkes-walter-ramsden-1769-1825, accessed 6 May 2022.

[89] Statement of Mr Fawkes's Income and Outgoings, 1824, YAS, Special Collections Leeds University Brotherton Library ref, DD161/7/g.

[90] Randall McGowen, 'A Powerful Sympathy: Terror, the Prison, and Humanitarian Reform in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 25, no. 3, July 1986, pp. 312-34.

population of 700,000 in 1801 returned 2 county and 26 borough MPs, while Cornwall with a population of 188,000 returned 2 county and 42 borough MPs.[91]

The morality of those in authority was also questioned, acting to undermine their position.[92] It was not though until the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, and the violence shown against the protesting families upheld by the government and Prince Regent, that calls for parliamentary reform were confidently brought to the fore.[93] Fawkes recognised the change in spirit and opportunity to reach his aspiration for reform, and played his part in securing the petition that marked the start of the path to the Reform Act of 1832.

Fawkes' not only espoused political reform but also embraced it in his cultural interests. His 1819 exhibition at his London townhouse was a clear example, when he chose to exclusively display watercolours by British artists at a time when this was an unusual choice and, perhaps more noteworthy, only hanging work by contemporary artists. He was not only being patriotic in his support of British artists but was also widening the appreciation of modern work. In his membership of the Northern Society of the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, Fawkes also sought to promote contemporary artists and support regional painters as well as those from London. He sought out new methods and approaches in agriculture too, to improve the productivity of his tenanted farms and he introduced breeding programmes to better his Shorthorn cattle herd. In his own scholarly pursuits, he found new ways to narrate the events of the Civil Wars to promote his own agenda for political change.

In his modernising projects, Fawkes was reforming the way things were achieved in order to maintain the existing social order. His politics were all about needing to adapt to keep the status quo in society. He aspired to the landed gentry holding their respected position in society, preserving the authority and governance they had previously enjoyed. Likewise in agriculture, improvements in production meant higher rents and the protection of his income, enabling him to continue the lifestyle to which he had become accustomed. He even implemented a new system of succession for the Farnley estate replacing the old system of entail with a 'strict settlement' in 1819.[94] Fawkes worked to promote methods

[91] Harvie and Matthew, *Nineteenth-Century Britain*, p. 19.

[92] Burns and Innes, 'Introduction', p. 9

[93] Burns and Innes, 'Introduction', pp. 34-7.

[94] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, pp. 29–30.

that would enable the Fawkes family to retain Farnley Hall, the estate, their wealth, and their respected position in local and regional centres.

Farnley Hall, the estate and wider locality was clearly important to Fawkes. Having a country seat in Wharfedale associated him with a local heritage of national historical significance with several eminent families long resident in the valley, most notably perhaps for Fawkes, the Fairfax's, Sir Thomas Fairfax having been a major player in the countrywide discord of the mid seventeenth century (see Fig. 1.7 for a map of the halls and country seats of Wharfedale). As an electoral candidate, with a regional role, Fawkes was respectful of the people of the county and showed an understanding of the issues close to them (see p.9 and p.12). Furthermore, he was an advocate for the region, supporting cultural projects and encouraging artists from London to visit the county. He was involved with the Leeds-based Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, and when he held his own exhibition in the capital, he displayed many images of his estate and local landscape, bringing Wharfedale and the surrounding area to London, parading the beauty, sublime, and alpine features of the countryside.[95]

In his study of the development of provincial art groups and institutions, Trevor Fawcett suggests that it was through regional organisations such as the Northern Society displaying works by artists from the capital and other areas alongside those from its own local talent, that new ideas, methods, and style permeated the provinces.[96] He intimated a dominant flow of knowledge and experience from London to the provinces. Fawkes' activities with the Northern Society appear to follow that notion, in displaying the work of London artists, such as Turner, in Leeds.

However, as will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis, Fawkes also brought the landscape of Farnley, Wharfedale, and the surrounding area, to London, similar to the way in which writers of the regional novels of the period brought a particular locality to national attention.[97] R. A. Butlin has described regionalism in a literary sense as a conscious reaction to a growing awareness of the changes arising from industrialisation,

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[95] 1823 catalogue of the Exhibition of the Northern Society, for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, Leeds, p.2, Leeds City Library, ref: L 708 L517 in Leeds Exhibition Catalogues, 1809-75; Lucy Bailey, 'Turner's Purposeful Patron', pp. 18-19.

[96] Trevor Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art, Artist, Patrons, and Institutions outside London 1800-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 214.

[97] R A Butlin, 'Regions in England and Wales c.1600-1914', in R A Dodgshon and R A Butlin (eds), *An Historical Geography of England & Wales*, 2nd ed. (London: Academic Press, 1990), pp. 223-54, p. 246.

increased transportation and developing economy, together with a recognition of what might be lost, and the desire to preserve something of it.[98] Aside from this nostalgic aspect of regional depiction in literature, Butlin also noted a growing awareness from regions in the nineteenth century of their significance for the country in terms of their increasing commercial and industrial activities and their associated growth in urban populations. However, due to their commercial character, they were considered lacking the culture and style of London.[99] During this period however, many regional organisations such as the Northern Society were established, pointing to flourishing cultural societies. The burgeoning number of regional associations, such as Literary and Philosophical societies and Mechanical Institutes, not only indicated a desire to share ideas and technologies, but also demonstrated a pride in a region's character and development, and contribution to the nation's economy.[100] Fawkes' location close to Leeds and his political connection with the city, make his interactions with artists from London and his display of Yorkshire landscapes in the city, worthy of further consideration for the potential they offer to add to our understanding of the complexities of the cultural interplay between regions and the metropolis.

Inviting artists to exhibit in Leeds, and also to visit Farnley, alludes to a further theme that recurs through the existing literature on Fawkes concerning the hospitality he offered at Farnley, and his London residence too.[101] Records attest to the guests he entertained at Farnley.[102] Felicity Heal has studied the role of hospitality in early modern England and established that it was founded on both a responsibility for charity towards the poor and strangers in their locality (a notion derived from natural and divine law), but was also concerned with the display of largesse.[103] She noted that more particularly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there was a prioritising of the entertainment of peers for more tangible and commercially minded rewards, though remnants of the traditional charitable and obligatory giving associated with the privileged still occurred,

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[98] Butlin, 'Regions in England and Wales', p. 247.

[99] Butlin, 'Regions in England and Wales', pp. 226-7.

[100] The Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society was established in 1819, see https://www.leedsphilandlit.org.uk/, accessed 7 May 2023. The Otley Useful Instruction Society was founded in 1835, later to become the Otley Mechanic's Institution, see, https://www.fpru.org/the-fascinating-history-of-the-otley-mechanics-institution/, accessed 7 May 2023.

[101] Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes*, p. 32.

[102] Bogg, *Higher Wharfedale*, p. 90.

[103] Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

more as lip service than as a genuine act of generosity.[104] In considering the 'conversation pieces' of the mid eighteenth century, Kate Retford argued that they offered an insight into how landowners perceived their role of offering hospitality, as a notion rather than actual practice.[105] In discussing Edward Haytley's paintings of the Brockman family along-side their garden temple and pond at Beachborough, for example, Retford suggested that the images evoked the early modern concept of the country house as providing for all, with a rich bounty of produce.[106] She believed the paintings were reminiscent of the images evoked by the tradition of country house poetry initiated by Ben Johnson's early seventeenth-century verse tribute, *To Penhurst*.[107] Retford proposed that whilst the traditional concept of plenty and largesse was portrayed in these paintings, the other aspect of early modern hospitality, of responsibility towards the poor and the obligations that came with the privilege of position and rank, were less obvious.[108] The concept of hospitality as a virtuous act of giving, without an expected reward, seemed more like a myth, or an ideal that few followed.

Since Fawkes was from a family rooted in centuries of land ownership, he might be expected to follow or acknowledge traditional obligations of charity and largesse. The Farnley estate paintings that Turner created, along with the design and use of Fawkes' residences, and documentary evidence from his cultural investments, are analysed here for what they reveal of the landowner's approach to hospitality. These are compared with those of a contemporary landowner and patron of the arts, Lord Egremont of Petworth House, adding to existing scholarship on how landowners were negotiating the changes in society associated with the responsibilities and costs of managing estates and tenants, the expectations of modern polite society, and the traditional concepts of largesse and charity.[109] Drawing on Heal and Retford's work, this thesis will, in these ways, extend the study of hospitality into the nineteenth century.

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[104] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 400-3.

[105] Kate Retford, *The Conversation Piece: Making Modern Art in Eighteenth Century Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), chapter 4, web paginated, pp. 27-8.

[106] Retford, *The Conversation Piece*, pp. 27-8.

[107] Retford, *The Conversation Piece*, pp. 27-8; For Ben Johnson's *To Penhurst*, see https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/50674/to-penshurst, accessed 27 March 2023.

[108] Retford, *The Conversation Piece*, p. 28.

[109] See Martin Butler, Mollie Luther and Ian Warrell, *Turner at Petworth: Painter and Patron* (London: Tate Publishing Ltd., 1989); Christopher Rowell, *Petworth House* (London: National Trust, 2004 reprint); Patrick

Fawkes amassed paintings, books, and Civil War artefacts in a manner that fits with Susan M. Pearce's description of a collection as,

> a gathering of items that have a relationship between them, where each piece has a significant place, and where the whole is more than the sum of its parts. [110]

She has also noted that where the owner sees a gathering of items as a collection, and invests resources intentionally selecting items to fit, it implies they have placed a value on it, and with the recognition of that value the giving of a part of self-identity.[111] This aspect is developed by Frederick Baekeland who has suggested that collectors are attracted to particular kinds of objects because of their symbolic value, where the collection enhances the collector's self-definition.[112] Studying Fawkes' collections therefore offers an insight into how the man saw himself, or wanted to be perceived. Since Fawkes was not alone in his collecting habits, his practices will be considered against those of his peers such as Benjamin Gott at Armley House, Leeds, active with Fawkes in local artistic society, Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford, who like Fawkes fashioned his home to house his collections, and Sir John Leicester, a collector of art who also staged an exhibition of his collection in his private residence.[113] Differences in approaches, or general habits found across collections will add to the body of knowledge regarding the motivations and practice surrounding collecting in the early nineteenth century.

Though the study of Fawkes' artistic patronage will enhance an understanding of habits such as collecting and hospitality and develop insights into living in an age of reform with regions and London having burgeoning influences and identities, the strength of the thesis lies in its case study approach. Considering the range of artistic pursuits and patronage

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Youngblood, 'That House of Art: Turner at Petworth' in *Turner Studies*, Vol 2, no. 2, Winter 1983, pp. 16 – 33.

[110] Susan M. Pearce, 'The Urge to Collect', in Susan M. Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 159.

[111] Pearce, 'The Urge to Collect', p. 159.

[112] Frederick Baekeland, 'Psychological aspects of art collecting', in Susan M. Pearce (ed), *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 206.

[113] Veronica M. E. Lovell, 'Benjamin Gott of Armley House, Leeds, 1762-1840: Patron of the Arts', *Thoresby Society*, Vol. 59, Part 2, no. 130, 1986, pp. 177-221; for Sir Walter Scott, see Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home, 1750-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 147-207; Dongho Chun, 'Public Display, Private Glory: Sir John Fleming Leicester's Gallery of British Art in Early Nineteenth-Century England, *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 13, no. 2, 2001, pp. 175-89.

Fawkes experienced, and how those activities, and his decisions and actions impinged on, and affected each other, the research is important to understanding the motivating factors of a man immersed in a heritage of land ownership and all the responsibilities, securities, and fears, that such a position held at the turn of the nineteenth century.

**Methodology**

When considering the methodology to conduct the case study, it was recognised that Fawkes' interests extended across an array of subjects from literature to agriculture. This account is, consequently, of an interdisciplinary nature. In the gathering of evidence emphasis is given to archival sources, published and in manuscript, to garner information regarding Fawkes' collecting and cultural investments.[114] Farnley Hall is still owned and managed by his descendants and retains much of the core of the early nineteenth-century art collection as well as items pertaining to the Civil Wars, although other key works are now scattered across various collections in Britain and abroad. Fawkes' own private papers were destroyed by his family after his death, but his activities and dealings in London and Yorkshire artistic and political society were often recorded by others.[115] Information is therefore held in various organisations' archives and Fawkes features in diaries by his contemporaries, as well as in period memoirs and collections of correspondence, providing testimony to the landowner's habits, motivations and aspirations. Similar case studies of art collectors practising at the start of the nineteenth century, are useful frameworks against which to consider Fawkes' habits.[116]

The thesis considers Fawkes' cultural investments through five chapters. The first explores the driving forces behind the embellishments he made to the architecture of Farnley Hall, and the improvements, practical and aesthetic, made to the parkland and

[114] Accounts and documents relating to the Fawkes family are held by the Yorkshire Archaeological and Historical Society in Leeds University Brotherton Library, Special Collections (from here-on, YAS), reference DD161. The artist and diarist Joseph Farington recorded episodes relating to Fawkes, see Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Index Volume, p. 323. Edith Mary Fawkes, Fawkes' Granddaughter, wrote an account of recollections and stories, *Turner at Farnley*, c.1900, National Gallery, London, ref: NG72/22/1. The National Art Library, London, holds a number of articles detailing works of art at Farnley Hall.

[115] Hamilton, in Joll, Butlin and Hermann, *The Oxford Companion*, p. 105.

[116] Lovell, 'Benjamin Gott', pp. 177-221; for Sir Walter Scott, see Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, pp. 147-207; for Sir John Leicester see Chun, 'Public Display, Private Glory', pp. 175-89.

wider estate. Chapter 2 investigates the interior decoration of the Elizabethan part of Farnley Hall focusing on the collection of items pertaining to the English Civil Wars housed there. The objects reflected the Parliamentarian support of Fawkes' ancestors, and their particular association with the local Wharfedale resident and General of the Parliamentarian army, Sir Thomas Fairfax (later Lord). The art collection, consisting of Old Masters, family portraits and modern works in oil and watercolour, is considered in chapter 3. Book collecting became a popular activity in country seats across the land in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Farnley Hall still holds the library Fawkes amassed and is the subject of chapter 4. The final chapter explores the relationship of Turner and Fawkes. Turner scholars have studied the patronage and friendship primarily through the lens of the artist and to gain greater insight into the painter. But the focus here falls instead on the influence the landowner had on the artist, reconstructed through a detailed account of their relationship of reciprocity and mutual admiration.

The conclusion to this thesis considers Fawkes' legacy, both for the family and for British art history. While over the course of the intervening couple of centuries, many country seats have had to be sold off in times of financial hardship, Farnley has remained the home of the Fawkes family, their finances periodically bolstered through the sale of select items from its collections. Through his patronage of art and cultural interests Fawkes enabled his family to remain at the Hall. His impact though was not limited to his family's interests, he was also instrumental in driving the establishment of a British school of art, as well as having a significant role in preparing the ground for the Reform Act of 1832. How Fawkes achieved this legacy through his cultural investments, and how the history of art is impacted by these assessments, will be explored over the coming chapters.

## CHAPTER 1: ARCHITECTURE, ANCESTORS, AND ANTIQUITIES - FARNLEY HALL, ITS LANDSCAPE AND ESTATES

> '.....Farnley Hall as a shew-house is not the least interesting example. Past and present there contend with each other; actualities and memories are in friendly conflict.' [1]

This chapter explores the little-discussed, but fascinating architecture of Farnley Hall and the landscape of the surrounding park and wider estate. It begins with Fawkes' father's decision to retain the original Elizabethan Hall, and build an adjoining new Palladian wing, an 'unresolved juxtaposition' of architectural styles that might be seen as expressive of the family's broader political commitment to 'past and present' (Figs. 1.4 and 1.5).[2] The discussion moves on to consider the relationship between the extended Hall, and the surrounding landscape. These choices and developments are then compared with those made by contemporaries both in Yorkshire and more widely, for what they reveal about the Fawkes' motivations in refashioning their estate.

On inheriting the building of two parts, the younger Fawkes made no further significant changes to the architecture until 1814, when he embellished the Elizabethan spaces with period features quarried from other halls on the Farnley estate. These adornments are to be seen, as we shall see, in the context of Fawkes' antiquarian interests as well as the contemporary vogue for the picturesque. They also acted to forge the idea that the mansion was also at one time a dwelling of the Fairfax family, an association Fawkes was keen to uphold and a notion recognised by Wheater in the quote above acknowledging that 'actualities and memories are in friendly conflict'.

The major changes made to the estate and the designed landscape in the decades either side of 1800 are understood here in relation to a wider culture of reform, particularly as it prompted reassessment of the role of the landed gentry in matters of governance. In terms of land management and use, this chapter will also look at the agricultural innovations Fawkes introduced in an effort to satisfy the growing demands of an expanding, and increasingly urban, population. Both in the architecture of Farnley Hall, and in the

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[1] William Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions of Yorkshire and their Associations* (Leeds: Richard Jackson Fine Art Publisher, 1888), p. 87.

[2] Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Mid Georgian 1760-1800* (London: Country Life Ltd., 1967), p. 214.

changes he made to the landscape, Fawkes clearly understood the importance of looking to the future just as he maintained and respected aspects of heritage, ideas of history, tradition, lineage, and governance. The architectural and landscape setting Fawkes created reveals a motivation and concern to retain ideologies he deemed worthy for a stable, fair, and enduring future government and society; as the late nineteenth-century antiquary, William Wheater, suggested, in his remarks on the property quoted at the head of this chapter, at Farnley 'past and present there contend with each other'.[3]

**Carr's Modernisation of Farnley Hall**

On moving to Farnley, Fawkes' father engaged the renowned architect, John Carr, to carry out building works at his new country seat. Neighbours (see Fig. 1.7 for the location of halls in Wharfedale) had already employed Carr to build new residences in a Palladian style: Sir James Ibbetson at nearby Denton Hall (Fig. 1.8), and Edwin Lascelles just a few miles away at Harewood House (Fig. 1.9), as did more distant contemporaries such as Sir John Leicester at Tabley House, in Cheshire (Fig. 1.10), and Sir Francis Sykes at Basildon Park, Berkshire (Fig. 1.11).[4] At Wentworth Woodhouse, the Marquis of Rockingham, and his heir Earl Fitzwilliam, engaged the architect for a series of alterations spanning the whole of Carr's working career.[5] However, Fawkes' country seat was not rebuilt or altered by the architect, but 'improved', the design centring on the extant Elizabethan building, with the new Palladian style wing abutting.[6] Whereas others replaced their older residences, Fawkes' father kept his, revealing a respect for the aged structure.

It is significant that Lascelles and Ibbetson, who both had new mansions built, moved to their seats in the first half of the eighteenth century and had no ancestral ties to the existing buildings. Other local landowners, including William Vavasour at adjacent Weston Hall, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Walter Hawksworth when at Hawksworth Hall, updated

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[3] Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions*, p. 87.

[4] For details of these individual commissions see the alphabetical listing in the catalogue included in Brian Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, Giles Worsley, (ed.) (Otley: Oblong, 2000), pp. 103-235. Sir James Ibbetson inherited Denton Park, the family being from a merchant in the woollen trade and buying the park in 1735, see R G Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1971), p. 76.

[5] Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr*, pp. 219-21.

[6] Peter Leach and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire West Riding, Leeds, Bradford and the North* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 250-2.

their seats with classical structural elements but integrated them into their ancestral residence.[7] They understood the importance of heritage, even when modernising. Indeed, in keeping with the broader rehabilitation of the native Gothic in the second half of the eighteenth century, some owners updated buildings in a pseudo historical manner. The 2nd Earl of Darlington at Raby Castle in County Durham, a friend of the Fawkes', for one, employed Carr to make architectural alterations, reusing or copying medieval elements, creating a great hall that has been described as 'one of the most impressive Gothic interiors of the eighteenth century'.[8]

This interest in retaining elements of past historical styes of architecture may also have been associated with the independent nature and character of Yorkshire and the West Riding in particular. Rich in history, especially relating to the Civil Wars, architectural structures and detail pertaining to families affected by those conflicts were carefully and proudly conserved. Families joining the area later did not have the same historical ties and were less likely to see the value in retaining old stonework. Giles Worsley noted that while the classical style of architecture gained ground in the early eighteenth century, Gothic work continued in domestic projects where residents 'antiquarian interests ... were expressed in medievalising references', and where respect for the existing fabric meant following a sympathetic style.[9] In an age when the status of a family was enhanced by its antiquity, preserving a building that demonstrated that virtue was important. Preserving the Elizabethan wing at Farnley pointed to the accumulated status of centuries of Fawkes landownership and governance.

Retaining existing ancient manor houses was also a recommendation fostered since the start of his career by the eminent landscape designer, Humphrey Repton. He argued against the demolition of an ancient Hall in 1789 and in 1792 claimed that the 'picturesque beauty' of Gothic architecture, no matter how poor its condition, was worth preserving for

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[7] Leach and Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, pp. 749-50 for Weston Hall, pp. 322-3 for Hawksworth Hall. For Wentworth Woodhouse, see Nikolaus Pevsner and Enid Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire West Riding*, 2nd edn. (Middlesex: Penguin, 1974), pp. 539-45.

[8] Wragg, *Life and Works of John Carr*, pp. 193-4. This also indicates Carr's versatility in design – skilled in both Palladian and Gothic styles. Patrons could select Carr and not be limited to a certain style of work, choosing the style they preferred.

[9] Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 182.

its character.[10] While the arguably overly-formulaic, open and 'naturalistic' landscaping style Capability Brown had fashioned in response to mid-century Palladianism still had its adherents, advocates of the picturesque saw a parallel for the more organic, time-honoured qualities of the Gothic.[11] The 'naturalistic' style was criticised by some prominent advocates of the picturesque for blandness and its failure to adapt to local situations and beauty, and was readily associated with newcomers who replaced old seats with new Palladian mansions (such as the Lascelles).[12]

With the Elizabethan building holding such status and connection, consideration should be given as to why it was deemed appropriate to build a new wing in a Palladian style rather than Gothic. Being a country landowner with a significant estate brought with it responsibilities and status. Importantly, the estate needed to be effectively and efficiently managed to provide the income to support the owner's recreational lifestyle and pursuits; and secondly, the country house itself should reflect the status, and position, the owner held in society.[13] The popular regional choice for contemporary buildings was, as noted above, the Palladian style, based on the popularity of classical motifs and proportions in architecture advocated in the early part of the eighteenth century by Colen Campbell and Lord Burlington. They espoused a return to construction principles of the antique as propounded by Inigo Jones, from Palladio's interpretations of the sixteenth century.[14] Those undertaking a Grand Tour became acquainted with the motifs of classical architecture in Italy and the Mediterranean regions, and on returning home they showed their knowledge and learning by emulating this architectural style in their own buildings. David Watkins suggests that the Palladian style was associated with a 'Rule of Taste', acquired through travel, books, and archaeology.[15] Having a building in a classical style therefore identified the owner with contemporary polite society. There was also the fact

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[10] Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 156.

[11] Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, 'Picturesque Landscaping and Estate Management: Uvedale Price and Nathaniel Kent at Foxley', in *The Politics of the Picturesque*, Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, digitally printed version 2010), p. 21.

[12] Daniels and Watkins, 'Picturesque Landscaping', pp. 21-2. A detailed discussion on the various approaches to contemporary landscape design is discussed later in the chapter regarding the landscape of the Farnley Estate.

[13] G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963), p. 209.

[14] David Watkin, *English Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005), p. 124; John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 295-6.

[15] Watkin, *English Architecture*, p. 124.

that Fawkes' father had left a newly improved hall (Hawksworth) to come to live in the dark, cold Elizabethan Farnley. The new Palladian wing was light and airy, offering a much more comfortable living space than the old wing provided. That the design won the interest of the leisured classes is proven by the inclusion in a road guide of 1824, with a 'descriptive account' of Farnley Hall, as an 'elegant, modern mansion'.[16]

Fortunately, the north-south and east-west alignment of the Elizabethan wing and its architectural elements supported the Hall's unique synthesis of styles. Whilst the east side of the Elizabethan building incorporated architectural features suitable for an attractive picturesque prospect from the approaching drive, having the new building abutting onto the south facing side of the Elizabethan house, allowed the leveraging of the view down the rolling hillside to the river Wharfe and out across to the Chevin. Judging from the view framed by the Saloon bay front entrance, this seems to have been part of Carr's design (Fig. 1.12). A similar view is found from the canted window of Carr's Basildon Park (Fig. 1.13). In both cases the design situates the house firmly within the landscape, perhaps reflecting eighteenth-century ideals of man's dominion over nature, and clearly showing Carr's skill in taking full advantage of the natural surrounding landscape to complement and enhance his design, following the example of Palladio and revisited by Campbell and Burlington.[17] The view from the Saloon windows becomes a portrait of the estate, framed by the windows of the house itself.[18] The gardens and parkland surrounding Farnley Hall become as important a display as the house, Carr carefully situating the new wing into the landscape incorporating the striking views and a nationally recognised area of natural beauty.

Compared to others built by the same architect in the area and nationally, the Farnley wing was modest in size, with an 'extremely restrained' exterior.[19] It has been described as an example of the kind of 'compact' country house frequently built on large estates at the end of the eighteenth century, in line with the size of house that prolific writer on such matters,

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[16] Edward Mogg, *Paterson's Roads; being an entirely original and accurate description of all the direct and principle Cross Roads in England and Wales with part of the roads of Scotland,* 7th edn. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, Paternoster Row, 1824), pp. 593-4.

[17] Christopher Warleigh-Lack, 'John Carr of York and Hidden Architectural Histories', unpublished PhD Thesis, Middlesex University, October 2013, pp. 9-10. For a discussion regarding dominion over nature see Dennis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, [1984], 1998), pp. 198-205.

[18] Warleigh-Lack , 'John Carr', p. 9.

[19] Leach and Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, p. 250-2.

John Claudius Loudon, described as befitting the 'middling to higher classes of mankind' wanting to entertain.[20] The rooms included a saloon, dining room, drawing room, library and billiards room, with four bedrooms above (Fig. 1.14). Hence, the building was designed with hospitality in mind as well as to cater for the practical needs of a family. [21] Even though the galleries and oratories of luxurious residences were omitted from the scheme, it remained important to display a cultivated taste and this was revealed in the decorative internal structural features of the new wing, such as its imperial staircase (Fig. 1.15), marble fireplaces, and exquisite stucco plasterwork, all giving the impression of a much grander scale building than the size of footprint suggested.[22] By being conservative in size and external design, the most that many estate workers would see of the Hall, the landowner was responding to a sense of social responsibility, acknowledging the unease new grandiose schemes potentially engendered.[23] Once inside the building however, the quality of finish would have impressed the most cultivated of visitors.

There was one feature however, that was installed in the new wing that was from, and related to, a past period. A stained glass panelled window from Hawksworth Hall was installed in the drawing room in the new wing at Farnley, displaying the principal quarterings and intermarriages of the Hawksworth and Fawkes families, including that between Nicholas Fawkes and Anne Hawksworth in the sixteenth century (Figs. 1.16 and 1.17). [24] The window, now in Farnley Church, was therefore of great ancestral importance and its inclusion in the new wing iterated the line of inheritance from Francis Fawkes to Walter Hawksworth (see Fig. 1.6 for the family tree).

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[20] John Loudon, *The Theory and Practice of Forming a Country Residence* (London: Longman, Hurst Rees and Orme, Paternoster-Row, 1806), pp.70-1. Houses of the highest classes, by comparison have many other apartments with specific function such as the gallery, oratory, wardrobe, and so on, rooms not found at Farnley.

[21] Loudon, *Forming a Country Residence*, p. 70.

[22] David Linstrum, *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture* (London: Lund Humphries, 1978), pp. 80-1.

[23] Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, 'Fashion, Heritance and Family' *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 11, no. 3, 2015, pp. 385-406, p. 400, describes the tensions landowners experienced with conspicuous consumption with regard to their estates and houses, balanced against their responsibilities to tenants and other dependants, and preserving and enhancing the estate for future generations.

[24] Alastair Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth* (Otley: Smith Settle Ltd, 1991), p. 28, and John Bigland, *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York; Containing an Account of the Residences of the Nobility, Gentry &c.* (London: Sherwood, Nealy and Jones, 1819), pp. 720-1. Stobart and Rothery, 'Fashion, Heritance and Family', addresses the significance of including references to the past in the form of furniture and decoration in landowners' houses.

Hence the style and design of the wing was decided: a restrained and modest Palladian addition. The choice of Carr as architect could have been due to a number of factors, including price, popularity, and personal connection. As a provincial architect, costs attributed to a London office and associated staff were saved.[25] In his drawing and design, Carr did much of the work himself, only employing a single assistant or clerk at any time, though, even with such limited help, his service was attentive and noted for excellent standards of workmanship and control.[26] Lascelles also selected Carr above his national contemporary, Robert Adam, for the design of Harewood House, a decision attributed to excellent service and value for money, though Adam was later employed for the interior decoration scheme.[27]

In terms of popularity, as previously noted, the architect had completed many projects along the Wharfe valley, and was also employed on many prestigious civic schemes such as the Grandstand at York Racecourse, a project driven by the Marquis of Rockingham, leader of the Whigs and twice Prime Minister, and an enterprise to which many of the Wharfedale landowners subscribed.[28] Yet Carr's politics clearly did not get in the way of business, as shown by his work for the Tory Lascelles brothers.[29] For the country house owners of Wharfedale, architectural talent must have overridden political loyalties; the desire to portray erudition and maintain status among fashionable polite society was the more forceful pull, suggesting that in the provinces at least, political loyalties could be distanced from practical issues, fashions, or trends.[30]

Having explored the reasoning behind the decisions made to update the ancient seat of Farnley, and create a building where 'past and present there contend with each other', Fawkes' father did not live to greet many guests, dying in 1792 just when the decoration would have been completed.[31] The new owner, the subject of this thesis, took up his position leading the House of Fawkes, in a distinctive and cherished country seat.

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[25] Wragg, *John Carr*, p. 53

[26] Wragg, *John Carr*, p. 53.

[27] Carol Kennedy, *Harewood, The Life and Times of an English Country House* (London, Melbourne, Sydney, Auckland and Johannesburg: Hutchinson, 1982), pp. 38-41, 44.

[28] Wragg, *John Carr*, pp. 15-7.

[29] Wragg, *John Carr*, pp. 17, 154-5.

[30] Political divisions were also overridden by situations such as the call to war in 1803, see p. 8.

[31] A date on the drawing room plaster ceiling of 1790 (Fig. 1.18) attests to the timing of the internal decoration, Brian Wragg, *John Carr*, p. 145,

**Fawkes' Architectural Alterations**

On inheriting the Hall, there are no records or evidence that Walter Fawkes made any changes to the architectural structure of Farnley Hall.[32] However, in 1814, a number of architectural alterations were made to the Elizabethan wing, augmenting its ancestral associations, and using the building as more than just family living quarters. The changes Fawkes made are revealing of his motivations and aspirations at a time when he was again in the public arena promoting a more radical stance for political reform.

In terms of size the Elizabethan Wing was modest, consisting of an entrance hall, with a dining room to its south side and a study to the north side, all having the prefix of 'oak' due to their panelling (Fig. 1.19).[33] An oak drawing room was found to the west and there was a staircase hall, three storeys high.[34] Fawkes' alterations did not affect the configuration of the layout, but integrated items from other halls and houses across the greater Farnley estate (see Fig. 1.7 for the location of the halls mentioned). They included the incorporation of a porch from Newhall Old Hall, a fireplace from Charles Fairfax's parlour in Menston Hall (Fig. 1.20), bay windows from Lindley Hall (the seat of another ancient family, the Palmes) and various items from the Fawkes family's old seat, Hawksworth Hall.[35]

The architectural additions also extended to the landscape surrounding the Hall, with the Old Dairy from Newall Old Hall being rebuilt to the back of the building (Fig. 1.21), and a stone garden table re-sited from Menston Hall, around which Cromwell was reported to have discussed tactics before the decisive Battle of Marston Moor (Fig. 1.22).[36] Not only

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[32] Timing may also have played a part, since Fawkes was establishing his political presence, becoming MP in 1806, then returning to family life in 1897. He suffered the death of his first wife in 1813 which David Hill notes occurred before he threw himself into his project to display his collection of Civil War items, see David Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire* (York: York City Art Gallery, 1980), p. 35.

[33] Stobart and Rothery, *Fashion, Heritance and Family,* pp. 393-4 and p. 400, refer to the importance of oak paneling as a continuation of decoration associated with lineage and wealth.

[34] Gordon Nares, 'Farnley Hall, Yorkshire I: The Home of Major and Mrs Le G. G. W. Horton-Fawkes', *Country Life*, 20 May 1954, pp. 1618-21.

[35] Fred Cobley, *Upper and Lower Wharfedale: Illustrated* (Otley: William Walker & Sons, 1890), p. 65. The arched stone corner fireplace, dated 1657, is from Menston Hall, and marked with the initials 'CF' (Fig. 1. 20). Alistair Laurence states that it is 'almost certain that this fireplace was once in Charles Fairfax's parlour at Menston, the antiquarian, historian and Uncle to Tom Fairfax, General of the Parliamentary Army, Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth,* p. 62.

[36] Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth*, p. 61.

was Fawkes stripping, arguably, the best features from other halls across his estates to add to Farnley and render it the most grand, but he was also embellishing it with artefacts associated with the Civil Wars. By quarrying materials from a building that was once a Fairfax residence, Fawkes was consciously drawing attention to a local association as well as adding to his collection of items pertaining to the wars. Wheater's comment, quoted above, regarding the 'actualities and memories' in 'friendly conflict' shown in Farnley Hall, may well pertain to these architectural embellishments that had the potential to lead viewers to assume an association between the Fairfax and Fawkes families.[37]

The alterations, aside from following old established traditions of marking lineage and status as the 'House of Fawkes', show a particular interest in history, both in its display and record. In 1810 Fawkes had published *The Chronology of the History of Modern Europe*, indicating his particular interest in all things historic.[38] In 1816, *Loidis and Elmete,* a history of Leeds embracing Wharfedale, was published and included three illustrations of Fawkes' architectural additions (Figs. 1.23 – 1.25).[39] *Loidis and Elmete* was written by Dr Thomas Dunham Whitaker, the antiquarian author of *Histories* of various parts of the north of England.[40] Many of the country houses of Wharfedale were mentioned, including those of the Vavasours of Weston, and the Ibbetsons of Denton Hall.[41] In his earlier publications, Whitaker had commissioned Turner to provide illustrations, however for *Loidis and Elmete*, existing watercolours by the artist were presented by house owners for Whitaker's use.[42] Lascelles provided a view of Harewood House, and John Dixon one of Gledhow, and Whitaker had the images engraved to include in his publication.[43] It is telling that Fawkes chose to provide images of the architectural

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[37] There is further discussion regarding the inclusion of architectural embellishments from a Fairfax residence to Farnley Hall, in Chapter 2.

[38] Published in York by Thomas Wilson and Son, *The Chronology* is a curious listing of events such as battles and coronations, Fawkes deemed significant, without comment or analysis.

[39] Dr Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete*, (Leeds and Wakefield: Robinson, Son and Holdsworth, and John Hurst, 1816), pp. 191-3.

[40] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 73.

[41] Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete*, for Ibbetson at Denton Park see p. 196, and for the Vavasours at Weston Park, see p. 194.

[42] David Hill, *Turner and Dr. Whitaker* (Burnley: Towneley Hall Art Gallery, 1982), pp. 7-10; Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 73.

[43] Hill, *Turner and Dr. Whitaker*, p. 36; *Turner in Yorkshire*, p.73; see also, W. G. Rawlinson, *The Engraved Work of J. M. W. Turner, R. A.: Line Engraving on Copper, 1794-1839* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1908), Vol. 1, pp. 41-3.

features he added to Farnley, rather than a view of the Hall itself, as the other owners had done. Fawkes already had etchings made of the three images to use in a publication to promote the embellishments he was making at Farnley (discussed below).[44] Fawkes' selection of these images for *Loidis and Elmete* not only saved Whitaker the trouble and cost of having engravings made, no doubt contributing to the fact that these images made up three of the five illustrations in *Loidis and Elmete*, but the inclusion also further promoted Fawkes' historical and antiquarian interests and the concomitant changes he was making at Farnley.

Fawkes had the same or very similar illustrations published privately in a folio titled *Architectural Remains removed to Farnley by Walter Fawkes Esq*$^{re}$ *from Different Ancient Halls Houses in his Possession, 1814*.[45] The purpose of the folio appears manifold: the title suggests Fawkes wanted to make it clear that all these ancient seats were under his control, making him a considerable landowner, but it also displayed his antiquarian interests. Evidence shows that Fawkes presented these images as a folio to fellow landowners in a similar vein to a brochure promoting a new feature or undertaking.[46] The architectural embellishments were part of Fawkes' project to create a contemporary setting to display his collection of Civil War artefacts (considered in detail in chapter 2), and the folio of etchings was designed to advertise his lived-in museum venture.

There is no evidence that Fawkes carried out any further architectural changes to Farnley Hall. The unusual style of the building with its 'unresolved juxtaposition' of two parts complemented Fawkes' own propensity to look back to past events to rationalise his plans for the future.

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[44] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, pp. 40-2, describes the engraved images, their purpose and differences between the watercolours, etchings Fawkes made for his own publication and those used in *Loidis Elmete*, remarking that they provide a record of the architectural changes made to Farnley Hall during the period the images were created. See also, Hill, *Turner and Dr. Whitaker*, pp. 36-9.

[45] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, pp. 40-2, *Turner and Dr. Whitaker*, pp. 37-8; Rawlinson, *The Engraved Work of J. M. W. Turner, R. A.*, Vol. 1, pp. 41-3.

[46] West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, holds a copy of *Architectural Remains Removed to Farnley Hall*, with a dedication from Walter Fawkes to Walter Spencer-Stanhope (a Yorkshire merchant, landowner and politician, and regular visitor to Farnley Hall), consisting of three images and two facsimiles of documents, ref: SpSt/15/26. See also, Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 41.

**Farnley Landscapes**

Whilst only the buildings have been explored so far in this analysis, various references have been made in passing to their relationship with the surrounding gardens and landscape. At each stage of works carried out at Farnley Hall, the designs were chosen with equal regard to, and to complement, the adjacent land environment (see Fig. 1.26 for the site of locations in the Farnley landscape).

Fawkes regarded his estate as an extension of the Hall; it too reflected a respect for its history, maintaining features from previous centuries as well as embracing some of the new fashionable ideas for parkland designs and pleasure gardens.[47] Historians of landscape and garden design have found that changes or trends in particular styles of garden layout and land use reveal much about contemporary society, and this was true of the changes seen at Farnley.[48]

The estate was Fawkes' main source of income and working to maximise its productivity was a priority. His efforts earned him the reputation of a leading agriculturalist.[49] However, as with the building, managed for utility to house the family but also fashioned to accommodate guests and entertaining, the land was farmed but also adapted to offer leisure and sporting activities, particularly Fawkes' passion for shooting.

Fawkes' estate projects therefore concentrated on three main functions: pleasure, sport, and agricultural improvement. All three were provided within an economic framework, with best use of resources in terms of land type and labour. The landscape will be considered in three areas, firstly that in the immediate surrounds of Farnley Hall, secondly the parkland

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[47] In his study of changing landscape designs from the seventeenth century, Tom Williamson's research revealed how garden and estate plans retained traditional layouts such as walled gardens, in new landscape design projects, see Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, pp. 65-8, and chapter 6, 'Beauty and Utility', pp. 119-40.

[48] See, Stephen Daniels, 'Humphrey Repton and the Improvement of the Estate', in his *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 80-111; S. Daniels and S. Seymour, 'Landscape Design and the Idea of Improvement 1730-1914', in R. A. Dodgshon and R. A. Butlin (eds.), *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*, 2nd Ed. (London and San Diego: Academic Press Limited, 1990), pp. 487-520; though it has a focus on Petworth Estate, Alun Howkins' study of the landscape offers a useful framework to consider the landscape at Farnley, 'J. M. W. Turner at Petworth: Agricultural Improvement and the Politics of Landscape', in *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art, 170-1850*, John Barrell (ed.) (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 231-51.

[49] *Wharfedale and Airedale Observer*, 6 May 1898, p. 7.

(Fig. 1.27), and lastly the outlying areas of the estate of agricultural land and moors, including Hawksworth Moor and the rocky outcrop of the Chevin, both of which offered excellent shooting opportunities.

**The Gardens**

When Fawkes' father inherited Farnley Hall he already had a history of parkland improvement. At Hawksworth Hall he had employed Thomas White, a landscape designer who often worked alongside the architect John Carr and who was originally an understudy to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown.[50] White carried out major changes to the parkland around the Hall, planning to create a vista from the front of the house down the valley. The kitchen garden was repositioned so as not to disrupt the view, though plans to re-site the road running parallel along the front of the house to the village were not implemented.[51] The suggestion of moving the road so upset the villagers that it was decided instead to lower its level so as it was obscured from the view with a Ha-Ha wall.[52]

Creating an un-obscured view of his parkland was typical of a landscaping fashion of the time associated with the practice of Capability Brown. Brown's reputation rested on projects that entailed the clearing of land and introducing hills, lakes, and planting, to create vistas reminiscent of the composition of landscape paintings by Old Masters such as Claude Lorrain and Poussin. The notion of shaping parkland to emulate a landscape painting developed through the eighteenth century and led to the term 'picturesque' being applied to particular views and designs, including Brown's schemes.[53] However, there was no single definition of what constituted a picturesque landscape, and as the century progressed, various designers declared their understanding of the term, leading to differing approaches and political connotations.[54]

Brown's designs were popular and country seats such as Petworth, Bowood, and Chatsworth had landscapes created with views from the house of soft rolling grounds falling to a serpentine lake framed with judiciously planted copses, and grottoes and

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[50] Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth*, p. 29

[51] Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth*, p. 29.

[52] Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth*, p. 31.

[53] For an explanation of the interpretation and position on the 'picturesque' of various landscape designers, see chapter 3, 'The Picturesque Landscape' in Stephen Daniels', *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 103-47

[54] Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, chapter 3, pp. 103-47.

temples included for an element of entertainment and classical grandeur.[55] The success of the schemes and their somewhat formulaic nature brought criticism, comparing Brown's works to a military invasion that levelled the landscape and familiar landmarks, sterilising the countryside and eliminating local identity.[56] The schemes had been associated with Whig liberty and prosperity, but as the episodes of the French Revolution played out, Brown's levelling of landscape was seen as akin to a despotic form of power, negating local considerations, opinions or rights.[57]

The landscaping scheme implemented at Hawksworth Hall did not reflect a despotic form of power since the villagers' views were taken into account and the local road was not rerouted. The Lascelles' at Harewood House, did opt for a grand scheme to build a new country seat and landscaped park which required the demolition of a village, though modern new homes were built nearby for the displaced. At Hawksworth, the landscape scheme complemented the modernising of the Hall, creating a fashionable residence for the Hawksworth family and supporting their status in society. Any suggestion of political interpretation or association was incidental, the object being to maintain the family's position in polite society.

There are no records of landscaping works commissioned by the first Walter Hawksworth when he inherited Farnley Hall. An early eighteenth-century sketch by Samuel Buck shows the Elizabethan building surrounded on two sides by a walled garden with a geometric layout, typical of the formal gardens of the period (Fig. 1.28). Though the sketch is faint, it is possible to see pillared gateways, pathways, and a garden building, with flag flying, and in the garden area to the left geometrical planting beds. Though geometric garden arrangements were introduced in the previous century, the design remained in favour in the early eighteenth century.[58] Walled gardens close to the house offered shelter and a warm support that encouraged vegetable and fruit plants.[59] The

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[55]See, https://www.bowood.org/bowood-house-gardens/bowood-house/ accessed 29 June 2023, and https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/gardens-parks/where-to-see-capability-brown-landscapes accessed 29 June 2023

[56] Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, 'Picturesque Landscaping and Estate Management: Uvedale Price and Nathaniel Kent at Foxley', in *The Politics of the Picturesque*, Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, digitally printed version 2010), pp. 20-1, and Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, p. 122.

[57] Daniels and Watkins, 'Picturesque Landscaping', p. 21.

[58] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 73.

[59] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 73.

building in the corner of the walled garden at Farnley indicates that the area was appreciated for its aesthetic qualities, with a shelter and seating area from which to view the productive garden, reflecting a Georgic combination of beauty and utility.

The area outside the walls is sketched as woodland and there appears to be a pedestrian gate in the corner leading to the woods, perhaps a pathway to a 'wild wood' fashionable from the turn of the eighteenth century.[60] Buck's sketch of Hawksworth Hall shows a similar walled garden to the front of the Hall, as indeed does the topographer's record of Weston Hall suggesting this was the fashionable layout of the period in the area (Figs. 1.29 and 1.30).

The illustration in *Loidis and Elmete,* (Fig. 1.23) indicates that a walled flower garden adjacent to the house was retained by Fawkes. Turner's *Gateway to the Flower Garden*, c.1816, shows a further walled garden built further away from the house, located on a map dated 1851 (Fig. 1.31). There was also reference to a root house that appears to have been built against the wall in the new walled garden, possibly the conservatory Turner painted c.1818 (Fig. 1.32).[61] Furthermore, the flower garden to the east of the Hall was planted in a more open contemporary styled manner (Fig. 1.25). Fawkes' design therefore encompassed both an appreciation of past heritage, and an awareness of current designs in landscape design, with a focus on utility and enjoyment.[62]

**Farnley Park**

Both Farnley Hall and Harewood House were included in touring and topographical guides for their Palladian mansions and pleasure grounds.[63] Whilst the renowned Capability Brown had landscaped the gardens of Harewood House, there is no evidence that the parkland rolling down from the south view of the west wing of Farnley Hall, to the river Wharf, experienced similar scale earthmoving projects (see Fig. 1.27 for a sketch plan of the parkland). A watercolour by Turner of *The Wharfe from Farnley Hall,* c.1818 (Fig.

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[60] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, pp. 36-7.

[61] Alexander J Finberg, 'Turner at Farnley Hall', *The Studio – An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art,*Vol. 55, no. 228, 15 March 1912, p. 92.

[62]Paul Wood, *Mounsey's Wharfedale* (Otley, Yorkshire: Bloomfield Books, 1973), p.83, describes a parterre of grass and flowers in his accounts of 1813.

[63] See Mogg, *Paterson's Roads*, pp. 593-4; Bigland, *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York*, pp. 716-22.

