

**'MR AYLIFFE, SURGEON' AND 'THIS INGENIOUS LADY':
UNCOVERING THE ORIGINS OF THOMAS HAMILTON AYLIFFE
AND ELIZABETH, THE COUNTESS OF EGREMONT**

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INTRODUCTION

I remember visiting my great-grandmother, Cora Masters, when I was a young child. She was my father's father's mother. Born Cora Shepherd in Gladstone, South Australia in 1902, she lived on a property in Collie in Western Australia which adjoined my grandparents' property where my father had grown up. My great-grandfather, Allen Masters, had died a few months before I was born. My brother, sister and I would walk down a path leading from my grandparents' house to her house. She would give us lollies when we visited her. She died at the age of 83 in 1985 when I was 6.



My great-grandmother (Cora Masters, born 1902), me (Jeremy Masters, born 1978), my sister (Sarah Masters, born 1980) and my brother (Adam Masters, born 1976) in Collie, Western Australia, c 1983

My great-grandmother told my father about her grandparents, all of whom were born in South Australia in the 1840s and 1850s.¹ The father of her mother, who was born Cora Ayliffe, was John Hamilton Ayliffe. My great-grandmother also remembered her great-grandmother, John Hamilton Ayliffe's mother. She recounted to my father that her great-grandmother, whose name she did not know, was 'a very short woman'. Her great-grandmother's name was Jane Ayliffe. She was born Jane Bell and arrived in South Australia as a girl in 1839. Jane Bell married Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe in Adelaide, South Australia in 1845, and died at the age of 83 in 1911 when my great-grandmother was aged 9.

¹ The grandparents of Cora Catherine Sarah Masters (née Shepherd) were David Shepherd, Sarah Magor, John Hamilton Ayliffe and Catherine Mill.

Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe had left England for South Australia in 1838 with his parents, two brothers, and the wife, son and daughter of one of the brothers.² His brother's wife gave birth to a second daughter during the voyage. In the family's request for emigration, Thomas was recorded as a carpenter and joiner, his father as a surgeon and his two brothers as surgeon's apprentices.³ The ship on which the Ayliffes arrived, the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*, also carried Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler, who was travelling to South Australia to become its second Governor. It was later recounted that when they landed in South Australia the Ayliffes pitched their tent alongside that occupied by Lieutenant-Colonel Gawler,⁴ and that the Ayliffes were close friends of the Governor.⁵ At the time of the Ayliffes' arrival, the Province of South Australia was only two years old.

Thomas's father, also named Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, was aged in his 60s at the time of the family's arrival and died in South Australia in 1852. The wife of Thomas (senior), Hester, died in South Australia in 1850.⁶

² The Ayliffes on board the *Pestonjee Bomanjee* were Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior), Hester Ayliffe, Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior), Henry Ayliffe, George Ayliffe, George's wife, Elizabeth Ayliffe (née Sanders), and George and Elizabeth's children, Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (III) and Elizabeth Esther Ayliffe. George and Elizabeth's daughter, Cecilia Ayliffe, was born during the voyage. The party also included a servant, Margaret McCabe, Colonel George Wyndham's agent, Frederick Mitchell, and Mitchell's family. See, for example, a receipt of J Bezant dated 22 May 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067). Elizabeth Ayliffe's father, John Sanders, and a number of her siblings also travelled on the ship. Her mother, Elizabeth Sanders, and a brother arrived in South Australia a month later on board the *Rajasthan*, which, like the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*, was owned by James Waddell & Co. One of Elizabeth Ayliffe's sisters, Esther Sanders, married Henry Ayliffe in Adelaide in 1844.

³ The request for emigration is dated 2 May 1838: see the index to *South Australian Pioneers Arriving 1836-1845* (State Library of South Australia).

⁴ Obituaries of Elizabeth Esther Bode, who was one of the Ayliffe children on the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*: *The Advertiser*, 10 August 1920, page 7; *The Register*, 10 August 1920, page 4. See also a bill of 'BENJN. EDGINGTON, Marquee, Tent and Rick Cloth Manufacturer, TO HER MAJESTY' dated 18 May 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067): 'Shipped on Board the Pestonjee Bomanjee 1 12 ft Square Tent Lined complete'.

⁵ Obituaries of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (III), who was another of the Ayliffe children on the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*: *The Advertiser*, 3 April 1900, page 7; *The South Australian Register*, 4 April 1900, page 5; *The Chronicle* on 7 April 1900, page 21.

⁶ Hester Ayliffe died on 10 June 1850 in South Australia aged 79 years. The death certificate refers to her as 'Esther Ayliffe' and states that the cause of her death was dysentery. The certificate does not record the place of her death, although it states that she was the 'Wife of T. V. [sic] Ayliffe, Surgeon, Sturt'. An article in *The Register* on 7 May 1927 at page 3 refers to a letter from Agnes Ayliffe, whose husband was a great-grandson of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior). In the letter, she stated: 'We have been discussing family history. One member declares that when the Ayliffe family arrived in South Australia, there were five of them—the head of the family, George Hamilton [this should be Thomas Hamilton], and his wife, and three sons. I think they came here in 1836 [they arrived in 1838]. As there seems to be some doubt as to the arrival of Mrs. Ayliffe, and we have no papers to assist us to prove or disprove I said I would trespass on Mr. Saunders's good nature, and beg him (through The Register) to enlighten us! You may, perhaps, have some old records which may throw light on our darkness. ... If that

The background to the Ayliffes' emigration to South Australia is worthy of note.

Before 1807, Thomas (senior), who was a member of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London and a surgeon in London and later in Devonshire, was known as Thomas Ilive.⁷ By 1810, he was using the name Thomas Ayliffe,⁸ and by 1820 was known as Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe.⁹ Thomas's sister¹⁰ was, until her marriage in 1801, named Elizabeth Ilive. Between 1787 and 1802,

Mrs. Ayliffe lived in South Australia, she must, I think, have died soon after her arrival, for my husband declares he never heard of her, but much of his great grandfather.' A letter from George Ayliffe to William Chudleigh dated 19 May 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067) stated: 'she [Cecilia Marten], Mamma [Hester Ayliffe] Peggy & Susan Sanders (my apprentice) have just arrived [in Plymouth] wet through'. A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) to William Chudleigh dated 9 June 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067) stated: 'Mrs. [Hester] Ayliffe begs me to request of You not suffer Miss Clampet to decorate her Shop by furnishing it out with her things which she has been obliged to leave behind. ... Mrs Ayliffe request [sic] to be very kindly remembered to all the Family.' A letter from Henry Ayliffe to his wife, Esther Ayliffe, dated 1850 (a transcribed version of which is appended to Ian Hamilton, 'The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton' (1978)) stated: 'The pain of my mind which arose from your description of my poor dear Mamma's illness was soon relieved by Papa's letter to my sister. Tell Papa to give Mamma one tablespoonful of the Cod-liver Oil twice a day and she will recover strength & flesh. It is quite a new medicine and works wonders.'

⁷ See, for example, Court Minutes Book of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, 19 December 1806. Hester is referred to as 'Hester Ilive' in the baptism record of her godson, William Cornelius Moore, at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel in London on 19 April 1807.

⁸ See the list headed 'SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES, LONDON' in *Holden's Annual London and Country Directory* (1811) vol 3, 76. The list is dated 27 September 1810. The name Ayliffe was used as early as 1797 in baptism records of Thomas and Hester's children, as follows: Frances or Francis on 12 April 1797 at St James, Spanish Place in Westminster, Middlesex; Elizabeth Harting on 6 April 1800 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel in London; Hester Maria on 10 August 1806 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel; Cecilia Maria on 7 June 1808 at St Patrick's Catholic Chapel in London; George Frederick on 16 February 1812 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel; Thomas Paul Hamilton on 25 January 1814 at Westminster, St Mary in Westminster; Henry on 12 November 1815 at St James, Spanish Place.

⁹ See *The Morning Post*, 22 November 1820, page 4. Thomas was referred to as Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe as early as 1812 in baptism records of his children, as follows: George Frederick on 16 February 1812 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel in London; Thomas Paul Hamilton on 25 January 1814 at Westminster, St Mary in Westminster, Middlesex; Henry on 12 November 1815 at St James, Spanish Place in Westminster.

¹⁰ See, for example, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre de Courcelles, *Dictionnaire Universel de la Noblesse de France* (1822) vol 5, 330: 'François de Salivet, chevalier de Fouchécourt, chevalier de Malte, et ex-garde-du-corps du roi, compagnie de Luxembourg, né a Southampton, en 1796, marié avec miss Charlotte-Fanny *Aylif* [sic], nièce du lord d'Aigremont, de la-quelle il a un fils.' (Translation: 'François de Salivet, knight of Fouchécourt, knight of Malta, and former body guard of the King, Luxembourg company, born at Southampton, in 1796, married to Miss Charlotte-Fanny *Aylif*, niece of Lord Egremont, by whom he has son.') This is a reference to the husband of Thomas's eldest daughter Frances (or Fanny), who is referred to below. An obituary of Thomas's son Henry in *The South Australian Register* on 29 April 1890 at page 5 stated: 'Dr. [Henry] Ayliffe was a first cousin of Lord Leconfield.' This is a reference to Elizabeth's eldest son Colonel George Wyndham, the first Baron Leconfield. An obituary of Elizabeth Ayliffe, who was the widow of Thomas's son George, in *The Advertiser* on 27 October 1894 at page 6



‘Mrs Wyndham’ (Elizabeth Ilive, later styled the Countess of Egremont) by Thomas Phillips, 1797 (owned by the National Trust and held at Petworth House, West Sussex)

Elizabeth had eight children by one of the wealthiest men in England,¹¹ George O’Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont. Lord Egremont and Elizabeth

stated: ‘Six years after her arrival her husband died, leaving her with six children, during whose minority she enjoyed an annuity allowed her by the late Lord Leconfield (her husband’s cousin).’

¹¹ See, for example, Alexander S Gourlay, ‘Egremont, Lord [George O’Brien Wyndham] (1751–1837)’ in Laura Dabundo (ed), *Encyclopedia of Romanticism — Culture in Britain, 1780s–1830s* (1992) 189–190 who states that Lord Egremont ‘was one of England’s richest men’. An obituary of Lord Egremont in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol IX (1838) 89, fn † states: ‘It is stated that, when the Earl succeeded to the title and estates, the rental amounted to not quite 45,000*l.* per annum, which at the time of his decease had been increased to 81,000*l.* annually.’ Christopher Rowell, ‘Wyndham, George O’Brien, third earl of Egremont (1751–1837)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 60, 663, 665 states that Lord Egremont had an annual income of £100,000 and owned over 100,000 acres. H M Scott, ‘Wyndham, Charles, second earl of Egremont (1710–1763)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 60, 655, 655 states that when George O’Brien Wyndham’s father, Charles Wyndham, succeeded his maternal uncle,

married in 1801 after seven of the children had been born. Before the marriage, Elizabeth was known by the courtesy title 'Mrs Wyndham'. Upon marrying, she became the Countess of Egremont. Lord Egremont and Elizabeth separated two years later in 1803.¹²

Elizabeth kept a laboratory at Petworth House in Sussex¹³ which, together with Lord Egremont's town house near London,¹⁴ was her home with Lord Egremont and their children until the separation. In around 1796, she was awarded a silver medal by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce for designing a new form of lever for lifting heavy weights.¹⁵ She wrote an article, which was published in *Annals of Agriculture* in 1797,¹⁶ regarding trials that she had undertaken in relation to potato cultivation. Lord Egremont did not want Elizabeth's name to be published with the article (the article simply stated 'By a Lady'). The agriculturist Arthur Young, who was the editor of the journal, took issue with this, writing to the Earl: 'of what consequence to a careful reader, the age, sex, or beauty of a writer; provided he or she writes good sense?'¹⁷ In an epilogue to the article, Young referred to Elizabeth as 'this very ingenious lady'.

Elizabeth enjoyed painting,¹⁸ and artists frequented Petworth House while she lived there.¹⁹ William Blake painted the 1808 version of his work 'A Vision of

the seventh Duke of Somerset and the first Earl of Egremont, in 1750 he 'thereby became second earl of Egremont and one of the richest peers in England'.

¹² H A Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837: The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire* (1950) 224. See also Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol VI, 2140 (for 9 October 1803): 'At present they [Lord Egremont and Elizabeth] do not cohabit.'

¹³ See Alison McCann, 'A Private Laboratory at Petworth House, Sussex, in the Late Eighteenth Century' (1983) 40 *Annals of Science* 635.

¹⁴ Lord Egremont's town house was, until 1794, Egremont House (now called Cambridge House) in Piccadilly in Westminster, Middlesex. After the sale of Egremont House, Lord Egremont's town house was at 4 Grosvenor Place, Westminster. See Christopher Rowell, 'The 2nd Earl of Egremont and Egremont House: A Private London Palace and Its Pictures' (1998) CXVII (434) *Apollo* 15 for a description of Egremont House and the extensive collection of art that was kept there by Lord Egremont's father, Charles Wyndham, the second Earl of Egremont. The second Earl died at Egremont House in 1763. At 15, Rowell notes that it is 'one of the few remaining eighteenth-century private London palaces'. Egremont House is discussed further below.

¹⁵ See 'Description of a Method of using, to the best Advantage, the Power applied to the Cross-Bar Level, for raising large Weights. By Mrs. Elizabeth WYNDHAM, of Petworth' in *The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures* (1797) vol VI, 246–8.

¹⁶ 'Planting Potatoo Shoots' (1797) 28 *Annals of Agriculture* 324.

¹⁷ Letter from Arthur Young to George O'Brien Wyndham dated 22 March 1797, cited in Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson, 'Elizabeth IIive Comes Alive: Petworth House Archives' (2010) 78 *West Sussex History: Journal of the West Sussex Archives Society* 11, 13.

¹⁸ See Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol III, 1113 (for 18 December 1798).

the Last Judgment', which still hangs at Petworth House, for her.²⁰ In one of his poems, he referred to 'Egremont's Countess'.²¹

In March 1804 (that is, after her separation from Lord Egremont), Elizabeth lived at Orchard Street²² (presumably Orchard Street in Marylebone, Middlesex). By June 1804, she was living at Sudbury near Harrow in Middlesex where she remained the following year.²³ Elizabeth lived at 1 Montagu Square in Marylebone in 1806 and 1807.²⁴ She is recorded as having moved in 1807 to Hurlingham House in Fulham, Middlesex, which Lord Egremont is said to have bought for her²⁵ and which he owned until 1820.²⁶ It is apparent that Elizabeth

¹⁹ See, for example, Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol III, 1115 (for 20 December 1798): 'When Marchant went with Mr. Hayley the last autumn to Petworth, He saw in Great Hall there, several of the pictures of Vandyke standing, and Collins the Miniature painter, Philips, the Portrait Painter, and a Clergyman from Cambridge copying them.'

²⁰ Letter from William Blake to Ozias Humphry dated 18 February 1808, reproduced in Archibald G B Russell, *The Letters of William Blake* (1906) 198–9: 'The design of "The Last Judgment," which I have completed, by your recommendation, for the Countess of Egremont, it is necessary to give some account of; and its various parts ought to be described, for the accommodation of those who give it the honour of their attention.' It appears that Blake also painted 'Satan Calling upon His Legions (from John Milton's "Paradise Lost")' for Elizabeth. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures, Poetical and Historical Inventions, Painted by William Blake, in Water Colours* (1809) 54 refers to the painting as 'Satan calling up his Legions, from Milton's Paradise Lost; a composition for a more perfect Picture, afterward executed for a Lady of high rank. An experiment Picture'. The painting also still hangs at Petworth House.

²¹ See John Sampson, *The Poetical Works of William Blake* (1913) 144. The poem is contained in Blake's Notebook, which is known as the 'Rosetti Manuscript'.

²² Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol VI, 2280 (for 27 March 1804).

²³ Land Tax Records, Parish of Harrow on the Hill, 1804 at page 15; 1805 at page 15. The pages on which the entries appear are headed 'Sudbury'. The Land Tax Assessment Books are dated 6 June 1804 and 19 June 1805, respectively.

²⁴ Land Tax Records, Parish of Marylebone, 1806, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3929 at page 65; 1807, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3940 at page 68.

²⁵ H A Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837: The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire* (1950) 224. Joseph Farington recorded in April 1807 that, according to the landscape painter Thomas Daniell, 'Lord & Lady Egremont are to live together again': Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kathryn Cave) (1982) vol VIII, 3010 (for 8 April 1807). This corresponds with when Elizabeth is said to have moved to Hurlingham House.

²⁶ The index to the Petworth House Archives includes the following: 'Papers relating to Hurlingham House, Fulham, co. Middx., purchased by the 3rd Earl of Egremont in 1807 and sold in 1820. PHA/1088-1093 1797-1823 6 bundles Contents: Includes abstracts of title, 1807 (with counsel's opinion), 1820; papers relating to land and other taxes; insurance policy and related documents; printed sale particulars, 1807, 1820; inventories of furniture and fixtures, of gardener's apartments, and of furniture left by the Countess of Egremont; correspondence about purchase, 1797-1808, and between the family of Euseby Cleaver and (chiefly) the Earl of Egremont and William Tyler about tenancy; receipts, bills and accounts for work done, 1815-1817; draft and copy agreements and mortgage; papers relating to tithes; schedule of deeds; copies of conveyance to Elizabeth Stuart Belli, 1820.' See also Charles James Fèret, *Fulham Old and New: Being an Exhaustive History of the Ancient Parish of Fulham* (1900) vol III,

was prominent in London society during this period.²⁷ At around the start of 1819, Elizabeth moved ‘from her seat at Putney’ to 4 Waterloo Place in St James’s, Middlesex,²⁸ where she died on 30 December 1822 at the age of 53.²⁹

In 1822, Thomas was also recorded as living at Waterloo Place,³⁰ and it is known that at some time between November 1820 and September 1823 he was indeed living at 4 Waterloo Place³¹ – presumably while Elizabeth was living there. Thomas’s daughter Frances, who had married a son of the Comte de Fouchécour (a French noble émigré),³² gave birth to a son at Elizabeth’s

244–5: ‘In 1803 Mr. Ellis sold Hurlingham House to George O’Brien Wyndham, third Earl of Egremont and Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, who resided here until 1816, when he let the mansion to the Rev. Euseby Cleaver, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. ... In 1816 he [the Reverend Cleaver] came to Fulham, his old friend, Lord Egremont, leasing him his mansion. ... In 1820 Lord Egremont sold the property to Mr. John Horsley Palmer ...’

²⁷ See *The Morning Post*, 13 November 1815, page 3; *The Morning Post*, 11 March 1817, page 3; *The Morning Post*, 21 April 1817, page 2; *The Morning Post*, 4 October 1817, page 3; *The Morning Chronicle*, 4 October 1817, page 2; *The Morning Post*, 8 October 1817, page 2; *The Morning Post*, 2 January 1819, page 3; *The Morning Chronicle*, 17 August 1819, page 3; *The Morning Post*, 23 October 1821, page 3.

²⁸ *The Morning Post*, 2 January 1819, page 3. Putney is south of the River Thames, whereas Hurlingham House is situated on the north bank of the river in Fulham, a few hundred metres from Putney Bridge. See also ‘Compendium of County History. Middlesex’ in *The Gentleman’s Magazine : and Historical Chronicle* (1818) vol LXXXVIII, part 1, 507, which records that at that time Elizabeth’s seat was at Fulham.

²⁹ Burial register of St Decuman’s in Watchet, Somerset, 10 January 1823; *The Morning Post*, 3 January 1823, page 3; *The Morning Chronicle*, 3 January 1823, page 4.

³⁰ Membership List of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, 1822.

³¹ See *The London Gazette*, 11 October 1825 (number 18183), page 1856: ‘Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, formerly of Ayliffe-Street, Kent-Road, Surrey, then of Queen-Street, Brompton-Row, then of No. 4, Waterloo-Place, Pall-Mall, then of No. 18, New Ormond-Street, Queen-Square, Middlesex ...’ Thomas was living in Brompton in November 1820 (see, for example, *The Morning Post* on 22 November 1820) and at 18 New Ormond Street in September 1823 (Land Tax Records, Parish of St Andrew, Holborn, 1823, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 2968 at page 1, dated 4 September 1823).

³² Frances married François de Courtenay, Chevalier de Fouchécour (also spelt Fouchécourt) on 21 November 1820 at St Mary Abbots in Kensington, Middlesex. François was a son of Jean François Louis Marie Marguerite de Salivet de Courtenay, Comte de Fouchécour. Jean de Courtenay had married François’ mother, Charlotte Anne Agathe de St Germain (née Grant), who was a daughter of another noble émigré, Charles Grant, Vicomte de Vaux, in London in 1793: Charles Grant, Vicomte de Vaux, *Mémoires Historiques, Généalogiques, Politiques, Militaires, &c. &c. de la Maison de Grant* (1796) 336, 357, 449–52, 454–5; Jean-Baptiste-Pierre de Courcelles, *Dictionnaire Universel de la Noblesse de France* (1822) vol 5, 330. *The Gentleman’s Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1793) vol LXIII, part 1, 1214 states (under ‘Marriages and Deaths of considerable Persons’, for 26 December 1793): ‘The Count de Fouchecour, an emigrant nobleman, to Madame de St. Germain, widow, and daugh. of Charles Grant, Viscount de Vaux. The day after the marriage, the Count de F. left England, to join the army under the Earl of Moira [in the French Revolutionary War].’ See also *The Public Advertiser, or Political and Literary Diary*, 20 January 1794. Jean de Courtenay was naturalised by an Act of Parliament in 1812: *An Act for Naturalizing Jean de Courtenay*, 52 Geo III, c 63. See also *The Journals of the House of Commons*

residence in Waterloo Place in November 1821.³³ Elizabeth was the godmother at the child's baptism;³⁴ he died at her residence aged 14 weeks.³⁵ Frances gave birth to a daughter at the same address on 29 December 1822,³⁶ which was the day before Elizabeth died.

In the eight years before Elizabeth's death and in the two years after, Thomas made payments for Elizabeth's bills.³⁷ In 1823 and 1824, he was living in New Ormond Street in the parish of St Andrew, Holborn at the substantial rent of £110 per annum.³⁸ By 1825, he was insolvent.³⁹ Thomas was also in financial difficulty at the time of the Ayliffes' emigration to South Australia in 1838.

The Ayliffe family's passage to South Australia was partly financed by Colonel George Wyndham, who was the eldest son of Lord Egremont and Elizabeth and became the first Baron Leconfield.⁴⁰ Colonel Wyndham assisted the Ayliffes financially until the 1860s.⁴¹ The Wyndhams also appear to have assisted

(1812) vol 67, 68 (23 January 1812), 303 (21 April 1812), 337 (30 April 1812), 384 (20 May 1812).

³³ *The Morning Post*, 24 September 1821, page 4.

³⁴ Baptism record of Charles William Philip Hamilton de Courtenay at St James, Spanish Place (a Catholic chapel) in Westminster, Middlesex, 4 November 1821. Charles was also baptised in the Church of England at St James, Westminster on 4 November 1821. The record of the baptism at St James, Westminster states that the parents' abode was 4 Waterloo Place.

³⁵ Burial register of St Pancras Old Church in St Pancras, Middlesex, 10 January 1822; *The Morning Post*, 9 January 1822, page 4.

³⁶ *The Morning Post*, 31 December 1822, page 3. The child was named Rosabella Elizabeth Egremont de Courtenay. She was baptised at St James, Westminster in Westminster, Middlesex on 27 January 1823. The record of the baptism states that her parents' abode was Waterloo Place.

³⁷ The index to the Petworth House Archives includes the following: 'Bills paid by T.H. Ayliffe for the late Countess of Egremont, including servants' wages, taxes, household and personal expenses. PHA/7547 1814-1824'.

³⁸ Land Tax Records, Parish of St Andrew, Holborn, 1823, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 2968 at page 1, dated 4 September 1823; 1824, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 2978 at page 2, dated 2 September 1824.

³⁹ *The London Gazette*, 11 October 1825 (number 18183), page 1856.

⁴⁰ Because he was illegitimate, Colonel George Wyndham did not inherit the Earldom of Egremont upon his father's death in 1837, although he did inherit the estate at Petworth. Instead, the Earldom passed to Colonel Wyndham's first cousin, George Francis Wyndham, who became the fourth Earl of Egremont and upon whose death in 1845 the Earldom became extinct. Colonel Wyndham was created the first Baron Leconfield in 1859. An obituary of Lord Egremont in *The Times* on 16 November 1837 at page 6 stated: 'The title of the Earl of Egremont passes to the late Lord's nephew in default of legitimate children, and part of the estates also, it being generally understood that the late Earl had the power of bestowing the greater part of his large estates and other property on his children by the late Countess of Egremont previous to their marriage.'

⁴¹ Colonel George Wyndham, the first Baron Leconfield, died on 18 March 1869 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry Wyndham, the second Baron Leconfield.

Thomas's daughter Frances, who had remained in England, as late as 1880.⁴² The Ayliffe family's association with the Wyndhams is still remembered in the names of descendants today.⁴³

Colonel Wyndham's investment in South Australia from 1838, which included the purchase of land and the appointment of an agent in the Province, followed shortly after an enterprise known as the Petworth Emigration Scheme. That scheme, which had been managed by Colonel Wyndham's former tutor, the Reverend Thomas Sockett,⁴⁴ and had been financed by Lord Egremont from 1832 until his death in 1837, involved the settlement of about 1,800 working class people in Upper Canada.⁴⁵

Why Colonel Wyndham decided to finance the Ayliffes' settlement in South Australia has been the subject of speculation. Spencer Thomas has suggested that Colonel Wyndham 'was ... desperate to sever his maternal links', that he had a "hidden agenda" of ridding himself of the Ayliffe family', and that sponsoring the emigration of the Ayliffes 'was considered the best option to remove this close branch of the family'.⁴⁶ In support of this, he refers to the fact that the Wyndhams were granted a royal licence and authority in 1839 to use the name Wyndham rather than Wyndham Ilive.⁴⁷ Sarah Webster has suggested that 'it is ... more likely that [Colonel Wyndham] considered [the Ayliffes] a suitable case for assisted settlement, and that dropping the name Ilive was an unconnected attempt to remove the social stigma of illegitimacy'.⁴⁸

Correspondence at around the time of the Ayliffe family's emigration, which is examined below, records that Colonel Wyndham conceived of the idea of the Ayliffes emigrating from England. He wrote to the Reverend Thomas Sockett that '[t]here are 3 young men [Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe's sons, George, Thomas and Henry], who have had good education, I am told, who I should

⁴² The index to the Petworth House Archives includes the following: 'Letters accompanying the payment of Madame Fanny de Courtenay's pension. PHA/7922 1879-1880'.

⁴³ There are living descendants of George Ayliffe, the eldest son of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior), who have the middle name Wyndham. George's daughter, Cecilia Hill, called herself Mrs Wyndham Hill, and her son, Frederick, was known as Mr Wyndham Hill. Frances, who was the eldest daughter of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior), had a daughter named Rosabella Elizabeth Egremont de Courtenay. A great-grandson of George Ayliffe, Frank Egremont Ayliffe, was born in South Australia in 1923.

⁴⁴ See Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson, *Poor Cottages & Proud Palaces: The Life and Work of the Reverend Thomas Sockett of Petworth 1777-1859* (2007).

⁴⁵ See Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project 1832-1837* (2000).

⁴⁶ Spencer Thomas, 'Colonel George Wyndham, 1st Lord Leconfield, and His Agency in the Fledgling Colony of South Australia, 1838-1860' (1998) 97 *South Australian Geographical Journal* 3, 10, 17.

⁴⁷ *The London Gazette*, 25 January 1839 (number 19698), page 142.

⁴⁸ Sarah Webster, 'Agents and Professionalisation: Improvement on the Egremont Estates c. 1770 to c. 1860' (PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, October 2010) 181.

wish to assist in their endeavours to establish themselves in the World'. He said that he would 'propose that all three go to America' but 'would send one to Australia'.⁴⁹ The Reverend Sockett responded that 'if the three brothers are on brotherly terms with each other, the best thing would be for them all to go together to Australia'.⁵⁰ After later telling the Ayliffe brothers that he would 'endeavour to establish them in life, if they will all 3 decide upon going to Australia',⁵¹ Colonel Wyndham wrote to the Reverend Sockett: 'I think the old Man & Woman [Thomas and Hester] had better go with their Children'.⁵²

There are, in my view, a number of possible reasons why Colonel Wyndham wanted the Ayliffes to emigrate. One possibility is that Thomas was in financial difficulty at the time⁵³ and the family was possibly reliant upon the Wyndhams for financial support in England.⁵⁴ Another is that, following Lord Egremont's death in 1837, the illegitimacy of Colonel Wyndham had had a real bearing upon his social status, with the Earldom of Egremont passing to Colonel Wyndham's legitimate first cousin. That is, I agree with Sheila Haines and

⁴⁹ Letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 4 February 1838, Petworth House Archives, PHA 729.

⁵⁰ Letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 5 February 1838, Petworth House Archives, PHA 734.

⁵¹ Letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 6 February 1838, Petworth House Archives, PHA 729.

⁵² Letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 23 February 1838, Petworth House Archives, PHA 731. The Reverend Sockett attended a dinner on board the *Pestonjee Bomanjee* on 4 May 1838 before the ship set sail. The dinner was hosted by the ship's owners, James Waddell & Co, in honour of Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler who was about to travel to South Australia to become its new Governor. The party consisted 'of about 200 ladies and gentlemen', including Colonel Robert Torrens and George Fife Angas. James Waddell took the chair, and the Reverend Sockett said grace. A number of speeches were made, including by Lieutenant-Colonel Gawler, Colonel Torrens and Angas. See *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 6 October 1838, page 3: 'DINNER TO GOVERNOR GAWLER AND THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COLONIZATION COMMISSIONERS. (From the *South Australian Record*, May 9.)'

⁵³ See, for example, letter from William Chudleigh to Colonel George Wyndham dated 8 June 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067): 'I flatter myself the difficulties in which they [the Ayliffe family] have been placed for the last six Months, will have its desired effect in changing that course which they have followed for some time ... I believe the old man [Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior)] to be honest and upright, and has been much respected here and has had a good Practice, but the limits of this Sheet will not allow me to go into detail of his Failure - ...'

⁵⁴ A letter from Henry Ayliffe to Colonel George Wyndham dated 14 December 1859 referred to Henry's father, Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior), 'enjoying the bounty of The third Earl of Egremont' 'when in England' (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072). A letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 5 February 1838 stated that 'if they [Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe's sons, George, Thomas and Henry] were to marry, & settle in this country, they would probably be a continued trouble to you' (Petworth House Archives, PHA 734). These references suggest that the Ayliffe family may have received financial support from the Wyndhams while in England (that is, before arrangements were made for the Ayliffes' emigration).

Leigh Lawson that the Ayliffes ‘were perhaps undesirable reminders of [Colonel Wyndham’s] illegitimate birth and a potential drain on his resources’.⁵⁵

However, I also think it is likely that Colonel Wyndham genuinely wanted to help the Ayliffes in recognition of the familial connection. This conclusion is supported by Colonel Wyndham’s statement that he wished to assist the Ayliffe brothers ‘in their endeavours to establish themselves in the World’. The fact that Colonel Wyndham continued to provide financial assistance to the Ayliffe family for more than two decades after they left England also supports such a conclusion – notwithstanding that the assistance was often given in response to requests from the family.

The Reverend Sockett alluded to such various reasons for the Ayliffes’ emigration when he wrote to Colonel Wyndham that ‘while on the one hand, you will feel disposed to aid, on the other you will wish that they should remove as far off as possible’.⁵⁶

Colonel Wyndham was born when the Earl was 35 and Elizabeth was about 17 or 18. An account at around the time of their separation suggests that she was 15 when their relationship began.⁵⁷ How Elizabeth came to be with one of the wealthiest men in England, in around 1784 or 1785, is unknown. The identity of her father has been the subject of numerous theories, and has only recently been uncovered. In 1950, Hugh Wyndham, who was a grandson of Colonel Wyndham and became the fourth Baron Leconfield, wrote in his history of the Wyndham family that Elizabeth’s ‘origin and parentage are obscure’.⁵⁸ Alison McCann wrote in 1983 that ‘[t]antalisingly little is known about her origins and education’.⁵⁹ In 2010, Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson said that Elizabeth ‘is one of history’s shadowy figures’ and that ‘her family background is still unknown in spite of a great deal of vigorous research and speculation’.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson, *Poor Cottages & Proud Palaces: The Life and Work of the Reverend Thomas Sockett of Petworth 1777–1859* (2007) 198.

⁵⁶ Letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 5 February 1838, Petworth House Archives, PHA 734.

⁵⁷ Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol VI, 2140 (for 9 October 1803).

⁵⁸ H A Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837: The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire* (1950) 222.

⁵⁹ Alison McCann, ‘A Private Laboratory at Petworth House, Sussex, in the Late Eighteenth Century’ (1983) 40 *Annals of Science* 635, 636.

⁶⁰ Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson, ‘Elizabeth Ilive Comes Alive: Petworth House Archives’ (2010) 78 *West Sussex History: Journal of the West Sussex Archives Society* 11, 11. They further state (at 11) that ‘[w]e have, so far, no formal or informal record of her parents’. See also Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project 1832–1837* (2000) 15: ‘Ilive’s [sic] origins are not certain’; Susan Matthews, *Blake, Sexuality and Bourgeois Politeness* (2011) 181: ‘[Elizabeth’s] background is unknown’.

One account of Elizabeth's parentage suggested that her father was a vicar, and that Lord Egremont 'practically bought her [off] her father'; another that her father was a farmer. A third account suggested that her father was 'the Rev. Mr. Iloff', an under master of Westminster School.⁶¹

Accounts of the Ayliffe family history were told by Thomas's granddaughter, Cecilia Hill. She was the baby born on the *Pestonjee Bomanjee* during the Ayliffes' voyage to South Australia. Cecilia married an eminent Melbourne elocutionist, Thomas Padmore Hill,⁶² and became famous in her own right as an author of 'sensation' fiction.⁶³ In my view, Cecilia's accounts of the family history should be treated with caution. This is not only because some of her accounts are,

⁶¹ Ian Hamilton, 'The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton' (1978) refers to eight different accounts of Thomas's ancestry, including these three. The other five are: (1) 'descendant of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton which would account for Hamilton being a family name'; (2) 'a child or grandchild of Percy Wyndham (a brother of the second Earl of Egremont) who emigrated to Ireland took the name of O'Brien and was created Earl of Thomond'; (3) 'a son of Sir Joseph Ayliffe, an able Antiquary of the eighteenth century, a keeper of the State papers and author of the "Universal Librarian"'; (4) 'a grandchild or great-nephew of Sir Benjamin Ayliffe, a wealthy banker who died in 16--'; and (5) 'a great, great grandchild of Sir George Ayliffe of Grittenham'. Most of these five accounts can easily be disproved. On (2), Percy Wyndham-O'Brien, the first Earl of Thomond, who was an uncle of George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont, died without issue. On (3), Sir Joseph Ayloff, sixth Baronet, an antiquarian, died with no surviving issue, his only child Joseph having died in 1756 at the age of 21. The Ayloff baronetcy became extinct upon Sir Joseph Ayloff's death. On (4), assuming that the reference to 'Sir Benjamin Ayliffe, a wealthy banker' is to Sir Benjamin Ayloff, fourth Baronet, who was a merchant, the theory that Thomas was his 'grandchild or great-nephew' can also be disproved. Sir Benjamin Ayloff, fourth Baronet, died in 1722 with no male issue. His brother, Sir William Ayloff, third Baronet, died without issue. His other brother Henry Ayloff had one son, Sir John Ayloff, fifth Baronet, who died unmarried. Upon the death of Sir John Ayloff, fifth Baronet, the baronetcy passed to his second cousin Sir Joseph Ayloff, sixth Baronet (referred to above). Jill Staton (ed), *Biographical Index of South Australians 1836-1885* (1986) vol 1, 49 suggests that Thomas's father was Francis Hamilton.

⁶² *The Argus*, 19 April 1864, page 5 stated: 'The *Oratorical Trainer* of Mr. T. P. Hill has, we observe, reached a second edition, a fate almost unique for a book conceived and published in the colony'. *The Argus*, 19 September 1873, page 7 reported that 'Mr. T. P. Hill's *Oratorical Trainer* enjoys the unique distinction of being the first work published in Australia which has run through six editions and entered upon a seventh.' Joy Damousi, *Colonial Voices: A Cultural History of English in Australia 1840-1940* (2010) 82 states that *The Oratorical Trainer* 'became one of the most widely sold of any book produced in the Australian colonies' and 'went on to an astonishing fourteen editions'.

⁶³ See the discussion of Cecilia Hill's 'sensation' novel, *Checkmated* (1878), in Susan Martin and Kylie Mirmohamadi, *Sensational Melbourne: Reading, Sensation Fiction and Lady Audley's Secret in the Victorian Metropolis* (2011) 123-6. At 123, Martin and Mirmohamadi state that '*Checkmated* is full of sensational events and details - respectable individuals hiding disreputable secrets, bigamy, suicide, disguised identities, gambling, extra-marital affairs, shameful and sensational family disgraces'. At 125, they say that '[i]t has an Ivy-covered ancestral home threatened by an inappropriate marriage'. These descriptions are in my view reminiscent of Cecilia Hill's pamphlet, 'Statement of Facts Re Thomas Hamilton, Called Ilive - Afterwards Ayliffe, and His Family, the Late Earl of Egremont, and the Wyndham-Ilive Family' (1889), which is appended to Ian Hamilton, 'The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton' (1978). It is apparent that much of the 1889 pamphlet is fanciful.

supposedly, second hand, but also in view of records that cast doubt on her credibility. At around the time that she told those accounts, Cecilia was reported in newspapers to have travelled through New Zealand, and to San Francisco, claiming (falsely) that she was a correspondent with the London *Morning Post* and to have thereby obtained access to eminent people and free passage on railways. Cecilia later brought court proceedings in England against the executors of the estate of a recently deceased wealthy man. According to the executors, two documents allegedly signed by the deceased, upon which Cecilia's case rested, were forgeries. The jury found for the executors. One newspaper report of the case concluded: 'My own idea, based on personal experience, is that the lady is not entirely responsible for her actions.'⁶⁴

Further, some of Cecilia Hill's accounts of the Ayliffe family have the appearance of pseudo-history, and many parts of her accounts can be demonstrated to be wrong, which suggests that she may have fabricated them. A description of a pamphlet written by Cecilia about the Ayliffe family history stated that, according to the pamphlet, 'the Ayliffes are descended from Ayliffe, King of Northumbria, and the O'Neills, Kings in Ireland—whereof one of the first married Scoti the daughter of Pharaoh (date not given) and settled on the Nile—whence he took his terrestrial title, O'Neill," *i.e.*, "O' th' Nile ..."⁶⁵ Elsewhere she claimed that Alexander Hamilton (the United States 'Founding Father') was her 'great great grand uncle',⁶⁶ which can be shown to be incorrect. An obituary of her uncle, Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior), in 1895 points to a possible financial motive for Cecilia's claims about her lineage: 'His niece, Mrs. Hill, widow of the late T. P. Hill, is now in England, and is engaged in an endeavour to secure what may turn out to be a somewhat large estate belonging to the family.'⁶⁷ I therefore think that particular care should be taken to establish the history of the family by reference to primary sources, rather than later accounts such as those of Cecilia Hill.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ *The Advertiser*, 27 April 1900, page 6. See also 'Assault on Dr. Neild', *The Argus*, 28 December 1876, page 6, which reported on a criminal case involving an incident during which Cecilia's estranged husband, Thomas Padmore Hill, struck Dr James Neild in the face at the Theatre Royal in Melbourne – according to Hill, 'to defend her honour'. Dr Neild gave evidence that he had called upon Cecilia when she 'was labouring under very great nervous excitement' and 'was suffering from great mental prostration owing to her separation from her husband', and that 'her poor boy [Frederick Hill] came to [Dr Neild] with tears in his eyes and told me that his mother was very ill'.

⁶⁵ *The Wiltshire Archeological and Natural History Magazine* (1898–99) vol XXX, 154.

⁶⁶ Letter from Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham Hill to Robert Seton dated 28 June 1894 (Archives of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana).

⁶⁷ *The South Australian Register*, 30 July 1895, page 6.

⁶⁸ In my view, two documents written by another grandchild of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior), Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe (a son of Henry and Esther Ayliffe), who was an Adelaide solicitor, should also be treated with caution. The documents, which are entitled 'Origin of the Name Ilive' and 'Memoirs of Descendants of the Ayliffes of Grittenham in Australia' and are appended to Ian Hamilton, 'The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton' (1978), contain assertions which can be disproved, as discussed

Before the identity of Thomas and Elizabeth's father was recently discovered, the three most credible accounts of his identity were, in my view, an account in 1803 (a farmer), one in 1838 (an under master of Westminster School) and one in 1908 (a vicar).

The 1803 account is in the diary of Joseph Farington, who was a landscape painter. Farington referred to a meeting that he had had with Ozias Humphry, who was a miniature portrait artist and upon whose recommendation William Blake painted a version of 'A Vision of the Last Judgment' for Elizabeth.⁶⁹ In October 1803 (five months after a deed of separation between Lord Egremont and Elizabeth had been executed), Farington recorded:⁷⁰

Humphry dined with me. — He told me that Mrs. Wyndham was married to Lord Egremont above two years ago. — He believes she was a farmer's daughter, & was with His Lordship at 15 years of age. — She was according to her own account neither desirous of being married to His Lordship nor of being acknowledged *Countess of Egremont*, which He sd. she might declare herself if she pleased. The cause of their present unhappiness is Jealousy on her part. — She apprehends His Lordship is not faithful to her, — and that with people about her. — At present they do not cohabit.

It is to be noted that even at that time – more than 200 years ago – Elizabeth's parentage was the subject of conjecture.

A further reference to the theory that Elizabeth's father was a farmer is contained in the fourth Baron Leconfield's history of the Wyndham family, which states: '[Elizabeth's] father is variously reported to have served on the staff at Westminster School, to have been a Devonshire farmer, or a Surrey rector.'⁷¹ No source is cited for the 'Devonshire farmer' account. It is possible that a connection with Devonshire was drawn in light of the fact that Thomas and his family moved from London to Devonshire in the 1820s.⁷²

below. Ian Hamilton was a great-grandson of George Ayliffe. Hamilton's paper draws on the writing of Cecilia Hill and Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe, although it acknowledges (at 21, fn 21) that the document entitled 'Memoirs of Descendants of the Ayliffes of Grittenham in Australia' is '[a] mere fantasy in parts'. Maggy Ragless, 'Shepherds Hill Recreation Park: Suburban Bush Merges in Time and Place' in Pam Smith, F Donald Pate and Robert Martin (eds), *Valleys of Stone: The Archaeology and History of Adelaide's Hills Face* (2006) 260, 264–6 also draws on accounts of Cecilia Hill and Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe which are contained in Hamilton's paper.

⁶⁹ Letter from William Blake to Ozias Humphry dated 18 February 1808, reproduced in Archibald G B Russell, *The Letters of William Blake* (1906) 198–9.

⁷⁰ Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol VI, 2140 (for 9 October 1803).

⁷¹ H A Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837: The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire* (1950) 217.

⁷² *Notes and Queries* (1904) s10-I, 234 states: 'There is a tradition that this lady [Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont] at the time of her death (at Hurlingham) had long been living there apart from the Earl, and that her burial was arranged solely by her brother, a Devonshire farmer, and that none of the Earl's family appeared at it.' It is incorrect that Elizabeth died at Hurlingham (she died at Waterloo Place) or that her brother was a Devonshire farmer (rather,

The 1838 account is contained in an obituary of Lord Egremont in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. That obituary, which was published 15 years after Elizabeth's death, stated that Elizabeth was 'the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Iliff, one of the Under Masters of Westminster School'.⁷³ Since then, this account of Elizabeth's parentage has been adopted in various sources,⁷⁴ including in peerage guides which have listed her descendants.⁷⁵ For example, in 1841 *The Popular Encyclopedia* reproduced the statement contained in the 1838 obituary.⁷⁶ The 1860 edition of Robert Dod's *The Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage, of Great Britain and Ireland*, published a year after Elizabeth's eldest son had been made the first Baron Leconfield, did not even list Elizabeth's name, but recorded that Colonel Wyndham was the 'natural son of the 3rd Earl of Egremont ... , by the dau. of the Rev. Mr. Iliff, one of the masters of Westminster School'.⁷⁷ *Burke's Peerage* states that Elizabeth's father was 'Rev — Iliffe, of Westminster Sch'.⁷⁸ *The Complete Peerage* states that her father was 'the Rev Iliffe, a Master of Westminster School'.⁷⁹

It appears that the reference in the 1838 obituary to 'the Rev. Mr. Iliff, one of the Under Masters of Westminster School' may have been intended to refer to the Reverend Thomas Iliff, who was a librarian of Westminster Abbey and who lived at Dean's Yard, Westminster (adjacent to Westminster School). Although the Reverend Thomas Iliff did have a daughter Elizabeth (whose baptism was

Thomas was a surgeon in London at the time of Elizabeth's death, and was later a surgeon in Devonshire).

