

# Edward Mackenzie

Born 1 May 1811

Life story by Gwyneth Wilkie

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Edward Mackenzie was born on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1811 and baptised at the Chapel Street Independent Chapel, Blackburn, where his parents lie buried. He was the 9<sup>th</sup> of the 10 children of Mary Roberts (1772-1828) and Alexander Mackenzie (1796-1836), a canal contractor who accompanied Hugh Mackintosh from Scotland to begin work on cutting the Leeds-Liverpool canal.<sup>1</sup>



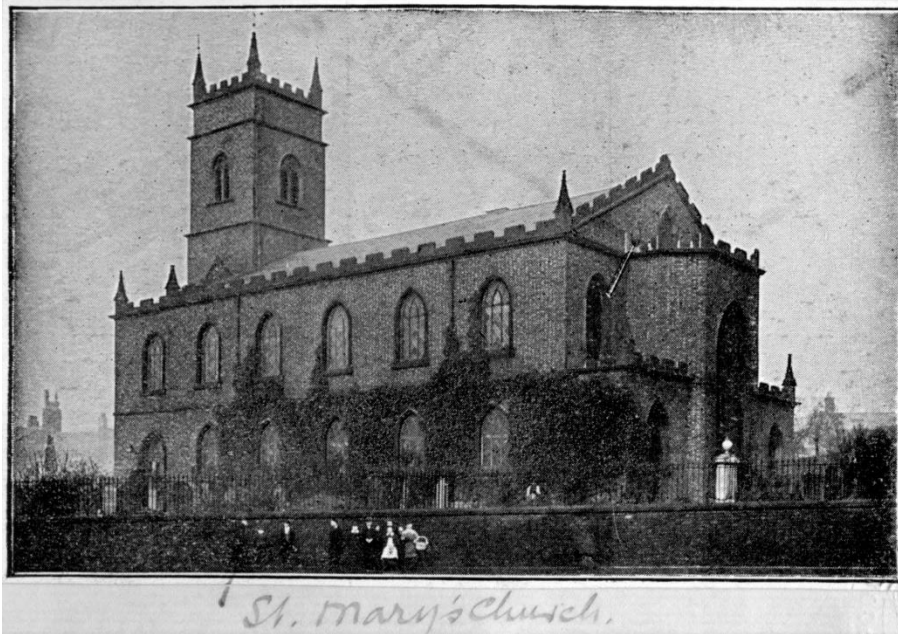
The Leeds Liverpool Canal, started in 1770, had 91 locks over its distance of 127 miles.

Edward started work for his brother William Mackenzie (1794-1851) at the point where the latter evolved from resident engineer working on bridges and canals to railway contractor undertaking his first big venture, the construction of the Lime Street tunnel on the Liverpool & Manchester Railway between 1832 and 1835. Another assistant and pupil, David Stevenson, left a vivid account of what it was like to work for the relentless William: ‘I have spent many a weary hour and I might say night because Mackenzie, with whom I lived for some time, would often, after finishing his pipe and glass of brandy and water, instead of going off to bed, go out to one of the shafts which, as ill luck would have it, was close to his house and if, by further bad luck he found a bucket going down he would at once cry “Now then, Stevenson, let us jump in and see what these fellows are about

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<sup>1</sup> For further detail on Alexander see M Clarke, *The Leeds & Liverpool Canal*, 1990, p 87.

down below.” I knew that.... the night would be sacrificed and.....there was in store for us a journey through dampness and darkness in a suffocating stench of gunpowder and workmen....and the whole night’s expedition terminated in making our exit into daylight at 4 or 5 in the morning.’<sup>2</sup>



St. Mary’s Church, Edge Hill.

Soon the firm was taking on several contracts at once and in 1839 William’s increasing reliance upon Edward led him to switch his younger brother from the North Union line to the much more troublesome Finlayston and Bishopton stretches of the Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock & Ayr Railway, where he was expected to be responsible for ensuring the efficient supply of materials, paying the labour force, sorting out any problems with them, and generally ensuring the orderly progress of the work.<sup>3</sup> In the same year Edward married at Edge Hill St Mary, Mary Dalziel, the niece of William’s wife of the same name who had died less than a month earlier. Mary was also the niece of William’s second wife, Sarah Dewhurst.<sup>4</sup> The unrelenting pace of work as a railway contractor’s agent is reflected in one of William’s letters: ‘My brother Edward will be married

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<sup>2</sup> M Chrimmes, MK Murphy, G Ribeill, *Mackenzie-Giant of the Railways*, 1994, pp 23-4.

<sup>3</sup> D Brooke, *William Mackenzie: International Railway Builder*, 2004, p 18.

<sup>4</sup> William Dewhurst of Chorley, who died in September 1846, mentions in his Will ‘my daughters Maria Dalziel, wife of William Dalziel, Sarah Mackenzie, wife of William Mackenzie...Ann Holt, wife of Samuel Holt.’ Sarah’s older sister Maria, christened on May 12<sup>th</sup> 1799 in Blackburn, before the family moved to Chorley, married William Dalziel on Sept 12<sup>th</sup> 1819 in Chorley and Edward married their daughter Mary on Jan 31<sup>st</sup> 1839 at St Mary’s, Edge Hill, Walton. William notes in his diary various visits by his mother-in-law, who must be Betty Dewhurst, née Crossley.

tomorrow [Wednesday Jan 31<sup>st</sup> 1839], but he must go to work on Thursday.’<sup>5</sup> The marriage proved fruitful and his diary entry for March 31<sup>st</sup> 1840 reads: ‘My brother Edward’s Wife brought forth her first Born Son at East Bank Renfrewshire Scotland at 5 oCk AM – to be named when Christened William Dalziel Mackenzie.’<sup>6</sup>

As competition for railway contracts in Britain grew fiercer during the 1840s both William Mackenzie and Thomas Brassey decided to tender for the Paris-Rouen railway which was greatly to reduce the journey-time between Paris and London. Rather than operate as rivals, they decided to form a partnership with Mackenzie as the senior partner. The need for experienced labour was solved by exporting 5,000 navvies to France through the ports of Southampton and Liverpool. French onlookers were amazed by the amount of work and food which they could get through.<sup>7</sup> In July 1841 Edward settled in Mantes in order to supervise the construction of the line and his next child, Edward Philippe, was born there on March 14<sup>th</sup> 1842 and baptised in Paris at the end of July. Several of the children born in France were similarly given one French and one English name, like Marie Ada, the first daughter, born on April 5<sup>th</sup> 1844. In 1845 Edward moved to Orléans to attend to the Orléans-Tours railway and by 1846 was in Boulogne since the Amiens-Boulogne extension of the Paris-Rouen line was by then under way. Another two daughters were added to the family; Claire Evelyn was born on March 24<sup>th</sup> 1846, at 4 rue Jeanne d’Arc, Orléans. Sarah Rosa’s premature birth took place on June 25<sup>th</sup> 1848 in Boulogne. This was a year of great political turbulence in France and one in which William Mackenzie nearly succumbed to a particularly dangerous cashflow crisis.