1.33), shows a park with judiciously planted trees providing shade, with natural rolling slopes down to the river, as it appears today. Having the Wharfe at the foot of the bank meant that there was no need to create a 'serpentine lake' as built at Harewood, although the fall of the land at Farnley is such that it blocks a view of the river from the Hall. Clearly marked in the watercolour is the tower of Otley parish church, firmly associating the estate within its local community, with what appears to be animals grazing near the banks of the river, pointing to the importance of agriculture on the estate The reference to farming and the productivity of the land points to a Georgic representation of the estate, reflecting Fawkes' own value of agriculture and the potential utility of his land.

Even though the parkland at Farnley was blessed with natural features, a contemporary report describes it as an 'engaging display of improved nature'.[64] The description draws attention to the grounds, 'spotted and tissued with woods', and it is likely that the writer meant that the grounds were improved upon nature by a tree planting scheme. In *A Treatise on Forming, Improving, and Managing Country Residences* of 1806, John Claudius Loudon features Farnley Hall as one of his examples of a design to improve parkland by judicious tree planting, though whether this was simply a speculative venture, aimed at catching Fawkes' eye, or actually commissioned is unclear.[65] However, Turner's *The Wharfe from Farnley Hall,* implies that Fawkes recognised the value, both monetary and symbolic, of trees. While the parkland offered a beautiful landscape to wander through, reside in, and appreciate, it could also support a profitable crop of timber, even if the financial return was over the longer term. The painting featured a mature tree complete with a bench surrounding the trunk that also acted as a guard protecting it from damage. The depiction pointed to the fact that not only was the tree aesthetically attractive and useful to provide shade, but also represented longevity and heritage, being planted for future generations rather than one's own.[66]

Aside from the symbolism of heritage, parkland timber planting was an important activity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Indeed, Fawkes' father was responsible for changing much of the scenery of the Chevin with tree plantations.[67]

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[64] Wood, *Mounsey's Wharfedale*, p.82.

[65] Loudon, *Forming a Country Residence*, pp. 644-8.

[66] Stephen Daniels, 'The Political Iconography of woodland in later Georgian England', in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge, New York and Victoria: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 48-50.

[67] Alastair Laurence, *Otley Chevin, A Landscape History* (Skipton: Pioneer Press Limited, 2006), p. 5.

Planting particular species in a manner that provided quality timber (planted in clumps to encourage high growth but without overcrowding leading to poorer vitality) added to the picturesque qualities of parkland. However, it was also an economic and patriotic endeavour providing an income for the estate and supporting the country's war effort.[68] Mature trees with good quality wood were used for ship building and, with the ongoing Napoleonic Wars, calls for timber, particularly oak for the hulls, were urgent.[69]

In terms of parkland, the trees shown clearly on the Ordnance Survey Map of 1851 (Fig. 1.34), and the trees still shown on the 2013 version (Fig. 1.35), indicate the planting scheme strategy: the planting behind the Hall and the 'Wilderness' shielded the view from the Hall to Home Farm and Farnley Lane, and the Otley plantation obscured the view of Otley and the cottages where many of the servants lived. The planting to the east of the Hall, channelled the view from the Hall down to the Wharfe, with the Hasling Plantation blocking the view of Hasling Farm. There was also an avenue of trees appearing to edge a carriageway from the East Gates to the Hall, and indeed a track is marked on the Ordnance Survey map, believed to be the original public road, which was later diverted to run behind the park on the road now known as Farnley Lane.[70] It seems the old road was used in Fawkes' time, planted with an avenue of trees, to provide a grand private entrance for visitors. There are now three sets of gate houses to the park, the east and west gates (Figs. 1.36 and 1.37) which are no longer in use, and the north entrance.

The watercolour of the East Gates shows them from a viewpoint outside Farnley Park. They are open, with Farnley Hall in the background and a pair of horses and a rider on the public road to the far left, and to the far right, the back of a carriage just going out of site. The view suggests a busy lane, associated with the hustle and bustle of Otley, overseen by the watchful squire of Farnley, the open gates reflecting the open, interested, and respectful attitude displayed by Fawkes towards the local community. The painting of the West Gates is depicted from inside the park, looking out towards Otley. The image clearly shows Otley Bridge, an important route into Farnley as it was the only bridge over the river for some miles in each direction. The scene shows chickens and fowl pecking for food, as a man, possibly a gardener judging from the wheelbarrow to the side, is moving the gates, with two other men on the far side. The painting shows a country idyll and bounty, with

[68]The patriotism associated with oak planting is explored by Daniels, 'The Political Iconography of woodland', pp. 47-8.

[69] Daniels, 'The Political Iconography of woodland', pp. 47-8.

[70] Discussion with Guy Horton-Fawkes, 28 August 2019.

the commerce of Otley in the distance, the estate pleasure gardens suggested by the presence of the gardener and wheelbarrow, and agrarian pursuits represented by the chicken, existing in a Georgic harmony. Taken as a pair, the gate paintings narrate a visit to Farnley, entering from the East, and leaving through the West, encountering an estate of bounty, committed to agriculture and its surrounding community.

Turner's view of the *Carriage Drive,* from the east at Farnley, c.1818, and another taken from the west gates and passing in front of the south entrance to Farnley Hall (Figs. 1.38 and 1.39), support the view that the carriageway ran the route of the old road. The driveways appear wide and well laid, certainly constructed with a view to regular use, endorsed by an account of many visitors' carriages being parked at the Hall.[71]

A further significant landscaping venture undertaken by Fawkes was the creation of Lake Tiny. Fishing was an important pursuit for Fawkes, and an activity that Turner also enjoyed, not only with Fawkes but also with other patrons, and at his own residence on the banks of the Thames.[72] Farnley park was blessed with the presence of the splendid rivers Wharfe and the smaller Washburn, and Turner made a record of fishing at their junction (Fig. 1.40). However, Fawkes clearly felt having a lake would offer further benefits such as boating and lake fishing, and again Turner provides a record, *Lake Tiny, Farnley Park,* c.1818, (Fig. 1.41). Lake Tiny was created on the other side of Farnley Lane, by redirecting feeder streams to the Washburn. There is evidence of a stone wall built to reinforce the banks of the lake but the construction was otherwise limited and did not involve the earthworks required for such schemes as designed by Capability Brown.

Other watercolours by Turner of the parkland focus upon woodland: *The Avenue, Farnley Hall,* c.1818 (Fig. 1.42) depicts a lady walking through a wide avenue of trees leading to the west side of the Hall. The avenue is depicted in a straight line, although the view of the Hall is obscured by smaller trees and shrubs, until revealed at the last moment. The path appears sufficiently wide for a carriage to navigate and may have been part of an old road.

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[71] Edmund Bogg, *Higher Wharfeland: The Dale of Romance, from Ormscliffe to Cam Fell* (York, London, Manchester and Leeds: John Sampson, John Heywood and John Miles, 1904), p. 90, the author recounts a tale told him by an elderly native who stated that seventy years before there would be between thirty and forty chaises in the yard at one time, and that a constant visitor was Thomas Lister Parker, trumpeter to George III.

[72] For Turner's love of fishing see the entry for 'Fishing' by James Hamilton in Evelyn Joll, Martin Butlin and Luke Hermann (eds), *The Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 100.

Works by the artist such as *The Woodwalk, Farnley Hall,* c.1818 and *Lake Plantation, Farnley,* c.1818 (Figs. 1.43 and 1.44), show footpaths through the woods of the estate meant for walkers to enjoy nature in a more intimate manner, taking the time to look, listen, and notice. *Pheasants Nest* c.1818, (Fig. 1.45), as well as depicting a path, shows a summerhouse, possibly that referred to by Miss Fawkes in her poem 'The Peasants Nest'.[73] David Blayney Brown suggested the present title was derived from Ruskin's correction, 'Pheasant's, I suppose', pencilled alongside the catalogue entry for the watercolour when it was exhibited as the 'Peasant's Nest' at the Fine Art Society in 1878.[74] As well as pointing to an interest and regard of the wildlife and natural history abundant in the locality, all three paintings record the particular byways and structures that were maintained as part of the estate, reflecting Fawkes' appreciation of the heritage and beauty of the place.

The parklands therefore supported a variety of leisure activities from carriage drives to enjoy the beautiful rolling views to the Wharfe and the town of Otley, to the more intimate woodland walkways forging a closer appreciation of nature. The tree planting, both of the copse arrangements in the park, and the larger plantations around Lake Tiny, adjacent to Hasling Farm and surrounding the carriage way to the house, suggest that Fawkes raised an income from the parkland through timber production, as well as enjoyed the more intangible leisure benefits of a stunning park. The lack of evidence of major earthwork schemes indicates that, as a prudent landowner, he did not outlay vast sums to enhance or 'improve' the parkland, finding alternative ways to achieve his goals. Turner's paintings attest to the importance of community and location that Fawkes recognised in devising the layout of his park.

**The Farnley Estate**

The wider estate was where most of Fawkes' income was derived through rents paid by tenant farmers. As well as prime agricultural land, there was however, at least two thousand acres of land that could not easily support production. [75] Fawkes did not let the

[73] Miss Fawkes included 'The Peasant's Nest' in her compilation of poems, describing a shelter on the bank of the river Washburn, see The Late Miss Fawkes, *The Washburn and other Poems* (London: Hatchards, Piccadilly, 1879).

[74] See https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-the-pheasants-nest-farnley-park-r1131572, accessed 28 June 2023.

[75] [75] Marion Sharples, *The Fawkes Family and their Estates in Wharfedale, 1819-1936* (Leeds: The Thoresby Society, 1997), pp. 15-19.

moors or the rocky outcrop of the Chevin go without purpose for they offered the habitat to provide cover for game, perfect to support his passion for shooting. How Fawkes took advantage of his estate's natural resources will be discussed, firstly considering the opportunities for shooting, and then returning to Fawkes' agricultural interests.

**Shooting Parties**

The moors that Fawkes used for his shooting pursuits were in the more remote, higher areas of the estate (Fig. 1.26). Turner provides a record of Fawkes' shooting pursuits through a number of watercolours. His *Shooting party on Hawksworth Moor,* c.1816 (Fig. 1.46) portrays a grand affair, with large tents erected and carriages that no doubt transported the guests, guns, ammunition, and lunch, since the Moor was over six miles from Farnley. The painting has been noted as being stylistically different than other pictures Turner painted of the Farnley estate, pointing to the contemporary fashion for patrons to invite artists on shoots to make a record of the activities and the guests attending.[76] Press accounts attest to the success of Fawkes' shooting parties, though in August 1816 his brother, Richard, was accidentally shot at such an event and died a few days later.[77] *Shooting party*, which has a sombre mood rather than the expected more jovial character of a group of men enjoying leisure pursuits together, could have been created as a memorial to Richard. The white canvas draped over barrels in the foreground is reminiscent of a sarcophagus, and death is emphasised by the shot game arranged on it with the gun beside.[78]

In *Grouse Shooting on Beamsley Beacon,* c.1816, (Fig. 1.47) a very different scene is depicted with only five men, some hounds, and three ponies on the moor. The man on the foremost pony is usually thought to be Walter Fawkes, and the figure in the foreground,

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[76] Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 238.

[77] A notice in the *Yorkshire Herald*, 5 September 1801, reported that since the 12 August no less than 202 brace of grouse had been killed by Fawkes and a shooting party, on a preserved moor belonging to him. Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire,* p.35 gives information on the death of Rev. Richard Fawkes resulting from a shooting accident in August 1816; see also, David Hill, *In Turner's Footsteps through the Hill and Dales of Northern England* (London: John Murray, 1984), pp. 101-2.

[78] Donald, *Picturing animals*, p. 241, includes a discussion on the portrayal of dead animals, discussed in more detail in chapter 4 of this thesis regarding the portraits of dead birds Fawkes had painted for his *Ornithological Collection*.

the artist.[79] This painting points to a more intimate shooting party, with a few good friends. Fawkes' son also created a series of sketches of locals on the moors shooting with amusing comments regarding the skills of the participants (Figs. 1.48 - 1.50), and Turner's paintings of birds indicate the range of game found at Farnley including pheasants, grouse, partridge, and woodcock (Figs. 1.51-1.54).[80] These images point to the important role shooting played at Farnley, both as a leisure activity, and also as a purpose in the management of the estate.[81] The fact that Fawkes was careful to provide a habitat for the birds to thrive is evidenced by his comment in a letter to Turner, 'we have tormented the poor animals very much lately and now we must give them a holiday'.[82] Turner's estate images such as *The Pheasant Nest, Farnley Park*, c.1818 (Fig. 1.45) and *The Woodwalk*, c.1818 (Fig. 1.43), both show woodland managed with rough cover, important for such species as Woodcock.

However, the shooting on Farnley estate was not limited to game birds. Fawkes created a deer park on the rocky outcrop of the Chevin, offering an exciting and challenging setting for the sport.[83] The introduction of deer parks on estates for hunting was something found from medieval times but had become less fashionable during the 1730s and '40s with the rise of the landscaped park and importance of trees, which deer tended to damage by bark stripping.[84] Furthermore, since the Game Law of 1671 that forbid the sale of game, deer yielded little utility aside from sport and the status attached to gifts of meat to favoured friends and acquaintances.[85] Therefore, only the larger estates could release sufficient acres of land to support a pastime that yielded such a small return in terms of production.

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[79] F. J. B. Watson, *Wallace Collection Catalogues, Pictures and Drawings, Text with Historical Notes and Illustrations*, (London: Wallace Collection Trustees, 1968), p. 329.

[80] See David Hill, *Turner's Birds*, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988), and Anne Lyles, *Turner and Natural History: The Farnley Project* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1988), for details of the watercolours Turner painted for the Fawkes' *Ornithological Collection*.

[81] Although considered a leisure activity, the sport provided the opportunity for guests to interact, forge alliances and carry out business. This aspect is discussed in further detail in chapter 5 with regard to the contacts Turner made to secure further patrons and work, through attending Fawkes' shooting parties.

[82] John Gage (ed.), *Collected Correspondence of J. M. W. Turner* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 75-6, letter from Walter Fawkes to Turner, Autumn 1818.

[83] Laurence, *Otley Chevin*, pp. 10-11.

[84] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes,* pp. 22-3 and pp .75-6.

[85] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 132.

The Farnley estate was not so vast that it could accommodate a deer park without losing the Hall's timbered parkland setting or land of agricultural value.

Fawkes, however, was astute in his plans to establish a deer park on his estate; he did not waste the economic potential of the parkland rolling from the Hall to the river Wharfe, or any of his estate lands that had agricultural value. Instead, he used the rocky outcrop of the Chevin, a tract unsuitable for farming, but perfect for deer. Turner recorded the park and deer in a series of watercolours including, *The Deer Park, Caley Hall,* c.1818, and *Valley of the Wharfe, from Caley Park,* c.1815, (Figs. 1.55 and 1.56). Other works, such as *Wharfedale from The Chevin,* c.1818 (Fig. 1.57), and *Farnley Hall from above Otley,* c.1815 (Fig. 1.58), emphasise the unusual beauty of the area and the views and prospects gained from its vantage point. *Caley Hall,* c.1818 (Fig. 1.59), shows the spoils of a hunt being carried on a stretcher, accompanied by a small group of men with guns. Fawkes had Caley Hall, located in the heart of the Chevin, turned into a hunting lodge to support his favoured pastime.[86] There were also reports that Fawkes stocked the park with exotic species such as Axis deer from the Ganges, zebra, and wild hogs, most likely to offer more exciting and spectacular hunting pursuits, and as a display of wealth and elite status.[87]

The fact that Fawkes created his deer park at the turn of the century in a period when the trend was waning, and that he did not sacrifice the economic utility of land that had agricultural value, suggests he did it because he had the facility to do it economically, he personally enjoyed the sport and to offer an exciting prospect to his guests so raising his standing in society at a time when the status and authority of the landed gentry was being challenged.[88]

The landowner's shooting parties should also be considered in terms of how they benefitted local people. The larger events with marquees, carriages, and refreshments

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[86] Laurence, *Otley Chevin,* pp. 10-11.

[87] Laurence, *Otley Chevin,* p. 11. See Donald, *Picturing Animals,* pp. 176-80 for an explanation of the contemporary lure of hunting exotic animals that Fawkes appears to have wished to emulate.

[88] The artist John R. Wildman also painted a scene apparently depicting hunting on Farnley parkland; *J. M. W. Turner and Walter Fawkes at Farnley Hall (after Coursing),* c.1820-24 (Fig. 1.60), depicting the two men with hounds and a dead hare. This painting is however curious. The building in the background does not resemble Farnley Hall, and neither of the gentlemen resemble Fawkes. A sketch by Fawkes' son, labelled 'Colonel Lascelles', depicts a gentleman in a red overcoat, a similar hat and breeches (Fig. 4.27) pointing to the possibility that this is in fact a painting set in the grounds of Harewood House. I suggest therefore that Wildman's painting should not be relied upon as evidence of Fawkes' sporting activities.

would have necessitated many people working to facilitate the organisation. Since the shooting season started after harvest when there was normally a lull in agricultural work, to be employed in servicing such parties and supporting game keeping work in general (though there would have been a number of gamekeepers employed specifically for the purpose) would have been valuable for farm workers otherwise potentially short of, or without, work. Furthermore, to have tenants involved in the activity would have smoothed the way when the sport traversed and potentially damaged their crops or land. Shooting was, therefore, an activity that benefited local people as well as the entertainment of Fawkes and his guests.

Considering the Farnley landscape as a whole, including the gardens, park and wider estate, Fawkes' approach to its use and design shows an awareness of contemporary trends, incorporating some of those ideas in a piecemeal and low-cost manner.[89] Certainly, Fawkes reflected a Georgic approach to the management of his estate, with a focus on utility and productivity. He relied on the rents from his tenanted farms for the greater part of his income and it was therefore in his interests to encourage agricultural production on his farmland. How he approached this is now considered.

**Agricultural Improvements**

While Turner provided a record of Fawkes' use of his estate for leisure, evidence of farming or other activities to earn money on the estate were less obvious.[90] This is not surprising; Turner tended to visit Farnley at the same time each year, early autumn, for the shooting season. The Fawkes family themselves did not spend the whole year at Farnley, having a London residence, and possibly also renting a property in York for extended stays in the city.[91] Management of the agricultural business was left to Fawkes' steward; in 1822 William Barraclough was recorded as being the Managing Farmer for the Farnley

[89] Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, p. 104.

[90] There is a sketch by Turner dated c.1808 that features quarrying on the Chevin, see https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-view-of-the-wharfe-valley-from-caley-park-otley-chevin-with-r1146613, accessed 13 September 2023. The date suggests this sketch was made early in Fawkes' patronage of the artist and since there is no evidence it was worked up to a finished watercolour suggests the subject was not of great interest to Fawkes.

[91] A Walter Fawkes rented Garforth House, Micklegate, York in 1788, see https://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol3/pp68-96, accessed 19 July 2023.

Estate.[92] However, there was great evidence that Fawkes had a keen interest in agriculture not only introducing plantation schemes, but also promoting modern farming techniques endorsed by the Wharfedale Agricultural Society he helped establish.[93]

That Fawkes' efforts to encourage improvement were successful is shown by the near doubling of rents between 1792-3 and 1818.[94] Though the price of wheat increased, from around 17 to 22 shillings in 1790, to 42 to 50 shillings in 1800, the average increase in land rent in the West Riding for the period was 25 to 33 percent.[95] The fact that rents on the Fawkes estate were able to stand an increase of nearly 50 percent suggests that the farmers had the wherewithal to be more profitable than others in the region. It was not a case of more waste land being brought into production since, by 1750, most fertile land had been enclosed.[96] Mounsey, a land surveyor active in Wharfedale in 1807, suggested the increase was fostered by landowners 'parcelling' their land into small farms and granting leasehold tenures, giving the farmer 'a sufficient space of time for reimbursing' himself.[97] This view was endorsed in a report of 1799 *On the Agriculture of the W.R. of Yorkshire* that notes that smaller farms could make use of smaller capital sums for improvement, and that they should not be dismissed as an obstacle to improvement as they had an important role to play in servicing small local markets.[98] However, it was not just the encouragement of small independent farms that enabled the significantly higher raise in rents on Farnley than the average for the area.

The Farnley estate enjoyed particularly good land, with the whole of the Leathley lands being fertile and most of that of Stainburn, lying on alluvial plains (see Fig. 1.26 for the location of these areas in Wharfedale).[99] Other areas lay on clays suitable for good pasture

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[92] Edward Baines, *History, Directory & Gazetteer of the County of York; with select lists of the Merchants & Traders of London, and the Principal Commercial and Manufacturing Towns of England; and a Variety of other commercial information; also a copious list of the seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1822), p. 500.

[93] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* pp. 118-21.

[94] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* p. 80.

[95] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* p. 80.

[96] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* p. 79.

[97] Wood, *Mounsey's Wharfdale*, foreword and pp. 6-7.

[98] Robert Brown, 'Review of Robert Brown, General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire', *Monthly Review; or Literary Journal Enlarged,* Vol. 33 November 1800, p. 279.

[99] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* pp. 80-1

and some on less productive mill-stone grit.[100] Crop returns of 1801, studied by Marion Sharples, reveal that the Leathley and Stainburn farmers were following complex crop rotations, including grains, legumes, and roots, and break-crops of clover and temporary grass (although break-crops were not recorded in the 1801 return).[101] At this time, including legumes as a crop was an innovation in agricultural practice. They improved overall crop production by increasing the nitrogen in the soil. Fawkes may have been aware of these developments in arable farming that were being driven by Thomas Coke at Holkham in Norfolk, by his contact with the Rockingham's on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate and the Earl of Fitzwilliam, who also took an active interest in agricultural improvement.[102]

Fawkes' farming interests were not limited to crop production; he was a keen breeder of Shorthorn cattle, a dual purpose breed (good for meat and milk) which matured earlier and fattened more easily than other breeds, with a higher killing-out weight (less waste), and a higher than average milk yield.[103] The predominant cattle type of the Wharfedale was of the Longhorn type, and though good producers of meat and milk, Shorthorns were better and Fawkes was keen to promote the breed. His adoption of the species and his dedication to nurturing a high-quality herd was a mark of Fawkes' earnest endeavour to encourage the highest return from his land.

His commitment to improvements in agricultural practice was also revealed by Fawkes being one of the founder members in 1806 of the Wharfedale Agricultural Society.[104] In 1804 Jonas Whitaker, a cotton miller from Burley, the Revd J. Armitage Rhodes and Isaac Tetley, maltster of Armley, visited Thomas Coke at Holkham, and saw livestock shows with competitions for animals and farming practices.[105] They returned to Wharfedale keen to emulate the competitive drive for improvement witnessed at Holkham. Whitaker's ally in establishing the Wharfedale Agricultural Society as a vehicle for sharing improved practice through meetings, shows, and competition, was Sir Henry Ibbetson at Denton Hall. The Society was launched in 1806, with Ibbetson as President, and Fawkes and the Rt Hon. Lord Harewood as vice-presidents. The fact that the President and a Vice

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[100] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* p. 16.

[101] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* p. 81.

[102] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* p. 81.

[103] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, p. 103.

[104] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, pp. 118-21.

[105] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, pp. 118-21.

President were from merchanting backgrounds rather than long-established landowning families was explained by R G Wilson:

> perhaps the most important feature is not that the wealthier merchants became model improving landowners, for only a minority could afford a sizeable estate, but that the landowners' way of life became the accepted norm of achievement throughout the entire merchant community. All merchants hoped to attain this ideal ... so that one day their families would be provided with an independent income that was not tied to the fluctuations of trade.[106]

Hence, although Fawkes and Lascelles were from different backgrounds they were tied by the same goal: Fawkes needed to capitalise on the fertility of his estate since it had little other wealth such as could be gained from coal reserves or large quarrying activities, and Lascelles wanted to gain as much income from his lands, as his income from his sugar plantations and slave merchanting was jeopardised by huge debts.[107] It is interesting that those new to agriculture saw it as providing a secure and steady income for the future, whereas the ancestral, established landowners understood the potential threats that weather, labour, and markets represented and looked to other sources of income to spread the risk. The evidence points to the transitionary nature of the period where established landowners felt under threat in terms of wealth and losing status, whereas new landowners saw the position as it had traditionally been perceived as offering long term financial security. The fact that both new and established Wharfedale landowners worked together on the committee for the Society indicates that their different backgrounds and politics were cast aside, introducing an effective and successful organisation encouraging improved agricultural practices in Wharfedale.

In the first two shows of the Society in 1806, Fawkes won prizes for his Shorthorns, whilst other winners included his tenants at Caley Hall and Hawksworth Hall for Longhorn cattle.[108] As the Society developed, more efforts were made to further encourage tenant-farmers; in 1810 it was agreed that the exhibits of the wealthiest landowners such as Fawkes, Ibbetson, and Lascelles, would be displayed only, giving the smaller herds the chance to win prize money, to reinvest and enhance the value of their herd.[109]

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[106] Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*, p. 3.

[107] Kennedy, *Harewood*, p. 35.

[108] *Wharfedale & Airedale Observer*, 6 May 1898, p. 7, 'Wharfedale Agricultural Society. Its Origin and Growth'.

[109] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, pp. 119-20.

This evidence suggests that Fawkes had an earnest interest in the farming on his estates and spent time and effort in researching methods, breeds, and strategies to improve production. It is curious then that only one or two of the watercolours he had painted of the activities carried out on Farnley estate include references to agriculture or farming. Sir Henry Ibbetson was claimed to have paintings of his prize cattle adorning his bedroom walls; the only comparable record of cattle displayed in Farnley Hall were on a small number of the painted panels in the oak drawing room (See Fig. 3.6 and discussed in more detail in chapter 3). As pointed out by the author of *Saddle and Sirloin*, 'not one bull stirred up the remembrance of its Royal triumphs on canvas', acknowledging perhaps that they would not be worthy of the 'wondrous Turners at Farnley Hall'.[110]

The fact that there are no paintings by Turner recording Fawkes' farming achievements is symptomatic of the artist not being at Farnley during times of peak agricultural activity, since there is no reason to believe he would not have painted the Shorthorn herd if requested, much as he worked on the 'Bird' paintings for the family's *Ornithological Collection* (see chapter 4). Turner was exposed to, or asked to record, the aspects of the Hall and estate that Fawkes wanted to display to polite society.

In terms of the reform of agricultural practice that was occurring at the turn of the nineteenth century, driven by the increasing population and migration to urban centres, Fawkes encouraged and embraced change on his estate, resulting in increased arable productivity through new crop rotations and improved stock value from the introduction of the Shorthorn herd. He also championed farm tenants that excelled in their practice through his work with the Wharfedale Agricultural Society. He recognised that his tenants would not only benefit from higher yields but also that since his livelihood rested on their success, it was in his interest to reconsider or reform his management approach to protect his financial position and wealth.

## Conclusion

My discussion concerning the changes made to Farnley Hall when Fawkes' father inherited the estate show an appreciation of the heritage passed through the Elizabethan building, and with the commissioning of the new Georgian wing, a recognition of the need to look as

[110] John Grey, *Saddle and Sirloin or English Farm and Sporting Worthies by The Druid* (London: Rogerson and Tuxford, 1870), p. 298.

well to the future, to protect the interests of the House of Fawkes. As noted in the quotation at the start of the chapter, the Hall is an illustration of the past and present vying for attention.

In terms of the Hall, while retaining the Elizabethan section paid homage to lineage and landowning ancestry, the new Georgian wing was built with entertainment and hospitality in mind. Whilst contemporaries were also updating their homes with similar intentions, Fawkes was careful to retain and reinforce his ancestral and local ties by integrating period features from other Halls on his estate. It emphasised Farnley's outstanding architecture, but also pointed to Fawkes' antiquarian interests and scholarship. Having illustrations of the features engraved, printed and disseminated reveals that Fawkes wished to advertise the period embellishments made to his home, his antiquarian activities, and encourage visitors to come to see the improvements for themselves.

Following the approach of his father, in juxtaposing styles by keeping the old and adding the new, it is clear Fawkes steered his own way through the various contemporary theories and practices concerning landscape design. He was aware of fashions and trends but maintained a focus on costs, only incorporating ideas with little financial outlay, and where they did not compromise the productive potential of the land.

Fawkes had a Georgic focus on utility, with the garden, park, and wider estate offering tangible reward in terms of food, timber, and agricultural production, and also the intangible benefits of leisure, hospitality, and sport. That Farnley was included in contemporary travel guides, indicates that the parkland with its carriage drives, woodland walks, and river views was an attractive prospect. Fawkes' investment in shooting parties, and especially the deer park, showed a determination to entice people to spend time on the estate. Shooting parties offered an occasion when landed gentry, artists, industrialists, and bankers amongst many other professions, came together on neutral territory. They facilitated business agreements, discussion of ideas, and the forming of relationships. Fawkes needed to maintain his position at the centre of regional society and politics to be successful in his aspirations for parliamentary reform. At a time when the authority of the landed gentry was being challenged, he achieved this by positioning himself as a crucial cog in society's wheel, offering a setting and pursuits attractive for guests, with a geniality and hospitality that would guarantee an enjoyable and memorable visit.

In his changes, Fawkes maintained his connection with his locality. Retaining features such as the 'Peasant's Nest' revealed Fawkes' appreciation of the particular landmarks of

his landscape, suggesting a corresponding appreciation of the people surrounding him. The shooting parties were also an indication that local people were included in the community at Farnley. Offering work, and a part in significant local events often reported in the regional press, the shooting parties would have been highlights in the lives of local people.

Fawkes' ambitions to improve the productivity of agriculture on his estate pointed to the contemporary mood for reform. Reliance on the existing systems, processes, tools, and techniques, were no longer sufficient to meet the demand for food from increasing urban populations, or to cover Fawkes' expenses from a growing family active in polite society. He was keen to explore ways to make his land work more efficiently and effectively to successfully feed the population and maintain his income. This desire echoed his aspirations for reform of the existing parliamentary processes, to enable parliament to better respond to the needs of the people and ensure the continued authority of the landed gentry of which he was a part. On his estate he introduced new systems in a manner advantageous and attractive to his tenants, such as withdrawing from farming competitions so local farmers would benefit from prize money, maintaining their goodwill. If his tenant farmers were satisfied, they would continue to farm his land. Likewise, in politics, if the electorate were treated fairly and with respect, they would continue to support the parliamentary process, and calls for revolution would be retracted.

In developing his home and estate, Fawkes was not only providing accommodation for his family and a secure income, but also encouraging hospitality and social connection. He was looking to new ways to retain his status and position in Wharfedale and the West Riding, whilst looking back and reminding estate workers, locals, and visitors of his heritage and long-established sense of responsible governance and authority. The past and present displayed by the architecture of the house and its landscapes, were a reflection of the wider strategies of its owner, looking to preserve the best of the past for the benefit of the future.

## CHAPTER 2: MUSEUMS, MUNIMENTS, AND MARSTON MOOR - FAIRFAXIANA AND FAWKES' CIVIL WAR RELICS

> 'I visited Farnley, where, besides the family of my friend Mr. Fawkes, I found several guests, and, amongst them, the most celebrated landscape painter of our time – I mean Turner, who was employed in making designs for a museum intended to contain relics of our civil wars, and to be called Fairfaxiana.' [1]

John Cam Hobhouse, Lord Broughton, a Whig politician and friend of Byron's, was travelling from Harrogate to Leeds in October 1823, when he made a break to visit Farnley Hall for a few days. In his diary he noted that the house was 'handsome and comfortable' and tellingly added that the old part 'was, I believe, taken from an ancient mansion house of the Fairfax family'.[2] As discussed in chapter 1, Farnley Hall comprised of two clearly defined sections, one of Elizabethan and the other Georgian origin. In 1814 Fawkes embellished the older section with contemporary architectural and internal features from other halls within the Farnley Estate, including Menston Hall, a previous home of a branch of the Fairfax family.[3] Hobhouse's comments, that he believed the older part of the Hall to have come from a Fairfax Mansion, when in fact only a few features had, indicates how successful Fawkes' adaptations and decorations were in forging an ancestral connection with his illustrious, fellow Wharfedale resident, Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliamentary Army.

That Fawkes had a keen interest in history and its eminent characters is evidenced by his text, *The Chronology of the History of Modern Europe*, published in 1810.[4] The book would today be considered curious, consisting of tabulated lists of Kings, Queens, Emperors, Popes, and other rulers, with brief details of some notable battles of various countries and geographical areas in Europe. The account is factual with no interpretive narrative, commentary, or illustrations, but displayed Fawkes' scholarship and how he was immersed in, and reflected, a period of burgeoning historic mindedness. His treatment,

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[1] Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse), *Recollections of a Long Life with Additional Extracts from his Private Diaries, Edited by his Daughter, Lady Dorchester* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 28, October 1823.

[2] See https://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/31-18232.pdf accessed 29.9.2019, a transcribed version of Lord Broughton's (John Cam Hobhouse) diaries and manuscripts.

[3] Alastair Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth* (Otley: Smith Settle, 1991), p. 62.

[4] Walter Fawkes, *The Chronology of the History of Modern Europe* (York: Thomas Wilson and Son, 1810).

display, and illustration of the items in his Civil War collection point to a process of reforming how the landowner considered the recording of history, from the dry record of *The Chronology*, to one inviting interpretation to bring about a change in direction for the future.

Housed in the Elizabethan wing of Farnley Hall, Fawkes' collection of Civil War relics consisted of documents, armour, swords, seals, and various artefacts with a focus on the Parliamentary forces and the Battle of Marston Moor in particular. The armour included Sir Thomas' breast plate and helmet, as well as three swords said to have been used at the Battle by Fairfax, and another local man and Parliamentary General, John Lambert, as well as Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England.[5] Personal items such as a mug made from the heel of Fairfax's boot, his candlesticks, the wheelchair he designed for use in later life, and a drum decorated with his arms, make the General prominent in the collection. Other items included Cromwell's hat and pocket watch, a seal of the commonwealth, and military commissions signed by Cromwell and Fairfax, as well as a 'Benevolence' dated 1626 from King Charles to Thomas Fawkes, used to raise money as forced loans. There were also banners and pikes, as well as the stone table in the gardens at Farnley (Fig. 1.22), removed from Menston Hall and said to have been used when Parliamentary forces discussed tactics before the Battle of Marston Moor. The collection therefore pays homage to Fawkes' ancestors and kith, with its focus on Fairfax and the Parliamentarian victory at the Battle fought around twenty miles away.[6]

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[5] The swords that belonged to Fairfax and Lambert are authentic (at least the hilt on Fairfax's sword) but the sword thought to have been Cromwell's has a much later date and was gifted to Fawkes from a member of the Swinton family, email from Robert Woosnam-Savage, 17 October 2023.

[6] The following contemporary and later accounts have been used to list items in the collection: John Preston Neal, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Scotland and Ireland,* Vol. 5 (London, 1822), unpaginated; Thomas Shaw, *Wharfedale* (Otley: William Walker, 1830), pp. 145-6; Turner's letter to Hawksworth Fawkes of 27 December 1850, in John Gage's (ed.), *Collected Correspondence of J. M. W. Turner with an Early Diary and a Memoir by George Jones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 224; S A Byles, 'Farnley Hall', *The Magazine of Art,* Vol. 10, January 1887, pp. 295-300; William Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions of Yorkshire and their Associations* (Leeds: Richard Jackson Fine Art Publisher, 1888), pp. 87-8; Fred Cobley, *Upper and Lower Wharfedale* (Otley: William Walker and Sons, 1890), pp. 41 and 65; Harry Speight, *Upper Wharfedale* (London: Elliot Stock, 1900), p. 104; Gordon Nares, 'Farnley Hall, Yorkshire I: The Home of Major and Mrs Le G. G. W. Horton-Fawkes', *Country Life,* 27 May 1954, p. 1619; Marion Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection and the Art Collection at Farnley Hall, Otley, 1792-1937: A Great Estate Enhanced and Supported', *Northern History,* Vol. 26, Issue 1, January 1990, p. 137.

How the objects came to be housed at Farnley is largely unknown, although it is recorded that Cromwell's hat was given to Fawkes by his Yorkshire friend and antiquary Thomas Lister Parker of Browsholme Hall, and that the Lord Protector's watch was given to his nurse on his death bed.[7] Other items could have been recovered from the former Fairfax property, Menston Hall, when that became part of the Fawkes estate, although accounts only testify to the transfer of the stone table, fireplaces, and mantle pieces described in the architectural alterations to the Elizabethan wing in chapter 1. It is of course possible that Fawkes' ancestors had collected their own mementoes during the wars, and these seeded the collection. Though there is no known account of any roles direct ancestors played in the Civil Wars, they were said to have been possessed by a 'strong tinge of political Liberalism'.[8] According to the antiquary Ralph Thoresby's father, who fought 'on 'Noll's side at Marston Moor', most of 'the gentry of the vale, on the forest side at least', was liberal in persuasion.[9]

This chapter will examine how Fawkes used his collection to portray his scholarly and antiquarian skills, but also to fashion his identity and status both regionally and nationally. Initially considering how he displayed his collection, embellishing his home to arrange the items in a contemporary setting, Fawkes' regard for items associated with the Civil Wars will be examined against his neighbours' reverence for mementos from the Wars, and also with the national preoccupation with the period. His approach to creating a lived-in museum to house the collection will also be compared to his contemporary Sir Walter Scott, who undertook a similar project but with a contrasting approach.

The chapter will include a close study of a series of illustrations Turner made that feature the collection. In a style similar to cameos, and in a vignette-like form often associated with narrative, the watercolours created between 1815 and 1825, were combined later in the twentieth century in a folio with another series of vignettes that Fawkes intended as illustrations to a planned 'History of England'.[10] The folio, called *Fairfaxiana*, has previously only received the briefest scholarly attention, most notably a synopsis by James

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[7] Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 104, reports how the hat was kept at Denham Place, Buckinghamshire, and given by the late Benjamin Way Esq, who passed it to Thomas Lister Parker Esq, who presented it to his friend, Fawkes. Regarding Oliver Cromwell's watch see Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions*, p. 87.

[8] Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions*, p. 85.

[9] Reported by Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions*, p. 85, based on his father's recollection by the antiquarian Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725). The forest referred to by Wheater is Knaresborough.

[10] James Hamilton, in *Turner's Britain* (London and New York: Merrell, 2003), p. 169, refers to the vignettes being bound together in 1912.

Hamilton in *Turner's Britain*.[11] Here, the vignettes will be closely analysed to reveal how Fawkes orchestrated a wider awareness of ancestral familial ties to promote his own regional status and also his reformist political ambitions. Furthermore, the vignettes, as collaborative projects between the painter and his patron, reveal how both were developing, or reforming, their manner of recording 'history'. The chapter will end exploring how Fawkes adapted his treatment of history from a dry record of past fact, to inviting interpretation and rhetoric to persuade and inform. Initially, however, it would be worth positioning Fawkes' collection in the context of contemporary society's renewed interest in the Civil Wars.

**The Renewed Focus on the Civil Wars in the early Nineteenth Century**

At a time of growing social unrest in Britain with the potential for further revolution, and the added anxiety caused by the turmoil and violence witnessed in France, the Glorious Revolution and its aftermath became a frame of reference for events unfolding in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[12] Its characterisation in paintings, literature, and drama allowed a convenient, indirect discourse on contemporary politics. Interpretations were divided into political, religious, and social factors, indicating where the sympathies of the author, patron, and buyer lay.[13] That Fawkes owned a collection of items pertaining to the Civil Wars attests to his reflecting this national interest and being a part of the social and cultural debate.

Artistic attention illustrating events in the Wars appears towards the end of the eighteenth century, offering a pictorial record of major incidents and turning points in the lead up to, and during the Wars. Into the next century however, the subject of the English Civil Wars grew in popularity due to a combination of factors including the promotion of the English history subject by the Royal Academy and other artistic organisations. The availability of source material, and the publication of associated literature such as Sir Walter Scott's *Woodstock* in 1826, were all manifestations of the growing tentative confidence of discourse concerning political governance.[14]

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[11] Hamilton, *Turner's Britain*, pp.169-73.

[12] Joseph Nicholes, 'Now is there Civil war within the soul?: The English Civil War in Nineteenth-Century British Literature', unpublished PhD Thesis, Indiana University, October 1989, Abstract, p.vi.

[13] Nicholes, 'Now is there Civil war within the Soul?', p. vi.

[14] Nicholes, 'Now is there Civil war within the Soul?', p. vi.

However, even with his interest in the Civil Wars and his patronage of the arts, the only painting that Fawkes was known to have bought relating to the Wars was revealed in the memoirs of the art critic, William Paulet Carey, published in 1826. Reporting on Fawkes' 1819 exhibition of watercolours, Carey noted that,

> The whole collection contained but one oil painting. It was a Fig. of a Military Trumpeter, on horseback, a small cabinet picture, by the admirable Artist, [Abraham] Cooper. On expressing my high sense of its merits, some days before the opening of his exhibition, *Mr. Fawkes*, while in a flush of exultation passed over his countenance, exclaimed, - 'Yes! I thought myself very fortunate in getting hold of such a jewel. It was on Cooper's easel yesterday, and he had just given it the last touches when I went in: I asked the price, gave a draft on my banker, and took it home in my carriage immediately.' He said it was a study for a figure in an intended picture of the battle of *Marston Moor*.[15]

This evidence is valuable in that it shows Fawkes deemed the subject important enough to include in his notable exhibition of watercolours when it was an oil painting, and that he did not buy Cooper's (or any other artists') painting of the Battle of Marston Moor when he had every opportunity to do so.

There was a small oil cabinet painting of a figure on horseback in Fawkes' collection (Fig. 2.1), though no trumpet was visible. If this was the same painting that Fawkes was referring to in the quotation above, his interest in the work must have been due to the features of the figure closely resembling portraits of Sir Thomas Fairfax, sat on a white stallion as he was known to ride (Fig. 2.2). Fawkes was most likely keen to purchase the work to complement his collection of artefacts, particularly those pertaining to the General. The subject in oil was sufficiently important to include in a watercolour exhibition, but only as a complement to (and advertisement of) his collection.

The focus upon Fairfax in Fawkes' collection was not surprising, the General's fame was widespread and locals treasured objects that held an association with him. Fawkes' neighbours, the Vavasours, kept a bed Fairfax was reported to have slept in the night before the Battle of Marston Moor, and Thomas Gray, when visiting Otley in 1769, remarked in his diary on the tombs of Thomas Lord Fairfax and Helen Aske, taking them

[15] William Carey, *Some Memoirs of the Patronage and Progress of the Fine Arts in England and Wales* (London: Saunders and Ottley, 1826), p. 148.

as the grandparents of 'the famous S[r] Tho: Fairfax'.[16] Fairfax was regarded for his soldiering skills, though he made mistakes at the Battle of Marston Moor which, in the face of victory, were disregarded [17] Taking place within the West Riding and with the Parliamentary victory having such significance in steering the outcome of the Wars, the Battle was clearly of regional significance.[18] Those owning objects, particularly personal items of the General's, could bask in the reflected glory of his achievements and honour.

Aside from the valour of war, Fawkes stood to gain politically from identifying with Fairfax. Studies of eighteenth-century politicians suggest how artefacts in their country homes reflected or inflected the values espoused through their politics, and this principle can be broadened to include items from the Civil Wars.[19] While in the eighteenth century interest in classical artefacts from the Greek and Roman periods reflected the political issues of the day, having a knowledge of the events of Civil War period in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was necessary to be able to understand contemporary debates concerning the constitution, democracy, and liberty. Indeed, authors such as Mary Shelley in *Frankenstein* (1818), who considered the period to have been the most animating epoch of English history, expected readers to have an understanding of Civil War history to be able to comprehend the political references in her text.[20] Having a collection such as Fawkes' therefore demonstrated a broad knowledge and understanding of the events and personalities of the Wars, testifying to a suitable, and relevant, grounding to build upon as a contemporary politician. It was therefore an important part of Fawkes' identity and displayed his competence and qualification for his proficient involvement in politics.

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[16] Arthur Oswald, 'Weston Hall, Yorkshire, The Home of Major W S Dawson', *Country Life*, 13 November 1958, p. 1114 and 1116; Bill Roberts (ed.), *Thomas Gray's Journal of his Visit to the Lake District in 1769* (Kirkswold, Cumbria: Northern Academic Press, 2012), p. 139.

[17] Andrew Hopper, *'Black Tom': Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 229-35; John Wilson, *Fairfax, General of Parliament's forces in the English Civil War* (London: John Murray, 1985), pp. 188-9.

[18] G Bernard Wood, *Historic Homes of Yorkshire* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 44.

[19] Joan Coutu, *Then and Now: Collecting and Classicism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal, Kingston, London, and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), particularly the introduction, pp. 3-16, and chapter 2, pp. 49-92.

[20] Joseph Nicholes, 'Revolutions Compared: The English Civil War as Political Touchstone in Romantic Literature' in Keith Hanley and Raman Seldon's (eds), *Revolution and English Romanticism: Politics and Rhetoric* (Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), p. 269.

To maximise the potential gained from the association with the collection, Fawkes carefully displayed the items in the Elizabethan wing of Farnley. Providing an immersive period setting for guests to appreciate the collection and its powerful associations made Farnley a landmark in travel guides and descriptions of notable houses in the country.

**Farnley as a Lived-in Museum**

With a national enthusiasm for anything connected with the Civil Wars, having a collection that included artefacts and documents, all housed in an authentic seventeenth-century setting, made Farnley an attractive place for visiting at a time when tourism in Britain was developing as a fashionable past-time. Even though guests were entertained and had bedrooms in the Georgian wing, the Elizabethan wing held the breakfast room where John Preston Neal revealed the collection was displayed,

> The breakfast room is fitted up with old oak chests, etc. and in a magnificent cabinet are preserved many curious memorials of the troubles of the seventeenth century. Among these are several official documents, one of them a specimen of the instruments, called by the court Benevolences, to which the ill-advised Charles I. resorted, for the purposes of obtaining money by forced loans, without the consent of parliament: it is addressed to Thomas Fawkes, Esq., of Farnley Hall, A.D. 1626. The others are military commissions, bearing the signatures of Cromwell and Fairfax. There is also the hat and sword of Cromwell: the swords which belonged to Generals Lambert and Fairfax: and the old chair, and orderly drum, of the latter.[21]

This inclusion in Neal's text would have been a powerful advertisement, attracting visitors and putting Farnley on the list of country houses to visit. Having potentially influential guests visit Farnley was not only beneficial for Fawkes in terms of widening his social network but was also important in reminding the nation of the significance of Wharfedale and the West Riding in the 'most animated episode' of English history. Fawkes' collection acted to stimulate the memory of the importance of the area in the nation's political history.

Fawkes' choice to display his collection in a contemporary setting can be considered within the framework of the history of museum layout, and the organisation of objects and artefacts, described by Stephen Bann in *The Clothing of Clio*.[22] Describing the approach of

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[21] Neal, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen,* Vol. 5, unpaginated.