⁷³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol IX (January 1838) 91.

⁷⁴ In addition to the sources referred to below, see, for example, Arthur B Chamberlain, *George Romney* (1910) 200.

⁷⁵ The descendants of Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont include: her son, Colonel George Wyndham, who was the first Baron Leconfield and a soldier; her son, General Sir Henry Wyndham, who commanded the light company of the Second Battalion, Coldstream Guards and was involved in the closing of the gates of Hougoumont during the Battle of Waterloo, and was a Member of Parliament; her son, Colonel Charles Wyndham, who charged with the Scots Greys and was severely wounded during the Battle of Waterloo; her grandson, Henry Wyndham, who was the second Baron Leconfield and a Member of Parliament; her grandson, Percy Scawen Wyndham, who was a Member of Parliament; her great-grandson, George Wyndham, who was a Member of Parliament, Under-Secretary of State for War and Chief Secretary for Ireland; her great-great-grandson, John Edward Reginald Wyndham, who was the sixth Baron Leconfield and the first Baron Egremont, and was Private Secretary to Prime Minister Harold Macmillan; and her great-great-grandson, Henry Vincent Yorke (known by the *nom de plume* Henry Green), who was a novelist. The descendants of Elizabeth also include the Burrell baronets.

⁷⁶ *The Popular Encyclopedia; Being a General Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, Biography, History, and Political Economy* (1841) vol VII, part II, 459, under 'EGREMONT, EARL OF'.

⁷⁷ Robert P Dod, *Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage, of Great Britain and Ireland* (1860) 354–5. See also the entry for Henry Wyndham (at 589) and subsequent editions of this source.

⁷⁸ *Burke's Peerage* (2003) vol I, 1289.

⁷⁹ Vicary Gibbs (ed), *The Complete Peerage* (2000) vol 8, 505.

recorded⁸⁰) and a son Thomas, his daughter Elizabeth does not appear in later accounts of the family (including in the Reverend Thomas Iliff's will),⁸¹ which suggests that she may have died young.⁸² Further, the Reverend Thomas Iliff's son Thomas died in the Isle of Wight in 1805.⁸³ In any event, I have established that the father of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) was not 'the Rev. Mr. Iliff', as referred to below. It is therefore apparent that the obituary of Elizabeth's own husband, the third Earl of Egremont, inaccurately recorded her parentage, and that references to her parentage in current peerage guides are incorrect.⁸⁴

It is unclear whether Lord Egremont's family was responsible for the reference to 'the Rev. Mr. Iliff' in the 1838 obituary. In this regard, it is worth noting in full the passage of the obituary in relation to Lord Egremont's family:⁸⁵

By a lady now deceased, who bore the name of Mrs. Wyndham, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Iliff, one of the Under Masters of Westminster School, the Earl of Egremont had issue three sons and three daughters. The former are, George Wyndham, esq. now of Petworth, Colonel in the army ; Henry Wyndham, esq., of Sladeland, Sussex, a Major-General in the army ; and Charles Wyndham, esq., of Rogate, Sussex, a

⁸⁰ Elizabeth Iliff, daughter of Thomas and Frances Iliff, was baptised in July 1776 at St Clement Danes in Westminster, Middlesex.

⁸¹ Will of the Reverend Thomas Iliff dated 3 May 1803 (United Kingdom National Archives, PROB 11/1398/334). See also *Monumental Inscriptions in the Old Churchyard of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey* (1880) part I, 156, fn 2, which lists eight children whom the Reverend Thomas Iliff 'is supposed to have had' but does not refer to his daughter Elizabeth.

⁸² Adelaide Proformat, Document prepared for Mark Hamilton and Robert Hamilton <http://www.jaunay.com/ayliffe.pdf> states: '[T]his stage of the research reveals that the Revd Thomas ILIFFE and Frances had a daughter called Elizabeth and a son called Thomas. What I have not been able to prove conclusively is that his son, Thomas was the Thomas who married Hester JENKS, however, there is a very high probability that this is so.' The document suggests a reason why Elizabeth does not appear in the will: 'Only one daughter is mentioned, Frances, but since Elizabeth was by then the wife of an earl, he may have seen no need to cater for her needs!' See also Daniel Hipwell, 'THE REV. — ILIFF', *Notes and Queries* (1911) s11-IV, 210, 521, who incorrectly states that the Reverend Thomas Iliff's daughter Frances 'was the mother of the children of George O'Brien (Wyndham), third Earl of Egremont'.

⁸³ *Monumental Inscriptions in the Old Churchyard of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey* (1880) part I, 156, fn 2 states that one of the Reverend Thomas Iliff's children was 'Thomas, a Major in the East India Company's Service, died in the Isle of Wight'. *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1805) vol LXXV, part 1, 489 (under 'DEATHS.') states: 'At Newport, in the Isle of Wight, on his way to embark for Bombay, in the E. Indies, Capt. Thomas Iliffe, of the 7th regiment of Bombay Infantry, and son of the late Rev. Tho. I. of Kilby, co. Leicester. The sudden departure of the East India fleet put it out of his power, by any offers to boatmen, to overtake them ; and the disappointment of his prospects had such an effect on his mind that he terminated his life with a pistol.' See also *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1805) vol LXXV, part 2, 675 (under 'Additions and Corrections in Obituaries.—Births'): 'P. 489. The manner in which the death of Capt. Iliffe is stated, we are well assured, is erroneous. He was for three weeks confined, by severe consumption, in the house of Mr. Thompson, bookseller at Newport, and never was able to quit his room during that whole period.'

⁸⁴ In particular, it is to be noted that the references to Elizabeth's parentage in the current editions of *Burke's Peerage* and *The Complete Peerage*, referred to above, are incorrect.

⁸⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol IX (January 1838) 91.

Colonel in the army. The daughters are, Frances, married to Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, Bart. and has issue three sons and one daughter ; Mary, married in 1819 to George Earl of Munster, eldest son of his late Majesty William the Fourth, and has issue two sons and two daughters ; and — married to John King, esq.

In addition to the inaccurate reference to Elizabeth's father, there is one other error and one omission in this passage. The error is the suggestion that Mary was a daughter of Elizabeth. In fact, Mary was an illegitimate daughter of Elizabeth Fox. Another obituary of Lord Egremont more accurately stated that '[t]he acknowledged family of the late Earl of Egremont, consists of six children ; three sons and two daughters by Miss Ayliffe [correctly, Ilive], previous to her marriage with the Earl, and one daughter by a Miss Fox'.⁸⁶ The omission is the dash in place of the name of Lord Egremont and Elizabeth's daughter Charlotte. In light of this additional error and this omission, it is in my view likely that Lord Egremont's family did not prepare the 1838 obituary.

It is to be noted again, however, that the incorrect reference to Elizabeth being a daughter of the Reverend Iliff was adopted in later peerage guides, as early as 1860. Whether or not a family member prepared the 1838 obituary, it seems likely either that the family approved entries in later peerage guides or that it deliberately refrained from correcting the record.⁸⁷ It therefore appears that the family may have sought to keep Elizabeth's origins obscure.

Further, the 1838 obituary was published a year before Colonel Wyndham and his brothers obtained royal licence and authority to use the name Wyndham rather than Wyndham Ilive, which had signified their illegitimacy. Before then, the name Wyndham Ilive had been used to refer to Elizabeth's children in official documents, including in the marriage records of Colonel Wyndham and two of his siblings.⁸⁸ It is therefore apparent that attempts were being made

⁸⁶ *The Brighton Patriot*, 21 November 1837. It is recorded elsewhere that Lord Egremont had three other children by Elizabeth Fox – Charles Crole Wyndham, Laura Crole Wyndham and William John Crole Wyndham – and that Elizabeth Fox also had a son, George Seymour Crole, by the Prince of Wales (later King George IV).

⁸⁷ It may have been considered respectable for Elizabeth to have been descended from a person supposedly connected with Westminster School; both the third Earl of Egremont and his father, the second Earl of Egremont, attended the school.

⁸⁸ In the baptism records of Lord Egremont and Elizabeth's children, Henry, Edward, William, Charlotte and Charles, the surname of the children appears as 'Wyndham Ilive'. Those records are referred to further below. The record of the marriage of their daughter, Frances, to Charles Merrik Burrell on 8 August 1808 at St George Hanover Square in Westminster, Middlesex refers to her as 'Frances Wyndham Ilive'. The witnesses to the marriage were 'Egremont' (Lord Egremont), 'Elizabeth Egremont' (Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont) and 'Geo. Wyndham' (later, Colonel Wyndham). The record of the marriage of Colonel Wyndham to Mary Fanny Blunt on 25 April 1815 at St George Hanover Square refers to him as 'George Ilive Wyndham'. The record of the marriage of Charlotte to John James King on 29 July 1823 at St George Hanover Square refers to her as 'Charlotte Wyndham Ilive'. Colonel Wyndham, who was a witness to the marriage, signed his name as 'George Wyndham Ilive'. On the other hand, the record of the marriage of Henry to Elizabeth Somerset on 18 July 1812 at St George Hanover Square refers to him as 'Henry Wyndham'. On 21 January 1838, Colonel Wyndham, Henry and Charles were granted royal licence and authority to use the surname Wyndham only:

shortly after Lord Egremont's death for the Ilive name to be discarded. This context may assist to explain any reluctance that the Wyndhams had to acknowledge their Ilive ancestry.

The 1908 source is in the diary of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who was born at Petworth House in 1840 and whose father was a brother-in-law of Colonel Wyndham. He refers to a discussion with his first cousin, Percy Wyndham, who was born in 1835 and was a son of Colonel Wyndham and a grandson of Lord Egremont and Elizabeth. He states:⁸⁹

At breakfast [Percy Wyndham] gave me some interesting particulars about his family history which I had asked him for. He tells me as to his grandfather, Lord Egremont, and his marriage, that his (Percy's) grandmother was the daughter of a certain Reverend Iliffe, a beneficed clergyman of Surrey, Vicar of Bramley, I think, who made her over to him when quite young. She was very beautiful and very innocent. Lord Egremont practically bought her of [sic] her father, and for some years they lived together very happily.

Bramley in Surrey is not a vicarage, but a curacy in the vicarage of Shalford. A list of vicars of Shalford and a list of curates of Bramley, though apparently incomplete, do not refer to anyone by the name of Iliffe, Iliff, Ayliffe or Ilive.⁹⁰

It seems plausible that Percy Wyndham's account of Elizabeth's parentage, which was told almost 86 years after her death, was influenced by the references in the peerage guides to 'the Rev. Mr. Iliff'.

I have recently discovered that the father of Thomas Ilive (later known as Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe) was, in fact, Abraham Ilive of Oxford,⁹¹ as referred to below. Given that Thomas was her brother, Abraham Ilive was also the father of Elizabeth Ilive (later the Countess of Egremont).

It is apparent that Thomas's father, Abraham Ilive of Oxford, was the printer Abraham Ilive who died in Oxford in 1777.⁹² It also appears that Thomas's

The London Gazette, 25 January 1839 (number 19698), page 142. The notice of the grant referred to them as 'George Wyndham (otherwise George Wyndham Ilive)', 'Henry Wyndham (otherwise Henry Wyndham Ilive)' and 'Charles Wyndham (otherwise Charles Wyndham Ilive)'.

⁸⁹ Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries – Being a Personal Narrative of Events 1888 – 1914* (1921) part 2, 206 (for 13 July 1908).

⁹⁰ Clergy of the Church of England Database <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>.

⁹¹ Court Minutes Book of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, 2 October 1792. An image of the record is reproduced below.

⁹² Abraham Ilive was buried at St Thomas the Martyr in Oxford, Oxfordshire on 30 January 1777. John Nichols, *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer, F. S. A. and of Many of His Learned Friends* (1782) 130 states: '[Jacob Ilive] had two brothers, Abraham and Isaac, who were both likewise printers'. John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol I, 309, quoting Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies* (1778) 64, states: "This [Thomas Ilive] was the father of Jacob, whom Mr. Rowe Mores thus describes: "Jacob Ilive was a printer, and the son of a printer ; and had two brothers, Abraham and Isaac, who were both likewise printers. Abraham died at Oxford in 1777. ..."' The 1924

mother was Cecilia Ilive.⁹³ Abraham was one of a well known family of London printers. He was the youngest son of Thomas and Jane Ilive.⁹⁴ Thomas and

reproduction (edited by D B Updike) and the 1961 reproduction (edited by Harry Carter and Christopher Ricks) of the 1778 text omit the reference to Abraham. See also 'ILIVE (JACOB)' in *A New and General Biographical Dictionary* (1784) vol VII, 398, fn A: '[Jacob Ilive] had two brothers, Abraham and Isaac, who were both likewise printers'; Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries* (1887) 346 (footnote omitted): '[Jacob Ilive's] father was a printer resident in Aldersgate Street, and his two brothers, Abraham and Isaac, also followed the same calling'; Henry Richard Tedder, 'ILIVE, JACOB (1705–1763)' in Sidney Lee (ed), *Dictionary of National Biography* (1891) vol XXVIII, 414, 414: '[Jacob Ilive's] two brothers, Abraham (*d.* at Oxford 1777) and Isaac, were also printers'; James A Herrick, 'Ilive, Jacob (*bap.* 1705, *d.* 1763)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 200, 200: '[Jacob Ilive's] two brothers, Abraham (*bap.* 1706, *d.* 1777) and Isaac (*bap.* 1704), were also printers and members of the Stationers' Company.'

⁹³ 'Pension List, 1763–1811' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 72 (microfilm).

⁹⁴ Abraham Ilive's father, Thomas, was a son of Isaack Ilive who was a tobacconist, and was bound as a stationer's apprentice to Thomas Snowden on 3 June 1678 for a term of eight years: 'Apprentice Registers' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). Thomas was freed by Thomas Milbourne on 7 October 1689 and was fined 'for not being turned over at the [stationers'] hall': 'Freeman's Register' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 38 (microfilm). He was clothed as a liveryman on 6 October 1701: Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 41 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641–1700* (1974) 156; Michael Treadwell, 'London Printers and Printing Houses in 1705' (1980) 7 *Publishing History* 5, 24. Thomas and Jane's children were baptised in London as follows: Henry on 22 March 1694 at St Giles-without-Cripplegate (born on 7 March 1694) (recorded as 1693 according to the Old Style calendar); Sarah on 28 November 1695 at St Giles-without-Cripplegate (born on 19 November 1695); Jane on 28 October 1696 at St Giles-without-Cripplegate (born on 19 October 1696); Elizabeth on 14 May 1699 at St Faith under St Paul's (born on 5 May 1699); Sarah on 6 November 1700 at St Botolph without Aldersgate; Thomas on 20 January 1703 at St Botolph without Aldersgate (recorded as 1702 according to the Old Style calendar); Isaac (recorded as Isack) on 2 May 1704 at St Botolph without Aldersgate; Jacob on 8 July 1705 at St Botolph without Aldersgate; Abraham on 25 September 1706 at St Botolph without Aldersgate; Ellin on 27 August 1708 at St Botolph without Aldersgate. James A Herrick, 'Ilive, Jacob (*bap.* 1705, *d.* 1763)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 200, 200 states that Jacob was baptised on 6 July 1705 and died in 1763, however he was in fact baptised on 8 July 1705 and died in 1765; he was buried on 10 November 1765 at St Bride's, Fleet Street in London. (This latter error can be traced to Richard Gough, *British Topography. Or, an Historical Account of What Has Been Done for Illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain* (1780) 638, who incorrectly recorded: 'He [Jacob Ilive] died in 1763.'). An entry in the burial register of St Faith under St Paul's for 3 March 1699 states: 'Iohn ye Son of Iohn Ilive in Warwick Lane buried March ye 3d in St Faiths'. The words 'Ilive Printer' appear in the margin beside this entry. The baptism record for Elizabeth at St Faith under St Paul's three months later, on 14 May 1699, states: 'Elizabeth daught. of Tho & Iane born may 5t. and bap'. ye 14th. in Warwick Lane'. The words 'Ilive Printer' also appear in the margin. Having regard to this baptism record, and the fact that Thomas is the only printer named Ilive known to have operated at this time, it appears likely that John was in fact a son of Thomas. The baptism record for Sarah Ilive on 6 November 1700 at St Botolph without Aldersgate appears to state: 'Sarah ye D of Thomas & Sarah Ilive against Mrs Lemons printer'. A child of Thomas Ilive was buried at St Botolph without Aldersgate on 6 December 1701. Isaac Ilive married Violet Lambe on 1 December 1733 at St Andrew, Holborn in London. Isaac married Susanna Treaslove on 14 November 1738 at St Andrew, Holborn (he is recorded as 'Isaac Ilive of St. Botolph Aldersgate London Widower'). Susanna Ilive, widow, married

Jane, and their sons Isaac, Jacob and Abraham, were all printers.⁹⁵ Jacob was also a type-founder and writer.⁹⁶ Thomas, who was Christian, was one of the

William Meredith on 18 May 1755 at St Sepulchre-without-Newgate in London. Jacob Ilive married Elizabeth Day on 24 December 1738 at St Botolph without Aldersgate. The following notice appeared in *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* on 25 December 1738: 'Yesterday Mr. Ilive, a Printer in Aldersgate-street, was married, at St. Botolph's Aldersgate, to Miss Elizabeth Day, an agreeable young Lady, with a considerable Fortune.' (A reference in Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries* (1887) 212, fn 1 to 'Elizabeth, [Thomas and Elinor James's] daughter, who married Jacob Ilive' is incorrect. It is apparent that the author was confusing Jacob Ilive's wife with his mother, Jane, who was in fact a daughter of Thomas and Elinor James.) Ellin Ilive married Thomas Major on 12 October 1732 at St Benet's, Paul's Wharf in London. Thomas Major was bound as a stationer's apprentice to Jane Ilive on 6 April 1725 for a term of seven years: 'Apprentice Registers' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554-1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). That is, Thomas Major married Jane's daughter, Ellin, shortly after the term of his apprenticeship with Jane ended. In January 1756, Ellin was recorded as 'Ellen Akers living at London House in Aldersgate Street Widow': 'Draft of an Information for Writing, Printing and Publishing a Libel Intituled Modest Remarks on the Bishop of Londons Discourses &c.', United Kingdom National Archives, TS 11/1073. 'John Ahers [sic] son of John Ahers [sic] late of the Parish of Christ Church London Poulter' was bound as a stationer's apprentice to Jacob Ilive on 1 February 1732 (recorded as 1731 according to the Old Style Calendar) for a term of seven years: 'Apprentice Registers' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554-1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). Cliff Webb, *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers* (1998) vol 18, 'Poulters' Company 1691-1729, 1754-1800', 1 records that John Akers was bound as a poulter's apprentice on 4 December 1702. On 23 May 1739, Sarah Ellen Akers, a daughter of 'John & Ellen Akers Charterhouse Lane', was baptised at St Sepulchre, Holborn in London. Charterhouse Lane (now part of Charterhouse Street) was located around 200 metres from Aldersgate Street. It therefore appears likely that Ellin married Jacob's former apprentice. The will of Jane Ilive dated 14 May 1733 refers to four surviving children – Isaac, Jacob, Abraham and Ellin.

⁹⁵ Jacob Ilive was bound as a stationer's apprentice to his father, Thomas Ilive, on 6 July 1719 for a term of seven years: 'Apprentice Registers' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554-1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). He was freed by servitude upon the testimony of his mother, Jane Ilive, on 2 August 1726: 'Freeman's Register' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554-1920* (1985) reel 38 (microfilm). He was clothed as a liveryman on 7 August 1733: Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554-1920* (1985) reel 41 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701-1800* (1978) 188. Isaac Ilive was freed by patrimony on 6 November 1733: 'Freeman's Register' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554-1920* (1985) reel 38 (microfilm). It is apparent that a description of Isaac in this record as 'Isaac Ilive Son of Jacob Ilive' is incorrect. An admission paper signed by various freemen, including Jacob Ilive, correctly recorded that 'Isaac Ilive is the Son of Thos. Ilive'. Isaac was recorded as being of Fenchurch Street, London when he took an apprentice, John Missitt, on 3 June 1735: 'Apprentice Registers' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554-1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701-1800* (1978) 187. Entries in the Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures record that Isaac had earlier been an apprentice to a leather seller Joseph Nutting (12 May 1716) and a mariner John Cox (3 December 1717). An entry in the Bowyer Ledgers dated 10 February 1733 (recorded as 1732 according to the Old Style Calendar) suggests that Isaac Ilive was a pressman in the printing house of William Bowyer (senior): Keith Maslen and John Lancaster (eds), *The Bowyer Ledgers* (1991) 529, C1465 (microfiche). Keith Maslen, *An Early London Printing House at Work: Studies in the Bowyer Ledgers* (1993) 214 notes that Isaac's signature appears on a receipt in the 'Dawks-Bowyer-Nichols Notebook'. The details of Abraham's apprenticeship are set out below. Karl Tilman Winkler, *Handwerk und Markt: Druckerhandwerk, Vertriebswesen und*

Tagesschrifttum in London 1695–1750 (1989) 683–4 states (citations omitted): ‘Thomas Ilive (ca. 1664–1724), Sohn eines Londoner *Tobacconist*, began die Lehre bei dem Druckermeister Thomas Snowden, setzte sie bei Thomas Milbourne fort, der ihn auch im Oktober 1689 freisprach. Ilive mußte 2s 6d Strafe zahlen, weil er nicht offiziell an Milbourne übergeben worden war. Er heiratete Jane James, die Tochter des Druckermeisters Thomas James, vor 1696 und erwarb die Stellung eines livrierten Mitglieds der *Stationers’ Company* im Oktober 1701. Damals scheint er in einer Art Partnerschaft mit James Crayle gearbeitet zu haben. Neben dem Namen des Lehrlings James Brooke, den Crayle im Juli 1701 aufgenommen hatte, heißt es nämlich im Lehrlingsregister am Rand: ‘& Ilive’. Er übernahm später Brooke und sprach ihn 1708 dann frei. Ilive selbst hatte eine. ersten Lehrjungen schon im April 1701 in seiner Werkstatt. Insgesamt bildete er neun Lehrlinge aus, den letzten sprach seine Witwe Jane Ilive im März 1729 frei. Ilive, den Negus 1722 unter den ‘High-Flyers’ auführte, hatte drei Söhne, Jacob (geb. 1705), Isaac (geb. 1704) und Abraham (geb. 1706). Die drei Brüder betrieben um 1730 zeitweise eine Schriftgießerei. Jacob wurde dann der Nachfolger der Mutter mit einem ersten eingestellten Lehrling 1732. Isaac war Preßgeselle, etwa im Februar 1733 bei William Bowyer d. Ä., machte sich 1735 vermutlich selbständig, während Abraham, der 1736 also Faktor für William Rayner in dessen Offizin in Southwark arbeitete, ab 1737 auch mit eigenen Lehrlingen erscheint.’ (Translation: ‘Thomas Ilive (c. 1664–1724), son of a London tobacconist, began his apprenticeship with the master printer Thomas Snowden, and continued it with Thomas Milbourne, who also freed him in October 1689. Ilive was required to pay a fine of 2s 6d because he had not been officially turned over to Milbourne. He married Jane James, daughter of the master printer Thomas James, before 1696 and obtained the position of a liveried member of the Stationers’ Company in October 1701. At that time he seems to have worked in a form of partnership with James Crayle. Next to the name of the apprentice James Brooke, whom Crayle had taken up in July 1701, it says in the apprentice register at the margin: ‘& Ilive’. He later took over Brooke and freed him in 1708. Ilive himself had his first apprentice in his workshop by April 1701. All together he trained nine apprentices, the last of whom was freed by his widow Jane Ilive in March 1729. Ilive, whom Negus in 1722 listed under the heading ‘High Flyers’, had three sons, Jacob (b. 1705), Isaac (b. 1704) and Abraham (b. 1706). The three brothers carried on a type foundry for a time in around 1730. Jacob was then the successor to his mother with his first apprentice taken on in 1732. Isaac was a journeyman printer, in around February 1733 with William Bowyer the elder, and apparently became independent in 1735, while Abraham, who consequently worked in 1736 as a foreman for William Rayner in his printing office in Southwark, also appears with his own apprentices from 1737.’) The reference to the three brothers having carried on a type foundry in around 1730 appears to be derived from ‘ILIVE (JACOB)’ in H R Plomer, G H Bushnell and E R McC Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (‘Those in England by H. R. Plomer’) (1932) 136, which states: ‘With his two brothers, Abraham and Isaac, [Jacob Ilive] set up a letter-foundry in Aldersgate Street about 1730. It was only a small one, and no specimen of its types is known. Rowe-Mores in his *Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries*, 1778, says that it produced a nonpareil Greek fount, and founts of roman and italic in various sizes.’ However, Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries* (1778) 64, quoted in John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol I, 309, states: ‘Jacob Ilive was a printer, and the son of a printer ; and had two brothers, Abraham and Isaac, who were both likewise printers. Abraham died in 1777. Jacob applied himself to letter-cutting [1730], and carried on a foundry and a printing house together ...’ That is, Rowe Mores did not record that Abraham and Isaac were also involved in the foundry. All known references to the foundry are derived from Rowe Mores’ account. Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries* (1778) [1924 reproduction (edited by D B Updike) at 65 and 1961 reproduction (edited by Harry Carter and Christopher Ricks) at 61] further said of Jacob: ‘Mr. Ilive was an expeditious compositor though he worked in a night-gown and swept his case *to pye* with the sleeves. he knew the letters by touch.’ *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed, 1989) vol XI, 791 states that ‘pye’ (or ‘pie’) is a printing term meaning ‘[a] mass of type mingled indiscriminately or in confusion, such as results from the breaking down of a forme of type’.

first printers to print in Hebrew for Jews in England.⁹⁷ He was one of a number of printers who were ‘Said to be High-Flyers’, which was a term broadly associated with High Churchmen, the Tories and Jacobitism.⁹⁸ Jane was one of

⁹⁶ See ‘ILIVE (JACOB)’ in *A New and General Biographical Dictionary* (1784) vol VII, 398–9; ‘ILIVE (JACOB)’ in *A New and General Biographical Dictionary* (1795) vol VI, 353; ‘ILIVE (JACOB)’ in Alexander Chalmers (ed), *The General Biographical Dictionary* (1815) vol XIX, 227–8; Henry Richard Tedder, ‘ILIVE, JACOB’ in Sidney Lee (ed), *Dictionary of National Biography* (1891) vol XXVIII, 414; ‘ILIVE (JACOB)’ in H R Plomer, G H Bushnell and E R McC Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (1932) 136; James A Herrick, ‘Ilive, Jacob (bap. 1705, d. 1763)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 200. James A Herrick, ‘The Religious Rhetoric of Jacob Ilive’, chapter 9 of *The Radical Rhetoric of the English Deists: The Discourse of Skepticism, 1680–1750* (1997) 181 states that Jacob Ilive was ‘a major figure in English Deism who is virtually unknown to the twentieth century. Despite his invisibility, Ilive was one of the most daring and innovative of the Deists and threatened traditional religious and political beliefs in England during the decades of the 1730s, 1740s, and 1750s. Ilive’s bold theological speculation and his ardent advocacy of freedom of the press mark him as an important religious radical of the mid eighteenth century with considerable influence among London’s mechanics class. Moreover, Ilive’s particular theological speculation appears to have outlasted Deism itself, being represented in a variety of rather powerful religious movements even today.’ At 181, Herrick states that Jacob Ilive was born in Bristol. Further, James A Herrick, ‘Blasphemy in the Eighteenth Century: Contours of a Rhetorical Crime’ in Wayne Hudson, Diego Lucci and Jeffrey R Wigelsworth, *Atheism and Deism Revalued: Heterodox Religious Identities in Britain, 1650–1800* (2014) 101, 112 states: ‘Born in Bristol in 1705, Ilive moved to London in the late 1720s ...’ However, this is incorrect (Herrick does not repeat this in his entry for Jacob Ilive in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*). Jacob’s father, Thomas Ilive, was a printer in Aldersgate Street, London, and Jacob was baptised in the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate in London, as referred to above. Jacob was bound as an apprentice to his father in London on 6 July 1719 for a term of seven years. References to Jacob Ilive having been born in Bristol or being ‘of Bristol’ appear to date from the late 1800s: see, for example, *The American Church Review* (1877) vol XXIX, 70: ‘This [*The Book of Jasher* (1751)] had been secretly printed at Bristol by one Jacob Ilive, a type-founder and printer, who was the real author.’ In fact, Jacob is only known to have operated as a printer in London. A reproduction of *The Book of Jasher* was printed in Bristol in 1829 (long after Jacob’s death) by Philip Rose. This appears to be the source of the confusion.

⁹⁷ The 1961 reproduction of Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies* (1778) (edited by Harry Carter and Christopher Ricks) at 60, fn 2 states: ‘His [Jacob Ilive’s] father, Thomas, was the first to print Hebrew books for Jews in England (p. 107).’ At 107, the reproduction states: ‘Rabbinical types are first seen in English printing when Jews began to publish. The largest of these four [particular types] was used by Thomas Ilive in *Matteh Dan* by David Nieto, 1715. I am grateful to Dr. Cecil Roth for guiding me to this.’ Cecil Roth, ‘HaDefus Halvri BeLondon’ in (1937) 14 *Kirjath Sepher* 97, 97–8 notes that Hebrew was printed in England as early as 1524, but suggests that until the early 1700s the Jews in England did not feel the need for Hebrew printing. Roth refers to Thomas Ilive’s printing in Hebrew, and states that it can be assumed that even some Hebrew books which did not mention Thomas Ilive’s name were printed at his printing house. See also Cecil Roth, ‘The Marrano Typography in England’ (1960) s5-XV *The Library* 118, 120–1, who refers to the printing by Thomas Ilive of works by David Nieto in Hebrew and Spanish.

⁹⁸ A reference to Thomas Ilive appears in a list of printers compiled by the printer Samuel Negus and titled ‘A compleat and private List of all the Printing-houses in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, together with the Printers Names, what News-papers they print, and where they are to be found’. In a letter to ‘The Right Honourable Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND, One of his Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State’, which accompanied the list, Negus stated: ‘When your Lordship is pleased to cast an eye on the number of Printing-

five printers who each printed a section of the first edition of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* in 1726, Jane's being the largest.⁹⁹ Benjamin Franklin, who had worked as a typesetter in London as a young man in 1725, professed to have known, or at least known of, Jane Ilive.¹⁰⁰ Jane was a daughter of Thomas and

houses there are in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, your Lordship will not be so much surprised at the present ingratitude and disaffection of a rebellious set of men. They have no way to vend their poison, but by the help of the press ; thus printing-houses are daily set up and supported by unknown hands.' Thomas was listed as 'Ilive, *Aldersgate Street*' under the heading 'Said to be High-Flyers' (under which also appeared '[Nathaniel] Mist, *Great Carter-street*, and Printer of a scandalous Weekly Journal bearing his own Name', who is referred to below). The other headings were 'Known to be well-affected to His Majesty King *George*' (which of course included Negus himself), 'Nonjurors' and 'Roman Catholicks'. The list was reproduced in John Nichols, *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer, F. S. A. and of Many of His Learned Friends* (1782) 535. At 534, Nichols states: 'The List of Printers was gathered up by one *Samuel Negus*, about the year 1724 ...' However, K I D Maslen, 'Samuel Negus, His List and "His Case"' (1982) s6-IV *The Library* 317, 319 suggests that the list was first submitted to Secretary of State Lord Townshend in about January 1723, and Michael Treadwell, 'Lists of Master Printers: The Size of the London Printing Trade, 1637-1723' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Aspects of Printing from 1600* (1987) 141, 154 cites evidence which dates the list to between June 1722 and May 1723.

⁹⁹ See Michael Treadwell, 'Observations on the Printing of Motte's Octavo Editions of *Gulliver's Travels*' in Hermann J Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig (eds), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Third Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (1998) 157, 173: 'Examination of the details of the printing of Motte's four octavo editions, particularly the evidence of the use of press figures and of a wide variety of printers' ornaments, suggests that the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* ... was the work of five different printing houses and enables us to identify them as those of Say, Woodfall, Bettenham, Pearson and Ilive. The second edition ... employed a sixth printer (Aris) in addition to the original five ... The desire to avoid delay, and a concern that no one but the publisher himself have any overall sense of a potentially explosive work prior to publication, were the probable motives for the spreading of the first edition among so many printing houses. ... Finally, there was J. Ilive, who had been for twenty-five years a near neighbour of the Mottes in Aldersgate Street and whose ornaments, or so I believe, appear throughout sheets L and M of Part III of 1726A [the first edition] and all of Part IV of both 1726A and AA ['1726AA', the second edition]. ... If I am right, it means that the greatest part of Swift's greatest work was first printed under the direction of a woman, Jane Ilive having succeeded to the family printing house on her husband's death in December 1724.' Treadwell further states: 'The reader will have noticed my qualification where J. Ilive is concerned. This is in deference to John Ross whose conclusions about printers differ from mine at this one point only, and who believes that this unit was printed not by Ilive but by Edward Say ...' However, Ross accepts that Jane Ilive printed these sections in the published version of his paper (Treadwell had read a draft of the paper). J C Ross, 'The Framing and Printing of the Motte Editions of *Gulliver's Travels*' (1996) 20 *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 5, 12, 15-16 states: 'Part IV [of '1726A'], "A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms", bears throughout ornaments that can be identified as those of Jane Ilive; and gatherings L and M in Part III can also be assigned to her printing house on the evidence of ornaments. ... In Volume II, Part IV [of '1726AA'], the ornaments throughout are those of Jane Ilive. ... For this edition [the fifth, 'duodecimo' edition, not considered by Treadwell], the ornaments show that Jane Ilive printed Volume I and Henry Parker Volume II. The text follows that of the third edition; the two printers, neither of them involved in work for the third or fourth editions, could have commenced work on this relatively cheap edition as early as December 1726. The duodecimo edition was re-issued with new title pages in 1731 ...'

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Jane Mecom (his sister) dated 30 December 1770, reproduced in William B Willcox et al (eds), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin — Volume 17: January*

Elinor James who were also both printers.¹⁰¹ Thomas James was mathematical printer to King Charles II,¹⁰² and bequeathed his personal library of around

1, 1770 through December 31, 1770 (1973) 313–16: ‘When I was first in London, about 45 Years since, I knew a Person who had an Opinion something like your Author’s — Her Name was *Ilive*, a Printer’s Widow. She dy’d [sic] soon after I left England, and by her Will oblig’d her son to deliver publickly in Salter’s Hall a Solemn Discourse ... It is long since I saw the Discourse, which was printed.’ In 1725, Franklin lived for a time in Little Britain and worked at a printing house in Bartholomew Close, both of which were less than 200 metres from Jane Ilive’s residence in Aldersgate Street (which, as discussed below, was just north of Ball Alley). See letter from Benjamin Franklin to Hans Sloane dated 2 June 1725, reproduced in Leonard W Lebarec et al (eds), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin — Volume 1: January 6, 1706 through December 31, 1734* (1959) 54–6: ‘... let me know your Pleasure by a Line directed for me at the Golden Fan in Little Britain ...’ See also John Bigelow, *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: Edited from His Manuscript, with Notes and an Introduction* (1868) 140–1: ‘We [James Ralph and Franklin] took lodgings together in Little Britain at three shillings and sixpence a week ... I immediately got into work at Palmer’s, then a famous printing-house in Bartholomew Close, and here I continu’d near a year.’ J A Leo Lamay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin* (2006) vol 1, 288 suggests that ‘[w]e can be fairly certain that Franklin had indeed met Mrs. Elizabeth James Ilive [sic], for she was the daughter of the type founder Thomas James, whose shop was downstairs from Palmer’s printing house’. However, it is incorrect that Jane Ilive was a daughter of the type founder Thomas James of Bartholomew Close; rather, she was a daughter of the printer Thomas James of Mincing (or Minchin) Lane who was long since dead by 1725. Similarly, John Nichols, *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer, F. S. A. and of Many of His Learned Friends* (1782) 609 is incorrect in his belief that Elinor James was ‘mother ... to the three brothers ... mentioned in p. 585’ (that is, John James, the architect, Thomas James, the type founder, and George James, a printer) (see also at 308), John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol I, 308 is incorrect in stating that Thomas James (Jane Ilive’s father) was ‘the father of George [James]’, Bertha Porter, ‘JAMES, JOHN’ in Sidney Lee (ed), *Dictionary of National Biography* (1892) vol XXIX, 213, 213 is incorrect in stating that John James, the architect, was a ‘son of Thomas and Eleanor James’ (she also wrongly states that the identification of John James as a son of the vicar of Basingstoke is ‘apparently in error’; rather, it was correct), and Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries* (1887) 212, fn 1 is incorrect in stating that George James, the printer of Little Britain, was ‘the son of Thomas and Elinor’. The father of Thomas James, the type founder, and John James, the architect, was the Reverend John James, vicar of Basingstoke, Hampshire: Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies* (1778) [1924 reproduction (edited by D B Updike) at 50 and 1961 reproduction (edited by Harry Carter and Christopher Ricks) at 49]. George James, the printer, was also a son of the Reverend John James of Basingstoke: D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1641–1700* (1974) 116. See also *A New and General Biographical Dictionary* (1784) vol VI, 62, fn A where it is noted that George James, the printer of Little Britain, was ‘another brother’ of John James, the architect. Paula McDowell, ‘James, Elinor (1644/5–1719)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 693, 693 identifies Nichols’ error. Sally Jeffery, ‘James, John (c. 1672–1746)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 716, 716 states that John James, the architect, ‘was the eldest son of the Revd John James’, and that ‘[i]t is clear from his memorial tablet in St. Mary’s Church, Eversley, Hampshire, that his parents were not Thomas and Elinor James, as was once thought’. Confusingly, John James, who was a son of the type founder Thomas James, purchased the type foundry of Jacob Ilive in 1740: Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies* (1778) 64 [1924 reproduction (edited by D B Updike) at 65 and 1961 reproduction (edited by Harry Carter and Christopher Ricks) at 61].

¹⁰¹ Abraham Ilive’s mother, Jane Ilive, and grandfather, Thomas James, are referred to in a text by Abraham’s brother, Jacob. Jacob Ilive, *The Oration Spoke at Joyners Hall in Thamestreet. On Monday, Sept. 24 1733. Pursuant to the Will of Mrs. Jane Ilive, Who Departed This Life, Aug. 2, 1733. Aetat. 63* (1733) 63 states: ‘I have now said what was written some Years ago, and what was

ordered to be spoke, at this time, by my honoured Mother Mrs. *Jane Ilive*, who was the second Daughter of *Thomas* and *Elianor James*. Her Father, *Thomas James*, gave a considerable Number of Books to the Library in *Sion-College*, for the Use of the *London-Clergy*; all which Books are gratefully acknowledged, by order of the Governors, by the Reverend Mr. *Reading*, their Library Keeper, in his Catalogue of *Sion-Library*, by the initial Letters of her Father's Name. She was descended, by her Father's Side, from Doctor *Thomas James*, of *Oxford*, who was the first Man that collected the *Bodleian-Library*, and his Memory is preserved among that learned Body as their first Librarian. She was born in the Year 1689 [it is apparent that this should read '1669'; Jane was baptised on 13 March 1670 at St James, Clerkenwell in London], and died in the Year 1733, in the sixty-third Year of her Age, her grand Climacterick. She received her first Rudiments or Notions in Christianity from the learned and pious Bishop *Beveridge*. She was an Example for Industry; a dutiful Child; a loving Wife, and a tender Mother. She was a Woman of that consummate Chastity, that no one can say, they ever heard an immodest or indecent Expression drop from her Lips; the Swearer and the Liar she abominated, and reprov'd the Offenders very sharply.¹⁰² At v–vi, he states: *The following discourse from John xiv. 2. was wrote in the Year 1729. with no Design of being spoke, read or printed, but to employ some leisure Time I had before me. Which I then (and often since) read to my Mother, who approving the Hypothesis contained in it, ordered by her Will the Publick Reading of it. The Words are: April 20. 1733. "That my Son and Executor Jacob Ilive shall read the Discourse which he has made from John xiv. 2. Publickly in a Hall (Stationers-Hall if possible) or other convenient Place, within Fourteen Days or other fit Time, after my Decease, to as many of my Acquaintance and others as shall be minded seriously to hear the same. Jane Ilive. In pursuance whereof I interceded [sic] for the Use of Stationers-hall, but my Request was not granted. I procured Brewers-hall, where I read it publickly, Monday, Sept. 10. and at the Desire of my Friends I repeated it at Joyners-hall, Sept. 24.* The following notice appeared in *The Country Journal: or, the Craftsman* on 8 September 1733: 'Last Saturday Evening was decently interr'd at Islington the Body of Mrs Jane Ilive, Widow of Thomas Ilive of Aldersgate-Street, Printer. She died in the 63d Year of her Age. She was the last surviving Daughter of the famous Mrs. Eleanor James. There is something very particular in her last Will, which is, that her Son and Executor shall preach her Funeral Sermon within 14 Days after her Decease. N. B. The Funeral SERMON appointed by the Will of Mrs. JANE ILIVE, will be preach'd on Monday Sept. 10, 1733, at Brewer's Hall in Addle-street, about four or five of the Clock in the Afternoon. N. B. Seats are provided for the Ladies.' See also *The Bee Revived: or the Universal Weekly Pamphlet*, vol III, number XXVIII (1 September 1733 – 8 September 1733) 1,223. The will of Jane Ilive is dated 14 May 1733 (that is, after 20 April 1733) and states: 'hereby revoking and making void all former and other Wills by me at any Time heretofore made I Do Declare this my last Will'. It refers to Jacob Ilive as 'the full and Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament', but says nothing of a funeral sermon or the text that Jacob later arranged to be published. Jane was buried on 1 September 1733 at St Mary, Islington in Islington, Middlesex. See also John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol I, 308; Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678–1730* (1998) 47; Paula McDowell, "'On Behalf of the Printers": A Late Stuart Printer-Author and Her Causes' in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N Lindquist and Eleanor F Shevlin, *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L Eisenstein* (2007) 125.

¹⁰² See *The Works of Geber, the Most Famous Arabian Prince and Philosopher* (1678): 'Printed for N.E. by Thomas James Mathematical Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, at the Printing-press in Mincing-lane'. See also 'JAMES (THOMAS)' in Henry R Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (1922) 169. John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London* (1705, reproduced 1818) vol 1, 252–3 states: 'Mr James is a man that reads much, knows his business very well, and is extremely obliging to his customers; and is something the better known for being Husband to that She-State Politician, Mrs. Eleanor James ...'