By January 1849 the two boys were old enough to be at school in Boulogne.<sup>8</sup> Edward remained a salaried employee of the firm, though his annual salary of about £1,000 was almost three times the going rate and Brassey would later refuse to offer him the remuneration he expected.<sup>9</sup> The age gap of 17 years between the brothers may have meant that he was always fated to be regarded as very much a subordinate however well he worked. The tensions between the brothers erupted into a row on March 7<sup>th</sup> 1846, recorded by William: ‘We dined at 6 oCk at Edward’s. After dinner I got the most insolent unpardonable abusive language from him [Edward] that could possibly be conceived. This is my reward for the interest I have hitherto taken in his welfare and he looks on it as nothing and insinuates if I had not done so, his position would have been equally as prosperous

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<sup>5</sup> M Chrimes, MK Murphy, G Ribeill, *op cit*, p 29.

<sup>6</sup> *The Diary of William Mackenzie*, ed D Brooke, 2000.

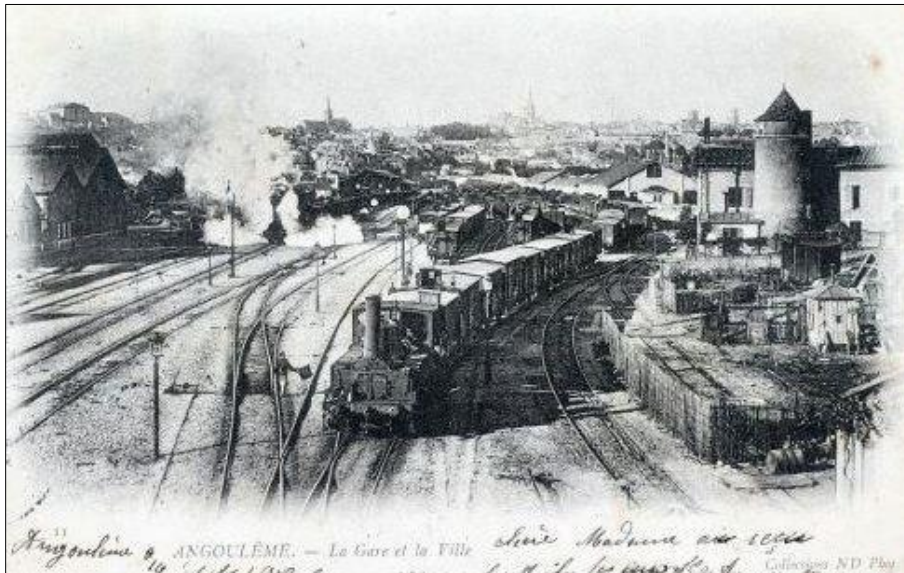
<sup>7</sup> T Coleman, *The Railway Navvies*, 1965, Chap 12; D Brooke, *op cit*, Chap 10

<sup>8</sup> *Diary of William Mackenzie*; see relevant dates. In 1851 they were boarders at William Fisher’s school, 59 Great George Street, Liverpool (HO 107/ 2181/396/21).

<sup>9</sup> D Brooke, *op cit*, pp 156-157.

and he owes me nothing, no, not the least attention or common civility – oh, thou ingratitude! Thou reptile!’ It would be interesting to compare Edward’s diary entry of the same date.

While Edward supervised the building of some of France’s first railways, William continued to travel between his offices in Liverpool and Paris inspecting work in progress not only in France, England and Scotland but also on the River Shannon, keeping on top of the finances, preparing and submitting estimates for new contracts and increasingly being consulted about projected railways on the continent and overseas. In defiance of his failing health, William covered about 20,000 miles in the 19 months leading up to his second stroke in November 1849. When the partnership was dissolved on Brassey’s initiative in 1849-1850, the negotiations were entrusted to Edward.<sup>10</sup> Another daughter, Alice Edith, was born in Liverpool on September 10<sup>th</sup> of that year and in October it was agreed that Edward should complete the Orléans contract.



A Paris to Bordeaux train passes through Angoulême.

Having finished constructing the Amiens-Boulogne line, Edward resumed work in 1850 on the Tours to Poitiers section of the railway, laying the first section on Nov 5<sup>th</sup> 1850. Louis Napoleon officially opened it on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1851. William travelled down from Liverpool to attend the celebrations and was given to understand that he would soon be made a *Chevalier de la Légion d’honneur*. However he died before this came about. Edward pushed on to complete the link on June 28<sup>th</sup> 1853, recording in his diary: ‘I left Poitiers about 7½ O’Clock this morning and went direct to the end of the platelaying which was within 200 metres of being

<sup>10</sup> D Brooke, *op cit* p vi & 153-157.

joined.....about midday Mr Pepin and I put in the last rail which joins Paris & Bordeaux together. We drank a bottle of Champagne with the two Chief platelayers.’<sup>11</sup> Another daughter, Aimée Gertrude, was born in Tours at 13 rue de Buffon on August 30th 1854.



A Buddicom locomotive.

Edward had inherited the bulk of his brother’s estate, which was valued at £383,500. It included, as well as real estate in Scotland and Liverpool, many shares and bonds in railways, particularly in France and Belgium and shares in ancillary businesses such as Buddicom’s locomotive works at Sotteville, which Mackenzie & Brassey had been instrumental in creating. It was the normal practice for contractors to take part of their payment in shares from railway companies, which (as well as saving the company from having to stump up cash) gave the constructors a stake in the success of the enterprise and could also be used as sureties when tendering for new contracts. By the second half of the nineteenth century these shares were paying off handsomely.

In 1853 Edward bought Fawley Court, an elegantly proportioned house situated close to the Thames near Henley and said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren. Full details of the estate as advertised for sale may be found in *The Times* of April 23<sup>rd</sup>, p12, col B.<sup>12</sup> He closed down his office in France in

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<sup>11</sup> D Brooke, *Diary of William Mackenzie*, p 67.

<sup>12</sup> *The Aberdeen Journal* of July 13<sup>th</sup> 1853 noted that ‘the beautiful estate of Fawley Court, near Henley, on the banks of the River Thames, has been bought for Mr Mackenzie of Newbie, proprietor of Auchenskeogh.....for the sum of £101,710.’ See also the *Daily News*, July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1853, which gave an itemised list of the various lots sold and put the annual income deriving from the main estate at £3,417-15s-4d. Almost 100 years later, on Oct 3<sup>rd</sup> 1952, Fawley Court was again advertised for sale in *The Times*.