[22] Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge, London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 77-92.

two collectors, Alexandre Du Sommerard and Alexandre Lenoir, Bann noted that Lenoir displayed fragments in a linear time-based arrangement, whereas Sommerard displayed real objects from a particular epoch in one room or space, decorated according to the period to create a convincing step back in time.[23] Bann stated of Sommerard,

> A passionate collector, he was nonetheless able to transmute his fascination with the objects of the past into an orderly and accessible vision of period and place. ... He showed that an original historic setting, amply furnished with authentic objects, would evoke a potent and sustaining image of the past. Even when the 'Antiquary' was no longer there to weave his story around each object, the internal consistency of the milieu would continue its recreative effect.[24]

The description of the setting echoes the sentiments of Hobhouse's description of the old part of Farnley Hall, included at the beginning of this chapter, where he suggests the old part of the house was taken from an ancient mansion of the Fairfax family. Fawkes' collection of objects from the Civil Wars was displayed in an original historic setting appropriate for the period of the collection, the consistency of the effect being completed by the architectural and internal decor alterations he carried out in 1814. It was planned that when visitors entered the Elizabethan part of Farnley Hall they would be metaphorically transported back to the Civil War period, with the building, decor, furniture, and objects all playing their part in creating and sustaining an immersive experience, much as Sommerard conceived his museum.

How Fawkes designed and completed his museum project can be compared to the approach taken by his contemporary, the poet, novelist, and historian, Sir Walter Scott, who also created a lived-in museum of his Abbotsford residence on the Scottish borders. The similarities and differences not only reveal much about Fawkes' own aspirations, but also expose the contentious interpretations of 'authenticity' in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Like many a contemporary, Fawkes was a great admirer of Scott's writing, having Turner create illustrations of several poems (c.1822) including *Rokeby*, set on and titled after the home of Scott and Fawkes' mutual friend, John Bacon Sawrey Morritt , a Yorkshire country landowner and politician.[25] Turner himself was commissioned by the writer in

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[23] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, pp. 90-1.

[24] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, p. 92.

[25] For the political career of John Bacon Sawrey Morritt, see, http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1790-1820/member/morritt-john-bacon-sawrey-1771-1843 , accessed 4 March 2020.

1818 to prepare watercolours for his *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland* (1818-26) though the artist did not visit Scott's distinctive home until 1831, after Fawkes' death.[26]

Scott fashioned a Gothic setting for his own varied collection of objects. From a plain farm cottage, and through taking ancient remains from buildings such as Melrose Abbey, Galashiels Old Kirk, the tollbooth of Edinburgh, and Roslin Chapel, Scott constructed the 'ancestral pile' of Abbotsford.[27] The writer summed up his method when starting out on his construction project initially building a well in 1812, 'I have just finished a well constructed out of a few of the broken stones taken up in clearing the rubbish from Melrose Abbey ... It makes a tolerable deception and looks at least 300 years old'.[28]

For the oak panelling at Farnley, Fawkes took the old panels from his other properties to clad the interior of the Elizabethan part of Farnley Hall, whereas Scott, who also considered oak panelling important, instead had panelling and carved features made in plaster or fir wood, and had them painted to emulate oak.[29] So effective was the painting that a Swiss Baron visiting Abbotsford was found early one morning scraping the paint away to settle his curiosity.[30] Here again, Scott was using modern means and techniques to create something that looked ancient, whereas Fawkes was using the ancient.

Fawkes' approach to creating a museum was based on the concept of being authentic and genuine, esteemed qualities in an antiquarian. Scott was also revered as an antiquarian and noted for the careful research supporting his historical novels, though the deception he employed in creating a new home to emulate an ancient property appears to contradict his scholarly reputation.[31] However, as Bann explained, the authenticity of Abbotsford and Scott's antiquarian competence, was rather the result of his use of knowledge and his imagination.[32] The building was 'an audacious recreation rather than a laborious reconstruction', using poetic licence to cement artefacts together in the same way Scott used his poetic imaginative writing to join factual fragments to produce a gripping yet

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[26] See Gerald Finley's entry for 'Sir Walter Scott' and 'Scott's Poetical Works', in Evelyn Joll, Martin Butler and Luke Herrmann (eds), *The Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 284.

[27] Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*: *The British collector at home 1750-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 157 and p. 187.

[28] Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, p. 155.

[29] Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, pp. 167-8.

[30] Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, p. 168.

[31] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, pp. 101-2.

[32] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, p. 101.

erudite historical novel.[33] That both men were esteemed antiquarians and both had constant visitors to their collections, suggests that they were successful in creating a 'potent and sustaining image of the past', whether the setting was of an 'original' and genuine historic nature or an emulation of one. For visitors the pull of the past, and their own curiosity, meant both collections were popular, irrespective of authenticity.

In terms of how the collection was displayed to create this immersive experience, Hobhouse's report reveals Turner was 'employed in making designs' for the museum, and he created a number of watercolours that featured the objects, documents, and artefacts in the collection. In a watercolour of c.1818 Turner depicted an oak-panelled room lit by a bay window taken from Lindley Hall, home of the ancient Palmes family (Fig. 2.3). It also details Charles Fairfax's stone fireplace, complete with heraldic decoration, incorporated into its structure. Prominent in the centre of the room is Fairfax's wheeled chair, with a scroll, rather like one illustrating pedigree, falling from its side to the floor. In the windowsill swords are displayed horizontally on a stand above Oliver Cromwell's hat, and to one side of the room is a cupboard with a red box lying on its surface, with Fairfax's candlesticks and the mug made from the heel of his boot. On the wall above the cupboard hangs Fairfax's chest plate and helmet. Nares suggested that this room was the kernel of Fawkes' museum of Civil War artefacts, and the depiction certainly points to an immersion in décor, furnishings, and objects of the period which visitors would have been impressed to experience.[34]

The watercolour of the oak panelled room was not the only painting Turner created featuring items from Fawkes' Civil Water collection. He also painted seventeen vignettes now bound together in a folio called *Fairfaxiana*, with five having a particular focus on the Civil Wars, and the other twelve being concerned with England's history, from the coronation of Edward the Confessor to that of William III and Mary II in 1689. Close study of the vignettes reveals a unique set of images in Turner's oeuvre, important for what they expose not only of his innovative approach to his work, but also for rare evidence of collaboration with a patron. Furthermore, the vignettes show a development in how history could be portrayed from a dry record of fact, to an engaging narrative inviting interpretation of contemporary events.

[33] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, p. 101.

[34] Gordon Nares, 'Farnley Hall, Yorkshire – I', p. 1621.

**The *Fairfaxiana* Folio**

Made at Farnley between 1815 and 1825, and staged as cameos or still-lives, the works included not only the items from the collection, but also documents, books, letters, and fragments of landscape and architecture, carrying meaning through the position and association of the composition. Turner used a vignette form, in which according to Stephen Daniels, images were 'more than literal or decorative embellishments, but inventive, expressive works in their own right, juxtaposing figures, landmarks, narratives, and emblems'.[35] Daniels was referring to vignettes as they were used most frequently in the illustration of texts, but the proposition that Turner used the format to increase the 'representational range of the subject, and to intensify its metaphorical register' is also suggestive as regards its employment in the depiction of Fawkes' collection of artefacts.[36] Close analysis of the illustrations shows how Turner's highly complex and nuanced images add narrative, sometimes comic or emotive, and a poetic element to Fawkes' representation of history.

The five watercolours that make up the *Fairfaxiana* images will be considered first. A work that has long been known as *A Frontispiece (at Farnley)*, 1815 (Fig. 2.4), sets the scene for the vignettes, depicting assemblages of items and places associated with Fairfax.[37] Central to the image is a sarcophagus around which are a collection of objects, in a design somewhat reminiscent of a warrior's field monument, a device of classical origin and employed in contemporary sculpture, in which soldiers arranged personal belongings to mark the place where their comrade fell. The articles selected for inclusion in the work reveal the areas of Fairfax's life and character of interest to Fawkes; as a General defending parliamentary principles, from and associated with Wharfedale, and with country seats with which Fawkes also had connection. With the sarcophagus in the centre of the image, slightly skewed in perspective, and with Fairfax's mug and what is assumed to be his armour helmet on the lid of the stone coffin, the work is presented as a funerary monument to the General. The banner in the right foreground with the Fairfax

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[35] Stephen Daniels, 'Reforming Landscape: Turner and Nottingham', in Peter de Bolla, Nigel Leask and David Simpson (eds), *Land, Nation and Culture, 1740-1840: Thinking the Republic of Taste* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 12-36.

[36] Jan Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1993), p. 33.

[37] Hamilton, *Turner's Britain*, p. 169, and David Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire* (York: York City Art Gallery, 1980), p. 50. Whether the work was labelled *A Frontispiece* when it was created, or later possibly by Ruskin when the painting came into his possession, is unknown, see Andrew Wilton, *The Life and Work of J. M. W. Turner* (London: Academy Editions, 1979), p. 367.

arms confirms this reading. Chest armour seen to the right leaning against the sarcophagus and the points of the pike and sword, Fairfax's weapons of war, take the eye to the architecture in the background. The arch is clearly that originally at Menston Hall, the home of Charles Fairfax, uncle to Sir Thomas, and moved to Farnley Hall in 1814. The building portrayed behind the arch and wall is Menston Hall which was bought by the Fawkes family in 1763 and later renamed Fairfax Hall, as it remains today, and is clearly identifiable by the two-storey, five light mullioned bay window (Fig. 2.5).[38] As we reach the left side of the painting, the arms of Cromwell, and just showing behind, the banner of the Commonwealth, refer to Fairfax's part with Cromwell in establishing the new order.[39]

Of particular interest in the context of Fawkes' relationship with Fairfax are the scrolls depicted in the foreground, rolling open and covering the front of the sarcophagus. Turner has included text on the scrolls, most not legible but certain words stand out and were meant to be read. The scroll to the left (Fig. 2.6) is clearly headed 'FAWKES' and beneath it the words 'Farnley' and 'county of York' stand out amongst other text in an embellished roundel. Other features are clear such as the arms of Fawkes, and in the foremost region of the scroll is a pedigree of three families with their descendants ending in three different coats of arms. The Fawkes arms to the right has no descendants (representing Francis Fawkes 1707–1786), the arms to the left also do not have a clear line, however the middle line with the arms of Fawkes quartered with what appears to be Ramsden and Farrer arms portrays Fawkes as the sole inheritor.

The illusion created by the scrolls rolling out of the top of the sarcophagus, with Walter Fawkes the clear successor, is that he is the successor to Fairfax. Since Fairfax had only one surviving child, a daughter who had no issue, his line ended; in this painting it appears that Fawkes was making a claim, if not genetically then by the essence of his character, to the inheritance by positioning his pedigree flowing from Fairfax's tomb.

The myth is further perpetuated by the glimpse of text between the two scrolls on the lower edge of the image with the word Menston clearly visible on a document, portrayed as one that has legal significance and encouraging the confusion that although this property (now

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[38] Peter Leach and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England – Yorkshire West Riding, Leeds, Bradford and the North* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 589.

[39] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, pp. 48-49, states these banners were in Fawkes' collection and are shown in J. M. W. Turner's painting *The Oak Staircase, Farnley Hall*, c1818 (Fig. 3.19). The painting could depict the Commonwealth banner but the other banner seems to have a Union flag which is not clearly visible in *The Frontispiece*.

in the Fawkes estate), was lived in by a Fairfax, it was Charles Fairfax rather than Sir Thomas. Fawkes appears to promote the creation of a myth that he inherited Sir Thomas' property and was his successor. If the image had been truly representative as a memorial to Fairfax, and needed to include an image of a building it would have been more appropriate to have painted Denton Hall where Fairfax was brought up, or Nun Appleton, where Fairfax lived after his marriage and to which he retreated after the Wars, peaceful in the gardens and water meadows.[40]

To the left of the arms in the scroll is an area that appears blank, but on close viewing is a sketch of a wooded, steep sided valley. This resembles the wooded landscape in and around Wharfedale, and again associates the men with the region and reiterates its association with national history. The other documents depicted in the works are the seals of Cromwell and Fairfax, and the 1626 Benevolence from the King to Thomas Fawkes in 1626, providing an explanation of his motivation for working with Cromwell to counter the rogue actions of King Charles I, and their commitment, shown through the seals, to the Parliamentarian cause.

The *Frontispiece* therefore, is not only reminiscent of a funerary monument and epilogue to Fairfax, referencing the role he played in the Civil Wars, and his associations with Wharfedale, but was also a stage for Fawkes to lay claim to the General's character through the association of property and place.[41]

The five watercolours have a style and composition akin to still-life paintings, which often allude to the fragility of life. In this sense the genre would seem fitting to the nature of the content suggested by the *Frontispiece*, so reminiscent of sculpted funerary monuments. The first image (Fig. 2.7) depicts a full-face helmet above chest plate armour suspended in space, with a pair of pikes crossed behind the chest plate, with the spikes framing the helmet. The watercolour follows the pattern of a traditional, balanced, and symmetrical composition of weaponry.[42] The armour is from Fawkes' collection, and viewers would

[40]Wilson, *Fairfax,* p. 189.

[41] Fairfax achieved many other accolades in his later life, such as being a master horse trainer and author, see Wilson, *Fairfax,* pp. 167-168. Fawkes choosing not to include those skills in the *Frontispiece* or *Fairfaxiana* suggests they did not progress his own personal agenda.

[42] As displayed in Charles Boutell, M A, *Arms and Armour in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1907), p. 93, and pp. 271-3.

have understood it to have belonged to Fairfax.[43] The image also appears on Fairfax's black mug shown on the sarcophagus in the *Frontispiece*. Text is written on the chest plate:

FAIRFAXIANA
or
Portraits &c. & Illustrations
of the part
which
THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX
took
in the defence
of liberties of his
Country

The text reiterates the theme of the *Frontispiece,* the focus being Fairfax, and confirms that Fawkes was particularly interested in the protection of the nations' liberties. Here again, the image pertains to a traditional style of imagery, that used in the display of arms and armour.

The second vignette (Fig. 2.8) is a curious play of perspective with a drum balanced on a wall tablet suggestive of a memorial. Across the top of the drum lies Fairfax's sword and placed on that is a stand supporting another helmet, this time with the face guard raised. There is a red fabric pouch used to hold shot shown on the edge of the wall tablet, with its ties hanging over the edge and shot falling out, depicted in trompe l'oeil, a device often used in still life depictions. Also shown on the ledge of the memorial, and balanced on the sword, are bullets found on the site of the Battle of Marston Moor.

The memorial has an inscription:

Helmet, Sword and Drum
of Sir Thomas …. Lord Fairfax
And shot and bulllets found at Marston Moor
In the possession of Walter Fawkes Esq of Farnley

[43] Cobley, *Upper and Lower Wharfedale*, p. 65, notes armour in Fawkes' collection as having been worn by Cromwell's 'troopers', while Nares, 'Farnley Hall, Yorkshire – I', p. 1621, notes Fairfax's breast plate and helmet in the assemblage.

The use of the tablet form followed the pattern of family memorials with the name of the deceased at the top of the inscription and the commemorator at the end. It seems the deliberate intention of Fawkes to use the device to associate himself as linked through family or inheritance to Fairfax, confusing genealogical fact. In this image again, attention is drawn to the Battle of Marston Moor.

The vignette also alludes to the fragility of life and family line. Fairfax's life hung on his skill with his sword, and even then, his life could be taken in seconds from gunfire. Furthermore, surviving the battle meant little for Fairfax in terms of continuing his family line, reflecting the awkward situation of landowners without surviving male issue and the consequent end of their pedigree. Having his name at the end of the tablet inscription where the name of the benefactor often appears, Fawkes positioned himself as Fairfax's successor.

The next vignette in the series (Fig. 2.9) depicts Fairfax's wheeled chair that he designed for himself to help him get around his home in Nun Appleton in his later years when wounds sustained during the Civil Wars affected his mobility.[44] The chair still exists, and was for many years housed at Farnley.[45] Leaning against the chair with the handle to the ground is Fairfax's sword, and lying on the floor adjacent to the sword is a mace, a weapon associated with nobility and therefore indicating Sir Thomas' status as a Lord. The position of the sword with point uppermost suggests victory, though the pointing of the tip under the cloak gives a sense of a bittersweet triumph, representing a thorn in Fairfax's side, as it might be seen to allude to the curious situation in which the General found himself; one where his victory led to regicide. A cloak is draped over the back and top of the chair clearly showing Fairfax's arms of the lion on red bars. The only text in the image is 'FAIRFAXIANA' included at the lower edge just off centre towards the left. The vignette has the impression of the final chapter in the narration of Fairfax's role in the Civil Wars, implying his return home, with lasting injuries from wounds sustained in battle, and inheritance of the Lordship.

The fourth vignette (Fig. 2.10) shows the three swords of Cromwell, Lambert, and Fairfax (right to left), pointing downwards spearing through the 1626 benevolence of King Charles I given to Thomas Fawkes, whereby the King attempted to raise revenues through forced

[44] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 49.

[45] Currently on display in the foyer of the National Civil War Museum, Newark.

loans, disguised as gifts, after Parliament had denied him funds. Creating an image where their own commissions overlaid the speared benevolence, proclaims Cromwell's and Fairfax's justification and right to defend the role of Parliament. No commission document is shown for John Lambert's role, his name is instead included towards the top of the image, which is headed by Cromwell's hat with the white marker tucked into the brim used to identify Parliamentarians.[46]

The image has the text 'Cause and Effect' with the dates '1626 – 1648', covering the first of the three phases of the Wars. The phrase reiterates that it was the King's disregard of Parliament that led to the first Civil War. This image is particularly powerful in its use of documentary evidence to convey that the wars were the result of a corrupt King, and Cromwell's hat hovering above the scene painted with a golden hue is reminiscent of a halo leading to the suggestion that God favoured the Puritan Parliamentarian rather than the King acting deceptively under the cloak of God-given rights.

It is significant that a hand coloured aquatint etching exists, privately printed from an engraving of the watercolour, made in 1821, suggesting that Fawkes intended or did, distribute this image.[47] This vignette is less of a tribute to Fairfax and more a matter of how Fawkes saw the necessity and justification for the Civil Wars; displaying and distributing the image would have encouraged the discourse of monarchy falling back on the doctrine of God given rights to justify corrupt and deceptive practice. The print, however, includes an explanatory text by Fawkes that reveals his concern to not only display how the King sought money without parliamentary consent, but also to covey his status as an antiquarian:

> The document 'By the King', which the three swords of Cromwell, Fairfax and Lambert are represented as piercing; was found at Farnley Hall Yorkshire. It was addressed to the proprietor of that mansion Thomas Fawkes Esqr. AD 1626. By the Court Party, such instruments were called Benevolences, but by those who set themselves in array against the measures of Charles the First, they were regarded only, as one of the various forms under which that Prince exhorted money from his subjects without the consent of their Representatives. To the swords of Cromwell and Fairfax are appended Two military commissions signed by themselves, and over his sword in the centre is copied the autograph of Lambert – The Hat belonged to Oliver Cromwell. The weapons and documents represented (of the authenticity of which neither Mr. Fawkes nor his friends entertain the least doubt) are preserved

[46] The white marker was used to identify Parliamentarians, shown by a quote from Fairfax when he took the 'Signall out of my Hatt' so as he could pass unnoticed through the Royalist ranks, in Wilson, *Fairfax*, p. 52.

[47] British Museum No 1937, 0408.9, *The Three Swords*. Also in W. G. Rawlinson, *The Engraved Work of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.*, Vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1913), item No 826a, p. 400.

> at Farnley Hall, and are in a state of excellent preservation. Farnley Hall 1821 [signed] Walter Fawkes.[48]

The emphasis Fawkes puts on associating the documents with Farnley, the Fawkes name, their authenticity (endorsed by 'friends') and that they remained well preserved at his family seat, not only reiterated his credentials as a guardian of history and respectful antiquarian, but also acted as an advertisement to encourage people to come to Farnley to view these historic papers for themselves.

The final vignette in the series pertaining to the Civil War collection is the charming watercolour of a cabinet, with doors that open to reveal the contents (Fig. 2.11 and 2.12). The existence of the painting suggests that, aside from displaying his collection in the oak panelled room, Fawkes also placed them in this cabinet for his, and his visitors, admiration. In the watercolour of the cabinet the central position of the top shelf is taken by the small oil portrait, by Abraham Cooper mentioned previously, representing Sir Thomas Fairfax on horseback.[49] To either side of this painting are portraits of Oliver Cromwell and Richard Cromwell, an inscription in Turner's sketch book suggesting they were his work.[50] Placed on the shelf in front of the paintings are the three swords belonging to Cromwell, Lambert, and Fairfax. To the far left is Cromwell's watch, and to the far right the seal of the commonwealth. The swords are lying on a red folio with *Fairfaxiana* written on the spine. The items are mirrored in size from left to right each side, with height rising to the central cabinet painting.

The lower shelf has some symmetry but is not so perfectly matched as that above. Fairfax's candlesticks stand one each side of a central portrait of Oliver Cromwell, which the sketch book inscription suggests was again by Abraham Cooper. To the immediate left is the Lord Protector's hat and the far left, Fairfax's mug. To the right there appears to be

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[48] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 49.

[49] A sketch dated 1821 (Fig. 2.13) and pertaining to the watercolour was included in Turner's *Paris, Seine and Dieppe* sketchbook with inscriptions that record the dimensions of the cabinet and location of items with numbers, alluding to the objects having a numbered labelling in the cabinet and perhaps indicating the presence of a catalogue. See Thomas Ardill, 'A Sideboard Containing Farnley Relics 1821 by Joseph Mallord William Turner', catalogue entry, March 2013, in David Blayney Brown (ed.), *J. M. W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolours*, Tate Research Publication, August 2014, see https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-a-sideboard-containing-farnley-relics-r1146230 accessed 02 February 2020.

[50] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 49.

a volume, *Cromwell*, possibly included to balance the hat, although there is no known record of such a book.

Displaying his collection in a cabinet shows Fawkes' competence in scholarly erudition regarding the role of cabinets of curiosities and a knowledge and proficiency in their arrangement. Placing items in a cabinet for display follows traditions of the 'cabinet of curiosities' established in the sixteenth century, more commonly in mainland Europe, housing collections that initially attempted to represent the universe on a micro-scale, but evolved to emphasise a particular field or interest.[51] In 1674 Johann Daniel Major recommended cabinets hold four spatially specialised collections of mathematical instruments, applied arts, arms and armour, and an *antiquarium* of sculptures, antiquities, coins and books.[52] Arms and armour were popular, holding not only an innate appeal, but also because of a possible historical association with a person or event. For princely or noble collections this could have the added significance for ancestral relations, with the armour belonging to heroic persons or linked to deeds holding a 'potency even more powerful than portrait likenesses'.[53] Collections of arms could also support the inclusion of items of a more diverse nature, personal trinkets and talismans, often a physical testament of the intellectual bonds perceived between the objects and the collectors own self-appointed task.[54]

Fawkes met all the demands of structuring a display of weaponry, complemented by art, mathematical instruments in the shape of Cromwell's watch, books, and artefacts such as the hat, seal, and candlesticks. The elegant display of historic items and contemporary art on the subject of the Civil Wars could also be considered as an aide memoir, emulating the Greeks in their use of place and image as a technique to help memorise events before the advent of printing and having a trained memory was vitally important.[55] Those with a visual memory could use the position of items in the landowners collection to help in the recounting and representation of events in the sequence of the Wars, using an artistic form to tell a story. For Fawkes, the cabinet portrayed his scholarly credentials in being able to

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[51] For a history of the development of 'cabinets of curiosity' see chapter 2 of Arthur MacGregor's, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 11-66.

[52] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, p. 30.

[53] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, p. 50.

[54] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, p. 47.

[55] Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014 edn), p. 11.

create a balanced, symmetrical, and aesthetically pleasing arrangement of a selection of items that met traditional criteria of display, associating himself with the practice of erudite princes and noblemen.[56]

The cabinet has a different focus from the previous vignettes, the first three being reflections on Fairfax, and the fourth about the cause of the Wars. The cabinet watercolour was less about conveying a political message and more about showing a competence in scholarly erudition.

Summarising *Fairfaxiana*, the frontispiece and series of watercolours were meant to reiterate Fawkes' immersion in the familial history and the strong connection between the kith of Wharfedale, and its association with its location or place in the political advancement of the country. The illustrations portrayed the powerful ties Fawkes held that traditionally would have acted to advance his own status and endow him with political authority and governance. While those traditional customs were still revered in some quarters, Fawkes was aware that as the nineteenth century progressed their power was waning.

As previously mentioned, the five vignette-style watercolours by Turner were bound together in a folio labelled *Fairfaxiana*, with another set of similarly composed watercolours.[57] The second series of twelve paintings, referred to as the *Historical Vignettes*, were meant for one of Fawkes' projects, a planned 'Illustrated History of England'. Since some also included items from Fawkes' Civil War collection and allude to his antiquarian interests, they will be considered alongside the *Fairfaxiana* series.

**The *Historical Vignettes***

Presumably bound together with the *Fairfaxiana* watercolours described above because they were of the same vignette form and referenced historical events, it is unknown whether the twelve *Historical Vignettes* were meant for one or more compilations. Some idea regarding the purpose of these vignettes was given by Fawkes' granddaughter, Edith Mary Fawkes, who says they were:

[56] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, p. 22.

[57] Hamilton, *Turner's Britain,* p. 169.

> … done by the wish of Walter Fawkes and to illustrate various compilations of his own, for instance he compiled an illustrated History of England, that is to say a collection of prints illustrating English History … , but each volumn has an exquisit frontispiece by Turner, full of imagination and grace and in fact a sort of resume of the period. The one for the volumn containing prints of the period of the Reformation is extremely beautiful.[58]

Studying the content of the works reveals themes running through them, particularly concerning Britain's conflicts with France, and friction within Britain concerning religion, and constitutional rights, and so here they will be considered as a single series.[59] The first vignette (Fig. 2.14) concerns the period from Edward the Confessor, who reigned 1042-1066, declared by the presence of his 'Coronation Oath of England', to when William III and Mary II were crowned in 1689, indicated by the presence of the two thrones. The Oath 'to preserve peace and protect the church, to maintain the good laws and abolish bad, to dispense justice to all' would have been included as evidence to justify Fawkes' opinion that Kings were meant to act fairly and with responsibility towards their people. The comment regarding the protection of the church was also pertinent for later periods of religious conflict and imposition.

The period covers the time of rule of the French Angevin Kings, indicated by their arms and pedigrees. An interesting point to note is that in the arms of England and France portrayed alongside the gilt coronation throne, the English lions are on the upper right side of the shield, the dominant position, rather than the French Fleur-de-Lys as it should have been. Fawkes was rewriting history to show his own contemporary view of English superiority. A further interesting point to note about the vignette concerns the thrones. The two thrones were in this location in front of the tomb of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey sometime after 1814 to around 1830, leading to the suggestion that Fawkes or Turner saw them although no associated sketches by the artist have been found.[60]

The Battle of Agincourt (Fig. 2.15), again concerns the relationship of England with France, and is included to foreshadow the Battle of Waterloo. As if to reinforce this

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[58] Edith Mary Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley', typescript account dated c.1900, National Gallery Archives, London, ref: NG72/22/1.

[59] Lucy Bailey, 'Turner's Historical Vignettes of c.1815-1825', *Turner Society News*, no.135, Spring 2021, pp. 15-23.

[60] Email from David Hill, 2 June 2021.

connection Fawkes drew attention to a coin found at Agincourt, given to him by Sir Edward Barnes who fought at the Battle of Waterloo and later became the Governor of Ceylon (and married Fawkes' daughter). Regarding the relationship with the French, even though the arms are shown in their correct formation, Henry V is painted with his leg blocking the French Fleur de Lys, again as if denigrating their place in history and emphasising English superiority. The other significant point to note in this vignette that reveals another of Fawkes' principles, was that regarding emancipation for Catholics. In the image Richard de Vere is shown wearing a helmet decorated with 'AVE MARIA' referring to a prayer used in Catholic worship. Honouring de Vere in the image and acknowledging the Catholic faith registers that this was an important issue for Fawkes.

The vignette titled 'Reformation' (Fig. 2.16) provides the historical background to the tensions experienced regarding religion in contemporary society. The following image, the fourth vignette (Fig. 2.17), is dense with detail and allusions. Without title, it shows King Charles I's coffin with a bloodied axe below, facing a clean axe under it, which is emerging from a fasces bundle. The name on the coffin is Carolus, as if to again draw attention to the connection the King had with the French (having a French wife) using a Latin version of his name. The fasces was a symbol of magisterial power and jurisdiction in Roman times and was adopted in the French Revolution to stand for the power of the people, and the unity and indivisibility of the Republic. The olive leaves wrapped around the fasces represent peace.

The vignette seems to act as a frontispiece to the events of the English Civil Wars leading to the death of Charles I. The bloody axe represented the results of his poor decisions and his execution of those who challenged his process, whilst the fasces represented the attempts to reason and negotiate with the King for a peaceful resolution. Cromwell's sword beneath the fasces and plunged through the Royal robes indicates that it was the actions of the Parliamentarians that brought about the death of the King.

The following four watercolours, labelled first, second, third and fourth period (Figs. 2.18 – 2.21), all relate to events, documents, rights and petitions, that led to the King's death warrant shown in front of a painting with the word 'Whitehall', and again the bloodied axe marking the Kings execution. The vignettes for the 'Second' and 'Fourth' periods are particularly interesting since both have images stuck on top of a part of the vignette. In the 'Second Period' the image of the painting with 'Marston Moor' included on it, covers what looks like a portrait, possibly of John Hampden, since the vignette has the name at the top of the image. Pencil marks outlining what could have been a frame to the portrait can also

be clearly seen. In the 'Fourth Period' the landscape picture with the text 'Whitehall' painted on it, is also stuck on top of the vignette, with the edges of the original work just visible. These alterations suggest there was some discussion between Fawkes and Turner considering the images after they were painted, and the artist then amended them by painting a new image to stick onto the original work. This is rare evidence of collaboration between Turner and a patron, pointing to the particular relationship the men shared (discussed in chapter 5).

The ninth and tenth vignettes are unfinished, with spaces that appear to be meant to hold portraits of Oliver Cromwell (in the ninth, Fig. 2.22) and Richard Cromwell (in the tenth, Fig. 2.23). It is possible that the portraits of the men that are depicted in the painting of the cabinet (Fig. 2.12) were destined for these vignettes. The Oliver Cromwell vignette has a scroll reading 'Oliver P.' referring to 'Oliver Protector', a title Cromwell preferred to be known as when he was Lord Protectorate, reminiscent of the 'R' representing 'Rex'. Whereas much of the royal regalia and coronation jewels are depicted in many of the previous vignettes, this notably has only one, the mace, representing authority. However, the Irish Sword of State is shown, though this is portrayed as the replacement made for King Charles II in 1660 as the previous weapon was lost, stolen or otherwise disposed of, and we do not know if the replacement was a replica.[61]

There is also a banner at the top of the frame with 'THE COMMON WEAL' written on it. Meant to be recognised as the Commonwealth, governed as a republic after the death of King Charles I, 'weal' has a meaning of wellbeing, prosperity or happiness, suggesting perhaps that Fawkes believed this was indeed a good period of government, and that using the word 'weal' was a subtle and safe way of alluding to the fall of the monarchy, bearing in mind the tension created by the 1794 Treason Trials.[62]

Richard Cromwell's vignette depicts Cromwell's hat slipped from the central position of control to the side, allowing the Coronation crown to once again take its central position. The battle coins or medals, with Naseby and Marston clearly visible, are shown falling

[61] See https://www.dublincastle.ie/the-irish-sword-of-state/ accessed 13 April 2020.

[62] For an explanation of the trials, how it was seen as an act of treason to consider or 'imagine' the King's death and how that debate impacted on supporters of more radical parliamentarian change, see John Barrell's *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

away, as if the victories were now lost, and the olive leaves representing Cromwell are brown and dying.

The penultimate image is titled ‘Revolution 1688’ (Fig. 2.24), and returns all the pomp and ceremony of court life, with the Imperial State Crown, Coronation jewels and associated paraphernalia on lavish display. However, the royal splendour sits on weighty documents: the Book of Statutes, Volume II, concerning the Act of Uniformity of 1662, ensuring the Common Prayer Book remains in use, the Magna Carta signed by John, the Bill of Rights with the words ‘PARLIAMENTS ought to be FULL, FREE and FREQUENT’ and ‘King William’s Declaration for Restoring the Liberties of England’. The documents provide the frameworks that the monarch must follow in ruling their country, the image reiterating that the monarchy has responsibilities to their subjects as much as the citizens have to them. The watercolour acted as a timely reminder to contemporary government that those responsibilities, enshrined in historic agreements, still apply.

The final vignette in the series (Fig. 2.25) has no title and is a show of eight battle or Coronet banners that act to identify individuals and include mottos that serve to declare their principles. The image is reminiscent of a list of leading soldiers and strategists, acting over all the Civil Wars, keeping the memory of the men and their stories alive.

Considering the series of the twelve *Historical Vignettes* as a whole, the main themes running through them concern the conflict with France, issues concerning religion, whether Catholic, Protestant, Puritan or Presbyterian, and monarchs’ attitude towards their subjects in terms of respecting and adhering to agreements made regarding their subjects’ rights. In particular Fawkes emphasises the requirements of the Bill of Rights of 1689, to be able to vote freely for representatives in a parliament that was full and held frequently.

It should also be noted that Fawkes did not miss the opportunity to bring notice to his influential connections, with his reference to Sir Edward Barnes being both flattering to the General, but also serving to maintain, and even enhance, Fawkes’ personal status, though the connection is made in a subtle and relevant manner. The series of illustrations is not aspiring to promote Fawkes’ general social standing, rather his scholarly approach to history and its interpretation. The *Historical Vignettes* themselves provide a narrative account, with Turner making use of the loose and adaptable vignette framework. Containing images of objects, people, buildings, and landscapes, sometimes connected with each other, such as swords struck through robes, sometimes in isolation but always balanced in composition, the illustrations are reminiscent of a montage of people, places,

and episodes that in their layering and juxtaposition provide a visual performance of historic record. The illustrations invited viewers not only to make judgements and decisions on past events but also to consider their meaning for contemporary life.

The images show a visual sensitivity, to the period they were representing, with weapons and armour for example, pictured as they would have been displayed in the seventeenth century. They were supported by Fawkes' antiquarian skills in researching the objects, paying homage to his scholarly sensibilities, and they displayed Turner's innovative style in creating an engaging, weaving narrative. Fawkes' collection was portrayed in an imaginative manner, looking to the future rather than being a dry record of the past.

**Conclusion**

That the collection of Civil War artefacts was important to Fawkes is without doubt. The evidence of objects recorded in Turner's watercolours, visitor's accounts of various displays, and the existence of an aquatint etching depicting swords from the collection suggesting that Fawkes planned to distribute images of particular objects, substantiates this claim. The reasons for its importance were several. Firstly, the collection and its manner of display demonstrated Fawkes' erudition and antiquarian interests. Secondly, the collection appealed to the regional and national curiosity with the period, attracting visitors to the Hall, and thirdly, the knowledge associated with having such a collection, of the characters involved in the upheavals and the resulting changes to governance, qualified Fawkes as having a suitable education for a career in politics.

The most important aspect of the collection though, for Fawkes, was the association it brought to him as being closely connected to Fairfax, and to the events that occurred in Wharfedale and the West Riding that made it so significant in directing the course of British history. The collection, with its focus on Sir Thomas, but also on the architecture of his uncle's home, Menston Hall, that later became part of the Farnley Estate, builds a web of connection, alliances and association, based on long-established relationships of kith. The *Frontispiece* in particular, alludes to Fawkes' desire to be considered Sir Thomas' successor, intimating that Fawkes inherited the aspects of the General's character. In this aspect, the importance of locality to Fawkes was clear. He perceived that his Wharfedale roots and association with the Fairfaxes was a relevant qualification for his role in national politics. Through his collection being on show to the many visitors to Farnley, and seen by viewers of the prints he had made, he brought the collection and the

historical significance of the region, to a wider, national audience. Furthermore, the contemporary interest in Civil War paraphernalia was an attraction for visitors, and Neal's report of the items being displayed in the breakfast room at Farnley alludes to the hospitality offered there. Guests were clearly welcomed to the Hall, and whilst they were given a warm welcome in historically interesting surroundings, Fawkes did not miss the opportunity to display his erudition and persuade visitors to follow his brand of politics. The hospitality on offer was not only jovial, but also had purpose.

Advertising genealogical ties, lines of inheritance, and ancient documents points to Fawkes' regard of traditional customs of asserting status and authority. Whilst some still valued those criteria and were impressed by Fawkes' collection, wider society was challenging them as qualifications for governance. Fawkes was aware of this shift, and as seen in chapter 1 with the Hall of two parts, one looking to the past, the other to the future, the collection too was used as a tool to secure Fawkes' future regional status. By attracting visitors to Farnley Hall to view the objects, Fawkes was widening his sphere of influence, reminding guests of the importance of the area in British history and of his close connection with, and inheritance of, the qualities that gave the place its significance.

The watercolours in the *Fairfaxiana* folio that Turner and Fawkes created as a collaborative venture, demonstrate how Fawkes' treatment of history changed. His awareness of how the collection could be used developed from one of a record of historical fact, to seeing that it could be displayed in a way that invited viewers to make their own interpretations, judgements, and decisions on past events and consider their meaning for contemporary life. With the intention of promoting Fawkes' own brand of politics and parliamentary reform, the illustrations directed attention to past injustices in governance, and how the solution of parliamentary reform then was appropriate now. In this development of style, the men were acting as pivots, constantly interacting between past and present, informing and moulding contemporary culture, identities, and society.

In this balance with his treatment of his collection of Civil War artefacts and their housing, Fawkes appears on a cusp of still nodding to past traditions to accommodate those continuing to adhere to them, while also working out ways to reach out to, and impress, contemporary polite society. This chapter has revealed how Fawkes was caught in the tensions of a period of transition and reformed his thinking about his collection from one of antiquity to one of influence.

## CHAPTER 3: PAINTINGS, PATRIOTISM, AND PROMOTION - FAWKES' ART COLLECTION

> The drawing room is pannelled [sic] from skirting to cornice, and most of the individual panels above dado level contain charming little paintings of dogs, game, horses hunting and racing scenes. These paintings, of which there are nearly a hundred, are the work of a comparatively unknown artist named George Walker (1781-1856),…[1]

The panels described above were in the drawing room of the old part of Farnley Hall. Painted in oil, approximately 250 x 200mm, they depict hunting scenes, and animals (wild and domestic) from the Farnley estate (Fig. 3.1-3.6). They can be dated from a painting that features an incident that occurred during a hunting trip on 29 March 1821, where a deer jumped a hollow road and knocked the cap off the head of a huntsman riding his horse (Fig. 3.2).[2] Having Walker and, as we shall see, other artists such as Turner paint at Farnley points to a setting that cultivated an artistic milieu.

While Fawkes' patronage of the arts was widely appreciated and noted on his memorial described in the introduction to this thesis, the wider aspects of his support of artists and the breadth of his art collection is nowadays less well known. Today Fawkes' collection is mostly recognised for its works by Turner, studied by art historians such as David Hill, Eric Shanes, and James Hamilton, as part of scholarly research into the artist's oeuvre.[3] These works were, however, but a part of Fawkes' collection which included Old Masters, portraits, and contemporary works by other artists. The historian, Marion Sharples, explored how the sale of key pieces from the whole art collection financially supported Farnley estate, but other than this very little scrutiny has been given to Fawkes' wider collection.[4] This is surprising since Fawkes staged an exhibition of his collection of

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[1] Gordon Nares, Farnley Hall, Yorkshire – I: The Home of Major and Mrs Le G. G. W. Horton-Fawkes, *Country Life*, 20 May 1954, pp. 1620-1.

[2] Nares, Farnley Hall, Yorkshire – I', p. 1621.

[3] David Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, (York: York City Art Gallery, 1980), chapters 3, 4 and 5; Eric Shanes, 'Identifying Turner's Chamonix Water-Colours', *The Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 142, no. 1172, November 2000, pp. 687-94; James Hamilton, *Turner: A Life*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997); James Hamilton, *Turner's Britain*, (London and New York: Merrell, 2003), pp. 169-73.

[4] Marion Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection and the Art Collection at Farnley Hall, Otley, 1792-1937: A Great Estate Enhanced and Supported', *Journal of Northern History*, Vol 26, Issue 1, January 1990, pp. 131-59.

watercolours by British artists in his London residence in 1819. The display attracted national acclaim and positioned Fawkes as a connoisseur of art.

While the event has been studied for what it revealed of contemporary exhibition culture, aside from Turner's paintings, little attention has been paid to the work of other artists included in the show.[5] Furthermore, a more detailed knowledge of Fawkes' collection offers a comparison with studies of other art collectors of the period, such as Sir John Leicester and Alexander Davison, adding to our understanding of the processes and motivations driving the habit in the early nineteenth century.[6]

In this chapter a loosely chronological approach is taken to recount how Fawkes built his collection from family portraits included with the inheritance of the estate, to the culmination of his collecting activities with the display of his watercolours in his exhibition of 1819. Consideration will be given to his fostering of an artistic milieu at Farnley, championing some artists, though rejecting the work of others. Fawkes encouraged artists to visit Farnley, facilitating the exchange and sharing of ideas between regions and the capital. In the same vein Fawkes' support of the Northern Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, based in Leeds, will be explored for his engagement with Leeds artistic society and its role in the transmission of artistic ideas across the country. This theme of widening awareness of artistic trends and innovations was also apparent in Fawkes' habit of taking his folio of drawings relating to Farnley and Wharfedale to his

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[5] Holger Hoock, '"Struggling against a vulgar prejudice": Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 49, Issue 3, July 2010, pp. 566-91; Kay Dian Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 109-13, p. 140; Greg Smith, *The Emergence of the Professional Watercolourist: Contentions and Alliances in the Artistic Domain, 1760-1824* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), pp. 193-5; Ian Warrell, ''The wonder-working artist": Contemporary Responses to Turner's Exhibited and Engraved Watercolours', in Eric Shanes (ed.), *Turner: The Great Watercolours* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2000), pp. 37-9.

[6] Ann Bermingham considers Sir John Leicester's exhibition of his art collection in 'Gainsborough's *Cottage Door* in Sir John Leicester's "Tent Room"', in Ann Bermingham, *Sensation and Sensibility* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005); Donghо Chun also studies Leicester's collection in 'Public display, Private glory: Sir John Fleming Leicester's Gallery of British art in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol 13, no.2, 2001, pp. 175-89; Katie Gazzard studied Alexander Davison's collection of history paintings he commissioned from leading artists in ''The Snob's Cauldron': Alexander Davison and the Private Patronage of History Painting in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain', *British Art Studies*, Issue 7, https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-07/kgazzard, accessed 18 August 2023.

London residence to show guests. This practice will be considered in the context of associating Fawkes' local, regional, and national presence.

Finally, close study of the collection identifies occasions when Fawkes invested heavily in particular works.[7] These instances of extravagant spending suggest the landowner was caught in the tension of being seen to be sufficiently wealthy to be able to lavish money on such items as art, while also being seen to manage his estate prudently as a responsible landowner. In being reported, these expensive purchases brought attention to Fawkes. They will be examined to assess whether they were part of a deliberate strategy of conspicuous consumption to position himself in polite society.

**Portraits**

A list dated 1936 of paintings at Farnley Hall includes seventeen portraits of members of the Fawkes and Hawksworth families[8]. It includes two of Francis Fawkes, as well as those of Sir Walter Hawksworth, second Baronet (d. 1735) and his wife, Judith Ayscough.[9] Judith was a joint heiress with her sister, who married the father of Francis Fawkes and so was important for not only the additional property she brought to the Hawksworth estate but also in acknowledging the historic tie between the Hawksworth and Fawkes families.[10] Her daughter and heiress, Frances Hawksworth, married Thomas Ramsden, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, who was also memorialised in a portrait at Farnley.[11] Their son, Walter Ramsden, took Francis' father's name, Hawksworth, after his grandfather's death. This man's son, also Walter Hawksworth, was the father of Water Fawkes, the subject of this thesis, and was also the subject of a portrait (Fig. 3.7). The portraits therefore depicted illustrious ancestors and mapped lines of inheritance and property.

A further point to note is the portrait of Francis Fawkes of Barnborough Grange. This was Francis Farrer, brother of Amelia Farrer (Walter Fawkes' mother). Although Walter

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[7] Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Kathryn Cave, Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (eds), 16 Vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978-98). The diarist Joseph Farington reports Fawkes paying a 'charge very great' for a commission (Vol. 1, p. 270), paying 300 guineas for a Ruysdael (Vol. 2, p. 503), and in 1818 paying 500 guineas for Turner's painting *Dort* (Vol. 15, p. 5195).

[8] Yorkshire Archaeological and Historical Society Collection (YAS), Leeds University Brotherton Library, Special Collections, ref: DD161/26B/13

[9] Alastair Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth* (Otley: Smith Settle, 1991), pp. 22-3.

[10] Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth*, pp. 22-3.

[11] Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth*, pp. 22-3.

Hawksworth inherited most of Francis Fawkes' Farnley estate in 1786, Francis Farrer was given certain benefits including wood rights and an equal share with Walter Hawksworth for linen, chinaware, pictures, household goods, and furniture in Farnley Hall, on the condition he also assume the name of Fawkes.[12] The portraits therefore also show the long-established bonds between local families, ties of kith. Since pictures were mentioned in the will of 1781, it is plausible to accept that the portraits in the list of 1936 were part of the inheritance of Farnley Hall.[13]

Ancestral portraits were similarly displayed in countless other country seats. They were considered to spur members of the current generation to strive to equal or better their honour through valour and deed, although for Walter Fawkes they were more important as a traditional statement of hierarchy and familial heritage.[14] Displaying the existence of worthy ancestors and the passing of wealth and professional identity through tied family lines validated his own inheritance and position.[15]

As well as displaying portraits of ancestors, Fawkes commissioned a number of portraits of himself to continue the display of heritage and family line. He chose formal compositions, in line with those of his predecessors, but he also had portraits painted to characterise his scholarly nature and political aspirations. They included an undated, half-length, seated portrait by the acclaimed English portrait artist John Hoppner (Fig. 3.8) which was later engraved by William Say. John Raphael Smith, painted a full-length seated portrait in pastel, undated, with Fawkes at his desk with books, writing paraphernalia, and a folio of paintings on the floor with Turner R.A. clearly marked on it (Fig. 1.3).[16] The composition of the pastel is strikingly similar to that of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, MP (Fig. 3.9), a prominent Whig, also by Smith, suggesting perhaps that Fox recommended the artist to Fawkes. The image of Fawkes is interesting in the context of the family portraits since it is at variance with the other head and shoulder compositions. In the Smith portrait Fawkes is self-fashioning himself as a learned and cultured gentleman, wanting to portray

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[12] The will of Francis Fawkes dated 28 July 1781, YAS, Leeds University Brotherton Library, Special Collections, ref: DD161/7/d.