3,000 books to public use (following his death, his widow gave them to the library of Sion College).¹⁰³ Elinor James, who was sometimes referred to as the ‘God mother’ of London, was a prolific pamphleteer and claimed to have had audiences with a number of English kings.¹⁰⁴ Thomas James was a grandson of

¹⁰³ Will of Thomas James dated 17 January 1709 (United Kingdom National Archives, PROB 11/515/162): ‘I give my Library of Books in my now dwelling House or Apartment at Mile End Green in the Parish of Stepney in the County of Middlesex to my said loving friends Sr. [Sir] Charles Peers Sr. Robert Dunkley Daniel Shillings Mathew Kendrick Bigley Wilson Solomon Merritt and John Langton to the intent the same may be preserved and kept in some publick place or Library to be perused by all Gentlemen that shall resort thereunto who are to be entred [sic] and called the Jameson Society and under such regulations as my said Trustees ... shall think fitt [sic] ...’ The following entry appears in a list of benefactors to the library of Sion College in William Reading, *The History of the Ancient and Present State of Sion-College Near Cripplegate, London; and of the London-Clergy’s Library There* (1724) 43: ‘Thomas James, Printer in Minchin Lane London, denoted by T. J. had in his Life time collected a great Number of English Books in all Faculties, and bequeathed them by Will to the Service of the Publick. After his Decease, Mrs. Elianor James his Widow and Executrix, came to Sion College, and finding room enough in the Library to receive them, she agreed with the Governors, and sent them in. She likewise gave her own Picture, with the Picture of her deceased Husband, and of Dr. Thomas James his Grandfather, first Keeper of the Bodleyan Library in Oxford ; all which hang up in our Library. Also she gave two Pictures of King Charles II. one hangs in the Library, the other in the publick Hall of this Colledge. Farther, she gave a Clock, a Turkey Carpet, three Chairs, and two Tables, all under the great Window. Anno 1711.’ The following entry also appears in the list of benefactors to the library (at 43): ‘Tho. Ilive of London, Printer of the Classical Catalogue from the Letter P, gave Matteh Dan, Heb. Hispan. por David Nieto, Sacriedge a National Sin. anno 1718.’ At 55, Reading lists patrons including ‘Thomas Ilive, *Typographus Londinensis, gener Thomæ James egregie Bibliothecæ nostræ benefici*’. (Translation: ‘Thomas Ilive, London Printer, son-in-law of Thomas James who was exceptionally generous to our Library.’) Books donated from Thomas James’ collection to the library of Sion College are listed in William Reading, *Bibliothecæ Cleri Londinensis in Collegio Sionensi Catalogus* (1724). The library of Sion College, including Thomas James’ collection, was given to Lambeth Palace Library in 1996. James Peller Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum; or, an Antient History and Modern Description of London* (1802) vol I, 34–5 describes the portraits of Dr Thomas James, Thomas James and Elinor James. All three portraits were recorded as being in the hall of Sion College in 1915: C Edgar Thomas, ‘Sion College Library, London’ in *Book-Auction Records* (1915) vol 12, i, ix. Photographs of the portraits of Thomas James and Elinor James held by Sion College were reproduced in *Papermaking and the Printer* (Winter 1936). None of the three portraits is now held by Sion College. The portrait of Elinor James was acquired by the United Kingdom National Portrait Gallery in 1983 and is now on loan to Gawthorpe Hall in Padigham, Lancashire. The whereabouts of the portraits of Dr Thomas James and Thomas James, if they still exist, are unknown. A portrait of Dr Thomas James is held by the Bodleian Library, however it is not the same painting as that which was held by Sion College. James Peller Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum; or, an Antient History and Modern Description of London* (1802) vol I, 34 records that that portrait included the text ‘Thomas James, S. T. P. [sacrae theologiae professor; translation: ‘professor of sacred theology’] 1627, æt. [ætatibus; translation: ‘aged’] 57’, whereas the portrait held by the Bodleian Library includes other text. See also Tom Beaumont James, ‘The James Family Bible and Lost Portraits of Bodley’s First Librarian and of His Grandson’ in *Bodleian Library Friends’ Newsletter* (Winter 2006).

¹⁰⁴ See Charles Welch, ‘JAMES, ELEANOR’ in Sidney Lee (ed), *Dictionary of National Biography* (1892) vol XXIX, 207; Paula McDowell, ‘James, Elinor (1644/5–1719)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 693; Paula McDowell, *Elinor James* (2005), being volume 11 of *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works, Series II: Printed Writings, 1641–1700: Part 3*. Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678–1730* (1998) 132 states: ‘James routinely published her opinions on the major national events of her day, including the Exclusion Crisis, the Revolution of 1688, the Act

the first librarian of the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford, Dr Thomas James.¹⁰⁵ Dr James conceived of the idea of all books printed by the members of the Worshipful Company of Stationers being deposited with the Bodleian Library.¹⁰⁶

Abraham Ilive was aged in his 60s when Thomas and Elizabeth were born.¹⁰⁷ An examination of Abraham's life may shed some light on Thomas and Elizabeth's early years.

Abraham was baptised on 25 September 1706 at St Botolph without Aldersgate in London. He was bound as a stationer's apprentice to his father, Thomas Ilive, on 3 October 1720 for a term of 7 years, and was freed by patrimony on 1 March 1737.¹⁰⁸

of Union, and the impeachment of Dr Henry Sacheverell (to name a few). Like her contemporary tradesman-author Daniel Defoe, she was intensely interested in government policy and the details of commerce; among other issues, she commented at length on the East India and South Sea Companies, the economic *disadvantages* of a free press, and labour relations in London printing houses. She warned Charles II against "Sins of the Flesh", James II against "promoting Popery", and ... William of Orange against taking his "Father's" crown. And she advised City of London government, as well as national political leaders, on issues ranging from mayoral elections to the training of magistrates to the enforcement of City by-laws. Satirized in her own time as "London City Godmother", she has been dismissed by critics and historians since as "a very extraordinary character, a mixture of benevolence and madness" ([John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol I, 306]). According to her own account, however, this self-educated tradeswoman nevertheless managed to obtain audiences with Charles II, James II, and William III, and, as she put it, to find "Favour in the Eys [sic] of all sorts of people" ... By the time that she was in her seventies, Mrs James would declare with some pride that "I have made Application for above this forty years to Kings, Queens, and Princes." In *Mrs. James's Vindication of the Church of England, in an Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled a New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty* (1687), Elinor James stated: 'I made Applications to my late Sovereign [sic] Lord the King [Charles II] (whom my Soul Loved) *That he would be pleas'd to let me Undertake for the City, and to make me a God Mother, to which the King Answered, It would be too great an Undertaking for me, but I replied, That if it might not be for all, that it might be for some, and the King granted my desire, and I ask'd His Majesty whether He would not wish Well to it, and the King Replied, Ay [sic], with all my Heart and Soul ...*'

¹⁰⁵ See John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol I, 308–9; R Julian Roberts, 'James, Thomas (1572/3–1629)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 737.

¹⁰⁶ R Julian Roberts, 'James, Thomas (1572/3–1629)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 737, 738: 'As a letter of Bodley dated 26 February 1611 makes clear, the agreement of 12 December 1610, between the Stationers' Company of London and the university, for the deposit in the library of the books the stationers printed had been James' idea.'

¹⁰⁷ As discussed below, it is in my view likely that Abraham Ilive was born in 1706, notwithstanding a notice published in 1777 which stated that he was then aged 74. Elizabeth Ilive was born in around 1769, when Abraham was aged about 62 or 63. Thomas Ilive was born in around 1773 or 1774, when Abraham was aged about 66 or 67.

¹⁰⁸ Recorded as 1736 according to the Old Style calendar: Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (1978) 188, who records the date as 1 March 1736.

He married Mary Phipps, who was a widow, within the Rules of the Fleet Prison in London on 6 March 1729.¹⁰⁹ The record of the marriage in the register of Fleet Prison states:¹¹⁰

1729 March 6th 2858 Ilive Abraham of Aldgate printer & Mary Phipps of Do
wido [sic]
by Robt Cuthbert Minr [Minister]

Abraham was recorded as a bachelor when he married Elionore Souley, a widow, within the Rules of the Fleet Prison on 4 June 1732. The record of the marriage in the register of Fleet Prison states:¹¹¹

4 Abraham Ilive of Whitefryers [sic] Librt [Liberty]: Printer
B:W
Elionore Souley of St Martins ye fields A

A daughter of Abraham and Eleanor Ilive, Jane Ilive, was baptised on 15 January 1736¹¹² at St Botolph without Aldersgate.

¹⁰⁹ Marriages within the Rules of the Fleet Prison were described as ‘clandestine marriages’. Rebecca Probert, *Marriage Law and Practice in the Long Eighteenth Century: A Reassessment* (2009) 7 states (citation omitted): ‘Although to modern readers the term “clandestine marriage” might suggest secrecy and romantic elopements, in the eighteenth century it would have been understood simply as a marriage celebrated before a clergyman of the Church of England otherwise than in strict accordance with the requirements of canon law.’ At 176, she states (citations omitted): ‘Although clearly not exempt from [legislation in relation to clandestine marriages passed in 1695 and 1696], marriages continued to be celebrated in the chapel of the Fleet prison. And a subsequent attempt to stamp out this practice by imposing a fine on any prison keeper who permitted marriages to be performed in a prison resulted in what was to become the most notorious form of clandestine marriage: the celebration of marriages in the Rules of the Fleet.’

¹¹⁰ *The Proceedings at the Sessions of the Peace, and Oyer and Terminer, for the City of London and County of Middlesex; on Wednesday the 8th, Thursday the 9th, and Friday the 10th of September 1731, in the Fifth Year of His Majesty's Reign* (1731) 16 (trial of Mary Downing, alias Downey, and Elizabeth Ventland, alias Vickland) states: ‘The Prosecutor depos'd, That as he was coming from *Aldgate*, being near *Creed-Church*, *Elizabeth Ventland* got hold of his Arm, asking him, if he would not be loving and kind ... *Mary Downing* call'd one *Ilive*, who depos'd, That he saw the Prosecutor on *Friday* Night very drunk ...’ Although Abraham was recorded as being of Aldgate at the time of his marriage to Mary Phipps in March 1729, it is not clear whether this reference to ‘one *Ilive*’ is to Abraham or one of his brothers. His brother, Isaac Ilive, was recorded as being of Fenchurch Street, which was in the ward of Aldgate, when he took a stationer's apprentice on 3 June 1735: ‘Apprentice Registers’ in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (1978) 187. His other brother, Jacob Ilive, was living in Aldersgate Street, which was about 1,300 metres from Aldgate, in 1732: Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1732 at page 12 (‘Widow and Jacob Ilive’).

¹¹¹ It is apparent from the record that the reference ‘B:W’ denotes that Abraham was a bachelor and Elizabeth a widow. It is to be noted that Abraham had, in fact, married previously.

¹¹² Recorded as 1735 according to the Old Style calendar.

Whitefriars Street) and about 500 metres from St Dunstan-in-the-West. The child's baptism at Deptford in November 1739 and burial at St Dunstan-in-the-West in May 1740 correspond with Abraham's move from Southwark to the Old Bailey between December 1739 and February 1741.¹¹⁶

As discussed below, it appears that Abraham's wife at the time of his death, and the mother of Thomas and Elizabeth, was named Cecilia. As also referred to below, Abraham had four children shortly before he died.

Abraham's name appears in an account dated 12 May 1727 in relation to the estate of his father, Thomas Ilive.¹¹⁷ He is referred to in the will of his mother, Jane Ilive, which is dated 14 May 1733.¹¹⁸

His name also appears in a Middlesex Calendar of Recognizances for the May 1733 session.¹¹⁹ In a corresponding Sessions Book, he is recorded as being of Channel Row (now Cannon Row) in the parish of St Margaret Westminster in Westminster, Middlesex.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ The only other printers named Ilive at this time were Abraham's brothers, Jacob and Isaac. However, it is in my view less likely that either was the father of Eleanor James Ilive. Jacob was living in Aldersgate Street in 1739 and 1740. Jacob's son, William, was baptised at St Botolph without Aldersgate seven days after the burial of Eleanor James Ilive at another church and less than six months after her baptism, also at another church. There is no known record of Isaac having lived near Water Lane. Isaac was recorded as being of Fenchurch Street, London when he took a stationer's apprentice on 3 June 1735. He was recorded as being 'of St. Botolph Aldersgate London' when he married Susanna Treaslove on 14 November 1738 at St Andrew, Holborn in London.

¹¹⁷ Account enclosed with the will of Thomas Ilive dated 2 June 1724: 'Item to Abraham Ilive a Debt due to him ... 3 : 4 : 0'.

¹¹⁸ Will of Jane Ilive dated 14 May 1733: 'I Give and Bequeath unto my eldest Son Isaac Ilive the Sum of one Shilling Also I Give likewise unto my youngest Son Abraham Ilive the Sum of one Shilling Also I Give and Bequeath unto my Daughter Ellin now the wife of Thomas Major the Sum of one Shilling, All my wearing Apparel, the Cabinet in the Two pair of Stairs Room forward The Stove in the Parlour, Six Chairs, a pair of Sconces, a Chest of Drawers with a Couch upon which it Stands, an Old Table with a broken leg, Six other Chairs in my Chamber, Seven other Chairs, A large Spire-glass, a Dressing Glass, A Desk and Stand, and All my Pictures. The Rest and Residue of all and Singular my Goods Chattles [sic] ready moneys and Securitys for money Plate Rings and all other my Estate whatsoever and wheresoever which at the Time of my Decease I Shall be possessed of or Intituled [sic] unto I Give and bequeath unto my dutiful Son Jacob Ilive Citizen and Stationer of London his Executors Administrators and Assigns ...'

¹¹⁹ *Middlesex Calendar of Recognizances* (May 1733), London Metropolitan Archives, MJ/SP/1733/05/074.

¹²⁰ *Middlesex Sessions Book* (May 1733), London Metropolitan Archives, MJ/SB/B/0090. The record states 'ign [ignoramus] now of fel [felony]', which suggests that a true bill had not been found – that is, that he had been indicted for a felony but that a case had not been brought against him. See also the corresponding record in relation to Abraham in *Middlesex Calendar of Indictments for Felony* (May 1733), London Metropolitan Archives, X071/028. The record states 'ign [ignoramus]', which also suggests that a case was not brought against him.

In the 1730s and 1740s, Abraham participated in what Michael Harris has described as the ‘alternative book trade’, which competed with what Harris calls the ‘respectable trade’. Harris states:¹²¹

As the struggle developed around the area of publishing, the terms ‘piracy’ and ‘pirate’ became part of a one-way traffic of abuse by which members of the respectable trade sought to stigmatize all forms of aggravated competition. ... Injunctions were regularly granted in Chancery against reprints of works whose ownership was claimed by members of the respectable trade. ... [A] variety of shared characteristics give some sort of cohesion to the printer/publishers working below or outside the circles of the respectable trade. Most were in low if not desperate financial circumstances and a high proportion had some experience of imprisonment either for libel or debt or both. The environs of the major prisons, north and south of the river, formed geographical epicentres of the alternative trade and the area between Newgate and the Fleet and within the Rules of the King’s Bench in Southwark provided the locus for much of the literary piracy of the mid-18th century. ... There is a general sense among the members of the alternative trade of a commitment to views and opinions which ran directly counter to those propagated by the new men of the Walpoleian élite. The flavour of Jacobite intrigue and religious extremism hangs over this sector of the trade. ... Through the mist the vague configurations involving various Applebees, Reads and Ilives, among many others, loom up giving a heightened sense of reality to the notion of a separation of interest and practice, and hence of an alternative trade.

At the centre of this sector of the business during the 1730s and during part at least of the decades either side, stand the enigmatic but powerful figures of William Rayner and Robert Walker.

During the period from 1736 to 1740, Abraham worked at the printing house of William Rayner in Southwark, as referred to below.¹²² The Jacobite journeyman Doctor Gaylard also worked at Rayner’s printing house at around

¹²¹ Michael Harris, ‘Paper Pirates: The Alternative Book Trade in Mid-18th Century London’ in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print & Manuscript* (1989) 47, 47–8, 51–2.

¹²² See Michael Harris, ‘Rayner, William (*bp.* 1699, *d.* 1761)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 46, 196; ‘RAYNER (WILLIAM)’ in H R Plomer, G H Bushnell and E R McC Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (1932) 207–8. Rayner is discussed in R M Wiles, *Serial Publication in England before 1750* (1957) 67–8 and Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 91–8. At 91, Harris suggests that Rayner’s career ‘was given an unduly tragic cast by Wiles’. At 92, Harris states (citations omitted): ‘The journeyman printer, Doctor Gaylard, claimed to have started work here [Rayner’s printing office in Southwark] in September 1734, and it seems possible that that the overseer of the press, Abraham Ilive, and the workman and servant who were listed in 1736 as Rayner’s employees also joined him at about this time.’ Michael Harris, ‘Rayner, William (*bp.* 1699, *d.* 1761)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 46, 196, 196 states that Rayner was apprenticed to the printer Anne Motte in 1714. Anne Motte’s house in Aldersgate Street was a short distance away from the Ilives’ house: her name appears seven entries after Thomas Ilive’s name in Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1714 at page 11 (‘Wid: Motte’). However, in 1729 Abraham’s brother Jacob claimed that, before Rayner had employed him to print *A Second Letter from a Member of Parliament to His Friend in the Country. Together with, the Pacifick Fleet; a New Ballad* (1729), Rayner ‘was a perfect Stranger to him’: United Kingdom National Archives, SP 36, vol 15, part 1, 76 (dated 21 September 1729).

this time.¹²³ As discussed below, Abraham, Rayner and Gaylard were all involved in political controversies during this period. Harris says of Rayner:¹²⁴

Described in 1740 as “one of the most notorious Pyrates of this Age” his office in the Rules of the King’s Bench became the focus for a motley collection of outsiders. These included the printers Abraham Ilive, his brother Jacob, also a type-founder and literary forger imprisoned in the Marshalsea for debt in 1738, and Doctor Gaylard whose imprints in the early 1730s carried the slogan “some Time Resident in the King’s Bench”.

I am not aware of any contemporaneous reference to Abraham’s brother, Jacob, having worked at the printing house of Rayner, though Jacob had printed a publication for Rayner in 1729,¹²⁵ and in 1755 was detained in the Fleet Prison as an insolvent debtor at Rayner’s suit.¹²⁶

¹²³ See *The Gentleman’s Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1736) vol VI, 485–6: ‘Doctor Gaylard, one of Rayner’s Journeymen ...’ Doctor was Gaylard’s first name. He was a son of George and Jone Gaylard and was baptised on 12 July 1699 in Sherborne, Dorsetshire. He was buried on 12 April 1749 at St Bride’s, Fleet Street in London aged 50 years. Interestingly, Gaylard was bound as a feltmonger’s apprentice to Nathaniel Mist, with whom he also worked as a printer. See Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices’ Indentures, 11 March 1717: ‘Nathaniel Mist Cit [Citizen] Feltmonger ... Doctor son of Geo. Gaylard deced [deceased]’. Gaylard was later referred to as being an apprentice to Mist in his capacity as a printer: see ‘A Proclamation for Apprehending and Securing the Persons of *Doctor Gaylard*, Apprentice to *Nathaniel Mist* of *Great Carter-Lane*, in the *City of London*, Printer, and of *Nathaniel Wilkinson*’ (1721). D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (1978) 237 lists three apprentices bound or turned over to Mist (Samuel Nevill turned over in 1718, Joseph Carter bound in 1724 and William King bound in 1727), but does not record Gaylard having been an apprentice to Mist. See also Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). Notwithstanding these records, Pat Rogers, ‘Nathaniel Mist, Daniel Defoe, and the Perils of Publishing’ (2009) s7-X *The Library* 298, 299 states: ‘Although Mist was admitted to the livery of the Stationers’ Company on 1 August 1720, no record has been found of his formally binding an apprentice.’ Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (1989) 29 states: ‘The longest running Jacobite newspaper was published by Nathaniel Mist, who took over Robert Mawson’s *Weekly Journal, or Saturday’s Post* in 1716; it ran for twenty-one more years, as *Mist’s Weekly Journal* in 1725–8, and *Fog’s Weekly Journal* in 1728–37, after Mist had been forced into exile. Mist’s partner Doctor Gaylard printed the Jacobite *Freeholder’s Journal* in 1722–3, following it with *The Loyal Observer Reviv’d; or Gaylard’s Journal ...*’ See also A Sanford Limouze, ‘Doctor Gaylard’s *Loyal Observer Reviv’d*’ (1950) 48 *Modern Philology* 97; James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and Its Development* (1986) 215.

¹²⁴ Michael Harris, ‘Paper Pirates: The Alternative Book Trade in Mid-18th Century London’ in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print & Manuscript* (1989) 47, 62 (citations omitted).

¹²⁵ United Kingdom National Archives, SP 36, vol 15, part 1, 76 (dated 21 September 1729): ‘The Examination of Jacob Ilive of the Parish of St Buttolph [sic] Aldersgate Printer. To whom a Libel being shewn intituled [a Second Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country. Together with the Pacifick [sic] Fleet a New Ballad.] he owns that he printed the same; That he was employd [sic] so to do by Mr William Rayner, who before that time was a perfect Stranger to him; & promised to pay him at ye same time ...’ See also *A Second Letter from a Member of Parliament to His Friend in the Country. Together with, the Pacifick Fleet; a New Ballad* (1729): ‘Printed for R. W. and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster’; United Kingdom National Archives, SP 36, vol 39, part 1, 70: ‘The Examination of William Rayner of the Parish of St. Andrews Holborn in the County of Middlesex. To whom a Libel being produced intituled a Second Letter From a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country. Together with the

Although Abraham and Jacob were participants in this alternative trade, it is to be noted that in some significant ways they were not ‘outsiders’. As referred to above, their parents and maternal grandparents had been eminent London printers. Abraham and Jacob were both members of the Worshipful Company of Stationers.¹²⁷ Jacob in particular played an active part in the public life of

Pacifick Fleet; a New Ballad; and he being asked whether he did not Print and publish the same, or cause the same to be printed or published, he answers that he did not do either.’ It appears that this examination occurred in 1736; a copy of *RAYNER’s Morning-Advertiser* dated 11 August 1736, which states ‘Printed by *W. Rayner*, near *St. George’s Church*, Southwark, where Advertisements are taken in’, is contained in United Kingdom National Archives, SP 36, vol 139, part 1, 68. It seems that it may have been kept to record Rayner’s address. Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 95 states (citations omitted): ‘[A] link between Rayner and the illegal [that is, unstamped] press can perhaps be made through his business connections with Jacob Ilive. He had been employed by Rayner in 1729 [citing SP 36, vol 15] and, while his brother Abraham was overseer of the Southwark press, Jacob’s advertisements appeared consistently in the *Morning Advertiser*, sometimes in conjunction with Rayner. Whether this association was extended into the area of newspaper production remains, along with much of the detail at this level of activity, highly problematic, and although it seems possible that Ilive printed the *Monthly Oracle, or Gentleman’s Magazine* for Rayner, it is difficult to go much farther.’

¹²⁶ *The London Gazette*, 27 May 1755 – 31 May 1755 (number 9480): ‘Pursuant to the late Act of Parliament made and provided, for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, I do hereby give Notice, that I intend to compel Jacob Ilive, Printer, late of Aldersgate Street, London, and of Chiswick in the County of Middlesex, who, on the First Day of January 1755, was, and still is, a Prisoner detained in the Fleet Prison at my Suit ; therefore require him to appear at the next General or Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be held at Guildhall for the City of London and County of Middlesex, or at the Adjournment thereof, which shall next happen after Twenty Days from the Publication hereof, and then and there to deliver in upon Oath a full and true Schedule of all his Estate and Effects, for the benefit of his Creditors. Dated this 28th Day of May 1755. William Rayner.’ See also *The London Gazette*, 3 June 1755 – 7 June 1755 (number 9482) (‘First Notice’); *The London Gazette*, 7 June 1755 – 10 June 1755 (number 9483) (‘Second Notice’); *The London Gazette*, 10 June 1755 – 14 June 1755 (number 9484) (‘Third Notice’).

¹²⁷ The apprenticeships and admissions of Abraham and Jacob, and the cloathing of Jacob, are referred to above. In 1750, Jacob delivered a speech, the text of which was published as *The Speech of Mr. Jacob Ilive to His Brethren the Master-Printers: On the Great Utility of the Art of Printing, at a General Meeting, Wednesday, the 18th July, 1750* (1750), in which he stated (at 6): ‘MANY have been the Attempts to restrain the *Liberty* of the *PRESS*, but none have hitherto succeeded, and it is greatly to be hoped never will ; but if it should ever be restrain’d, it ought, it must be look’d on by all wise and good Men, as one of the *greatest Evils* that can possibly befall a free and brave People.’ In 1762, Jacob chaired a meeting of the freemen of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, which then appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the Company. Richard Gough, *British Topography. Or, an Historical Account of What Has Been Done for Illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain* (1780) vol I, 597, fn d states: ‘July 3, 1762, being Saturday, Mr. Jacob Ilive and others, having given notice to the several freemen of the company of Stationers, to meet that day to choose master and wardens of said company ; the said Jacob Ilive was first chosen chairman, to conduct the business of the day. After standing on the upper table of the hall, he thanked the freemen for the honour they had done him ; laid before them several branches of the two charters ; and proposed Mr. Christopher Norris, and some one else, to their choice for master ; the former of whom was chosen. Then, in like manner, he proposed John Lenthall, esq; and John Wilcox, gent. with two others, for wardens. The choice fell on the said John Lenthall and John Wilcox. A committee was then appointed by the votes of the common hall, to meet the first Tuesday in each month, at the Horn Tavern in Doctors Commons, to enquire into the state of the company, consisting of twenty-one persons ; five of which, the

London. In 1739, he started and led a successful initiative to have a postern constructed on the eastern side of Aldersgate in the interests of public safety.¹²⁸ He was an overseer of the poor in the parish of St Botolph without

master and wardens being of that number, were empowered to act as if the whole were present. July 6, being the first Tuesday in the month, the new-elected master came into the hall about twelve, and was seated at the upper end of it. The clerk of the hall being sent for, he was desired to swear Mr. Norris into his office ; but, upon his declining it, Mr. Ilive swore him in. A boy then offered himself to be bound ; but, no warden being present, he was desired to stay till next month ; when several others were bound, some freemen made, and others admitted into the livery ; of whom one at least has frequently polled on contested elections at Guildhall.’ John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol I, 311 suggests that this account was ‘from a communication by Mr. [William] Bowyer’, to whom Nichols had been bound as a stationer’s apprentice. T C Hansard, *Typographia: An Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Art of Printing* (1825) 274–5 describes this episode as ‘a schism ... among the members’ of the Company, and notes that it is referred to in the index to John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol VII, 396 as a ‘rebellious election of a master and wardens’. At 275, Hansard states: ‘Previous to calling the meeting just described, he [Jacob Ilive] published a pamphlet on “The Charter and Grants of the Company of Stationers ; with observations and remarks thereon ;” in which he recited various grievances, and stated the opinions of counsel upon several points. I have a copy of this pamphlet now lying before me, the twentieth page of which concludes with the line, *Excudebat, edebat, donabat, Jacob Ilive* [translation: ‘Jacob Ilive printed, published and offered it’], *Anno M.DCCLXII.*’ See also Jacob Ilive, *The Charter and Grants of the Company of Stationers. With Observations and Remarks Thereon* (1762); Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationer’s Company: A History, 1403–1959* (1960) 232–3.

¹²⁸ Jacob Ilive, *A Plan of the Ward of Aldersgate. Part of Cripplegate Ward Within and Without* (1740): ‘*Of the E. Postern.* The Making of this Postern was through the Instigation and indefatigable Endeavours of Mr. *Jacob Ilive*, who, at his own Charge, on *Tuesday* the 26th of *March* 1739. sent printed Invitations about the Ward, and assembled divers of the Inhabitants, at the *White Lion Tavern* in *Aldersgate-street*, and there proposed to them to petition the Court of Aldermen and Common Council, in Order to obtain the said Postern, and on the 10th of *April* at the same Place, the following Petition was drawn up, and then and afterwards signed by the Inhabitants, whose Names are hereunto annex’d. ... THAT whereas Your Petitioners do now labour under many and great Dangers and Inconveniencies by Reason of the Want of a Postern through the East Side of the Gate, called *Aldersgate*, for the Conveniency of Foot Passengers daily passing and repassing through the same ; And, as the Case now stands, from the Narrowness of the Postern on the West Side, and the great Numbers of People who daily have Occasion to pass and repass through the same, many are obliged to go in the Cart Way, to the manifest Hazard of breaking Limbs, or otherwise endangering their Lives from the great Numbers of Coaches, Carrs [sic], Drays, Waggon[s] [sic], Horses, Oxen, and the like, continually passing and repassing through the said Gate. ... And in order to shew the Necessity and Utility of the desired Postern, Reasons were drawn up, and printed, and many Copies of them, at the Charge of Mr. *Ilive*, given to the Aldermen, Common Council and Citizens. The above Petition was presented to the Court, on *May*. 28. 1739. by Mr. Deputy *Snart*, and supported by Mr. Deputy *Ballard*, Mr. *Chowne*, Mr. *Bailey*, Mr. *Underwood*, Mr. *Lowe*, Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Maccascree*, Common Council Men of the Ward, and by Mr. *Jacob Ilive*, through whose Care and Diligence the said Petition was read and granted, and in *Nov.* following, the desired Postern made to the great Convenience not only of the neighbouring Inhabitants, but also of all others, who have daily Occasion to pass and repass through the said Gate. ... Mr. JOHN UNDERWOOD, Common Council Man.’ It is apparent from the plan that the White Lion Tavern, which is referred to in this extract, was located at, or extremely close to, the later site of the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate. As discussed below, Abraham Ilive’s widow lived at the workhouse on that site in 1778.

Aldersgate.¹²⁹ As referred to below, he chaired the first meeting of ‘the Governors for erecting a Lying-in Hospital for married women in the City of London and parts adjacent and also for Out-patients in Phisic [sic] and Surgery’. The hospital opened in May 1750 at London House in Aldersgate Street, where Jacob lived and where Abraham is recorded as also having lived. After being imprisoned at Clerkenwell Bridewell from 1756 for writing, printing and publishing a book described in the information against him as ‘scandalous impious Prophane [sic] and blasphemous Libel’,¹³⁰ Jacob published two books written during his confinement on ways to improve the gaol.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Jacob Ilive, *A Plan of the Ward of Aldersgate. Part of Cripplegate Ward Within and Without* (1740): ‘St Botolph. ... Overseers, Richard Riley, Jacob Ilive, Robert Evans, Matthew Nash. This Parish is possess’d of a great Number of Benefactions to the Poor, too long here to be mention’d.’ See also Jacob Ilive, *A Scheme for the Employment of All Persons Sent As Disorderly to the House of Correction in Clerkenwell* (1759) 11: ‘when I was one of the overseers of the poor in the parish of saint [sic] Botolph Aldersgate, we used to allow six pence to every poor person for subsistence ...’

¹³⁰ ‘Draft of an Information for Writing, Printing and Publishing a Libel Intituled Modest Remarks on the Bishop of Londons Discourses &c.’, United Kingdom National Archives, TS 11/1073, page 1. See also *Modest Remarks on the Bishop of London’s Several Discourses Preached in the Temple Church, and Late Published in Two Volumes Octavo* (1755). A notice in *The London Evening-Post* dated 19 June 1756 – 22 June 1756 stated: ‘Yesterday, at the Court of King’s Bench at Westminster-Hall, the following Sentence was passed against Jacob Ilive, for writing, printing, and publishing a blasphemous Pamphlet, entitled, *Modest Remarks on the Bishop of London’s Discourses*, viz. that he be committed to Newgate for one Month, and to stand in the Pillory three Times within the said Month ; once at Charing-Cross, a second Time at the Royal Exchange, and the third at the End of Chancery-lane in Fleet-street ; after which to be committed to Clerkenwell Bridewell for three Years ; and at the End of the same to find Security for his good Behaviour during Life, himself 100 l. and two Sureties 50 l. each ; and farther, that he be fined at the End of the said three Years the Sum of 6 s. 8 d. or imprisoned in Newgate till Payment thereof.’ See also *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 26 June 1756, page 2. A notice in *The London Evening-Post* dated 29 June 1756 – 1 July 1756 stated: ‘Yesterday, pursuant to his Sentence, Jacob Ilive, Author, Printer and Publisher, of a Pamphlet entitled, *Modest Remarks on the Bishop of London’s Letter*, stood on the Pillory, the first Time, at Charing Cross.’ See also *Whitehall Evening-Post*; or, *London Intelligencer*, 29 June 1756 – 1 July 1756; *The Public Advertiser*, 1 July 1756; *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 3 July 1756, page 3. A notice in *The Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* on 9 July 1756 stated: ‘Yesterday at noon Mr. Ilive stood on the pillory at the Royal Exchange, pursuant to his sentence for writing and publishing a book, entitled, *Modest Remarks on the Bishop of London’s Discourses*.’ See also *The British Spy*; or, *New Universal London Weekly Journal*, 10 July 1756.

¹³¹ See Jacob Ilive, *Reasons Offered for the Reformation of the House of Correction in Clerkenwell* (1757), written to show ‘[t]he Present State of this GOAL [sic], the Debauchery of the Prisoners, and the miserable Condition they are in from the Want of a Sufficiency of Foods, &c.’ and ‘Proposals in what Manner these Evils may be prevented for the future ; humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Magistrates and Inhabitants of the County of *Middlesex*’; Jacob Ilive, *A Scheme for the Employment of All Persons Sent As Disorderly to the House of Correction in Clerkenwell* (1759). At 29 of his *Scheme*, Jacob notes that he was sent to the gaol at Newgate on 28 February 1756 ‘for want of sufficient bail’. At 10 of his *Reasons*, he stated: ‘[T]he Day came when I was to be removed from *Newgate* to *Clerkenwell Bridewell*, as it is vulgarly called, and, on this Occasion, I well remembered the old Saw, *Time and Tide stay for no Man*. It was on the twentieth Day of *July*, in the Year 1756, I was, pursuant to my Sentence, which I had before received in the Court of *King’s Bench*, *Westminster*, to be removed by the Keeper of his Majesty’s Goal [sic] of *Newgate*, to the House of Correction in *Clerkenwell*.’ At 24 of his *Reasons*, he stated: ‘It was a long Time I had

In May 1736, Abraham and William Rayner went before a committee of privileges of the House of Commons which had been appointed to inquire into a pamphlet entitled ‘A Bill for Suppressing Geneva by Laying a Duty on Spirituous Liquors, and for Licensing the Retailers Thereof’.¹³² A record of the proceedings of the committee noted that Abraham was the overseer of Rayner’s printing house (the location of which is discussed below). After being examined, both Abraham and Rayner were found guilty of a breach of a privilege of the House of Commons for having been involved in the printing of a Bill when it was pending in the House. Rayner was ordered to be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the House. Abraham was ordered to stand committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, having already been taken into custody for prevaricating during his evidence. The legislation in question was the unpopular *Gin Act* of 1736.¹³³ It appears from the record of the committee’s proceedings that a man named William Mills had approached the printing house about printing the text of the Bill.¹³⁴

to endure Confinement. Another Way I took to employ my Time was, in learning that pleasant and delusive Language, called *Arabick* ... Thus, together with Beating of Hemp whenever called thereto by the Keeper, I spent my Time, and had been at the Block many Days successively, and was then hard and close at the latter, when the Royal Voice, by the Order of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Holderness*, one of His Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State, and by the Mouth of one of His Majesty’s Messengers (*m*), called me, as it were, from the Dead, from a dismal, long and wretched Confinement (*n*), into the Glorious Sunshine of *British* Freedom and Liberty.’ Footnote m states: ‘NATHAN CARRINGTON, *Esq*.’ Footnote n states: ‘When this happened, I had to come of my Three Years Confinement in this Goal [sic], two Years two Months and nineteen Days.’ At 4, fn a of his *Reasons*, Jacob stated: ‘This was wrote and sent to the Press during my Confinement, when I little thought of receiving his Majesty’s Mercy, which I did on the thirtieth of *April* last [1757]’. At 44 of his *Scheme*, Jacob stated: ‘WHEN I published my Reasons for the Reformation of the House of Correction in Clerkenwell in June 1757, which met with a kind reception from the public, I little thought of ever being re-committed to the said gaol, but so it happened, that Nathan Carrington, esq; one of his majesty’s messengers, by order of the right honourable the Earl of HOLDERNESS, brought me back to that place ...’ On 8 December 1745, a warrant was directed to Carrington and David Price to seize and apprehend ‘— Iliff for High Treason’; as discussed below, this appears to be a reference to Abraham. An incident in 1762, in which Carrington and three other messengers to the King broke into and searched the house of the writer John Entick, led to the celebrated decision on the limits of executive power, *Entick v Carrington* (1765) 2 Wils KB 275; 95 ER 807. In a postscript to his *Scheme*, Jacob stated (at 74): ‘The duration of [my] confinement was from the thirtieth of January in the year 1756, till the tenth day of June in 1758.’

¹³² ‘Geneva’ meaning gin.

¹³³ *An Act for Laying a Duty upon the Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, and for Licensing the Retailers thereof*, 9 Geo II, c XXIII.

¹³⁴ *Journals of the House of Commons* (1803) vol 22, 707 (Friday 7 May 1736), 710–11 (Monday 10 May 1736), 713 (Wednesday 12 May 1736). See also Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 96, who incorrectly states that the committee proceedings occurred in May 1737. He states: ‘in May 1737, not long after Nixon and been committed, Rayner and Ilive were both brought before the House of Commons for publishing the text of the violently unpopular *Gin Act*, which had figured in Nixon’s bomb. ... Whether any mention was made of the Nixon case is not clear but it seems, as usual, Rayner was sailing very close to the wind.’ In fact, the committee proceedings occurred in May 1736, and preceded the incident involving Nixon which occurred in July 1736 (discussed below).

It is noteworthy that three months later, in July 1736, Robert Nixon, who was described as a ‘Nonjuring Clergyman of the County of *Norfolk*’,¹³⁵ caused an explosion in Westminster Hall which dispersed ‘a packet of pamphlets containing his own version of the Gin Act, along with four other exceptional laws’.¹³⁶ It was recorded that ‘*Doctor Gaylard*, one of *Rayner’s* Journeymen, and formerly a Prisoner on Account of *Mist’s* Journal, hath made Oath, That he, together with one *Clark*, another Printer not yet taken, did compose from a manuscript Copy, written by Mr *Nixon*, the Libel dispersed in *Westminster-Hall*, the 14th of *July* last, at the House of the said Mr *Nixon* in *Hatton-Garden*’.¹³⁷ A connection between this incident and that involving Abraham three months earlier seems plausible. Both episodes involved the printing of the same legislation by men who worked at Rayner’s printing house.

Abraham was recorded as being of the parish of St George in Southwark on 5 April 1737 when he took an apprentice, John Chamberlain.¹³⁸ Bird Cage Alley, Falcon Court and Angel Court (which are discussed below) were within the parish of St George. Although Abraham was working out of Rayner’s printing house at this time, he was also printing under his own name.¹³⁹

In 1739 and 1740, Abraham was involved in the conviction of a man from New Jersey named Robert Jenkins (also spelt Jenkens) for counterfeiting bills of credit. Jenkins approached Abraham on 22 December 1739 to print the counterfeit bills.¹⁴⁰ Kenneth Scott records that Jenkins’ cousin, Peter Long, had

¹³⁵ *The Gentleman’s Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1736) vol VI, 485–6. The term ‘nonjurors’ referred to clergymen who refused to swear allegiance to King William III and Queen Mary II on account of their previous oaths of allegiance to King James II. Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark* (1810) vol III, 359: states: ‘The NONJURORS were a race of men who declined taking the oaths of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, under the idea that they were usurpers. Their attachment to King James and the Stuart family procured them, also, the name of JACOBITES.’

¹³⁶ Adrian Johns, ‘Grub Street Pirates and the Plausibility of Print’ (Paper delivered to the December 2004 Conference of the Center for the Study of Books and Media, Princeton University, 4 December 2004) 6, citing *The Tryal of Robert Nixon, a Nonjuring Clergy-Man* (1737); *The Gentleman’s Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1736) vol VI, 485–6.

¹³⁷ *The Gentleman’s Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1736) vol VI, 485–6.

¹³⁸ Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (1978) 187. John Chamberlain was a son of Nicholas Chamberlain, deceased, who was a haberdasher of Stamford, Lincolnshire. As noted above, Abraham took John Chamberlain as an apprentice about six months before he married Elizabeth Chamberlin, who was a widow. However, it is not known whether John Chamberlain was related to Elizabeth.

¹³⁹ See *The Proceedings of the Assizes for the County of Surry, Held at Guildford* (1738): ‘Printed by A. ILIVE, near St. George’s Church, 1738’; *A Full, True and Genuine Account of the Uncommon Behaviour of Mr. Gill Smith* (1738): ‘Printed by A. ILIVE, near St. George’s Church’.

¹⁴⁰ See ‘Counterfeiting Bills of Credit’ in *Pennsylvania Archives* (1852) vol I, 578–81, which includes oaths sworn by Abraham Ilive on 28 December 1739 and a letter from Robert Jenkins produced by Abraham on 1 February 1740. In an oath sworn on 28 December 1739, Abraham stated that Jenkins ‘came to Abraham Ilive, Printer, in Southwark, on Saturday, Dece. 22d,

written to him in England asking him to find ‘some honest’ printer, and that ‘Jenkins, upon receipt of the communication from Long, approached Abraham Ilive, who dwelt in Bird Cage Alley near St. George’s Church, Southwarke [sic], and was a printer at Mr. Reyner’s [sic] Printing House’.¹⁴¹ He states that Abraham ‘gave information of the affair to the undersecretaries of state’.¹⁴² He further states that after Jenkins’ arrest ‘Ilive was apparently rewarded by the government of the Three Lower Counties on Delaware, for on 21 October 1740, the lieutenant governor suggested “that it were not amiss that the House would order to be printed in the publick News-papers, Advertisements signifying that a Reward was to be given to the printer in England who discovered the printing of Counterfeit Bills ... lately brought over by Robert Jenkins, that it would be an Encouragement to other Printers to make future Discoverys; and that if the House would order it he would have it put into all the publick News-papers.”’¹⁴³ Jenkins was sentenced to death in August 1740.¹⁴⁴

Bird Cage Alley, which no longer exists, ran west off High Borough Street in Southwark, about 50 metres north of St George the Martyr.¹⁴⁵ Bird Cage Alley was immediately south of, and parallel to, Falcon Court which was directly across Borough High Street from Angel Court. Michael Harris has noted that Rayner operated a printing house from Bird Cage Alley,¹⁴⁶ Angel Court¹⁴⁷ and

1739’ and spoke to Abraham ‘at several Meetings since’ (at 578). Abraham is referred to (at 581) as ‘Mr. Ilive, in Bird Cage Alley, near St. George’s Church, the Borough’. See also T Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* (1888) vol I, 137; Henry C Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware* (1908) vol I, 86–7; Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania* (1955); Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (1957) 87–92.

¹⁴¹ Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (1957) 88–89.

¹⁴² *Ibid* 89.

¹⁴³ *Ibid* 91–2.

¹⁴⁴ *The American Weekly Mercury*, 28 August 1740: ‘Last week a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Goal [sic] Delivery, was held at New Castle, where the following persons were tryed & received sentence of death, viz. Hugh GLASCOW and William YOUNG for burglary; Robert JENKINS for aiding and assisting in counterfeiting the paper money of that Government.’ Henry C Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware* (1908) vol I, 86–7 states: ‘As one would expect he [Jenkins] pleaded that the counterfeit money had been smuggled into his chest by parties unknown, and it was not possible to disprove his statement, hence he escaped the gallows from which a petty thief might have swung.’ The notice in *The American Weekly Mercury* suggests that Conrad’s statement that ‘it was not possible to disprove his statement’ is incorrect. See also Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (1957) 91: ‘The counterfeiters [Jenkins and Long] were very likely tried by a special court of oyer and terminer, the records of which have not been preserved.’

¹⁴⁵ See John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1746); Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799). Bird Cage Alley was around 650 metres from the location of Ayliffe Street which, as discussed below, was created in around 1811 and appears to have been named after Abraham’s son Thomas.

¹⁴⁶ Michael Harris, ‘Rayner, William (*bap.* 1699, *d.* 1761)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 46, 196, 197: ‘By September 1734 Rayner had opened a printing office in Bird Cage

Falcon Court.¹⁴⁸ Angel Court ran along the southern edge of the King's Bench Prison.¹⁴⁹ Rayner had been imprisoned at the King's Bench Prison for two years following a conviction for libel.¹⁵⁰ Harris records that 'before the end of 1733 William Rayner had shifted his business within the rules of the King's Bench, where he joined a number of other low-key speculators'.¹⁵¹

As stated above, it is in my view plausible that Abraham was the father of Eleanor James Ilive, and therefore that he was living in Water Lane which was around 350 metres from the Old Bailey, at the time of the child's burial in May 1740.¹⁵²

Alley in Southwark, next door to the Horse and Groom alehouse, where he employed, among others, the politically compromised compositor Doctor Gaylard.'