1856, and eventually the one in Liverpool, packing up all the drawings, ledgers, letter-books, diaries and other paraphernalia which remained as though locked in a time capsule at Fawley. They were unknown to historians until 1988 when Edward's great-granddaughter Margaret Mackenzie arranged their transfer to the Institution of Civil Engineers in London. The archivists there began the long task of cataloguing and conservation and the equally important task of disseminating the information. This should one day give a much more detailed understanding of how railway contractors operated at the dawn of the railway age and ensure that the Mackenzie brothers gain the recognition long accorded to their better-known contemporaries.

Before 1994, when the Institution of Civil Engineers put on the exhibition 'Mackenzie Giant of the Railways' very little could be written about William Mackenzie due to the dearth of archive material. The ICE had started to redress the balance. It became clear that his achievements are only partly represented by the list of the railways and other structures built by him. Brooke concludes that:

'Mackenzie & Brassey's expedition in the 1840s set two precedents of great long-term importance: they led the way abroad for the host of British railway contractors who took the same generally profitable path over the next 70 years, and, secondly, they played an outstanding role in launching the vast British worldwide railway investment of the 19<sup>th</sup> century which must have been delayed if they had failed in France.'<sup>13</sup>

A French economist, Adolphe Gustave Blaise, wrote in 1851 of the transformative effects on other civil engineers of seeing the speed and efficiency with which the Paris-Rouen line had been built:

'On n'aurait jamais cru possible de faire en moins de trois ans les immenses travaux du chemin de fer de Rouen, comprenant quatre grands ponts sur la Seine, quatre Souterrains, dont un de 2600 mètres, et une foule de ponts et ponceaux; son exemple, ses méthodes, l'organisation de ses chantiers, ses appareils, ses outils, couronnés d'un tel succès, ont été bientôt suivis et adoptés par tous les ingénieurs, même par ceux des Ponts et Chaussées et par nos entrepreneurs de travaux publics.'<sup>14</sup>

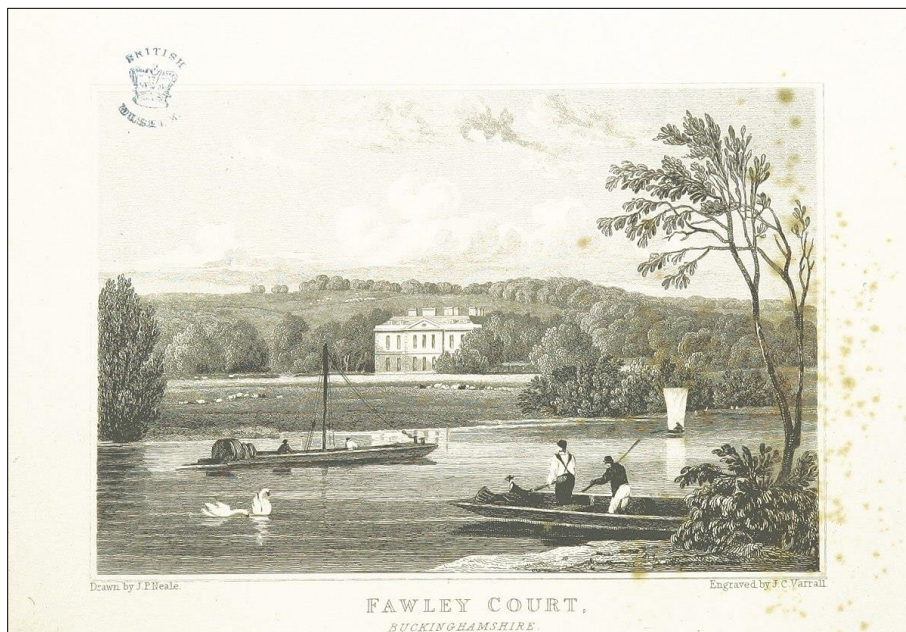
Edward could now start to enjoy the fruits of the brothers' years of hardship, toil and risk. The last three children of this marriage were born at Fawley: Austin on

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<sup>13</sup> David Brooke, *William Mackenzie, International Railway Builder*, 2004, p 162

<sup>14</sup> *Le Journal des chemins de fer*, 8 novembre 1851, p 761, quoted by Georges Ribeill in the catalogue of the exhibition *Mackenzie Giant of the Railways*, pp 80-81. This obituary could not be located. Mackenzie and Brassey also had to come to terms with French law, which insisted on better treatment for injured workers.

October 29<sup>th</sup> 1856, Mary Maud Janetta on January 21<sup>st</sup> 1860 and Keith Ronald on May 17<sup>th</sup> 1861. However, the family of 4 boys and 6 girls was soon to be motherless, for on July 21<sup>st</sup> when the youngest child was only two months old Edward's wife Mary died aged only 41<sup>15</sup>. Edward remarried in 1864, taking as his second wife Ellen Mullet, 13 years his junior. She was already, in a sense, part of the family, for she appears in the 1861 census<sup>16</sup> as the children's governess. She was said to be the daughter of James Mullet of Tours,<sup>17</sup> so may have been known to the family from the time they were in France. One child was born of this union, a baby girl named Ellen after her mother. Sadly she 'lived but a few hours' according to the notice which appeared a week after the event in *Jackson's Oxford News* on Dec 9<sup>th</sup> 1865. In contrast to Edward's earlier children, this one was born at his London address, 9 Portman Square. Perhaps this was chosen for its proximity to Harley Street and to specialist supervision for the birth. It may indicate that there were grounds for anxiety about Ellen's pregnancy. She would outlive Edward by almost 31 years, which were spent at Gillotts, near Rotherfield Peppard, in company with her youngest step-daughter.



Fawley Court, viewed from the Thames, in 1826.

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<sup>15</sup> The death notice can be found in *The Daily News* of July 25<sup>th</sup> 1861 and *Jackson's Oxford Journal* of July 27<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> RG9/880/74/11. While the birthplace of 4 of the children is recorded as 'France British Subject', Aimée Gertrude has the distinction of being born in 'France British empire'!

<sup>17</sup> In his Will Edward gave an annuity to each of his wife's three sisters, Matilda, Mary and Ada Mullett. At the time of their marriage most newspaper announcements refer to James Mullett of Amiens.



Fawley Court in 2016. Fawley Court was requisitioned by the British Army in World War II and was used by special forces for training. Left in a dilapidated state after the war, it became a Polish Catholic centre and school. It was sold by the Vatican in 2009 to Mrs Aida Hersham, a wealthy Iraqi/Iranian, who has undertaken a comprehensive restoration.