[13] YAS, Leeds University Brotherton Library, Special Collections, ref: DD161/7/d.

[14] Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 149.

[15] Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*, p. 13.

[16] National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG D1902 and D36677, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw36052/Walter-Ramsden-Fawkes accessed 18 January 2021

the characteristics he perceived as important to establish himself as a politician, serious in his endeavour and erudite in his nature.[17]

An engraving of a portrait of Walter Fawkes (Fig. 3.11) has a more formal composition, being a seated half-length. Records state that the engraving by Thomas Woolnorth was after a work by Thomas Charles Wageman, and was published in 1825, the year of Fawkes' death and possibly issued as a memorial portrait.[18] A further painting (Fig. 3.12), again a seated half-length, has Fawkes laying his right hand on a volume of the *History of England*, verifying Edith Mary Fawkes' recollection of her grandfather compiling the text.[19] Questionably attributed to Wageman on the 1936 list of paintings at Farnley, the work is more likely to be that of William Robinson, a portrait painter and native of Leeds who became a student at the Royal Academy before returning to settle in Leeds c.1823-4.[20]

Displays of ancestors' portraits were common, setting out lines of inheritance and connection between families and Fawkes' similarly portrayed a long established and honourable family heritage. He continued the tradition of formal upper body portraits, but also embraced the trend for a self-fashioning composition, portraying himself as a learned man and scholar, art patron, and friend of the artist, Turner.[21] In this manner Fawkes was adapting the traditional framework of family portraiture to support his own agenda of self-promotion.

The artists and engravers that created his likenesses were all eminent in their trade; John Raphael Smith was a London print maker and publisher before his move to Yorkshire

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[17] There is a further version of this portrait in oil, undated, and attributed to Thomas Charles Wageman (1787-1863, Fig. 3.10,), sold at Christie's, 30 July 1959, lot 10 and later at Sotheby's auction house, see, https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2005/important-british-pictures-paintings-drawings-watercolours-and-portrait-miniatures-l05123/lot.53.html accessed 8 September 2023.

[18] National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG D42544, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw233774/Walter-Ramsden-Fawkes?LinkID=mp57624&role=sit&rNo=2 accessed 18 January 2021

[19] See chapter 2 and the discussion concerning the *Historical Vignettes*.

[20] Gordon Nares, Farnley Hall, Yorkshire – II: The Home of Major and Mrs Le G. G. W. Horton-Fawkes, *Country Life*, 27 May 1954, p. 1716-7. For information on Robinson see: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23887 accessed 7 October 2022. Since the portrait has a similar style to others by Robinson, it is accepted as his work. The 1936 list of paintings at Farnley Hall is held by YAS, Leeds University Brotherton Library, Special Collections, ref: DD161/26B/13.

[21] Referenced by the folio of watercolours leaning against the desk in the John Raphael Smith and Wageman portraits (see Figs. 1.3 and 3.10 respectively).

working on commissions for pastel portraits, and Hoppner was a London portrait painter with royal sitters. Wageman was particularly prolific in portraits of actresses and actors, and William Robinson appears to have painted Fawkes after the artist returned to Leeds from a successful career in London. Though Fawkes did not commission the leading portrait artist, Sir Thomas Lawrence, as some of his contemporaries did, he selected eminent artists from both London and Yorkshire.[22] Having such artists work on his portraits declared his own status, and also his position as patron to the arts in both London and Yorkshire, a duality considered later.

Aside from family portraits, a guidebook of 1819 indicates *The Duchess of Arenburg with her infant son*, a full-length work by Anthony van Dyck, and *Lord Cottington* by Cornelius Jansen were also on display at Farnley.[23] Having the Duchess' portrait hanging in the family home would have encouraged the idea of illustrious heritage associated with the high nobility House of Arenburg, as well as the prestige a van Dyck painting brought to a collection. Furthermore, displaying a van Dyck portrait with a family 'head' in van Dyck style costume would have further endorsed the portrayal of social standing and established family.[24] Fawkes may have also been trying to draw attention to the actions of his predecessor Sir Richard Hawksworth in the time of the Caroline court.[25] Richard Hawksworth was knighted in the early seventeenth century probably for payments made to King Charles I, and declared himself for Parliament at the outbreak of the Civil Wars in 1642.[26] Since portrait collections were also the site where political allegiances were displayed, Fawkes' gallery would have informed viewers of the roles his family played in the country's political history.[27]

Political allegiances were perhaps the reasoning behind the purchase of the portrait of Lord Cottington, Lord Treasurer, and ambassador to the court of Philip III of Spain, acting as his English agent from 1609 to 1611. Fawkes had an ancestor who was dispatched to Spain in Autumn 1605 on government business regarding the claims the Spanish were making on

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[22] Veronica M E Lovell, 'Benjamin Gott of Armley House, Leeds, 1762-1840: Patron of the Arts', *The Thoresby Society*, Vol. 59, Part 2, no.130, 1986, pp. 208-11.

[23] John Bigland, *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York; containing An Account of the Residences of the Nobility, Gentry &c,* (London: Sherwood, Nealy and Moss, 1819), p. 721.

[24] Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life,* p. 159.

[25] Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*, p. 158.

[26] Laurence, *History of Menston*, pp. 19-20.

[27] Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life,* p. 183.

Netherlandish lands.[28] Whether Fawkes purchased the portrait of Lord Cottington as a reminder of his ancestor's position in government, or whether it was more for historic interest allied to his enthusiasm for the period, the painting acted to reinforce a political association with the Fawkes family, advantageous for the collector when he was himself carving his own political career.[29]

Another prominent work of art that was associated with Fawkes' brand of politics was a bust of Sir Francis Burdett by Sir Francis Leggatt Chantry.[30] As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, Fawkes went to school with Burdett and the men were friends, indeed there is a report from the botanist, Charles Lyell who stayed at Farnley in 1815 and said that his host was a 'furious *Burdettite*'.[31] Displaying Burdett's bust would have been a reminder of the friends' relationship and the principles of the politics they shared, as well as a sign to visitors of the men's association, as evidenced by Lyell's report.

The remaining portrait to be considered is that of *Lady Hamilton as 'Nature',* by George Romney (Fig. 3.13). The sitter was one of the most famous women in the country; to have her image by one of the best portrait artists of the time would have been a very fashionable display, showing an awareness of contemporary trends. However, Fawkes bought the portrait not from a dealer but from his friend and fellow landowner, Thomas Lister Parker, in 1816 or 1818.[32] Whether Fawkes bought the work as an opportunistic purchase to support his friend, or whether he saw a genuine fit with his growing collection is not known, but it certainly added a contemporary glamour to his gallery.

Including the charming addition of *Lady Hamilton*, Fawkes was adept at taking the tradition of family portrait displays, and supplementing them with paintings of other

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[28] Harry Speight, 'Hawksworth Hall and its Associations', *The Journal of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 2, 1905, pp. 271-3.

[29] There is also mention in the 1936 List of Paintings at Farnley of a portrait of William III attributed to Sir Peter Lely, see YAS, Leeds University Brotherton Library Special Collections, ref: DD161/26B/13. Paintings of a similar calibre have been recorded at Farnley but in Walter Fawkes' time no record has been found of the portrait by Lely, suggesting the painting joined the collection later and so is not considered in this analysis.

[30] Alison Yarrington, Ilene D. Lieberman, Alex Potts and Malcolm Baker, 'An Edition of the Ledger of Sir Francis Chantry, R.A., at the Royal Academy, 1809-1841, *The Fifty-Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society 1991/1992* (Leeds: The Walpole Society, 1994), pp. 25-6.

[31] James Hamilton's entry for 'Fawkes' in Evelyn Joll, Martin Butlin, and Luke Hermann (eds), *The Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.104.

[32] See, https://collections.frick.org/objects/130/lady-hamilton-as-nature, accessed 7 December 2020. Parker was in financial difficulties, selling his country seat in 1820.

individuals, to support and assert his own agenda of self-fashioning. Family portraits alluded to his status from a long-established series of responsible landowners, and his commissioned portraits promoted his own character as an erudite politician in touch with fashionable, contemporary society, and as a historian and patron of the arts especially associating himself with Turner.

**Old Masters and Commissioning Works**

Fawkes bought two of the portraits described above from the Orleans collection (*Lord Cottington* and *The Duchess of Arenburg with her Infant Son*), in the 1790s.[33] With the unrest from the French Revolution restricting travel to the continent to buy the work of Old Masters, there was a national excitement when over five hundred works from the French collection of the Duc d'Orléans came up for sale in London in the 1790s. Several contemporary reports allude to the purchases Fawkes made at the sales.[34] Guidebooks of 1819 and 1822 list nine paintings at Farnley Hall from the Orleans collection, with a further work by Snyders identified by David Hill as purchased at an Orleans sale in 1792.[35] Further sources include the diarist, Joseph Farington, who reported Fawkes purchasing a landscape in 1796 by Ruysdael from the European Museum for 300 guineas, a sum Farington considered a 'monstrous price' for '*that*' picture (a comment considered later).[36] As a result of buying from the Orleans sales and purchasing works attributed to such artists

[33] Both portraits are mentioned in Bigland's 1819 account of Farnley Hall in his *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York*, p. 721. Undated catalogue cards for visitors to use to identify paintings at Farnley, indicate both works as being from the Orleans Gallery, see YAS, Leeds University Brotherton Library, Special Collections, DD161/26B/7a, 7b and 7c.

[34] The Getty Provenance Index records a Fawkes purchasing around 49 works from a sale on 16 and 17th June 1791. Some of these were said to be by Old Masters such as Claude Lorrain and Reubens. It is difficult to correspond the subjects of the paintings with the titles and descriptions found in archived lists from Farnley and from the contemporary guidebooks listing paintings on view at Farnley. https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb accessed 17 October 2022.

[35] Bigland, *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York*, p. 721; John Preston Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1822), unpaginated: Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 48.

[36] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 2, p. 503. A further interesting point made in the same diary entry was that Fawkes visited Bryants Gallery, a London art dealer, suggesting he also purchased through dealers.

as van Dyck, Guercino, and Ruysdael, Fawkes was establishing himself as the owner of a significant art collection.

As well as purchasing works, Fawkes also commissioned paintings. In a diary entry for 6th December 1794, Farington records a conversation with fellow artist, William Marshall Craig, who gave details of a commission by Fawkes,

> Craig was at Mr. Fawkes's in Yorkshire, 12 miles from Leeds when Hodges was there to make sketches for 4 pictures. The subjects were left to his choice. The Pictures abt. half lengths. Hodges charged 300 guineas for the four, besides frames. – Mr. Fawkes, is extremely discontented. He complains that the views are not made like the places, that they are slightly painted & the charge very great. The pictures are taken down & turned to the wall, & Mr. Fawkes says He will never buy another oil picture.[37]

The pictures were exchanged for books with Thomas Edwards, Fawkes' friend, and a bookseller in York and London.[38] Though the current location of any of the four works is unknown, a description in an 1826 sales catalogue gives their subjects as 'Fountains Abbey by Moonlight', 'View of Bolton Abbey', 'View from Otley Chevin' and 'View from the high ground above Otley'.[39] The motivation behind Fawkes' commissioning Hodges, and his dislike of the works is worthy of further investigation for what it reveals of his taste.

Having gained a reputation as a landscape painter to the Admiralty following his trip with James Cook to the Pacific, Hodges' work was appreciated for its 'brilliancy and effect', with a focus on the conception of grand and poetic scenery. [40] Most likely, it was this reputation that prompted Fawkes to commission the artist to paint views of Yorkshire, and particularly the Wharfedale valley. Trained under Richard Wilson, a founder member of the Royal Academy and an accomplished portrait and landscape painter, Hodges appeared to define his own approach to his work when he was responding to criticisms of his

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[37] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 1, p. 270.

[38] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 2, p. 472.

[39] Getty Providence Index, https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb accessed 29 October 2022. A digital copy of the sales catalogue with the four works is available: http://portal.getty.edu/books/frick_1145340923 accessed 29 October 2022.

[40] Harriet Guest, ''The Consequences of War' in the winter of 1794-95', in Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (eds), *William Hodges 1744-1797, The Art of Exploration*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 61.

master's art.[41] He argued that though Wilson's pictures were not as finished as many Dutch works, they agreed 'with the whole', and that 'he [Wilson] did not possess the phlegmatic industry to labour upon the down of a thistle'.[42] These statements, considered alongside Fawkes' dislike of Hodges work, suggests Fawkes preferred depictions with more detail, rendering them a more realistic representation to his eyes, rather than the portrayal of a grandiose ideal.

Fawkes went on to commission William Craig in 1796 to make a drawing for him of one of the subjects from the Hodges commission.[43] Although there is no record of a work by Craig in the Farnley archives or documents, the note does indicate that as well as Old Masters and oil paintings, Fawkes also had an appreciation for drawings and watercolour paintings at the time. This was endorsed by a report of a series of drawings of 'romantic landscapes in Switzerland and Italy' hung in Farnley at the time he inherited the estate.[44] The watercolours were by John 'Warwick' Smith, a watercolour artist, who had visited Italy from 1776 to 1781, and returned home via Switzerland.[45]

In his early collecting period therefore, Fawkes' strategy was eclectic, purchasing the work of Old Masters, as well as commissioning new work in oil and drawings. However, in the early nineteenth century he became focused on the work of J. M. W. Turner. His first purchase from the artist was a watercolour, *Mer de Glace, in the Valley of Chamouni, Switzerland*, (exh. R.A. 1803 as *Glacier and Source of the Arveron going up to the Mer de Glace, in the Valley of Chamouni*), and for the next eight years or so Fawkes' patronage appeared exclusive to Turner.[46]

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[41] John Bonehill, 'This Hapless Adventurer: Hodges and the London Art World' in Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (eds), *William Hodges 1744-1797, The Art of Exploration* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 12.

[42] Bonehill, 'This Hapless Adventurer', p. 12.

[43] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 2, p. 495.

[44] Alex J Finberg, *Turner's Water-Colours at Farnley Hall* (London: The Studio, 1912), p. 1. The *Mer de Glace* may have been purchased in 1804 rather than when it was exhibited in 1803.

[45] Huaon Mallalieu, *The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920, Vol. 2, M-Z*, (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2002), p. 182.

[46] Finberg, *Turner's Water-colours at Farnley Hall*, p. 2. It has been suggested that Turner and Fawkes had crossed paths earlier since the artist had visited Fawkes' neighbours, the Lascelles at Harewood House in 1797, and had also visited Fawkes' close friend Thomas Lister Parker in 1799, discussed in chapter 5.

**The Turner Collection**

Turner had painted *Mer de Glace* after completing a tour on the continent taking advantage of the break in hostilities with France in 1802.[47] He visited Paris and travelled through both the French and Swiss Alps. Fawkes had undertaken a Grand Tour in the 1790s and had visited Switzerland himself; it is possible he purchased Turner's painting as a souvenir of his tour, as well as an advertisement of having travelled, an activity of the erudite and cultured.[48]

Evidently it would appear that Fawkes enjoyed the picture since a note from about 1804 in Turner's sketchbook records Fawkes' interest in paintings of other sites in the alps, the 'Devils Bridge Causeway', the 'Upper Fall of the Riquenbach' and 'Mt Blanc from St Martin', the first two of which were painted and joined Fawkes' collection the same year.[49]

From surviving records, it appears that following those initial purchases Fawkes limited his patronage until around 1812 to works by Turner. He continued to buy further watercolours of Swiss views between 1804 and 1809, and also purchased oils painted by the artist. These included *Bonneville, Savoy,* c.1803-5, *The Victory returning from Trafalgar,* c.1806, *London from Greenwich Park,* 1809, *Shoeburyness Fisherman hailing a Whitstable Hoy,* 1809, *The Sun Rising through Vapour,* c.1809, and *Lake Geneva from Montreux, Chillon &c,* 1810. Turner exhibited these works in his gallery which he had established in 1804, to have control over the hanging of his work.[50] Having his own premises, however, did not deter Turner from displaying at exhibitions; *Shoeburyness* was displayed in his gallery in 1809, then shown in an exhibition in Liverpool in 1810, marked for sale. It is possible that Fawkes bought it from the Liverpool exhibition rather than Turner's gallery. The records reveal how Turner was exercising a trend in diversifying the practice of selling and

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[47] For an investigation into the relationship between Turner and Fawkes, from their likely meeting to Fawkes' death, see chapter 5. Here consideration is limited to Turner's works that entered Fawkes' collection.

[48] Rev. Henry Forster Mills, *Elegiac Stanzas on the Death of Walter Fawkes* (Bristol: T J Manchee, 1825). The Stanzas written by Fawkes' friend, Henry Mills, allude to their Grand Tour, 'Pensive, O Fawkes! By Leman's side I've paced,/ Admired the giant heights, the cone of snow;/ Whilst thou hast sat and all their grandeur traced,/ Or sketched with magic skill the lake below.'

[49] Finberg, *Turner's Water-colours at Farnley Hall*, p. 2.

[50] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 6, p. 2271.

purchasing art, reducing a reliance on exhibiting societies such as the Royal Academy to display work.[51]

The oil paintings attracted comments from critics, and even when they were not complimentary, demonstrated the work had significance. *Sun Rising through Vapour* attracted the comment from one that it was inferior to his former 'productions', and from another, an expression of great admiration.[52] *The Lake of Geneva* was described as 'particularly beautiful'; buying pieces that had their own status would have identified Fawkes as a notable collector, and for Turner, an important patron.[53] Aside from establishing himself as a patron of the artist, the works in oil also revealed Fawkes' patriotic character in his choice of subject material. Whilst *Bonneville* and *Geneva*, followed Fawkes' passion for alpine scenery, the other choices had a focus on marine life and seascapes.[54]

*Sun Rising Through Vapour*, was revisiting a previous study of the same name (c.1807), purchased by Sir John Leicester, another landowner with a significant art collection. The subject evoked Dutch Old Master seascapes, bathed in golden light. The naturalistic and calm depiction of the coast and communities perhaps created a patriotic identification with peacetime and reminded a nation at war of their purpose.[55] *Shoeburyness* also depicted a nation going about its normal daily business. With a rough sea, the work was reminiscent of other styles of Dutch marine paintings. While the purchase of both oils revealed Fawkes understanding and appreciation of the importance of the fleet to the nation's economic health and for its defence, it also unveiled a particular sympathy with the marine works of the Old Dutch Masters brought up to date by his friend, Turner.

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[51] Though he invited the views of his fellow Academicians as shown by his asking them to visit his gallery, recorded by Farington in his diary, see Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 7, p. 2544.

[52] For *Vapour*, see Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 8, p. 3006 and 3036.

[53] *The Sun*, 12 June 1810.

[54] Another note in the artist's sketchbook records Fawkes as a subscriber to a large mezzotint after *The Shipwreck*, a popular theme of the period, engraved by Charles Turner and executed and published in 1806. Other subscribers included Fawkes' friend, Parker, and Lord Yarbrough. Fawkes later bought further sea scenes, indicating an appreciation of such views, though this subscription may also have been informed by the fact that two of his close friends were subscribers and this was a fashionable project. See Finberg, *Turner's Water-colours at Farnley Hall*, p. 2; see Robert Upstone's entry for 'Lord Yarborough' in Joll, Butlin, and Hermann (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to J.M.W. Turner*, pp. 390-1.

[55] Geoff Quilley, *Empire to Nation: Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain 1768-1829* (London and New York: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 229.

*Greenwich Park* was also a patriotic image. With Turner's perspective of the Thames, looking back towards London, the composition followed a pattern used by landscape artists since the second half of the seventeenth century, such as Jan Griffier the Elder, *London and the River Thames from One Tree Hill, Greenwich Park*, c.1690, Peter Tillemans, *London from Greenwich Park*, c.1730-34, and John Feary, *One Tree Hill, Greenwich, with London in the Distance*, 1779.[56] With the river Thames a focal point of the paintings, London was brought to mind with the Queen's House and Greenwich Hospital in the foregrounds and the dome of St Pauls dominating the skyline in the distance.[57] Not only was the trading capital featured, but deer grazing in the foreground of Turner's and Feary's works also represented and melded the pastoral and economic qualities of British identity. Turner included a caption with his exhibited painting to ensure the message of the Thames being the life blood of commerce was not lost,

> Where burthen'd Thames reflect the crowded sail
> Commercial care and busy toil prevail
> Obscures thy beauty, and thy form denies
> Save where thy spires pierce the doubtful air
> As gleams of hope amidst a world of care.[58]

Despite its patriotic qualities, the painting was at some point returned to Turner and became part of his Bequest.[59] The return of a work by a patron was an unusual occurrence; even when Fawkes disliked the works he commissioned from Hodges discussed earlier, he did not return them. It seems that both Turner and his patron were on amicable enough terms to agree a return, possibly due to Fawkes' financial constraints or his desire to exchange the work for another.[60] Fawkes' appreciation of the benefits of being a maritime nation shown through his choice of painting, and the fact that the works themselves had their own status, worked to position the landowner as a patriotic and notable art collector.

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[56] Geoff Quilley, 'Placing the Sea in Eighteenth-Century British Art' in Eleanor Hughes (ed.) *Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth-Century British Marine Painting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 45-8.

[57] Quilley, 'Placing the Sea', pp. 45-8.

[58] Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), Text Volume, Catalogue no. 97, pp. 69-70.

[59] See, www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-london-from-greenwich-park-n00483 accessed 19 October 2017

[60] See, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-london-from-greenwich-park-n00483 accessed 29 October 2022, and, Butlin and Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner*, p. 63, where it is suggested *London from Greenwich* was exchanged for either *Shoeburyness* or *Lake of Geneva*.

Fawkes was also passionate about the scenery of Yorkshire, Wharfedale in particular, and must have appreciated the similarities in nature of the rocky outcrops in the Swiss scenes depicted by Turner and those apparent in the countryside surrounding Farnley such as the Chevin. It was perhaps the manner in which Turner depicted mountainous scenery that encouraged Fawkes to commission the artist to paint a number of scenes from locations along the Wharfe. Having the artist depict his beloved Wharfedale in the same style as the mountainscapes of Chamonix would conflate the landscapes, underlining the similarity of the scenery of both locations.

Ten pencil drawings in Turner's *Farnley and Related Subjects* sketchbook, c.1808-24, record a tour up the river Wharfe from Farnley to Bolton Abbey, likely taken in 1808. [61] The fact that one of the sketches was worked up to a finished watercolour dated 1809 (probably *Bolton Abbey from the North*), strengthens the likelihood that the sketches were made the previous year, and since they included views of the Wharf and Washburn valleys, were likely created with Fawkes in mind. Considering Fawkes' hospitable character, it is plausible that Turner would have been invited into Farnley Hall to discuss the list of works, if indeed he had not been invited to stay when he was visiting to make the sketches. Based on these assumptions it seems reasonable to accept that this was the first of the many visits the artist made to Farnley.

A further list of works drawn up around 1809-10 in the *Greenwich* Sketchbook, for drawings made or to be made for Fawkes, included more Yorkshire scenes, Farnley, and Swiss landscapes.[62] With the list was a reference to a payment by bankers draft dated 20 February for £100 for four proofs from Turner's *Liber Studiorum*.[63] In comparison with the sums Fawkes paid for his initial purchases from Turner in 1803 of 50 guineas per watercolour, these were much cheaper works, suggesting perhaps that Turner was cultivating Fawkes, encouraging a loyalty or at least wanting to make the landowner feel he was being given preferential treatment.[64]

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[61] See, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/farnley-and-related-subjects-r1146598#entry-main accessed 5 October 2021

[62] See, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-list-of-works-for-walter-fawkes-inscription-by-turner-r1130917 accessed 22 June 2021.

[63] See, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-list-of-works-for-walter-fawkes-inscription-by-turner-r1130917 accessed 22 June 2021.

[64] Finberg, *Turner's Water-colours at Farnley Hall*, p. 2.

In 1810 and 1811 Fawkes acquired two more alpine views and four scenes relating to the coast and fishing, and then there seems to be a dearth in his patronage, aside from a purchase in 1812 of a watercolour by Robert Hills, *The Roebuck*, from the Society of Painters in Water Colour (SPWC).[65] Although there is no record of Fawkes purchasing a painting or drawing again until 1815, it seems artists, such as Peter De Wint, were visiting Farnley in the intervening years, alluding to Fawkes' continuing interest in art and artists.[66]

In 1815 Fawkes increased his rate of accumulation of watercolours by Turner, with views from around Otley, images of the 1814 architectural changes the landowner made to Farnley Hall, and a frontispiece to the *Fairfaxiana* collection, discussed in chapter 2. In 1817 Fawkes bought Turner's series of sketches from the artist's tour of the Rhine the same year. It is said that Turner went straight to Farnley after he docked in Hull on his return from the trip.[67] On greeting Fawkes, Turner is reported to have pulled out from his pocket the roll of sketches and accepted Fawkes' offer of £500 for the lot.[68] While the report of a roll of sketches is now considered a myth, the series of watercolours have a reputation for their delicacy rather than precision, being worked-up pencil outlines using watercolour and gouache contributing to their sketch like appearance; Fawkes would have appreciated them not only for their artistic qualities but also for their river subject matter, the alpine nature of many, and the association with maritime commerce.[69]

One of the most interesting areas of Fawkes' art collection are the images Turner created around 1818 of Farnley Hall, the inside spaces as well as the exterior, the parkland, and wider estates. The works provide an intimate record of life at Farnley, depicting the decoration and furnishing of the rooms in the Hall, the buildings of the estate (including

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[65] Antique Collectors Club, *The Royal Society: The First Fifty Years 1805-1855* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, 1992), pages that note Fawkes' purchases are as follows: pp. 25-6, 55, 91-2, 161-2, 182, 209-10, 229-31, 246.

[66] Peter De Wint visited in 1814 and 1816, see Randall Davies, 'Peter De Wint (1784-1849)' in A J Finberg (ed.), *The Old Water-Colour Society's Club, 1923-1924, First Annual Volume* (London: Chiswick Press, 1924), p. 10; Robert Hills also visited Farnley, but not until 1818, for his health and to study the character of deer, see John Lewis Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour Society*' (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1891), Vol. 1, p. 311.

[67] Walter Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A., Founded on Letters and Papers Furnished by his Friends and Academicians* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862), Vol. 2, p. 86.

[68] Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.*, Vol. 2, p. 86.

[69] Cecilia Powell, *Turner's Rivers of Europe: The Rhine, Meuse and Mosel* (London: Tate Publishing, 1991), pp. 32-3.

the other halls that had become integrated into the estate over the years), as well as showing the views, activities, and pursuits that were on offer. The subject and style of the series was unique in Turner's oeuvre and deserves closer attention.

**The Estate Watercolours**

Turner produced around thirty watercolours of the grounds at Farnley.[70] The paintings present a tour of the estate and the activities that guests could do when visiting. There are images of both gate houses letting guests know what to expect when first arriving, an image of a carriage thundering up the driveway, and another at the front of the house. The paintings include aspects of the normal comings and goings of the estate, such as chickens running around the gatehouses, a hare on the lawn in front of the house, and a girl (presumably one of Fawkes' daughters) waving from a window greeting guests as they arrive. The images are informal, showing both people and the landscape in a naturalistic manner, and in showing those details they are intimate, quite different to the estate portraits where the country seat featured in an expansive landscape setting, such as those Turner painted of Tabley House (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10), Harewood House, Rosehill Park, and Raby Castle (Fig. 4.43).[71]

In what could be seen as akin to a brochure of the estate, there are images of people walking in the pleasure gardens, admiring the view, taking trips on the boating lake, and even boating in moonlight (Fig. 1.41). There are scenes of challenging sporting activities such as shooting deer amongst the rocky outcrop of the Chevin, and exciting fishing opportunities at the confluence of the rivers Wharfe and Washburn. These paintings are also informal. For example, in the foreground of the painting showing the two rivers meeting (Fig. 1.40), a fishing rod and bag have been left on the bank as if the fisherman had left them to stand back and record the moment fishing with his friend, likely to be Walter Fawkes.

The informality of the Farnley paintings, together with the fact that Turner had not completed work like this before for any other patron, gives the impression Fawkes wanted

[70] Although the works were and are referred to as watercolours, most were body-colour on grey paper, some with additions of chalk, pen, black ink and/or watercolour. A small number were created in watercolour only.

[71] Christopher Rowell, Ian Warrell and David Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth* (London: The National Trust and Tate Publications, 2002), p. 52.

them for a specific purpose.[72] The way they record the leisure activities rather than focus on developments in agriculture or the stock breeding programmes Fawkes was involved in, suggests that he used them to display the range of attractions available on the estate for visitors. The fact that the landlord took a folio of paintings with him when he stayed in London, and that the folio, depicted in the 1819 painting of the memorial window (Fig. 3.14) is labelled 'Farnley', suggests he took these watercolours to show to his peers. Thornbury states the Farnley portfolios,

> abound with his [Turner's] sketches of the house and estate, all rapidly but beautifully wrought; some are rough, some are *chef-d'oeuvres*, particularly a brook-side with wood-flowers, and a water-scene.[73]

The description of the works being 'rapidly but beautifully wrought' alludes to the attention paid to depict sufficient detail to render a naturalistic representation, without so much attention that the painting becomes fallacious. The wood walk scenes of the estate that Turner painted are an example where speckles of colour resemble the glimpses of spring flowers seen as one walks past, rather than having clearly defined petals where a walker would have to stop and kneel-down to see that level of detail. For Fawkes a naturalistic rendition was important; clearly, he found this in Turner's work for him to remain a patron.

Entries in Fawkes' diary of 1825 for 20 February and 20 March, when he was in London, record him showing his Farnley drawings to visitors, evidence that the watercolours were produced to show the estate to a wider audience, perhaps encouraging them to visit.[74] The drawings, however, were not limited to the estate – Turner also painted the rooms of Farnley Hall.

**The Interior Watercolours**

Turner painted eight watercolours of the interior of Farnley Hall plus the painting of the montage of items before a window (*Memorial Window*, (Fig. 3.14)). Interior portraits were not within Turner's normal repertoire of work so it is likely that these paintings would also

[72] See chapter 5 for a discussion regarding Fawkes' direction on the subject of the images Turner created for him.

[73] Thornbury, *Life of J. M. W Turner*, Vol. 2, p. 86.

[74] Walter Fawkes' diary, January – May 1825 (Private Collection).

have been requested by Fawkes. Described as having a 'crisp approach to structural and ornamental detail' they are reminiscent of Turner's background in architectural drawing.[75]

*Drawing Room* (Fig. 1.16) was sufficiently detailed to be able to identify Turner's *Dort or Dordrecht: The Dort packet-boat from Rotterdam becalmed,* of 1818, hung above the fireplace, and other works in the room such as *The Victory* and *Shoeburyness,* flanking *Dort,* with portraits above them. Other identifiable works included *The Duchess of Arenburg* placed centrally on the long side wall, with portraits on the sections of wall between the large windows.[76] Also depicted in detail was the plasterwork ceiling, after a design by Robert Adams, drawing attention to the investment in the most fashionable architectural features. Music featured in the room with the presence of a harp and a grand piano, and the bust of Sir Francis Burdett alluding to Fawkes' political stance, and the sculpture having a prominent position in front of the memorial window, which set out the family line and claim to the inheritance of the Farnley estate.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the drawing was the sense of comfort and calm it exuded. The presence of people, perhaps Fawkes' daughters, sat with the golden afternoon sun streaming through the windows, and shawls or clothes draped casually on the chair in the foreground gave a sense of a relaxed and informal atmosphere. The image conveyed the decoration, entertainment, and hospitality on offer at Farnley.

Hospitality and beautiful decoration were the intended focus of *Morning Room* (Fig. 3.15). Depicting a large table set for a meal, the end chair is pulled slightly away to the right as if someone has just checked all is in order and ready for everyone to be called to the table. The image acted as an invitation to join the group in the room, with stunning plasterwork, statues, and trompe d'oeil artwork. With the prominence of Bacchus stood in a cornice in the wall at the far end of the table, the painting radiated conviviality.

In the painting *Grand Staircase* (Fig. 3.16), Turner carefully included the detail of the double cantilevered staircase, the supporting columns and delicate plasterwork of the ceiling and balcony. The perspective, taken from the first flight of stairs invited the viewer

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[75] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 52.

[76] Bigland, *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York*, p. 721, stated that the paintings in the room also included the portrait of Lord Cotttingham by Cornelius Jansen, a Madonna, by Carlo Dulci, a Magdalen, by Guido, a group of cattle, by Adrian Vandervelde, Hermaphroditus, by Caracci, a sea piece by moonlight, a portrait of James I, Susannah and the elders by Guercino, and a ship in a gale by Backhuysen.

to step down the grand central stairs, following the red carpet through to the open door of the saloon, and on to the just visible bay doors and terrace. To make the viewer – and potential visitor - feel even more welcome is a liveried servant bringing a tray of refreshments through to the dining room, implying that one was well cared for at Farnley. Again, the drawing conveyed Fawkes' cultured taste as well as his flair at being a genial host.

There are two depictions of the library at Farnley (*Library* and *Library with Heraldic Window)*, both again detailed in portraying the architecture, furniture, and decoration of the room. Taken from different viewpoints, one, *Library* (Fig. 3.17), repeats the informal atmosphere at Farnley with scrolls and items shown on the floor, and folios, books, and papers left out on the writing desk, side, and window table. There was a casual ambience in the image, with the door leading from the room being left open, suggesting that those reading or writing had only just stepped out of the room and would be back shortly to continue their study. The other view however, *Library with Heraldic Window* (Fig. 3.18), looked to the right and the short flight of stairs leading out of the room, depicting the same side table though devoid of books, and the floor clear, everything in its place. Attention was directed towards the detail of the armorial features of the window, rather than being concerned with the use of the room.

Other rooms in the series such as the *Oak Staircase*, the *Oak-panelled* room and the *Conservatory* (or Root Room) do not have any people shown in them; they seem to have been created for what they tell of Fawkes' interests, character, and family line.

The *Oak Staircase* (Fig. 3.19), clearly depicts Snyders *Boar Hunt*, displaying Fawkes' ownership of Old Masters, as well as the pikes and banners from the time of the English Civil Wars, part of his collection of items pertaining to the period (discussed in chapter 2). The space is decorated with the antlers of deer, as well as the massive horns of a more exotic beast attached to the first-floor landing banister, alluding to the quality of shooting available on the estate. There are three beautifully crafted chairs and a grandfather clock, all adding to the atmosphere of times gone by. The fact that there are no people or staffage in this image or in the *Oak-panelled room, with Fairfax's Chair* (Fig. 2.3), signified that these rooms were to be seen, rather than lived in or used. Indeed, the *Oak-panelled room* shows many of the other items in Fawkes' Civil War collection, displayed on the cabinet to the left, as well as Fairfax's chair taking centre stage. The swords mounted in front of the

bay window which also has stained glass armorial details, all collude to the room taking a step back in time as a museum piece.[77]

The painting of the conservatory (Fig. 1.32) is curious. Having the heraldic painted glass of the memorial window depicted at the back of the conservatory has led some to question whether Turner created this work as an idea of a design for Fawkes to contemplate.[78] However, plans of the walled garden to the west of the Hall indicate a building built against a wall, a suitable location for a conservatory.[79] Furthermore, the book in the library, *Drawings of Flowers in the Conservatory at Farnley Between 1817 and 1824*, by Miss F E Fawkes, suggests that the conservatory did exist, and since the other interior portraits are all in keeping with features remaining today, there is no reason to believe that the conservatory did not exist. The painting and book allude to, and advertise, the interest the family had in botany and horticulture. Farnley not only offered historical artefacts for antiquarians, but also advanced scientific and empirical enquiry (discussed further in chapter 4).[80]

It is likely that most of the estate paintings were created in 1818, certainly before Fawkes' exhibition of April 1819 since some of the images must have been displayed there in the room devoted to Turner's sketches of Farnley.[81] A work that can be firmly dated to 1818 is *First Rate*, also hung at the 1819 exhibition. The painting is one of the few where Turner was observed at work. An anecdote told by Edith Mary Fawkes, Fawkes' granddaughter, gives the details,

> … one morning at breakfast Walter Fawkes said to him [Turner], 'I want you to make me a drawing of the ordinary dimensions that will give some idea of the size of a man of war' – The idea hit Turner's fancy, for with a chuckle he said to Walter Fawkes' eldest son, then a boy of about 15 'Come along Hawkey and we will see what we can do for Papa' and the boy sat by his side the whole morning and witnessed the evolution of 'The First Rate taking in Stores'. His description of the way Turner went to work was very extraordinary, he began by pouring wet paint on to the paper till it was saturated, he tore, he scratched, he scrubbed at it in a kind of frenzy and the whole thing was chaos – but gradually and as if by magic the

[77] See chapter 2 for the room being established as a lived-in museum.

[78] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, pp. 47-8.

[79] Ordnance Map Office Southampton, surveyed in 1847 8 by Captain Tucker, R. E. Contoured in 1851 by Captain Hawkins, R. E. Engraved in 1851 under the direction of Captain Yolland, R. E. Published by L$^{t}$ Colonel Hall R. E. Superintendent. 5$^{th}$ November 1851.

[80] Discussed in chapter 4.

[81] Walter Fawkes, *A Collection of Water Colour Drawings in the Possession of Walter Fawkes Esq.,* (London: Benjamin Bensley,1819), National Art Library, London, Box 1.38ZZ 1819.

> lovely ship, with all its exquisite minutia, came into being and by luncheon time the drawing was taken down in triumph.[82]

As well as revealing aspects of Turner's painting technique, the story alludes to the relationship the artist had with Fawkes and his family, the subject of chapter 5.[83]

Fawkes seems to have invested heavily in his collection in 1818, since as well as the Turner watercolours, he also purchased six paintings from the SPWC and it was the year that the oil painting *Dort* became part of the collection (Fig. 3.20). Hawskworth went to a private view at the Royal Academy and seeing the picture went home to demand his father buy it.[84] Walter Fawkes initially refused, retorting he had already spent more on pictures than he was 'justified in doing' but Hawksworth threatened to 'cut off the entail – that is my price', (the entail being how the inheritance of the Farnley Estate was controlled), and so the picture was apparently purchased for 500 guineas and hung in the drawing room at Farnley Hall.[85]

The painting itself was hailed as 'one of the most magnificent pictures ever exhibited', marking the emergence of the artist as a colourist; it was described as being 'a very splendid picture' that 'amost [sic] puts your eyes out'.[86] *Dort* was another of Turner's responses to the Old Masters he had studied in British Collections since early in his career and a tribute to Aelbert Cuyp, his most formative Dutch influence. The packet boat motif was borrowed from the seventeenth-century painter's *Maas at Dordrecht* (c.1650), exhibited at the British Institution in 1815, and which signalled the rise in significance of Dutch art for British artistic society.[87] *Dort* follows the theme of Fawkes' earlier investments in Turner's response to Dutch maritime art. This work, with its effusive critical reception would have marked the collector as a leading connoisseur of

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[82] Edith Mary Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley', typescript account, unpaginated, dated c.1900, National Gallery, London, ref: NG72/22/1.

[83] There is a similar anecdote surrounding Turner's sketching of a storm over the Chevin, with Hawksworth watching, and the artist telling the boy he will see the work in two years as 'Hannibal Crossing the Alps', see Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner,* pp. 87-8. The details are considered in chapter 5 describing the relationship between Turner and the Fawkes family. The painting did not become part of the Fawkes collection and so the anecdote is not included here.

[84] Fawkes, *Turner at Farnley*.

[85] The issue over whether the painting was paid for is discussed in chapter 5.

[86] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 15, p. 5191.

[87] See https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:34 under 'published catalog entries' accessed 25 June 2021.

contemporary art. This reputation was consolidated when Fawkes staged an exhibition of watercolours by British artists at his London residence, the first of its kind held by a private collector.

**1819 and Fawkes' Exhibition of Watercolours by British Artists**

The SPWC had been exhibiting watercolours since its first exhibition in 1805, the same year the British Institution was founded to promote the work of contemporary British artists. However, despite initial success, the depressed economic climate meant that in 1813 the SPWC admitted work in oil and miniatures to its exhibitions in an effort to broaden its appeal and so survive the downturn.[88] A turning point came in 1818 when Sir John 'Fleming' Leicester (later Lord de Tabley), known as patron of the English school of painting, displayed his collection of art by British artists including paintings in oil and watercolour in his London residence.[89]

Sir John had started collecting British art, buying Thomas Gainsborough's *Greyhounds Coursing a Fox*, in 1789 following the artist's death.[90] The patron came to be known as the best friend of the English school of painting, in his 'liberal, generous and indefatigable' encouragement of painting, sculpture and engraving. [91] He believed the works of British artists were as good as those of the Old Masters, at a time when that was not necessarily the general view.[92] His friend and fellow collector, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, was noted by Leicester's biographer, William Paulet Carey, as saying Leicester's 'taste and liberality … nobly set the first example in favour of the British School, in the worst period of its discouragement.'[93]

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[88] For an overview of the status of watercolour painting in the period see Smith, *The Emergence of the Professional Watercolourist.*

[89] Ann Bermingham (ed.), *Sensation and Sensibility: Viewing Gainsborough's Cottage Door* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 137.

[90] Bermingham, *Sensation and Sensibility*, p. 139. Like Fawkes, Leicester had also collected continental Old Masters in the late 1780s after returning from a Grand Tour.

[91] Bermingham, *Sensation and Sensibility*, p. 137.

[92] Giles Waterfield (ed.), *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain 1790-1990* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991), p. 75.

[93] Referenced in Waterfield, *Palaces of Art*, p. 75.

Though there were a number of other investors in British art, Sir John's collection was the most substantial and well-rounded.[94] His decision to open his London gallery to a select pubic in 1818 proved highly successful. The event satisfied a number of motivations: it allowed artists access to the collection, responded to Leicester's aristocratic *noblesse oblige*, and by inviting public attention, it facilitated the promotion of the quality of the work and its approbation. The exhibition may also have been a part of Leicester's strategy to impress the King sufficiently to secure himself a peerage.[95] Being the first to stage such an exhibition at a private residence positioned Leicester as owning a collection of public significance, and, with being recognised as having the most substantial and well-rounded collection, the most important patron and figurehead of the British school.

Leicester limited attendance to his gallery, open during the social season, by ticketed entry to those known to the owner and his friends. Carey gave an effusive account of the event,

> a memorable epoch in the British school. Who that witnessed it can ever forget the feelings which it excited? The crowd of beauty and fashion, the chief nobility and gentry, the distinguished members of the legislature and of the learned profession, the taste and educated mind of England, assembled to share in the triumph of their countryman.[96]

Visitors came from across the country and from the Continent to see the collection. The success of the venture when only the work of British artists was displayed, suggested a curiosity regarding, and appreciation of, native talent. Fawkes saw the opportunity to build on the fervour for British art with his own event to exclusively display watercolours by British artists, establishing himself alongside Sir John in terms of status as a patriotic patron of the arts. A report from Carey records Fawkes considering the merits of his plan,

> I had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Fawkes mention his intended exhibition to a small circle of amateurs, with a doubt, whether the public would approve of paintings in water colours without any pictures in oil. Some gentlemen replied hesitatingly; but the approbation of *his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester,* who was present, determined the question. *Lord de Tabley* gave the plan his instant and warm concurrence. *Mr. Thomas Lister Parker,* of *Browsholme Hall,* was equally prompt in his assent.[97]

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[94] Bermingham, *Sensation and Sensibility,* p. 139.

[95] Chun, 'Public display, Private glory: Sir John Fleming Leicester's Gallery', pp. 175-89.

[96] Referenced in Waterfield, *Palaces of Art,* p. 76.

[97] William Carey, *Some Memoirs of the Patronage and Progress of the Fine Arts in England and Wales,* (London: Saunders and Ottley, 1826), p. 146.

Fawkes pushed ahead with the plan and staged his exhibition in 1819, allowing entrance to members of the public who had secured an admission ticket. His judgement was handsomely rewarded with great critical acclaim,

> Sir John's example has not only possessed an important influence, in exciting other persons of rank and fortune to collect the works of our native artists, but it has induced *Mr. Walter Fawkes, of Farnley Hall*, in Yorkshire, a gentleman whose name has long been among the first of his time and country, to open his superb suite of apartments, in Grosvenor Place, for the display of his matchless collection of drawings by *Turner*, the Royal Academician, and some other British artists. The Old British independence, strong mind, fine taste, and ample fortune of Mr. Fawkes, give him so large a range of influence on public opinion, that the exhibition of his works of art, may be considered another important victory obtained over the worst prejudices of bad taste and party spirit.[98]

Whilst the innovative stance of the exclusive display of watercolours has been addressed in previous research, alongside Turner's titled works displayed in the East Drawing room, the images displayed in the other rooms have received little attention.[99]

**The Exhibition Layout**

The exhibition was held at Fawkes' prestigious home, 45 Grosvenor Place, which overlooked the gardens of Buckingham Palace.[100] He had only purchased the property in March that year and must have worked quickly to plan the exhibition and prepare the house for the event which opened on 6 April. Turner's painting of the East Drawing Room which displayed forty of his watercolours shows a room splendidly furnished with matching upholstery and curtains, with the pictures hung in a fashionable, balanced display, in beautiful gilt frames.[101] The lavish but refined decoration suggests wealth with an awareness of what was considered tasteful. *The London Chronicle* stated, 'We must first mention the house, as a very stately and noble mansion, furnished with great elegance,

[98] *The New Monthly Magazine*, 1 May 1819, p. 355

[99] Lucy Bailey, 'Turner's Purposeful Patron: Walter Fawkes' 1819 Watercolour Exhibition', *Turner Society News*, no. 131, Spring 2019, pp. 16-20.

[100] J. M. W. Turner, *London from the Windows of 45 Grosvenor Place, when in the possession of W. Fawkes*, c.1819, see Andrew Wilton, *The Life and Work of J. M. W. Turner* (London: Academy Editions, 1979), ref; W498.