¹⁴⁷ Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 92: 'Rayner can have had little difficulty in establishing himself in such an environment [as the Rules of the King's Bench] after he opened his office in Angel Court opposite the prison. ... By 1739 he owned a house in Falcon Court ...' See also *Flora, an Opera* (undated): 'Printed by *W. Rayner*, at the *Rising Sun* in *Angel-Court* near the *King's Bench*.'

¹⁴⁸ Michael Harris, 'Paper Pirates: The Alternative Book Trade in Mid-18th Century London' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print & Manuscript* (1989) 47, 52: 'Rayner obtained the Rules [of the King's Bench] and move his printing office to Falcon Court ...'

¹⁴⁹ This was the location of the King's Bench Prison until around 1758 when the prison was moved to a new location. See Ida Darling (ed), 'St George's Fields (The Parishes of St George the Martyr Southwark and St Mary Newington)', being vol 25 of *Survey of London* (1955), chapter 2, 'Southwark Prisons'. Angel Court appears in Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799), by which time the King's Bench Prison was in its new location. The street is marked as Bridewell Alley in John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1746). However, it is apparent that the name Angel Court was being used before then. Robert Seymour, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjacent* (1733) vol I, 814, in a description of 'The PARISH of St. GEORGE, SOUTHWARK', lists both 'Angel-court' and 'Bridewell-alley'. It appears that Bridewell Alley may have been the name of the eastern section of the street which was called Angel Alley in Horwood's map. See also Walter Wilson, *The Histories and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster, and Southwark* (1814) vol IV, 321: 'This was formerly called Bridewell-alley, and afterwards Angel-alley, and now usually goes by the name of Collier's Rents'.

¹⁵⁰ See *The Tryal of William Rayner for Printing and Publishing a Libel, Intitled, Robin's Reign; or, Seven's the Main* (1733); Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 92; Michael Harris, 'Paper Pirates: The Alternative Book Trade in Mid-18th Century London' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print & Manuscript* (1989) 47, 52; Michael Harris, 'Rayner, William (*hap.* 1699, *d.* 1761)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 46, 196, 197. See also *The Opera of Operas; or, Tom Thumb the Great* (1733): 'Printed for WILLIAM RAYNER, Prisoner of the KING'S-BENCH, and to be sold at the THEATRE, and likewise at the Printing-Office in *Marigold-Court*, over-against the *Fountain-Tavern* in the *Strand*.'

¹⁵¹ Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 92.

¹⁵² Burial register of St Dunstan-in-the-West, London, 4 May 1740. Michael Harris, 'Rayner, William (*hap.* 1699, *d.* 1761)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 46, 196, 198 notes

In February 1741, Abraham was named as a defendant, together with his brother Jacob, Robert Whitworth, William Catterall, Robert Walker and John Nichols, all of whom were also printers, in a complaint filed by 'John Baskett of London Stationer and Printer to his present Majesty King George the Second'.¹⁵³ In an answer filed by Abraham and Jacob in March 1741, Abraham said that he had sold several copies of a form of prayer 'as Journeyman and Servant to Mistress Elizabeth Chamberlain a Printer in the Old Bailey with whom [he] at the time of his so selling the same did and now doth live', and that he had done so 'on her Account and for her use'. Abraham and Jacob otherwise denied the charges against them.¹⁵⁴ As discussed above, it seems likely that

that in 1740 William Rayner moved from Southwark to a new printing office in Wine Office Court in the ward of Farringdon Without. This corresponds with Abraham's move from Southwark to the Old Bailey between December 1739 and February 1741.

¹⁵³ Bill of Complaint of John Baskett against Robert Whitworth, William Catterall, Robert Walker, John Nichols, Abraham Ilive and Jacob Ilive, United Kingdom National Archives, C 11/1564/4 (19 February 1741; recorded as 1740 according to the Old Style Calendar). It is apparent that the Bill of Complaint was dated according to the Old Style Calendar. It refers to 'Wednesday the fourth day of February One thousand Seven hundred and forty'; 4 February 1740 was a Monday, whereas 4 February 1741 was a Wednesday.

¹⁵⁴ See 'The Joint and Severall Answer of Jacob Ilive and Abraham Ilive Two of the Defendants to the Bill of Complaint of John Baskett Complainant', United Kingdom National Archives, C 11/1564/4 (dated March 1741; recorded as 1740 according to the Old Style Calendar): 'And this Defendant Abraham Ilive doth deny that he this Defendant or any other or persons for him or on his account or to or for his use or by his Order or direction have or hath at any time printed or caused to be printed all or any or either of the said Form of prayer or any such like Form or Forms of prayer either with or without any Addition Omission or Alteration Nor hath this Defendant published or caused to be published the same or any or either of them otherwise than by selling the same in manner as hereinafter is mentioned in case that shall be deemed a publication thereof Nor hath this Defendant sold or disposed of or caused to be sold or disposed of all or any or either [sic] the said Forms of prayer or any Copy or Copys [sic] thereof or of any or either of them otherwise than as Journeyman and Servant to Mistress Elizabeth Chamberlain a Printer in the Old Bailey with whom this Defendant at the time of his so selling the same did and now doth live And this Defendant Abraham Ilive doth Admitt [sic] that as Journeyman and Servant to the said Elizabeth Chamberlain as aforesaid and on her Account and for her use and not otherwise he this Defendant did / but at what time or times or when particularly this Defendant cannot now remember or sett [sic] forth except as herein after is mentioned / sell and dispose of severall [sic] printed Copies of one of the said Forms of prayer in the said Bill particularly mentioned and described but how many such Copies of the said Form of prayer he this Defendant or she the said Elizabeth Chamberlain did so sell or dispose of he this Defendant cannot now remember or sett [sic] forth but they were not to the number of twenty thousand as in the said Bill is charged or any such number Nor doth this Defendant know nor hath overheard nor can form any Judgment how much money or what profit [sic] she the said Elizabeth Chamberlain did receive or make by or on Account of the said Form of prayer or the said printed Copies thereof but this Defendant Saith that he so sold the Form of prayer in the said Bill mentioned to be used on the fourth day of February one thousand seven hundred and forty a day Appointed by Proclamation a Generall [sic] Fast and Humiliation for two shillings and six pence for twenty five of them and no more which or the Greatest part whereof this Defendant doth beleive [sic] were so sold within the space of three months last past And this Defendant Denys that within the same space of time or at any other time whatsoever he printed or published or caused to be printed or published or exposed to Sale the Form of prayer in the said Bill for that purpose in the said Bill particularly mentioned and described lately Comanded by his Majesty to be used every day in all Churches but this Defendant hath not at

‘Mistress Elizabeth Chamberlain’ was the woman ‘Elizabeth Chamberlin’ whom Abraham had married in 1737.

Abraham operated as a printer from the Queen’s Head in the Old Bailey in July and August 1741.¹⁵⁵ He was recorded as being of the Old Bailey on

any time sold or disposed of or caused to be sold or disposed of all or any or either of the said Forms of prayer or any printed or other Copies or Copy thereof or of any of them for or on his own Account or otherwise or in any other manner than as aforesaid Nor hath this Defendant received or made any money or profit [sic] whatsoever thereby or by any of them or any ways on Account thereof And this Defendant Abraham Ilive Saith that the said printed Copies so sold by him this Defendant for the use and on the Account of the said Elizabeth Chamberlain were as this Defendant beleives [sic] printed in a plainer and more intelligible print and upon a much better paper and sold at two thirds less than those of the like kind sold by the Complainant ...’ Michael Harris, ‘Paper Pirates: The Alternative Book Trade in Mid-18th Century London’ in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print & Manuscript* (1989) 47, 54 states: ‘[W]hen two of the Ilive brothers came up against John Baskett as King’s Printer in 1741 their response to his recital of privilege can only be described as contemptuous.’

¹⁵⁵ See *Turpin the Second: or, Cooke Caught at Last* (1741): ‘Printed for A. ILIVE, at the *Queen’s-Head*, in the *Old-Bailey*.’ Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (2005) 44 state: ‘The first advertisement [in *The Daily Advertiser*], on 24 July 1741, announces publication the same day of “Number I. of PAMELA Versified: or, Virtue Rewarded. An Heroic Poem. Containing her Life, &c. Publish’d in order to cultivate the Principles of Virtue and Religion in the Minds of the Youth of both sexes. Done from the Original. By GEORGE BENNET, A. B. Late of St. John’s College, Oxford”. Then follows a quotation from Ovid ... , the publisher’s name (‘A. Ilive, at the *Queen’s Head* in the *Old Baily* [sic]’), and the following note: “The whole will be compris’d in fifteen Numbers, and adorn’d with Copper-Plate Cuts.” ... Ilive’s only other known publication of 1741, a low-grade Newgate biography entitled *Turpin the Second; or, Cooke Caught at Last*, probably typifies his stock in trade ... At twopence per instalment, *Pamela Versified* fits the downmarket profile of Ilive’s establishment. Higher ambitions are suggested, however, by the copperplate cuts. The second advertisement (12 August, announcing publication of the second instalment on 18 August) describes part of the poem as printed on superfine Dutch demy paper, and the indications are that Ilive was over-reaching himself commercially. ... Signs of anxiety show in the August advertisement, which assures readers that all numbers of the poem would be published with convenient speed, and promises a “proper Introduction to the whole Tale”. No further advertisements have been discovered, and by October *Scots Magazine*, though finding *Pamela Versified* “the attempt of no mean genius”, could also report that “the work now seems dropt”.’ See also Peter Sabor and Thomas Keymer, *The Pamela Controversy: Criticisms and Adaptations of Samuel Richardson’s Pamela, 1740 – 1750* (2001); William Merritt Sale, *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes* (1936) 129–30: ‘A poetic version of *Pamela*, by “George Bennet, A.B., late of St John’s College, Oxford,” was advertised in London in 1741 (*Daily Advertiser*, July 24). I have not seen this poem ; nor can I identify George Bennet. ... This poem was to be printed in fifteen numbers, “adorn’d with Copper-Plate Cuts.” No. I was advertised on July 24, and No. II was announced for next Tuesday in the *Daily Advertiser*, Wednesday, August 12. I have found no further advertising. Below the advertisement for No. II, the parts of the poem were described as printed on superfine Dutch demy paper. Purchasers were assured that all the numbers would be published with convenient speed, and that a “proper Introduction to the whole Tale, and particular ones to every Letter where it is requisite to illustrate the Work” would be forthcoming. Each number was to sell for 2d. They might be purchased from A. Ilive, at the *Queen’s Head* in the *Old Bailey*, and at other pamphlet-shops’.

3 November 1741 when he took an apprentice, John Henry Hubbard.¹⁵⁶ Abraham's name appears in land tax records in respect of a property on the eastern side of the Old Bailey between 1742 and 1745.¹⁵⁷ He worked from a printing office in the Great Old Bailey,¹⁵⁸ opposite Prujean's Court, in 1743 and 1744.¹⁵⁹ He was recorded as being of the parish of St Martin, Ludgate on

¹⁵⁶ Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (1978) 187. Michael Treadwell, 'On False and Misleading Imprints in the London Book Trade, 1660–1750' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print & Manuscript* (1989) 29, 35–6 states: '[I]n the 18th century the seemingly suspect "John Bagnall, near Fleet Street" in 1709 turns out to be the newly-bound apprentice of the printer Andrew Hinde, in Peterborough Court, near Fleet-street, while the equally obscure "J.H. Hubbard, in the Old Bailey" in whose name *The New Dunciad* was pirated in 1742 was the equally new apprentice of the printer Abraham Ilive of the Old Bailey, the brother of the pirate [Jacob Ilive] ultimately responsible.'

¹⁵⁷ Land Tax Records, Ward of Farringdon Without, St Martin's Ludgate Precinct, 1742 at page 3 ('Ilive'); 1743 at page 3 ('Ilive'); 1744 at page 3 ('Ilive'); 1744 reassessment at page 3 ('Ilive'); 1745 at page 3 ('Ilive'). The 1742 record is dated 1 September 1742. The 1744 reassessment record is dated 26 August 1745; this is apparently also the date of the 1745 record. Abraham's name does not appear in the record in respect of the property for 1741 (dated 4 September 1741): Land Tax Records, Ward of Farringdon Without, St Martin's Ludgate Precinct, 1741 at page 3. He was recorded as no longer occupying the property after 1745: Land Tax Records, Ward of Farringdon Without, St Martin's Ludgate Precinct, 1746 at page 3 ('Ilive Empty'); 1747 (dated 4 September 1747) at page 4 ('Ilive Empty'); 1746 reassessment (dated 1 December 1747) at page 4 ('Ilive Empty'); 1748 at page 3 ('Ilive ditto [Empty]'); 1749 at page 3 ('Ilive Do [Empty]'). The 1746 record is dated 2 September 1746. The 1746 reassessment and the 1747, 1748 and 1749 assessments note, in relation to five neighbouring properties marked as 'Empty' alongside the occupants' names (including Abraham's), that the houses belonged to the Company of Surgeons.

¹⁵⁸ *London and Its Environs Described* (1761) vol V, 66 contains the following description of the Great Old Bailey: 'On the upper part near Fleet lane, this street [the Old Bailey] is divided into two by a middle row of buildings, whence that towards the west is called Little Old Bailey, and the other to the eastward, is called Great Old Bailey.' See also John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1746), which shows the Great Old Bailey.

¹⁵⁹ See *The General Magazine* (29 October 1743, number I): 'Printed by A. ILIVE, at the *Printing Office*, opposite *Prujean's Court*, in the *Great Old Bailey*, near *Ludgate Hill*'; *The London Journal, and Country Craftsman* (Saturday 24 December 1743, number XXXIV): 'Printed for the PROPRIETORS by A ILIVE, opposite *Prujean's-Court* in the *Great-Old Bailey* Where all manner of Printing Work, as Books, Pamphlets, Bonds, Shop-keepers and Doctors Bills, &c. is performed in best Manner, at the Lowest Price ; of whom may be had Small Histores [sic], Songs, and Old Ballads, &c'. This imprint also appears, with slight typographical variations, in *The London Journal, and Country Craftsman*, Saturday 17 March 1744 (number XLVI). The Old Bailey and Prujean's Court were within the Rules of the Fleet Prison: see *Stranger's Guide Through the Streets of London & Westminster. &c.* (1814). The following notice appeared in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* on 4 April 1743: '*To-morrow will be publish'd, Price 6 d THE Relative Duty of Creditors and Debtors considered. Shewing, the indispensable Obligation Debtors are under to make the utmost Restitution to their Creditors ; and proposing some Arguments and Reasons for the Gentleness and Compassion of Creditors towards Insolvent Debtors. With some Objections answered, and Cases relating to this Subject stated and cleared. In a SERMON preached in the Chapel of the Fleet-Prison, Jan. 23, 1743. Publish'd by Request. Printed for the Author, and sold by A. Ilive in the Old-Bailey ; Mrs. Nutt, and Mr. Cook, at the Royal-Exchange ; Mrs. Dodd without Temple Bar; the Booksellers in Town and Country ; the Author*

6 November 1744 when he took another apprentice, Thomas Wilson.¹⁶⁰ The Old Bailey was within the parish of St Martin, Ludgate.

It has been speculated that Abraham may have been the printer of a London daily newspaper titled *All-Alive and Merry*, which appears to have been published during the period from 1739 to 1743.¹⁶¹ R M Wiles states that the paper was imprinted with ‘Printed for A. Merryman’ or ‘Printed by A. Merryman’, and that some editions in early 1740 were imprinted with ‘Printed for A. Merryman, in Silver-Street near Golden Lane’. He states that ‘it may be assumed that “A. Merryman” is a fictitious name, a verbal mask concealing someone who had reasons for remaining anonymous’, and that ‘[i]t is tempting to conjecture that he was A. Ilive, especially since Golden Lane was within a stone’s throw of the Ilive establishment (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, sons of T. Ilive, all of them printers and for a time type-founders) in Aldersgate Street’.¹⁶² It is not clear

in the Fleet-Prison ; and at the Lodge of the same.’ The following notice appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* on 3 June 1743: ‘WANTED A Sober single Man, whose Character will bear Examination, and understands Writing and Accompts, to assist at a School within three Miles of London. For conditions enquire of Mr. Abraham Ilive, Printer, in the Old Baily [sic]; or of Mrs. Sparrow, at the 2d House in Cross-Keys-Court, Aldersgate-Street.’

¹⁶⁰ Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (1978) 187.

¹⁶¹ See *All-Alive and Merry; or, the London Daily Post* (17 April 1740 – 20 April 1743) in the Burney Collection, British Library. R M Wiles, *Serial Publication in England before 1750* (1957) 44 refers to ‘numbers [of the newspaper] of early 1740’, and quotes from an edition dated 18 February 1740. George Watson, *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (1971) vol 2, 1330 suggests that there was a publication titled *All-Alive and Merry; or the London Daily Post* which was a ‘[r]ival to other paper of the same title’. However, Wiles states (at 49): ‘The two papers dated November 10 [1741] differ slightly in imprint, one having “Printed for A. MERRYMAN, and sold by the Hawkers”, the other, “LONDON: Printed for A. Merryman, and sold by the Hawkers”. ... It is more likely that the proprietor deliberately prepared a separate edition of his paper for circulation in the provinces, as Robert Walker did with his *London and Country Journal*.’ After referring to Walker’s *London and Country Journal*, R M Wiles, *Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (1965) 8 states: ‘It is possible that the concurrent but differing issues of *All-Alive and Merry* in 1741 represent a similar attempt to produce an edition for circulation in the provinces as well as the regular city edition’ See also *Common Sense; or, The Englishman’s Journal*, 21 April 1739, page 1: ‘To the Author of COMMON SENSE. SIR, ... It seems, one of your Brothers of the Quill, the ingenious Author of a Paper entitled *All alive and merry, or the Daily Farthing Post*, hath not paid all that Respect and Obedience due to the Laws of his Country, as becomes so good a Protestant, and otherwise so good a Subject ; for, whereas he should have contributed the Sum of one Halfpenny to the Support of the Government for every individual Copy of his Farthing Post, — Not having the Fear of God before his Eyes, but being instigated by the Malice of the Devil, he hath taken the whole Farthing to himself, to the great defrauding of his M— [Majesty’s] Revenue ...’ At 44, Wiles indicates that the name of the newspaper was at some point *All-Alive and Merry; or, the London Morning Post* (presumably in early 1740). At 44, fn 1, he states that ‘[t]he subtitle was subsequently altered to *The London Daily Post*, and in the earliest numbers was, for a time, *The Daily Farthing Post*. The copies held in the Burney Collection (referred to above) are all titled *All-Alive and Merry; or, the London Daily Post*.

¹⁶² R M Wiles, *Serial Publication in England before 1750* (1957) 44. See also Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 95: ‘Mr. Wiles, in some interesting if necessarily devious conjecture, suggested that the title of the farthing daily

where ‘Silver-Street near Golden Lane’ was, if it existed at all. A Silver Street was located about 300 metres south of Golden Lane, however it was only about 50 metres from Aldersgate Street and so is unlikely to have been described as ‘near Golden Lane’.¹⁶³ Karl Tilman Winkler has suggested that ‘Silver-Street near Golden Lane’ was a fictitious address.¹⁶⁴ In any event, although it seems possible that the words ‘All-Alive’ were a play on ‘A. Ilive’¹⁶⁵ (as Wiles has speculated), Abraham does not appear to have been working out of Aldersgate Street in early 1740. Rather, he was working in Southwark during the period from 1736 to 1739 and in the Great Old Bailey from 1741 to 1745. It is also to be noted that the dramatist, Samuel Johnson, had published a work titled *All-Alive and Merry* in 1737, and so the phrase appears to have been in common use at the time. Therefore, notwithstanding that it has since been asserted that ‘A. Merryman’ was ‘probably a pseudonym for Abraham Ilive’,¹⁶⁶ Wiles’

All-Alive and Merry contained a punning allusion to A. Ilive, and that the paper was produced at the Aldersgate Street office.’

¹⁶³ See John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1746).

¹⁶⁴ Karl Tilman Winkler, *Handwerk und Markt: Druckerhandwerk, Vertriebswesen und Tagesschrifttum in London 1695–1750* (1989) 358, fn 5: ‘Das Kolophon des Blattes, das anfangs einen Farthing kostete (die mutmaßlich ersten Nummern erschienen im April 1739 als *All-Alive and Merry: or, the Daily Farthing Post*), lautete in aller Offenheit: “London, Printed for A. Merryman, and sold by the Hawkers” (so für die Nummer vom Mo. 30. XI. [1741]), freilich mit gelegentlichen Abweichungen, die eine Adresse “in Silver-Street near Golden Lane” enthielten (Wiles, *Serial Publication*, 44). Auch diese Angabe war fingiert. Keine der Straßen mit diesem Namen lag in der Nähe der “Golden Lane”.’ (Translation: ‘The colophon of the newspaper, which initially cost a farthing (the apparent first issues appeared in April 1739 as *All-Alive and Merry: or, the Daily Farthing Post*), stated quite openly: “London, Printed for A. Merryman, and sold by the Hawkers” (thus for the issue of Mo. 30 XI. [1741]), albeit with occasional variations including an address “in Silver-Street near Golden Lane” (Wiles, *Serial Publication*, 44). This statement was also fictitious. None of the streets with this name was in the vicinity of “Golden Lane”.’)

¹⁶⁵ There does not appear to be any record of a member of the Worshipful Company of Stationers by the name of ‘A. Merryman’ at this time: see D F McKenzic (ed), *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (1978), which does not list any master or apprentice by the name of Merryman. There are at least two publications that were printed in London by ‘A. Merryman’: *The Trial between J. G. Biker, Plaintiff; and M. Morley Doctor of Physic, Defendant; for Criminal Conversation with the Plaintiff’s Wife* (1741) (‘Printed for A. Merryman, in Turn-again-Lane, Holborn’); *A Voyage to the South-Seas, and to Many Other Parts of the World* (1744) (‘Printed and Sold by A. Merryman, near Ludgate-Hill’).

¹⁶⁶ See Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (2005) 45: ‘[Abraham Ilive] seems also to have been the publisher of *All-Alive and Merry*, the illegal half-sheet that serialized Eliza Haywood’s *Anti-Pamela* in 1741–2 ...’ At 92–3, they state (citation omitted): ‘Well before Cogan’s reissue appeared, *Anti-Pamela* had attracted the attention of “A. Merryman”, probably a pseudonym for Abraham Ilive, who had published George Bennet’s aborted poem *Pamela Versified* and was the proprietor of a daily paper, *All-Alive and Merry: or, The London Morning Post*. Consisting of a single half-sheet and costing only a farthing, *All-Alive and Merry* specialized in the serialization of books, reprinting an instalment from a chosen work in at least one of its six daily columns. *Anti-Pamela* was the seventh of eleven works reprinted by Ilive in this form: others included *Robinson Crusoe* (1740) and *Joseph Andrews* (1743). The title given to *Anti-Pamela* in *All-Alive and Merry* was “Familiar Letters, from a Beautiful Young Damsel to her Parents” – a subtitle of *Pamela* itself. This was apparently an attempt to profit from the continuing fame of *Pamela* while furnishing

suggestion that Abraham may have printed *All-Alive and Merry* remains conjecture.

In 1743, Abraham printed a newspaper titled *The General Magazine* from a printing office in the Great Old Bailey. The newspaper stated ‘By MERLIN THE SECOND’ and contained an image headed ‘MERLIN’S CAVE’ above the masthead.¹⁶⁷ From around 1736 to around 1738, Abraham’s brother, Jacob Ilive, had printed a newspaper titled *The Gentleman’s Magazine : and Monthly Oracle*, which was a rival to Edward Cave’s *The Gentleman’s Magazine*.¹⁶⁸ That

readers of the newspaper with the text of a recently published Antipamela: the original novel and the response all in one.’ It appears that Adrian Johns has incorrectly assumed that references to Abraham Ilive were intended to refer to his brother Jacob. Adrian Johns, ‘Grub Street Pirates and the Plausibility of Print’ (Paper delivered to the December 2004 Conference of the Center for the Study of Books and Media, Princeton University, 4 December 2004) 16 states (citations omitted): ‘In the 1740s [Jacob Ilive] maintained his own newspaper, punningly entitled *All-Alive and Merry*. It was a typical example of the unstamped press, thriving on unauthorized serializations (*Robinson Crusoe* proving notably unpopular), travelers’ tales, and the like. It both committed and was subjected to repeated piracy, in much the way experienced by [William] Rayner and [Doctor] Gaylard. Before long Ilive was also a part-time participant in Rayner’s printing and engraving activities.’ As discussed above, Abraham (not Jacob) worked at Rayner’s printing house.

¹⁶⁷ See *The General Magazine*, 29 October 1743 (number D) in the Bond Periodical and Newspaper Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas: ‘By MERLIN THE SECOND ... LONDON: Printed by A. ILIVE, at the *Printing Office*, opposite *Prujean’s Court*, in the *Great Old Bailey*, near *Ludgate Hill*’.

¹⁶⁸ Edward Cave’s *The Gentleman’s Magazine* was first published in 1731. ‘The Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban’ in *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Review*, vol II (1857) 8–9 states: ‘In 1736 Mr. Cave was annoyed by another interloper, put forward by a discarded servant, who not only had the presumption to advertise a fictitious *Gentleman’s Magazine*, but, in order to substitute his fabrication more effectually, announced that the number for March would be ready on the 25th of that month, which was a week before the regular period of publication. His advertisement, in the *Weekly Miscellany* of the 20th of March, was as follows :— *Thursday. March 25, will be Publish’d, Price Six Pence, adorned with a curious Cut of Merlin’s Cave, and printed in a fine legible Character, The GENTLEMAN’S MAGAZINE : AND MONTHLY ORACLE. For March 1736. Containing more in Quantity by Eight Pages, and greater Variety than any thing of the Kind ; particularly, I. The Solution of several curious Questions : And, II. A Chronology for March : Also, a Proposal of several Prizes to be contended for : A Critique on the 7th Poem in the Gentleman’s Magazine Extraordinary, which gained the 50l. ; Merlin to Sylvanus Urban on his Impartiality, and on his Management in the Decision of his Poetical Prizes, &c. By MERLIN THE SECOND, the same Hand that first rais’d, and for near five Years compiled and conducted the Gentleman’s Magazine, or Monthly Intelligencer. Printed by J. ILIVE at Aldersgate, and Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country ; by whom may be had any former Month. ... I believe the imposture of *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Monthly Oracle* was continued for several months, but for how long I do not now recollect, and probably no series⁹ has been preserved, even if any single numbers have escaped. I had almost forgotten to state that there was an earlier attempt of the like character made by a printer named Rayner, who set out a Grub-street *Gentleman’s Magazine* in or before 1735.’ Footnote q states: ‘I find from advertisements that No. XVI., April 1, 1737 was “Printed by J. Ilive at Aldersgate Street, for James Hodges, at the *Looking-Glass on London Bridge*.” Also, No. XX., for the following August, in which the Parliamentary Debates were copied from the *London Magazine* for July.’ Footnote r states: ‘See GENT. MAG. vol. v. p. iv.’ *The Gentleman’s Magazine: or, Monthly Intelligencer*, vol V (1735) iv, in a verse titled ‘Mrs Urban’s Lecture’, dated ‘Dec. 31, 1735’ and signed ‘SU. URBAN’, states: ‘And that is the information*

sent you — that honest master § *Rayner*,/ Designs at your expence [sic] of the translation to make himself a gainer.’ Footnote § states: ‘A Printer who set out a *Grubstreet Gentleman’s Magazine*.’ Robert Cradock Nichols, *Memoir of the Late John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.* (1874) 17 identifies his brother John Gough Nichols as the author of the 1857 article. *The Bookworm: An Illustrated Treasury of Old-Time Literature* (1890) 284–5 states: ‘The most interesting of the many rivals was that which was started by a former editor of Cave’s, in 1736, and under the title of the *Gentleman’s Magazine, or the Monthly Oracle*. A full account, by the present writer, of this rival appeared in the *Athenæum* of October 26, 1889 [William Roberts, ‘The “Gentleman’s Magazine” and Its Rivals’, *The Athenæum*, 26 October 1889], but a brief reference is necessary in this place. This second *Gentleman’s* was published by Jacob Ilive, of Aldersgate, and the first number appeared at the end of January, 1736. It consisted of sixty-four pages, and claimed, like its rivals, and in a very slightly altered phraseology, to contain more in quantity and greater variety “than anything of the kind.” It was conducted by “Merlin the Second, Author and Compiler of the first Magazine.” Cave, apparently, did not regard the rival as a serious one, and “Merlin” or the publisher, in advertising the March issue in the *Grub Street Journal* of April 1st, claimed *his* publication as being by “the same hand who first raised, and for near five years compiled and conducted, the *Gentleman’s Magazine, or Monthly Intelligencer*. This statement being repeated constantly, drew forth from the St. John’s Gate publisher a refutation which appeared in the *Grub Street Journal* of August 12, 1736 : — “NOTE, of the several persons who have had a hand in this work, one who was dismissed for incapacity, or repeated neglects, has pretended publicly to arrogate to himself a mighty merit for matters, which it is well-known were never entrusted to him. On the contrary, he had been discharged several times for his intolerable remissness, and as often, in pure tenderness re-employed, but all his performances were constantly inspected by another person.” After a silence of six weeks, a categorical reply from “Merlin” appeared in the *Grub Street Journal* of September 30th, in which he says, among other things : — “Mr. Cave’s magazine, since the publication of this, has sunk in number above 2,000 ; no wonder he is so highly incensed against those who, he imagines, have occasioned so great a fall in stock.” “What low, scurrilous abuses has he not thrown out against everybody concerned in it? But finding the public grin turned upon himself, the man is gone stark mad, or he would never have ventured to affirm things in the face of the public the falsity of which he knows can be evinced by more than fifty witnesses.” Instead of a reply to the “mean aspersions,” the advertiser requests a true, direct, and candid answer to certain questions, in which “Merlin” desired to know if “the certain person,” meaning himself, did not leave Cave’s employ of his own accord ; whether Cave did not on several occasions, bestow “high encomiums” on the said person for his happy talent and for his unwearied application to business ; and whether the said person, at the conclusion of the month, for above three years successively, did not sit up in his printing-house, even in the depth of winter, thirty, forty, and fifty hours on a stretch, without rest or sleep, to forward the finishing of his work in time. And again, “Has not the said person wrote for him frequently two or three, generally one Sunday in a month ?” The said person sneers at Cave’s “tenderness,” and defies him to instance an example of his generosity. “Merlin” claims, moreover, to have written all the “copy” for Cave’s magazine for nearly four years. Cave, for reasons best known to himself, did not venture on a reply. “Merlin’s” identity unfortunately has never been revealed ; his magazine lived for three years—1736 to 1738—but how much, if any, longer is not known.’ The *Gentleman’s Magazine* published by William Rayner, which is referred to in the 1857 article, also stated ‘By MERLIN the Second’. A notice in *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* on 2 December 1735 stated: ‘Yesterday, Dec. 1, was published ... THE Monthly Oracle ; or the Gentleman’s Magazine, for November 1735 ... By MERLIN the Second. ... Printed for W. Rayner ; and may be had at the Pamphlet-Shops, and of the Hawkers who carry the News.’ A notice in *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* on 4 February 1736 stated that the contents of ‘THE Monthly Oracle, or Gentleman’s Magazine, for January 1736’ included ‘Merlin to Su Urban, on her calling Rayner’s a Grubstreet Magazine’. As referred to above, Abraham Ilive worked at the printing house of William Rayner in 1736. James A Herrick, ‘Blasphemy in the Eighteenth Century: Contours of a Rhetorical Crime’ in Wayne Hudson, Diego Lucci and Jeffrey R Wigelsworth, *Atheism and Deism Revalued: Heterodox Religious Identities in Britain, 1650–1800* (2014) 101, 112 states that Jacob Ilive ‘left Edward Cave’s *The Gentleman’s Magazine* to publish his

publication also stated ‘By MERLIN *the Second*’ and contained the same image headed ‘MERLIN’S CAVE’ below the masthead. Merlin’s Cave was a structure built by Queen Caroline in the Royal Gardens at Richmond, Surrey in 1735. (The structure depicted on the first page of *The Gentleman’s Magazine : and Monthly Oracle* and *The General Magazine* is in fact the Hermitage, which was another monument built by Queen Caroline in those gardens.¹⁶⁹) Judith Colton has explained how Queen Caroline attempted to use the legend of Merlin to the advantage of the Hanoverian royal family, and how the anti-Walpole Opposition also appropriated the legend to advance their cause.¹⁷⁰ She states that ‘by building Merlin’s Cave, Caroline played directly into the Opposition’s hands ... [f]or the anti-Walpole faction expected people to connect this third, devilish Merlin with none other than Caroline’s First Minister, Walpole himself’.¹⁷¹ Colton notes that Merlin’s Cave ‘became an object of satire in the political journals of the day’,¹⁷² and that ‘for the Opposition, Merlin’s Cave—and Merlin himself—were satirical godsends’.¹⁷³ The use of the name ‘Merlin the Second’ and the image headed ‘Merlin’s Cave’ therefore had political overtones, and was likely satirical. The use of the image may also have been a satirical reference to the image of St John’s Gate (where Edward Cave’s printing house was located) that appeared below the masthead of Cave’s *The Gentleman’s Magazine*,¹⁷⁴ and may indeed have been a reference to Cave himself.

In 1743 and 1744, Abraham printed a newspaper titled *The London Journal, and Country Craftsman* ‘for the PROPRIETORS’ from the Great Old Bailey.¹⁷⁵

own magazine between 1736 and 1738’. However, I am not aware of any evidence that establishes that ‘Merlin’ was Jacob.

¹⁶⁹ See ‘View of the Hermitage in the Royal Garden at Richmond’ (etching), British Museum. The frontispiece of *The Gentleman’s Magazine: or, Monthly Intelligencer*, vol V (1735) was an etching of the interior of Merlin’s Cave, showing six wax figures which stood there.

¹⁷⁰ Judith Colton, ‘Merlin’s Cave and Queen Caroline: Garden Art as Political Propaganda’ (1976) 10 *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 1. See also Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry and National Myth 1725–1742* (1994) 169–74.

¹⁷¹ Judith Colton, ‘Merlin’s Cave and Queen Caroline: Garden Art as Political Propaganda’ (1976) 10 *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 1, 16.

¹⁷² *Ibid* 4.

¹⁷³ *Ibid* 17.

¹⁷⁴ William Roberts, ‘The “Gentleman’s Magazine” and Its Rivals’, *The Athenæum*, 26 October 1889: ‘Instead of having “and monthly intelligencer” as a sub-title, this [*The Gentleman’s Magazine : and Monthly Oracle*] claimed to be the “monthly oracle”; in place of a view of St. John’s Gate it had one of Merlin’s Cave ; and instead of “Sylvanus Urban, Gent.,” we are informed that it was conducted by “Merlin the Second, Author and compiler of the first Magazine.”’

¹⁷⁵ See *The London Journal and Country Craftsman*, Saturday 24 December 1743 (number XXXIV) and *The London Journal, and Country Craftsman*, Saturday 17 March 1744 (number XLVI) in the Burney Collection, British Library. It is apparent from the period of time between these two issues that the newspaper was published weekly. If the newspaper was published each week up until the issue on 24 December 1743, then the first issue would have been published on 7 May 1743. As noted above, the issue dated 24 December 1743 was imprinted with: ‘Printed for the

In December 1745, a warrant was issued authorising and requiring Mary Richards to be brought before the Principal Secretary of State, William Stanhope, the first Earl of Harrington, to be examined concerning her ‘Knowledge of certain treasonable Practices of Abraham Iliff a Printer in the Old Bailey’.¹⁷⁶ It is apparent that this was a reference to Abraham, who was a printer in the Old Bailey at around this time. The ‘treasonable Practices’ appear to have been the alleged printing of a declaration or declarations of King James II’s son, James Francis Edward Stuart, who was commonly referred to as ‘the Pretender’ to the Crown. Two weeks earlier, a warrant had been issued for seizing and apprehending William Fowl for high treason in printing and publishing the declaration or declarations. A like warrant had been issued ‘for seizing and apprehending – – Iliff for High Treason as aforesaid’.¹⁷⁷ It appears

PROPRIETORS by A ILIVE, opposite *Prujean’s-Court* in the *Great-Old Bailey* Where all manner of Printing Work, as Books, Pamphlets, Bonds, Shop-keepers and Doctors Bills, &c. is performed in best Manner, at the Lowest Price ; of whom may be had Small Histores [sic], Songs, and Old Ballads, &c’. The same imprint appears, with slight typographical variations, in the issue dated 17 March 1744.

¹⁷⁶ United Kingdom National Archives, SP 44, vol 83, 478 (dated 25 December 1745): ‘Whereas I have received Information that Mary Richards, of who you shall have Notice, hath Knowledge of certain treasonable Practices of Abraham Iliff a Printer in the Old Bailey. These are therefore in His Maty’s [Majesty’s] Name to authorize and require you to bring the said Mary Richards before Me to be examin’d concerning the Premises and further dealt with according to Law. In the due Execution whereof &ca. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at Whitehall the Twenty Fifth Day of December 1745. In the Nineteenth Year of His Maty’s Reign. Harrington.’

¹⁷⁷ United Kingdom National Archives, SP 44, vol 83, 471–3 (dated 8 December 1745): ‘These are in His Majesty’s Name to authorize and require You (taking a Constable to your Assistance) to make strict and diligent Search for Wm. Fowl (of whom you shall have Notice) and Him having found you are to seize and apprehend for High Treason in printing and publishing a Declaration or Declarations of the Pretender to His Majesty’s Crown, or his Son, and to bring him together with his Servants employ’d in the Business of Printing or Publishing, and likewise all such Declarations or treasonable Papers as shall be found in his Possession, in safe Custody before me to be examin’d concerning the Premises, and to be farther dealt with according to Law. In the due Execution whereof all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other His Majesty’s Officers Military and Civil, and Loving Subjects whom it may concern, are to be aiding and assisting as there shall be Occasion. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at Whitehall the Eighth Day of December 1745. A Like Warrant directed to Nathan Carrangton and David Price dated the same day for seizing and apprehending – – Iliff for High Treason as aforesaid. A Like Warrant for seizing & apprehending – – Nichols, for High Treason as afd directed to Nathan Carrangton and David Price dated the same Day. A Like Warrant for seizing and apprehending – – Appleby for High Treason as afd directed to William Hamblin and Richard Lucas two of His Majy.’s Messrs. in Ordinary. William Earl of Harrington, Viscount of Petersham, Baron of Harrington, One of the Lords of His Majesty’s Most Honourable Privy Council & Principal Secretary of State &ca.’ Warrants were also issued on 9 December 1745 for searching for the declarations in the premises of James Watson, Daniel Lynch and ‘– Hull’ (at 473–5) and ‘in the House Workhouse and Shop of a Person whose Name is unknown living in Black and White Court in the Old Bailey’ (at 480), and on 10 December 1745 for searching for, seizing and apprehending the printers and publishers of the declarations (at 475). As referred to below, ‘Daniel Lynch of New Street Fetter Lane London pedlar’ is referred to in an answer of Abraham’s brother, Jacob Ilive, to a bill of complaint issued by Alexander Pope: ‘The Answer of Jacob Ilive Defendant to the Bill of Complaint of Alexander

that this was also a reference to Abraham, having regard to the warrant subsequently issued for the examination of Mary Richards.¹⁷⁸ On this basis, Michael Harris has suggested that Abraham had Jacobite sympathies.¹⁷⁹

Abraham was recorded as being of Aldersgate Street on 6 May 1746 when he took an apprentice, Abraham Torres.¹⁸⁰ As discussed below, it was later recounted by one of Abraham's children that Abraham lived in London House in Aldersgate Street 'for several years at the yearly Rent of fifty ... Pounds'.¹⁸¹ Abraham's brother, Jacob, also lived at London House at around this time. In 1747, it was recorded that London House, which was formerly the residence of the Bishop of London and which included a chapel and an audit house, was '*Now in the Possession of Mr. Jacob Ilive*'.¹⁸² Edward Rowe Mores recorded that in

Pope Esquire Complainant', United Kingdom National Archives, C 11/837/14 (6 May 1743). See also *Remarks on the Pretender's Declaration and Commission* (1745).

¹⁷⁸ Cecilia Hill, 'Statement of Facts Re Thomas Hamilton, Called Ilive – Afterwards Ayliffe, and His Family, the Late Earl of Egremont, and the Wyndham-Ilive Family' (1889) states that Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe's father's 'crime was the publication of a seditious pamphlet'. Although it is apparent that much of Cecilia Hill's accounts of the Ayliffe family history is fanciful, it seems plausible that this statement was based on information that she had heard about her great-grandfather, Abraham Ilive.

¹⁷⁹ Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 96: 'Two of [William Rayner's] employees, Abraham Ilive and Doctor Gaylard, had Jacobite sympathies'. At 214, endnote 93, Harris states: 'Gaylard had worked for Mist and was the printer of at least one overtly Jacobite newspaper while a warrant was issued against Ilive and one of the Applebees, among others, for publishing the Pretender's declaration, 8 December 1745, P.R.O.: S.P. 44. 83.'

¹⁸⁰ Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm). See also D F McKenzie (ed), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (1978) 187.

¹⁸¹ *St Clement Danes, Examinations Book, 1776–1779*, Westminster Archives Centre, Ms B1184, 189.