The purchase of Fawley Court brought about a complete change of lifestyle for the family. William had already started a process of diversification by investing in land and property, but Edward abandoned contracting and became Lord of the ancient Manor of Fawley. In one document he is even referred to by his lawyers as ‘His Lordship Edward Mackenzie’.<sup>18</sup> The influx of new money displacing old may not have been universally popular. When in 1854 Edward generously offered to host the ‘Henley annual nobility’s ball’ because the usual venue, the Town Hall, was unavailable, it was reported that ‘the company present was much smaller than usual, numbering only 70, a circumstance attributed to the fact of several influential families being at the present time absent from their residences’.<sup>19</sup>

Edward was a progressive landowner and lord of the manor. In 1868, after a gap of some thirty years, he convened a manorial court and carefully went through the rent agreements.<sup>20</sup> He had previously surrendered his manorial right to a levy of one quart of corn per quarter-ton sold at the market in Henley and is quoted as hoping this change, combined with the construction of a railway to the town, would restore the market to its former prosperous state. The right to the levy was bought by the Henley market committee for £400 and Edward donated half the sum to the church restoration fund and distributed the rest amongst local

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<sup>18</sup> C15/577/M111, a bill of complaint issued in 1859 against the executors of William Mackenzie Duckworth, is held at the National Archives.

<sup>19</sup> *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, Jan 14<sup>th</sup> 1854.

<sup>20</sup> *Reading Mercury*, 31 Oct 1868, p 5



charities.<sup>21</sup> Two years later he and Lord Camoys agreed to exchange part of their holdings of land and this had to be sanctioned under the Enclosure Acts. Edward ceded 16 acres – Stonor Copse, Gingerbread Hill and Further Meadow – and in return got Bosmore Wood, which covered 18 acres. In 1871 Edward's permission, as Lord of the Manor entitled to receive tolls from the fair traditionally held at Henley every year on Sept 21<sup>st</sup>, was required so that the fair could be abolished.<sup>22</sup>

In 1879, during a time of economic distress, he reduced the rents due from his farming tenants by almost half for the following two years.<sup>23</sup>

He put a lot of money into improving farming methods. Being farm manager at Fawley Court must have been one of the plum jobs available for anyone interested in modernising agricultural practice. In 1856 it was reported that 'at Fawley Court the ridging system is seen in great perfection'.<sup>24</sup> The following week it was the stall feeding of cattle which captured attention and the 'magnificent shed capable of containing 140 head of cattle' was described. 90 superb Hereford oxen had been bought at Hereford fair and were ranged in double rows under a roof with 3 spans. A passage between the rows left room for a tramway with a truck for distributing feed while water, pumped in by steam engine, was contained in a second manger. This must have cut down the labour involved and allowed the enterprise to be conducted more cheaply and on a much larger scale. The steam could be put to another use and, while cattle elsewhere were also fed on roots grated small and ground oil-cake mixed with chaff, those at Fawley Court had ground oil-cake which had been steamed before being mixed with the chaff and roots.<sup>25</sup>

The innovations met with qualified approval from Clare Sewell Read in *The Farming of Bucks*:

'At Fawley Court, the feeding-house which has already been spoken of, as well as the sheep-shed, engine-house, and other premises, has been erected by the enterprising and wealthy gentleman who now holds the lease. It would have been better (and money seemed no object) had all the old buildings been removed, for, as it is, the clover machinery is huddled together in the original barn in such a manner that, when all is going, the place seems alive, and yet no more result is obtained than is commonly produced by more sober and less complicated performances. For instance, the turnips are deposited under a little open shed, and the boy places them one by one in an elevator which carries them over the

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<sup>21</sup> *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Aug 30<sup>th</sup> 1856.

<sup>22</sup> *Jackson's Oxford Journal* July 3<sup>rd</sup> 1858 and Sept 21<sup>st</sup> 1872, p3.

<sup>23</sup> *Henley Advertiser*, 1 Nov 1879, p 4

<sup>24</sup> *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Sept 13<sup>th</sup> 1856.

<sup>25</sup> *Jackson's Oxford journal* Feb 3<sup>rd</sup> 1855.

threshing-machine to the highest point in the barn roof. From thence they descend, pass through the washer, are first sliced, then ground, and afterwards by another elevator taken up and emptied into a hopper. They are discharged at intervals from this, mixed with cake and chaff, let down into a bin below, and shovelled into trucks, which are pushed on a tramway into the feeding-house, and served to the cattle. Now all this is admirably done, but the space these turnips travel is really wonderful, and with the old buildings it was not possible to arrange it better. It is very pleasing to notice the improvements which have recently been made in the management of the stock on this farm. Two or three years ago, a lot of inferior steers, some of them clipped, were standing with outspread hoofs on slippery splined boards, and pigs had to go upstairs to a similar bed, none the more fragrant or healthy for being situated directly over the manure pits. Now, beautiful Hereford oxen repose in comfort in well littered stalls, and sleek-looking pigs seem to enjoy the luxury and warmth of a bed of clean straw.’<sup>26</sup>