[101] Giles Waterfield, 'Picture Hanging and Gallery Decoration', in Waterfield, *Palaces of Art*, pp. 49-66.

not with French elegance, but something we like better, the solid and pure taste of England'.[102]

The exhibition was spread out over four rooms. The largest, the East Drawing Room as mentioned above, displayed forty titled drawings by Turner and was the showcase of the event. Another held nineteen titled works by other British artists, and a Bow Drawing Room displayed works by John 'Warwick' Smith and one by Fielding. Fawkes had catalogues printed to accompany the exhibition laid out on tables to assist viewing, listing Turner's and the other artists titled works.[103] However, a Souvenir catalogue produced after the event included the details of the Small Bow Drawing Room dedicated to twenty sketches 'made in' Wharfedale by Turner, and a larger number of works by other artists displayed across the smaller rooms.[104] The differences in the catalogues suggest that after the initial opening Fawkes reviewed the display to take advantage of the success of the event, and expanded the exhibition to include sketches of his beloved Wharfedale, and more works by other artists.[105]

The Souvenir catalogue lists the Music Room holding twenty drawings by Turner, Nicholson, John 'Warwick' Smith, De Wint, Hills, Fielding, Cristal, Cox, and the late Mr Gilpin. It is curious that Joshua Cristal was included when there was no record of the artist at Farnley or Fawkes owning a painting by the artist, aside from a painting by G. F. Robson where Cristal is identified was finishing the faces.[106] In the case of David Cox, there is a record of Fawkes commissioning the artist to make a drawing of the dagger said to have been used to kill the Duke of Buckingham, George Villiers.[107] Again, there was no

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[102] *The London Chronicle*, 10 April 1819. Further detail concerning the display is given in Lucy Bailey's 'A Patron with a Patriotic Passion: Walter Fawkes' 1819 Watercolour Exhibition', unpublished MA thesis, Open University, 2015.

[103] Walter Fawkes, *A Collection of Water Colour Drawings, in the Possession of Walter Fawkes, Esq.*, (London: D. Lewis, 1819) available in the National Art Library, London, Box 1.38YY 1819.

[104] Walter Fawkes, *A Collection of Water Colour Drawings, in the Possession of Walter Fawkes, Esq.*, (London: Benjamin Bensley, 1819) available in the National Art Library, London, Box 1.38ZZ 1819.

[105] The alternative proposition could be that sketches were not considered worthy of inclusion in the initial catalogue, but after they received press attention they were detailed in the subsequent souvenir catalogue.

[106] Antique Collectors' Club, *The Royal Watercolour Society*, p. 230, 1817, no 194.

[107] Scott Wilcox (ed.), *Sun, Wind and Rain: The Art of David Cox* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 244. The Duke of Buckingham, George Villiers, was the husband of Sir John Fairfax's daughter, the most probable reason for Fawkes interest, though it would have met with his sense of justice that Villiers was killed by the army lieutenant John Feltham, for what appears his failure at military policy when he was trusted by, and had grown rich under the direction of Charles I.

evidence of the drawing at Farnley.[108] A possible scenario regarding the additional artists is that once the exhibition had opened and proven a success, Fawkes increased the number of his paintings on display in the room, and offered space to artists he deemed worthy of support and opportunity, in keeping with his fostering of artistic potential at Farnley.

Fifteen artists had work displayed in the Front Drawing Room, and Anthony Copley Fielding had *Raby Castle, Durham*, hung in the Bow Drawing Room with more of John 'Warwick' Smith's works.[109] Of the twenty-five works displayed by these artists, seventeen can be correlated with works listed at Farnley. There was no record of a *York Minster* by J Glover having been bought by Fawkes or seen at Farnley, although there is a painting of that name by Thomas Girtin currently in the collection, though that was likely to have been bought after Fawkes' death.[110] Other anomalies include the painting, *Raby Castle, Durham*, listed as by T Fielding in the catalogue, but recorded as being by Anthony Copley Fielding and sold to Fawkes in the SPWC sales catalogue of 1818.[111] Furthermore, though Fawkes displayed most of the paintings he bought through the SPWC in his 1819 exhibition, there were some that he did not include, such as Luke Clennell's *Fish Boats* of 1815.[112]

However, there was sufficient corroborating evidence from the records to indicate that Fawkes invested in the work of the eminent watercolourists of the time. Of the artists mentioned above, two, Edward Swinburne and John Ibbetson, were considered amateurs, certainly by Turner who set them below the list of watercolour artists in his frontispiece to the exhibition catalogue (Fig. 3.21). Ten of the artists were members of the SPWC and Fawkes was certainly an important patron of the Society. In the years 1812 to 1820 there was only one person who bought more works from the Society's exhibitions, John Allnutt, a London wine merchant, who purchased twenty-two works at an overall cost of more than £400.[113] The status Fawkes held due to his support of the work of British watercolour

[108] The current guardian of Farnley Hall had no recollection of the work when asked about it.

[109] Raby Castle was the seat of the Earl of Darlington, friend of Fawkes and also a patron of Turner's. Fawkes may have bought the painting for its association with his friend.

[110] Discussion with Greg Smith at Farnley Hall, 17 June 2023.

[111] Antique Collectors' Club, *The Royal Watercolour Society*, p. 91, 1818, no 228.

[112] It is possible the painting had become damaged or sold in the intervening years; it should also be borne in mind that errors were made in the 1819 Exhibition catalogues and in writing the archived information.

[113] Fawkes was recorded as having bought seventeen works at an overall cost of around £200 in the same period.

artists was clearly more than Allnutt gained from his purchases, evidenced in the preface to the SPWC's exhibition catalogue of 1821.

1821 was the year when the Society reintroduced the exclusive display of watercolours. The preface states, 'Those who are acquainted with the splendid collection of Walter Fawkes, Esq., that liberal and judicious patron of the Fine Arts, and of this art in particular, … '. The statement acknowledged Fawkes' benchmark exhibition of 1819, and the promotional effect it had on the practice of watercolour painting, sufficient for the society to restart exhibitions exclusively displaying watercolours. The inclusion in the preface also points to the widespread knowledge of Fawkes as a significant art collector in polite society.[114] The 1819 exhibition clearly had greater impact on artistic society than the mere purchase of works as the experience of John Allnutt proved.

A further aspect of Fawkes' 1819 exhibition that has received little scholarly attention is the inclusion of Turner's 'sketches' of Wharfedale. Though there are no titles given in the catalogue the sketches must be the bodycolour works Turner executed around the Farnley estate and Wharfedale. Critics appreciated the images for what they told of Turner's working method, but their inclusion also revealed Fawkes' aspirations to promote his position or reputation in London, using his local and regional location.[115]

**Wharfedale and Yorkshire in Fawkes' Exhibition**

One of the most striking aspects of the paintings in the exhibition was the number that featured not only views from Yorkshire, but also from around Wharfedale, and more particularly of Farnley. The sketches of Wharfedale have already been mentioned above, but nine of the forty works in the East Drawing Room were of sites in Yorkshire and Wharfedale and one of Farnley.[116] It was as if Fawkes was bringing Farnley, Wharfedale, and Yorkshire down to London to show and educate those that attended the exhibition of

[114] Preface to the 1821 Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Society of Painters in Water Colours, Royal Watercolour Society archives, Bankside Gallery, London.

[115] *The Examiner,* 2 May 1819, stated the Small Bow Drawing-room 'sparkles' with the set of sketches'; *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, &c.*, 1 May 1819, described the sketches as 'singularly beautiful', and went on to suggest they may be preferred by artists to the finished works. They added that the works were they best examples they had seen of Turners 'unrivalled powers' in landscape views.

[116] Fawkes, *A Collection of Water Colour Drawings,* The Lewis or Bensley print editions both listed the titles of Turner's forty finished works in the East or Large drawing room respectively.

the beautiful area he was from, and the opportunities it offered. Furthermore, in being positioned adjacent to Turner's critically acclaimed Swiss views, the images drew on the similarities of the locations, both having dramatic rocky landscapes, serene lakes, and cascading waterfalls.[117]

Fawkes was integrating his regional life with his London presence. Viewers would have been in awe of the scenery and Fawkes would have benefited from his close association with the area and owning a significant estate incorporating many of the scenes displayed in the exhibition. The event would not only have established Fawkes as art connoisseur but would also have elevated his status as a landowner of an estate in such an area of outstanding beauty. It would have identified Wharfedale and Yorkshire as notable areas of the country, again enforcing Fawkes' strategy as noted in chapter 2, of the national significance of Wharfedale, important to visit to appreciate its landscape as well as its history.

Soon after Fawkes' exhibition closed the Peterloo Massacre occurred in Manchester in August 1819. Fawkes was drawn into the political discourse with the Whig factions aiming to unite in support of the public's condemnation of the government, and take the opportunity to frame Peterloo in such terms to encourage a wider sympathy with the principles of parliamentary reform.[118] For Fawkes, with his leading role in progressing the reform movement in the 1820s, his artistic patronage was reduced to two purchases from the SPWC in 1820 and the private projects Turner completed for him such as illustrating the family's *Ornithological Collection*, and the illustration of a set of poems Fawkes intended to use in a compilation of modern poetry (both discussed in chapter 4). Fawkes did not make any further significant purchases of paintings before his death in 1825.

He did not however, stop his work to promote art. He was a keen advocate of the Leeds based Northern Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, supporting its exhibitions until his death. The Society played a significant role in the exchange of talent and ideas between the capital and region. Fawkes' involvement again shows a commitment to connect Leeds with London; his role, and that of the Society in terms of the sharing and transfer of innovation and skills between the urban centres is worthy of further exploration.

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[117] It may not have been the first time Fawkes had shown the images to a London audience. His diary of 1825 recorded guests in London viewing his folio of Farnley drawings, and it may be that he had been taking them to London since Turner had created them c.1818.

[118] E A Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), p. 371.

**The Northern Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts**

The Northern Society was established in 1808 'upon the patriotic principle of patronising the British School', following the model of the British Institution founded in 1805.[119] The note fronting the catalogue accompanying the first exhibition of the Society in 1809, makes clear the dearth of previous patronage and interest in home grown artistic talents, reflecting 'with the utmost pleasure, that the chilling season is now past'.[120] The catalogues of that first exhibition and those of the next two years show good sales and artists sending work from many regions including Bath, Bristol, Edinburgh, Nottingham, and Sheffield, as well as London and Yorkshire. In 1809, the work of forty artists was included with fifteen from London; in 1810, of the sixty artists, twenty-five were from the capital, and for 1811, the work of seventy-two artists was hung, twenty-five being from London.[121] The data suggests Leeds had a thriving market for art, offering potential sales and patrons for artists, enabling them to move between cultural centres facilitating the exchange of ideas and techniques, supporting the progression of artistic society across the nation.

However, the exhibition of 1811 was the last for a decade. In 1822 the Society resumed events with an exhibition accompanied by a catalogue including a letter from Benjamin West (President of the Royal Academy) professing his support of the institution.[122] It was not until 1823 that Fawkes' support of the Society is evidenced by the exhibition catalogue of the same year including a list of directors; Walter Fawkes and his son were listed as honorary directors.[123] Other directors included George Walker, the artist associated with the oak panel paintings in the Drawing Room at Farnley Hall, and the textile manufacturer, Benjamin Gott, along with sixteen others.[124] Gott was credited as being at the centre of the philanthropic and cultural institutions of Leeds.[125]

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[119] Trevor Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons, and Institutions outside London, 1800-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 168.

[120] 1809 catalogue of the Exhibition of the Northern Society, for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, Leeds, p. 2, Leeds City Library, ref: L 708 L517, in Leeds Exhibition Catalogues, 1809-75.

[121] Data taken from 1809, 1810 and 1811 NSEFA catalogues held at Leeds City Library, ref: L 708 L517.

[122] 1822 catalogue, Leeds City Library, ref: L 708 L517.

[123] 1823 catalogue, Leeds City Library, ref: L 708 L517.

[124] 1823 catalogue, Leeds City Library, ref: L 708 L517

[125] Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art,* p. 85.

Coming from a family of builders and masons, Gott was apprenticed into a career in the cloth industry having a meteoric rise to become a senior partner within ten years. In a similar vein to Fawkes, Gott also showed artistic interests. He commissioned the leading portrait artist Sir Thomas Lawrence and intended to build a collection of classical works, although Gott's particular interest was in sculpture rather than paintings. His son set out on a trip to Greece to buy antique pieces to support a collection but unfortunately the trip ended in tragedy with Gott's son's death. Like Fawkes, the merchant developed his practice to support the work of contemporary British artists, though in sculpture, being a patron of Sir Francis Chantrey. In his later years Gott focused his patronage on his second cousin, Joseph Gott, who worked from Rome where he had moved in 1822.

The 1823 sales catalogue is interesting as it includes a number of works that were loaned for display by their owners, Gott, Fawkes, and the President of the Northern Society, Thomas Walker. The work Gott loaned, *View of Athens* by H. W. Williams, was described as the best watercolour in the show.[126] Walker and Fawkes both loaned works by Turner.[127] The artist had supported previous exhibitions, showing seven works the year before. Whether he was unable to send works to show in 1823 but wished to be represented so had the collectors loan their works, or whether the patrons chose to make up for any perceived lack due to being no representation from the artist, the loans point to an expectation that Turner's work would or should be in the exhibition, indicating the popularity of the artist at the time and in the region.[128] The work of one hundred and thirty-four artists was displayed with fifty-three of them giving London addresses testifying to the ongoing importance of the events in the transmission of ideas and influences between the capital and the regional centre, and to the vibrant and appreciative, cultural and artistic atmosphere of Leeds.[129]

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[126] The work by H W Williams was noted as the best watercolour in the room, surpassing even the Turners, see Lovell, 'Benjamin Gott of Armley House', p. 215.

[127] The four works Fawkes loaned were titled, *Calm, Three Deckers at Anchor*, the second, *Portrait of the Victory, in Three Positions, passing the Needles, Isle of Wight*, the third, *View of Dort* and the fourth, *View of South End, looking into the North Sea*. 1823 Catalogue NSEFA, Leeds City Library, L708 L517.

[128] It should also be mentioned that from 1824 the Northern Society started holding exhibitions of Old Masters loaned from local private collections which Francis Hawksworth Fawkes generously supported, see 'A Catalogue of Pictures, by the Ancient Masters in the Gallery of The Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, Leeds, 1824, Leeds City Library, L708 L517.

[129] Lovell, 'Benjamin Gott of Armley House', p. 188.

An example of the role the Northern Society had in showcasing the work of local artists was provided in Charles Schwanfelder. Schwanfelder was a Leeds artist whose skills in animal portraiture learned in his home city earned him the role of animal painter to the Prince Regent in 1814.[130] The artist displayed twenty-four pictures in the first Northern Society exhibition and one at the Royal Academy in the same year. Sales in the later Society exhibitions gave him a substantial income, and though he regularly displayed at the Royal Academy, he never moved to the capital. Furthermore, the previously mentioned successful London artists John Raphael Smith and William Robinson, both moved to Yorkshire to continue their practice testifying to there being a regional market sufficient to support their livelihood.

Scholarship has suggested that regional institutions were established in the early nineteenth century to encourage the development of a cultural society based on the model or practises apparent in the capital. However, the experience of the Northern Society indicates that Leeds had developed its own lively philanthropic and cultured society that resulted in a relationship of exchange with, rather than mimicry of, the capital.[131]

Evidence has not been found to ascertain whether Fawkes bought works displayed at the exhibitions of the Northern Society, but the loan of the Turner paintings in 1823, and the loan of Old Masters by Francis Hawksworth Fawkes in 1824 attest to the family's support of the organisation and its ethos of the promotion of artistic practice. Loaning the works would also have maintained Fawkes' profile in regional polite society, and press reports would have trickled through to effect a national awareness. His affiliation with the Northern Society also revealed a relationship with Leeds polite society and Benjamin Gott. In chapter 1 Fawkes was noted as working with his neighbours, Ibbetson and Lascelles, both from merchanting backgrounds, on agricultural projects. The connection with Gott gives further evidence of how Fawkes got along with neighbours and those with shared

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[130] See https://www.thoresby.org.uk/content/people/schwanfelder.php accessed 3 November 2022.

[131] The experience of the NSEFA questions William Vaughan's argument that the rise in provincial centres reinforced the power of London as a market and cultural centre, in '"The pit of modern art": practice and ambition in the London art world', in Andrew Hemingway and Allan Wallach (eds), *Transatlantic Romanticism: British and American Art and Literature, 1790-1860* (Amherst, Massachusetts.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015), p. 39. The evidence from the NSEFA suggests there was a sufficient regional market to support artists from many regions including London, the relationship with the capital's art community including exchange of ideas and skills, rather than mimicking it.

interests to promote a project, indicating that he was keen to work with others no matter what their background, to be successful himself in an increasingly commercial society.

**Conclusion**

Fawkes' art collecting started out in a similar vein to other landowners inheriting an estate, seeded by family portraits. He was also not dissimilar to his contemporaries in adding to his collection through the purchase of Old Masters available in London through the Orleans sales, though he did amass a significant number of paintings and attracted the attention of the diarist John Farington through the sums he was willing to pay.

Initially attracted by the artist's rendition of alpine landscapes, Fawkes learnt that Turner could paint the rocky hillsides rising above the river Wharfe with a similar character. When the men became friends and Fawkes commissioned more works from the artist, as well as broadened his patronage of other artists in watercolour, he found he was in an ideal position to use his collection to launch himself to the top of artistic society. With the realisation that he could stage the first private exhibition of watercolours by British artists, Fawkes recognised that he had the potential to gain national recognition in the same vein as Sir John Leicester had for his 1818 exhibition of work by British artists. With an innovative focus on watercolours, Fawkes was successful in his endeavour and reformed artistic society's view of the media.

The fact that Fawkes invested significant sums on his collection has arisen a number of times in this chapter. Noted by Farington in 1796 for his purchase of a Ruysdael for 300 guineas, and again in 1818 for his purchase of *Dort* at 500 guineas, Fawkes' apparent wealth was acknowledged by a press report of 1819, 'The old British independence, strong mind, fine taste, and ample fortune of Mr. Fawkes, give him so large a range of influence on public opinion, … '.[132] If the ability to influence depended on wealth then it was important for Fawkes to promote his affluence, and what better way than through additions to his art collection, seen as an erudite and worthy activity. The acts of conspicuous consumption were part of the strategy to position himself in polite society, eventually reaching the peak as an acclaimed art connoisseur after his 1819 exhibition of watercolours.

[132] *The New Monthly Magazine*, 1 May 1819

A further act of conspicuous consumption made at around the same time as the watercolour exhibition was held, worth mentioning because of the vast sums involved, was Fawkes' purchase of a combined dinner-dessert service from the Nantgarw Porcelain works, near Swansea in Wales (Figs. 3.22 and 3.23).[133] Fawkes' peers were mostly investing in Sevrés or Meissen porcelain, but he chose the Welsh version that was the most translucent and whitest soft-paste porcelain commercially produced in the world, at a cost of three to five times that made on the continent.[134] In 1818 the Prince Regent, later George IV, ordered a Nantgarw dinner-dessert service, decorated with fruit, birds, and landscapes, for his brother as a wedding gift.[135] The purchase caused a sensation across London and no doubt Fawkes recognised the potential of an association with Royal patronage with the commission of his own service.[136] However, the costs of the porcelain business were too high and production ceased in 1820.[137] Not only is the anecdote interesting though, for the example of conspicuous consumption, but also for Fawkes' support of a technically innovative enterprise, and a patriotic endeavour, that was on view for all guests to appreciate over dinner.

This chapter has also revealed how Fawkes encouraged artists to visit Farnley. As the quote opening the chapter reveals, Fawkes not only hosted artists at Farnley, but he also encouraged them to work there too. With recorded sojourns by Turner, Peter De Wint, Robert Hills, and George Walker, the landowner established Farnley as a cultural hub, where artists could meet, socialise, and exchange ideas and techniques.[138] Again, hospitality was a tool that Fawkes used to place himself at the centre of a community, in a position to support and influence.

That Walker and some of the portrait painters Fawkes commissioned were based in Leeds points to the vibrant artistic society of the city. Fawkes worked with his regional contemporaries to connect the artistic communities of Leeds and Yorkshire, with those of the capital through the exhibitions of the Northern Society for the Promotion of the Fine

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[133] W. D. John, *Nantgarw Porcelain* (Newport: R H Johns Ltd., 1948), p. 81.

[134] Howell G. M. Edwards, *Nantgarw and Swansea Porcelains: An Analytical Perspective* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG, 2018), p. 9; Email from Howell Edwards, 10 June 2020.

[135] Edwards, *Nantgarw and Swansea Porcelains*, p. 9.

[136] Edwards, *Nantgarw and Swansea Porcelains*, p. 9.

[137] Edwards, *Nantgarw and Swansea Porcelains*, p. 10.

[138] For Peter De Wint see Randall Davies, 'Peter De Wint (1784-1849)' in Finberg (ed.), *The Old Water-Colour Society's Club*, p. 10; For Robert Hills see Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour Society*', p. 311.

Arts. Supporting the Society and encouraging artists from the capital, such as Turner, to exhibit was also part of Fawkes' concern with locality and his strategy to maintain national recognition through a position of regional status.

A further example of Fawkes' collecting habits and efforts to connect regional, national and even international interests, was in the field of natural history, particularly ornithology. Evidenced by the number of books he amassed and in the compilations the Fawkes family worked with others to produce, the libraries at Farnley Hall and their contents are considered in the next chapter to investigate Fawkes' practice, motivations and aspirations.

## CHAPTER 4: BIRDS, BOOKS, AND BINDINGS - THE LIBRARIES AT FARNLEY

> Some of the book sellers seem to be in the habit of sending books without orders, a practice which should be put a stop to. And indeed the whole host of book sellers print sellers artists and tradesmen in all articles not of necessity, who yearly draw such large sums from Mr Fawkes, should be entirely avoided, except in dealings for ready money.[1]

The excerpt above is taken from a note at the end of Walter Fawkes' personal accounts of 1824. The accounts were in a poor state of health with outgoings exceeding income; in the note the landowner was advised to control unnecessary expenditure.

The note points to the fact that Fawkes amassed a significant collection of books. Held in a purpose-built room in the Georgian wing of Farnley Hall, the library has remained largely intact since Fawkes' lifetime thus representing a rare full record of early nineteenth-century book collecting. While the building of the new library by Fawkes' father was very much a fashionable addition to country houses in the later eighteenth century, the subjects of the books Fawkes housed there and his use of the room adds to the body of scholarship concerning the development and use of private libraries in the early nineteenth century.[2] Furthermore, the close study of the collection and how it connects with other aspects of Fawkes' life reveals why he invested such sums in books.

This chapter will consider the building of the new library at Farnley, when improvements were made at the same time to the old library in the Elizabethan part of the Hall. The subjects of the books will then be examined to assess how Fawkes followed the literary conventions of the time and how much his collection was tailored to his own interests and roles. As well as purchased books, the library also held texts the family created, the most well-known being the *Ornithological Collection*, a five-volume study of British birds.[3]

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[1] Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS), Special Collections Leeds University Brotherton Library ref, DD161/7/g, Statement of Mr Fawkes's Income and Outgoings, 1824.

[2] For a history of libraries in country houses see Mark Purcell, *The Country House Library* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), and Susie West, 'Life in the Library', in Gill Perry, Kate Retford and Jordan Vibert with Hannah Lyons (eds), *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the English Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 63-5.

[3] With regard to the study of the *Ornithological Collection* discussed later in the chapter, there is also the suggestion in a letter from Thomas Bewick to Walter Fawkes dated 10 January 1822, of the lending and borrowing of books between individuals, see Anne Lyles, *Turner and Natural History* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1988), p. 74.

Although the *Collection* has attracted scholarly attention for the illustrations Turner contributed to the project, here it will be explored as a collaborative venture between experts, artists, family and friends, and how it represented the progress of empirical research and method at a time of burgeoning curiosity in the natural world.[4] Other bound texts reveal Fawkes' adaptation of the practice of grangerising to embellish his books, as well as his interest in satirical and other prints.

The library was therefore a rich source of information for revealing the motivation behind Fawkes' collecting habits and his strategies to maintain influence at a time when being a country landowner was no longer sufficient alone to assert status in polite society.

**Decoration, Furnishings and use of the Libraries at Farnley Hall**

As discussed in chapter 1, the fashionable new Georgian wing added to Farnley Hall in 1786 was designed for entertaining and hospitality as well as for improved living space for the family. The new wing included a library which was set between the drawing room and saloon (Fig. 1.14). The latter was connected by a jib door pointing to the library being used for the reception of company before dinner, and perhaps to retire to after.[5] Carr had previously designed a drawing room, music room, and library sequence at Burton Constable Hall, Yorkshire in the 1760s and his counterpart, Robert Adam, in work at Kenwood Hall, had also designed the library as a room to receive company.[6]

Historically, since the sixteenth century when few books were available and mostly owned by clergy and men associated with court, books tended to be stored in closets adjacent to gentlemen's bedrooms, in some cases developing into a room for study.[7] With the increase in the availability of books, assisted by the introduction of the printing press, more space and a more orderly method of book storage was required, and rooms were set aside for this purpose. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century libraries such as that at Kenwood were not only intended to be used by the family, but also as a communal room

[4] The *Ornithological Collection* has been studied by both Lyles in *Turner and Natural History*, and by David Hill in *Turner's Birds* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1988).

[5] Nicholas Barker, *Treasures from the Libraries of National Trust Country Houses* (New York: The Royal Oak Foundation and The Grolier Club, 1999), p. 24.

[6] Barker, *Treasures from the Libraries*, p. 22.

[7] Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993), pp. 198-200.

for the whole house party.[8] In 1816, Humphrey Repton wrote that 'the most recent modern custom is to use the library as a general living room'.[9]

A bill of quantities for a carpenter working at Farnley Hall from 1788 reveals that further provision was made for the storage of books.[10] The document details wood bought for bookcase shelving for the 'old house'. This was most likely for the bookcases in the old library depicted in two watercolours by Turner (Figs. 3.17 and 3.18). The old library was on the first floor of the Elizabethan part of Farnley Hall, leading from the front bedroom via a short flight of steps, reminiscent of the traditional position of a library in the room adjacent to the gentlemen's bedroom. The bill of quantities suggests that although a new library had been built, there was still a requirement for books to be stored in the old one.

Having a library as a reception room may have met fashionable expectations, but Fawkes also needed a space for private study. He was a veracious reader, assimilating and reflecting on information pertinent to his own agenda, and made use of public libraries as well as his own.[11] He was also a published author and wrote many political squibs, pamphlets, and speeches. Writing, and the space to read, scrutinise, and think was important to him. Keeping the traditional old library served his study requirements and having the new Georgian library offered a sociable and stimulating setting for guests, meaning that having two libraries at Farnley Hall was a sensible solution.

The Georgian library was lavishly decorated in keeping with the other ground floor rooms, having a plasterwork ceiling (derived from a plate in George Richardson's *Book of Ceilings* of 1776), and lunettes with scrolls of foliage and urns supported by cherubs and falcons, the latter a play on the Fawkes crest.[12] With four recessed bookcases (Figs. 4.1 - 4.2), there was sufficient space to contain a significant book holding and it is known from the accountants' warning quoted above that Fawkes invested not insignificant sums in

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[8] Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *The English Country House*, p. 204.

[9] Purcell, *The Country House Library*, pp. 195-6.

[10] Otley Museum, Fawkes family file. The bill of quantities was for carpentry work on the old house, from 19 May 1788, and was signed off by Carr in October 1788.

[11] Fawkes' diary (Private Collection) records visits to the British Library on four occasions between January and May, 1825.

[12] Gordon Nares, 'Farnley Hall, Yorkshire II: The Home of Major and Mrs le G. G. W. Horton-Fawkes', *Country Life*, 27 May 1954, p. 1717; Peter Leach and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England; Yorkshire West Riding, Leeds, Bradford and the North* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 251.

filling the shelves. The book collection will be considered after an initial examination of the rooms' furnishings.

Sketches by Turner of the room (Fig. 4.3) depicting sofas, tables, and side tables, suggested a social atmosphere, the side tables offering a space to lay open books for sharing and discussion. From the notes on the sketch, the upholstery was black and red velvet, with red walls, and a black and red carpet. This plush, luxurious scheme contrasted with the more usual leather upholstered furniture thought to echo the leather book bindings and lend a more masculine character to the room.[13] Fawkes' choice of fabric coverings imbued the space with a warm atmosphere where all could be at ease and comfort. The furnishings therefore provide an insight into the role of the library as a space for entertaining, whether to advertise the owner's erudition, to provide settings for reading aloud with visitors, or for group scholarly sessions, the books supporting, or perhaps initiating, debate.[14]

Turner's sketch also depicted paintings hung in the room. It was common to hang portraits in libraries, especially of scholarly notables or famous authors, although family portraits were less likely.[15] However, the sketch shows that Fawkes hung *Shoeburyness Fisherman hailing a Whitstable Hoy* over the chimneypiece, with the still-life paintings, *Dead Game and Fruit*, 1705, by Jan Weenix, and *A Garden Scene with Peacocks* by Melchoir de Hondecoeter, hung either side of the library door to the hall. A further painting is sketched on the wall between the two windows of the room, possibly a portrait.[16] Fawkes does not appear to have followed the example of many in furnishing their library with paintings or sculptures of scholarly individuals such as philosophers or British literary worthies. He instead displayed *Shoeburyness* (perhaps because the red cap featured in the painting matched the colour scheme of the room) and Old Master still life subjects, preferring to

[13] Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *The English Country House*, p. 206.

[14] Mark Purcell, *The Country House Library*, p. 20.

[15] West, 'Life in the Library', p. 64.

[16] David Hill, *'The Interior of the Library, Farnley Hall* 1818 by Joseph Mallord William Turner', catalogue entry, June 2009, revised by David Blayney Brown, June 2013, in David Blayney Brown (ed.), *J. M. W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolours*, Tate Research Publication, September 2014, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publication/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-the-interior-of-the-library-farnley-hall-r1146655, accessed 6 March 2022; Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, p. 33.

furnish the room to his own liking and preference rather than follow contemporary norms.[17]

A further area of potential difference was that many libraries had items of furniture such as library steps, globes, and scientific equipment. Indeed, John Claudius Loudon gave a list of furniture he would have had in a library in his ideal villa which included 'some round pedestal tables, globes and library steps, as well as 1 or 2 embroidered screens and foot stools by the fire'.[18] A fire-side face screen shown in Turner's sketch and many of the items of furniture in Loudon's list can also be identified, although there is no evidence of globes or scientific equipment, aside from the clock in the old library. Overall, the portrayal of the room gives a sense of warmth and comfort that would have supported frank and earnest discussion between friends, perhaps inspired by the texts surrounding them.

Having described the social ambience of the new library at Farnley Hall, the furnishings of the old library depicted in Turner's watercolours display a stark contrast. Showing a table near to the bookcases against the left wall with a chair, and what appears to be a pen stand on the table with some papers, with a few other items including a clock, the room appears sparsely furnished and meant for individual study. Furthermore, the watercolour dated after 1815, shows the bookcases and panelling painted white which, together with the large window, supports a light, airy atmosphere conducive to reading. There is a cabinet placed between the bookcases with glass fronted doors above, and drawers below, suggesting a cabinet of curiosities commensurate with the furniture traditionally expected in the closet adjacent to a gentleman's bedroom. Having the memorial window in the room lends to its Elizabethan period where a closet containing books would have been normal practice, in a similar way to the breakfast room downstairs being furnished in the same period to complement the display of Fawkes' Civil War paraphernalia (see chapter 2). As well as being held in time, however, the room would have been an important sanctuary for Fawkes in his practice as a writer.

Nowadays, the old library at Farnley has become a bedroom and the fireplace has been removed from the room. The book collection though, has remained at the Hall with most of the texts being held in the four bookcases in the Georgian room. Intact collections such as this are rare and offer a glimpse into the subjects the owner purchased, inherited,

[17] The presence of the still life painting by Jan Weenix is considered again later in the chapter.

[18] Barker, *Treasures from the Libraries*, p. 27.

borrowed, or was given.[19] The book collection itself will now be considered for what it reveals of Fawkes and his interests, but also of the purchase, and use of books in contemporary society.

**The Book Collection**

Fawkes' book collection appears in keeping with the subject material typically held in country house libraries from the later seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century.[20] The usual contents of 'useful' books advising readers on how to carry out their duties as Christian landowners, magistrates, and politicians, were found at Farnley, as well as books printed overseas perhaps bought back from Grand Tours. Sermons and religious texts were also found, as well as personal religious books with exquisitely decorated textile bindings.[21] Books on architecture were commonplace, as well as topographical and travel books. Biographies of famous men such as Plutarch were found on many shelves including those at Farnley, as well as antiquarian texts of all kinds. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* usually held a place, as well as the classics in translation or the original language. Many libraries included works in other languages in recognition of the importance in polite society of a competence in modern foreign languages, and in this Farnley was no exception. Country house libraries also contained bound volumes of articles, prints or pamphlets, later becoming a feature of those libraries, and again, Farnley had such collections.[22]

However, Fawkes' library was distinctive in a number of ways. One of the most apparent was in the number of volumes of political speeches. Texts such as the *Speeches of William Windham*, *Fox's Speeches*, *Speeches of William Huskisson*, *Speeches of Edmund Burke*, and *Life of Edward, Lord Herbert of Charbury*, informed Fawkes' political activity.[23] Perhaps one of the most interesting books in the library commenting on the contemporary

[19] Annotations and hand-written dedications inside book covers aid the identification of the date books were added to the collection. Since the author visited the library, a catalogue of the books held in the library, dated 1826, has been found.

[20] For an overview of books typically held in a contemporary library of a country house see, Purcell, *The Country House Library*, chapter 5, pp. 112-31.

[21] G E Bentley, Jr., *The Edwardses of Halifax* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2015), p. 241. Edwards records a copy of *The Book of Common Prayer* (1791) in Etruscan calf with a fore-edge painting of Eton, inscribed 'Aug 1816 to Maria Sophia Fawkes'.

[22] Barker, *Treasures from the Libraries*, p. 5.

[23] See the introduction to the thesis for information on Fawkes' political activities.

political scene was a collection of satirical prints by James Gilray, Robert Dighton, and George Cruikshank, at some time bound together in a volume (Figs. 4.4 - 4.13 for a selection of the prints).[24] That Fawkes bought such images reflects his part in the contemporary fashion for satirical prints, where many thousands of these types of images were sold during the reign of George III.[25] Amongst the Farnley prints are other portrait illustrations of criminals awaiting trial, including John Billingham who assassinated Prime Minister Spencer-Perceval, and portraits of John Ings, John Brunt, Richard Tidd, and William Davidson, of the Society of Spencean, who were all sentenced to death for the Cato Street Conspiracy (Figs. 4.14 - 4.15).[26] These illustrations demonstrate Fawkes' awareness and interest in current affairs, especially perhaps those pertaining to a threat to government.

A self-authored book was *Portraits of the Kings of England, ETC. ETC. compiled by Walter Fawkes, ESQ., of Farnley, Vol., I. from the Norman Conquest AD MLXVI to the Death of Henry III., AD MCCLXXII.*[27] The volume was a curious compilation of pictures (without any text aside from picture captions) cut from other texts to depict various kings, queens, and nobles (Figs. 4.16 – 4.19). The process of taking illustrations from other texts followed the principle of grangerising, a popular activity in the early nineteenth century with devotees purchasing purpose made books of illustrations, ready to be cut out and pasted into other bought books.[28] Rather than add the cut out pictures to bought books, Fawkes used cut out images to illustrate his own books.[29] The *Portraits of the Kings of England* appears to have been a study of costume through history, and mirrors other books

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[24] Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature, Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 19, suggests that the libraries of great houses kept satirical images in portfolios or albums rather than having them framed for general viewing, perhaps because the pictures were considered unsuitable for the female gaze.

[25] Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, p. 1. It is not known when the satirical prints at Farnley were bound together, nor whether they represent the whole of Fawkes' collection of such prints.

[26]These images represent trials resulting from a challenge to government.

[27] Though there is an anomaly between the title and text since there is an image depicting women's summer and travelling dress from the eighth century, see Fig.4.18. A second volume was not found.

[28] Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text, Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Merino, California: Huntington Library Press, 2017), pp. 28-36.

[29] Fawkes' granddaughter alludes to the process where she recounts Fawkes 'chandlerisng' books to compile a 'History of England', see, Edith Mary Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley', typescript account dated c.1900, National Gallery Archives, London, ref: NG72/22/1.

in the library which feature costume as part of local identity and topographical study, including George Walkers *The Costume of Yorkshire,* originally published in 1814.[30]

George Walker's *Costume of Yorkshire* has further significance. Walker was a visitor to Farnley and was noted in chapter 3 as the painter of the scenes on the wood panelling of the drawing room in the old Elizabethan part of Farnley Hall. It has been suggested that Turner based the costumes in his *Leeds* watercolour of 1816 (Fig. 4.20), on Walker's images from *Costumes*.[31] The milk boy in the dark brown coat riding the donkey in the right foreground of Turner's painting is portrayed exactly as Walker presents the role (Fig. 4.21), and the men depicted building the wall in the painting, appear in similar clothes to those in Walker's image of 'Stone-breakers on the road' (Fig. 4.22), wearing breeches, a white shirt, waistcoat, and hat. The similarities appear to confirm that Turner did make use of Walker's research and that it was likely that Turner either consulted Walker's book in the library at Farnley, or else discussed the images with him whilst both men enjoyed the hospitality at the Hall. Walker's sharing of knowledge was not limited to costumes, as indicated by the animals featured in the small oil paintings on the oak panels. The Yorkshireman also had a keen interest in natural history, shared not only by Fawkes but also by another Yorkshireman, Charles Waterton.[32]

That Waterton was also a visitor to Farnley Hall is proven by the existence of another book in the library produced by the Fawkes family. Fawkes' son, Francis Hawksworth, was a talented artist and created a number of sketched caricatures of gentry and staff at Farnley, c.1830.[33] Including many local landowners, friends, and acquaintances, such as Thomas Parker, Mr Swinburne, Sir George Armytage, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr Hobhouse, Mr Wentworth, Lord Harewood, Colonel Lascelles and Turner, the volume includes a sketch of Mr Waterton as a tall, slim, well-dressed gentleman (see Figs. 4.23 – 4.29 for a selection

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[30] Texts in the library include Johan Gottfied Gruber's *Moeurs et Costumes des Russes* (the Costumes, Manners and Customs of Russia), *Twenty Four Subjects Exhibiting the Costume of Paris* by J J Chalon, 1822, and George Walker's, *The Costume of Yorkshire, Illustrated by a Series of Forty Engravings being Fac-Similes of Original Drawings, with Descriptions in English and French* (London: Longman Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1814).

[31] Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 119.

[32] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, entry for Charles Waterton (1782-1865), see https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28817?rskey=n8nnWy&result=1 accessed 12 November 2022.

[33] They are now bound into a volume but the date of binding is not known.

of the images).[34] Not only do the images pay careful attention to dress and costume, but they also allude to two aspects of life at Farnley, one being the array of visitors to the Hall and the society that Fawkes kept, and the other to the nature of the sociability encountered there. The witty caricatures reminiscent in style to those in the bound satirical prints such as *A View from Trinity College Oxford* (Fig. 4.10), could have only been created from a comfortable and socially intimate relationship between Hawksworth and the guests. The images represent the development of satirical humour from that seen in the volume of bounds prints by Gilray, Dighton and Cruikshank, to a humorous yet respectful representation of polite society. The evolution is described by Diana Donald,

> What took its place, at least in the satiric sphere, was the urbane and selfconscious [sic] artistry of caricature – not so much an affront to high culture as a playfully antithetical form which confirmed its hegemony.[35]

Hawksworth's images had a mocking aspect to them, where aspects of a character's size or dress was emphasised to create an amusing portrayal. An example is the sketch of Sir Francis Burdett and John Cam Hobhouse (Fig. 4.24), emphasising the tall, thin appearance of Burdett and the rather short Hobhouse, stood on a platform as if giving a political speech alluded to by the presence of the phrygian cap hung on the corner post of the platform. William Morritt in his sketch (Fig. 4.25) appears so large it would be difficult to imagine finding such a great coat to fit him, while the pose given to Sir Henry Ibbetson (Fig. 4.26) alludes to a forthright and earnest character. Having sketches of Lord Harwood and the Lascelles men (Figs. 4.27 and 4.28) suggests, that though they were political rivals, they were included in Fawkes' social circle and enjoyed a respectful relationship.[36] Lord Harewood's portrayal suggests a rather down to earth, unflappable character, with his stooped stance, crumpled breeches and handkerchief hanging out of his pocket. Colonel Lascelles on the other hand, with his pointing finger, appears bossy, and Henry Lascelles, with his crop held at a jaunty angle under his arm looks to be a dandy, though it was his brother, Edward Lascelles who was known as 'Beau' for his dressing after George IV.[37] Turner too in his portrayal (Fig. 4.29) appears short and tubby, with a head rather large for

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[34] The sketch of Turner was at some point removed from the collection and is now held in the Indianapolis Museum of Art at Newfields, USA, see Fig. 4.29.

[35] Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, p. 74.

[36] See chapter 1, for Fawkes and Lascelles working together on the committee of the Wharfedale Agricultural Society.

[37] Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse), *Recollections of a Long Life with Additional Extracts from his Private Diaries, Edited by his Daughter, Lady Dorchester* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 29.

his body, and a nose rather too large for his head. In using the style of satirical prints, the illustrations were continuing the association of that style of humour with those in polite society, and anyone having such a caricature would have been recognised as being a member of that society.

The careful depiction of costume in Hawksworth's images, together with the number of texts concerning national and regional costume in the library, is worth further consideration. Sam Smiles has suggested that costume books were linked to the culture of collecting through ordering the world into categories of hierarchy and function to form an intelligible system.[38] Recording costume could be considered a taxonomic activity classifying peoples, and oneself, into a societal structure and making sense out of a chaotic lived experience, much as a collector groups items according to a particular set of criteria to make sense of a whole. Smiles proposed that the basis of the taxonomic approach found in many of the contemporary costume books echoed the developments taking place in the study of natural history where the apparent 'randomness' of the natural world was being ordered.[39] Fawkes exemplified Smiles' suggestion of a connection between costume and natural history founded on an interest in order and classification, as the number of books held in his library on the subject of the natural world attest.

As well as holding more political texts than many contemporary house libraries, Farnley also held a significant number of books pertaining to natural history, from zoology to botany. These included the fourteen volumes of Carl von Linné and Johann Frederick Gmelin's, *Natural History*, Plenck's *Planetarium Medicinalium*, and four volumes of Geoffrey St Hilaire and Frederick Cuvier's *Histoire Naturelle des Mammiferes* of 1824, bound with Fawkes' crest, as well as volumes on insects and geology .[40] Perhaps though, the most interesting texts in the library concerning natural history were the five volumes of the *Ornithological Collection*, an album produced by the Fawkes family of illustrations and examples of the plumage from the birds included in Thomas Bewick's *History of Birds*.[41] The volumes followed the classification of species put forward by Bewick, and

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[38] Sam Smiles, *Eye Witness: Artists and Visual Documentation in Britain, 1770-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 107.

[39] Smiles, *Eye Witness*, p. 108. Carl Linnaeus'(later Carl von Linné) *Classes plantarum* of 1738 and *Systema naturae* of 1758, are now considered the starting point of modern taxonomy.

[40] These texts were all noted on a visit to the library at Farnley Hall in July 2021.

[41] For the British Library's account of the reception of Bewick's book see https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/bewicks-history-of-british-birds, accessed 21 November 2022.

attempted to identify all of the birds in the text, collecting feathers and in some cases sections of wing or other body parts as physical evidence. Placed alongside the items was an illustration of the species often completed by artists including Turner, or sometimes using images cut from Bewick's *History of Birds*.

Previously studied for the watercolours of birds by Turner and other artists included in the five volumes of the *Collection,* the books are now studied for the evidence they provide of how artists and naturalists worked together to depict and classify species, creating a historical record of the emerging fields of empirical study and science.[42]

**A Haven for Natural History**

Fawkes clearly had an overarching interest in natural history, but it was birds in particular that led to the *Ornithological Collection* project. As a boy his father had given him Francis Willoughby and John Ray's *Ornithology* of 1678, and Fawkes later bought Bewick's book, John Latham's *History of Birds,* and foreign texts such as *Galleries des Oiseaux, Oiseaux de Temminak*, and *Oiseaux de L'Allemagne,* by De Wolf.

As well as his book being used as a framework upon which to base the family's collecting activities, and cutting up his book to provide illustrations, Bewick also became involved as an advisor and an associate in the project. The first recorded correspondence was between Fawkes' brother, Francis Hawksworth, and the ornithologist in February 1809, concerning the provision of further copies of Bewick's volumes.[43] The project to collect the plumage of the specimens must have been well underway by 1810 when Francis wrote to another brother, Ayscough, who was due to travel to Newcastle. Francis asked if he could call on Bewick to ask which county, or places in Yorkshire, he would be likely to get specimens of ten particular species.[44] In the letter, Francis added that he had all the other land birds in Bewick's volume except for the Eagles, and those species he has only seen once, namely the 'Roller - Nutcrack[er]'.[45] He also wanted to question Bewick about the possibility of Grey linnets having a spot of red on their heads in the summer, since birds he had killed assuming them to be linnets, all turned out to be Redpoles. The question was significant on two fronts, one because it revealed that birds were killed for the project, a point

[42] For previous studies see Lyles', *Turner and Natural History*, pp. 16-33, and Hill's, *Turner's Birds*.

[43] Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, p. 69.

[44] Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, pp. 70-1.

[45] Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, p. 71.

considered later in the chapter, and the other because it was evidence of the interaction between the expert and the family, and the dedication directed towards making accurate identifications.

Towards the end of the year in December 1810, Charles Brandling (Fawkes' brother-in-law) and Francis Hawksworth both wrote again to Bewick, each asking advice on the identification of birds from samples enclosed with the letters. In response to Francis' letter, Bewick added that more work needed to be done to be able to successfully identify female water birds since many emigrated for breeding purposes. Bewick's search for knowledge of birds further afield than Britain was clearly a long-term aspiration since in a letter over a decade later, the ornithologist wrote of his desire to see Fawkes' German work on European Birds.[46] Clearly, to have gained such attention from Bewick, the Fawkes family must have been leading amateurs with as much knowledge of certain species as the expert.