¹⁸² 'A PLAN of LONDON HOUSE. *Now in the Possession of Mr. Jacob Ilive Decr. 1747.*', Crace Collection of Maps of London, British Library, reproduced in *Londina Illustrata* (1819) vol I, engraving no 102, which shows the layout of London House in December 1747: 'Printed, in Order to determine what Part of this House is in the Ward of Aldersgate, Parish of St. Botolph, and what Part is in the Ward of Faringdon [sic] Without, Parish of St. Bartholomew's the Great'. It appears from Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1747 at page 19 ('Jacob Ilive for the Whole house as Settled by Appeal') and 1748 at page 17 ('Jacob Ilive for the whole house') that the map may have been drawn following an appeal in respect of land tax. Jacob Ilive, *A Plan of the Ward of Aldersgate. Part of Cripplegate Ward Within and Without* (1740) contains a crude depiction of London House and states: 'London House. After the Fire of London, in which the Episcopium was burnt, the Crown granted this House as a Residence for the Bishops of London for ever. A true Son of the Church may justly be grieved to see this House once the Glory and Ornament of this Episcopate, then useful to the Honour and Interests of Religion, and a credit to the Metropolis in the Eyes of Foreigners, now deserted and become a Scandal to this great City!' The map shows the boundaries of the Ward of Aldersgate Without and its precincts. Jacob's familiarity with those boundaries may explain why the land tax appeal was brought. As discussed below, it is apparent that Jacob moved to London House from an address a short distance away across Aldersgate Street where he had lived his whole life. See also John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1746), which shows the location of London House (marked 'Bishop of London's'). Jacob Ilive chaired the first

meeting of ‘the Governors for erecting a Lying-in Hospital for married women in the City of London and parts adjacent and also for Out-patients in Phisic [sic] and Surgery’ at the Black Swan Tavern in Bartholomew Lane on 30 March 1750. The hospital opened in May 1750 at London House, and moved in 1751 from London House to Thanet House (later called Shaftesbury House) in Aldersgate Street. The hospital, which became known as the City of London Maternity Hospital, changed location a number of times and amalgamated with Whittington Hospital in 1983. See ‘Records of the City of London Maternity Hospital, Hanley Road, Islington’ (United Kingdom National Archives, H10/CLM/A/01/004, H10/CLM/B/01/002/001, H10/CLM/Y/03/015); ‘City of London Maternity Hospital’, The National Archives <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/8786bc82-6daa-4ef5-90d2-5481d937ae7a>. *The Whitehall Evening-Post; or, London Intelligencer*, 3 May 1750 – 5 May 1750 stated: ‘The City of London Lying-in Hospital for married Women, and sick and lame Out-Patients, at London-House in Aldersgate-Street, is now established, and properly furnished.’ *The London Evening-Post*, 27 September 1750 – 29 September 1750 stated: ‘On Thursday last was held a Quarterly General Court of the Governors of the City of London Lying-in Hospital for married Women, and sick and lame Out-Patients, established at London-House in Aldersgate-Street ... and after Divine Service in the Bishop of London’s Chapel, they proceeded to Business, when it was resolv’d to enlarge the said Hospital, and make an Addition to their Number of Beds ...’ *The Penny London Post; or, the Morning Advertiser*, 1 October 1750 – 3 October 1750 stated: ‘Last Sunday Evening six Children born in the City of London Lying-in Hospital, at London House, Aldersgate Street, were publickly baptized, before a crowded and polite Audience, in the Chapel adjoining to the said Hospital.’ *The London Advertiser, and Literary Gazette*, 16 April 1751 stated: ‘Last Sunday Evening, eight Children, born in the City of London Lying-in Hospital in Aldersgate-street, were publickly baptized in the Bishop of London’s Chapel adjoining.’ William Maitland, *The History and Survey of London from Its Foundation to the Present Time* (1756) vol II, 764 states: ‘It [London House] is a very large, commodious and handsome Brick Building, with a neat Chapel annexed ; but has long been deserted by the Prelates of this See : It is let out into divers Tenements and Warehouses.’ John Entick, *A New and Accurate Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Parts Adjacent* (1766) vol III, 341 states: ‘About the middle of the west side of this street, are the remains of that once noble palace, that was the residence first of the marquis of *Dorchester*, and then of lord *Petrie* : of whom it was purchased after the restoration for the city mansion of the bishop of *London* : and from that time is known by the name of *London-house* ; though it has been deserted many years by the bishops of that see : its beauty has been suffered to pass away, and its honourable apartments let out into tenements, and even for warehouses, and more unworthy uses.’ John Wallis, *London: Being a Complete Guide to the British Capital* (3rd ed, 1810) 228 says of London House: ‘It was anciently called *Petre House* ; this noble family resided in it till 1639. In 1657 it belonged to Henry Pierepont, marquis of *Dorchester*, who dying just after the great fire had demolished the palace of the Bishops of *London*, in *London House Yard*, *St. Paul’s*, it was hired for their town residence ; but only inhabited by one prelate, Bishop *Henchman*, who died there in 1675, and was buried at *Fulham*. This gave it the name *London House*. ... In 1747, some of the apartments were occupied by *Jacob Ilive*, a crazy printer, a religious writer, and afterwards a deistical orator. About 1768, the late Mr. *George Seddon* obtained possession, and had only been in it a few weeks, when a dreadful fire destroyed the whole fabric, and many of the surrounding buildings.’ Frederick Ross, *Bygone London* (1892) 133 states: ‘*Petre*, *Dorchester*, or *London House* stood on the west side of the street [*Aldersgate Street*] nearly opposite *Shaftesbury House*. It is supposed to have been built by *Sir William Petre*, who became rich by monastic plunder at the dissolution of monasteries, and died in 1572. It was occupied by his descendants until 1639, when it came into possession of *Henry Pierrepoint*, Marquis of *Dorchester*. During the Commonwealth it was made use of as a state prison, and after the Great Fire of 1666 had destroyed the palace of the Bishop of *London*, in *St Paul’s Churchyard*, became the episcopal residence of the see, many alterations being made, and the chapel built by various bishops, and was held by them until 1725. In 1748 it was occupied by *Jacob Ilive*, “the crazy printer and fanatical writer,” and twenty years after by *Seddon*, the eminent cabinetmaker, ancestors [sic] of the *Seddons* of

1734 Jacob ‘lived in *Aldersgate-street*, over against *Aldersgate-coffee-house*’, and that in 1746 he moved to London House ‘on the opposite side of the way’.¹⁸³ Jacob’s name appears in land tax records in respect of London House from 1745 to 1751.¹⁸⁴ It appears that Jacob was repairing London House in 1745,¹⁸⁵ and that he did indeed move there in about 1746. (Jacob’s name appears in land tax records in respect of his previous address in Aldersgate Street which was between Ball Alley and Golden Lyon Court,¹⁸⁶ from 1732 to 1746.¹⁸⁷ That

Gray’s Inns Road, who had the misfortune to have it burnt, with the whole of his uninsured stock, on two occasions.’

¹⁸³ Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies* (1778) 64 [1924 reproduction (edited by D B Updike) at 64–5 and 1961 reproduction (edited by Harry Carter and Christopher Ricks) at 60–1]: ‘Mr *Jacob Ilive* was a printer, and the son of a printer, but he applied himself to Letter-cutting, and carried on a Foundery and a Printing-House together. in the y. 1734 he lived in *Aldersgate-street*, over against *Aldersgate-coffee-house*. Afterwards when *Calasio* was to be re-printed under the inspection of *Mr Romaine* or of *Mr Lutzena* a Portuguese Jew who corrected the *Hebr.* as we ourselves did sometimes another part of the work, he removed to *Lond. house* (the habitation of the late *Dr Rawlinson*) on the opposite side of the way, where he was employed by the publishers of that work. this was in the y. 1746. but his foundery had been purchased 3 Jul. 1740 by *Mr. Joh. James.*’ As noted below, it is apparent that Jacob’s address in 1734 was opposite the Aldersgate coffee house (that is, on the other side of Aldersgate Street), and that this is what was meant by the words ‘over against’. In a foreword to *Founder’s London A–Z* (1998) 5, the Bishop of London, the Right Reverend and the Right Honourable Richard Chartres, states that ‘it was at London House in ALDERSGATE, once the property of an earlier Bishop of London, that *Jacob Ilive* had his foundry’. It is apparent that this is incorrect. Rowe Mores records that John James purchased Jacob’s foundry in 1740, whereas Jacob did not move to London House until about 1746.

¹⁸⁴ See Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1745 at page 21 (‘Jacob Ilive Commenceth [illegible] in Consideration of the time of repairing Charged’); 1746 at page 19; 1747 at page 19 (‘Jacob Ilive for the Whole house as Settled by Appeal’); 1748 at page 17 (‘Jacob Ilive for the whole house’); 1748 reassessment at page 17; 1749 at page 18; 1750 at page 17; 1751 at page 17. Jacob’s name also appears in land tax records in respect of property in the nearby parish of St Bartholomew the Great between 1746 and 1751: Land Tax Records, Ward of Farringdon Without, Precinct of St Bartholomew the Great, 1746 at page 9; 1747 at page 13; 1748 at page 13; 1749 at page 13; 1750 at page 13; 1751 at page 11. Jacob was no longer occupying either property in 1752: Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1752 at page 19 (‘E. [Empty] late Ilives Printing House’); Land Tax Records, Ward of Farringdon Without, Precinct of St Bartholomew the Great, 1752 at page 13.

¹⁸⁵ Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1745 at page 21: ‘Jacob Ilive Commenceth [illegible] in Consideration of the time of repairing Charged’. In his map, *A Plan of the Ward of Aldersgate. Part of Cripplegate Ward Within and Without* (1740) Jacob Ilive had said of London House: ‘A true Son of the Church may justly be grieved to see this House once the Glory and Ornament of this Episcopate, then useful to the Honour and Interests of Religion, and a credit to the Metropolis in the Eyes of Foreigners, now deserted and become a Scandal to this great City!’

¹⁸⁶ Land tax records indicate that the Ilives’ house was the third most northern building in Aldersgate Street between Ball Alley and Golden Lyon Court (later, Golden Lion Court). Later in the 18th century, Ball Alley was replaced with Falcon Street, which was wider than Ball Alley. There were only three buildings in Aldersgate Street between Falcon Street and Golden Lion Court. See John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1746); Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799); Richard Horwood, *A Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark Including Their Adjacent Suburbs* (3rd ed, 1813);

building had been the Ilive family's address from at least 1703,¹⁸⁸ and probably from 1699 or 1700.¹⁸⁹ It therefore appears that Abraham and Jacob moved to London House at around the same time. It also seems likely that they both worked from the same printing house at that address.¹⁹⁰ Jacob advertised to let a

Peter Jackson (ed), *John Tallis's London Street Views 1838-1840* (1969); 'View of Shops, Nos 19-20 Aldersgate Street, Including Ware, the Baker's, with Figures' (London Metropolitan Archives, Photograph Collection, Photo.A. 8/3, c 1875); Henry Hodge, 'View of Buildings at the Corner of Aldersgate Street and Falcon Street, Showing the Entrance to Golden Lion Court' (1882) (London Metropolitan Archives, Print Collection, Pr.8/ALD). Tallis's street view and Hodge's painting show a building on the corner of Aldersgate Street and Falcon Street (which in my view was the former site of the Ilives' house), together with the buildings at 19 and 20 Aldersgate Street. Tallis's street view also shows that the entrance to Golden Lion Court was through the façade of the building immediately to the north of 20 Aldersgate Street. The photograph of the buildings at 19 and 20 Aldersgate Street shows the businesses of Lomas (19 Aldersgate Street) and Ware (20 Aldersgate Street). It appears that these two buildings may have been standing at the time when the Ilives lived next door to the site of 19 Aldersgate Street.

¹⁸⁷ See Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1732 at page 12 ('Widow and Jacob Ilive'); 1733 at page 12 ('Widow and Jacob Ilive'); 1734 at page 12; 1735 at page 16; 1736 at page 12; 1737 at page 5; 1738 at page 13; 1739 at page 5; 1740 at page 5 (Second Precinct); 1741 at page 10; 1742 at page 14; 1743 at page 19; 1744 at page 18; 1745 at page 18; 1746 at page 16; 1747 at page 16 ('E. [Empty] falling late Ilive').

¹⁸⁸ See Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1703 at page 12 ('Thomas Iliffe'); 1704 at page 12 ('Tho Iliffe'); 1705 at page 14 ('Thos: Iliffe'); 1706 at page 11 ('Tho: Iliffe'); 1707 at page 11 ('Tho: Iliff'); 1708 at page 11 ('Tho: Iliffe'); 1709 at page 11 ('Tho: Ilife'); 1710 at page 11 ('Tho: Iliffe'); 1711 at page 11 ('Thos: Iliffe'); 1713 at page 11 ('Tho: Iliffe'); 1714 at page 11 ('Thos: Iliffe'); 1715 at page 11 ('Thos: Iliffe'); 1716 at page 11 ('Thos. Ilive'); 1718 at page 16 ('Thos: Ilive'); 1719 at page 16 ('Thos. Ilive'); 1720 at page 16 ('Thos. Ilive'); 1721 at page 12 ('Thomas: Ilive'); 1722 at page 10 ('Thomas Ilive'); 1723 at page 12 ('Thomas Ilive'); 1724 (unpaginated, 'Thos: Ilive'); 1725 at page 11 ('Widow Ilive'); 1726 at page 11 ('Widow Ilive'); 1727 at page 11 ('Widow Ilive'); 1728 at page 11 ('Widow Ilive'); 1729 at page 11 ('Wid: Ilive'); 1730 at page 15 ('Widow Ilive'); 1731 at page 12 ('Widow Ilive'). See also Jacob Ilive, *A Plan of the Ward of Aldersgate. Part of Cripplegate Ward Within and Without* (1740); David Nieto, *Decision del Doctissimo, y Excelentissimo Señor H. H. Haffalem. M. A. A. B. D.* (1709): 'Por THO. ILIVE en Aldersgate-streel' (translation: '[Printed] By THO. ILIVE in Aldersgate-streel'); Thomas Hill, *Celeberrimi Viri Georgii Buchanani Paraphrasis Poetica in Psalmos Nonnullos Davidis* (1715): 'Typis Thomæ Ilive, in Vico vulgo Aldersgate-streel' (translation: 'Printed by Thomas Ilive, in the street commonly called Aldersgate-streel'). As noted above, Samuel Negus's list titled 'A compleat and private List of all the Printing-houses in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, together with the Printers Names, what News-papers they print, and where they are to be found', which was reproduced in John Nichols, *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer, F. S. A. and of Many of His Learned Friends* (1782) 535, referred to Thomas Ilive as 'Ilive, Aldersgate Street'.

¹⁸⁹ There do not appear to be land tax records for the Ward of Aldersgate Without for the period between 1693 and 1703. As noted above, a daughter of Thomas and Jane Ilive, Elizabeth, was baptised on 14 May 1699 at St Faith under St Paul's in London (recorded as born 'in Warwick Lane'), and another daughter, Sarah, was baptised on 6 November 1700 at St Botolph without Aldersgate. Therefore, it appears that Thomas and Jane may have moved to the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate between those dates. The address in Aldersgate Street just north of Ball Alley is the only address of Thomas and Jane recorded in the land tax records for the Ward of Aldersgate Without.

¹⁹⁰ As stated above, Abraham was recorded as being of Aldersgate Street on 6 May 1746 when he took a stationer's apprentice, which suggests that he was still working as a printer at that time. The colophon of one of the prints of Thomas Sherlock, *A Letter from the Lord Bishop of*

house and a printing house at London House in 1752,¹⁹¹ and by 1755 was recorded as an insolvent debtor ‘of Chiswick in the County of Middlesex’ and detained in the Fleet Prison.¹⁹² The sister of Abraham and Jacob, Ellin Akers, later lived at London House. In 1756, Jacob was recorded as being of Chancery Lane in London and Ellin was recorded as ‘Ellen Akers living at London House in Aldersgate Street Widow’.¹⁹³

London, to the Clergy and People of London and Westminster; on Occasion of the Late Earthquakes (1750) states: ‘printed by J. Ilive at London-House in Aldersgate-street for the subscribers’. The assessment in respect of London House in Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1752 at page 19 states: ‘E. [Empty] late Ilives Printing House’.

¹⁹¹ *The Daily Advertiser*, 12 July 1752: ‘To be lett [sic] at London-House in Aldersgate-street, the house and printing house lately occupied by Mr. Jacob Ilive, printer ...’ See also assessments in respect of London House in Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1752 at page 19 (‘E. [Empty] late Ilives Printing House’); 1753 at page 19 (‘Late Ilives’).

¹⁹² *The London Gazette*, 27 May 1755 – 31 May 1755 (number 9480), in a notice which is set out in full above, refers to ‘Jacob Ilive, Printer, late of Aldersgate Street, London, and of Chiswick in the County of Middlesex, who, on the First Day of January 1755, was, and still is, a Prisoner detained in the Fleet Prison at my [William Rayner’s] Suit’.

¹⁹³ ‘Draft of an Information for Writing, Printing and Publishing a Libel Intituled Modest Remarks on the Bishop of Londons Discourses &c.’, United Kingdom National Archives, TS 11/1073: ‘Brief of The Several Examinations of the Author Printer and Publisher of a Pamphlet Intituled “Modest Remarks on the Bishop of Londons Several Discourses Preached in the Temple Church and lately Published in Two Volumes in Octavo in a Letter to his Lordship with a Postscript containing Dr Thomas Sherlock’s Creed faithfully Extracted from his Own Writing, By Philotheos” taken the 19th. of Janry 1756 Before, L. Stanhope Esqre. Jacob Ilive of Chancery Lane London Printer Says that he is the Author Printer and Publisher of the said Pamphlet and that that he Printed Two hundred and Fifty and no more – ... That he Employed his Sister Ellen Akers Widow to leave the said Pamphlet at the Shops for Sale ... Ellen Akers living at London House in Aldersgate Street Widow Says that on or About the 28th. of November last her Brother Jacob Ilive desired she wod. [would] distribute at the Shops a Pamphlet and Gave her Twenty Five And she Accordingly left them at Several Shops, but did not look at the Title of said Pamphlet ... Samuel Hooper of the Strand Bookseller Says that About Six Weeks or Two Months Ago a Person Now in Custody by the Name of Ellen Akers brought to his Shop Six of the said Pamphlets called Modest Remarks etc And left them ...’ In an answer to a complaint brought in Chancery by Alexander Pope against Jacob Ilive for printing Pope’s *New Dunciad*, Jacob stated that he had been a servant or agent in the printing business of Ellin Akers. See ‘The Answer of Jacob Ilive Defendant to the Bill of Complaint of Alexander Pope Esquire Complainant’, United Kingdom National Archives, C 11/837/14 (6 May 1743): ‘But this Defendant Saith that in or about the Month of August last Daniel Lynch of New Street Fetter Lane London pedlar Applied to this Defendant who was then Servant or Agent in the printing Trade or business to Mrs. Ellin Akers of Aldersgate Street London Widdow [sic] And Gave this Defendant Orders to print Seven hundred and fifty Copies of the said Book or poem for any on the Account of him the said Daniel Lynch in the same Letter and of the same Size with a Book or Books then lately printed called Popes and Swift’s last Letters ... And this Defendant as Servant or Agent as aforesaid did print or cause to be printed the said Seven hundred and fifty Copies and also by the directions of the said Ellin Akers two hundred and fifty more in all One thousand Copies of such Letter and Size as aforesaid which said Seven hundred and fifty Copies were all of the use and on the Account of the said Daniel Lynch and the said two hundred and fifty for the use and on the Account of the said Ellin Akers to which said Copies was printed and Added an Appendix ... And this Defendant Saith that the paper for printing the said Seven hundred and fifty Copies was bought and procured by this

As discussed below, one of Abraham's children later stated that for around 30 years after quitting London House Abraham 'never gained any [other] subsequent settlement either by Renting House or [Tenement] Paying Taxes or Otherwise howsoever'.¹⁹⁴

Abraham published a notice in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* dated 24 January 1777 (a copy of which appears below) in which he petitioned members of the University of Oxford for financial assistance. He stated that he was 'now 74 Years of Age, confined to his Bed by a severe Fit of Illness, has a Wife and four Children, and in want of the common Necessaries of Life'. He sought donations from '[s]uch as are inclined to assist this distressed old Man and his helpless Family'.¹⁹⁵ He was buried in Oxford six days after the date of the notice.¹⁹⁶ It appears likely that Abraham was in fact aged around 70 (rather than 74) at the time of the notice.¹⁹⁷

Defendant by the direction of the said Ellin Akers as printer as aforesaid as is usual but the same was so procured and furnished and was bought for and on the Account of the said Daniel Lynch who was to pay for the same and who promised so to do And the paper for printing the remaining two hundred and fifty Copies (which were so printed for the use and on the Account of the said Ellin Akers [sic] was procured and furnishes [sic] by her the said Ellin Akers and at her expence [sic] ... And Saith that Sometime in or about December or January last four hundred more of the said Copies were by the direction of the said Ellin Akers and with the consent as this Defendant beleives [sic] of the said Daniel Lynch and at the request (as this Defendant beleives [sic]) of the Complainant sent to and left at the Chambers of the Complainants Counsell [sic] for his the said Complainant's use ... And that the remainder thereof were return'd and now remain unsold in the hands of the said Ellin Akers which this Defendant beleives [sic] the said Ellin Akers is willing to deliver up and dispose of as this Honourable Court shall direct ... And that all the Copies of the said Book or poem printed or Caused to be printed by this Defendant were so done by the Order and at the sole Cost Expence [sic] and Risque of the said Daniel Lynch and Ellin Akers respectively And that such of them as have been sold have been so sold for the use and benefitt [sic] and on the Account of the said Daniel Lynch and Ellin Akers respectively ...' See also Complaint of Alexander Pope against Jacob Ilive, C 11/837/14 (16 February 1743; recorded as 1742 according to the Old Style); Michael Harris, 'Paper Pirates: The Alternative Book Trade in Mid-18th Century London' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print & Manuscript* (1989) 47, 53.

¹⁹⁴ *St Clement Danes, Examinations Book, 1776–1779*, Westminster Archives Centre, Ms B1184, 189. It is apparent that by the 1740s it had become much more difficult for independent printers like Abraham to operate. Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 98 states (citation omitted): 'At the lower levels of output the printer/entrepreneur was very active during the 1720s and 1730s. However, as the arteries of the trade hardened, the independent operator was squeezed out of newspaper production. Neither William Rayner nor Robert Walker was able to maintain the momentum of publication through the 1740s, and the pincer movement of trade restraint and tax regulation effectively prevented any serious challenge from this direction to the established commercial interests.'

¹⁹⁵ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 25 January 1777, page 3.

¹⁹⁶ Burial register of St Thomas the Martyr in Oxford, Oxfordshire, 30 January 1777.

¹⁹⁷ If Abraham was indeed aged 74 at the time of the notice, he would have been born in 1702 or 1703. However, he was baptised on 25 September 1706, his older brother Isaac was baptised on 2 May 1704, and his older brother Jacob was baptised on 8 July 1705. In these

The fact that, despite his advanced age, Abraham Ilive had ‘four Children’, who were ‘helpless’ and therefore apparently unable to support their parents or themselves, is consistent with the later record that Thomas, who was born in about 1773 or 1774, was the ‘Son of Abrahm. Ilive late of Oxford’.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, it is in my view likely that Elizabeth Ilive (later known as the Countess of Egremont) and Thomas Ilive (later known as Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe) were two of the four children referred to in the notice. At this time, Elizabeth would have been around seven years old, and Thomas would have been around two or three. Based on the record of a settlement examination of Abraham’s daughter, Frances, which is discussed below, at the time of the notice Frances would have been aged about 17 or 18 (that is, born in about 1758 or 1759) and his other daughter, Maria, would have been about 11 or 12 (that is, born in about 1764 or 1765). The closeness in age of Maria and Elizabeth (who was born in about 1769) is also consistent with Abraham having been the father of Elizabeth and Thomas. Frances was also the name of both Elizabeth’s eldest daughter and Thomas’s eldest daughter. Maria was also the middle name of Thomas’s daughter, Cecilia.

As examined below, Cecilia Ilive received a quarterly pension from the Worshipful Company of Stationers, of which Abraham had been a member, from June 1777 (around five months after Abraham’s death) to March 1800.¹⁹⁹ It is in my view likely that this was the widow of Abraham and the mother of Thomas and Elizabeth.

On 5 June 1778 (that is, around 16 months after Abraham’s death), Abraham’s daughter, Frances Ilive, underwent a settlement examination ‘on behalf of her Sister Maria’ in the parish of St Clement Danes in Westminster, Middlesex.²⁰⁰ During the examination, Frances stated that she was aged about 19, that her sister Maria was aged about 13, and that their mother was at that time in the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate.²⁰¹ Frances also said

circumstances, it would be curious for Abraham not to have been baptised earlier than he was if he was indeed born in 1702 or 1703. Further, the four children of Thomas and Jane Ilive (Abraham’s parents) whose birth dates are known were baptised when less than three weeks old (three of them were exactly nine days old). Henry was born on 7 March 1694 and baptised on 22 March 1694, Sarah was born on 19 November 1695 and baptised on 28 November 1695, Jane was born on 19 October 1696 and baptised on 28 October 1696, and Elizabeth was born on 5 May 1699 and baptised on 14 May 1699. Having regard to these baptism records, I think it is likely that Abraham was born in 1706, in which case he would have been aged about 70 years at the time of the notice.

¹⁹⁸ Court Minutes Book of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, 2 October 1792 (extracted below).

¹⁹⁹ ‘Pension List, 1763–1811’ in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 72 (microfilm).

²⁰⁰ *St Clement Danes, Examinations Book, 1776–1779*, Westminster Archives Centre, Ms B1184, 189.

²⁰¹ It appears from land tax records that the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate was at this time located on the west side of Aldersgate Street between Trinity Court and Cox’s Court (also spelt Coxes Court): Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without,

that their late father, Abraham Ilive, had rented and lived in London House in Aldersgate Street for several years, that he had left that house around 30 years

1777 at page 12; 1778 at page 12; 1779 at page 12; 1780 at page 12; 1781 at page 12; 1782 at page 12; 1783 at page 12; 1784 at page 12; 1785 at page 12. This was almost directly opposite the house where Thomas and Jane Ilive had lived in the early 1700s and where Jacob Ilive had continued to live after Jane's death in 1733. It was around 50 metres from London House, where Jacob, Abraham and their sister Ellin Akers had lived in the 1740s and 1750s. An entry one line from the entry for the workhouse in the 1777 record (to the north of the workhouse) states: 'Joseph Fenn'. An entry two lines from the entry for the workhouse (to the south) states: 'Messrs. Oldfield & Tarn'. An entry three lines from the entry for the workhouse (also to the south) states: 'John Silk'. The *Fire Insurance Policy Register, 1777–1786* includes a reference to a policy with the Sun Insurance Company of Joseph Fenn, grocer of 163 Aldersgate Street dated 1 January 1778 (31981 1778 SUN 1 269 03979 BN 404896 1000 JOSEPH FENN GROCER). Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Furniture Makers from the Restoration to the Victorian Era, 1660-1840* (1953) 127 refers to 'OLDFIELD AND TARN, Cabinet-makers, No. 167, Aldersgate Street. 1783–94 ...' *The Whole Proceedings on the King's Commission of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery for the City of London; and also the Gaol Delivery for the County of Middlesex, Held at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey on Wednesday, the 24th of February, 1790, and the Following Days* (1790) number IV, part III, 393 (trial of Thomas Revell) states: 'JOHN SILK sworn. I live in Aldersgate-street, at the Aldersgate coffee-house.' Leigh's *New Picture of London* (1818) 353 refers to: 'Aldersgate Street Coffee House, 168, Aldersgate Street.' It therefore appears that the parish workhouse was located at 164 or 165 Aldersgate Street. The Aldersgate coffee house was located on the ground floor of Trinity Hall. William Maitland, *The History and Survey of London from Its Foundation to the Present Time* (1756) vol II, 765 states: 'The Site of this antient religious House remains still, by the Name of *Trinity-Hall*, and several Tenements in *Trinity-Lane*, in the Possession of the Parish; and Part of the Building is existing: A lower Part is let out for a Coffee-house, but the upper Room retains somewhat the Appearance of its original Use, serving for a Place of Worship to a Congregation of *Non jurors*.' Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark* (1810) vol III, 358–9 cites this statement and says: 'This was the state of it [Trinity Hall] when Maitland wrote in 1738.' However, the statement does not appear in the first edition of the text, William Maitland, *The History of London, from Its Foundation by the Romans, to the Present Time* (1739). William Herbert, *Illustrations of the Site and Neighbourhood of the New Post Office* (1830) 10–11 states: 'At the old Aldersgate coffee house, whose back extends towards Little Britain, was the hall of an antient catholic guild of the Holy Trinity, called Trinity Hall; it had a curious timber roof, and various coats of arms in the window.' Jacob Ilive, *A Plan of the Ward of Aldersgate. Part of Cripplegate Ward Within and Without* (1740) shows the location of Trinity Hall and states: 'This Hall [Trinity Hall] is now yearly used by the Inquest of the Ward [of Aldersgate].' See also Jacob Ilive, *The Oration Spoke at Trinity-Hall in Aldersgate-street: On Monday, Jan. 9 1738. Before the Gentlemen of the Grand Inquest of the Ward of Aldersgate* (1738); J T Wilson, 'View of Trinity Hall, the Hall of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, Aldersgate Street' (1780) (London Metropolitan Archives, Main Print Collection, Pr.591/TRI); William Capon, 'Interior View of Trinity Hall, Aldersgate Street' (1808) (London Metropolitan Archives, Main Print Collection, Pr.591/TRI); John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (1746); Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799); Richard Horwood, *A Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark Including Their Adjacent Suburbs* (3rd ed, 1813). In 1786, the parish workhouse was no longer located at this site but was in nearby Little Britain: Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1786 at pages 6 and 12. The words 'the Workhouse Empty' appear in respect of the property in Little Britain in the 1787 record, and the property was not occupied by the workhouse in 1788: Land Tax Records, Ward of Aldersgate Without, 1787 at page 6; 1788 at page 6. By 1791, the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate was located in the nearby ward of Farringdon Without: Land Tax Records, Ward of Farringdon Without, Precinct of St Bartholomew the Great, 1791 at page 7.

earlier, and that he had not rented any property after that time. On the same day, Maria was removed to the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate.²⁰² In view of these records, it appears likely that Frances and Maria were the other two children referred to in Abraham's 1777 notice. At the time of the settlement examination, Elizabeth was around eight or nine years old and Thomas was around four. Given their age, it seems plausible that Elizabeth and Thomas were living with their mother in the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate at that time.²⁰³

The register of the poor in the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate (which commences in 1791) contains an entry for a female named

²⁰² *St Clement Danes, Register of Orders, 1769–93*, Westminster Archives Centre, Ms B1211, 99.

²⁰³ Lord Egremont and Elizabeth's first child, George, was born on 5 June 1787, which was exactly nine years after the settlement examination of Frances Ilive. Therefore, Elizabeth was with Lord Egremont in 1786 when she was around 16 or 17 years old. As referred to above, Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol VI, 2140 (for 9 October 1803) stated that Ozias Humphry believed that Elizabeth 'was with His Lordship at 15 years of age'. Elizabeth was 15 in about 1784 or 1785. It is to be noted that until 1794 Lord Egremont's town house was Egremont House in Piccadilly, Westminster. Lord Egremont's name appears in land tax records in respect of Egremont House from 1774 to 1793: Land Tax Records, Parish of St George, Hanover Square, The Out Ward, 1774 at page 2; 1775 at page 2; 1776 at page 2; 1777 at page 2; 1778 at page 2; 1779 at page 2; 1780 at page 2; 1781 at page 2; 1782 at page 2; 1783 at page 2; 1784 at page 2; 1785 at page 2; 1786 at page 2; 1787 at page 2; 1788 at page 2; 1789 at page 2; 1790 at page 2; 1791 at page 2; 1792 at page 2; 1793 at page 3. Egremont House was around 3.5 kilometres from Aldersgate Street and Little Britain, where the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate was located until 1785 and in 1786, respectively. Lord Egremont and Elizabeth's son, George, was baptised on 22 July 1787 at St Marylebone in Marylebone, Middlesex, which was near to Piccadilly. (The name of Lord Egremont's father, Charles Wyndham, the second Earl of Egremont, appears in land tax records in respect of Egremont House from 1760 to 1763 (the second Earl died at the house on 21 August 1763), and the name of his mother, Alicia Maria, the Countess Dowager of Egremont, appears in land tax records in respect of the house from 1764 to 1773. The relevant section of Piccadilly is referred to in the records as Hyde Park Road from 1760 to 1770.) The following appeared in *The Oracle, Public Advertiser* on 8 April 1794: 'In contradiction to an assertion in a *low* Print of yesterday, we have authority to say, that Egremont House is sold, and, notwithstanding the badness of the times, it was purchased by a man of *business*, in the cloathing [sic] line, a Mr. MILLS, of Yorkshire, for 15,000l. ...' From 1795, Lord Egremont's name appears in land tax records in respect of the property at 4 Grosvenor Place, Westminster, which had then become his town house. In the 1790s, Lord Egremont also had children by Elizabeth Fox (also known as Elizabeth Crole). An obituary of Lord Egremont in *The Brighton Patriot* on 21 November 1837 stated that his 'acknowledged family' was his five surviving children by Elizabeth Ilive and his daughter, Mary, by Elizabeth Fox. His daughter, Mary, married George FitzClarence, the first Earl of Munster, who was an illegitimate son of the Prince of Wales (later King George IV). It is also recorded that Lord Egremont had three other children by Elizabeth Fox – Charles Crole Wyndham, Laura Crole Wyndham and William John Crole Wyndham – and that Elizabeth Fox also had a son, George Seymour Crole, by the Prince of Wales (later King George IV). Elizabeth Fox was a daughter of Joseph Fox, who was a theatre owner in Brighton. Joseph Fox is said to have been £2,700 in debt at the time of his death in 1791: John George Bishop, *A Peep into the Past: Brighton in the Olden Time, with Glances at the Present* (1892) 55. E A Smith, *George IV* (1999) 291 states that Joseph Fox 'died in 1791 leaving his daughter in the care of Lord Egremont, who fathered four children born to her'.

‘Cesele Iliff’, who was discharged from the workhouse on 29 September 1791.²⁰⁴ This may be a reference to Cecilia Ilive.

In this book, I examine materials in relation to Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe and Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont. Having regard to the various contradictory theories about the parentage of Thomas and Elizabeth, and the existence of apparently fabricated accounts of the family’s history, I have set out extracts from many of these materials and have focused on primary sources in favour of second hand accounts.

The book begins by examining materials concerning Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe. It then examines sources in relation to Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont. Finally, the book contains a section on Thomas’s granddaughter, Cecilia Hill, who wrote about the Ayliffe family history. As noted above, a number of sources relating to Cecilia cast doubt on her credibility, and it is therefore my view that her accounts of the family history (and those of her cousin, Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe, which can be shown to be factually inaccurate in parts) should be treated with caution.

²⁰⁴ ‘Register of the Poor in the Parish Poor House’, *St Botolph Aldersgate: City of London*, London Metropolitan Archives, P69/BOT1/B/046/MS01472/001. All of the other persons on the page containing this reference are female.

THOMAS HAMILTON AYLIFFE

Childhood

My ancestor,²⁰⁵ Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, was born in about 1773 or 1774.²⁰⁶ As discussed below, he was known by the name Thomas Ilive before 1807. It therefore appears likely that he was named Thomas Ilive at birth.

The following notice appeared in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* on 25 January 1777 at page 3:²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Thomas was my great-great-great-great-grandfather. The line from Thomas to me is as follows: Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, Thomas Paul Hamilton Ayliffe, John Hamilton Ayliffe, Cora Alice Elizabeth Ayliffe, Cora Catherine Sarah Shepherd, Norman Allen Masters, Geofferey Norman Masters, Jeremy Brooks Masters.

²⁰⁶ Thomas died on 28 May 1852 near the Sturt River in South Australia. The death certificate records that he was aged 78 years at the time of his death. A notice in relation to his death in *The South Australian Register* on 1 June 1852 at page 2 also stated that he was aged 78 years. This would mean that he was born between 29 May 1773 and 28 May 1774. Thomas's wife, Hester, died on 10 June 1850 in South Australia. The death certificate records that she was aged 79 years at the time of her death. This would mean that she was born between 11 June 1770 and 10 June 1771. Thomas and Hester's request for emigration to South Australia on 2 May 1838 recorded that he was aged 62 years and that she was aged 64 years. If this was correct, Thomas would have been born between 3 May 1775 and 2 May 1776, and Hester would have been born between 3 May 1773 and 2 May 1774. The English Marriage Bonds and Allegations contain an oath sworn by Thomas on 2 April 1796 in which he stated that both he and Hester were aged above 21 years. This would mean that both he and Hester were born before 3 April 1775. Having regard to this oath and the death records, it appears that the ages of Thomas and Hester may have been lowered in the request for emigration.

²⁰⁷ Copy of the notice originally emailed to the author by Professor Ian Gadd of Bath Spa University on 22 March 2013. The notice is referred to in Eileen Cavanagh Davies, *A Chronological Synopsis and Index to Oxfordshire Items in Jackson's Oxford Journal, 1753-1780* (1967).

To the Rev. the Vice Chancellor, Heads of Houses,
and other Members of the University of Oxford,
The Petition of ABRAHAM ILIVE,
Great Grandson to Dr. THOMAS JAMES,
Cotemporary with Sir *Thomas Bodley* and Mr. *Camden*, and
who published the first Catalogue of the Bodleian Library,
HUMBLY SHEWETH,
THAT your Petitioner, who is a Printer, and
whose Father and Brothers were all bred to the
same Business, and long since dead, is now 74 Years
of Age, confined to his Bed by a severe Fit of Ill-
ness, has a Wife and four Children, and in want
of the common Necessaries of Life. — Under these
deplorable Circumstances, he begs Leave to sub-
mit his Case to the Gentlemen of the University,
from whose known Humanity he hopes to receive
that Assistance he stands in need of.
And your Petitioner, as in Duty bound,
will ever pray, &c.
Such as are inclined to assist this distressed old
Man and his helpless Family, are requested to leave
their Donations with Mr. D. Prince, Bookseller;
Mr. W. Jackson, Printer, High-Street; at Baggs',
Dick's, Horseman's, and Tom's Coffee-Houses; at
the Cross Inn, in the Corn-Market; the Wheat-
Sheaf and Anchor, in St. Aldates; or at the Uni-
versity Printing-House, where the Truth of the
above will be attested.
OXFORD, 24th January, 1777.

As discussed above, it is in my view likely that at the time of this notice Abraham Ilive was aged about 70 years, rather than 74 as stated in the notice.

Abraham Ilive was in fact a great-great-grandson of Dr Thomas James,²⁰⁸ who is discussed above. Sir Thomas Bodley, who is referred to in the notice, founded the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford. The reference to 'Mr. *Camden*' is to William Camden who was an antiquarian and topographer. The reference to 'Mr. D. Prince, Bookseller' is to Daniel Prince, who was a bookseller in New College Lane, Oxford and had been appointed by William Blackstone as the warehouse keeper and overseer of the Oxford learned press.²⁰⁹ The reference to

²⁰⁸ The line from Dr Thomas James to Abraham Ilive is as follows: Dr Thomas James, Francis James, Thomas James, Jane James, Abraham Ilive. R Julian Roberts, 'James, Thomas (1572/3–1629)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 737, 738 states: 'Little is known of his eldest children, Thomas and Ann; Francis (b. c.1607) followed his father's course to Winchester and New College; Theodore, (b. 1609) was later a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and his baptism and that of several daughters, Martha (1615), Alice (1616), and Mary (1619), in St Mary Magdalen Church, suggests that the family was then living in that parish.' Francis James was rector of North Marden, Sussex; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714* (1891) vol II, 799.

²⁰⁹ *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1796) vol LXVI, part 1, 530 states (under 'Obituary of remarkable Persons; with Biographical Anecdotes', for 6 June 1796): 'At his house in New College-lane, Oxford, in his 85th year, Mr. Daniel Prince, many years an eminent bookseller there; whose loss will be severely felt by many persons who were the objects of his bounty, and by all those who had the happiness to his enjoy his friendship.' See John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol III, 426–7; C H Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (1839) 792; 'PRINCE (DANIEL)' in H R Plomer, G H Bushnell and E R McC Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England Scotland and Ireland from*

‘Mr. W. Jackson, Printer, High-Street’ is to William Jackson who was the publisher of *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, in which the notice appeared, and managed the Oxford Bible press.²¹⁰ Bagg’s Coffee House was located in Broad Street, Oxford (on the corner of Holywell Street), Dick’s Coffee House was in Cat Street (now Catte Street), Oxford, and Horseman’s Coffee House and Tom’s Coffee House were in the High Street, Oxford.²¹¹

As noted above, Abraham Ilive was buried at St Thomas the Martyr in Oxford on 30 January 1777, which was six days after the date of the notice.²¹²

As also discussed above, it is in my view likely that Abraham Ilive, who is referred to in the notice, was the father of Thomas Ilive (later known as Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe) and Elizabeth Ilive (later styled the Countess of Egremont), and that Thomas and Elizabeth were two of the four children referred to in the notice.

1726 to 1775 (1932) 204. See also the various references to Prince in Ian Gadd (ed), ‘Beginnings to 1780’, being vol I of Simon Eliot (gen ed), *The History of Oxford University Press* (2013).

²¹⁰ See John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812) vol III, 679, fn **; ‘JACKSON (WILLIAM)’ in H R Plomer, G H Bushnell and E R McC Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (1932) 138. See also the various references to Jackson in Ian Gadd (ed), ‘Beginnings to 1780’, being vol I of Simon Eliot (gen ed), *The History of Oxford University Press* (2013). Abraham and Jackson had operated within the same circle of printers. Jackson and Robert Walker opened a printing office in Oxford in 1746 and together published the newspaper *The Oxford Flying Weekly Journal and Cirencester Gazette* from 1746 to 1749: see John R Hetherington, ‘Robert Walker, Printer, c. 1755’ (1956) s5-XI *The Library* 286; Cyprian Blagden, ‘Robert Walker, Printer, c. 1755’ (1957) s5-XII *The Library* 125; Michael Harris ‘Walker, Robert (c. 1709–1761)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 56, 885, 887. Ian Gadd, ‘The University and the Oxford Book Trade’ in Ian Gadd (ed), ‘Beginnings to 1780’, being vol I of Simon Eliot (gen ed), *The History of Oxford University Press* (2013) 549, 558 states that this printing office, called the ‘New Printing Office’, was ‘[t]he most important printing establishment [in Oxford] outside the learned and Bible presses during the [18th] century’. Both Abraham and Walker were named as defendants in a complaint filed by John Baskett in February 1741: Bill of Complaint of John Baskett against Robert Whitworth, William Catterall, Robert Walker, John Nichols, Abraham Ilive and Jacob Ilive, United Kingdom National Archives, C 11/1564/4 (19 February 1741; recorded as 1740 according to the Old Style Calendar). During the period from 1728 to 1731, Walker had a business association with William Rayner, for whom Abraham worked in the late 1730s as discussed above: see Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (1987) 91; Michael Harris, ‘Cultural Policing in the Early Eighteenth Century’ in Howard Tumbler (ed), *Media Power, Professionals and Policies* (2000) 178 at 184–6.

²¹¹ See, for example, Graham Midgley, *University Life in Eighteenth-Century Oxford* (1996) 68; The Reverend H Salter (ed), ‘Survey of Oxford in 1772 with Maps and Plans’ (1912), reproduced in the Reverend H Salter (ed), *Surveys and Tokens* (1923) 12, 55; *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 26 June 1779: ‘TO be LETT, and Entered on at Midsummer next, or sooner if required, DICK’S COFFEE-HOUSE, situated in Cat-Street, in the City of Oxford.’

²¹² Abraham’s great-great-grandfather, Dr Thomas James, who is referred to in the notice, had married Ann Underhill in the same church on 18 October 1602: see R Julian Roberts, ‘James, Thomas (1572/3–1629)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 29, 737, 737.

Between 24 June 1777 and 20 March 1800 (except for lists dated 21 June 1792 and 27 September 1792), Cecilia Ilive was listed as having received a quarterly pension of 10 s 6 d from the Worshipful Company of Stationers,²¹³ of which Abraham Ilive had been a member.²¹⁴ The lists are headed ‘The Company of Stationers Quarterly Gift to the Poor of their Company’, and her name appears under the heading ‘Bye Pensioners’. The date of the first record of payment, 24 June 1777, was around five months after the death of Abraham (Cecilia’s name does not appear in the list of recipients dated 25 March 1777 or in earlier lists of recipients). I am not aware of any member of the Ilive family of printers, other than the widow of Abraham, who Cecilia Ilive could have been.²¹⁵ Further, if Cecilia was Abraham’s widow, her receipt of a pension for the poor from June 1777 would be consistent with Abraham having died in destitute circumstances in January 1777. It would also be consistent with the statement by Abraham’s daughter, Frances, in June 1778 that her ‘Mother is now in the workhouse belonging to St Botolph without Aldersgate London’, discussed below. As also referred to below, there is a record of a female ‘Cesele Iliff’ having been discharged from the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate in 1791.²¹⁶ This may have been Cecilia Ilive. It therefore appears likely that Cecilia Ilive was the widow of Abraham and the mother of Thomas and Elizabeth, and that she began receiving the pension as a consequence of Abraham’s death. The fact that Cecilia appears to have lived for at least

²¹³ ‘Pension List, 1763–1811’ in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 72 (microfilm). Susanna/Susan Ilive was listed as having received a pension of 10 s from the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 22 March 1751 (recorded as 1750 according to the Old Style calendar) to 23 December 1755. This pension was part of ‘The Charity of Thomas Guy Esq’. It is apparent that this was the widow of Abraham Ilive’s brother, Isaac, who married Susanna Treaslove on 14 November 1738 at St Andrew, Holborn in London. Susanna Ilive, widow, married William Meredith on 18 May 1755 at St Sepulchre-without-Newgate in London. Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationer’s Company: A History, 1403–1959* (1960) 233 states: ‘[Jacob] Ilive died in 1765, supported in his last months by [Stationer’s] Company charity.’ The reference to Jacob having died in 1765 is correct. As referred to above, he was buried on 10 November 1765 at St Bride’s, Fleet Street in London. Richard Gough, *British Topography. Or, an Historical Account of What Has Been Done for Illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain* (1780) 638 incorrectly recorded that Jacob had died in 1763.

²¹⁴ See the Freedom of the City Admission Paper in relation to Abraham Ilive: ‘Abraham Ilive, Son of Thomas Ilive Citizen and Stationer of London, came before the Chamberlain the Day and Year aforesaid, and desired to be admitted into the Freedom of this City by Patrimony in the said Company of Stationers because he is legitimate, and was born after the Admission of his Father into the said Freedom.’ As noted above, Abraham was freed by patrimony on 1 March 1737 (recorded as 1736 according to the Old Style calendar): Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 35 (microfilm).

²¹⁵ The only Ilives who are known to have been stationers are Abraham, Abraham’s parents Thomas and Jane, and Abraham’s brothers Isaac and Jacob. As discussed above, the widow of Isaac, Susanna, received a pension from the Worshipful Company of Stationers in the 1750s and remarried in 1755. Jacob married Elizabeth Day in 1738. As noted above, this woman appears to have died in 1742. Although Abraham married Elizabeth Chamberlin in 1737, she would have been too old to have been the mother of Thomas and Elizabeth.