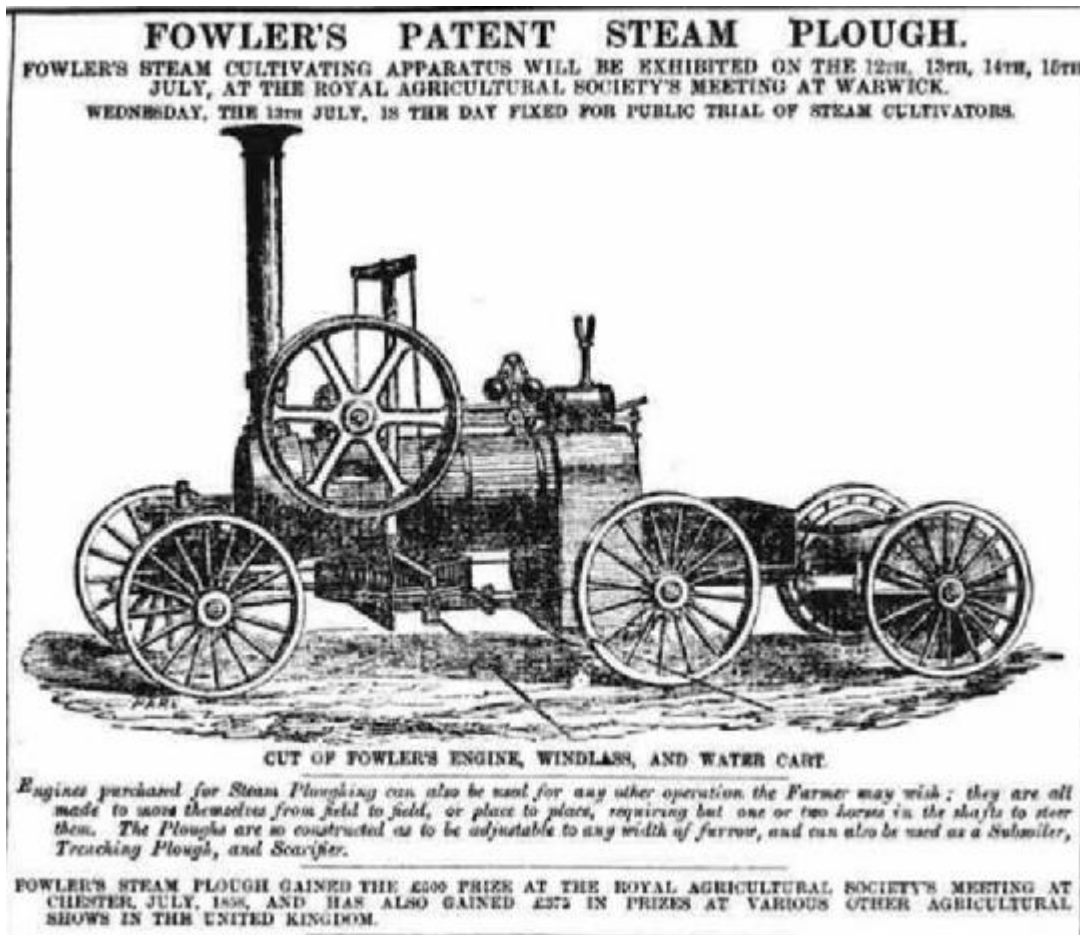
Three years later Mr Richard Burniston of Fawley Court Farm contributed to the debate on ploughing by steam engine: ‘we have ploughed 110 acres of clover ley and wheat stubble from six to seven inches deep at a cost not exceeding 7s [shillings] per acre, and with men and boys that had no previous knowledge of the working of the apparatus. We shall now be able to dispense with ten horses now that we have got the steam plough, reserving 14 others for the working of the farm, which is 1,000 acres in extent.’<sup>27</sup> Mr Burniston’s views were of interest to many farmers and later he went into more detail, both about costs and about how the farm was being run: ‘With the ten-horse power steam plough, supplied to Mr Marjoribanks at the end of September, 1859, we have ploughed about 405 acres, averaging about 6 acres per day of 10 hours, including half a day’s shifting every 3 or 4 days. The farm now consists of 588 acres arable, farmed on the four-course system, and 288 acres of grass, of which 100 acres are mown annually. Our force of horses now numbers 14, having disposed of 10, besides resting 4 brood mares since using the engine. This soil consists of gravel and a little clay, with a great part of the hills all chalk. The Berkshire three-horse ploughs are most in use in this neighbourhood, and plough about three-quarters of an acre daily about 4 inches deep. The Howards’ plough, with a pair of horses, plough 1 acre daily 5 inches deep. By steam we plough 6 and 7 inches deep, with furrows up to 550 yards long. Having two men at the plough when ploughing stony ground, or where there is any impediment in the shape of manure or stubble before the coulter, and one man to pick a channel through the stones or chalk for the anchor discs, the wages daily amount to 12s 8d; the expenses for coal 1 cwt per acre, at 18s per ton, about 5s 6d, and for water-cart and horses, removals, &c, come to about 27s per day, or 4 to 4s 6d per acre. The country ploughing costs 13s per

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<sup>26</sup> Quoted in *Jackson’s Oxford Journal* Sept 27<sup>th</sup> 1856.

<sup>27</sup> *North Wales Chronicle* Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 1859.

acre, with 3 horses, a man and a boy, the five-horse ploughs about 18s; Thus steam-ploughing on light and medium land is shown to be profitable as respects cost per acre.<sup>28</sup>



An 1859 steam plough.

Fawley Court had its own fire-engine, which attended a rick-fire in December 1861, but Edward seems not to have made many changes to the house, as Pevsner attributes the extending and refacing of the building, turning it from a white mansion to a red-brick one, the construction of the water tower and the Versailles-like canal leading from the Thames to William Dalziel Mackenzie. Anyone curious to know how the house was furnished can find detailed invoices in the Fawley Court archive at Aylesbury.<sup>29</sup>

Edward's heir, William Dalziel Mackenzie, was 13 when Fawley was bought. He was educated as befitted a gentleman's son, and after Harrow entered Magdalen

<sup>28</sup> Jackson's Oxford Journal April 6<sup>th</sup> 1861.

<sup>29</sup> N Pevsner, E Williamson and GK Brandwood, *Buckinghamshire*, pp 326-328. AR1/93/354 includes invoices revealing what items were bought for individual rooms.

College, Oxford, in 1858.<sup>30</sup> In 1863, aged 23, he was called to the Bar as a member of the Inner Temple and in 1873 followed in father's footsteps to be High Sheriff of the County. He seems to have enjoyed entertaining the Varsity crews who competed each year at Henley Regatta and, according to one obituary, he himself had competed in a pair-oared race in 1861.<sup>31</sup> Many of the races started at Temple Island also known as Regatta Island, which belonged to Fawley Court, and the Folly there must have made an excellent vantage point.

Edward was appointed Sheriff of Oxfordshire in February 1862 and took his oath as a magistrate in May 1863. Fawley Court became the setting for many entertainments; costume balls, masked balls, steeplechases, hunt meets, horticultural shows. Some of these were for good causes, such as the bazaar to help with the building of the Radcliffe Infirmary. The local press described some of these events in glowing terms:

'Ball at Fawley Court. – Fawley Court – the seat of E Mackenzie, Esq – was again, on the 7<sup>th</sup> inst., enlivened by one of those brilliant *réunions* which have characterised that noble mansion for so many years past. The carriage drives from both entrances were furnished with well-lighted lamps, which, with the moon near the full, and the many hues of the fading foliage of the trees, made the Park seem like fairy-land. About 300 guests graced the court with their presence, numbering amongst them the leading aristocracy and gentry in the three counties; and from 10 p.m. to near 5 a.m. the dance was kept up with untiring energy. The *cuisine* arrangements reflected great credit on the efforts of Mrs. O'Tool, the caterer, and Mr. Mountain, the butler. Edwards's quadrille band supplied the music and gave great satisfaction.'<sup>32</sup>

By this time Edward and his family have clearly been accepted amongst the ranks of the landed gentry and titled families, as can be seen by the socially advantageous marriages made by his sons and daughters. In the highly stratified society of mid-Victorian England this was no mean feat, even with the aid of the 'colossal wealth' mentioned in Edward's obituary. The family may have been helped by their Scottish ancestry, anything Scottish being much in vogue thanks to Queen Victoria's passion for the Highlands, and perhaps also, having been born and bred in Lancashire, Edward had absorbed the local attitude of 'my brass is as

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<sup>30</sup> *Harrow School Register 1801-1900* shows that he arrived at Harrow in midsummer 1855 and was joined there by Edward Philippe in the Christmas Term. William had only two years there compared with his brother's five. He later sent his son William Roderick Dalziel Mackenzie for a similarly short span (1878-1879). More extensive biographical details for WD Mackenzie can be found in Joseph Foster's *Men at the Bar*, 1885, p 295.