As well as the various family members and Bewick, the project also included the contribution to the volumes of fifty-four watercolours and one drawing, from ten other artists. A mixture of professionals, friends, and family, the range of styles and approaches to the watercolours point to a dynamic and enthusiastic group, all having an interest in the project and shared knowledge of birds, wanting to not only please Fawkes but also be part of the shared venture. Samuel Howitt, a keen sportsman, hunter, rider, angler, and friend of Fawkes' friend, Lord Darlington of Raby Castle, produced sporting and natural history paintings, and had thirteen images in the volumes. Howitt also illustrated 'Companion Guides' for a museum in London owned by the jeweller turned naturalist, William Bullock, which featured some specimens presented by Fawkes.[47] Bullock was the connection between another contributor, Chevalier de Barde, who had an image, *Teal*, in the *Ornithological Collection*. Edward Swinburne and John Ibbetson were local artists whose work Fawkes featured in his 1819 exhibition (see chapter 3) and had six and four images respectively in the *Ornithological* volumes. Lady Armytage, who was related through marriage to the Fawkes family, painted three watercolours for the volumes, and Sir William Pilkington, also related to the family, a patron of Turner's, and a friend of Swinburne's, painted a dead swallow.[48] Frances, Fawkes' daughter, contributed one

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[46] Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, p. 74.

[47] Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, p. 13.

[48] The younger brother of Lady Armytage's husband was married to Amelia Fawkes, sister of Walter Fawkes, see Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, p. 28. Sir William Pilkington was also related through marriage to the Fawkes family, see David Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire* (York: York City Art Gallery, 1980), p.

watercolour; the artists Miss I Middleton and Mr Taylor, who created two each, have not been identified and were assumed to be local people.[49] Turner created the largest number of illustrations, completing twenty watercolours.

The manner in which the birds were depicted by the artists attests to there as yet being no single approach, accepted or adopted manner, to illustrate a bird for identification purposes. Some artists chose to depict their species as the whole bird located in its typical habitat (such as Howitt, Fig. 4.30 and Swinburne, Fig. 4.31), whereas others such as Taylor, Lady Armytage, and Miss I Middleton showed the head of a species with no background and in an upright position (Figs. 4.32 – 4.34). Ibbetson, Pilkington and Turner, painted the birds as dead on a white background (Figs. 4.35 – 4.37), with Taylor, and again Turner, showing dead birds strung up by one leg as game birds were hung (Figs. 4.38 and 4.39).

The variation in approach reveals the initial steps in empirical study, each artist attempting an objective approach to the illustration, according to their own (and therefore subjective) interpretation of what that view entailed. Sam Smiles in *Eyewitness*, explained how visual representation was deemed the most reliable method of conveying observational knowledge based on John Locke's earlier premiss of the eye being the primary witness of the world.[50] However, Smiles also acknowledged that 'knowing when to see, then, meant knowing how to collect data, and how to analyse it rigorously once collected'.[51] When presented with a bird to illustrate, each artist approached their task with a different way of seeing, having alternative ways of deeming what was important information to convey.

Many of the birds featured in the watercolour illustrations were game birds, including grouse, woodcock, species of duck, pheasant, and pigeon. All of these species could have been shot on the Farnley estate. Diana Donald observed that many artists were invited by their patrons to observe hunts and shoots, and that for such sporting artists, their work had to conform to the expected requirements for a true representation of an animal in physique,

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38. Pilkington was a regular visitor to Farnley and a painting by Turmer, *Woodcock Shooting on the Chevin*, 1813, (Wallace Collection) shows him shooting on Otley Chevin. See https://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org:443/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=65585&viewType=detailView, accessed 13 December 2022.

[49] Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, p. 28.

[50] Smiles, *Eye Witness*, p. 1.

[51] Smiles, *Eye Witness*, p. 15.

expression, and 'spirit'.[52] Many of the artists contributing to the *Ornithological* project would have also been keen partakers in Fawkes' shooting parties, and it was probably as a result of the social occasion that the painters offered their work to the project.

The portraits Turner, Ibbetson, Taylor, and Pilkington contributed of dead birds, some hung up by a leg, echo the work of the Dutch still life painters, who frequently included dead game in their compositions.[53] These still life paintings were a traditional genre of sporting art, many only simple studies of single birds hanging against a wall where the beauty of the shape, colour and the rendering of feathers, gave the overall effect.[54] Artists focused on the portrayal of the texture and colour of not only dead game, but also of other dead birds such as kingfishers, jays and even robins, evoking an appreciation of hunting and also a dominion over any other creature.[55] Turner's account of shooting a cuckoo, and the details of the linnets in the letter Francis Fawkes wrote to Bewick referred to earlier, revealed that birds not traditionally considered game were shot for the *Collection*.[56] It is significant here to recall one of the paintings Fawkes chose to hang in the library, *Dead Game and Fruit* by Jan Weenix (for an image from the same genre by Jan Weenix see Fig. 4.40), which perhaps informed the portrayal of the birds in the *Ornithological Collection*.

Turner's illustrations of the *Head of White Owl* and *Heron*, (Figs. 4.41 and 4.42 respectively), the latter with a fish held in its beak, portrayed very little plumage. This made identification of the species more difficult, yet the portraits were full of character and gave a sense of knowing the nature of the birds. Turner's portraits must have been appreciated since they were all placed as frontispieces in the *Ornithological Collection*. The family even supplanted the only professional ornithological draughtsman's work in the collection (Samuel Howitt's), with Turner's *Green Woodpecker* used to illustrate both the frontispiece and individual species, with Howitt's *Green Woodpecker* watercolour placed after the bird's plumage.

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[52] Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 238.

[53] Donald, *Picturing Animals*, p. 241.

[54] Donald, *Picturing Animals*, p. 241.

[55] Donald, *Picturing Animals*, pp. 241-2

[56] Turner recalled in a letter to Hawksworth Fawkes, of 1850, 'A cuckoo was my first achievement in killing on Farnley Moor in earnest request of major Fawkes to be painted for the Book', see John Gage (ed.), *Collected Correspondence of J. M. W. Turner* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 227.

The collaborative method of the creation of the *Ornithological Collection*, and the fact that much of it was associated with shooting, points to a wider interest in the natural environment. To stage a successful shoot careful management of the wildlife was required to ensure there was sufficient game available. This involved close knowledge of the habits of game birds and mammals, but also an understanding of how ecosystems worked together, and the vegetation required for food and cover. Having 2,000 acres of moorland, the scope for game keeping on the Farnley estate was varied and extensive.[57] Furthermore, Fawkes transformed the rocky ridge of the Chevin into a deer park, making the most of the natural landscape and dense vegetation to provide a suitable habitat not only for deer, but also for birds such as woodcock.[58] Those that had responsibility to ensure there was sufficient game available to provide good sport tended to be the same people that knew most about animal behaviour. The *Collection* is therefore evidence of the close attention paid to the birds found around Farnley and wider afield. The fact that the animals were nurtured to provide for shooting parties appeared contradictory to some in contemporary society, though the anomaly was not necessarily apparent to those partaking in the sport.[59]

The field sports of hunting and shooting, traditionally the reserve of the landed gentry, were in the nineteenth century increasingly the activities of politicians, industrialists, businessmen, financiers, and professionals.[60] The attraction lay in pitting one's wits against those of the wily animal, trying to surpass and overwhelm the prey by understanding their character and predicting their next move. Those skills demonstrated the hunter's ability to think strategically which qualified them for a position in polite society.[61] Furthermore, Diana Donald described a hierarchical element to the structure of a hunt, more evident in deer and fox hunts, where 'men of rank' directed servants and dogs,

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[57] Marion Sharples, *The Fawkes Family and their Estates in Wharfedale, 1819-1936* (Leeds; The Thoresby Society, 1997), p. 15.

[58] See chapter 1 for a discussion on the provision of the deer park on the Chevin.

[59] There were moral objections to hunting, see Donald, *Picturing Animals*, chapter 8 which gives an account of the moral debate surrounding hunting and reference to an essay in the Guardian dated 1713 asking for some compassion be shown to the 'creatures of the lower rank'; Stephen Deuchar in *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England, A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988) considers how sporting art could also reflect the moral concerns regarding hunting, summarized in his postscript, pp. 166-9.

[60] Donald, *Picturing Animals*, p. 236.

[61] Donald, *Picturing Animals*, p. 237.

'conducting' them in pursuit of the prey.[62] These men left others to oversee the killing, for that would be too savage for their superiority of mind and spirit.

In her explication of sporting art of the period, Donald detailed a fashion for portrayals of famous exploits of the hunting field, that paid particular attention to the individuals taking part in the hunt, including, in some cases, the horses and hounds too. The images were often important records of specific events or circumstances. Turner created such a work for the Earl of Darlington, though the painting known now is not thought to be Turner's first attempt which may have been considered too bloodthirsty, requiring the piece to be reworked (Fig. 4.43).[63] At Farnley, shooting events such as portrayed in *The Shooting Party* (Fig. 1.46), were large parties and press reports attest to the number of birds shot, but other images show more intimate encounters, such as Turner's *Grouse Shooting on Beamsley Beacon* (Fig. 1.47), painted for Fawkes' brother-in-law, Sir William Pilkington.[64] *Caley Hall* (Fig. 1.59), is an image that suggests how a typical hunt may have been with its depiction of a dead deer being carried on a stretcher and men carrying guns and their dogs proceeding alongside, and the panel paintings in the drawing room discussed in chapter 3 recorded events that occurred on particular hunt outings (Figs. 3.2).

Donald suggests the sense of power over a species was the source of the enjoyment of shooting.[65] As the technology in guns improved, enabling flying birds to be a target, there was also a skill in being able to take birds 'on the wing'. The dogs used to fetch the wounded or dead birds also required training and control, and the bond between gun dog and master was often close and affectionate.[66] Fawkes may have had his cherished hounds recorded in the images painted on the oak panels in the drawing room in the old part of Farnley Hall (Fig. 3.1). The social aspect of the creation of the panel paintings was discussed in chapter 3, and sketches by Fawkes' son, Hawksworth (Figs. 1.48 - 1.50), allude to the social nature of the events, rather than the display of skill and prowess. For Fawkes, shooting was a pastime that bound him with his beloved landscape of Farnley and its surroundings that presented a challenge in the skill of shooting a bird, but it was also

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[62] Donald, *Picturing Animals*, p. 237.

[63] Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), Text Volume, pp. 101-2.

[64] The *Yorkshire Herald* on 5 September 1801 reported that 'no less than 202 brace of grouse' had been killed on a preserved moor by Walter Fawkes and a shooting party since the 12th August.

[65] Donald, *Picturing Animals*, p. 244.

[66] Donald, *Picturing Animals*, p. 244.

important to him for the opportunity it gave to enjoy spending time with friends, family, and guests.

With its focus on understanding the behaviour of animals and birds, shooting spurred the Fawkes family's interest in birds, resulting in the compilation of the *Ornithological Collection*. The project itself was important for the position it placed Farnley in the national, and even European development of Ornithology. The involvement of experts such as Thomas Bewick, who corresponded both with Fawkes and other family members as an associate, sharing information, sending feathers and so on for discussion, reveals how the project was at the leading edge of national knowledge. The concern for the accuracy of the information in the *Collection* alludes to 'an almost fetish devotion to their [the birds] character and substance. In pursuit of this object, *truth* was as important to the Fawkes family as it was to Bewick himself'.[67]

Having regular visitors such as Charles Waterton, an acknowledged ornithologist and traveller across many continents, widened participation to a global scale. As well as having such a vast geographical range of interest, the project was also representative of a collaboration across a diverse spectrum of social groups. At a time when artists were important to empirical study for their ability to record visual images to promote knowledge, the project shows how the manner of an artist's interpretation directed the study of natural history. At Farnley, the knowledge gained from the close study of birds in their environment, patient collecting, and recording activities, as well as the illustration of species by professionals, amateurs, and locals, points to an exciting, engaging, and diverse collaborative hub, working through the concept of empirical study towards the emergence of the scientific disciplines.

The *Ornithological Collection* was not the only album Fawkes worked on in the field of natural history; he also compiled a four volume *Synopsis of Natural History*.[68] Although now not held in the library, it was recorded in the collection in 1988, having a dedication, 'To his son Hawksworth Fawkes, Esq., of Hawksworth, this Synopsis of Natural History is inscribed by his Affectionate father Walter Fawkes, Esq., of Farnley Hall, 1823'. The compilation is a broad survey of the animal kingdom ranging from mammals and birds, to amphibia, fish, insects, and shells. Each individual species is placed under a principal

[67] Diana Donald, *The Art of Thomas Bewick* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013), p. 85.

[68] See Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, pp. 12-15, for a detailed account of the compilation of the *Synopsis of Natural History*.

genus, assigned a class, and order number, with a brief description. However, interspersed through the volumes are sub-categories, 'British Sport' included in Volume III with a dead grouse, and in Volume IV, 'recently-caught freshwater fish', alluding to the family's sporting activities and their close association with natural history as discussed above. In a similar vein to Fawkes' other compilations, the volumes are essentially picture books with each species illustrated with a watercolour, in this instance by Samuel Howitt.[69]

As well as the living world of natural history, Fawkes also had an interest in the inanimate natural environment; entries in his 1825 diary reveal he attended William Brande's lectures on geology at the Royal Institution.[70] Also noted in the diary are records of daily temperature readings, all indicating the landowner's wider interest in the world, making records to support its objective study.

Confirmation of Fawkes' enthusiasm for the unfolding world of observational and experimental study was found in his membership of the Linnean Society. Joining in 1819, his certificate of recommendation described the Yorkshireman as, 'A Gentleman much attached to the study of natural history and the cultivation of exotic plants'.[71] The fact that Farnley library held a book by Fawkes' daughter, Frances, of plants growing in the conservatory at the Hall, suggested Fawkes was able to grow a wide range of specimens under the protection of glass, and supported his daughter in making accurate botanical illustrations to record the species.

Fawkes shared his interest in the natural world with all who cared to engage with him. The books with which he equipped his library supported his and others pursuit of knowledge, and inclusion in debate and learning. Amateurs, professionals, family members, and friends all worked together under Fawkes' facilitating umbrella of hospitality. The resulting compilations are not only records of communal achievement regardless of status, gender, or experience, but also reveal how the social groups associated with country houses contributed to the development of the emerging scientific disciplines. The leading national position Farnley held in the field of ornithology in particular, and more widely in

[69] Lyles, *Turner and Natural History*, pp. 12-13.

[70] Recorded in Fawkes' 1825 diary on 5, 12, 19 and 26 February, and 12 and 16 March. William Brande published *Outlines of Geology* in 1817.

[71] Linnean Society archive, Certificate of Recommendation, CR/32. Interestingly Fawkes' was elected at the same time as his friend Thomas Lister Parker (CR/32).

natural history, is an example of the role modest country landowners played in the advancement of knowledge in Britain in the early nineteenth century.

The last area to consider in the book collection in the Farnley library was Fawkes' interest in contemporary poetry, alluded to not only by the presence of books on the shelves but also by the fact that Turner created a set of six watercolours, together with a frontispiece, that were meant to illustrate a publication on modern poetry.[72] The images contain quotes and make reference in their subject to six works by three contemporary writers, Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, and Thomas Moore. The subjects of the watercolours and the quotes selected from the works were all significant to Fawkes for varying reasons, again revealing the underlying principles that guided his purpose. The illustrations have only been previously studied for their place in Turner's artistic development, they will now be considered for the meaning and purpose they held for Fawkes.[73]

**Literary Pursuits**

The six watercolours painted by Turner illustrate Lord Byrons' *Giaour*, Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, and Sir Walter Scott's *Rokeby*, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion*. The poems, published between 1805 and 1817, all have as their subtext a conflict concerning the protection of independence, culture, and identity.

Lord Byron's *Giaour* (published in 1813) is an epic poem concerning a romance between a woman from a harem that falls in love with a Turkish infidel, and who is drowned by the master of the harem according to the tradition of the fate of women found guilty of adultery. In revenge, the Turk kills the harem master and then undertakes a life of remorse in a monastery. The watercolour Turner created (Fig. 4.44) does not illustrate the story, instead depicting in the foreground a young Greek woman bound, slumped against a rock, over which a Turk is leering at her. In the background the acropolis and Parthenon stand tall in the landscape, with a convoy depicted between the rock and the acropolis pertaining to the occupation of Greece by the Turks. The words included in the illustration, 'T'is living Greece no more', refer to the line in *Giaour*, 'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more', thereby directing the attention of the viewer to the political situation where Greece was fighting to gain independence from the Ottoman Empire. Byron himself also

[72] Mrs Ayscough Fawkes stated Fawkes had intended to publish a book on 'modern poets', quoted in Charles A. Swinburne, *Life and Work of J. M. W. Turner R.A.* (London: Bicker & Son, 1920), p. 172.

[73] Jan Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1993), pp. 32-4.

supported the Greek effort through finance and personal action, whilst his literature and that of other contemporary British writers of various political and social persuasions were integral in garnering support from the initially hesitant Europeans to support the Greek cause.[74] Through the inclusion of the text in the illustration Fawkes seems to have been registering an empathy with these aspirations, and the liberation of Greece.

Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (published in 1817), a series of four narrative poems with a connecting tale in verse, is based on the story of the daughter of a Mughal Emperor setting out on a journey to meet her destined husband, a young king. On the way she falls in love with a man from her entourage who sings her the four poems; at the end of her journey, she is delighted to find that the man is in fact her intended husband. It is in the four tales that the themes of resistance against tyranny are addressed, condemning the injustice of autocratic power and colonialism whilst affirming the right of colonised people to revolt against their oppressors to protect religious liberty and national self-determination.[75]

The first tale, *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*, is an examination of the French Revolution alluding to the Jacobins fooling the French people with their espoused aspirations (a veil) to overthrow a corrupt system, but in the event merely replacing it with their own violent, tyrannical regime continuing the misery of oppression for the people. After the second, lighter tale *Paradise and the Peri*, the third poem, *The Fire-Worshippers*, is based on an uprising in a country that has been colonised and whose religion has been outlawed, referencing the Irish Rebellion of 1798, where the English colonised Ireland and sought to outlaw Catholicism. The Irish rebels fought to free themselves and oust their oppressors, having no aspiration of a wider revolution to challenge or install ideologies.[76]

In *Lalla Rookh*, Moore, a friend of Byron, condemned the French Revolution and justified the Irish Rebellion, seeing the former as an imported philosophy or ideal, and the latter as a heroic resistance built from within and based upon an intuitive understanding of justice. Being Irish, Moore's sympathies would be expected to lie with his homeland; being liberally minded he, like Fawkes and others in the Whig opposition, found himself despising the practices of the Regent and Tory government, advocating change, but wary

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[74] For an overview of the literature of the period see Alexander Grammatikos, *British Romantic Literature and the Emerging Modern Greek Nation* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave, 2018), p. 197.

[75] Jeffery W. Vail, *'The Standard of Revolt': Revolution and National Independence in Moore's* 'Lalla Rookh', online publication 1 March, 2006, Romanticism on the Net, no. 40, November 2005, see, 59ar www.erudit.org/en/journals/ron/1900-v1-n1-ron1039/0124/ accessed 15 March 2022.

[76] Vail, *The Standard of Revolt*, paragraph 17.

and loathing of how the Revolution across the channel had degenerated into violence and aggression. It is to be noted that this is the only poem of the six illustrated that did not include a quote in the watercolour (Fig. 4.45), only the title *Lalla Rookh*. The poem was one of the most successful and widely read of the nineteenth century; contemporary readers plainly understood the political message associated with the title, so a quotation would have been unnecessary.[77]

The four works Fawkes selected by Scott all concerned historic conflicts. *Rokeby* was situated after the Battle of Marston Moor, *Marmion* was set around the Battle of Flodden, *Lay of the Last Minstrel* concerned the conflicts between the culture and customs of the border regions between England and Scotland, and *Lady of the Lake* was set in the context of the feuds and reconciliations of different Highland Clans. The illustrations, however, are all landscape scenes, whether picturesque or sublime in character. The image for *Marmion* (Fig. 4.46), of the ruins of Norham Castle depicted in an evening glow on the river Tweed with cows contentedly drinking in the setting light and boatmen leaving hardly a trail in the water, depicts a beautifully picturesque scene. The text chosen for the illustration 'Day set on Norham's Castled steep/And Tweeds fair river' also points to the beauty and tranquillity of the area.

For *Rokeby* (Fig. 4.47), the illustration of lush vegetation clothing the steep ravine where the river Greta flows before meeting the Tees, also alludes to a beautiful but dangerous natural setting, of a sublime character more than picturesque. The text included on this image focuses on the vegetation and the river, with a funereal element referring to the death incurred by battle in the description 'dismal grove of sable Yew' and the 'blighted firs sepulchral green'. Emphasising the context of death, the figure depicted walking along the cliff edge path could, according to the poem, be that of Bertram, plagued in the belief he saw the ghost of Mortham. Alternatively, it could refer to Mortham who in the poem was alive and lurking in the vicinity. In any event, the illustration and text both focus upon the outstanding beauty of the spot with the dense vegetation and dramatic geological features, imbuing a sublime and mystical atmosphere.

The image of Melrose Abbey that illustrates *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (Fig. 4.48), also conjures the picturesque. The ruined abbey is depicted with moonlight pouring through the stone remains of the transept window, the light picking out the back of a man staring ahead

[77] Vail, *The Standard of Revolt*, paragraph 1. It should also be noted that Fawkes' second wife, married in 1816, had Irish connections.

through the masonry, perhaps meant to represent William Deloraine who, in the poem, visits the Abbey to find a magical book. The text added to the image, 'Who'er would see fair Melrose right/Must see it by the pale moonlight', alludes to the building rather than the narrative of the poem. Again, the scene is serene and calm, a peaceful reflection on a place previously associated with conflict.

Similarly, the watercolour created to illustrate *Lady of the Lake* (Fig. 4.49), is a beautiful, tranquil landscape view along a valley with a glimpse of the deep blue Loch Katrine in the distance. The poem, however, concerns the customs and culture of highland clans through their feuds and reconciliations. With no reference to any such conflict, the image includes a single Highlander negotiating a path through the undergrowth, with the text 'Lone Glen Artney's Hazel Shade'. The illustration is again associated with nature and an appreciation of place, only alluding to the narrative of the poem through the figure, though he too is shown alone and not partaking in any obvious feud or reconciliation.

In this sense, all four of Turner's illustrations of Scott's works are landscapes with a sublime or picturesque subject, depicted in a calm, peaceful state. Whereas the poems had connections with historical events pertinent to Fawkes' interests and political ideologies, the watercolours Turner created were topographical landscape illustrations with references to imagery or staffage, giving his own meditation on the works. [78] They foreshadow the images the artist later created to illustrate Roger's *Italy* of 1830 and Cadell's publication of Scott's poetry in 1833.[79] The illustrations for both of those publications focused upon the depiction of place, rather than the narrative of a poem, the illustration of Norham Castle for Scott repeating the configuration the artist used in Fawkes' illustration for 'Marmion'.[80]

Turner also created a frontispiece for the six illustrations (Fig. 4.50). It depicts a memorial tablet showing the signatures of the three poets, and a harp, bagpipes, and bugle to represent their nationalities, and there is a banner with the inscription, 'Three poets in three kingdoms born'. The inscription is derived from the opening of John Dryden's poem *Under Mr. Milton's Portrait, before his Paradise Lost*, which states, 'Three Poets in three

[78] Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes*, p. 36.

[79] Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes*, pp.35-9 and pp. 53-6.

[80] In this way they were more akin to a guide for readers or tourists to experience the landscape and have a sense of connection with the author (Scott) who selected the location for his story. There is a similarity in approach with the illustrations Turner created for Roger's *Italy*, 1830, which Piggott stated 'at first sight' appeared to be 'contemporary topographical 'landscape illustrations'', recalling those the artist made for Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour of Italy* of 1818-20, see Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes*, p. 35.

distant ages born/Greece, Italy and England did adorn'. The text promotes the union of the three kingdoms of Scotland, Ireland, and England as manifested by the shared interests of their leading, contemporary poets.[81] Being set in the beautiful scenery of the Scottish highlands with Lock Katrine shining through, the memorial complements the landscape subjects of the six watercolour illustrations.[82] With the snow-capped peak of Benvenu depicted in the background, Fawkes and Turner seem to be alluding to the loose translation of the name as 'welcome', again inferring that the state of union shared between the three kingdoms was something to be embraced.[83]

In concentrating on the picturesque or sublime character of the setting of the poems, rather than their narrative content, the literary illustrations seem to have been created to play to Turner's skills in watercolour and landscape depiction rather than the work of the poets. Even though they can be seen to have an association with Fawkes' political aspirations of parliamentary reform and his concerns that Britain should not succumb to revolution and conflict, in depicting peaceful locations where once there had been turmoil, the illustrations focus on landscape. This suggests that the images were Turner's first foray into creating illustrations to poetry and was experimenting with an approach. It seems that Fawkes was not so keen to have the political message in the poems relayed in the illustrations, as he was in the *Historical Vignettes* (discussed in chapter 2). There was, however, an alternative purpose to Fawkes having Turner create the images.

Although by this time Fawkes was a significant figure in artistic society, he had less of a standing in literary circles, another social set that had influence in the governance of the country. Hobhouse, who was a friend of Byron, visited Fawkes in 1823, the year after the literary illustrations were produced, and Rokeby was the seat of Fawkes' friend and fellow politician, J. B. S. Morritt, also a close friend of Scott's. It seems that Fawkes selected the poems based not only on their potential to portray peace and unity, but also on the interest they could engender in literary circles, perhaps opening up an invitation for Fawkes to become part of this influential group. This would advance his status in society and give him a further outlet to promote his political ambitions and maintain his influence in polite

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[81] Farnley Hall library holds *The Works of John Dryden*, Vols 1-12, 1808.

[82] Loch Katrine was identified as the location since in the *Frontispiece* Fitz James is shown trekking up to the memorial and he was included in Sir Walter Scott's poem, *Lady of the Lake*, set around Loch Katrine.

[83] Lot essay by Katherine Cooke of Christie's auction house, London, at the sale of the frontispiece titled, *The Memorial to Byron, Scott and Moore*, see www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5733312 accessed 17 March 2022.

society. Having these illustrations and keeping them in a folio that could be transported easily between Farnley and London, would have been an attraction for people who would have read the poems, popular texts when they were released. When Turner's skill in watercolour painting became widely appreciated following Fawkes' 1819 exhibition, interest in new landscapes by the artist in the media heightened, enticing people to visit Fawkes to view these jewels. Easily handled in their folio, the illustrations would have made excellent subjects for evening discussions with visitors in the library. Not only did the illustrations bring notice to Fawkes' literary interests, but they also enticed visitors such as Hobhouse, friend of Byron, visiting Farnley in 1823 perhaps to see the illustrations, so widening the landowner's field of influence and social status.

**Conclusion**

Books were an intrinsic part of Fawkes and his family's life. As well as his published tracts, his children also produced compilations of sketches, drawings, and for his youngest daughter, Lucy, a book of lace patterns.[84] Maria Sophia Fawkes (his second wife) owned an exquisitely decorated *Book of Common Prayer* and there is a book in the library previously belonging to her first husband suggesting that she admired certain books sufficiently to bring them to Farnley.[85]

Having their projects bound alludes to the value the family placed on books as objects. Fawkes also had purchased books bound, often through the bookbinders Edwards of York and London, using fine Etruscan calf, sometimes tooled with gilt pattern and the Fawkes crest. The company, being based in both the capital and Yorkshire, indicates that demand was strong from both centres, not just being the preserve of London-goers. Indeed, Fawkes used printers from Halifax, York, and London, although his dealings with the Edwards company must have been important to him, for he developed a personal friendship with one of the Edwards' sons, Thomas Edwards, even presenting him in 1805

[84] National Art Gallery, Victoria and Albert Museum, Special collections MSL/2000/5, call No. 86.22.168 and 86.22.171.

[85] Bentley, Jr., *The Edwardses of Halifax,* p. 241.

with a coloured copy of Thomson's *Seasons* (there were only three known copies, the other two for King George III's daughter and Queen).[86]

The study of the libraries at Farnley, their manner of use, and the texts they held, reveals much about how books were valued, collected, bought, and sold in the early nineteenth century. It was a period that saw the role of libraries change from a space for private study, to become one for the reception and entertainment of guests, where books developed from useful guides for living, to become vehicles to distribute knowledge and ideas.

Fawkes' practice shows how inherited books often seeded country house libraries, how volumes could be purchased from both regional and London booksellers, and how sellers also sought to increase their trade by delivering texts unsolicited. There were recommended texts that should be included in such libraries, often consulted by those who wanted a furnished library to portray a scholarly nature without having an interest in reading or study. Fawkes, though, amassed a range of subjects that informed his interests, particularly alluding to politics, and to natural history.

The value in this chapter also lies in what it tells of the exchange of ideas, debate, and practice that concerned the emergence of empirical study in the period. Farnley Hall was a hub for political debate, but the evidence of the *Ornithological Collection* points to the importance of Farnley as a place where discussions occurred surrounding the study of species and how they should be depicted and described. The evidence of the illustrations made for the project allude to the issues and difficulties of objective representation using subjective means, such as artistic renditions. Empirically directed research was emerging as a necessary method to acquire information that could be compared with that collected by others, so that reliable conclusions could be drawn, to drive knowledge and learning about the world. It is evident that Farnley was at the forefront of this where the study of birds was concerned, a further example of how Fawkes supported new and innovative ways of thinking, in a reformist manner, to improve upon the existing situation.

The chapter highlights again, how Fawkes operated between region and capital. Not only in the case of the purchase of books, but also in the making of the *Ornithological Collection*. The volumes prove how operating from Farnley did not detract from the development of the project. Indeed, contributors to the volumes were not limited to the distance of London; Charles Waterton's and Thomas Bewick's input indicate both a

[86] Bentley, Jr., *The Edwardses of Halifax*, p. 199 and p. 241, and see p. 38, for the naming of Edward's son, Walter Fawkes Edwards.

European and global aspect. Most importantly, the study draws attention to the role modest country houses had in the emergence of new disciplines and the quest for knowledge in the early nineteenth century.

A further point to note concerning the role of the Georgian library at Farnley was its association with hospitality. The new wing was designed with entertaining in mind and the location of the room between the drawing room and saloon supported discussion and debate as guests moved between the rooms, particularly around mealtimes. The books and folios in the library would have stimulated conversation and displayed Fawkes' erudite character. His interests in politics, literature, natural history and art declared by the titles on the texts' spines, set in the plush décor of the library, would have impressed any guest and presented Fawkes with the opportunity to inspire and influence. The visitors' experience would have resulted in raising Fawkes' status in polite society, at a time when being a landowner no longer guaranteed that position.

The libraries at Farnley, and their décor and contents, therefore, offer a valuable record of how modest regional country houses could play an important role not only in the progress and development of the country's politics, but also in the growth and sharing of knowledge and learning.

## CHAPTER 5: PAINTER, PATRON, AND PLACE - TURNER, FAWKES AND FARNLEY

To

J.M.W. Turner, ESQ.

R.A. – P.P.

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My Dear Sir,

***THE*** unbought and spontaneous expression of the public opinion respecting my Collection of Water-Colour Drawings, decidedly points out to whom this little Catalogue should be inscribed.

To you, therefore, I dedicate it; first, as an act of duty; and, secondly, as an Offering of Friendship; for, be assured, I never can look at it without intensely feeling the delight I have experienced, during the greater part of my life, from the exercise of your talent and the pleasure of your society.

That you may year after year reap an accession of fame and fortune is the anxious wish of

Your sincere Friend,

W. Fawkes.

London, June, 1819.[1]

This dedication to Turner, also quoted in the introduction to this thesis, was written around two decades into his acquaintance with Fawkes, over which time the painter had become an established practitioner and recognised as a 'genius'.[2] Similar sentiments were portrayed in a fragment of a letter written by Fawkes to Turner, implying that the feelings expressed in the catalogue dedication were genuine:

[1] Walter Fawkes, *A Collection of Water Colour Drawings in the Possession of Walter Fawkes Esq*. (London: Benjamin Bensley,1819), National Art Library, London, Box 1.38ZZ 1819.

[2] Kay Dian Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 110-12, 'genius' assumed a pointed meaning in the art criticism around Turner and his contemporaries, where the unrestrained application of materials and bravura techniques were equated with a peculiarly British liberality.

> Remember the Wharfedales – everybody is delighted with your Mill. I sit for a long time before it every day.
>
> Ever very truly yrs.,
> W. Fawkes.[3]

Finberg believed the fragment gives 'us a clue to the real bond of union between the two men, viz., the patron's sincere and unaffected delight in the artist's work'.[4] This chapter evaluates the relationship the artist had with Fawkes, arguably Turner's most important patron. The significance of Fawkes' patronage not only lies in the sheer number of works by the painter that came into his possession (amounting to over two hundred, including pictures in watercolour and oil), but also because of the degree of intimacy that developed between the two men. Collaborating on a range of personal projects, the painter and patron built a reciprocal 'give and take' rapport, each working to enhance the status of the other. They built a mutually supportive alliance and friendship that was given concrete form in the exhibition of watercolours at Fawkes' London townhouse. The event enhanced Fawkes' reputation as a connoisseur and liberal benefactor of the arts, and, with sixty or so of the hundred works displayed there being Turner's, the exhibition brought the artist's skill in the media to prominence, the exuberant critics reviews prompting a new direction in Turner's ambitions.

This chapter will review the circumstances under which the men were likely to have met and the time they spent together before Fawkes' death, with a focus on the terms of the patronage and how those changed as the relationship developed. Consideration will also be given to the works Turner created for Fawkes, analysing their composition, as well as the artist's distinctive use of materials and techniques. Fawkes' wider artistic investments were examined in chapter 3, here the focus will be on what his patronage meant to Turner specifically, in terms of the advancement of the painter's own career. These developments, together with how Turner was portrayed after his death by members of the Fawkes family, will be examined with regard to the painter's evolving reputation, and for the light they shed on some of the broader debates around landscape as a pictorial genre in the early years of the nineteenth century.

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[3] John Gage (ed.), *Collected Correspondence of J. M. W. Turner with an Early Diary and a Memoir by George Jones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 75-6, the 'Mill' most likely refers to a *View of Otley Mill, with the River Wharfe and Mill Weir*, sold at Christie's in 1890 but now untraced.

[4] Alex J Finberg, *Turner's Water-colours at Farnley Hall* (London: The Studio Ltd., 1912), p. 4.

In order to show the distinctive nature of Fawkes' relationship with Turner, a comparison is made here with the work the painter completed for Lord Egremont of Petworth House, Sussex, another major patron of the artist.[5] Since both patrons were country landowners with an interest in agricultural improvement and shared an active interest in artistic society, the comparison is a highly pertinent one, though the men came from differing backgrounds, one an aristocrat and the other from solid gentry stock.

Having argued in previous chapters for the distinctive and intimate nature of the relationship between Fawkes and Turner, the seeming reluctance in the historical record to declare the significance of that friendship in the artist's biography is intriguing. This chapter considers the possible reasons for this, arising from the subsequent ownership of the art collections at Farnley and Petworth, and also from the historiography of Turner, brought up to date to include a response to the recent symposium 'J. M. W. Turner: State of the Field'.[6]

Since the artist's death, art critics have focused upon particular aspects of the painter's life or work, often to the detriment of the study of the work associated with Farnley. Allied to this is a general oversight in the close study of Turner's relationship with his patrons arising from his reputation as a genius, both innovative and singular in his creative ability and motivation. Assuming and accepting this stance would deter study into any guidance, instruction or collaboration with a patron.

Using anecdotes, letters, and diary entries, as well as the paintings Turner created for his patrons, and considering this work within contemporary artistic and wider societal contexts, gives a fresh perspective on the influence patrons had on Turner's life.[7]

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[5] Martin Butlin, Mollie Luther and Ian Warrell, *Turner at Petworth: Painter and Patron* (London: Tate Publishing Ltd., 1989) provides a full account of Turner's work associated with Petworth. Patrick Youngblood published an earlier account, 'That House of Art: Turner at Petworth', *Turner Studies*, Vol. 2 no. 2, Winter 1983, pp. 16-33. Christopher Rowell's *Petworth House* (London: National Trust, 2004 reprint), pp. 86-7 provides an account of Turner at Petworth, part of a wider description of artistic society at Petworth.

[6] Yale Center for British Art, 22 – 23 September 2023.

[7] Sam Smiles, *J. M. W. Turner: The Making of a Modern Artist* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 205, talks of the orthodox approach to studying Turner's art within his professional situation, 'positioning his creative effort so that it is in dialogue with the art world of his time and attuned to the wider cultural circumstances of his working life'.

## Turner at Farnley

We know that Turner's first visit to Yorkshire was in 1797, when he visited Fawkes' neighbours, the Lascelles of Harewood House, securing a commission to create views of the mansion and wider estate.[8] The visit was part of a tour of the north of England, possibly motivated by an invite to the country seats of Lord Yarborough of Brocklesby, Lincolnshire, and to the Lascelles of Harewood, but also to gather more material, depicting buildings, ruins, and scenery.[9] Turner returned from the tour with several orders for watercolours and some two hundred sketches, some of which were worked up for nine of the ten exhibits Turner hung at the Royal Academy the following year.[10] His success could be gauged by his claim that he had more commissions than he could complete.[11] Turner's biographer, Hamerton, suggested that the artist's work of the time depicted medieval buildings in a picturesque manner, and in 'better combination with the surrounding landscape than any other artist', drawing publishers to him as the best available to provide illustrations of buildings set in their surroundings.[12]

Hence, it appeared the natural choice for Turner to be recommended to the clergyman and antiquary, Dr Thomas Dunham Whitaker when he required designs for several plates to illustrate his first book, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe in the Counties of Lancaster and York.* The text was in the tradition of antiquarian topographers describing the churches, ruins, ancestral seats, and family pedigrees in parishes across the country. Turner was engaged for the project by Charles Towneley, a friend and neighbour to Whitaker, and fellow antiquary and collector.[13] Active in London's artistic society, Towneley would likely have known Turner and been able to propose the project personally.

The contact with Towneley was fortuitous for Turner since it brought him into contact with an extended network of local gentlemen scholars, including Whitaker, who went on to become patrons, such as Thomas Lister Parker, Sir John Leicester of Tabley, and Walter

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[8] David Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire* (York: York City Art Gallery, 1980) provides an excellent introduction to Turner's tours to Yorkshire and his work there, including an account of his time at Farnley.

[9] Eric Shanes, *J. M. W. Turner, A Life in Art: Young Mr Turner, the First Forty Years, 1775-1815* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 141-2.

[10] Shanes, *Young Mr. Turner*, p. 142.

[11] David Hill, *Turner and Dr Whitaker* (Burnley: Towneley Hall Art Gallery, 1982), p. 7

[12] Hill, *Turner and Dr Whitaker*, p. 7.

[13] Hill, *Turner and Dr Whitaker*, p. 7.

Fawkes.[14] However, it was Fawkes' bookseller friend, Thomas Edwards, who introduced the artist to Whitaker in Yorkshire on the artist's second visit to the county in 1799.[15] It has been suggested that Fawkes met Turner at a soirée hosted by Edwards but it was also likely the men met when Turner visited Lister Parker's seat, Browsholme Hall, to sketch the building for an illustration in the *History of Whalley.*[16] With his own antiquarian interests, Fawkes would have made the effort to meet the young academician producing the drawings to illustrate the book that entered his own library along with all of Whitaker's future *Histories*.

The first firm evidence of Fawkes ordering work from Turner is a note in the painter's 'Academies Sketchbook' from about 1804, recording the commission of three watercolours, 'Gt. Devils Bridge causeway', 'Upper Fall of Riquenbach', and 'Mt. Blanc from St. *Martin'*, for fifty guineas each.[17] Fawkes' collection of watercolours included the first two titles, and also *Glacier and Source of the Arveron* (exhibited at the Royal Academy the previous year), confirming the start of patronage as between 1803 and 1804.[18] Turner had taken advantage of the Peace of Amiens in 1802, touring through France to the Swiss Alps. Fawkes had also visited the Swiss Alps as part of a Grand Tour in the 1790s and sketched on the banks of Lake Geneva. His ownership of mountain scenes by John 'Warwick' Smith (described in chapter 3) suggests that the landowner had a particular affection for Alpine scenery and was therefore attracted to Turner's Swiss views.

In the next few years Fawkes invested in several oil paintings by Turner, breaking his alleged vow to never buy another picture in that medium that followed his disgruntled dealings with William Hodges.[19] As we saw in chapter 3, the Turner oils included a further Swiss scene and some marine paintings with strong patriotic connotations. Fawkes,

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[14] Hill, *Turner and Dr Whitaker*, p. 7.

[15] Hill, *Turner and Dr Whitaker*, p. 7.

[16] Hill, *Turner and Dr Whitaker*, p. 7.

[17] Finberg, *Turner's Water-colours at Farnley Hall*, p. 2.

[18] It should be noted that there was a suggestion that Fawkes was aware of Turner's tour to the continent in 1802 and was one of the three 'noblemen', including Lord Yarborough, who subscribed to support the artist on the tour, see Robert Upstone's entry for 'Yarborough' in Evelyn Joll, Martin Butlin and Luke Hermann (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 390-1.

[19] Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Kathryn Cave, Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (eds), 16 Vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978-98), Vol. 1, p. 270, Farington reports Fawkes stating he would not purchase another painting in oil.

along with his friends Lister Parker and Lord Yarborough, also subscribed to a mezzotint after *The Shipwreck*, a popular theme of the period, engraved by Charles Turner and executed and published in 1806.[20]

Seascapes aside, Fawkes was passionate about the scenery of Yorkshire and Wharfedale and must have appreciated the similarities in the nature of the rocky outcrops and trees in the Swiss scenes depicted by Turner, and those in the countryside surrounding Farnley, such as the Chevin. It was perhaps the manner in which Turner depicted alpine scenery that encouraged Fawkes to commission the artist to paint a number of scenes from locations along the river Wharfe. Fawkes approached the painter to have several painted; a note on the inside back cover of Turner's *Greenwich* Sketchbook of 1808-1809, itemised the required locations and subjects.

Interestingly, the note also included a reference to a payment by bankers' draft dated 20 February for £100 for four proofs of *Liber Studiorum*.[21] As discussed in chapter 3, these were cheaper than works Fawkes had previously bought from the artist and suggest Turner was courting Fawkes, encouraging a loyalty.[22]

Despite the list of locations to paint in Wharfedale, there is no direct evidence that Turner had at this point visited Farnley Hall. Since Fawkes also had a London property, it was possible that the discussions concerning the locations to be painted along the Wharfe were carried out in the capital. However, the artist did embark on a river trip, probably in 1808, and produced a series of ten large pencil and two colour sketches of locations along the river, and from the Chevin with Farnley Hall in the distance.[23] The fact that one of the sketches was worked up to a finished watercolour dated 1809 (probably *Bolton Abbey from the North*, Fig. 5.1) strengthens the likelihood that the sketches were made the previous year. Given that some of these included Farnley Hall and related estate properties, it is also likely Turner created them with Fawkes in mind. It is therefore safe to assume the artist was invited to stay at the Hall whilst he was producing the sketches in 1808, making it the first of the many visits to Farnley.

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[20] Upstone, in Joll, Butlin and Hermann, *The Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner*, pp. 390-1.

[21] Upstone, in Joll, Butlin and Hermann, *The Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner*, pp. 390-1.

[22] Finberg, *Turner's Water-colours at Farnley Hall*, p. 2.

[23] See https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/farnley-and-related-subjects-r1146598#entry-main, accessed 5 October 2021

While the evidence for Turner returning to Farnley before 1810 is scant, he clearly remained in regular contact with Fawkes, who continued to purchase, and commission works from the painter. A further list of works to be made for Fawkes was drawn up around 1809-10, including further Yorkshire scenes, views of Farnley among them, and more Swiss landscapes.[24] Fawkes also purchased three significant oils in these years, two marine pieces, *Shoeburyness, Fisherman hailing a Whitstable Hoy (The Pilot Boat and the Red Cap), Sun Rising Through Vapour*, and a third, *Greenwich Park*.[25] This later work was interesting for what its story tells of Fawkes and Turner's evolving relationship. This major work was at some point (after 1811) returned to Turner and became part of his Bequest.[26] Returning a painting was not normal practice and could have been considered a snub to Turner who was not known for taking rebukes graciously. Since the men remained friends, the return was clearly not on bad terms. The reasons could have been financial, with Fawkes wishing to purchase further works and using *Greenwich Park* as credit, or it could have been that Turner wanted to have the painting back much as he determined to buy back his *Shipwreck* and *Blacksmith's Shop* at the Tabley Sale.[27] Whatever the reason, the transaction itself was unusual and for it to have been struck under friendly terms further alludes to the comfortable relationship of exchange shared by the men.

The purchase of the oils must have been arranged whilst in London since Turner was not back at Farnley until 1810. His visit on that occasion was to be the source of a much-repeated anecdote, first reported by Walter Thornbury in his *Life of Turner.* It concerned the creation of the oil painting *Hannibal Crossing the Alps* (1812), originating with Francis Hawksworth Fawkes (Hawkey, 1797-1871), Walter Fawkes' eldest son:

> One stormy day at Farnley, says Mr. Fawkes, Turner called to me loudly from the doorway, 'Hawkey – Hawkey! Come here, come here! Look at this thunder-storm! Isn't it grand? Isn't it wonderful? Isn't it sublime?
>
> All this time he was making notes of its form and colour on the back of a letter. I proposed some better drawing-block, but he said it did very well. He was absorbed – he was entranced. There was the storm rolling and sweeping and

[24] See https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-list-of-works-for-walter-fawkes-inscription-by-turner-r1130917, accessed 22 June 2021.

[25] See chapter 3 for a discussion regarding Fawkes' purchase of these works.

[26] The engraving of the painting notes that the drawing was still under the ownership of Fawkes in 1811. See https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-london-from-greenwich-park-n00483, accessed 30 December 2022.

[27] Christopher Rowell, Ian Warrell and David Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth* (London: National Trust and Tate Publications, 2002), p. 72.

> shafting out its lightning over the Yorkshire hills. Presently the storm passed, and he finished. 'There', said he, 'Hawkey; in two years you will see this again, and call it 'Hannibal Crossing the Alps'.[28]

The painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1812, suggesting Turner watched the storm at Farnley in 1810. Aside from helping to chart Turner's visits to the Hall, the account is valuable in revealing other details such as the association between the Yorkshire landscape and that of an alpine setting. How far the story resembles an actual event is impossible to say; the family could have embellished the retelling to stress their importance and that of Farnley, in the development of the Turner historiography, with the description of an entranced man bringing to mind's eye a magician producing a masterpiece on the back of a letter. However, taken at face value it suggests that Turner had by now developed a comfortable relationship not only with Fawkes, but also with his family.