²¹⁶ ‘Register of the Poor in the Parish Poor House’, *St Botolph Aldersgate: City of London*, London Metropolitan Archives, P69/BOT1/B/046/MS01472/001.

another 23 years after Abraham's death is consistent with her having been younger than him, as she must have been if she bore children to him when he was aged in his 50s and 60s. Thomas had a daughter and two granddaughters named Cecilia,²¹⁷ which also supports the conclusion that Cecilia Ilive was his mother.

Below is an extract from the list dated 24 June 1777:²¹⁸

Name	Amount	Name	Amount
Annah Longrove	10 6	Mary Mowry	10 6
Mary Cape	10 6	William Lyon	10 6
Mary Bridge	10 6	Mary Leach	10 6
John Blowerwood	10 6	Elizabeth Goodchild	10 6
		John Mennin	10 6
	£ 2 2	Cecilia Ilive	10 6
		Ann Dams	10 6

An entry dated 5 June 1778 in the Examinations Books of the parish of St Clement Danes, Westminster states:²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Cecilia Ayliffe was a daughter of Thomas's son George. Cecilia Hester Marten was a daughter of Thomas's daughter Cecilia Maria Marten. She died on 23 July 1837 in Canterbury, Kent at the age of 10. Thomas also had a granddaughter with a middle name Cecilia. Ellen Esther Cecilia Ayliffe was a daughter of Thomas's son Henry. She was born in 1857 and died in 1940. Thomas's granddaughter Augusta Ayliffe Messer (née Marten), who was a daughter of Cecilia Maria Marten, had a daughter named Mary Cecelia Messer, who was born in 1872. Thomas's granddaughter, Cecilia Hill (née Ayliffe), had one child who survived into adulthood, Frederick Wyndham Hill. He had a daughter named Eileen Annie Cecilia Hill, who was born in 1887 and died in 1888. He had one child who survived him, Kathleen Maria Hill, who was born in 1889 and died in 1975.

²¹⁸ 'Pension List, 1763–1811' in Robin Myers (ed), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920* (1985) reel 72 (microfilm).

²¹⁹ K D M Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (2006) 85–6, 103, 159 states (citations omitted): "settlement" was the eligibility to receive poor relief in a parish or township where one had gained that status. ... Following legislation in 1662, 1685, 1691, 1697–8, and some other lesser Acts, one could gain, or earn, one's settlement in a number of ways: by birth for an illegitimate person; by marriage for a woman, who thereby lost her maiden settlement and now belonged to her husband's settlement; by serving a public annual office in the parish (it did not have to be strictly a parish office); by payment of parish rates; by renting property with a combined annual value of £10 or more; by yearly service for a full year while unmarried; by serving a legal indentured apprenticeship and residing in the parish for forty days during one's term; by owning estate in the parish; and, if none of these applied, one took one's paternal settlement. ... [E]veryone (aside from certain national immigrants) had a settlement, and in this period one never knew who might sink to parish-dependent poverty through old age, illness, disability, insanity, fire, bankruptcy, unemployment

Westmr Frances Ilive aged about Nineteen years on behalf of her Sister Maria aged about thirteen years on her Oath says they are the Daughters of Abraham Ilive who has been about Twelve Months ago and whose Mother is now in the workhouse belonging to St Botolph without Aldersgate London Says her said father Rented and lived in a House called London house in Aldersgate street for several years at the yearly Rent of fifty ... Pounds & Paid Parish Taxes due for the same hath quitted said house About Thirty ... years ago and after Quitting the said House he never gained any othe [sic] subsequent settlement either by Renting House or Tenemt Paying Taxes or Otherwise howsoever

Sworn this 5th Day
of June 1778 before me

Frances Ilive

R Butler

John Cox

Below is an extract from the Examinations Book showing this entry:²²⁰

and so on. ... “The place of settlement is the place to which a person ‘belongs’. *To* such a place he may be removed; *from* such a place he may not be removed”, wrote E. J. Lidbetter [in *Settlement and Removal* (1932)] as late as 1932 ...’ In relation to settlement examinations, Snell states (at 136–7): ‘In cases of indigence, occasional relief recipiency, non-resident relief and so on, the process of examination, removal and/or certification was ... quite urgent upon a poor person’s arrival, especially as a claim to settlement might subsequently be made on the basis of relief having been given, which was sometimes taken as an acknowledgement of settlement. ... The examination as to settlement commonly took place at petty sessions before two justices ... Many options were open to the parish. It could remove the pauper, as is clear from countless removal orders signed on the same day as the examination.’ He also notes (at 91, 149): ‘many ... [parish] officers frequently tried to apprentice children out of their parishes, to displace their settlements elsewhere. ... Overseers were ... active in putting orphans and poor children out to service, and before 1834 there were presumptions of parochial gains if they could place them outside the parish, especially where a settlement might be obtained.’ It appears that the examination of Frances Ilive, ‘on behalf of her Sister Maria’, established Maria’s settlement to be the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate, on the basis that it had been the settlement of her father Abraham. If Frances was indeed examined on behalf of Maria alone, and not on behalf of Maria *and* herself, this may explain why only Maria was ordered to be removed to the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate (as referred to below). Thomas’s apprenticeship, which is referred to below, was served in the parish of St Andrew, Holborn.

²²⁰ *St Clement Danes, Examinations Book, 1776–1779*, Westminster Archives Centre, Ms B1184, 189.

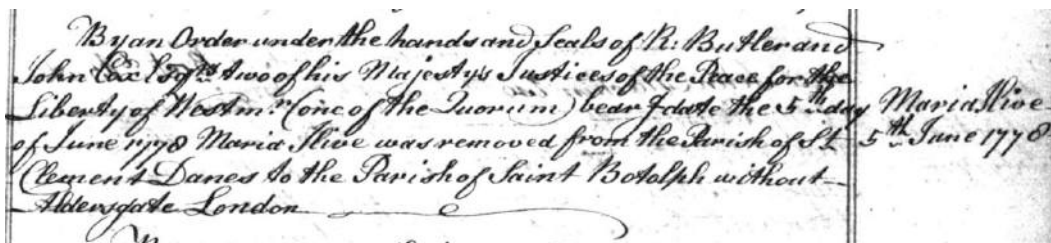
Westm^r Frances Slive ¹⁸⁹ aged about Nineteen
 years on behalf of her Sister Maria aged about
 Thirteen years on her Oath says they are the
 Daughters of Abraham Slive who has been about
 Six Months ago and whose Mother is now in
 the workhouse belonging to St Botolph without
 Aldersgate London says her said father Kent
 and lived in a House called London house in
 Aldersgate Street for several years at the
 yearly Rent of fifty... Pounds & Paid Parish
 Taxes due for the same hath quitted said house
 About Thirty... Years ago and after Inning the
 said House he never gained any other subsequ
 ent Settlement either by Renting House or
 Tenem^t Paying Taxes or otherwise howsoever
 Sworn this 5th Day
 of June 1778 before me
 Frances Slive
 R Butler
 J. M. [Signature]

An entry dated 5 June 1778 in the Register of Orders of the parish of St Clement Danes states:²²¹

²²¹ K D M Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (2006) 132, 134–5 states (citations omitted): “The formal way to eject the poor was by a removal order, through the powers granted in 1662 and subsequently. Up to 1795, a parish or township could remove anyone who was likely to be chargeable, or was actually chargeable. To be chargeable meant being a burden involving formal payment by the overseer from the rates. ... The settlement stipulations make it plain that only the very poor and vulnerable would be removable as “likely to be chargeable”: those without any contract of service, employment or apprenticeship, or any stake definable as a “tenement” in or outside the parish economy. ... Anyone who fulfilled these criteria [of eligibility under settlement laws] and was not chargeable could refuse to be examined as to settlement, and, unless there was obvious doubt about their claims, few overseers would force the issue further.’ The removal of Maria Slive from the parish of St Clement Danes indicates that she was considered to be chargeable or likely to be chargeable.

By an Order under the hands and Seals of R: Butler and John Cox Esqrs two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Liberty of Westmr. (one of the Quorum) bearg date the 5th. day of June 1778 Maria Ilive was removed from the Parish of St Clement Danes to the Parish of Saint Botolph without Aldersgate London

Below is an extract from the Register of Orders showing this entry:²²²



It appears from the record of the settlement examination referred to above that Frances and Maria were the other two children referred to in the 1777 notice – that is, that they were older sisters of Elizabeth and Thomas.²²³ At the time of the examination, their mother was living in the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate in London. It therefore appears that, after Abraham's death, Cecilia moved from Oxford to the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate where Abraham had lived around 30 years earlier and which had apparently been his settlement. The entry in the Register of Orders referred to above records that on the day of the examination Maria, who was aged about 13, was removed from the parish of St Clement Danes to the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate. It seems plausible that Thomas, who was about four years old, and Elizabeth, who was about eight or nine, were living with their mother in the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate at that time.

²²² *St Clement Danes, Register of Orders, 1769–93*, Westminster Archives Centre, Ms B1211, 99.

²²³ Although Ian Hamilton, 'The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton' (1978) 12 suggests that Thomas had three sisters named Elizabeth, Fanny and 'possibly' Augusta, his paper draws on the writings of Cecilia Hill and Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe which, as explained elsewhere in this book, should in my view be treated with caution. The full statement from that paper is: 'Thomas was born in 1774 and when he was 3 or 4 years old he was left (with his sisters – one of whom was called Elizabeth, another possibly called Augusta and the youngest called Fanny) in the care of his mother and subsequently their guardian – George Wyndham O'Brien – as their father was possibly guilty of a transgression against the Government.' It is to be noted that Thomas's daughter, Cecilia Maria Marten (née Ilive), had a daughter named Augusta Ayliffe Marten. Cecilia Hill, 'Statement of Facts Re Thomas Hamilton, Called Ilive – Afterwards Ayliffe, and His Family, the Late Earl of Egremont, and the Wyndham-Ilive Family' (1889) states: 'one of them [Thomas's sisters] became the wife of Colonel Mead, Equerry in waiting to the then Prince Regent, another married Hon. Anderson, a member of the Scottish Parliament, and the youngest, Frances known familiarly as Fanny Ayliffe, married a McLeod.' It does not appear that the Prince Regent (later King George IV) had an equerry named Mead. Further, there was no Scottish Parliament at this time. It is to be noted, however, that one of the godparents at the baptism of Cecilia Maria Ilive at St Patrick's Catholic Chapel in London on 7 June 1808 was Frances Mead.

The register of the poor in the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate contains the following entry:²²⁴

<i>St. Botolph Without</i>	<i>Mr. Jno. Denziloe</i>	CHURCH-WARDENS.		
<i>Aldersgate Poor.</i>	<i>Mr. Thos. Loveland</i>			
Names.	Came in.	Ages.	Discharged.	Settlement. <i>See Fol.</i>
...				
Cesele Iliff			Wt. Sepr. 29 th [1791]	

It appears that this may be a reference to Cecilia Ilive.

Apprenticeship

P J Wallis and R V Wallis, *Eighteenth Century Medics (Subscriptions, Licences, Apprenticeships)* (2nd ed, 1988) 314 state:

1775 a 1850	SSS	ILIVE, THOMAS	CITIZEN, APOTHECARY, SURGEON	BRUNSWICK SQ; NEW ORMOND ST, LONDON; AUSTRALIA	
26-1-1789	(A)	ILIVE, THOMAS	APOTHECARY		GABB, JOHN

At page 218, they state:

26-1-1789	(M)	GABB, JOHN [7/£90]	APOTHECARY	RED LYON STREET, HOLBORN	ILIVE, THOMAS
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At vi–vii, they state:

The various entries can easily be identified in the *Register* by the letter A, M or P (for apprentice, master or parent) in the second column, following the date of the record; it must be remembered that the latter, given in London, differs from that of the original deed, sometimes by an appreciable period (Burnby 1977). The layout of the *Register* is shown in the table below. After the third column, with the apprentice's names, appears the job description and, in the final sixth, the name of his master. ... For M entries the first names are those of the master and the last those of the apprentice; the former is followed by an entry of the form [7/£80] where the first figure gives the number of years of the apprenticeship. The premium, following the slash, is usually in pounds ...

Table A Column arrangement of *Register*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Job</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>General</i>
	(A)	Apprentice (Parent)	Master	Notes	Name of Master

²²⁴ 'Register of the Poor in the Parish Poor House', *St Botolph Aldersgate: City of London*, London Metropolitan Archives, P69/BOT1/B/046/MS01472/001.

(M)	Master [period/premium]	Master	Master	Name of Apprentice
...				
SSS	Master [period/premium]	Medic	Medic	Subscriptions [refs]

At xx, they state:

a/b (after/before) show open dates; many others are approximate.

It therefore appears that there is a record dated 26 January 1789 which refers to the binding of Thomas Ilive as an apprentice to John Gabb, apothecary of Red Lyon Street, Holborn, for a period of seven years at a premium of £90.²²⁵

The following appears in the Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures:

Masters Names, Places of Abode, and Profession.	Apprentices Names.
Saturday 14 March 1789	
...	
5 Jno. Gabb Red Lyon St Holborn Apothecary	Thos. Ilive

As appears below, the apprentice to whom these records relate was Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (as he was later known). Thomas was aged about 14 or 15 at the time of these records.

The following appears in the Court Minutes Book of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London:

Private Court 2 Octobr. 1792

...

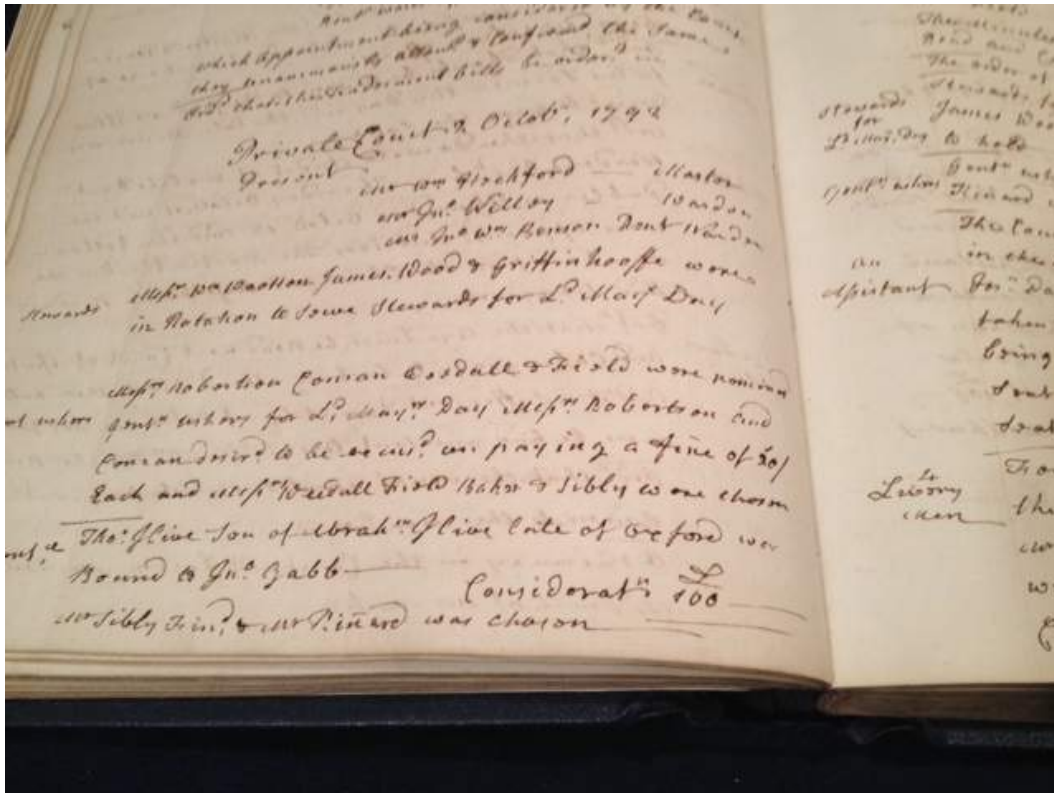
Thos. Ilive Son of Abrahm. Ilive late of Oxford was Bound to Jno. Gabb

Consideratn. £100

Below is an extract from the Court Minutes Book showing this entry.²²⁶

²²⁵ P J Wallis and R V Wallis, *Eighteenth Century Medics (Subscriptions, Licences, Apprenticeships)* (2nd ed, 1988) 218 refer to records in relation to two other apprentices taken by John Gabb: firstly, a record in relation to the apprenticeship of James Eldridge dated July 1779 (for a term of eight years and at a premium of £100), and, secondly, a record in relation to the apprenticeship of Francis C Bredall dated 30 June 1796 (for a term of eight years and at a premium of £105). The apprenticeship of Francis Charles Bredall is referred to further below.

²²⁶ Image emailed to the author by Janet Payne, Archivist of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, on 5 March 2013. See also Cliff Webb, *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers* (2006) vol 42, 'Society of Apothecaries 1670–1800 with Masons' Company 1619–1639', 44: 'Ilive Thomas s Abraham Oxford, Oxlf† to John Gabb 2 Oct 1702'. At v, Webb



This entry records that Thomas Ilive (later known as Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe) was the son of Abraham Ilive of Oxford, who was deceased by 2 October 1792. It is apparent that the father of Thomas Ilive, Abraham Ilive of Oxford, was the printer Abraham Ilive who died in Oxford in 1777. As examined below, Thomas was known as Thomas Ayliffe by 1810, and at that time was the only other apothecary working in the same street as his former master, John Gabb, except for Gabb's sons Charles Gabb and John Michael Gabb.²²⁷

The following appears in the Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures:

Masters Names, Places of Abode, and Profession.	Apprentices Names.
Thursday 4 October 1792	
...	
4 Jno. Gabb Citizen & Apothecary of London	Thos. Ilive

states: 'The abstracts are generally limited to the name of the apprentice, his father's name, parish and occupation, the name of the master and the date of the indenture. If the father was stated to be dead, his name is marked with a dagger (†).' The entry for Thomas Ilive should read '2 Oct 1792'.

²²⁷ An index to the register of St James, Spanish Palace refers to the baptism of Charles Gabb, a son of John and Mary Gabb, on 8 March 1782 and the baptism of John Michael Gabb, a son of John and Mary Gabb, on 29 September 1783.

It is to be noted that the dates of the two records referred to immediately above, 2 October 1792 and 4 October 1792, were approximately three and a half years after the commencement of Thomas's apprenticeship in early 1789 – that is, halfway through the seven year period of the apprenticeship.

The following appears in *The Historical Magazine; or Classical Library of Public Events* (1791) vol III, 418:

SUICIDES.

...

The latter end of this month [November 1791], a lad, fourteen years old, who acted as errand boy to Mr. Gabb, apothecary, in Red Lion-street, Holborn, hung himself about three o'clock in the afternoon. Though of a dull, melancholy disposition, the morning when he committed the fatal act, he appeared uncommonly chearful [sic]; went into the kitchen, enquired when dinner would be ready, and immediately repaired to the cellar, blinded the windows, bolted the door, and affixed himself very securely to a peg which was used for fastening lines to dry wet linen, &c. The jury properly brought in their verdict LUNACY.

It is apparent that this occurred during the period of Thomas's apprenticeship.

The index to the Records of the Sun Fire Office in the London Metropolitan Archives includes the following:

[no title] MS 11936/398/626432 26 March 1794

Contents:

Insured: John Gabb, 23 Red Lion Street Holborn, apothecary

The apothecary business of James Nelson & Co, which was owned by John Gabb's father-in-law James Nelson,²²⁸ operated from 23 Red Lion Street during

²²⁸ John Gabb married Mary Nelson on 23 April 1770 at St Andrew, Holborn in London. James Nelson was a witness to the marriage. C R B Barrett, *The History of the Society of Apothecaries of London* (1905) 168 states: 'During this month [October 1804] a certain Mr. Gabb petitioned the Court [of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London] to be allowed to inspect their books for the purpose of tracing the pedigree of a certain Mr. James Nelson, a former member of the Society. It appears that the recovery of some property was at stake—property, as he alleged, due to his wife, the daughter of Mr. Nelson. The Court, in declining to accede to his request, however, gave permission to their Clerk to make a search for any information likely to be of service for the purpose stated.' *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (1794) vol LXIV, part 1, 562 states (under 'Obituary of considerable Persons; with Biographical Anecdotes', for 19 April 1794): 'Three days before completing his 84th year, Mr. James Nelson, apothecary, of Red Lion street, Holborn. The eminent virtues of his heart had long endeared him to a numerous acquaintance. He had resided on the same spot upwards of half a century. Peculiar chearfulness [sic] and benevolence of heart marked the whole of his long and useful life; in the course of which he experienced many and severe trials; all which he bore with Christian fortitude and resignation. His treatise on the government of children, under the heads of Health, Manners, and Education (see our vol. XXIII, p. 508), will ever remain a valuable legacy to posterity.' John Gabb was the executor of the will of James Nelson, which was dated 8 November 1791 and proved on 28 April 1794. See also John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1815) vol IX, 14, fn †; G P Moriarty (rev Michael Bevan), 'Nelson, James

most of the period of Thomas's apprenticeship.²²⁹ Gabb worked as an apothecary from those premises at the same time as Nelson.²³⁰

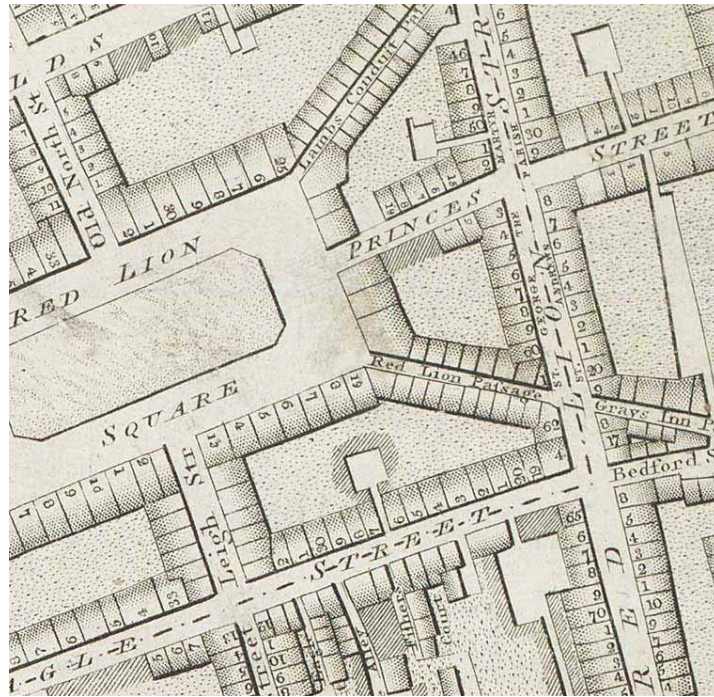
It is therefore apparent that Thomas undertook his apprenticeship at 23 Red Lion Street, Holborn, which was around 1,400 metres from the location of the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate. As discussed above, it appears that Thomas's mother was living at the workhouse in 1778 (possibly with Thomas and Elizabeth), and that the workhouse was located at 164 or 165 Aldersgate Street until around 1785 and in nearby Little Britain in 1786.

Below is an extract from Richard Horwood's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799) which shows the location of 23 Red Lion Street (south of Princes Street, and north of Grays Inn Passage). This remains the location of 23 Red Lion Street, although the building that stood at the time of Thomas's apprenticeship no longer stands.

(1710–1794)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 40, 411; James Nelson, *An Essay on the Government of Children, under Three General Heads: viz. Health, Manners and Education* (1753).

²²⁹ Land tax records in respect of the property at 23 Red Lion Street show that it was occupied by James Nelson & Co during most of the period of Thomas's apprenticeship, and then by the Gabbs alone: Land Tax Records, St Andrew, Holborn, 1780 at page 12 ('James Nelson & Co. '); 1781 at page 12 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1782 at page 12 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1783 at page 12 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1784 at page 13 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1785 at page 13 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1786 at page 13 ('Jas Nelson & Co. '); 1787 at page 13 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1788 at page 13 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1789 at page 13 ('James Nelson & Co. '); 1790 at page 12 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1791 at page 12 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1792 at page 12 ('Jas. Nelson '); 1794 at page 12 ('James Nelson & Co. '); 1795 at page 12 ('Jas. Nelson & Co. '); 1796 at page 12 ('Danl. Gabb '); 1797 at page 12 ('Danl. Gabb '); 1798 at page 12 ('Danl. Gabb '); 1799 at page 12 ('Danl. Gabb '); 1800 at page 12 ('John Gabb '); 1801 at page 5 ('John Gabb '); 1802 at page 5 ('John Gabb '). John Gabb's name does not appear in the corresponding 1803 record (at page 6). It is apparent that these records relate to the property at 23 Red Lion Street. For example, the entry that is two entries to the north of the property in the 1800 record states: 'Wm. Pepperday'. The index to the Records of the Sun Fire Office in the London Metropolitan Archives includes the following: '[no title] MS 11936/418/709754 25 November 1800 Contents: Insured: William Pepperday, 25 Red Lion Street, Holborn, tailor'.

²³⁰ See *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 12 July 1782: 'WANTED, a Butler, in or out of Livery, who can dress hair in the present taste, and can have an unexceptional character from his last place. Enquire at Messrs. Nelson and Gabb's, Apothecaries, Red Lion-street, Holborn.'



Below is an extract from Peter Jackson (ed), *John Tallis's London Street Views 1838-1840* (1969) 94 (Part 29), which shows a street view of the building that stood at 23 Red Lion Street in around 1838.²³¹ It is possible that this was the building in which Thomas undertook his apprenticeship.



The following appears in the Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures:²³²

²³¹ The street views published by John Tallis did not contain publication dates. Peter Jackson (ed), *John Tallis's London Street Views 1838-1840* (1969) 12 concludes that Parts 1-36, which included the view of Red Lion Street, were issued in 1838.

²³² It appears that 'Francis C Bredall' was a grandson of the London apothecary Francis Bredall, to whom John Gabb had been bound as an apprentice: see Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures (3 August 1757). Francis Bredall operated as an apothecary from Maddox Street near Hanover Square, Middlesex: see, for example, *The Medical Register for the Year 1783* (1783) 28. Francis Charles Bredall, a son of Charles and Ann Bredall, was baptised on 30 March 1781 at the Bavarian Embassy Chapel (a Catholic chapel, now the Church of Our

Masters Names, Places of Abode, and Profession.

Apprentices Names.

Saturday 2 July 1796

...

2 Jno. Gabb Citizen & Apothecary of London

Fras. C. Bredall

This record is consistent with Thomas's apprenticeship having commenced in about early 1789 and having finished in about early 1796, after which time John Gabb took another apprentice and Thomas married (as referred to below).

Thomas was freed by servitude on 6 October 1801.²³³

Lady of Assumption and St Gregory) in Westminster, Middlesex. The will of 'Francis Charles Bredall now belonging to His Majesty's Ship Princess of Orange' dated 22 March 1804 refers to 'my well beloved Mother Mary Gabb now residing at No. 4 Charlton Street Somers Town in the County of Middlesex'. James Gabb married Mary Bredall in the Catholic church at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel in London on 7 August 1797 and in the Church of England at St Martin-in-the-Fields in Westminster on the same day. The Reverend John Booker, *A History of the Ancient Chapels of Didsbury and Chorlton, in Manchester Parish* (1887) 288–91 refers to the will of Thomas Barlow of Barlow Hall in Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Lancashire dated 6 November 1771. He records that the will referred to Barlow's sister, his brother-in-law 'Francis Bredall of Great Maddox-street in the County of Middlesex', his nephews Thomas and Charles Bredall, and his nieces Mary Webb and Elizabeth (daughters of Francis Bredall). See also the various newspaper articles in relation to a legal case involving Thomas Anthony John Bredall, who was another grandson of Francis Bredall and a son of 'Mr. Thomas Bredall, Surgeon'. *The Public Advertiser* on 21 September 1786 stated: 'Mr. [Thomas] Bredall's son is eight years old. When he comes of age he will inherit ten thousand pounds. Mr. Bredall educated his child a Protestant. The boy being on a visit at Mr. Bredall's father's, a Papist in Woodstock-street, on Tuesday fortnight, he was secretly taken off to a Papist seminary in the country, and has not been heard of since.' Land tax records indicate that Francis Bredall moved from Maddox Street to nearby Woodstock Street in about 1781: Land Tax Records, Parish of St George Hanover Square, Conduit Street Ward, 1781 at page 22; Brook Street Ward, 1781 at page 44; Brook Street Ward, 1782 at page 44. *The Public Advertiser* on 28 September 1786 stated: 'We hear Mr. Bredall's relations still refuse to deliver up his son, or to acquaint him which of the popish schools the Honorable Bishop Talbot sent him to. ... Yesterday morning Mr. Bredall was forced to apply for a habeas corpus to oblige his father and mother to produce the child. ... It seems, it was by [the Lord Chancellor] Lord Thurlow's advice and recommendation, that Mr. Bredall procured an act of parliament about two years ago to sell the estate for the infant heir, by virtue of the limitations of the will of the uncle, the late Thomas Barlow, Esq; of Barlow Hall, Lancashire.' *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on 16 October 1786 contained an advertisement for the sale by auction of 'THE Genuine Houshold [sic] Furniture, China, and other effects of Mr. BREDALL, at his house No. 19 Woodstock-street, Oxford-street'. *The Public Advertiser* on 23 March 1787 referred to 'Lord George Gordon's advice having been proved effectual in getting Mr. Bredall's son out of the hands of the Papists, who had conveyed the boy away privately to the Popish College at Wolverhampton, without the father's consent'. The Reverend John Henry Ellis (ed), *The Registers of Stourton, County Wilts, from 1570 to 1800* (1887) 85 refers to the burial on 7 October 1788 of 'Mr Francis Bredall (70), a Papist²'. Footnote ‡ states: 'Bonham R. [Register] adds "of London."' As referred to below, both John Gabb and Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe were also Catholic.

²³³ Extract from the records of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, emailed to the author by Janet Payne, Archivist of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, on 5 March 2013.

Marriage, university and children

Thomas married Hester Jinks on 5 April 1796 at St Andrew, Holborn. The marriage record refers to him as Thomas Ilive and notes that he and Hester were of that parish:

Thomas Ilive of the Parish of Saint Andrew Holborn in the County of Middlesex Bachelor and Hester Jinks of the same Parish Spinster, were married in this Church by Licence on the Fifth Day of April in the year one thousand seven hundred and Ninety six by me J. Price curate this marriage was solemnized between us Thomas Ilive Hester Jinks

The extract from Horwood's map above shows that Red Lion Street was a boundary between the parishes of St Andrew, Holborn and St George the Martyr, and that 23 Red Lion Street was on the side of the parish of St Andrew, Holborn. Therefore, it is possible that Thomas was still living at 23 Red Lion Street at the time of his marriage.

An article from *The Lancet* in 1839 notes that Thomas took a Bachelor of Arts degree from St John's College.²³⁴

An entry for a Thomas Ayliffe in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* records that he was admitted as a pensioner (an ordinary fee-paying student) at St John's College, the University of Cambridge on 3 May 1796 and that he was of Ireland. He matriculated in the Michaelmas Term of 1797 and obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1800:

AYLIFFE, THOMAS. Adm. pens. at ST JOHN'S, May 3, 1796. Of Ireland. Matric. Michs. 1797; B.A. 1800. Name off June, 1803.²³⁵

It appears that this may be a reference to Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, having regard to the article in *The Lancet*. The date of his admission is less than a month after the date of his marriage. It is apparent, however, that Thomas was not from Ireland. It is not known when this entry in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* was compiled or from what sources.

Thomas's children were baptised in the Catholic church, as referred to below. The apothecary to whom Thomas had been bound as an apprentice, John Gabb, was also Catholic.²³⁶

²³⁴ W C Radley, 'On the Treatment of Fractures without Splints or Tight Bandages' [1838–1839] 1 *The Lancet* 293–298, 403–8 at 407. The article notes that Radley was of Newton Abbot in Devonshire.

²³⁵ J A Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* (1940) vol 1, 104.

²³⁶ Children of John and Mary Gabb were baptised at St James, Spanish Palace (a Catholic chapel) in Westminster, Middlesex as follows: James Thomas on 2 November 1771; Mary Louisa on 19 July 1773; Winifrid Mary on 15 September 1779; Charles on 8 March 1782; John Michael on 29 September 1783. A report in *The Times* on 5 July 1806 refers to a decision of the Court of King's Bench on 4 July 1806 in 'THE KING v. DR. JOHN MILNER, THE REV. —

Thomas and Hester are known to have had the following children: Frances, who was born on 28 March 1797, possibly baptised on 12 April 1797 at St James, Spanish Place (which was a Catholic chapel) in Westminster, Middlesex, and baptised in the Church of England on 3 October 1804 at St James, Paddington in Middlesex;²³⁷ Elizabeth Harting, who was born on

WHEELER, — GADD, AND ANNE GADD: ‘The Defendants are all of the Catholic persuasion, the first of whom is titular bishop of the inland district, the second is a priest of his diocese, Mr. GADD is an apothecary, and ANNE GADD is his daughter.’ A letter to the editor from ‘VERITAS’ of ‘Russell-square’ in *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine; or, a Monthly Political and Literary Censor* (1807) vol XXV, 446–7 refers to the article in *The Times* and states: ‘The indictment was laid by Mr. Taylor, a surveyor in Islington, against his bishop, Dr. Milner, his *father confessor*, Mr. Wheeler, and his apothecary, Mr. Gadd or Gabb, and Miss Anne G. his daughter, who reside in the neighbourhood of Russell-square, for conspiring to prevent his marriage with a Miss Pike, of Wolverhampton’. The letter also refers to the apothecary’s ‘eldest daughter Maria G.’. A letter in response from the Reverend J Wheeler in *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine; or, a Monthly Political & Literary Censor* (1807) vol XXVI, 196–203 confirms that the case involved the apothecary ‘Mr. Gabb’ and his daughters Anne and Maria Gabb. Bernard Street, where John Gabb lived at this time, is a continuation of one side of Russell Square. The Court delivered a verdict of ‘not guilty’. As referred to above, John Gabb’s former master, the apothecary Francis Bredall, was also Catholic.

²³⁷ Baptism register of St James, Spanish Place, 12 April 1797: ‘Franciscus Aliffe [in the margin] Ego infrascriptus baptizavi Franciscum filium [properly ‘filium’] Thomæ et Esther Aliffe olim Jinks, conjugum Matrina fuit Maria Jinks Franciscus Bowland Aprilis 12 [in the margin]’. (Translation: ‘Francis Aliffe. I, the undersigned, baptised Francis, son of Thomas and Esther Aliffe formerly Jinks, a married couple. The godmother was Maria [or Mary] Jinks. [Signed by] Francis Bowland. April 12.’) This baptism occurred around two weeks after Frances was born. It appears likely either that the child referred to in the baptism record was a twin brother of Frances, or that the register in fact records the baptism of Frances and incorrectly refers to her as a son. There is no contemporaneous baptism record of a daughter of Thomas and Hester (as one would expect if there were twins), which suggests that the register in fact records the baptism of Frances. St James, Spanish Place was located in Spanish Place and was the predecessor of the present church of the same name in George Street. Frances was baptised in the Church of England on 3 October 1804 at St James, Paddington in Westminster: ‘Frances Daughter of Thomas & Esther Ilive born March 28. 1797.’ Frances married François de Courtenay, Chevalier de Fouchécour (also spelt Fouchécourt) on 21 November 1820 at St Mary Abbots in Kensington, Middlesex: see *The Morning Post*, 22 November 1820, page 4; *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol XC (1820) part 2, 562; *The Monthly Magazine; or, British Register*, vol L, part II (1820) 582; *The London Magazine*, XIII (1821) vol III, 115. According to the notice in *The Morning Post* on 22 November 1820 at page 4, ‘His Excellency the Duke Decazes, the French Ambassador, signed the marriage contract’. As referred to above, François was a son of Jean François Louis Marie Marguerite de Salivet de Courtenay, Comte de Fouchécour. Frances gave birth to a son on 21 September 1821 and a daughter on 29 December 1822 at the residence of her aunt, Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont, at Waterloo Place: *The Morning Post*, 24 September 1821, page 4; *The Morning Post*, 31 December 1822, page 3. In a baptism record of Frances’s son, Charles William Philip Hamilton de Courtenay, in the Catholic church at St James, Spanish Place on 4 November 1821, the godparents are listed as Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont and a servant of the bedchamber of the late King of Prussia. In a baptism record of that child in the Church of England at St James, Westminster on 4 November 1821, the parents’ abode is recorded as 4 Waterloo Place. In a baptism record of Frances’s daughter, Rosabella Elizabeth Egremont de Courtenay, at St James, Westminster on 27 January 1823, the parents’ abode is recorded as Waterloo Place. Frances was referred to as ‘Fanny de Fouchecourt’ in a letter from her father, Thomas, to her (Petworth House Archives, PHA/7923, 11 September 1830) and in a letter from Colonel

24 March 1800 and baptised on 6 April 1800 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel (which was another Catholic chapel) in London;²³⁸ Hester Maria, who was born on 24 July 1806 and baptised on 10 August 1806 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel;²³⁹ Cecilia Maria, who was born on either 4 April 1808 or 22 April 1808 in London and baptised on 7 June 1808 at St Patrick's Catholic Chapel in London and again on 14 April 1833 at the Independent Church (a Protestant

George Wyndham (Burrell Manuscripts, Burrell/Acc 5927/1/12/24, 4 April 1838), and as 'Fanny Courtenay' in a letter from her husband 'Francis', postmarked 1860 (Petworth House Archives, PHA/7924). A notice in the *Brighton Gazette, and Lewes Observer* on 29 November 1827 stated: 'The Chevalier de Fouchécourt, Professor of the French Language, has the honor to inform the inhabitants and visitors of Brighton, that he continues to give instruction to families at their residences, and at his own house. His method of teaching has generally been much approved of, and being the son of a French émigré, he is well acquainted with the English Language, which enables him to facilitate the progress of his pupils. Such families who desire his instruction, will meet with immediate attention.—No. 3, Prince's Place, opposite the Chapel Royal, Brighton.' Frances did not travel to South Australia with her parents and brothers. The 1851 United Kingdom census records 'Fanny De Courtenay', aged 48, born in 'London Alhallows', an annuitant and married. She was living at 1 Mecklenburgh Terrace in the parish of St Pancras, Middlesex with her daughter Rosa (Rosabella) Cauty (a widow, aged 21) and her granddaughter Horatia Cauty (aged 2). Letters from 1879 and 1880 which accompanied 'the payment of Madame Fanny de Courtenay's pension' are held in the Petworth House Archives (Petworth House Archives, PHA/7922). The 1881 United Kingdom census records 'Frances de Courtney', aged 84, born in London, an annuitant and married. She was living at 13 St Georges Terrace in Canterbury, Kent with William Bear (a professor of drawing, aged 54), his wife Fanny Bear (a school mistress, aged 32 and born in London), their children Laura, Ellen and Martha, and a servant. Fanny Bear was Frances's granddaughter (born Horatia Fanny Paulina Henrietta Cauty). Frances was buried on 21 April 1883 in Hackington, Kent.

²³⁸ Baptism register of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, 6 April 1800: 'Die 6 Aprilis 1800 Baptizata fuit Elizabeth Harting filia Thomæ et Esther Ayliffe conjm. [conjugum] Nata die 24 Martii 1800. Patrini fuere Jacobus Harting et Elizabeth Harting Rich Underhill'. (Translation: 'On the 6th day of April 1800 was baptised Elizabeth Harting, daughter of Thomas and Esther Ayliffe, a married couple. She was born on the 24th day of March 1800. The godparents were James Harting and Elizabeth Harting. [Signed by] Rich [Richard] Underhill.') Elizabeth died on 26 April 1801 and was buried on 3 May 1801 at St Pancras Old Church in St Pancras, Middlesex. She is recorded in the burial register as 'Elizabeth Aliff', aged 13 months and 'Brought from' Somers Town. At that time, Somers Town comprised only a few streets which were north of the New Road from Paddington to Islington (now Euston Road): see Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799); John Wallis, *Wallis's Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1801).

²³⁹ Baptism register of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, 10 August 1806: 'Die 10 Augusti 1806 Baptizata fuit Hester Maria filia Thomæ et Hester Ilive conjm. [conjugum] Nata die 24 Julii 1806. Patrini fuere Georgius King et Sarah Moore a Rich Underhill'. (Translation: 'On the 10th day of August 1806 was baptised Hester Maria, daughter of Thomas and Hester Ayliffe, a married couple. She was born on the 24th day of July 1806. The godparents were George King and Sarah Moore. By Rich [Richard] Underhill.') Hester died on 11 February 1807 and was buried on 18 February 1807 at St Pancras Old Church in St Pancras, Middlesex. She is recorded in the burial register as 'Ester Ilive, Francis Street' and aged six months. Francis Street is now called Torrington Place. It runs off Gower Street, where Thomas and Elizabeth's daughter Cecilia was later recorded as having been born in April 1808.

church) in Paignton, Devonshire;²⁴⁰ George Frederick, who was born on 10 September 1810 and baptised on 30 December 1810 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel;²⁴¹ Charles Joseph, who was born on 23 December 1811 and

²⁴⁰ Baptism register of St Patrick's Catholic Chapel, 7 June 1808: 'Die 7a. Junij 1808 baptisata fuit Cæcilia Maria filia Thomæ Ayliff et Estheris Jinks conjugum Nata fuit die 4ta. Aprilis præcedentis. Patrini fuère Josephus Le Jeune at Francisca Mead. Danm. [Danielem] Gaffey'. (Translation: 'On the 7th day of June 1808 was baptised Cecilia Maria, daughter of Thomas Ayliff and Esther Jinks, a married couple. She was born on the 4th day of the preceding April. The godparents were Joseph Le Jeune and Frances Mead. [Signed by] Daniel Gaffey.') Cecilia was baptised a second time on 14 April 1833 at the Independent Church in Paignton, Devonshire. The baptism record notes that she was married at the time, that her married name was 'Cecilia Maria Marten', that her abode was 'Paignton & Bovey Tracey' and that she was born on 22 April 1808 in 'Gower St Tottenham Court Road London'. That is, the date of her birth is different from that given in the 1808 baptism record. The record further states that she was 'baptised when young as a Catholic but now is Protestant'. Like Frances, Cecilia did not travel to South Australia. A notice in the *Kentish Gazette* on 24 May 1836 stated: 'May 19, in St. Peter's Place, Canterbury, after a long illness, occasioned by the rupture of a blood-vessel, Mr. John Marten, jun. Drawing Master, aged 39, leaving a widow and four children to lament their loss.' This was Cecilia's husband. A letter from George Ayliffe to William Chudleigh dated 19 May 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067) stated: 'I know not how Cecilia is to go home; – it was a great folly she should have been permitted to come; a procrastinated separation is always the most hurtful to our feelings; – she, Mamma Peggy & Susan Sanders (my apprentice) have just arrived wet through; Mrs Marten is gone to bed, & can not return today ...' A letter from George Ayliffe to William Chudleigh dated 27 May 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067) stated: 'For God's sake write to Mrs. Marten & recommend some step about her; how do her poor children get on – I wish it so we were all on board ...' A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) to William Chudleigh dated 9 June 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067) stated: 'I have the pleasure of conveying a Letter to you by Mrs Marten informing you of the Arrival of the Pestonjee Bomanjee which did not make her appearance till late in the Forenoon of this day. ... [A]fter giving Mrs. Marten what may be sufficient to pay for her Return, it appears to me I shall have but a very small Sum left of what I expect to receive from Col. Wyndham's Agent ... I sincerely hope Mrs Marten will not lose her situation from her long stay at Plymouth I am in great fear of it!' A letter from William Chudleigh to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 8 July 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067) stated: 'I am sorry to say Mrs. Marten (Mr Ayliffes Daughter) is Still here [in Devonshire], and suffering extreme hardships. I have been at the Expense of 4 four Pounds on Wednesday last to send her Children to Canterbury, but her Friends there will do nothing for her, and I see no other alternative but she being conveyed to her settlement by the [illegible] Authorities ...' A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 15 September 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 729) stated: 'I have nothing to do with Mrs Marten – If she likes to go to Australia she shall be sent there, but I will give no assistance in this Country, nor will I answer any more applications upon the subject – ...' It appears that Cecilia was living in Russell Square, Brighton in Sussex at the time of the 1841 United Kingdom census (the record refers to her as 'Celine Marten', 'Profesor [sic] of drawing'). Cecilia's daughters, Augusta Ayliffe Marten and Sophia Rosa Marten, were living with their paternal grandfather, John America Marten, and his second wife, Elizabeth, in Maidstone, Kent at that time. Cecilia died on 25 December 1845 at 15 Russell Square, Brighton. Both Augusta and Sophia travelled to South Australia and married there. Augusta died in Victoria in 1875, and Sophia died in New Zealand in 1895.