<sup>31</sup> *Annandale Observer*, Dec 14<sup>th</sup> 1928.

<sup>32</sup> *Jackson's Oxford Journal* Nov 16<sup>th</sup> 1867.



good as t'next man's.' However he showed an interest in genealogy and in 1856 employed a researcher to investigate his line of descent.<sup>33</sup>

Towards the end of the century William Dalziel Mackenzie was supplying details of his lineage for inclusion in such works as *Burke's Landed Gentry* and Alexander Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*. Judiciously, the hard graft of the route by which the family acquired its wealth is left to the imagination and grandfather William Roberts' innkeeping activities fail to get a mention. Any gathering of the next generation of the family must have been packed with military gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs and Lords Lieutenant.



Downham Hall, Norfolk.

Edward's acquisition of land did not stop with Fawley Court. He continued to hold the estates bought by William, Auchenskeogh, Newbie and Craigs,<sup>34</sup> and also added Santon Downham in Norfolk, otherwise known as Downham Hall, a well-known sporting estate which had been the residence of the Dowager Duchess of Cleveland. The Hall with its 5,200 acres cost £81,500.<sup>35</sup> Another estate at Thetford had been added to the portfolio in 1869. These estates, plus the residence in Portland Square, allowed Edward and his family to follow a pattern of living which was the norm for wealthy Victorians and which is still perpetuated by the Royal Family as they move according to the season between Sandringham, Balmoral, London and Windsor Castle.

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<sup>33</sup> Letter from W Bruce of 63 Jermyn Strret to J Watel at Fawley Court, dated June 6<sup>th</sup> 1856. He reports that he has found Lord Seaforth of Ross in 1796, but needs a further 10 shillings to research at the College of Heralds (AR1/93/816).

<sup>34</sup> Bought for £66,700 in total, *The Diary of William Mackenzie*, p 480.

<sup>35</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, Nov 16<sup>th</sup> 1870, and *Birmingham Daily Post* Nov 17<sup>th</sup> 1870.

Though taking no further part in the construction of railways, Edward put his knowledge to good use by investing in them and lending money to contractors such as Brassey and Peto. This is probably the origin of the erroneous but persistent idea that Lancashire-born Edward Mackenzie was a Scottish banker. He is said to have lost a considerable amount of money in the Stock Market crash of 1866 and also to have been systematically defrauded by his French agent, Favrin of about £80,000.<sup>36</sup> He sustained losses of £107,000 when his stockbroker son-in-law John Edward Cooke was declared bankrupt in April 1877 after Edward refused to bail him out for a third time.<sup>37</sup> This continued to rankle, for Edward mentioned Cooke's 'unauthorized speculations' in his Will. The money bequeathed to his daughter Sarah Rosa, Mrs Cooke, was put into trust for the benefit of herself and her children, a restriction not imposed on any of his other daughters.

He gave generously to charities. In 1863 he offered to pay the entire costs (estimated at £12,000) of the British Orphan Asylum's move to Slough, where the orphaned children 'of those once in prosperity' would be accommodated at the old Royal Hotel, in future to be known as Mackenzie Park. It was opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Prince publicly announced Edward's munificence. This was widely reported in the press, though Edward told the deputation of trustees who called upon him that 'it would have harmonised more with his feelings and motives if the gift could have been privately received and privately acknowledged'. The trustees proposed that a painting of their benefactor should hang in the hall at Mackenzie Park.<sup>38</sup> Tony Sergeant, in a very informative article about Edward and the British Orphan Society, has revealed how the institution's directors added all kinds of extra items to the bill, which amounted in the end to £14,888. After some haggling it was reduced to £13,650, still very much in excess of the figure originally offered. Edward was granted the right to place five children at any one time in the asylum. This meant that he received letters beseeching him to nominate many orphaned children whose stories now form part of the Fawley Court archive.<sup>39</sup>

Edward may have been perfectly sincere in what he said about wanting to keep his gift private, but had his objective been to establish himself amongst the great and the good, he could hardly have devised a more effective publicity *coup*. On the other hand, if Edward had been principally a social climber he could probably have chosen a second wife of illustrious lineage. Instead he married his children's

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<sup>36</sup> *Mackenzie - Giant of the Railways*, pp 59-60, and *William Mackenzie: International Railway Builder*, p 118.

<sup>37</sup> See *The Times*, March 29<sup>th</sup> 1877 and Nov 17<sup>th</sup> 1877, p 10, col C.

<sup>38</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, June 26<sup>th</sup> 1863, and *The Daily News*, Nov 4<sup>th</sup> 1863. The Institution of Civil Engineers has a portrait of Edward Mackenzie by GB Black dating from 1869.

<sup>39</sup> Tony Sergeant, 'Edward Mackenzie of Fawley Court', *Origins*, Vol 33, no 3, Sept 2009, pp 92-95.

governess which meant that they continued to be looked after by someone already well-known to them. The house at Grove Street, Liverpool, had already been modified by the time of William's death to contain a large ballroom and William had started investing in land. Edward was apparently utterly horrified by the state to which overwork had brought his brother and may have reached the conclusion that it was better to deploy some of the money they had made to provide an exit from a high-stress peripatetic job, particularly as he had a large family to bring up and to establish. He seems to have spent lavishly on entertainments and improvements, but he had the means to do so and his principal objective may simply have been to provide the best opportunities he could for his offspring.

It is noticeable, however, that where his brother William made great efforts, both personal and financial, to find apprenticeships for his nephews so that they were placed on a ladder whose rungs might, if they applied themselves well, bring them advancement and increased earning powers, Edward, with one exception, seems to have felt that the provision of a country estate was occupation enough for his sons. The exception was his first-born who went to Magdalen College, Oxford, and as a student of the Inner Temple was called to the bar on October 31<sup>st</sup> 1863.<sup>40</sup> This could be viewed as useful training for one who would have to administer extensive estates and large amounts of money but was not a feature of his younger sons' upbringing. Perhaps Edward's attitude was influenced by some of the 'County' families he moved among as High Sheriff and who would have looked down on anyone who had to earn their living.

He lived long enough to see most of his children marry into the circles in which they had now taken their place. The local press once again allows us a glimpse of these sumptuous celebrations. For the union of Aimée Gertrude and Sir William Robert Clayton, 6<sup>th</sup> baronet, of Harleyford, 'the entrance gates<sup>41</sup> to the park of Fawley Court were dressed with evergreens, surmounted with flags and appropriate mottoes, and along the route to the church banners were hung across the road. At various points numerous groups of the tenantry were congregated,

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<sup>40</sup> Joseph Foster, *Men at the Bar*, 1885, p 295. William Dalziel Mackenzie had a brush with the law when he was taken to court by an American lady who was renting Fawley Court in 1917. His father's Herefords had been replaced by 40 or 50 black Highland bullocks who, it was alleged, obstructed the drives, were of fierce disposition, had charged a motor van containing wounded soldiers, and were causing the servants to leave. Mr Justice Sargant, after listening to the farm bailiff, 'discharged the cattle from the court without a stain on their character' and awarded costs to the defendant (*The Times*, Feb 3<sup>rd</sup> 1917, p 3, col C).