Evidence in the form of a letter written from Farnley proves a visit by the artist in 1811. The letter itself reveals something of Turner's own view of his landscape painting, and of the contentions in artistic society concerning whether views depicting particular locations, especially associated with country properties, could be considered of sufficient moral grandeur to stand alongside the Old Masters of landscape such as Claude, Poussin, and Rubens. Written to his friend, John Britton, a topographer, antiquarian, and writer, Turner says:

> I rather lament that the remark which you read to me when I called in Tavistock Place is suppressed for it espoused the part of Elevated Landscape against the aspersions of Map making criticism, but no doubt you are better acquainted with the nature of publication, and mine is a mistaken zeal.[29]

Fuseli, in a lecture at the RA in the early nineteenth century, had railed against what he termed the 'tame delineations' of particular known locations, deeming them little more than 'topography'. By contrast, the landscapes created by the likes of Titian, Mola, Salvator, the Poussins, Claude, Rubens, Elzheimer, Rembrandt, and Wilson 'spurn[ed] all relation with this type of Mapwork'.[30] The difference, Fuseli said, was where the views

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[28] Walter Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner Founded on Letters and Papers Furnished by his Friends and Fellow Academicians* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1862), Vol. 2, pp. 87-8.

[29] Gage, *Collected Correspondence*, p. 50.

[30] See John Bonehill, *The Face of the Country: Estate Portraiture in Britain 1660-1832* (forthcoming) for a detailed account of the positions of Fuseli, Britton and others, suggesting that the increasing popularity of estate portraits and the wide array of approaches used to satisfy the market is indicative of not only the

were ‘assisted by nature, dictated by taste, or chosen for character’, suggesting that only those who recognised ‘character’ and had ‘taste’ could select the sites that nature had made worthy of depiction.

Turner’s letter indicates that Britton had shown him a draft response to Fuseli’s dismissive comments on the making of views that was stronger in its wording than the version that was to go to print. Published in 1812, in his *Fine Arts of the English School* under a section discussing the work of Richard Wilson, Britton countered Fuseli’s arguments by claiming that:

> Some of Claude’s, Gasper Poussins, and Ruysdael’s, are representations of particular scenes, and are certainly not the less interesting or valuable from the circumstance: for truth is preferable to falsehood; reality is more valuable than fiction; the works of nature are more worthy of imitation and regard than the inventions of man.[31]

For Fuseli, the likes of Claude, Salvator, and other Old Masters had imbued landscape with a degree of ‘invention’ (the subject of the lecture where his remarks appeared) that was largely absent from the art of many of his contemporaries. In actuality, Britton’s own arguments were not so far removed from Fuseli’s sentiments, the author maintaining that:

> The tame and tasteless painter who attempts to delineate every commonplace scene that is presented to his view, or copies all objects indiscriminately, is almost beneath the notice of criticism, and is certainly unworthy of approbation: but the artist who, like Wilson and Turner, after having chosen a scene for pictorial representation, can portray all the local features of that scene, and at the same time embellish them with the most favourable effects of light and shade, sun, mist, cloud and varied colours of the seasons, is entitled to our admiration and praise.[32]

In pointing out that depictions of real locations could result in works worthy of display at RA exhibitions, Britton was encouraging the idea that views of a ‘given spot’, increasingly popular amongst a wider population in engraved form, offered a more socially accessible form of landscape art.

The fact that Turner wrote a letter mentioning the ‘Map making criticism’ reveals his personal interest in the matter. John Bonehill suggests Turner saw Fuseli’s comments as belittling his work for several of his markets including antiquarian subjects, tourist sites

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challenges to the traditional purpose of the Royal Academy but also representative of challenges and contentions in wider society.

[31] John Britton, *The Fine Arts of the English School* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1812), p. 66.

[32] Britton, *The Fine Arts of the English School*, p. 66.

and views of landed property.[33] It is significant that Turner wrote the letter whilst he was staying at Farnley with a patron that purchased landscape paintings, suggesting that the concept may have informed the landscapes he created for Fawkes, of and around Farnley.

One of the locations that Fawkes requested Turner to paint in 1808, 'The Strid' on the river Wharfe demonstrates how the artist depicted the scene in a composition offering more interpretation than just a topographical record. Fawkes requested a watercolour of the location, popular as a tourist destination and with local associations. The river featured in a poem by Samuel Rogers, *The Boy of Egremond*, where William de Romille, who often leapt across 'The Strid' when hunting, was one day pulled to his death in the confined gorge by his dog.[34] In Turner's sketch of this stretch of river where it funnels into a narrow gorge, the rocks, riverbank, and gushing water are clearly depicted (Fig. 5.2). Turner's watercolour (Fig. 5.3), however, adds an element of a peaceful pastoral scene with a fisherman in the distance leaning in towards the water, and deer on the opposite bank, one appearing to notice the fisherman, the other apparently grazing.

The reference to fishing and shooting would have been apt for Turner's patron as Fawkes was a keen sportsman, enjoying both pursuits. The low viewpoint at river level however, chosen by Turner, enhances the feeling of the water surging towards you, and also allowed him the opportunity to portray the geology of the rocks in detail. The viewer can see the dip in the level of the water as it sinks into The Strid, and the white froth depicted on the surface as it churns in the gorge giving a feel of the force of the water as it is pushed swirling around the rocks with the weight of the whole river behind it. There is an energy and conflict in the image between the tranquil background and the upheaval in the foreground, as if an uncontrolled force has appeared to disturb the equilibrium, perhaps a reflection on the changes in contemporary society. It is Turner's choice of viewpoint and subject material, creating a mood and force in the work, that moves the piece away from only being a topographical record, to an artistic creation that supports intellectual and moral analysis, though it is still recognisable as the place and could even provide a geological record.

For Turner, the difference between mapwork and his work was his skill in choice of viewpoint, colour, and technique and his deployment of various subjects and motifs to imagine how the location could be portrayed to create a reading of a place. Another

[33] Bonehill, *The Face of the Country*, (forthcoming).

[34] See https://www.poemist.com/samuel-rogers/the-boy-of-egremond, accessed 28 December 2022.

example is a scene he painted from the rocky hillside (referred to as West Chevin) facing across the river Wharfe to Farnley Hall in the distance, and it offers a further interpretation of how Turner elevated a landscape. The watercolour, *Farnley Hall, from above Otley*, c.1818, (now titled *View of Farnley Hall in Yorkshire)*, could have been based on sketches from the Hastings sketchbook (Fig. 5.4), as well as a sketch from the Large Farnley sketchbook (Fig. 5.5). Both sets of sketches, dated around 1816, provide a panoramic view featuring the rocks and vegetation on the Chevin in the foreground, with a view encompassing Otley, Farnley Hall, and Almscliff Crag picked out in the far distance.

Turner also made a colour sketch of the scene (Fig. 5.6), its existence revealing his technique of creating the colour sketch in the studio rather than with the pencil sketch at the scene.[35] Comparing the pencil sketches with the watercolour, there is a clear difference in that those from the Hastings sketchbook feature trees in the foreground. The interesting point to note is that though trees feature prominently in the foreground of the finished watercolour (Fig. 5.7), they are in different positions to the sketch and in a different form. Whereas the trees in the sketch, particularly those on the right-hand side are more bent and 'wrangled', typical of deciduous woodland, those on the right side of the watercolour are repositioned behind a striking rocky outcrop and resemble pine trees more akin to alpine forest. The trees to the left of the sketch are also more open branched, and again in the finished piece resemble fir trees.

The pine trees give the watercolour an alpine association, added to by the fact the view overlooks a valley, but even more striking is Turner's inclusion of the goats, harking back to those in *The Valley of Chamouni*, 1809 (Fig. 5.8). The rocks featured in the foreground of the image are also similarly positioned in *Chamouni*, and so there seems to be a clear intention to depict the features of the Yorkshire hillside in an alpine manner, most likely because Turner knew Fawkes appreciated alpine scenery and perhaps the idea of a likeness between the two geographical areas.[36] Turner was drawing attention to the similarities of the Swiss and Yorkshire landscape, encouraging viewers to see the wider significance of the Chevin as on a par with the alps for scenic splendour. It was his skill in giving local scenes wider significance through the incorporation of pictorial, literary, or historic allusions, that amplified the meaning of the place depicted.

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[35] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, pp. 36-7.

[36] Perhaps given added motivation since travel to the continent had been restricted due to the Napoleonic Wars.

Certainly, Fawkes continued to appreciate Turner's work, and increasingly his company too, Turner becoming a near annual visitor to Farnley. During extended stays in the years between 1815 and 1818, the artist set about producing a series of estate portraits of Farnley.[37] These were intimate pieces, showing a particular location or feature at close quarters, as a portrait, quite different in style to the expansive estate views such as those of Tabley House produced around a decade before. The selection of subjects and Fawkes' motivation behind wanting the paintings, and how he used them are discussed in chapter 3. Here the images are considered not only because they are useful in deciphering what Turner thought made his landscape paintings 'elevated', but also for exploring his methods and techniques.

By the time of the making of the estate portraits Turner and Fawkes had known each other for approaching two decades and, judging by the amount of time the men spent together, not only at Farnley but also in London, they had become comfortable in each other's company. The sketchbook used by the artist for the estate portraits alludes to how agreeable the relationship had become, as it includes notes that suggest that Turner and his patron worked collaboratively regarding subjects and composition.[38] The notes concern the 'staffage' to be included, with Fawkes adding that one scene was to have two ladies and one gentleman taking the air. Another should include 'a few Deer cantering off in the distance' with two men on shooting ponies entering from a gate on the park and a keeper on foot.[39]

Another anecdote which perhaps corroborates the suggestion that Fawkes actively directed the subject of his paintings was recorded by his daughters:

> On one occasion when Mr Fawkes and his son Major Fawkes were going out shooting, they overtook Turner, going out with a sketching -stool and folio in his hands. They all walked a little way together, and came to a place where a dead buck was lying. The keepers had shot it, and they and their firelocks made a very striking group. Mr Fawkes said, 'Turner, I wish you would make a note of that for

[37] See chapter 3 for a detailed description of the images.

[38] See https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/farnley-sketchbook-r1146626#entry-main, accessed 5 October 2021

[39] See https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-inscription-by-turner-a-list-of-propsed-staffage-for-r1146628, accessed 21 July 2021. The entry suggests the handwriting does not belong to Turner and David Hill suggested it belonged to Fawkes. In my comparison with handwriting in Fawkes' diary of 1825, I believe the handwriting in the sketchbook belongs to Fawkes.

> me. It is very picturesque.' Turner pulled a tiny sketch-book from his waistcoat pocket, and quickly made what Mr Fawkes desired.[40]

That Turner took explicit direction on subjects to paint from Fawkes in this way seems to differ from the painter's usual approach. Though he might be directed towards a scene or subject by a patron, he would make sketches and perhaps work up a small number of paintings from which the patron might make a selection. With Fawkes, it seems the men were on such terms that the patron could even make notes in the artist's sketchbook as to his requirements. This was a far more intimate and amenable relationship with a patron than Turner was known to court.

The estate and Farnley Hall interior paintings Turner created in the decade or so until Fawkes' death, have generally become described as 'sketches', though they are not works created *en plein* beside the subject.[41] The label may have been ascribed to the estate views since they are likely to have been the works displayed at Fawkes' 1819 exhibition where twenty sketches 'made in Wharfedale, Yorkshire' were hung in the Small Bow Drawing Room.[42] Best described as pictures in the style of a sketch, it seems they must always have been designed to be less 'finished' than the earlier watercolours Fawkes purchased from the artist. Being kept in a folio and travelling between London and Yorkshire to be regularly handled and shown to Fawkes' acquaintances, the works were not treated in the same way as the framed finished watercolours.[43] These sketches lack the intricate and fine handling characteristic of Turner's watercolour technique, but there are also differences in their makeup. Many, though not all, of the Farnley estate paintings were created on grey paper, whereas Turner's watercolours tended to be on paper he colour tinted himself.[44]

The significant point here is that the paper used for the Farnley estate sketches was the same as in the sketchbook Turner used to display his Swiss Landscapes in 1802, from which Fawkes selected several for working up to finished watercolours.[45] It may be that

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[40] Marcus Huish, The Early History of Turner's Yorkshire Drawings, *Turner Studies*, Winter 1985, Vol. 5, no. 2, reprinted from *The Athenaeum*, 8 September 1894, pp. 326-7.

[41] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 35.

[42] Fawkes, *A Collection of Water Colour Drawings, in the Possession of Walter Fawkes, Esq;* the review of the exhibition in *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, &c*., 1 May 1819, describes the views as from Mr Fawkes' estate.

[43] Fawkes Diary, January – May 1825, (Private Collection). Fawkes records showing his folio of drawings to guests at his London Townhouse on Sundays 20 February and 20 March.

[44] Toned paper was associated with working outdoors as it countered strong light.

[45] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 35

Fawkes not only selected the subject material for his estate paintings, but also wanted them prepared in a particular way. That the basic style of the 1802 pictures, on toned paper, with body-colour and black chalk, was used in many of the Farnley estate paintings, suggests it was the choice of the patron. Radical in having sketches made of his estate for his personal use and display, whether the media was chosen by himself or not, shows Fawkes' disregard in following the established practice of commissioning 'finished' works. This could have been for financial reasons (the sketches may have been a cheaper option), or simply because he better liked the 'freshness' and immediacy of the sketches, or from the growing critical appreciation of sketches as examples of bravura displays of handling.[46]

A further set of sketches by Turner that Fawkes was associated with was the Rhine Paintings (also discussed in chapter 3). Touring the Rhineland in 1817, Turner is said to have arrived back in England and journeyed to Farnley where Fawkes purchased the set of fifty or fifty-one sketches the artist had made whilst away. Thornbury retold the story:

> On his return from this particular tour, Turner landed at Hull, and came straight to Farnley. Before he had even taken off his great-coat he produced these drawings, rolled up slovenly and anyhow, from his breast-pocket. Mr. Fawkes, for some 500*l*., bought them all, much, I have no doubt, to Turner's delight, for he could not bear that any series of his should be broken.[47]

This is a rare record of Turner selling sketches, the works more interesting for being believed to have been colour sketches made initially (rather than from pencil sketches), and worked up again to more or less finished pictures.[48] This was unusual practice for Turner, though he had explored it on or off from the 1790s.[49] In this instance, the practice was successful with the paintings praised for their beauty.[50]

The sketches or body-colours of Farnley house and estate too have been widely praised. Walter Thornbury described them as 'all rapidly but beautifully wrought; some are rough and some are *chef-d'oeuvres*, particularly a brook-side with wood-flowers, and a water-scene'.[51] *The Woodwalk, Farnley Hall*, (Fig. 1.43) shows a small brook with delicately

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[46] The review of Fawkes' 1819 exhibition in *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, &c.*, 1 May 1819, attests to the critical attention paid to sketches.

[47] Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R. A.*, Vol. 2, p. 86.

[48] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 35.

[49] Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, p. 37.

[50] Cecilia Powell, *Turner in Germany* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1995), p. 26.

[51] Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner*, p. 86.

painted vegetation alongside the path running up into the woods, and the rendition of Lake Tiny in moonlight is a delightful water scene (Fig. 1.41). As to which works Thornbury regarded as 'rough' is more difficult to deduce; the woodland scenes appear to have less clarity in the background vegetation, seeming to resemble the experience of walking through dense woodland and only being able to clearly decipher the trees immediately in front of you, the vegetation further away appearing rather murky and difficult to distinguish. It may have been this exact experience that Turner was emulating in his painting of the woodland. Paying less attention to the detail of every leaf and shadow of bark, gave the work a higher value in being a more faithful interpretation of the experience of being in a wood, rather than the painting being a detailed record of every species present.

In a final consideration of Turner's particular approach to estate portraiture at Farnley, a further painting of the Hall will be studied. Most patrons required a painting with their hall or house as the focus, and Fawkes was no exception. There are several views of Farnley Hall, some featuring the building far in the distance such as discussed above, and others only showing a section of the building (such as *Garden Front with sundial, Farnley,* c.1815). *View of Farnley Hall,* c.1818, (Fig. 1.39), shows the whole building but rather than in its expansive parkland setting, much as Turner painted other patrons' seats (such as Raby Castle, (Fig. 4.43) and Tabley House (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10)), the artist only included the approaching drive and the lawns alongside. The work was not a grandiose representation, but the close viewpoint offered an intimacy, showing an understanding of how the building was used, and what it represented for its owner.

In the watercolour the eye is led up the driveway to a carriage where someone appears to have arrived at the door and the carriage has just left and is on its way to the west gatehouse, and there is a woman at one of the sash windows to the side of the house, who looks as if she has been looking out in expectation of a guest. As if to acknowledge a pastoral atmosphere, there is a hare in the foreground running from the drive towards some shrubs edging the lawn (perhaps also alluding to the shooting possibilities), and the long shadows cast across the grounds add a further element to the ambience of the scene.

All the motifs of coach, woman, hare, and shadows add movement, energy and an immediacy to the work that enlivens the scene and makes it more real and powerful in conveying its message. The painting depicts a warm, welcoming, and harmonious residence; whether this was how Turner sensed his patron wanted his home to be depicted, or this was how Turner himself viewed Farnley, the sense of hospitality imbued in the

work was formed from Turner's creativity in portraying the subject. The representation of the building declared Fawkes' status as a Yorkshire landowner, but the composition of the painting also suggested a warm welcome and relaxed hospitality, and it is this wider, underlying message that elevated the work from mere objective record.

In considering *The Woodwalk*, and *View of Farnley Hall*, it can be seen that Turner took each motif on its individual merits and applied judgement in each case how to best represent the interests of his patron and engage viewers. Ruskin addresses this characteristic of the artist:

> Turner appears as a man of sympathy absolutely infinite – a sympathy so all-embracing, that I know nothing but that of Shakespeare be so comparable with it….. Nothing can possibly be so mean as that it will not interest his whole mind, and carry away his whole heart; nothing so great or solemn but that he can raise himself into harmony with it;
>
> This is the root of the man's greatness; and it follows as a matter of course that his sympathy must give him a subtle power of expression, even of the characters of mere material things, such as no other painter ever possessed. The man who can best feel the difference between rudeness and tenderness in humanity, perceives also more difference between the branches of an oak and a willow than anyone else would; and, therefore, necessarily the most striking character of the drawings themselves is the speciality of whatever they represent.[52]

The artist's mind being able to conceive each scene in such an individual manner was followed through in his practice. Fellow artist and diarist, Joseph Farington, noted in 1799 that Turner had:

> Sixty drawings now bespoke … He has no systematic process for making drawings – He avoids any particular mode that He may not fall into manner. By washing and occasionally rubbing out, He at last expresses in some degree the idea in his mind.[53]

Later in the same year Farington added to his diary reporting that 'Turner has no settled process but drives the colours about'.[54] It was this bespoke attitude to his work, enabled by his 'infinite sympathy' noted by Ruskin, that meant the painter could take a scene, as humble as a bit of rough woodland, or as grand as a new Georgian mansion, and depict it to portray an emotion in keeping with the patron's feelings for the place or some such other reading as Turner wanted. The breadth of work that Turner undertook for Fawkes, more

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[52] John Ruskin, *Pre-Raphaelitism* (New York: John Wiley, 1851), p. 36.

[53] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 4, p. 1255.

[54] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 4, p. 1303.

numerous and varied than he completed for any other patron, enabled this capacity to be revealed.

As mentioned, the body-colours did not only consist of pictures of the estate and exterior of Farnley Hall, but also watercolours of the rooms inside. Interior portraits were not within Turner's normal repertoire of work for patrons and so it is likely that these paintings would also have been requested by Fawkes. The artist did later produce interior portraits of Petworth House (as discussed later in the chapter) but as far as is known these did not enter Lord Egremont's art collection and seem to have been painted for the artist's own pleasure. Described as more 'crisply executed' than the Petworth interiors, and more clearly detailed, they, in a similar manner to the Farnley estate portraits, also had an informality.[55] The Farnley interior paintings were discussed in terms of subject and purpose in chapter 3; here it is sufficient to say that the paintings, all painted on grey paper in body-colour, some with black chalk, pen, and ink, all emphasised the hospitality and convivial atmosphere at Farnley. Again, whether Turner chose to depict the rooms in this manner or was directed by Fawkes in their treatment, the sketches were clearly valued by the patron and entered his art collection.

Aside from paintings of the exterior and interior of Farnley Hall, Turner, as we have already seen in previous chapters, also created many works concerning the landowner's own personal projects, including a series of watercolours pertaining to his collection of memorabilia from the English Civil Wars, illustrations for various publications he planned for poetry, a 'History of England', and for the family's *Ornithological Collection*. In this chapter the paintings are considered for what they reveal of the artist.

John Cam Hobhouse appeared somewhat surprised to find Turner at Farnley Hall busy working on one of these projects for Fawkes,

> I visited Farnley, where, besides the family of my friend Mr. Fawkes, I found several guests, and, amongst them, the most celebrated landscape painter of our time – I mean Turner, who was employed in making designs for a museum intended to contain relics of our civil wars, and to be called Fairfaxiana.[56]

[55] Youngblood, 'That House of Art', p. 17.

[56] Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse), *Recollections of a Long Life with Additional Extracts from his Private Diaries, Edited by his Daughter, Lady Dorchester* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 28, October 1823.

The quote reveals how landscape art, and Turner's place in it, had by now reached a certain point in artistic society's hierarchy of art genres. That this project was deemed menial by comparison is iterated by Finberg many years after the artists death,

> Some of the tasks he [Fawkes] set the great artist were quite unworthy of the genius and skill that were lavished upon them.
> …… Turner to oblige his friend, made a very curious and ingenious drawing of the cabinet at Farnley in which these relics were kept.
> …… Another curious drawing represents a document dated May 12, 1626 … Turner has taken immense pains to get all the details of his subject-matter perfectly clear and accurate. Each document is copied word for word, the signatures being carefully imitated, yet one has to take a magnifying glass to read the tiny and delicate calligraphy. Turner, we all know, was immensely ambitious and anxious about his artistic fame, but this drawing, which called for the exercise of none of his powers of invention and design, which, indeed, only demanded extraordinary care and patience and very ordinary powers of draughtsmanship, and which might very well have been entrusted to an inferior artist, was clearly not made for fame or ambition; neither was it made for money ….; it was evidently a labour of love, a trying and exacting piece of work done merely to give pleasure to his friend.[57]

Finberg's account was written when the historiography of Turner focused on his being the most accomplished landscape painter. Examples of work showing that the artist was gifted in other genres may have detracted from the narrative of his place in forwarding British landscape art and so they were ignored. This neglect contributed to the lack of awareness of the collaboration between Fawkes and Turner on these personal projects, and how Turner was applying his ability and adaptability to take any work and use his sensibility, creative, and imaginative skills to produce stimulating and purposeful images. Although seeming to indulge his friend's personal projects, the images were another element in their relationship of exchange, bringing pleasure to his friend, much as his friend brought benefit to him through hospitality, contacts, and opportunities for business, as well as through the personal pleasure of friendship.

The creation of the *Ornithological Collection* was analysed in detail in chapter 4. Here consideration is given to what the making of the bird paintings revealed of Turner and his relationship with Fawkes. Turner was not the only artist that created watercolours for the *Ornithological Collection*. Though his images portrayed more of an emotional character and were less of an aid for identification, the fact that Turner's paintings were included in the *Collection* attests to his patron's unremitting respect for his work. Indeed, in his initial

[57] Alexander J. Finberg, 'Turner at Farnley Hall', *The Studio – An Illustrated Magazine of Fine & Applied Art*, Vol. 55, no. 228, Mar.15, 1912, p. 90.

layout of the finished Turner watercolours in his 1819 exhibition Fawkes included two of the bird paintings, though these did not make the final hang.[58] Had they remained on display, knowledge of the artist's ability to portray birds beautifully with emotion and character would have become widespread, as appeared to have been Fawkes' original intention. The existence of the works confirms Turner's spirit to attempt a wide variety of genres, encouraged and given the opportunity by his patron, and perhaps egged on by the other artists involved in the project. Ignored for many years and still not a well-known aspect of the artist's work, the bird paintings have been held in high regard, even being described as 'more utterly inimitable' than anything else Turner had done.[59]

A further project of Fawkes', also described in chapter 4 is the production of six watercolours illustrating lines from poems by Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron, and an illustration to Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, together with the accompanying frontispiece.[60] Turner was a part of the poet, Samuel Rogers', literary circle. The artist met Byron and Moore at Rogers' home as early as 1811, yet these illustrations completed for Fawkes seem to have been the first set of literary illustrations the artist had made.[61] In years to come Turner was commissioned to produce illustrations to works by Sir Walter Scott (1832-36), Samuel Rogers' *Italy* and *Poems*, c.1826-32, works of Lord Byron (c.1823-1832), poems of Thomas Campbell, c.1835, Thomas Moore's *Epicurean* in 1839, and other works for individuals relating to particular works of literature.[62] Fawkes' poetic illustrations therefore have a prophetic identity, suggesting they were used as an example of how Turner could illustrate poetry and bring value to publications in the same way he added value to antiquarian and travel publications. It was the diversity of projects with which Fawkes engaged the artist, and the potential opportunities for new business that arose from them, that benefited Turner.

By 1815 the artist was spending significant amounts of time at Farnley. His visits were so important to him he even made the effort to be back from his sketching tour of 1817 for a

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[58] Lucy Bailey, Turner's Purposeful Patron: Walter Fawkes' 1819 Watercolour Exhibition, *Turner Society News*, no. 131, Spring 2019, pp. 16-20.

[59] Finberg, 'Turner at Farnley Hall', p. 91.

[60] Jan Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1993), pp. 32-3.

[61] Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes*, p. 32, Piggott also notes an oil painting Turner completed in the same year to illustrate Shakespeare's 'What you will'. The work Turner completed for various poets is discussed in Mordechai Omer's *Turner and the Poets, engravings and watercolours from his later period* (Greater London Council: London, 1975).

[62] Andrew Wilton, *The Life and Work of J. M. W. Turner* (London: Academy Editions, 1979), pp. 424-58.

shooting party. Turner was not best known for his shooting skills (his triumph regarding shooting a cuckoo still remembered in a letter he wrote in 1851[63]) so it could not have been the competition that attracted him. Rather, it was the opportunity to meet and connect with the sort of gentlemen that could not only be possible patrons or purchasers of his work, but who also offered amenable and stimulating social interaction. Much business would have been carried out in a relaxed manner on the shoot and during discussions over dinner and after (there is a caricature of men playing cards in the evening at Farnley, Fig. 5.11), for some a more amenable setting than the confines of an exhibition hall or Turner's own gallery in London. It should also be borne in mind that Turner also invested in stocks and would have been eager to pick up snippets of information revealed in conversations, that he could use to his benefit in his investments. For Turner, knowing Fawkes and being part of his social circle meant access to many influential businessmen, including Fawkes' own son-in-law, Charles Brandling, himself a landowner, MP, banker and coal owner, and another relative Sir William Pilkington, an accomplished artist himself (he contributed a watercolour to the Fawkes' *Ornithological Collection*), also became a patron of Turner's. Thomas Lister Parker, Fawkes' neighbour and antiquarian, bought an oil from Turner in 1807, and Lord Darlington, a keen huntsman and owner of Raby Castle in Northumberland (thought to have been connected to Fawkes through the sport), also became a patron, the artist painting a portrait of Darlington's country seat (Fig. 4.43).[64] Hence, these social occasions were not only a pleasant distraction from London for Turner, but they also represented potential business opportunities and increased wealth for the artist.

Fawkes must have been a generous host; reports of thirty or forty carriages parked at Farnley attests to the parties held there.[65] The landowners, politicians, and those the landowner mixed with in artistic, literary, and antiquarian circles as well as societies associated with geology and natural history, were all people with the potential to purchase or commission Turner's wares. Therefore, being affiliated with Fawkes offered new routes to advance the painters' business. Furthermore, the work Fawkes required from the artist pushed the boundaries of established artistic society, giving the artist a route of exposing

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[63] Gage, *Collected Correspondence*, p. 227.

[64] Thomas Lister Parker bought *Sheerness and the Isles of Sheppy with the junction of the Thames and Medway from the Nore*, see Hill, *Turner and Dr Whitaker*, p. 15.

[65] Edmund Bogg, *Higher Wharfedale: The Dale of Romance, from Ormscliffe to Cam Fell* (York: John Sampson, Coney Street, 1904), p. 90.

his talent not only in watercolour, but also in approaches such as the body-colour sketches, and genres such as the bird paintings, and literary illustrations.

There were other benefits too, such as access to Fawkes' collection of Old Masters. Turner apparently borrowed Fawkes' *Pallas and Athene* to use it as a study for painting figures.[66] The library at Farnley held a significant book collection including antiquarian studies and books of national costume, including George Walker's *The Costume of Yorkshire* (1814), thought to have been used by Turner for the costumes in his *Leeds* (1816), as discussed in chapter 3.[67] As well as the potential for new business and the social atmosphere, Turner must also have felt some comfort at Farnley, for when he revealed to Farington that he was feeling under par he said he was taking a trip to the Hall.[68]

As the relationship matured further complexities introduced by the growing financial crisis faced by Fawkes, and the need for him to maintain his status in both Yorkshire and London, became evident in the patronage and in the circumstances of the purchase in 1818 of Turner's *Dort or Dordrecht: The Dort packet-boat from Rotterdam becalmed* (Fig. 3.20).[69] The large oil painting was displayed at the RA Exhibition to great acclaim, hailed as 'one of the most magnificent pictures ever exhibited', marking the emergence of the artist as a colourist; it was described as being 'a very splendid picture' that 'almost 'puts your eyes out'.[70] Hawskworth, Fawkes' son, went to a private viewing at the Academy, and seeing the picture went home to his father to demand it be bought.[71] Fawkes initially refused, retorting he had already spent more on pictures than he was 'justified in doing', so revealing his desperate financial situation.[72] But Hawkey insisted, 'to cut off the entail – that [the *Dort*] is my price', (Fawkes needed his son's consent to break the entail

[66] Edith Mary Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley', typescript account dated c.1900, National Gallery Archives, London, ref: NG72/22/1.

[67] Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 119, and David Hill, *Turner and Leeds: Image of Industry*, (Leeds: Leeds Museums and Galleries, 2008), pp. 146-8.

[68] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 12, p. 4249.

[69] A full description of the place the painting had in Fawkes' art collection is given in chapter 3.

[70] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 15, p. 5191.

[71] Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley'.

[72] Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley'.

concerning the inheritance of the Farnley Estate), and so the picture was apparently purchased for £500 and hung in the Drawing Room at Farnley Hall.[73]

Fawkes' purchase would have marked him as a leading connoisseur of contemporary art, yet there are no records that Turner was ever paid for the sea-piece, and from previous notes in the artist's sketchbooks, such as in 1810 when the landowner was in debt to Turner by £1000, the artist was most likely well aware the bill could never be paid.[74] To have made a loan, part-loan, or even a gift of such a significant painting, where Fawkes stood to gain status in artistic society through its assumed purchase, attests to the value the artist placed on their relationship – or to an arrangement where Fawkes could bring Turner's talents to a wider artistic audience and national exposure, such as through an exhibition of the work the artist had completed for his patron.

The exhibition that Fawkes held in his London home in 1819 of his collection of works by British artists in watercolour, the greatest number by Turner, was the culmination of their relationship of exchange. The display of forty finished watercolours by the artist in the East Drawing Room, itself recorded in a painting by Turner, as well as the twenty sketches of Wharfedale and Yorkshire, exposed the artist's skill in watercolour to a much wider audience than ever before. Critics admired the body-colour works as worthy pictures in themselves, and also for offering an insight into Turner's method.[75] Turner himself revelled in the occasion. In his memoirs the art critic, William Paulet Carey, recalled the artist circling the rooms where his works were on display, describing how Turner,

> slowly worked his rough way through the mass, he attracted every eye in the brilliant crowd, and seemed to me like a Roman General, the principal figure in his own triumph. Perhaps no British Artist ever retired from an exhibition of his works, with so much reason for unmixed satisfaction, or more generally proofs of well deserved admiration from the public.[76]

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[73] Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley'; James Hamilton, *Turner: A Life* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997), p. 186; Marion Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner connection and the art collection at Farnley Hall, Otley, 1792-1936: A Great Estate Enhanced and Supported', *Journal of Northern History*, Vol. 26, Issue 1, January 1990, pp. 131-59.

[74] See https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:34, accessed 25 June 2021; Hamilton, *Turner: A Life*, p. 186.

[75] 'Mr. Fawkes' Exhibition, Spring Garden', *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts Science etc*., Vol. 3, Saturday 22 May 1819.

[76] William Carey, *Some Memoirs of the Patronage and Progress of the Fine Arts in England and Wales* (London: Saunders and Ottley, 1826), p. 147.

With reviews included in papers across the country, Turner's abilities were nationally acknowledged. It was in providing this showcase for Turner to display his work that was the distinguishing feature that situated Fawkes as Turner's most important patron. Carey's report of the attention Turner held when he worked through the crowd viewing his work, revealed a commanding presence. At the recent symposium, 'J. M. W. Turner: State of the Field', there was some debate concerning when the shift from Turner's early work to later artistic style occurred.[77] The paintings Turner completed for Fawkes were clearly from his earlier period since Fawkes died in 1825, however, far from limiting Turner to a particular style, it was Fawkes who presented Turner with an opportunity, the impact of which was to alter his perception not only of himself, but also for his art and ambitions. The 1819 Exhibition was a turning point in Turner's life, marking a shift from his early work to be more ambitious and progressive with his painting. Giving Turner the opportunity to showcase his ability at such an event in such fashionable and elegant surroundings made Fawkes Turner's most important patron in terms of the impact his exhibition had on the artists' work and life.

Turner's last visit to Farnley appears to have been for the best part of a month, running over November and December of 1824. He never returned to Farnley again following Fawkes' death in October 1825, though he was invited many times by the estate's new owner, Francis Hawksworth Fawkes. It was said that Turner could not talk of Farnley after the death of his friend without his voice faltering.[78] Farnley Hall was clearly an important place for the artist who had not only lost a dear friend who had been devoted to enhancing his livelihood and interests, but also a place of refuge. As Hawksworth later remembered,

> my recollection of him [Turner] in those days refers to the fun, frolic, and shooting we enjoyed together, and which, whatever may be said by others of his temper and disposition, have proved to me that he was in his hours of distraction from his professional labours, as kindly-minded a man and as capable of enjoyment and fun of all kinds as any that I ever knew.[79]

The account by Hawksworth depicts the artist as good natured and good humoured. However, there was also the suggestion in the quote that Turner may not always have behaved in that manner, and that Hawksworth was carefully choosing his words to present

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[77] Recordings of the papers presented and panel discussions are to be available online from Yale British Center for Art. The papers on 23 September 2023 in particular refenced Fawkes' patronage and Turner's early work.

[78] Finberg, *Turner's Water-colours at Farnley Hall*, p. 17.

[79] Thornbury, *Life of J. M. W. Turner*, Vol. 2, p. 52.

the artist's best character. This judicious representation could be pointing up a final aspect of the relationship of exchange between Fawkes and Turner, that of protecting or promoting their skills, achievements, and reputations after their deaths.

Turner was mindful of his posthumous stature. Although he was careful to keep his techniques and methods secret during his lifetime, he also wanted people to know about them after he had died.[80] It seems he may have used the Fawkes family to reveal aspects of his practice in various incidences that occurred during stays at the Hall.[81] Two such particular happenings took place in front of Fawkes' son, Hawksworth, where the boy was witness to the techniques of the artist. The first concerns the sketching of the storm over the Yorkshire dales, retold earlier in the chapter where it was suggested that Turner took a scrap of a sketch and turned it into a historic genre painting, *Hannibal Crossing the Alps*. The second concerns the creation of the watercolour, *First Rate taking in Stores* (1818),

> … one morning at breakfast Walter Fawkes said to him [Turner], 'I want you to make me a drawing of the ordinary dimensions that will give some idea of the size of a man of war' – The idea hit Turner's fancy, for with a chuckle he said to Walter Fawkes' eldest son, then a boy of about 15 'Come along Hawkey and we will see what we can do for Papa' and the boy sat by his side the whole morning and witnessed the evolution of 'The First Rate taking in Stores'. His description of the way Turner went to work was very extra-ordinary, he began by pouring wet paint on to the paper till it was saturated, he tore, he scratched at it in a kind of frenzy and the whole thing was chaos – but gradually And as if by magic the lovely ship, with all its exquisite minutia, came into being and by luncheon time the drawing was taken down in triumph.[82]

Turner's manner of working was depicted as being 'very extra-ordinary', tearing, scratching and, 'in a kind of frenzy', magically producing a magnificent painting. The description suited the definition of genius as erratic referenced at the start of this chapter.[83] Turner was presented as a magician here, able to pull these images from wet paper at incredible speed.[84]

Another child, a daughter of Fawkes, is said to have shown Turner one of her drawings 'hoping to get some advice'. His reply, 'to put it in a jug of water' apparently hurt her feelings, but the story goes that in later years she realised that he had revealed one of his

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[80] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 10.

[81] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 11 and p. 56.

[82] Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley'.

[83] See footnote 2.

[84] The creation of the painting is also discussed by Leo Costello, *J. M. W. Turner and the Subject of History* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: [Ashgate, 2012], Routledge, 2016), pp. 81-3.

secrets to her and that she had often taken the advice 'with good effect as far as softening went'.[85] In these anecdotes as well as the artist revealing his methods, there was also a sense of pride in the accounts that the artist had chosen to do this whilst at Farnley. It was in the family's interest to position themselves in the retelling of these stories as the special factor or situation that encouraged the artist to share his secrets with them. For Turner to have shown his genius at Farnley, associating the Fawkes family with the trust of the artist, insinuates that they held a distinguished role in his life. Therefore, it was fitting for Hawksworth to recount the painter's life at the Hall as cheerful and relaxed. That Turner did have a genuine affection for the family was shown by his continuing to keep in touch with them up until the year of his death.

The relationship between Fawkes and Turner was therefore extraordinary seeming even to extend beyond Fawkes' death. The loss of his friend and the social interaction it had offered must have been keenly felt by Turner and perhaps was a driving force behind his renewed contact with Lord Egremont, a landowner who had up until around 1813 been an enthusiastic patron of the artist. The patronage, rekindled in 1827, led to Turner making extended stays at Egremont's country seat, Petworth House, enjoying the social milieu that the host supported there, as well having his own room in which to paint. The patronage therefore offers a comparison with that experienced between the painter and Fawkes.

## Turner at Petworth

The fact that Lord Egremont and Fawkes had comparable interaction with the artist is perhaps not surprising when their backgrounds are considered. Both men's fathers were political figures, both allied to the Whigs, and both had inherited their country seats and developed an interest in improving agricultural production.[86] Whereas Fawkes continued an interest in politics, Egremont focused his energies on farming his estate, becoming a leading agriculturalist in Britain. The landowners' seats had been improved in a Palladian style and both estates had been remodelled, in the case of Petworth by 'Capability' Brown. Egremont's father had established a significant collection of Old Masters and, with his

[85] Fawkes, 'Turner at Farnley'.

[86] See chapter 1 for Fawkes' investments in the improvement of agricultural production, and for Egremont see Alun Howkins, 'J. M. W. Turner at Petworth: Agricultural Improvement and the politics of Landscape', in John Barrell (ed.), *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 249.

sudden death in 1763, his son George O'Brien Wyndham, the 3rd Earl of Egremont, continued to build the collection becoming known as a benevolent and enigmatic patron of the arts. He opened his home to artists of all backgrounds to enjoy and study his collections of art and sculpture, to use it for work or leisure.

In a similar manner to Turner's first visit to Yorkshire in 1797, the painter visited the village of Petworth in 1792, many years before being invited to Petworth House in 1809. In the same vein as Fawkes, Egremont was purchasing works from the artist by at least 1805. *Ships bearing up for Anchorage*, appears to have been selected by Egremont as a study, chosen for the finished work according to notes in the artist's sketchbook, similar to the 'F' for Fawkes marked in the painter's sketchbooks, to note sketches to be worked up to finished paintings.[87]

Many of Egremont's purchases were depictions of locations featuring the Thames, *Windsor Castle from the Thames*, *The Thames near Windsor, The Thames at Eton, The Confluence of the Thames and the Medway*, *Near the Thames' Lock, Windsor*, and *The Thames at Weybridge*. The waterway reflected the Earl's interest in economic progress, allied to his interest in agricultural reform, the river offering easy routes for transportation of raw materials, fuel, and to get produce to market. Two other paintings joined the collection during this time, *The Forest of Bere*, and *Margate*. *The Forest of Bere* would have been of interest since it lay within Egremont's estates, and the painting depicts men stripping bark that would have been used in the processes of tanning and caulking, particularly pertinent to Egremont since caulking was essential to the ship building process (sealing joins in timber). The depictions of specific locations that referenced Egremont's own economic and agricultural interests revealed Turner's approach to the landscape works, 'elevating' them as was his manner to suit his patron.

All of the paintings bought by Egremont were in oil, in contrast to Fawkes' initial purchases from the artist which were mountain scenes in watercolour. Furthermore, the works Egremont purchased had a style reminiscent, or following the tradition, of landscapes by Old Masters such as Claude and Poussin. Egremont owned Claude's *Landscape with Jacob and Laban* (1654, Fig. 5.12), and the paintings he bought from Turner, especially *Narcissus and Echo* (1804), suggest that Egremont favoured the artists' works that followed, yet brought up to date, the style of the Old Masters. While Fawkes

[87] See http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-ships-bearing-up-for-anchorage-the-egremont-seapiece-t03868, accessed 29 June 2021.

was buying similar works (such as *Bonneville*), he was also investing in watercolours as an innovative method of depiction. Egremont preferred British works that followed the taught practice of emulating and learning from past masters.

In 1808 Turner was invited by another patron, Sir John Leicester to visit his country seat Tabley House, Cheshire, with a view to make the portraits of his estate. The following summer (1809) two oil paintings of the expansive estate landscape, featuring the house, (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10) were displayed at the Royal Academy attracting extravagant praise, which judged them superior to the work of Old Masters.[88] Turner became sought after for estate portraiture and Egremont invited him to Petworth House.[89]

During that first visit Turner made two sketches of Petworth house and many more of nearby Cowdray Castle. *Dewy Morning*, (Fig. 5.13) was exhibited at the Royal Academy the following year and was accordingly purchased by the Earl. The oil, *Cockermouth Castle* (Fig. 5.14), also the product of the 1809 visit, was displayed in Turner's own gallery in 1810 before entering Egremont's collection. Though this initial visit seems to have been successful for Turner in terms of works sold, visits to Petworth seem to have ceased by 1813, and the relationship between the patron and artist faded, perhaps fuelled by the issue of an anonymous *Catalogue Raisonné* in 1815 that mocked the directors and their choice of works hung at the exhibition of the British Institution that year.[90] Since the Institution was established to promote the sale of work by British artists, the 1815 exhibition of work by Flemish and Dutch Masters came under criticism for abandoning its original purpose. The *Catalogue Raisonné* ridiculed the works of art displayed, denouncing the directors' motivation to enhance the value of their own art collections, causing some upset in artistic society.[91]

Even though Lord Egremont was not personally attacked, he was implicated when Turner produced a work which was deemed 'dull' as a contemporary partner to the Earl's Old Master, *Landscape with Jacob and Laban*, by Claude.[92] Turner's work was considered a

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[88] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 49.

[89] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 49.

[90] The *Catalogue Raisonné* was an anonymous satirical review of the 1815 exhibition staged by the British Institution. For the *Catalogue* see https://archive.org/details/catalogueraisone00rein, accessed 31 December 2022.

[91] Rumours circulated that Fawkes was its author, but it was later attributed to Ramsey Reinagle and Robert Smirke. See Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 13, pp. 4642-52.

[92] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, pp. 69-72.

snub and dragged Egremont's name into the associated squabble with the Institution. Whether this was indeed the reason for the lack of patronage between the men is uncertain. The Earl sent his cheque to Turner for the Artist's General Benevolent Institution in 1816, but aside from that there was no further known contact until after the death of Fawkes.

Records suggest that Turner and Egremont next met at the de Tabley sale in Hill Street, Mayfair in July 1827. The sale of Sir John Leicester's art collection offered Turner the opportunity to buy back two of his paintings, *Shipwreck* and *Blacksmith's Shop*, and Egremont bought the painter's *Tabley, the Seat of Sir J. F. Leicester, Bart.: Calm Morning*.[93] The encounter seems to have resulted in the painter's trip to Petworth that Autumn, when he created the famous series of body-colour estate and interior views of the country house (considered below), and also when the commission was mooted to create four landscape views in oil to be displayed in Egremont's famous dining room that was lavishly decorated with carvings by Grinling Gibbons.[94] The landscapes were to be positioned in Gibbon's carved frames, below family portraits and at a height just above table level (Fig. 5.15). The low position of the landscapes in a room for dining meant the composition of the works needed a high degree of finish to withstand the close viewing the location invited. Six sample works were not taken any further before the final four were decided upon: *The Lake Petworth: Sunset, Fighting Bucks* (Fig, 5.16), *Petworth Park: a Stag Drinking* (Fig. 5.17), *Chichester Canal* (Fig. 5.18), and *Brighton from the Sea* (Fig. 5.19).

These four images celebrated the investments Egremont had not only made in his estate, in terms of agricultural improvement and his benevolence as a squire (though masking his strict terms of compliance), but also his financial investment in schemes designed to support the economic progress of the country. *Fighting Bucks* featuring a cricket match being played in the park, also drew attention to the range of breeds of sheep, pigs, and cattle the Earl had introduced into his deer park, alluding to his bringing leisure grounds into agricultural use in a Georgic manner, as well as his activities to breed more productive species. The cricket match portrays the social event that the Earl held annually for his estate workers – in 1834 it was thought to have had over 6000 attend.[95]

[93] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 72.

[94] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, pp. 72-3.

[95] Howkins, 'J. M. W. Turner at Petworth', p. 249.

The painting, *Chichester Canal*, recalls Egremont's financial investment to build a canal from the south coast of England to London, to allow safe passage of ships carrying gold to the capital, away from the pirates off the Kent coast. Though the canal was never finished, the work still reflects the importance that shipping had for the country, in terms of economic improvement and national defence, showing a patriotic endeavour. The final work, *Brighton from the Sea*, depicts the recently built chain pier, another feature associated with supporting maritime trade, and another project in which Egremont invested. The four paintings together celebrate the Earl's achievements to improve agriculture and trade, declaring his patriotic credentials. These were the last works Egremont purchased from Turner. Even though Turner created many paintings of the estate and interior of Petworth House, the Earl did not take ownership of any of them. However, it was these body-colour estate and interior paintings that arguably had a greater impact on Turner's historiography than the four great commissioned landscape works.