²⁴¹ Baptism register of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, 30 December 1810: 'Die 30 Decembris 1810 Baptisatus fuit Georgius Fredericus, filius Thomæ et Esther Hamilton Ayliffe, conjugum; natus die 10 Septembris ejusdem anni Sponsores: Jacobus Barth. Jinks, et Sara Moore Per Lud: Havard'. (Translation: 'On the 30th day of December 1810 was baptised George Frederick, son of Thomas and Esther Hamilton Ayliffe, a married couple; he was born on the 10th day of

baptised on 16 February 1812 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel;²⁴² Thomas Paul Hamilton, who was born on 14 January 1814 and baptised on 25 January 1814 at Westminster St Mary (which was another Catholic chapel) in Westminster;²⁴³ and Henry, who was born on 25 October 1815 and baptised on 12 November 1815 at St James, Spanish Place.²⁴⁴

September of the same year. Godparents: James Barth. [Bartholomew] Jinks, and Sarah Moore. By Lud. [Lewis] Havard.') George married Elizabeth Sanders at St Leonard in Exeter, Devonshire on 12 July 1834. He died on 13 October 1844 in Adelaide, South Australia. A notice in *The Southern Australian* on 15 October 1844 at page 2 stated: 'DEATH. ... On the 13th October, after a painful and protracted illness, which he bore with Christian resignation, Mr G. Ayliffe, surgeon, aged 33, much regretted by his family and friends.' A notice in *The South Australian Register* on 16 October 1844 at page 2 stated: 'DEATH.—On Sunday last, in Gilles-arcade, aged 33, Mr Geo. Ayliffe, surgeon.' Since his death, George has sometimes been referred to as George Hamilton Ayliffe. For example, a notice in relation to the marriage of his daughter, Cecilia, in *The Argus* on 28 November 1859 at page 4 referred to her as 'Cecilia Hamilton, second daughter of the late George Hamilton Ayliffe, Esq., surgeon, of Adelaide, and second cousin of Lord Leconfield, county of Sussex, England'. (Later, Cecilia called herself Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham Hill.) A notice in relation to the marriage of George's other daughter, Elizabeth Esther (Ettie), in the *South Australian Advertiser* on 19 April 1877 at page 3 referred to her as 'Ettie E. Ayliffe, eldest daughter of the late George Edward Frederick Hamilton Ayliffe, Esq., of Belle Vue St. Mary's, and niece of the late Earl and Countess of Egremont, of Petworth Castle, Sussex, England'. However, all references to George during his lifetime of which I am aware did not include the name Hamilton.

²⁴² Baptism register of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, 16 February 1812: 'Die 16 feb 1812 Baptisatus fuit Carolus Josephus filius Thomæ et Hester Ayliffe Conjugum natus die 23 mensis Decembris anno 1811 Sponsors Jacobus Jinks Sara Moore per Fr Tuite'. (Translation: 'On the 16th day of February 1812 was baptised Charles Joseph, son of Thomas and Hester Ayliffe, a married couple. He was born on the 23rd day of the month of December in the year 1811. The godparents were James Jinks Sarah Moore. By Fr. [Francis] Tuite.') Charles died on 5 November 1812 and was buried on 15 November 1812 at St Pancras Old Church in St Pancras, Middlesex. He is recorded in the burial register as 'Charles Joseph Ayliffe' and aged 10 months.

²⁴³ Baptism register of Westminster St Mary, 25 January 1814: 'Die 14 Januarii 1814 natus et 25 ejusdem Mensis Baptisatus fuit Thomas Paulus Hamilton Ayliffe, filius Thomæ Hamilton Ayliffe et Hester Jinks Conjugum (N4 Ayliffe's Buildings, Kent Road) Matrina fuit Maria Wyndham a me Gulielmo Hurst'. (Translation: 'On the 14th day of January 1814 was born, and on the 25th of the same month was baptised, Thomas Paul Hamilton Ayliffe, son of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe and Hesther Jinks, a married couple (N4 Ayliffe's Buildings, Kent Road). The godmother was Mary Wyndham. By me, William Hurst.') It appears that the godmother was Mary Wyndham, a daughter of Lord Egremont and Elizabeth Fox, who was not related by blood to Thomas. Together with the five surviving children of Elizabeth Ilive, Mary was said to be part of the 'acknowledged family' of Lord Egremont: *The Brighton Patriot*, 21 November 1837. The Reverend William Hurst was the translator of an 1814 edition of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, *The History of the Primitive Church of England from Its Origin to the Year 731* (1814). Thomas was usually referred to simply as 'Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe'. He married Jane Bell on 23 July 1845 in Adelaide, South Australia, and died on 28 July 1895 in Hamley Bridge, South Australia.

²⁴⁴ Baptism register of St James, Spanish Place, 12 November 1815: 'Henricus Hayliff [in the margin] Ego infrascriptus baptizavi Henricum filium Thomæ Hayliff et Ester Jinks conjugum natum die 25to Octobris Patrini fuere Robertus Moore et Sara Moore Joannes Earle Nov 12 1815'. [Translation: 'Henry Ayliffe. I, the undersigned, baptised Henry, son of Thomas Hayliff and Ester Jinks, a married couple, born on the 25th day of October. The godparents were

It is to be noted that the name Ayliffe (sometimes with a variation of spelling), rather than Ilive, was used in all of the baptism records of Thomas and Hester's children in the Catholic church (between 1797 and 1815). The baptism record of their eldest child in the Catholic church in 1797 is the first known use of the name Ayliffe by the family. On the other hand, the name Ilive was used in two of the four baptism and burial records of their children in the Church of England between 1804 and 1812.

Thomas was recorded as the godfather at the baptism of John Parker, who was a son of James and Mary Parker, on 24 October 1800 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel. Thomas is referred to in the baptism record as 'Thomas Ayliffe'. 'Sarah Ginks' was recorded as the child's godmother.²⁴⁵

Hester was recorded as the godmother at the baptism of Joseph Page Moore, who was a son of Robert and Sarah Moore, on 17 January 1805 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel. Hester is referred to in the baptism record as 'Esther Ilive'.²⁴⁶

Hester was recorded as the godmother at the baptism of William Cornelius Moore, who was a son of Robert and Sarah Moore, on 19 April 1807 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel. Hester is referred to in the baptism record as 'Hester Ilive'.²⁴⁷

Robert Moore and Sarah Moore. [Signed by] John Earle. Nov 12 1815.) Henry Ayliffe married Esther Sanders on 4 March 1844 in North Adelaide, South Australia, and died on 25 April 1890 in Angaston, South Australia. A notice in *The South Australian Chronicle* on 26 April 1890 at page 4 stated: 'DEATHS. ... AYLIFFE.—On the 25th April, at his residence, Angaston, Henry Ayliffe, M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. London, aged 71 years.' 'M.R.C.S.' stands for Member of the Royal College of Surgeons and 'L.S.A.' stands for Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. Henry signed letters to Colonel George Wyndham dated 14 December 1859, 16 April 1861 and 22 June 1861 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072) as 'H W Ayliffe', however I have not seen this middle initial used elsewhere.

²⁴⁵ Baptism register of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, 24 October 1800: 'Die 24 Octis [Octoberis] 1800 Baptizatus fuit Joannes filius Jacobi at Mariæ Parker conjugum. Pridie natus. Patrini fuere Thomas Ayliffe et Sarah Ginks a Rich Underhill'. (Translation: 'On the 24th day of October 1800 was baptised John, son of James and Mary Parker, a married couple. He was born on the previous day. The godparents were Thomas Ayliffe and Sarah Ginks. By Rich [Richard] Underhill.')

²⁴⁶ Baptism register of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, 17 January 1805: 'Die 17. Januarii 1805. Baptizatus fuit Josephus Page, Filius Roberti et Sara Moore Conjugum, Natus fuit 30 Decembris 1804. Susceprix fuit Esther Ilive p [per] Car: [Carolo] Juliaens.' (Translation: 'On the 17th day of January 1805 was baptised Joseph Page, son of Robert and Sarah Moore, a married couple. He was born on the 30th day of December 1804. The godmother was Esther Ilive. By Charles Juliaens.')

²⁴⁷ Baptism register of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, 19 April 1807: 'Die 19 Aprilis 1807 Baptizatus fuit Gulielmus Cornelius filius Roberti et Saræ Moore conjugum Natus die 10. Aprilis 1807. Susceprix fuit Hester Ilive a Rich Underhill'. (Translation: 'On the 19th day of April 1807 was baptised William Cornelius, son of Robert and Sarah Moore, a married couple. He was born on the 10th day of April 1807. The godmother was Hester Ilive. By Rich [Richard] Underhill.')

Thomas and Hester were recorded as the godparents at the baptism of George William Jinks, who was a son of Richard and Sarah Jinks, on 11 June 1822 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel. Thomas and Hester are referred to in the baptism record as 'Thomas Ayliffe' and 'Ester Ayliffe'.²⁴⁸

It is to be noted that the name Ayliffe was used in these records whenever Thomas was one of the godparents (from 1800), whereas the name Ilive was used if the godparents included Hester but not Thomas (to 1807).

Apothecary and surgeon in London

As referred to above, the record of burial of Thomas's daughter, Elizabeth, on 3 May 1801 at St Pancras Old Church in St Pancras, Middlesex states that she was brought from nearby Somers Town, Middlesex.²⁴⁹ It therefore appears that Thomas and Hester were living in Somers Town, which at that time comprised only a few streets just to the north of the New Road from Paddington to Islington (now Euston Road).²⁵⁰ This was about a kilometre from Red Lion Street, where Thomas had undertaken his apprenticeship from about 1789 to about 1796.

Thomas's name appears in land tax records in respect of a property in High Holborn for 1804. The entry records that 'C Col Camp' was the proprietor and that 'Thos Ilive' paid £38 in rent.²⁵¹ Thomas's name does not appear in the land tax records in respect of the property for 1803 or 1805.²⁵² It is apparent from the 1804 record and from Horwood's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799) that the property was located at 250 or 251 High Holborn between Queens Court and Red Lion Yard, which was on the south side of the street.²⁵³

²⁴⁸ Baptism register of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, 11 June 1822: 'Die 11. Junii 1822. Baptizatus fuit Georgius Gulielmus filius Richardi et Sarah Jinks (con [conjugum]) natus fuit 21. Maii 1822. Patrini fuere Thomas Ayliffe et Ester Ayliffe A me J. Watkins'. (Translation: 'On the 11th day of June 1822 was baptised George William, son of Richard and Sarah Jinks, a married couple. He was born on the 21st day of May 1822. The godparents were Thomas Ayliffe and Ester Ayliffe. By me, J. Watkins.')

²⁴⁹ Burial register of St Pancras Old Church in St Pancras, Middlesex, 3 May 1801.

²⁵⁰ See Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799); John Wallis, *Wallis's Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1801).

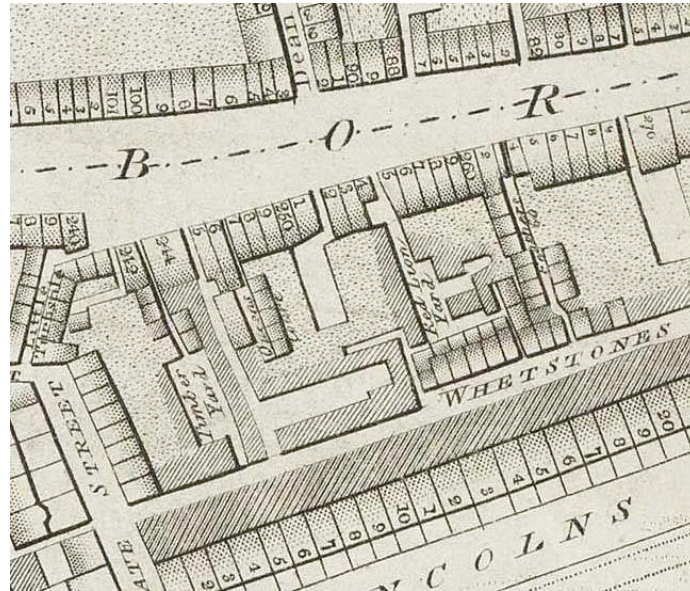
²⁵¹ Land Tax Records, District of St Giles in the Fields and St George, Bloomsbury, 1804 at page 15.

²⁵² Land Tax Records, District of St Giles in the Fields and St George, Bloomsbury, 1803 at page 15; 1805 at page 15.

²⁵³ Land Tax Records, District of St Giles in the Fields and St George, Bloomsbury, 1804 at page 15. There are four entries to the west of the property occupied by Thomas and to the east of Queens Court, which state: 'Wm. Hughes', 'Messrs. Boak & White' 'Willm. Hooper' and 'Jane Knowsley'. The two entries immediately to the east of the property occupied by Thomas state: 'Wisemans Ins.' and 'John Hayes'. Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and*

This was about 200 meters from 23 Red Lion Street, where Thomas had undertaken his apprenticeship.

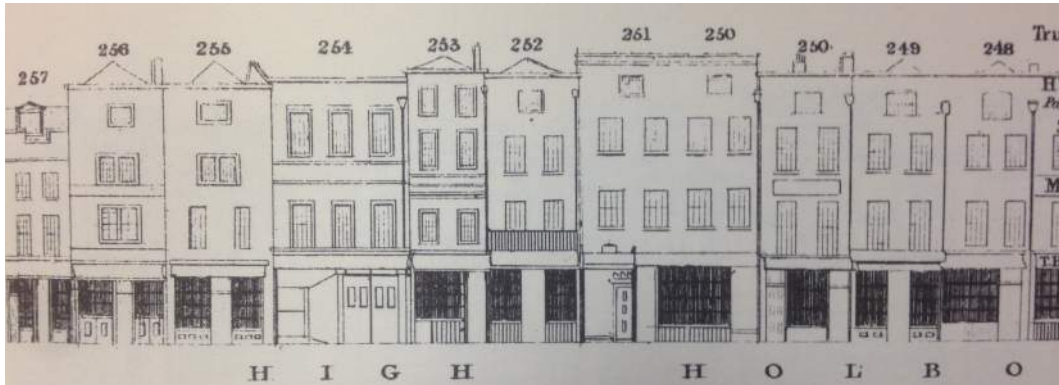
Below is an extract from Richard Horwood's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799) which shows the location of 250 and 251 High Holborn (east of Queens Court, and west of Red Lion Yard). The buildings that stood at those addresses in 1804 no longer stand.²⁵⁴



Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House (1st ed, 1792–1799) indicates that the four properties immediately to the east of Queens Court were at 247, 248, 249 and 250 High Holborn. *Kent's Original London Directory* (1823) refers to 'Boak & White, hosiers, 248, High Holborn'. *Kent's Directory* (1803) refers to 'Hooper Wm. Glass Warehouse, 249, High Holborn'. The index to the Records of the Sun Fire Office in the London Metropolitan Archives includes the following: '[no title] MS 11936/434/775417 5 April 1805 Contents: Insured: Jane Knowsley, 250 High Holborn, stay haberdasher'; '[no title] MS 11936/474/927056 13 January 1817 Contents: Insured: Michael Eaton the elder Chatham Kent and the Master Fellow and scholars of Emanuel College Cambridge Other property or occupiers: 246 High Holborn (Book hosier); 247 High Holborn (Hughes brazier); 248 High Holborn (Edwards linen draper); 249 High Holborn (Hooper glassman); 250 High Holborn (Philips hatter); 251 High Holborn (Eaton chemist)'. W Edward Riley and Sir Laurence Gomme (eds), 'St Giles-in-the-Fields, Pt II', being vol 5 of *Survey of London* (1914), chapter XXII, 'High Holborn from the Parish Boundary to Little Turnstile' states (citations omitted): 'In 1669 the same property, then consisting of seven houses, was sold by William Watson to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and is obviously to be identified with the six houses in High Holborn leased by the college in 1800, and described as Nos. 246 to 251, High Holborn.' John Hayes, *Food for Book Worms* (1791) states: '... WHICH ARE NOW ON SALE By JOHN HAYES, No. 252 High-Holborn, opposite Dean-Street.' It is apparent from land tax records for other years that Camp was for a time the proprietor of the terrace of five houses between 247 and 251 High Holborn. The entry 'Wisemans Ins.' appears to stand for 'Wiseman's Inmates' (that is, Wiseman's tenants). It is not clear which property this entry related to (for example, whether it related to 251 or 252 High Holborn).

²⁵⁴ This part of High Holborn is now the location of the Rosewood Hotel building (formerly, the Chancery Court Hotel and before that the offices of the Pearl Assurance Company).

Below is an extract from Peter Jackson (ed), *John Tallis's London Street Views 1838-1840* (1969) 58 (Part 11), which shows a street view of the building that stood at 250 and 251 High Holborn in around 1838.²⁵⁵ It is possible that this was the building in which Thomas lived.



Holden's Triennial Directory for 1805, 1806, 1807 (1805) vol 1 (unpaginated) states:

Gabb John, apothecary, 15, Bernard st. Russell sq.

...

Ilive Thos. Surgeon, 3, Hunter st. Brunswick sq. 1s.

At vol 2, 100–2, it states:

Catalogue of the

SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES, IN LONDON ...

Livery.

...

John Gabb, Bernard street, Brunswick square

...

Yeomanry.

...

Thomas Ilive, Hunter street, Brunswick-square.

...

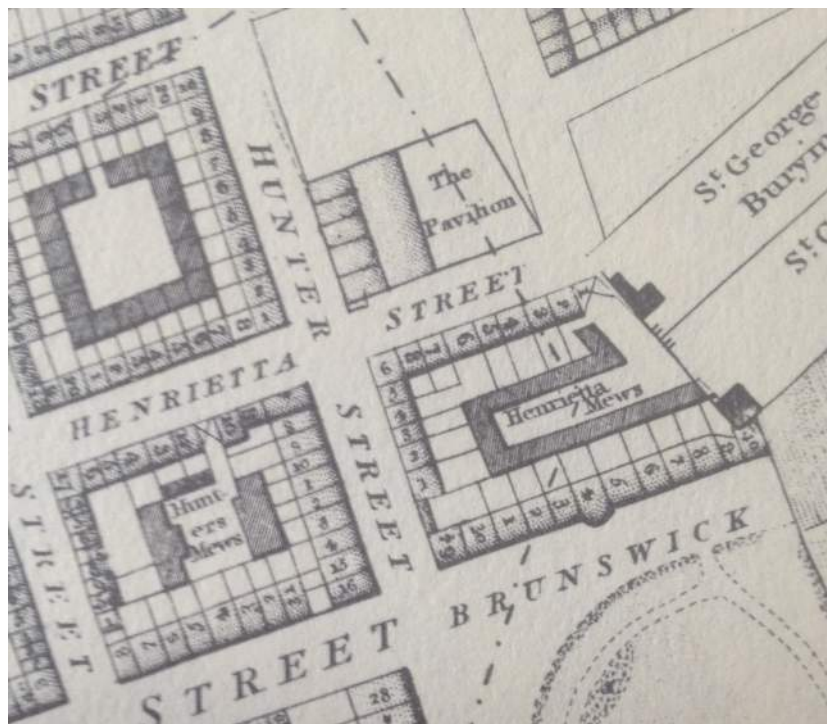
²⁵⁵ As noted above, the street views published by John Tallis did not contain publication dates. Peter Jackson (ed), *John Tallis's London Street Views 1838-1840* (1969) 12 concludes that Parts 1–36, which included the view of 250 and 251 High Holborn, were issued in 1838. It is possible that the entrance to the yard between 251 and 252 High Holborn, as shown in Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799), was through the façade of the building at 251 High Holborn.

Charles Gabb, Bernard-street, Brunswick square.

Thomas Ilive, John Gabb and Charles Gabb are the only apothecaries listed at Brunswick Square in this directory. As referred to above, Thomas had been bound as an apothecary's apprentice to John Gabb.

15 Bernard Street is approximately 650 metres from 23 Red Lion Street, where John Gabb worked at around the time of Thomas Ilive's apprenticeship. 3 Hunter Street is approximately 200 metres from 15 Bernard Street, and around 900 metres from 251 High Holborn where Thomas lived in 1804.

Below is an extract from Richard Horwood's *A Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark Including Their Adjacent Suburbs* (3rd ed, 1813) which shows the location of 3 Hunter Street at that time. It is apparent that this is the location of the building that currently stands at 3 Hunter Street.



According to the National Heritage List for England, the building that currently stands at 3 Hunter Street was constructed in the period from 1800 to 1810.²⁵⁶ Hunter Street (or Upper Grenville Street, as it was originally known) was first developed in around the 1790s and 1800s. It therefore appears that Thomas worked out of that building.

²⁵⁶ The National Heritage List in England, <http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1379141>.

The following appears in the Court Minutes Book of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London for 19 December 1806:²⁵⁷

Read a letter from Thomas Illive [sic] requesting permission to withdraw his capital from the lab stock. Resolved that if the committee of the laboratory stock have no objection to comply with his request that it be paid to him.

As stated above, the burial record of Thomas's daughter Hester Maria on 18 February 1807 at St Pancras Old Church in St Pancras, Middlesex refers to her as 'Esther Ilive, Francis Street'. It is therefore apparent that Thomas was at that time living in Francis Street, which ran off Gower Street and is now called Torrington Place. Francis Street was around 700 metres from 3 Hunter Street, where Thomas worked in 1805.

As also discussed above, a baptism record of Thomas's daughter Cecilia in 1833 states that she was born in April 1808 in 'Gower St Tottenham Court Road London'.²⁵⁸ It therefore appears that Thomas was living in or near Gower Street at the time of her birth.

Holden's Annual London and Country Directory (1811) vol 3, 75–8 states:

SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES, LONDON,

...

Thomas Ayliffe, Bernard-st. Brunswick-square

...

Charles Gabb, Bernard-st. Brunswick-square

...

John Michael Gabb, Bernard-st. Brunsw.-square

...

John Gabb, Bernard-st. Brunswick-square

This list of members of the Society of Apothecaries is dated 27 September 1810.

Thomas Ayliffe, John Gabb, Charles Gabb and John Michael Gabb are the only apothecaries listed in Bernard Street or at Brunswick Square in this directory. As referred to above, Charles Gabb and John Michael Gabb were sons of John Gabb.

Below is an extract from page 76 showing the entry for Thomas Ayliffe.

²⁵⁷ Extract from the records of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, emailed to the author by Janet Payne, Archivist of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, on 12 February 2013.

²⁵⁸ Baptism register of the Independent Church in Paignton, Devonshire, 14 April 1833.

John Laurence, Eltham, Kent
Thomas Ayliffe, Bernard-st. Brunswick-square
John Bradley, John-st. Berkeley-square

Below is an extract from page 77 showing the entry for John Gabb.

Rich Davies, esq. 111-st. Goodman-fields
John Gabb, Bernard-st. Brunswick-square
John Fuzzard, Tunbridge, Kent

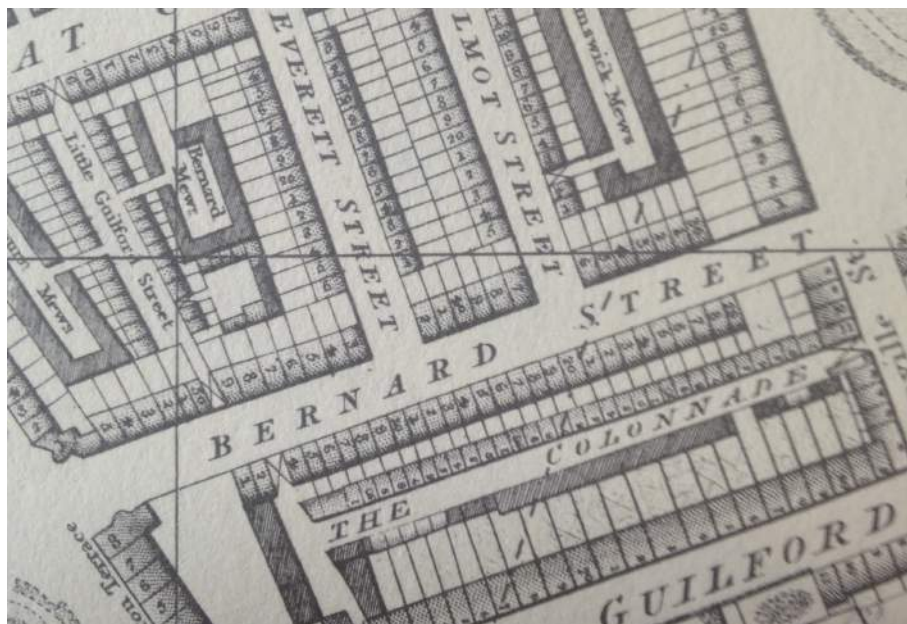
Boyle's Court & Country Guide (1811), which records that it was 'Corrected up to April, 1811' (at page 125), states (at page 135):

Ayliffe, Thomas, esq. 51, Bernard-street

At page 227, it states:

GABB, Messr. 15, Bernard-street

Below is an extract from Richard Horwood's *A Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark Including Their Adjacent Suburbs* (3rd ed, 1813) which shows the location of 15 Bernard Street (on the south side of the street, adjacent to Everett Street). It is apparent that this is the location of the building that currently stands at 15 Bernard Street. The extract also shows the location of 51 Bernard Street (on the north side of the street, just west of Little Guilford Street).



According to the National Heritage List for England, the terrace of 18 houses which currently stand at 11–28 Bernard Street was constructed in the period

from 1799 to 1803.²⁵⁹ Therefore, it appears that the Gabbs worked out of the building that currently stands at 15 Bernard Street.

The building that stood at 51 Bernard Street in 1811, when Thomas worked there, no longer stands.

Thomas's name appears in land tax records in respect of a property on the north side of Bernard Street (presumably 51 Bernard Street) for 1811. The Land Tax Assessment Book is dated 3 June 1811. The entry records that 'D. [Duke] of Bedford' was the proprietor and that 'Ayliff' paid £72 in rent.²⁶⁰ No occupier is listed for the property in the 1812 land tax record.²⁶¹

The name 'Gabb' appears in land tax records in respect of a property on the south side of the street (presumably 15 Bernard Street) for 1811 and 1812.²⁶² The entries record that the 'Governors of the Foundling Hospl' were the proprietors and that 'Gabb' paid £63 in rent. The name 'Gabb' does not appear in the land tax record in respect of the property for 1813.²⁶³ It appears that John Gabb may have died in 1812.²⁶⁴

Thomas's name appears in land tax records in respect of land in Ayliffe Street in Newington, Surrey for 1811 and 1812.²⁶⁵ The records for those years refer to Ayliffe Street as 'Ayliff Street'. The Land Tax Assessment Books are dated 3 September 1811 and 14 August 1812, respectively. Ayliffe Street does not

²⁵⁹ The National Heritage List in England, <http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1322086>.

²⁶⁰ Land Tax Records, Division of St Giles in the Fields and St George Bloomsbury, 1811, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3300 (District Number 14) at page 5.

²⁶¹ Land Tax Records, Division of St Giles in the Fields and St George Bloomsbury, 1812, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3318 (District Number 14) at page 5.

²⁶² Land Tax Records, Division of St Giles in the Fields and St George Bloomsbury, 1811, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3301 (District Number 15) at page 1; 1812, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3319 (District Number 15) at page 1.

²⁶³ Land Tax Records, Division of St Giles in the Fields and St George Bloomsbury, 1813, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3337 (District Number 15) at page 1.

²⁶⁴ The will of a John Gabb, which is dated 5 March 1812 and was proved on 13 October 1812, refers to 'John Gabb of the Parish of Saint Pancras in the County of Middlesex'. The executrices and sole beneficiaries were the testator's daughters, Mary Louisa Gabb and Catharine Mary Gabb, who were both referred to as spinsters. There is no reference in the will to John's sons, Charles Gabb and John Michael Gabb. As referred to above, an index to the baptism register of St James, Spanish Palace refers to baptisms of John and Mary Gabb's daughters, Mary Louisa and Winifrid Mary. However, as also referred to above, a letter from the Reverend J Wheeler published in *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine; or, a Monthly Political & Literary Censor* (1807) vol XXVI, 196–203 refers to John Gabb's daughters, Maria Gabb and Anne Gabb.

²⁶⁵ Land Tax Records, Blackman and Kent Streets Division, Parish of St Mary, Newington, Surrey, 1811 at page 2; 1812 at page 2.

appear in land tax records for 1810.²⁶⁶ It therefore appears that Ayliffe Street was created in around 1811.

The entry for 1811 records that ‘Thos. Ayliff’ was assessed to pay 17 s in land tax. There are only five other entries in respect of Ayliffe Street for that year, two of which record that the properties were empty (‘E’). It is apparent from later land tax records (discussed below) that the entry referring to Thomas related to 12 houses, with land tax being charged at 12 d for each house. It is in my view likely that these houses were the terrace of 12 houses shown as ‘Ayliffes Buildings’ in Richard Horwood’s *A Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark Including Their Adjacent Suburbs* (3rd ed, 1813), which is referred to below. In these circumstances, it appears likely that Ayliffe Street and ‘Ayliffes Buildings’ were named after Thomas.

The entry for 1812 records that ‘Thos. Ayliff’ was assessed to pay 14 s 2 d in land tax. There were nine other entries in respect of Ayliffe Street for that year.

Thomas’s name does not appear in land tax records in respect of Ayliffe Street for 1813.²⁶⁷ The land tax records for that year refer to Ayliffe Street as ‘Eliff Strt’. One of the entries records that ‘Josh. [Joseph] Jenks’ was assessed to pay 14 s 2 d in land tax in respect of ‘10 Houses’ in the street (that is, 12 d for each house). It is apparent that this entry relates to the houses in respect of which Thomas’s name appears in the 1811 record. Joseph Jenks remained the proprietor of the 10 houses until at least 1830.²⁶⁸

As referred to above, the baptism record of Thomas’s son, Thomas Paul Hamilton Ayliffe, in January 1814 states that Thomas and Hester were of ‘N4 Ayliffe’s Buildings, Kent Road’.²⁶⁹

The Membership List of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London for 1816 refers to:²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ See Land Tax Records, Blackman and Kent Streets Division, Parish of St Mary, Newington, Surrey, 1810 at page 1.

²⁶⁷ Land Tax Records, Blackman and Kent Streets Division, Parish of St Mary, Newington, Surrey, 1813 at page 3.

²⁶⁸ Land Tax Records, Blackman and Kent Streets Division, Parish of St Mary, Newington, Surrey, 1814 at page 4 (‘Eliff Street’; ‘Josh. Jenks’); 1815 at page 4 (‘Eliff Street’; ‘Joseph Jenks’); 1816 at page 4 (‘Eyliff Street’; ‘Joseph Jenks’); 1817 at page 4 (‘Eyliff Street’; ‘Joseph Jenks’); 1819 at page 4 (‘Ayliff Street’; ‘Joseph Jenks’); 1820 at page 4 (‘Ayliffe Street’; ‘Joseph Jenks’); 1821 at page 4 (‘Ayliffe Street’; ‘Joseph Jenks’); 1823 at page 4 (‘Ayliffe Street’; ‘Josh. Jenks’); 1825 at page 5 (‘Ayliffe Street’; ‘Josh. Jenkins’); 1826 at page 5 (‘Ayliffe Street’; ‘Josh. Jenkins’); 1827 at page 5 (‘Ayliffe St’; ‘Josh. Jenks’); 1828 at page 5 (‘Ayliffe St.’; ‘Josh. Jenks’); 1829 at page 9 (‘Ayliffe Street’; ‘Josh. Jenks’); 1830 at page 5 (‘Ayliffe Street’; ‘Josh. Jenks’). It appears that land tax records for Ayliffe Street are not available for the period between 1831 and 1852. However, they are available for the period from 1853: Land Tax Records, East Brixton Division, Parish of St Saviour, Southwark, Surrey, 1853 (‘Ayliffe St’).

²⁶⁹ Baptism register of Westminster St Mary in Westminster, Middlesex, 25 January 1814.

Thomas Ayliffe
Ayliffe Buildings
New Kent Road

As noted below, Thomas was recorded in 1825 as ‘formerly of Ayliffe-Street, Kent-Road, Surrey’.²⁷¹

Ayliffe Street no longer exists. It ran roughly parallel with St George’s Road in the area now bounded by Falmouth Road (formerly St George’s Road), Harper Road (formerly Harper Street) and County Street (formerly County Terrace Street). It appears from the maps extracted below and current maps that it was around 100 metres in length. A map of London from 1938/1939 shows that the street still existed at that time.²⁷²

Pigot & Co’s Metropolitan Guide & Book Of Reference (1824) at page 66 lists:

- 32. . Ayliffe buildings, 5 Ayliffe-st
- 32. . Ayliffe st, North of Harper st, New Kent-rd

James Elmes, *A Topographical Dictionary of London and Its Environs* (1831) lists:

AYLIFFE-St., Kent Road is northward of Harper-street, County-terrace, New Kent-road.

...

AYLIFFE-Bldgs., turns off at No. 5, Ayliffe-street.

A survey notebook of Charles Booth (B364, page 7) (1898–1899) notes in relation to Ayliffe Street:²⁷³

Ayliffe St: 2 st. houses; flush with side-walk. Purple, as map [purple was a colour code for ‘Mixed. Some comfortable others poor’]. At N. E. are two courts.

That is, it appears that the houses in Ayliffe Street at that time had two storeys.

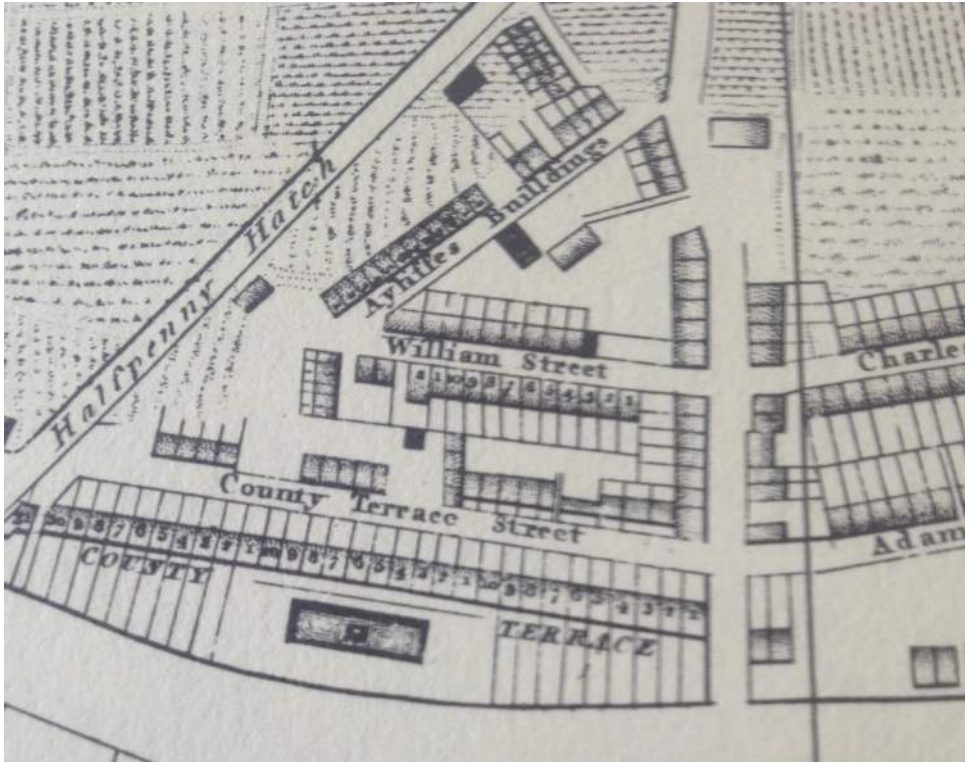
Below is an extract from Richard Horwood’s *A Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark Including Their Adjacent Suburbs* (3rd ed, 1813) which shows ‘Ayliffes Buildings’. 1 Ayliffe Street is marked as the southernmost house in the terrace of 12 houses.

²⁷⁰ Extract from the records of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, emailed to the author by Janet Payne, Archivist of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, on 12 February 2013.

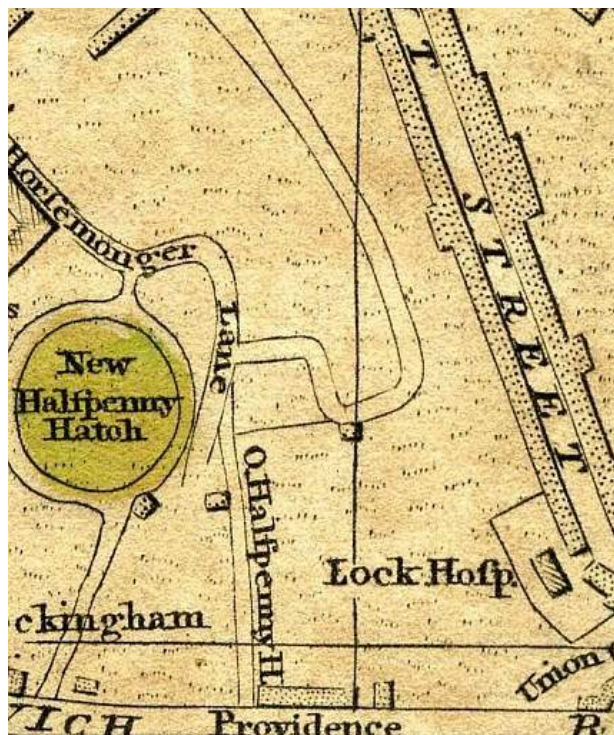
²⁷¹ *The London Gazette*, 11 October 1825 (number 18183), page 1856.

²⁷² *A to Z Atlas and Guide to London and Suburbs* (1938/1939).

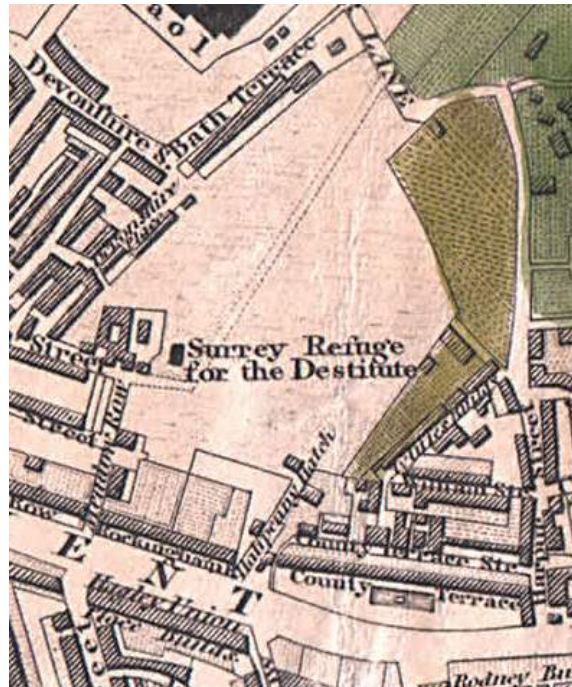
²⁷³ Available at <http://booth.lse.ac.uk/notebooks/b364/jpg/7.html>.



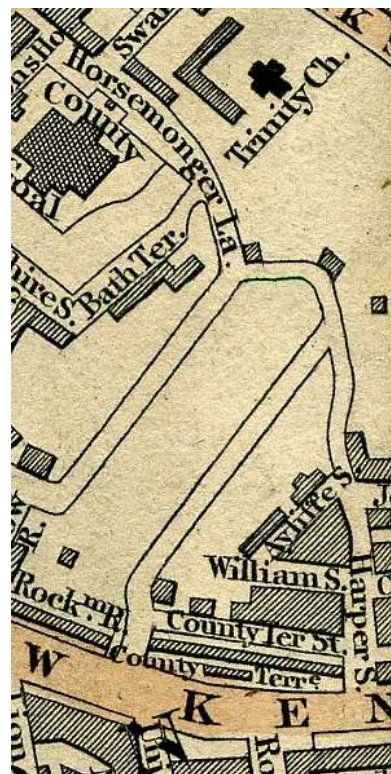
Below is an extract from *The Stranger's Guide Through the Streets of London & Westminster* (1814) which does not show Ayliffe Street or any buildings where Ayliffe Street ran. The path marked 'O. Halfpenny H.' (Old Halfpenny Hatch) is in roughly the same location as Harper Street in maps extracted further below.



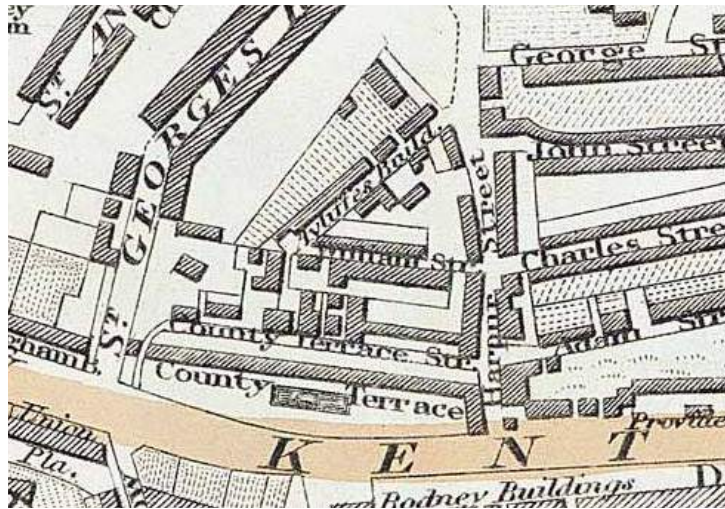
Below is an extract from Greenwood's *Map of London* (1st ed, 1827) from surveys in 1824, 1825 and 1826, showing 'Ayliffes Bldgs' in Ayliffe Street (running along the south-east edge of the olive coloured area).



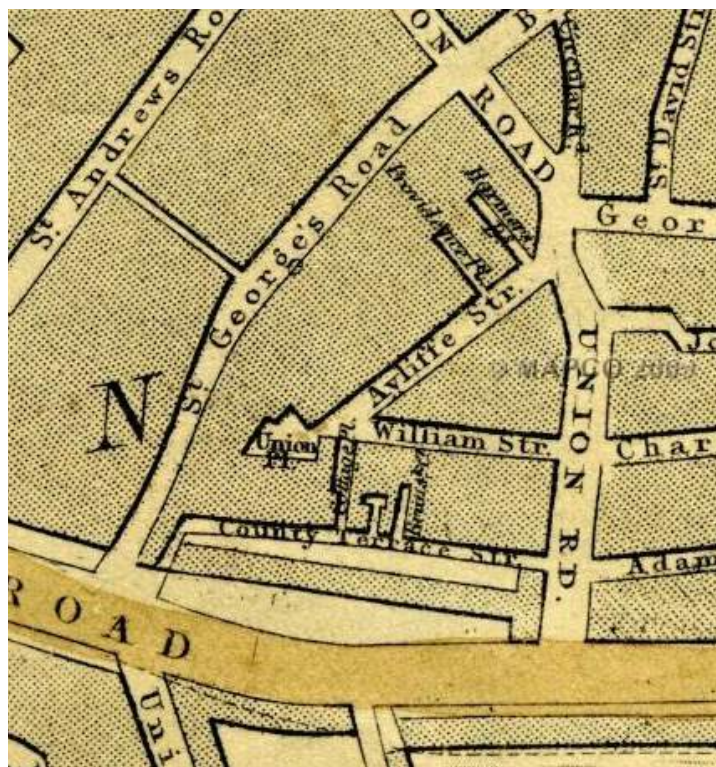
Below is an extract from *Cruchley's New Plan of London* (1827) which shows Ayliffe Street and two sets of buildings on the north-west side of the street.



Below is an extract from Greenwood's *Map of London* (2nd ed, 1830), which contained 'Improvements to 1830', showing 'Ayliffes Build.' in Ayliffe Street.



Below is an extract from Edward Weller, *Map of London* (1868) which shows Ayliffe Street.



Below is an extract from *Report of the Boundary Commissioners for England and Wales* (1885) which shows Ayliffe Street.