<sup>41</sup> If the gates were the ones which are still in position they featured various heraldic Mackenzie motifs and were surmounted by stag's heads. William Dalziel Mackenzie's arms were: 'Or, a cross parted and fretty azure, between in the first and fourth quarters a stag's head caboshed of the last, and in the, and in the second and third quarters a mountain in flames proper. Upon the escutcheon is placed a helmet befitting his degree, with a mantling azure and or; and for his crest, upon a wreath of the colours a stag's head caboshed azure, within the attires a cross coupé or, the whole between two stag's horns gold, with the Motto "Always faithful".'

awaiting the passing of the bridal party. At half-past eleven the bride arrived at the church, leaning on the arm of her father, and attended by eight young ladies as bridesmaids, exquisitely attired in silks of blue, mauve, pink and green, two dresses being devoted to each colour, which formed a pleasing contrast. The bride wore a rich train skirt of poul de soie, trimmed with Brussels lace, gracefully looped up with bouquets of orange blossoms; a wreath of orange blossoms, and Brussels lace veil, with diamond ornaments, completing her attire.....After the ceremony the newly wedded pair, and the large bridal party returned to Fawley Court in a succession of carriages and four, and were then, to the number of sixty, entertained in the dining hall at a sumptuous breakfast.....All the cottagers on Mr Mackenzie's estates of Fawley Court, Soundess, and Gillotts were, inclusive of the children separately, provided each with a pound of meat and bread; and to widows and single persons money was given; whilst at Harleyford the same rule was observed, and there was a display of fireworks there in the evening. The presents to the bride were of the most costly description, and one of the most interesting was a tribute from the tenants on Mr Mackenzie's estate in Scotland of a gold and enamelled necklace. In the afternoon Sir William and Lady Clayton left the mansion, amidst pleasing demonstrations, for Dover, *en route* for a tour on the Continent.'<sup>42</sup>

The following year brought an even more lyrical description of the wedding of Sarah Rosa and John Edward Cooke. 'We were first apprised of the eventful day by the ringing, at an early hour, of the melodious bells of Henley Church, and on wending our way to Fawley Court we found the massive gates of the two Lodges tastefully decorated with flowers and evergreens whilst in the park sylvan arches were erected at intervals, and flags were floating in the breeze. We then proceeded to the Old Church at Fawley, so charmingly situated on the high table-land which commands grand views of the Thames, flowing in all its majesty.....The road to the church was adorned at intervals by triumphal arches and garlands spontaneously erected by the villagers.....A splendid *déjeuner* preceded the departure of the bride and groom to London, *en route* for Paris and North Italy, to spend the honeymoon.....The wedding presents to the bride were very numerous and costly. A handsome diamond necklace and pendants, given by her father, were conspicuous for their splendour. And a large silver salver, presented by the domestic servants at Fawley Court, was appreciated for the sentiments which animated the gift, because surpassing the intrinsic value of it.'<sup>43</sup>

JM Davenport, who was mentioned as present at both these weddings and at Edward's funeral, wrote that Fawley Court 'abounds with treasures of art and,

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<sup>42</sup> Jackson's Oxford Journal, Nov 2<sup>nd</sup> 1872.

<sup>43</sup> Jackson's Oxford Journal Sept 13<sup>th</sup> 1873. The report also mentioned those of high rank, such as the Marquis and Marchioness of Queensbury, who were invited but could not attend, and was followed by a poem written for the occasion by Mr JS Swithinbank. .



amongst other paintings, is the celebrated one by Salter of “The Waterloo Banquet”. This picture adorns one of the rooms, whilst the grand staircase is lined with Salter’s individual portraits of the heroes.’<sup>44</sup>



The Waterloo Banquet, by William Salter.

William Salter’s great painting, completed in 1840, now hangs in the Duke of Wellington’s house, Stratfield Saye, while many of the individual portrait studies are conserved at the National Portrait Gallery.<sup>45</sup> The NPG also holds *carte-de-visite* images of Edward Mackenzie and his daughter Marie Rhodes.<sup>46</sup> Edward Mackenzie and Salter were friends and in 1852 Edward bought the painting, which had remained unsold until then. Salter also painted portraits of Edward’s children, those of Sarah Rosa and Austin being clearly identified in the 1952 inventory, others being merely listed as “‘a girl’ or ‘a boy’ by W Salter”. Salter’s series of studies for the Waterloo Banquet, still hanging on the walls of the staircase, were taken down when the house was requisitioned for the Special Operations Executive (SOE) early in the Second World War. They were carefully packed in purpose-built cabinets supplied by the Ministry of Works before removal.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> John Marriott Davenport, *Lords Lieutenant and High Sheriffs of Oxfordshire 1086-1868*, 1868, quoted in the obituary mentioned below.

<sup>45</sup> These were bequeathed by William Dalziel Mackenzie on his death in 1928: ‘I direct that the portraits of the Officers and Guests at the Waterloo Banquet shall be offered to the trustees of the National Portrait Gallery free of duty and if not accepted by them shall fall into and form part of my residuary estate.’ The portrait of the Waterloo banquet was retained and the painting of William Mackenzie was to remain at Fawley Court so long as the house remained in family ownership.

<sup>46</sup> NPG Ax9783 and NPG Ax9784. Both are undated and by unknown photographers.

<sup>47</sup> See R Walker, *Regency Portraits* Vol I, pp 634-635, which states that Major WRD Mackenzie bequeathed the Waterloo Banquet to the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Wellington. I am greatly indebted to Paul Cox of the NPG for this information.

In 1880 Edward's life came to its end, on September 27<sup>th</sup>, when he had almost reached the Biblical tally of threescore years and ten. Several obituaries were published, notably in *The Times* of Sept 30<sup>th</sup> and the *Inverness Advertiser* of Oct 5<sup>th</sup>. However the local paper went into more detail, telling us that Edward Mackenzie had 'had a severe paralytic seizure about four years ago, but he recovered from this, and was in the enjoyment of good health until, three weeks ago, upon returning from his estates in Scotland, he was visited with a renewal of the seizure. His system had been too much shaken to resist this second attack, which ended fatally. He was the youngest son of the late Mr Alexander Mackenzie, CE, of Fairburn, in Ross-shire, and was twice married; first to Miss Dalziel, of the Craigs, County Dumfries;<sup>48</sup> and secondly, to Miss Ellen Mullett, who survives him. He leaves behind a colossal fortune, made as a civil engineer and contractor. He was a man of mark in connexion with his elder brother, the late Mr William Mackenzie, and the late Mr Brassey, in the early and palmy days of the railways, they being the contractors for gigantic works in France and England. They were all men of great administrative powers, and it has been considered by those best informed on the subject that that in Sir Arthur Helps' "Life of Brassey," and the other biographies, some injustice was done to the Mackenzies in attributing to Mr Brassey alone the skill and indomitable industry and enterprise which were characteristic of the Mackenzies; as well as of Mr Brassey.<sup>49</sup> Mr Mackenzie was a Magistrate of the County of Oxford in the Henley-on-Thames Division, having qualified in May 1863, and also a Deputy-Lieutenant of the County, and he served [in] the office of High Sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1862.....