Turner had only very rarely painted interiors, the set from Farnley being the most significant, though there were earlier interiors of buildings such as *Interior of a Gothic Church* (c.1797, Fig. 5.20). The Petworth estate and interior portraits were in body-colour and painted on toned paper, as for many of those created at Farnley, but the style the artist adopted for the series in 1827 was very different from the comparatively more crisp, detailed images painted at Farnley.[96] The later series ranged from the barest of sketch, such as *Yellow Curtains*, (Fig. 5.21), to more 'finished' pieces such as *The South Wall of the Square Dining-Room* (Fig. 5.22), which despite its loose style had sufficient detail to be used later as a guide to reposition paintings in the room.[97]

The interior images Turner created at Farnley were produced in collaboration with Fawkes, but this was not the case at Petworth. As far as is known, Egremont did not commission Turner to create any views of the rooms (though such works were painted by other artists at a much later date[98]). It seems Turner painted the images for his own satisfaction, for the works were never displayed and never became part of the Petworth collection, instead staying in the ownership of the artist and mostly becoming part of the Turner Bequest. Likewise, for the estate portraits, these also seem to have been painted for Turner's own fulfilment. In a similar vein to the Farnley estate pictures, the Petworth body-colours show

[96] Youngblood, 'That House of Art', p. 17.

[97] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 81.

[98] The Hon. Mrs Percy (Madeline Wyndham) painted *The Marble Hall*, c.1865, gouache and watercolour on paper, see Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 90.

particular walks, scenes, or settings around the estate, featuring animals, perhaps a single rider glimpsed between trees, or people stood around a pond. They are not the wide, expansive images of the estate portraits commissioned by the Earl for the Carved Room.

The similarity between the interior and estate portraits at Farnley and Petworth is the nature of their intimacy. Though painted in different styles and for different purposes, both sets of images show an informal use of rooms, and the land, for relaxed, leisure pursuits. They reveal an interest the artist had for interior portraits and recording moments of life. The Earl may not have known about these works, or not valued them sufficiently to join his collection, but Fawkes commissioned and directed their subject and composition, and certainly used them to promote his country property. In this way, the Yorkshire landowner had a contrasting approach to the Earl in how to use art to promote his status both in artistic society, as well as to bring the qualities of his Yorkshire estate to a wider audience particularly in London.

At the time Turner produced these works it would have been unlikely that they held any interest to a patron such as Lord Egremont who was successfully enmeshed in traditional societal values and governance. They were however, imperative to a patron such as Fawkes, whose position was under threat and sought survival through maintaining status in artistic society to enable him to influence societal reform and so in the longer term, protect his family's future as landowners.

Despite the Earl's apparent lack of interest in having any more work by Turner, the artist continued to be a regular visitor to Petworth until the Earl's death in 1837, and as in the case of his friend Fawkes, the painter could not bring himself to visit the home of his friend after his passing. Charlotte, the Earl's granddaughter remembered,

> They were always good friends, though they sometimes spoke their minds very openly to each other …. But this never disturbed their friendship and Turner used to say that he put all of his strength in the pictures that he painted for Lord Egremont.[99]

Accounts of Turner at Petworth describe him as very pleasant there, 'full of fun' and 'fond of amusement, cheerful living, and hilarity, and that his 'tenderness towards his friends was almost womanly'.[100] Indeed there is a report of Turner being present very early one morning to see off his friend, the poet Samuel Rogers and his sister. Rogers apparently appreciated the gesture to which Turner responded, 'I could not think of letting two such

[99] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 17.

[100] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 27.

old friends go away without saying 'goodbye''.[101] Another account from the painter George Jones who hurt his leg at Petworth, shows how familiar Turner was with the operations of the house; he had the house-keeper, butler and gardener all attend to Jones' ailment, with the attention 'of a parent to a child'.[102]

Perhaps a reason for Turner's attention to Egremont's other guests was due to the Earl's style of hosting. Though he was generous in terms of accommodation and sustenance, often with twenty or thirty sitting down to dine each evening, guests at Petworth were left to their own devices during the day, with the dinner table being the 'only point of reunion',

> Petworth was open to all his friends …. Provided they did not interfere with his habits or require any personal attention at his hands .. Petworth was consequently like a great Inn. Everybody came when they thought fit, and departed without notice or leave-taking.[103]

The initial attraction to Petworth for Turner and other artists alike, aside from touting for patronage, must have been the unfettered access to the art collection the Earl had amassed. Including Old Masters and a significant number of works by contemporary artists, Egremont was happy for artists to study from, copy, or move paintings to their rooms. Petworth offered comparable facilities to an academy and artists took advantage of the Earl's hospitality, and enjoyed long residences, even bringing their wives and children.[104]

Guests were also able to entertain themselves in sporting activities on the estate. It was known that Turner enjoyed fishing on the lake in front of the house with his friend, the sculptor Sir Francis Chantrey, and there are records of Egremont arranging for carriages to take guests to shoot.[105] However, the Earl's passion was horse racing, having one of the most successful stables in the history of the sport, and he shared this pursuit with his guests.[106] There would have been ample opportunity for the accompanying artists to meet other landowners and promote their wares at the race course if they didn't have that opportunity at the Earl's estate.

In terms of the relationship between Egremont and Turner, it was one of friendship and mutual respect. The Earl was happy for any artist to use his home and collection to serve

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[101] Youngblood, 'That House of Art', p. 18.

[102] Youngblood, 'That House of Art', p. 18.

[103] Quoted in Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 20 and p. 23.

[104] Youngblood, 'That House of Art', p.18.

[105] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 25.

[106] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 25.

their needs, but he does not seem to have worked to promote the skills of any particular artist, or have any interest in what any of them did as long as they did not defame his name (as may have occurred with the *Catalogue Raisonée*). He was selfless in that he offered his collection and hospitality for very little in return, except perhaps evening social engagement, though he only bought works he liked and not necessarily those that artists may have created especially with him in mind.[107]

The quote from Egremont's daughter suggested the friendship with Turner was particularly important to the Earl, perhaps because Turner offered stimulating intellectual debate in a similar manner to the discussions enjoyed between Fawkes and the artist.[108] However, there does not seem to be the concern on the part of the Earl to actively promote the talents of Turner, which was noted in the relationship with Fawkes. Turner promoted Egremont through his paid role as a painter, which he carried out diligently in the four commissioned landscape works that documented the Earl's patriotic endeavours in improving agricultural production and trade opportunities. The business relationship between the men was that of a traditional patronage, the exchange of art for money, whereas that between Fawkes and Turner became one where artistic talent could be exchanged for more intangible benefits. In the latter relationship, the men were reforming the traditional pattern of patronage in a manner reflecting the changing methods of business found in the burgeoning trading centres where individuals thrived through being part of a community invested in mutual support through connection.

Having considered how important Fawkes' friendship was in Turner's career it is surprising that his patronage of the artist has received relatively little attention. The reasoning could in part be due to the fame Turner achieved. A review of the historiography of the artist reveals how the initial attention paid to Turner's landscape works, including those at Farnley, waned, and the works produced later in his life, particularly those produced at Petworth, became of great interest, creating a strong association with Egremont who consequently became one of Turner's most well-known patrons.

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[107] Rowell, Warrell and Blayney Brown, *Turner at Petworth*, p. 25.

[108] Youngblood, 'That House of Art', p. 16, ascertains that Turner's great genius won him a privileged status at Petworth.

## Turner's Historiography and Fawkes' Place in it

In the later decades of Turner's life his style of depiction evolved further from the loose brushwork and adventurous use of colour seen in the Petworth interior portraits. Criticism of the later works, when contrasted with those of Turner's younger years with fine brushwork and crisp detail, affronted the artist. The art critic, John Ruskin, who was familiar with Turner's work from the watercolours in his own father's collection and with the artist's illustrations in Samuel Roger's *Italy* (1830), believed Turner represented nature more rigorously than any other artist and, as art critic, defended the artist's ability.[109]

In the first of five volumes of his *Modern Painters* (the first volume published in 1843, and the rest up to 1860), Ruskin considered what principles constituted great landscape works, and applied them to Old Masters of landscape as well as contemporary artists. Under the category of 'truth of space' Ruskin said of Turner,

> by showing that the foreground might be sunk for the distance, and that it was possible to express immediate proximity to the spectator. … And the impression of these pictures was always great and enduring, as it was simple and truthful. I do not know anything in art which has expressed more completely the force and feeling of nature in these particular scenes.[110]

In all areas Ruskin found Turner to be the most successful of artists. Concluding the first volume, the writer admits that he had only proved Turner to be 'above' other men in knowledge of truth, and had not given any conception of the artist's rank as a 'Painter of Nature'. However, he added,

> It stands equally to reason that the man, who, as far as argument or demonstration can go, is found invariably truthful, will, in all probability, be truthful to the last line, and shadow of a line. And such is, indeed, the case with every touch of this consummate artist; the essential excellence, all that constitutes the real and exceeding value of his works, is beyond and above expression: it is a truth inherent in every line, and breathing in every hue, too delicate and exquisite to admit of any kind of proof, nor to be ascertained except by the highest of tests, the keen feeling attained by extended knowledge and long study.[111]

In terms of including Turner's later works, Ruskin defended them as the artist still following the same principles of depiction as shown in his earlier works,

> Turner's object was never to give a literal or geographical account of anything, but to perpetuate the mental impression he had received from it. This mental

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[109] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 68.

[110] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters* (London: George Allen, 3rd Ed., 1900) Vol. 1, pp. 199-200.

[111] Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Vol. 1, p. 435.

> impression could penetrate to the essential truth of a place more satisfactorily than the most fastidious copy of its appearance.[112]

Associating this exceptional painter with Fawkes and Farnley, Ruskin mentions several times in the first volume of *Modern Painters* the influence of the scenery of Yorkshire on Turner, and the paintings by the artist, now in the possession of Francis Hawksworth Fawkes.[113] However, it was the critic's publication, *Pre-Raphaelitism* (1851) that paid particular homage to the Fawkes family at Farnley Hall and the works Turner created there. Not only was *Pre-Raphaelitism* dedicated to Walter Fawkes' son, Francis Hawksworth Fawkes, recognising the advantage that his kindness and friendship had granted the writer, but also there were also references to sketches at Farnley that provided examples of the points Ruskin was claiming for the artist. These included Turner creating 'records of seen facts; never compositions', illustrated by the repeated use of a wood-walk on the Farnley Estate as a motif in 'no fewer than three of the most elaborate compositions in his *Liber Studiorum'*.[114] Ruskin also relayed the story of *First Rate* being created in one morning at Farnley, attesting to how Turner's skill came easily to him, and suggesting that if other painters found composition tricky then perhaps they were not a great artist.[115] For Ruskin, Turner's expertise was at this time connected with Farnley.

This connection continued after Turner's death in a biography written by Walter Thornbury in 1862, *Life of J. M. W. Turner, R. A.* The writer had consulted with Fawkes' son, Hawksworth, and retold his stories of the artist at Farnley, including the hastily scribbled sketch of the storm over the Chevin becoming *Hannibal Crossing the Alps*, and the exquisitely detailed *First Rate* completed in a morning before enjoying an afternoon shoot.[116] The stories from Farnley portrayed an eccentric performer perfecting his craft with brute force and something akin to magic. As discussed earlier in the chapter, Turner deliberately staged these events in the knowledge they would be recounted after his death, perpetuating his reputation and legacy of genius.

However, by the late nineteenth century Ruskin's view of Turner's naturalistic landscape depictions became challenged. Not only was Ruskin's own credibility questioned as a

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[112] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 70, from a manuscript of 1878 that Ruskin prepared for a lecture to students at Oxford University.

[113] Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Vol. 1, pp. 133-4, 137.

[114] Ruskin, *Pre-Raphaelitism*, pp. 45–9.

[115] Ruskin, *Pre-Raphaelitism*, pp. 50-1.

[116] Thornbury, *Life of J. M. W. Turner*, Vol. 2, p. 134.

result of him losing a legal case in 1878 brought by Whistler (Ruskin had stated the American's work was not art), but also the publication in 1879 of Philip Hamerton's *The Life of Turner*, which introduced the concept that Turner was never a naturalist and was always an artist. Hamerton believed Turner's compositions were motivated to realise some purely artistic conception, not to copy what he saw, and in this way he was an expressionist.[117] The change in perception of Turner's work directed attention to the pictorial effects in his art, and this together with declarations by critics such as Mason (1911), led to the suggestion that Turner had already established the theories that the Impressionists later developed for themselves.[118]

These notions were being discussed at around the time Turner's bequest was being reconsidered on the basis of whether to display the artist's unfinished works previously deemed 'too slight and too much damaged for exhibition'.[119] With the change in perception of the artist's work it was decided in 1906 that twenty-one unfinished works that had been cleaned, repaired and reframed were to be displayed at the Tate Gallery, Millbank. Their exhibition acted to strengthen the artist's association with modernist tendencies, supporting the notion that he foreshadowed Impressionism.[120] Discussions in artistic society considered Turner's art within recent developments in artistic practice. Impressionism was now being accepted as an established genre, and critics were looking for clues that fitted with a progressive linear narrative and Turner's later and unfinished works, they believed, revealed an initial, founding step in that process.

These discussions coincided with developments in the collections of both Fawkes and Lord Egremont. In 1890 many works from the Farnley collection, including Old Masters and Turner's Rhine watercolours, were sold at auction. This was the first of many sales; in some instances individual works were sold, and occasionally several pieces were let go at the same sale. In the case of Petworth, the house came under the umbrella of the National Trust in 1947, the art collection being transferred to the care of the Tate Gallery in 1984.

Following the end of the World Wars the British Institution was involved in staging an exhibition in Chicago in 1946, and a further exhibition touring seven European cities in

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[117] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 79.

[118] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 95.

[119] Quoted in Smiles, *Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 129

[120] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 104

1947-8. Both featured body-colour works that Turner created of rooms at Petworth.[121] *Music in the White Library* (Fig. 5.23), attracted critics' comments regarding its freedom of handling and Fauvist conception, considering it from the position of Turner as modernist.[122] The other association that arose from the staging of the exhibitions regarded the paintings coming from Petworth, leading to Egremont's patronage of Turner being more widely recognised than that of Fawkes.

However, in more recent years, especially since the revised biography of Turner by Alex Finberg in 1961, there has been a reconsideration of the artist's practice, studying evidence rather than fanciful stories and conjecture.[123] Finberg's account (originally published in 1939) stripped the speculation of previous biographies and studies of Turner, and reviewed the work of the artist in his time and place. John Gage, in 1969, also sought to disengage the painter from the modernist narrative and instead demonstrated the value of engaging with his art to understand the artist's own intellectual preoccupations.[124]

In more recent years, scholars such as David Hill, Anne Lyles, James Hamilton and most recently Sam Smiles, have continued this approach, studying Turner's work and life in his professional situation, as well in the artistic and wider society.[125] This has brought a renewed attention to Fawkes and Farnley. Although there has been research and study into the patronage and friendship of the landowner and the artist, with Fawkes being considered a significant patron and friend, any conclusion has stopped short of identifying the mutually supportive relationship of exchange shared between the men.[126]

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[121] *Interior at Petworth* exhibited at Chicago, and *Music at Petworth* for the 1947-8 tour, see Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 175 and p. 177.

[122] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 179.

[123] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 116-17.

[124] Smiles, *The Making of a Modern Artist*, p. 119, referring to John Gage, *Colour in Turner, Poetry and Truth* (New York and Washington: Frederick A Praeger, 1969).

[125] References to publications by David Hill, Anne Lyles and James Hamilton are made in the relevant chapters of this thesis. Sam Smiles recently published *The Late Works of J. W. M. Turner: The Artist and his Critics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020).

[126] David Hill, in his various publications concerning Turner, such as *Turner in Yorkshire*; *Turner and Dr. Whitaker*; *In Turner's Footsteps through the hills and dales of Northern England* (London: John Murray, 1984), p. 17-22, has carried out one of the most in-depth studies so far of Fawkes' patronage of Turner. Anne Lyles' *Turner and Natural History: The Farnley Project* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1989), is also valuable.

While the study of their relationship is perhaps more difficult than that between the artist and Egremont due to the spread nature of the art collection, focused research of the evidence, not just from the works of art, but from documents such as letters, leaflets, and diaries, has enabled the important role of Fawkes in Turner's life to be better understood and appreciated.

## Conclusion

This chapter opened quoting Fawkes' dedication to Turner following the success of the 1819 exhibition of watercolours. The dedication revealed the joy Fawkes had experienced from his relationship with the artist, and the benefits he hoped Turner would gain in return, in terms of fame and fortune. Clearly a relationship of exchange, the personal sentiments of the text showed the friendship between the men, evident not only in this dedication but also in other written evidence.

At his death Fawkes had over two hundred watercolours and six oil paintings by the artist, pointing to his importance as a collector of Turner's work. Starting in the same manner as many patronages, including that between Lord Egremont and Turner, Fawkes' patronage of the artist developed over time into a liaison of exchange, where each man acted to assist in the aspirations of the other. Fawkes needed to maintain status in society to enable him to have political influence, and Turner wanted new patrons, business interests, and social and intellectual stimulation. Through their connection each was able to support the other's ambitions. In this way, compared to the traditional pattern of patronage as displayed between Lord Egremont and the artist, that with Fawkes was more akin to the practices of merchants, seeking opportunities within their own communities to support and develop trade. In this manner Fawkes was challenging the traditional idea of patronage, taking a wider and more liberal view of how business could be done.[127] Whereas others saw traditional patronage being replaced by the purchase of exhibited works, associated with greater freedom of expression for artists but also a more insecure business model, Fawkes and Turner were reforming the practice in an alternative and nuanced manner of reciprocal exchange.

[127] It should be noted that Fawkes also seems to have used this idea of exchange with other artists, such as Robert Hills, who visited Farnley for his health and to study the character of the deer, see John Lewis Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour Society*' (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1891), Vol. 1, p. 311.

Daring in the works he amassed in his collection, including sketches and genres that Turner had not previously displayed, Fawkes was pushing the boundaries of what constituted collectable art, and what could be bartered in exchange for it. Even being financially constrained, Fawkes became known as the purchaser of one of Turner's most admired paintings, *Dort,* inviting the suggestion that it could have been traded for some other agreement. Farnley was important to the artist more from the intangible gains to be made there.

The evidence from diaries, sketchbooks, and letters shows that Turner spent much time with Fawkes at Farnley and in London, and that the friendship was consistent for over twenty years until the landowner's death, attesting to the significance of Fawkes in Turner's life. It is curious then, that two books have been published on Turner at Petworth under the patronage of Lord Egremont, yet there has been no single published study covering the works undertaken for Fawkes by Turner during their relationship. This apparent lack of attention is attributed not only to what has happened to the art collection since the death of the collector, but also to the historiography of Turner. For at least the first six decades of the twentieth century, the focus on the perception that the artist foreshadowed Impressionism was to the detriment of the public's awareness of his earlier works, including those created at Farnley.

Modern studies in the latter decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, have given greater importance to evidence in terms of the works of art themselves, the conditions of their making, documents, and diaries. As seen in this chapter this approach has provided a fresh account, shedding a different light on the artist and his relationships, demonstrating that through such rigorous research the significance of Fawkes in Turner's life is clear. Not only did Fawkes provide a web of connection from which Turner could secure new commissions and patrons, but he also gave Turner the opportunity to showcase his work, that led to a shift in the artist's work, and a departure in style to embrace a new ambition and direction. No other act by a patron had such an impact on Turner's life and work.

For the Fawkes family, the relationship between Walter Fawkes and Turner has meant that the family has been able to maintain Farnley Hall as their family home. Lord Egremont may have been the most financially secure of the two men in the nineteenth century, but developments leading up to the mid twentieth century meant that the family could no longer financially support Petworth House and negotiations with the National Trust led to the property joining their portfolio. In contrast, the Fawkes family, after having

established a trust in 1819 and ending the practice of entail, worked to ensure the financial security of the estate.[128] With inheritance tax demands, agricultural depressions and the paying out of siblings, the family were able raise funds through the sale of parts of the art collection to bolster finances and secure their family home. Turner's legacy to Fawkes and his family has been long lasting and valuable.

[128] Marion Sharples, *The Fawkes Family and their Estates in Wharfedale, 1819-1936* (Leeds: The Thoresby Society, 1995), p. 29.

## CONCLUSION

> Mr Walter Fawkes was a gentleman gifted with more than ordinary talents, and during a great part of his life took an active share in the public concerns of the country, and more particularly of his native county. … To say that Mr Fawkes had failings, is only to observe that he partook of the common lot of humanity. He is now, however, no more; and whatever slight blemishes may have been in his character or conduct are lost, and will be forgotten in the many splendid and endearing qualities which rendered him an ornament to his country, and made his death a deep affliction to his family and a vast circle of old and attached friends. His generosity and urbanity were almost proverbial – his integrity unquestionable; in all relations of life he was respected and beloved; and the loss of his kindness was long deplored by those who had been accustomed to experience it.[1]

Suffering from ill health from May 1825, Fawkes died in London later that year on 25 October. The funeral procession from London to Otley was a grand affair with four mutes on horseback to accompany the family, and the body watched over each night by eight mutes.[2] The details of the funeral day, together with the biography excerpted above, are testament to a respectful landowner and a man well regarded in regional and national society.[3] The full biography addresses Fawkes' route to inheritance, his stance against France as a member of the West York Militia and the Wharfedale Volunteers, as well as his acts of kindness towards the poor on his estate and neighbourhood during the dearth of 1795. Including his patronage of the fine arts, support for the Northern Society and collection of works by Turner, it presents a synopsis of the work the man did in the context of his life and times. This thesis has similarly sought to consider the artistic interests and collecting habits of Walter Fawkes as a patron of the arts in his position as a Yorkshire landowning politician at the turn of the nineteenth century.

This conclusion will consider how this study of Fawkes' artistic and collecting activities adds to our understanding of the landowner as more than an MP and early patron of Turner. It will address how he used his artistic patronage and other cultural pursuits to overcome threats and challenges to his wealth and position of status and authority presented by the social transitions of the time. The findings made regarding the research questions posed at the start of this thesis regarding Fawkes' reformist agenda, issues of locality, hospitality, and the contemporary habit of collecting, will be given and potential avenues of further study to broaden our understanding of the period, discussed.

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[1] Rev. R. V. Taylor, *Biographia Leodiensis* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1865), pp. 296-7.

[2] *The Leeds Mercury*, Saturday, 12 November 1825.

[3] *The Leeds Mercury*, Saturday, 12 November 1825.

Consideration will also be given to how this thesis not only adds to our knowledge of the significance of Fawkes, but also of the owners of modest country seats, in British history. As a group, these landowners managed much of the British countryside and the country's agriculture, yet their interests in this period have been rarely studied, in favour of the large, grandiose seats of nobility. This research is valuable in not only working to fill that gap but also raising an awareness that further studies surrounding modest landowners will add to a more thorough representation of British society in the early nineteenth century.

The book collection at Farnley has remained intact since Fawkes' death and the items in the Civil War collection have mostly been retained at the Hall. The state of the art collection since his death will be updated to track its dispersal and whereabouts, and an account is given into how the family estate has fared and the fortunes of Fawkes' children. The discussion will examine Fawkes' legacy for his family, for scholars of Turner, and for British art history.

**Fawkes' Legacy to his Family**

The landowner's lasting impact was not limited to establishments and organisations. His artistic and collecting interests also played a significant part in the legacy left to his family, supporting them through the generations. A summary of the history and issues they and the estate faced from Fawkes' death to the present day, describes how his artistic and collecting activities bolstered the family.

In keeping with Fawkes' habit of thinking about the future with regard to the past, he realised that the estate could be lost from the family in the future due to a number of factors that saw the demise of a number of neighbouring seats.[4] With this in mind, the family established the Fawkes Trust Estate in 1819. The Trust was introduced primarily to replace the practice of entail, where Fawkes' son (Francis Hawksworth Fawkes) would have acquired unfettered control of the estate and house.[5] Fawkes set about ending the entail and replacing it with a lease-release system.[6] Here, the succession was leased by the trust to tenants-for-life, being Walter, then Hawksworth Fawkes, followed by his eldest

[4] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family and their Estates in Wharfedale, 1819-1936,* (Leeds: The Thoresby Society, 1997), p. 31, noted that the Ibbetson's at Denton Hall, ran up huge debts which led to law suits and the eventual sale of land and letting of the house.

[5] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* p. 29.

[6] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family,* p. 30.

son. The system included a number of restrictions on the management of the estate, including limiting how much debt could be taken on, a bar on land being sold unless agreed by the trustees, limitations concerning timber felling, and the 'waste' of productive land.[7] It was designed to protect the estate from unsupportable debts, poor or exploitative management, and to include financial provision for other children and spouses.

The Trust worked well. The generous financial allowances provided to family members from the operation of the estate meant that everyone was invested in its good management, strengthening family ties and loyalty.[8] Fawkes' reform of the inheritance process to be a more fair and inclusive arrangement for the whole family contributed to the estate remaining in its ownership throughout the century.

However, good management was not sufficient to overcome the fall in prices for agricultural products between 1871-5.[9] Ayscough Fawkes (Hawksworth's successor) was aging and, though he had no children of his own, he had to honour the financial commitments made to his brother's children who were nearing maturity.[10] The viability of the estate would have been compromised if such funds were realised from the sale of land, and so, in 1890, the Rhine collection of watercolours went to Christie's auction house, alongside a number of Old Masters.[11] This first sale marked the start of the global distribution of the Farnley art collection.

Further sales occurred between 1902 and 1912 when Frederick Fawkes was faced with death duties, family charges, and jointures. Romney's *Lady Hamilton* (1782), and a work by Reynolds (possibly the *Flight into Egypt*), were sold in 1902, and Turner's oils *Shoeburyness*, (1809), and *Rembrandt's Daughter* (bought by Hawksworth Fawkes in 1827), were let go in 1912.[12]

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[7] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, p. 30

[8] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, p. 31.

[9] Marion Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection and the Art Collection at Farnley Hall, Otley, 1792-1937: A Great Estate Enhanced and Supported', *Journal of Northern History*, Vol. 26, Issue 1, January 1990, p. 151.

[10] Marion Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection', p. 151.

[11] 'Catalogue of Pictures of Old Masters', Saturday, 28 June 1890, Christie's, London.

[12] *Shoeburyness* is now in the National Gallery of Canada, see https://www.gallery.ca/collection/artwork/shoeburyness-fishermen-hailing-a-whitstable-hoy, accessed 16 January 2023. *Rembrandt's Daughter* is in the Fogg Art Museum, see https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/23193, accessed 16 January 2023. *Lady Hamilton* is in the

There was a further large sale by auction in 1937.[13] Agricultural prices had fallen by over sixty-one percent in the preceding two decades before Frederick Fawkes' death in 1936.[14] Although estate duties had been reduced and agricultural land freed from rates in 1929, the new heir and his own successor decided to offer at auction twenty-four works by Turner, including *Dort*, and six by other artists, to buoy estate finances.[15] However, at least five paintings including *Dort* failed to sell (although the painting was sold much later in 1966 to the Paul Mellon Center, Yale, under a private arrangement).

As for Farnley Hall itself, it was further extended in the late nineteenth century with a block to accommodate a kitchen (Fig. 6.1).[16] The house and grounds were commandeered in the first and second World War years, the land used to house military camps and the building used as a maternity hospital (Fig. 6.2).[17] After the wars, when the estate was returned to the care of the Fawkes family, Nicholas Horton-Fawkes set about returning the building to its appearance in the time of Fawkes and Turner. The kitchen block was removed, and the interior decorated following the layout in Turner's images. In 1984, Horton-Fawkes decided to put Turner's bird paintings from the *Ornithological Collection* up for sale to provide funds to support repairs to the Hall.[18] The paintings themselves had been removed from the volumes on the advice of John Ruskin who, in 1851 believed they were at risk of damage by abrasion from the feathers stuck into the books.[19] The twenty paintings were bought with public assistance by Leeds Art Gallery in 1985, and though they were exhibited after the purchase they are now only able to be viewed by appointment, limiting the public's awareness of Turner's skill in his depiction of birds.[20]

More recently there have been further sales of individual paintings from the Farnley collection, as need has arisen. However, the majority of the estate and interior paintings

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Frick Collection, New York, see https://collections.frick.org/objects/130/lady-hamilton-as-nature, accessed 16 January 2023.

[13] See, 'Important Pictures by Old Masters and Works by J. M. W. Turner, R.A.,' Friday, 2 July 1937, Christie's, London.

[14] Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection', p. 151.

[15] Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection', pp. 151-2.

[16] Sharples, *The Fawkes Family*, p. 23.

[17] See https://otleylocalhistorybulletin.wordpress.com/2017/06/28/farnley-camp/, accessed 15 January 2023

[18] David Hill, *Turner's Birds* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988) p. 24.

[19] Hill, *Turner's Birds,* p. 24; Edith Mary Fawkes, 'Ruskin at Farnley', *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, April 1900, p. 619.

[20] *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 25 January 1985.

have remained at the Hall, and the interior decoration kept contemporary with the time of Turner's visits. This, together with many of the items from the Civil War collection still displayed, has meant the Hall has much valuable information to attract Turner and art history enthusiasts, as well as students of Georgian society and local historians. Fawkes' successors have been able to supplement their income offering insightful private tours.[21]

Farnley still fits Ruskin's famous description of 1884,

> Farnley is a perfectly unique place, there is nothing like it anywhere; a place where a great genius has been loved and appreciated, who did all his best work for that place, where it is treasured up like a monument in a shrine.[22]

Fawkes' legacy to his family was therefore to not only install measures to protect the estate that provided their livelihood, but also to secure a spread of assets that balanced the risk of failing market forces in any one sector. The art collection provided financial buoyancy when land or agricultural prices fell, and the estate needed support to weather the storm.

A further legacy was the marriages Fawkes was able to secure for his children, particularly his daughters. Fawkes was fortunate in having children that survived him, many estates were lost not only from financial ruin but also because of a lack of an heir. Having sons meant a clear line of succession, but Fawkes was also mindful of the responsibility and financial burden of having so many surviving children.

It was a sign of the continued reverence for past practices, that Fawkes' eldest son, Hawksworth, married Elizabeth Butler, the daughter of Fawkes' second wife and her first husband. The marriage ensured the combined wealth of the families remained with the estate. Fawkes had two more surviving sons, Ayscough, who entered the Church and became the local incumbent, and Richard, who became a Major in the Army, both traditional roles for younger sons. Of Fawkes' seven daughters, Maria married Sir General Edwards Barnes who became Governor of Ceylon, and Amelia married Digby Cayley Wrangham, politician and Queen's Sergeant.[23] Lucy Fawkes, youngest daughter, became the wife of Sir Anthony Cleasby, a judge, and Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and Anne

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[21] See http://farnleyhall.co.uk/, accessed 8 January 2023.

[22] Edith Mary Fawkes, 'Ruskin at Farnley', p. 622.

[23] For Sir Edward Barnes see https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1468?rskey=nWClNz&result=1, accessed 17 January 2023; for Digby Wrangham see http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/wrangham-digby-1805-1863, accessed 17 January 2023.

married Godfrey Wentworth of Woolley Park, her cousin.[24] Charlotte married a Thomas Paris, eventually living in Ramsgate, and Frances and Harriet remained living at Farnley.[25] It was testament to the high regard Fawkes was held in polite society that his daughters married such eminent gentlemen, continuing family ties and political alliances.

That Fawkes was a friendly, convivial man with a sense of justice in tune with the expectations of the time, is without doubt. His foresight, understanding of social responsibility, obligations and rights, made him an audacious campaigner, and his eloquence, intelligence and determination, a successful and persuasive author and orator. However, he was caught in a time of flux. The status and position his family had previously enjoyed was under threat from the altered balance of wealth associated with the growth of urban populations and industrialisation. Fawkes was a mediator, linking past learning with future needs; as Marion Sharples argued in her study of Fawkes and Turner's relationship, both were aware 'of the need to study the past in the light of the present for the purposes of the future'.[26]

Fawkes' priorities had always lain with his family and Farnley. The evidence points to a man who loved life and committed wholeheartedly to his chosen pursuits, with an overriding desire to provide for his family's long-term comfort and security at Farnley. In achieving that aspiration, and striving for parliamentary reform, he also benefitted the nation through his artistic and collecting activities, playing his part in bringing about the inclusion of watercolour painting into the national school.

## Fawkes' Legacy for British Art History

This thesis on Fawkes, as a patron of the arts, has shown that he was much more than just an early patron of Turner. It was noted by Farington that the landowner stood out from other collectors from the off, investing in Old Masters and commissioning works from

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[24] For Sir Anthony Cleasby see https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5582?rskey=h7MYOa&result=1, accessed 17 January 2023; for Godfrey Wentworth see https://www.myheritage.com/names/godfrey_armytage-wentworth, accessed 17 January 2023.

[25] See https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/182095561/charlotte-paris, accessed 17 January 2023. *The Washburn and Other Poems* by The Late Miss Fawkes, with illustrations by her nephew, Lieut. L. G. Fawkes, R.A. (London: Hatchards, Piccadilly, 1879); Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection', p. 140.

[26] Sharples, 'The Fawkes-Turner Connection', p.153.

William Hodges, an artist of some renown, in 1794. He was earnest in his pursuit of fine art from the beginning. His purchase of Swiss mountain scenes by Turner marked the start of his patronage of the artist, but as has been seen, he bought a significant number of watercolours by other contemporary painters too, attracting considerable acclaim in 1819 with his exclusive exhibition of watercolours by British artists held in a private residence.[27] The quality of watercolour painting was asserted, and Turner's work in particular, hailed as magnificent. On the back of the critics' reports the SPWC reconsidered their exhibition policy and reverted to the exclusive display of works in watercolour (works in oil had been included since 1813 in an attempt to improve sales). Not only did Fawkes present the discipline as a patriotic endeavour in terms of the work being by British artists, but also the choice of pictures, stunning locations, and landscapes in Britain alongside sublime Swiss mountain scenes, promoted the beauty and appreciation of native terrain.[28]

The exhibition was therefore pivotal in the history of British art. Nowadays, watercolour painting is appreciated and valued, a situation that would likely have occurred without Fawkes' intervention. However, the developments that resulted from the 1819 exhibition, acting to concentrate minds and drive the innovative development to include watercolour painting in the British School, occurred as a result of the particular style of patronage that Fawkes had with Turner. Fawkes' concern to raise awareness of Turner's skill in the media, to connect the artist with more potential patrons, and efforts to enhance Turner's fame and fortune, rendered Fawkes' approach to his patronage very different to that of contemporaries such as Lord Egremont.

Allied to this is a revaluation of Fawkes' place in Turner's historiography. The evidence from this thesis reveals that Fawkes was instrumental in deciding the subject of the works Turner created for him, the materials and techniques used, and that corrections were made to paintings at Fawkes' command. The relationship between the men must have been assured, since Fawkes returned a work, an action that would have been considered a snub by most artists. For Turner, the relationship encouraged a broadening of the artist's oeuvre, an expanded network of connections with the associated fame and fortune, as well gaining a close friend. For Fawkes, being associated with a 'genius' and having a friend who would provide financial support at a critical moment, enabled him to continue to hold

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[27] Lucy Bailey, 'A Patron with a Patriotic Passion: Walter Fawkes' 1819 Watercolour Exhibition', unpublished MA Thesis, Open University, September 2015.

[28] Lucy Bailey, 'Turner's Purposeful Patron: Walter Fawkes' 1819 Watercolour Exhibition', *Turner Society News*, no. 135, Spring 2021, pp. 15-23.

his head high in polite society in difficult times. Both men recognised and appreciated how each could promote the position of the other.

The 1819 exhibition was not only a pivotal moment in the appreciation of watercolour painting in British artistic society, but it was also the event that led to a significant shift in ambition and direction for Turner's work. Writing in 1826, remembering Turner walk around the rooms during the 1819 exhibition, the diarist William Carey remarked on the artist being 'the principal figure in his own triumph', Turner clearly revelling in the recognition of his talent.[29] The confidence Turner displayed would have encouraged the experimentation with colour and technique that emerged in his practice, such as seen in the watercolours of the rooms at Petworth House. Fawkes was the only patron of Turner to stage such an event that showcased the artist's work, granting the artist an opportunity to realise his talent and abilities. The relationship between the men urges a reconsideration of the significance and impact of Fawkes on Turner and invites further study into how other patrons worked with and affected the artist, for a more rounded examination of Turner and his practice.

**The Significance of Modest Landowners in British History**

Even though this study has had a focus on Fawkes' artistic and collecting activities, it has added to the knowledge of the issues facing a modest country landowner at the turn of the nineteenth century. The motivations behind Fawkes' artistic patronage and collecting pursuits has revealed the threats Fawkes perceived to his position and lifestyle, and how he saw, and took, an opportunity to develop a position of influence, fame, and status from those endeavours. Not only did Fawkes impact on the development of the British School of art, but the collaborative venture to create the *Ornithological Collection* and the debate surrounding empirical study and objective visual record, also advanced knowledge and learning in Britain.

Research surrounding life in country houses has tended to focus on the larger houses of nobility. However, this case study has shown that important developments and findings were made in more modest homes and to not include them in studies of early nineteenth century Britain is to risk missing key stages in the country's history. Studies of smaller

[29] See chapter 5; William Carey, *Some Memoirs of the Patronage and Progress of the Fine Arts in England and Wales* (London: Saunders and Ottley, 1826), p. 147.

country estates offers to improve our understanding of the complex situations such landowners faced at a time of social transition, often without the alternative sources of income enjoyed by large estates (coal reserves, for example). Such studies would show the contribution and significance of these concentrated hubs of family, kith, and associates, as they came together, advancing areas of knowledge, innovations, or theories, to benefit the nation.

In terms of specific avenues for further studies, this thesis has a number of threads running through each chapter indicating they were inherent in Fawkes practice and raise the question whether they were widespread or particular to him. The idea of reform as being forward looking associated with progressive change, yet also retrospective, concerned with regaining lost liberties was evident across Fawkes' practice. In each area studied in this thesis, the landowner tried new ideas and approaches in his practice, at the same time holding onto traditional values associated with heritage, inheritance, local and family history, and the authority and status they had granted. His interplay between past and present worked to offer common ground with those comfortable in the traditional order, and with those dissatisfied with established practice and calling for change. Recognising the opportunities and threats to his own position, and to the House of Fawkes, the landowner realised that he could use his house, art, book, and Civil War collections to support his own position and political agenda. Attracting polite society, artists, natural historians, and sportsmen to Farnley, and to his house in London, he was able to promote himself as an erudite character, with the intelligence to understand what was required to achieve social cohesion, and with the written and oratory skills to win support for his ideas.

Fawkes' programme of parliamentary reform was born of an awareness of the economic and social challenges facing landed society in the early years of the nineteenth century. He recognised that traditional patterns of living were no longer appropriate for the growing industrial nature of the country, and the associated changing patterns of wealth and authority that came with it. Advocating wider enfranchisement, an end to 'rotten boroughs', and more frequent elections, Fawkes looked to the past and called for a return to the principles of the 1689 Bill of Rights. He believed a just interpretation of the Rights would quell civil unrest and calls for revolution, and so enable the current system of governance based on landholding status, of which he was a part, to continue. His plans though, were deemed radical by some, and not going far enough by others. To gain any ground, he needed to learn how to deliver his message effectively to be able to persuade

others of the merits of his aspirations. He used his collections, house, and estate, as tools to aid him in the delivery of his strategy.

Having visitors at Farnley Hall brings us to the second theme that ran through the thesis, the provision of hospitality, from inheriting Farnley Hall with the Georgian wing just added and planned to meet the expectations of stylish visitors, to the reports of his shooting parties, and well attended evening events at Farnley.[30] Many country seats, both local and across the nation, were having similar improvements to their property and the many travel guides recommending country properties to visit, were testament to the contemporary practice of accommodating guests.[31] The evidence though points to Fawkes being particularly keen to host friends, artists, natural historians, politicians, and other guests at Farnley. As well as offering light, airy, and comfortable modern accommodation, he also piqued the interest of his guests by breakfasting them in an immersive Civil War museum, capitalising on the national interest in the period. Furthermore, his collection of Old Masters was not only attractive for guests but was also a study support for visiting artists with some pictures even being lent out and the painted oak panels in the Elizabethan drawing room, including many social scenes, such as hunting, horse racing, and country fairs, allude to the cultural hub that existed at Farnley. The collaborative nature of the creation of the *Ornithological Collection*, and the extensive list of visitors that Fawkes' son painted, confirms the extent of hospitality that the landowner offered, the nature of which was noted in the biography excerpted above. And then there was the particular hospitality offered to his friend, Turner, who was furnished with his own room at Farnley and who took succour there when feeling under the weather.[32]

Fawkes was a jovial man and must have enjoyed, and learnt, from the company, intelligent discussion, and stimulation that such an audience provided. Some of the time the

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[30] Edmund Bogg, *Higher Wharfeland: The Dale of Romance from Ormscliffe to Cam Fell* (York: John Sampson, Coney Street, 1904), p. 90.

[31] Edward Mogg, *Paterson's Roads; Being an Entirely Original and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principle Cross Roads in England and Wales with Parts of the Roads of Scotland*, 7th ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, Paternoster Row, 1824)); Philip Luckombe, *The Beauties of England: Giving a Descriptive View of the Chief Villages, Market-Towns, and Cities; Antiquities, Parks, Plantations, Scenes and Situations, in England and Wales; Including the Seats if our Nobility and Gentry, and the Two Universities, The Whole Intended as a Travelling Companion to Point Out Whatever is Curious Either in Art or Nature*, Vol. 1, 5th edn, (London: W. Richardson, J. Murray, W, Goldsmith, and R. Baldwin, 1791).

[32] Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. 12, p. 4249.

gatherings would have had particular purpose such as the compilation of the *Ornithological Collection*, but it must have been apparent early on that having a captive audience gave him the opportunity to hone ideas, test theories, learn from, and influence his guests. By having various 'attractions' at Farnley, Fawkes was deliberately enticing polite society into his sphere of influence, using hospitality as a vehicle for the promotion of his agenda for parliamentary reform.

Although many country landowners hosted visiting guests to retain their position in polite society, Fawkes realised he could capitalise on his interests to offer a greater experience, not just retaining status but enhancing his position both locally and nationally, and at the same time have the opportunity to welcome others to his branch of political thought. Hospitality, as Felicity Heal noted, had brought with it the benefits of connection and association between people, but this intentional aspect of Fawkes' approach heralds a reform, or modernisation, of the practice and invites further study to expand upon Heal's research to consider the role of hospitality in the early nineteenth century.

Throughout this study, Fawkes' artistic and collecting projects have all revealed his desire to forge a strong association with the landscape, buildings, characters, and history of Farnley, Wharfedale, and Yorkshire, the third theme running through the chapters. The *Fairfaxiana* collection and illustrations espoused Fawkes' inheritance from the local soldier, Sir Thomas Fairfax (later Lord), General of the Parliamentary Army. Fawkes took architectural features from Fairfax's uncle's Hall to embellish Farnley, leading some to believe the building was once a Fairfax residence.[33] Fawkes used these associations to support his campaign for parliamentary reform, and to raise his own position to comparable to that of the historically important leader, Fairfax. Fawkes' actions, though, went further than association. He was also practical in his endeavour of widening the awareness of the beauty, history, and therefore importance of Wharfedale.

The landowner carried a folio of drawings titled 'Farnley' with him to London for the season and had guests view the works on a Sunday morning.[34] Furthermore, his 1819 exhibition of watercolours featured paintings of Farnley, Wharfedale and many landmarks

[33] See https://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/31-18232.pdf accessed 29.9.2019, a transcribed version of John Cam Hobhouse's diaries and manuscripts.

[34] Walter Fawkes' diary of 1825 (Private Collection) has entries for 20 February and 20 March, when he was in London, recording Fawkes showing his Farnley drawings to visitors.

in Yorkshire. Anyone attending the exhibition would have been entranced with the beauty of the scenery and impressed that Fawkes owned tracts of land in the region.

Fawkes also welcomed artists to Farnley and, was keen for them to paint there. His involvement with the Northern Society was indicative of his encouragement of the exchange of ideas and innovative practice between London and Yorkshire. Turner displayed works at the Society's exhibitions over a number of years, and the success of the organisation attests to the vibrant artistic culture enjoyed in Leeds. This study has added to the discussion of the influence, and exchange, of trends between the metropolis and the regions, drawing attention to the fact that this interaction was not only orchestrated by artists trying to gain patrons and business, but that patrons also played a significant part. Further research into how patrons contributed to the sharing of knowledge, techniques, and business prospects of artists would add to our understanding of the complexity of responses to the importance of the growing capital and offers a new area for debate concerning the dominance of the capital on regional cultural affairs.

The fourth thread running through the thesis is Fawkes' collecting practice. This study has shed light on Fawkes' motivations for, and methods of, amassing his collections of art, books, and Civil War artefacts. He had different reasons for starting each venture: fine art was a recognised activity for gentlemen with country seats, books supported his own political, antiquarian, and interests in the natural world, and the Civil War collection focused on pieces associated with Sir Thomas Fairfax, for his own personal interest in the General, and for his antiquarian projects. He soon realised, however, that these collections could all be used to attract visitors to Farnley and to promote aspects of his character, such as being erudite, respectful of history and its characters and places, and so worthy of polite society. The evidence therefore reveals that the practice of collecting could emerge from a variety of motivations, and furthermore, could develop into strategies to meet other objectives. The personal satisfaction of searching for items, completing a set, planning, and forming a display, may all have met an individual's desire for order. For others, the social aspect of working with those with similar interests to build or compare connections, gave a purpose. For Fawkes the activities were, or became, focused on, and directed towards, his agenda for personal advancement, building his status and influence in society.

The differences in Fawkes' collections and the connectivity found between them alludes to the complexity of the habit in the early nineteenth century. This thesis has indicated that other owners of country seats in the period amassed collections, particularly pertaining to the Civil Wars, and the evidence revealed by Fawkes' practice suggests that their

motivations, practice, and display was the result of a convoluted and complex web of decisions and occurrences. Yet, as has been seen with Fawkes, careful study of these collections offers the possibility of gaining a greater understanding of the issues in society facing landowners and their responses to them, as well as enriching the scholarship pertaining to collecting in the period.

In this study of Fawkes as a patron of the arts and collector, an awareness has been brought to the issues affecting the landowners in the early nineteenth century. It has highlighted the importance of including the study of modest landowners in understanding the development of knowledge and ideas in Britain and invited further research into how concepts such as reform, practices such as collecting and hospitality, and concerns with local, regional and national connection and identity, can reveal the threats and opportunities felt by those living in the early nineteenth century.

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