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<sup>48</sup> William Dalziel, after whom Edward's eldest son was named, was born in Rothesay, Isle of Bute, in 1793, as Mary Murphy discovered. He and his brother James worked for William Mackenzie and their sister Mary was William's first wife. William Dalziel married Maria Dewhurst of Chorley, the elder sister of William's second wife Sarah Dewhurst, in 1819 and their daughter Mary Dalziel, became Edward's first wife. William Dalziel ran the Paris office of Mackenzie & Brassey until the mid 1840s, when he fell from favour, but William specified in the Will that the Dalziels should be allowed to reside at Craigs until the death of the second spouse. The couple's other daughter Margaret Ann, married Thomas Charles Delacour in the teeth of William Mackenzie's strong disapproval and after his death in 1849 became the wife of a Captain William Forrest. It is probable that this is the Colonel William Forrest of Abbotsford Park, Edinburgh, whom Edward chose to be one of the executors of his Will.

<sup>49</sup> Sir Arthur Helps specifically states in his Preface that he has no wish to ignore 'the services.....of the partners with whom he [Brassey] acted in these great undertakings', but there are only two other references to William Mackenzie. Helps did marvel at the speed with which the collapsed Barentin viaduct was rebuilt, mentioning 'the extraordinary efforts they had to make to secure millions of new bricks and to provide hydraulic lime, which had to be brought from a distance', but there is no attempt to identify any particular contribution made by the Mackenzies and succeeding paragraphs laud Brassey's 'direct personal management' of the crisis. It was not until Margaret Mackenzie arranged for the huge collection of Mackenzie material to be transferred to the ICE that the balance began to be redressed, starting with the 1994 exhibition 'Mackenzie – Giant of the Railways' and making headway thanks to the erudition and dedication of, in particular, Mary Murphy, Michael Chrimes and David Brooke.

Mr Edward Mackenzie delighted in acts of benevolence,<sup>50</sup> and perhaps the most munificent of those acts was his gift of fourteen thousand pounds to the British Orphan Asylum at Slough, thereby enabling the Trustees to complete their purchase and take possession of the spacious premises at Slough free from incumbrance.

Mr Mackenzie has left, in addition to a widow, a large family of children, and, as is notorious, a colossal fortune. All the members of this family, with their respective husbands and wives and the several grandsons, joined in the last solemn rites on Thursday last, when Mr Mackenzie's remains were committed to the tomb in the family mausoleum in Fawley Church-yard. The funeral procession was very large, but was of an unostentatious character....<sup>51</sup>

Despite the reverses which have been mentioned and many generous benefactions to charity, his estate at his death in 1880 was valued at almost £1,000 000, more than double that of William thirty years previously. The bulk of the estate passed to the eldest son, but Edward's widow, Ellen, was to reside at Gillotts with a bequest of £500, an annuity of £1,600 and a carriage and pair. Generous sums went to the daughters (£40,000 to the unmarried and £20,000 to the married ones, on whom money would have been settled at the time of their marriage). Edward Philippe was given the right of residence at Downham Hall for his lifetime, after which it would revert to William Dalziel Mackenzie or his heirs, plus £150,000 to buy other estates. For this purpose Austin got £200,000 and Keith Ronald, who would inherit Gillotts, £150,000. These provisions were widely reported and it was noted that the new scale of stamp duties recently introduced by Sir Stafford Northcote had cost the estate £23,750, an increase of £13,600 in the amount owing to the revenue when compared to the old rules<sup>52</sup>. The Will contained many other bequests to those who had served him and sums of £1,000 to his numerous nephews and nieces<sup>53</sup>, which matched his brother William's generosity.

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<sup>50</sup> Roderick Mackenzie, writing in the much more straitened economic climate of August 1929, said of his grandfather 'the openheartedness alluded to in the above unfortunately grew on him in later life' (AR1/93/809).

<sup>51</sup> *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Oct 2<sup>nd</sup> 1880. The mausoleum, which can be found immediately to the left of the gate into the churchyard, had already been constructed as a prominent memorial to Edward's brother William Mackenzie, so that the family must have been reminded of him every time they went to Church. It already contained the body of Edward's first wife, Mary. The consecration had cost Edward £13-12-6d in 1863 and the receipt was signed by John M Davenport, Deputy Registrar, Diocese of Oxford (AR1/93/818). Much work was done on the church in memory of Edward Mackenzie. In 1883 William Dalziel Mackenzie had the church restored and the chancel rebuilt. The following year five stained glass windows by Bell & Clayton depicting saints were installed, having been paid for by 5 of Edward's children.

<sup>52</sup> *The Times*, Nov 12<sup>th</sup> 1880, also *The Inverness Advertiser* of Nov 16<sup>th</sup>, which cited *The Illustrated London News* as its source, as did *The Liverpool Mercury* of Nov 12<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Edward Mackenzie Griffith, William Alexander Griffith, William Segar Mackenzie, Richard Mackenzie, Alfred Duckworth, Harriet Shaw, Eliza Ann Mackenzie, Mary Davis, Alice Musgrave, Mary Scott, Mary Ann Snodgrass and Emily Mackenzie Painter, widow. Annuities were also set up for Alice Duckworth, widow of William Mackenzie Duckworth, for Jane Duckworth, widow of

The comment in *The Times* obituary<sup>54</sup>, widely quoted in other papers at the time, has shown that the Mackenzie brothers' achievements were already being underestimated, even in Edward's lifetime. A further 110 years would elapse until the ICE, their Director Michael Chrimes and archivist Mary K Murphy, plus the historian David Brooke, would be able to start the process of rebuilding this lost reputation. Indeed it is probable that Edward will remain forever in the shadow of his elder brother, as most of what we know of him is filtered through works about or by William. Clearly he had his own, considerable, achievements and, unlike William, numerous descendants. He and his family exemplify one of the many kinds of transformation wrought in society by the coming of the railways.

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Joseph Duckworth and for the children of the late Lavinia Briggs. He thereby deserves the gratitude of this family historian as well as that of the beneficiaries.

<sup>54</sup> *The Times*, 30 Sept 1880, p 9