The Petworth House Archives, which are held at the West Sussex Record Office, contain the following record:

Bills paid by T.H. Ayliffe for the late Countess of Egremont, including servants' wages, taxes, household and personal expenses. PHA/7547 1814-1824 These documents are held at West Sussex Record Office1 bdlc

The Membership List of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London for 1820 refers to:²⁷⁴

Thomas Ayliffe
Queen Street
Brompton

As noted below, Thomas was recorded in 1825 as formerly of 'Queen-Street, Brompton-Row'.²⁷⁵

The name 'Aycliff' appears in land tax records in respect of a property in Kensington, Middlesex for 1819, and the name 'Thomas Aycliff' appears in

²⁷⁴ Extract from the records of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, emailed to the author by Janet Payne, Archivist of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, on 12 February 2013.

²⁷⁵ *The London Gazette*, 11 October 1825 (number 18183), page 1856.

land tax records in respect of the same property for 1820.²⁷⁶ Both entries record that the occupant paid £45 in rent. The Land Tax Assessment Books are dated 14 June 1819 and 19 June 1820, respectively. It is apparent that the property was in Queen Street.²⁷⁷ In these circumstances, it is in my view likely that the references to ‘Aycliff’ and ‘Thomas Aycliff’ are to Thomas. The name ‘Aycliff’ does not appear in the entry in respect of the property for 1818,²⁷⁸ and the entry in respect of the property for 1821 states ‘late Aycliff’,²⁷⁹ meaning that he had left the property by that time.

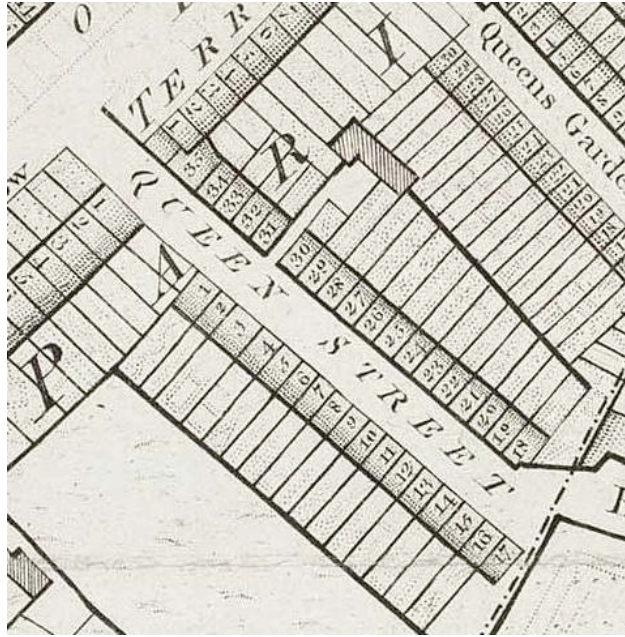
Below is an extract from Richard Horwood’s *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799) which shows Queen Street.

²⁷⁶ Land Tax Records, Parish of Kensington, Middlesex, 1819 (‘Robert Balls. Collection’) at page 9; 1820 (‘Robert Balls. Collection’) at page 9.

²⁷⁷ The name ‘Captain Boger’ appears in the entries immediately before those referring to ‘Aycliff’ and ‘Thomas Aycliff’, and the names ‘Jon Faddick’ (1819) and ‘Jonathan Faddick’ (1820) appear four entries after those entries. *The Gentleman’s Magazine : and Historical Chronicle* (1813) vol LXXXIII, part 1, 402 refers to: ‘Captain Boger, R. N. [Royal Navy] Queen Street, Brompton’. The will of Captain Boger, which is dated 19 June 1816, refers to ‘Richard Boger of Queen Street Brompton in the parish of Kensington in the County of Middlesex Esquire Captain in His Majesty’s Royal Navy’. The will of Jonathan Faddick, which is dated 26 December 1818, refers to ‘Jonathan Faddick of Queen Street Brompton in the County of Middlesex’. It is apparent from the land tax records that Captain Boger and Jonathan Faddick had lived at the same properties in the parish of Kensington since 1805: see Land Tax Records, Parish of Kensington, Middlesex, 1805 at pages 71–2; 1806 (‘Mr B Finch’s Collection’) at page 11; 1807 (‘Bartw Finch’s Collection’) at page 10; 1808 (‘Bartw Finch’s Collection’) at page 10; 1810 (‘B. Finch’s Collection’) at pages 10–11; 1811 (‘B. Finch’s Collection’) at page 10; 1812 (‘B Finch’s Collection’) at pages 10–11; 1813 (‘B Finch’s Collection’) at page 10; 1814 (‘B Finch’s Collection’) at page 10; 1816 at page 9; 1817 (‘Robert Balls. Collection’) at page 9; 1818 (Robt. Balls. Collection’) at pages 9–10.

²⁷⁸ Land Tax Records, Parish of Kensington, Middlesex, 1818 (‘Rbt. Balls. Collection’) at page 9. The Land Tax Assessment Book is dated 15 June 1818.

²⁷⁹ Land Tax Records, Parish of Kensington, Middlesex, 1821 (‘Robert. Balls. Collection’) at page 9. The Land Tax Assessment Book is dated 18 June 1821.



The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 22 November 1820 at page 4:²⁸⁰

MARRIED—Yesterday, the 21st inst. at St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, by the Rev. Henry Taylor, Francois de Courtney Chevalier de Fouchecourt, to Frances, eldest daughter of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, Esq. of Brompton. His Excellency the Duke Decazes, the French Ambassador, signed the marriage contract. After the ceremony the happy couple left town for Paris.

The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle (1820) vol XC, part 2, 562, under the headings 'Births and Marriages of eminent Persons' and then 'MARRIAGES' for 21 November 1820, states:

21. François de Courtney Chevalier de Fouchecourt, to Frances, daughter of T. Hamilton Ayliffe, esq. of Brompton.

The Monthly Magazine; or, British Register (1820) vol L, part II, 582, under 'Marriages in and near London' and 'MARRIED', states:

François de Courtney Chevalier de Fochecourt [sic], to Miss Frances Ayliffe, of Brompton.

The London Magazine, XIII (1821) vol III, 115, under 'MARRIAGES', states:

Nov. 21. At St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, Francois de Courtney Chevalier de Forchecourt [sic], to Frances, eldest daughter of Thos. Hamilton Oliffe [sic], Esq. of Brompton.

²⁸⁰ Élie Decazes, the first Duke of Decazes, who is referred to in the notice, was the President of the Council of Ministers of France before becoming the French Ambassador to the United Kingdom.

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 24 September 1821 at page 4:

BIRTH— ...

On Friday, the 21st inst. at the Countess of Egremont's, in Waterloo-place, the Lady of Francis De Courtenay, Esq. of a son.

As referred to above, this child, Charles William Philip Hamilton de Courtenay, was baptised in the Catholic church at St James, Spanish Place in Westminster, Middlesex on 4 November 1821 and in the Church of England at St James, Westminster on the same day. The record of the baptism states that the parents' abode was 4 Waterloo Place. The mother of the child was Thomas's daughter Frances. He died aged 14 weeks, and was buried on 10 January 1822 at St Pancras Old Church in St Pancras, Middlesex.

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 9 January 1822 at page 4:

DIED— ...

On Monday, the 7th. inst. at the Countess of Egremont's in Waterloo-place, the infant son of Francis de Courtenay, Esq.

The Membership List of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London for 1822 refers to:²⁸¹

Thomas Ayliffe
Waterloo Place
Pall Mall

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 31 December 1822 at page 3:

BIRTH— ...

On Sunday, the 29th inst. at the Countess of Egremont's, in Waterloo-place, the Lady of Francis De Courtenay, Esq. of a daughter.

The European Magazine, and London Review (1823) vol 83, 89, under 'BIRTHS' and 'DAUGHTERS', states:²⁸²

The Lady of F. De.Courtenay Esq. Waterloo-place

As referred to above, this child, Rosabella Elizabeth Egremont de Courtenay, was baptised at St James, Westminster on 27 January 1823. The record of the baptism states that the parents' abode was Waterloo Place. As referred to below,

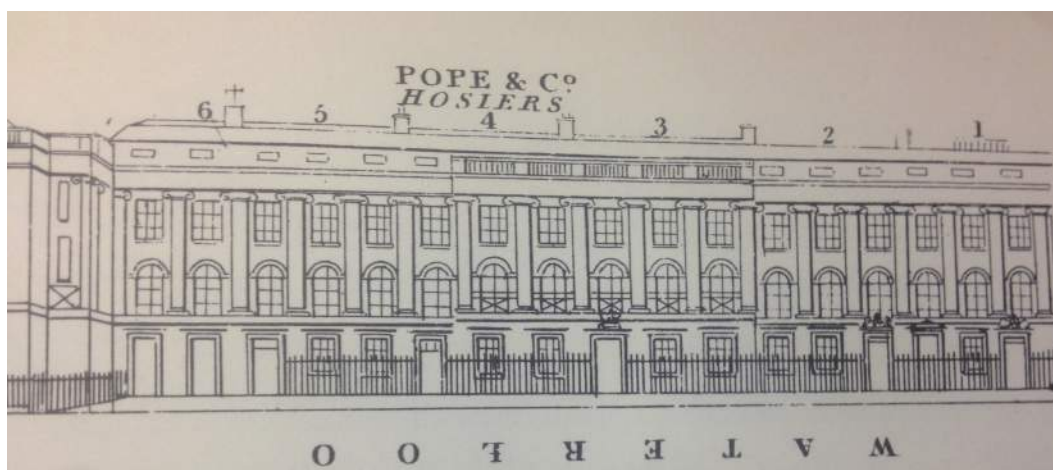
²⁸¹ Extract from the records of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, emailed to the author by Janet Payne, Archivist of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, on 12 February 2013.

²⁸² See also *Gagliani's Magazine and Paris Monthly Review* (February 1823) vol IV, no XIII, 109, which states under 'BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS' and 'BIRTHS': 'of Frederick [sic] De Courtenay, Esq.'

Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont died at 4 Waterloo Place on 30 December 1822, which was the day after Rosabella was born at the same address.

As noted below, Thomas was recorded in 1825 as formerly of ‘No. 4, Waterloo-Place, Pall-Mall’.²⁸³

Below is an extract from Peter Jackson (ed), *John Tallis’s London Street Views 1838-1840* (1969) 70 (Part 17), which shows a street view of the building that stood at 4 Waterloo Place in around 1838.²⁸⁴ It is possible that this was the building in which Elizabeth and Thomas lived.



Thomas’s name appears in land tax records in respect of the property at 18 New Ormond Street for 1823 and 1824.²⁸⁵ The Land Tax Assessment Books are dated 4 September 1823 and 2 September 1824, respectively. Both entries record that ‘Rugby’ was the proprietor and that ‘Thos. H Ayliffe’ paid £110 in rent. By 1825, the property was occupied at the same rent by the surgeon James Cockle.²⁸⁶ Cockle became famous for inventing and selling his ‘family antibilious pills’, and died at the property in 1854.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ *The London Gazette*, 11 October 1825 (number 18183), page 1856.

²⁸⁴ As referred to above, Peter Jackson (ed), *John Tallis’s London Street Views 1838-1840* (1969) 12 concludes that Parts 1–36, which included the view of Waterloo Place, were issued in 1838.

²⁸⁵ Land Tax Records, Parish of St Andrew, Holborn, 1823, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 2968 at page 1; 1824, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 2978 at page 2.

²⁸⁶ Land Tax Records, Parish of St Andrew, Holborn, 1825, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 2991 at page 2.

²⁸⁷ See T A B Corley and A J Crilly, ‘Cockle, Sir James (1819–1895)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 12, 370, 370–1, who note that by 1837 a list of 200 of the ‘nobility, MPs and families of high distinction’ who had ‘experienced the most beneficial effects from the use of his medicine’ was enclosed in each of the pillboxes, and that in 1838 Cockle revealed that among the list of his patrons were five current cabinet ministers, including the prime minister, William Lamb, the Second Viscount Melbourne. Sir James Cockle, who was a son of the surgeon James Cockle, was a lawyer and mathematician and became the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Queensland.

The index to the Records of the Sun Fire Office in the London Metropolitan Archives includes the following:

[no title] MS 11936/494/1008259 10 September 1823

Contents:

Insured: Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe 18 New Ormond Street apothecary

As noted below, Thomas was recorded in 1825 as formerly of ‘No. 18, New Ormond-Street, Queen-Square, Middlesex’.²⁸⁸

The street that was named New Ormond Street is now part of Great Ormond Street. The address of the building that was at 18 New Ormond Street became 4 Great Ormond Street.²⁸⁹ According to the National Heritage List for England, the terrace of seven houses which currently stand at 4–16 Great Ormond Street was constructed in around 1720–1721.²⁹⁰ It is therefore apparent that Thomas worked out of the building that currently stands at 4 Great Ormond Street.

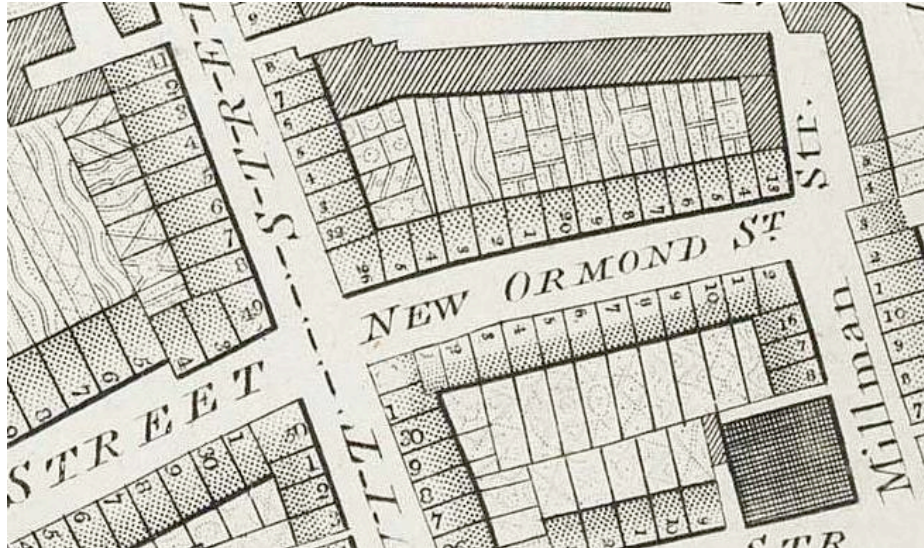
Below is an extract from Richard Horwood’s *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Showing Every House* (1st ed, 1792–1799) which shows the location of 18 New Ormond Street (on the north side of the street). It is apparent that the terrace of seven houses which currently stand at 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14 and 16 Great Ormond Street was numbered 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24 New Ormond Street.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ *The London Gazette*, 11 October 1825 (number 18183), page 1856.

²⁸⁹ See the advertisement for ‘COCKLE’S PILLS’, which were available from ‘18 NEW ORMOND-STREET, LONDON’, in *The Argus* on 12 December 1887 at page 6 and the advertisement for ‘COCKLE’S PILLS’, which were available from ‘4 GREAT ORMOND-STREET, LONDON’, in *The Argus* on 13 December 1887 at page 6. See also University College London, ‘UCL Bloomsbury Project’ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/bloomsbury-project/streets/great_ormond_street.htm: ‘In the 1880s Ormond Street and New Ormond Street were merged as Great Ormond Street and the houses renumbered’.

²⁹⁰ The National Heritage List in England, <http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1322086>.

²⁹¹ It appears that part of Millman Street now runs over the former site of 13 and 14 New Ormond Street. See also Richard Horwood, *A Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark Including Their Adjacent Suburbs* (3rd ed, 1813).



Surgeon in Devonshire

The London Gazette, 11 October 1825 (number 18183) at page 1856 lists petitions of insolvent debtors to be heard, including a petition of Thomas:

At the Court-House, Exeter, in and for the County of Devon, on the 3d day of November 1825, at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon.

...

Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, formerly of Ayliffe-Street, Kent-Road, Surrey, then of Queen-Street, Brompton-Row, then of No. 4, Waterloo-Place, Pall-Mall, then of No. 18, New Ormond-Street, Queen-Square, Middlesex, and late of Compton, near Plymouth, Devon, Surgeon.

The Petworth House Archives contain the following records:

Letter from T.H. Ayliffe to his daughter Fanny de Fouchecourt. PHA/7923
11 September 18301 doc

Letter to Fanny Courtenay [formerly de Fouchecourt] from her husband Francis. PHA/7924 *nd* [postmark 1860]

Alexander Alexander, *A Treatise on the Nature of Vision, Formation of the Eye, and the Causes of Imperfect Vision* (1833) 101 lists as a subscriber:

Ayliffe, T. H. Esq. Surgeon, *Bovey* [that is, Bovey Tracey, Devonshire]

It therefore appears that Thomas lived at 23 Red Lion Street in 1789 and 1792 (and probably throughout the course of his apprenticeship from about 1789 to about 1796); in the parish of St Andrew, Holborn in April 1796; St John's College, the University of Cambridge during the period from around May 1796 to around 1800; Somers Town in 1801; 250 or 251 High Holborn in 1804; 3 Hunter Street in 1805; Frances Street in 1807; in or near Gower Street in 1808; 51 Bernard Street in 1811; the Ayliffe Buildings in Ayliffe Street in 1814

and 1816; Queen Street, Brompton in 1820; 4 Waterloo Place in 1822; 18 New Ormond Street in 1823 and 1824; Compton, Devonshire in 1825; and Bovey Tracey, Devonshire in 1833 and at the time of the family's request for emigration in 1838 (as to which, see below).

As referred to above, Thomas's daughter, Cecilia Maria Ayliffe, was baptised on 14 April 1833 at the Independent Church in Paignton, Devonshire. The baptism record notes that she was born on 22 April 1808 in 'Gower St Tottenham Court Road London'.

Thomas's son, George Ayliffe, married Elizabeth Sanders at St Leonard in Exeter, Devonshire on 12 July 1834.

Thomas was recorded as a surgeon of Bovey Tracey, Devonshire at the time of his request for emigration to South Australia on 2 May 1838.²⁹²

An article from *The Lancet* in 1839 states:²⁹³

Mr. Ayliffe practises the various branches of our profession at Bovey Tracey, five miles from Newton [that is, Newton Abbot, Devonshire]. Mr. Ayliffe took the degree of B.A., at St. John's College. His letter, dated June, 1836, relates that, in the February of that year, "John Facey, aged 73, was injured by a fall ; on examination a fracture of the neck of the bone, but external to the capsular ligament, was discovered. This case,"* he says, "as you well know, was treated without splints (which is now our confirmed practice), and this very old man in a few weeks was not only cured without deformity, but has been able to walk three miles at one time, with the aid of crummocks in his hands."*

The two footnotes to this extract state:

* To elucidate this case and Mr. Ayliffe's remarks, it should be known that John Facey is a pauper, a class of persons who being sometimes less attended to than more affluent persons, are, with their friends, prone to construe what is not done (though rightly omitted) to the poverty of the patient. The poor people mistook the kindness of Mr. A. in not splintering his poor old patient, and referred the omission to any cause but the right one ; and I see in my journal that, on the 11th of February, a few days after the accident, I was requested to visit this man, and give an opinion on the case, with Mr. Ayliffe. The friends at length assented to what we thought to be the right treatment in such a case ; therefore nothing was applied to his thigh but a soft plaster, an embrocation of a sedative, soothing nature, over the fore part of the thigh, and a hip bandage, I believe, when he was able to walk out.

* A crummock is a short walking-stick, on the flat top of which the hand presses.

²⁹² Index to *South Australian Pioneers Arriving 1836-1845* (State Library of South Australia).

²⁹³ W C Radley, 'On the Treatment of Fractures without Splints or Tight Bandages' [1838–1839] 1 *The Lancet* 293–298, 403–8, 407. The article notes that Mr Radley was of Newton Abbot in Devonshire.

Emigration to South Australia

Thomas requested emigration to South Australia on 2 May 1838. The request referred to him as a surgeon of Bovey Tracey, Devonshire and as aged 62 years. His wife, Hester, was recorded as aged 64 years. His sons, George and Henry, were recorded as surgeon's apprentices, and his son, Thomas, was recorded as a carpenter and joiner.²⁹⁴

Thomas and his family emigrated to South Australia on board the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*, which landed at Holdfast Bay, South Australia on 12 October 1838. They boarded the ship at Plymouth, after she had departed from London.

The index to the Petworth House Archives includes the following:²⁹⁵

Bills paid by Col. G. Wyndham for T.H. Ayliffe, with covering letters from Col. Wyndham, and Rev. Wm. Chudleigh, Vicar of Bovey Tracey. PHA/9073 1836-1840

Documents referring to emigration to South Australia in 1838 of the Ayliffe family from Bovey Tracey; of Frederick Mitchell (Col. Wyndham's Australian agent) PHA/1067 1838, 1841, 185249 docsContents: Bills and receipts for equipment including medicines and prefabricated huts; memoranda on conditions of 'intermediate cabin' passages on the Pestonjee Bomanjee; correspondence about Mitchell's resignation (1841); drafts (1852) on South Australian Banking Company in favour of the Ayliffes. One letter (1838) also includes a reference to the building of Pulborough school, and claims of J. E. Carew. Many of the bills bear the stamp of the Petworth Emigration Committee.

Copies of correspondence and accounts relating to the purchase of land in South Australia by Co. George Wyndham, the management of the property and settlement of the Ayliffe family. PHA/7917 1838-18561 vol

Letters from Ayliffe family (Sussex emigrants) in Adelaide and Stockport, South Australia, soliciting help; on the subject of possible purchase by L. Wyndham Stanhope (afterwards Lord Harrington) of an estate in Canada. PHA/1072, 1073 1859-18612 bundles (11 docs)

The index to the Burrell Manuscripts, which are held at the West Sussex Record Office, includes the following:²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Index to *South Australian Pioneers Arriving 1836-1845* (State Library of South Australia).

²⁹⁵ Charles Wyndham Stanhope, who became the seventh Earl of Harrington and is referred to in this extract, was a son of Caroline Wyndham. Caroline was a first cousin of Colonel George Wyndham and an illegitimate daughter of Charles Wyndham, who was a brother of George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont. Charles Wyndham Stanhope, the seventh Earl of Harrington was a great-great-grandson of William Stanhope, the first Earl of Harrington, who as discussed above issued a warrant for the arrest of Abraham Ilive (Colonel Wyndham's grandfather) for high treason in 1745.

²⁹⁶ Sir Charles Burrell, the third Baronet Raymond of Valentine House, married Frances Wyndham Ilive, who was a daughter of George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont, and Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont, on 8 August 1808 at St George Hanover Square in Westminster, Middlesex. The marriage record is referred to above.

Letter from Col. George Wyndham Burrell/Acc 5927/1/12/24 4 April 1838
Contents: Concerning Fanny de Fouchecourt and her husband, and the establishing of
the Ayliffe family in Australia.

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett
dated 7 January 1837 stated:²⁹⁷

Drove Jany. 7th 1837

My dear Sir

The Canadas are now in that state as not to invite settlers there. Can we do nothing in
Australia for some of the Petworth People who have been employed, & who may lose
that employment? House maids, Stable Boys, &c. &c.

Yours' very truly

Wyndham

...

Drove was the home of Colonel Wyndham until he inherited the Petworth
estate after Lord Egremont's death.²⁹⁸

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett
dated 4 February 1838 stated:²⁹⁹

Drove Feby 4th 1838

My dear Sir

...

There are 3 young men, who have had good education, I am told, whom I should wish
to assist in their endeavours to establish themselves in the World –

The eldest and the youngest have been bred up to the Medical profession, and have
served their apprenticeship. – But it remains for them to go through several courses of
study in London, before they can be admitted as Practitioners. The Father informs me
they are clever. – The Profession is overstocked – The Father lives in Devonshire –
The Sons would by themselves in London, get into trouble, instead of into business,
and I have no opinion of any good arising from it. –

The Second Son has been brought up as a Joiner, and he wishes to go to America
either to follow his Trade, or commence Agriculture. –

²⁹⁷ Petworth House Archives, PHA 729.

²⁹⁸ Caroline Dakers, *Clouds: The Biography of a Country House* (1993) 3 states that Colonel
Wyndham and his wife Mary 'lived at Drove, a substantial house near Chichester (where Percy
[their son] was born) until inheriting Petworth on the death of the Earl in 1837'.

²⁹⁹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 729. Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude,
Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project 1832–1837 (2000) 190, fn 77 suggest that
the letter should have been dated 7 January 1838.

I have had sent to me many references for their characters, which appear to be very good, and the enclosed Letter from Colonel Napier will speak for one of them.

I should like to set off this Second Son, to Canada, or America as soon as possible, and I would advance some money to give him a chance of getting forward, but I should like it done in such a way, that he should feel to a degree tied to the Country, and not be shifting from one Place to another. –

Can you say what Sum will be sufficient and how it had better be laid out. I shall write as soon as I hear from you, to propose that all Three go to America, which I am sure will be better than following Physic. – I would send one to Australia. Let me have Napier's Letter back again.

...

Yours' very truly

Wyndham

If the Two Sons are to continue the Study of Medicine there is nothing better to be done, than that the Father should remove to London – Without that nothing but ruin will come.

A letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 5 February 1838 stated:³⁰⁰

Petworth Feb 5 1838

My dear Colonel.

I apprehend I know who the young men in question are; and if I am right in my supposition, while on the one hand, you will feel disposed to aid, on the other you will wish that they should remove as far off as possible. You are quite right about a London medical finish – in a majority of cases it is a finish – none are reprobate as reprobate medical students – it is therefore a risk not to be hastily run – moreover the profession is glutted, not only here, but in Canada, and I believe throughout the world – Mr Brydone says in a letter now before me, speaking of Canada “I am of opinion that the progressive improvement of 1836 cannot be recovered in less than four or five years; even under the most judicious managemt; what that may be we have yet to learn”.

The joiner would have the best chance, either in Canada or Australia – and I am inclined to think that if the three brothers are on brotherly terms with each other, the best thing would be for them all to go together to Australia, either the new settlement under the Commrs, or the old one of Sidney [sic], or V Diemens Land, as might be advised by those best informed – If these young men were to go to Canada they might be coming back very soon – if they were to marry, & settle in this country, they would probably be a continued trouble to you – whereas now, a liberal outfit, to a land where they would settle for life, would be an act of great kindness on your part – and if they exert themselves contribute to their permanent comfort – The question is, whether the two who are partly trained to medicine, would set seriously to work at cultivating the soil, also, whether they have bodily powers adequate to the task – I have written to the Commrs of the new Settlement, for some further particulars as to their arrangements with those who may purchase land from them – and am waiting on their answer,

³⁰⁰ Petworth House Archives, PHA 734. The reference to the ‘Commrs’ appears to be to the South Australian Colonization Commission.

which you shall see – If you sent these young men any where, the right plan would be for them to receive whatever assistance you give, beyond an outfit, on arrival in the Colony – and it might be well, if you thought proper to make some small annual allowance for the first two or three years, if they remained [illegible – possibly ‘settled’] not positively promising it; but holding it out as a stimulus and encouragement, to steady [illegible] I think it will be well for you to pause a few days longer in this matter.

...

ever yours most truly

T Sockett

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 6 February 1838 stated:³⁰¹

Drove Feby 6th 1838

My dear Sir

The names of the young Men are Ayliffe, as Colonel Napiers Letter will have informed you. I have written decidedly to say that I will endeavour to establish them in life, if they will all 3 decide upon going to Australia, but that I will do nothing for them upon other terms. – This Letter is gone to day, & I shall have their answer in a day or two – In the mean time I should like to enquire how I had better proceed in the business if they accept my offer. –

...

Yours very truly

Wyndham

...

A letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 6 February 1838 stated:³⁰²

Petworth Feb 6 1838

My dear Colonel

As I mentioned last night, I am expecting an answer from the Australian Commrs to some questions I have sent up – I should also like to hear Brydones opinion, before you go very far in the business.

He has, at my request, been enquiring on the subject; he also knows several Australians, & he would be a good judge, whether the old or the new settlement is most likely to suit. I would say, it will not be advisable [sic] to proceed too fast in the matter – at the same time I will take care that there shall be no unnecessary delay, and with that view will write tomorrow to Brydone not mentioning any names, only that you are disposed to help 3 young men; stating their qualifications – we should also know their ages –

³⁰¹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 729.

³⁰² Petworth House Archives, PHA 734.

...

ever yours most truly

T Sockett

A letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 22 February 1838 (much of which is so faint as to be illegible) stated:³⁰³

Petworth Feb 22 1838

My dear Colonel

Mr Brydone is now with me and we have had much conversation on the subject of the [illegible] whom you are interested

Mr Brydone has made many enquiries in London [illegible] also had an opportunity at Portsmouth of gaining much information in relation to the new Settlement in South Australia, and our joint opinion is that weighing one thing against another we are disposed to recommend to you to make a purchase in the new Settlement as near as may be to the newly founded town of Adelaide

I should like to know the age of the young men respectively – and it would also be right to consider whether they are likely to set their shoulders seriously to the wheel thus proposed to be placed in their way – If you think the plan will do, and otherwise wish to proceed, no time shall be lost.

The land would cost about £1000 which sum must be deposited with the Commrs in this country because on this depends the priviledge [sic] of sending the 48 adults

[Illegible] from £1500 to £2000 would be subsequently required for building fencing [illegible] obtained from Van Diemens Land and Sidney [sic] – small houses or Cabins [illegible] cheaper than they can be built on the spot

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 23 February 1838 stated:³⁰⁴

Drove Friday
night

Dear Sir

I have recd. your Letter this Evening – I will do the necessary with regard to Australia, and I think the old Man & Woman had better go with their Children –

...

Yours

Wyndham

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 25 February 1838 stated:³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Petworth House Archives, PHA 734.

³⁰⁴ Petworth House Archives, PHA 731.

Drove Feby 25th 1838

My Dear Sir

...

I have apprised the Australian Party of every thing necessary for their departure in April –

I should like to purchase a good bit of Land, both as to Soil & situation.

Yours very truly

Wyndham

I have told the Father that he may have a portion of the Land set out for himself if he likes it – I have also told them to take 4 or 5 young People of their acquaintances as Servants. –

The direction is Mr. Ayliffe Bovey Tracey Chudleigh Devonshire, if you have occasion to write; and if you have anything to say with regard to their arrangements you had better do so.

A letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 6 April 1838 stated:³⁰⁶

My dear Colonel

I will write to Mr Ayliffe.

I send you the Australian Rules, thinking you may possibly get time to look at them.

I wish to call your attention to the one marked X p 29. but cannot recommend your investing so large a sum unless some person was going as your manager in whom you have perfect confidence both as to ability and integrity.

I think the best way now will be to pay the £1000 at once; that I may be able to make it public, that you have purchased. Further steps might be taken at a future period, if a good opportunity offers – and if it should not some of your objects will be attained.

...

T Sockett

April 6

...

A letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 7 April 1838 stated:³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Petworth House Archives, PHA 731.

³⁰⁶ Petworth House Archives, PHA 734.

³⁰⁷ Petworth House Archives, PHA 734.

Petworth Apr 7 1838

My dear Colonel.

You will recollect that I spoke to you about a young man, son to Mitchell of Haslemere who is married to a daughter of Hankey Smith.

The Smiths of Sutton, speak highly both of him and his wife, and they are eager to get out to Australia.

If his training in his fathers house, has been good, and his subsequent conduct will bear a strict scrutiny – (he has been in some employment lately at Chelsea Hospital) – he may be an efficient agent – but I know nothing of him; nor have I any means of obtaining information. You may do so with ease; and for that reason I send the enclosed note – we must bear in mind that weeks pass quickly away, and therefore, arrangements must be got forward with. I will see the young man on tuesday; but in the mean while, you can perhaps, get at some Haslemere person to enquire of.

That there may be no mistake or delay, in investing the money, I will send to Mr Hutt the Australian [illegible] such a note as he can show to your bankers if necessary – Their sections (80 acres) are £80 each – I shall therefore name, 12 sections 80 x 12 = £960 as the purchase now to be made.

...

ever most truly yours

T Sockett

I shall get out a bill early next week, stating that Colonel Wyndham has made a purchase in S. Australia

A letter from Samuel Hicks to Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) dated 10 April 1838 stated:³⁰⁸

Dr [Dear] Sir,

I herewith transmit your Bill for clothing in accordance with your kind order which I trust will be satisfactory to yourself and Col. Wyndham as I assure you I have complied with your instructions with a strict regard to Economy and I feel confident every article supplied by me will answer your utmost expectation we have dealt together many years & I believe you have had no reason to find fault, nay I am sure you have not from having given me the preference [sic] in this affair at any future period I shall be most happy to serve you I purpose being in Town the first week in May & if you could order the payment of the Bill to Messrs Williams & Co Bankers London about the 2nd of May you will much oblige me I trust you will have a pleasant voyage & arrive safe at your destination & that you may live many years to enjoy your new situation Please remember me kindly to Mrs Ayliffe & Family in which Mrs H unites

Dr Sir wishing you every comfort & Happiness

Yours Truly

³⁰⁸ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

Stall fodder [illegible] of [illegible] fr 4 Mns – 40 £90 – with 6 Mns Provender the Charge is £100 a Bull, Fret [Freight] Stall, Fodder &c £60
6 Sheep – Fodder £3. each £18 – 4 10 = 13.10 x 2 = 27

...

Should Col Wyndham however be desirous of sending out under the Charge of his People a Stallion, or the Bull and Sheep, I will deduct £25 from each, 50
making £150

for the whole

To convey to you an idea of the value of really well-bred stock in N. S. Wales, I may mention, that the Cow which I sent from my Stock at Chigwell per the “Mrs Elen Anderson” to give Milk to Mr Yaldwyn’s Children on the Passage, fetched £60, at Sydney

I am Dr [Dear] Sir

Truly Yours

James Waddell

Revd Thos Sockett

No: 4 Grosvenor Place

A note written by the Reverend Thomas Sockett at the bottom of the last page of this letter stated:

If we close with this proposal Col Wyndham will pay – 15 – 10 for each intermediate passenger	
The Commrs will pay for each	17
Total cost for each	32 . 10

We think the above a very a liberal proposal on the part of Mr Waddell – The fresh provisions 3 times pr week is of great importance to health in so long a voyage

TS [Thomas Sockett]

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to Frederick Mitchell dated 12 May 1838 stated:³¹¹

Instructions to Mr. Frederick Mitchell

London 12th. May 1838.

Sir

In consequence of the agreement you have entered into with Colonel Wyndham, you will proceed to South Australia by the Ship Pestonjee Bomangee, which is to sail from the River Thames the 18th. instant and to touch at Plymouth to take on board Mr. Ayliffes family and their Baggage &c You are to embark at London and take charge of all the houses implements of husbandry and such other articles stores &c belonging to Colonel Wyndham (a list of which will be furnished) as may be shipped for the use of the party Colonel Wyndham is about to send out to South Australia.

³¹¹ A copy is held by the State Library of South Australia.

You will also take charge of all stores, baggage &c which may be put on board at Plymouth and undertake a general superintendance [sic] of the party and every thing belonging to them sofar [sic] as may be compatible during the voyage with the authorities and the duties of the Captain Surgeon and other Officers of the Ship

You are immediately on arriving at the new settlement to take measures for erecting the houses, and for securing the stores &c – where you may judge most convenient and best, one house of the largest size for Mr. George Ayliffe his wife and family, the other for your own use – one of the smaller houses for Mr. Ayliffe and the other for Mr. T. H. Ayliffe and Henry Ayliffe jointly As soon as this is accomplished you are to apply at the Office of the Surveyor General for information respecting the land already surveyed and open for location its position and quality – you will avail yourself of every other correct information you may be able to procure before you proceed to the selection – The introduction with which you will be furnished to highly respectable settlers will be of assistance in this respect. You will bear in mind that in this most important point, a good supply of water is above all things to be looked to; this being of the utmost consequence to a farm either as regards the cultivation of it or the rearing of stock; more especially as a tendency to drought is a peculiar feature of the Colony.

Mr. Brydone says that in such parts of Australia as he has seen as well as in all those parts he has heard of the soil near the sea shore and for some Miles inland, is sandy or rocky and generally barren. As the town of Adelaide is about six miles from the harbour it is very probable that good land may be found in the immediate neighbourhood; if this should not be the case you may find yourself compelled to proceed some distance further inland to obtain a better soil; relying that in a very short period of time, a few miles greater distance will cease to be an objection; yet remembering at the same time that land even of inferior quality situated near a settlement, and that in all probability a rapidly increasing one is often of more value than better land further distant.

Should you find it necessary to explore at a greater distance it would be desirable to procure an assistant Surveyor to accompany you; at any rate you will find it very convenient in whatever part you examine, to ascertain the marks of the Surveyors stakes and to observe the direction in which their lines are run. If the country be thinly wooded there will be but little difficulty in exploring but if thickly set with timber called Iron Bark the soil is poor – In this case the ground will be found covered in many places with dark red stones in form of a parrallelogram [sic], about the size of small pebbles. The timber which indicates the best quality of soil is called the Apple tree not because it produces Apples. m [sic] but on account of the resemblance of the leaf to our tree so named. This tree grows to about the size of Old Apple trees in this country and never covers the ground thickly.

If the rocks are of Whinstone formation the soil will be fit for all purposes – If Granite abounds the ground in many places will be what is called rotten (ie) wet and not fit m [sic] for sheep.

These remarks are meant only as of some use in the selection of land, but the decision must rest on your own judgment – It might be desirable at all events to secure about two sections (ie) 160 acres near the town of Adelaide and there establish the party and yourself for a year or two in order to be convenient to supplies and assistance – In that case you will appropriate a house and forty acres to Mr. Ayliffe, a house and forty acres to Mr. George Ayliffe, a house and forty acres to T. H. Ayliffe and Henry Ayliffe jointly and the remaining house and forty acres to yourself and family at a rent of one shilling per acre to be paid half yearly the 1st. payment on 24th. June or 25 December as may be after being put in possession by written agreement.

This land being selected and thus divided you will erect such Temporary Storehouses and sheds of wood, and stake out such Cattle yards as may be indispensable as soon as it may be convenient – You will choose a sheltered position for the buildings you may have occasion to construct and you may find an unerring guide as to the prevailing winds in the bending position of the trees of the forest – You will subsequently purchase about six Cows, four oxen, six heifers of two years old and six of one year and ten or twelve pigs – And make all such other purchases for the party as you may consider indispensable [sic] to their comfort, and to the general success of the undertaking [A note written beside this paragraph states: ‘Not included in Mr M’s instructions.’]

In selecting the remaining eight hundred acres the points already specified are of paramount importance; but as Colonel Wyndham is entitled to rent for Pasturage two square miles for every section purchased some regard must also be had to that circumstance.

The land being selected you are then to purchase such oxen for labour as may be absolutely necessary about six cows six heifers of two years old and six of one year with about ten or twelve pigs and about two hundred sheep all of which you will be able to keep upon the two sections with the aid of the eight hundred acres which must in the commencement remain uncultivated.

You will erect such temporary store houses and sheds of wood and stake out such Cattle Yards as may be indispensable [sic] as soon as may be convenient. – You will choose a sheltered position for this purpose, and you may find an unerring guide from the sloping position of the trees of the forest as to the prevailing winds.

It is supposed you will be able to procure sheep of a mixed breed on the spot at about twenty shillings each. The pure Merino’s [sic] would probably cost from two to five pounds each – They are therefore for the present to be dispensed with

You are to make all such purchases as you may consider indispensable [sic] to the success of the undertaking, to devote your time and use your best exertions to cultivate the land in a husbandlike manner, and improve the same for the benefit of Colonel Wyndham being guided at all times by a proper economy.

You will in every respect give all the assistance in your power to Mr. Ayliffe and his family – You will pay Mr. Ayliffe Senr. and Mr. George Ayliffe monthly each at the rate of seventy pounds a year – You will also pay Mr. T. H. Ayliffe and Mr. Henry Ayliffe monthly each at the rate of thirty pounds a year – Your payments to Mr. Ayliffe and his sons are to begin to become due from the day of their landing in South Australia.

You will either draw on Colonel Wyndham for all the above purposes including your own salary a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty pounds quarterly; or a credit to that amount will be placed with the Australian Bank at your disposal.

You will report as soon as possible your candid opinion of the country the nature and quality of its soil timber & c – the facilities for building with wood stone or otherwise.

You will also communicate with Col. Wyndham as often as opportunity may offer on the subject of your general management; making such suggestions as experience shall dictate and giving such information as may enable Colonel Wyndham to determine what instructions he shall send out for your future proceedings.

And you will render a faithful account of all receipts and disbursements quarterly

signed for Colonel Wyndham

T. Sockett

George Wyndham

An undated letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett stated:³¹²

London Sunday

My dear Sir

I send you the Australian Book, but it neither contains the Instructions to Mr. Mitchell with regard to the Ayliffes, and to other matters, or the Copy of the Agreement with Mr. Mitchell both of which ought to be in it – I have written to Mr. Brydone to write to you to inform you where you can find these instructions – perhaps Mr. B. can tell you. –

I think the instructions say that 40 Acres is to be let to each family of Ayliffes, & a wooden House upon each – at each 1/1 £ – pr acre Let the original plan be worked out – Ascertain [sic] quantity of Stock may be put upon each allotment of 40 Acres say 40 Sheep & 3 Cows – If any one leaves his allotment he must leave behind him the stock & things he receives, or the same in number – They must hire each farm the same as A. or B. would hire them, & be treated as far as their right of occupation goes, the same as a People of Capital. –

Mr. Mitchell may do this and have nothing more to do with them except to pay them their allowance, & look to my interests only as Land Lord, such as receiving the Rent and taking possession in case of their giving up or running away –

I write this in haste but you will comprehend me and any forms of letting Farms can be had from the office. I should like to see the Letter about Monday next when I shall be in Town for a week before I leave it altogether. Perhaps some of them would like to give up their allotment.

In haste

Yours ever

Wyndham

Keep this Letter

Perhaps you will find the instructions in the Office, as well as the Agreement

...

A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 15 May 1838 stated:³¹³

³¹² Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

³¹³ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067. 19 May 1838 was in fact a Saturday.

Sir.

In compliance with Your wishes I transmit you the Necessary Orders to pay the Amount of the Bills for Clothing sent You, as Myself and Family intend leaving Bovey on Friday Next the 19th. Should it be necessary for the Tradesmen to give any different Order, please to let me know [illegible – apparently ‘as early’] as possible.

My Sincere & hearty [illegible – apparently ‘thanks’] for all the [illegible] & good wishes for the Welfare of Myself & Family,

I remain with much esteem

Your very Obedient and Obliged Servant

T. H. Ayliffe

May 15th – 1838.

An undated letter from James Waddell to Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) (apparently written on 16 May 1838) stated:³¹⁴

Mr. Ayliffe
Barbican Quay
Plymouth

My Dear Sir

I am happy that we are to have the pleasure of seeing you to morrow and our Carriage will call for you at ½ past 5 o’Clock.

I think the following will be about the Money wanted –

for Intermediate Passengers		£70
Stock		150
Fret [Freight]	5 [illegible] p [per] ton 50 Tons	125
Flour		3
[illegible]		9
Pork	2 [illegible] Indiv	13
Gunpowder	say 3 [illegible]	5
& amount to be pd quarterly to Steward		£375

the loads wd all require to be alongside this week, to ensure their getting on board

I am Dr [Dear] Sir Truly Yours

James Waddell

43 Connaught Terrace
Wednesday Morning

The following text appears, in another hand, in the margin of this letter near the figures:

? how ascertained are not the emigrants entitled to a certain amt of freight? and may we not claim for the whole

³¹⁴ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

A letter from George Ayliffe to William Chudleigh, who was a school master,³¹⁵ dated 19 May 1838 stated:³¹⁶

Plymouth

19 May 1838

Dear Sir

My Father, My Wife & two Children & self arrived here yesterday, & proceeded to make the necessary arrangements – Brown was so loaded that at Ashburton Mrs. A. [illegible] & my children proceeded with us by Coach, but Bear in mind, I paid her fare out of my own pocket. I am very fearful we shall not have cash enough. I do not know how much Mamma has got. When Papa arrived in Plymth. I questioned him as to the amt. in hand; £8 was the result of his examination; of course he paid my Coach Fare from Ashburton. I have engaged a place where the Baggage is laid for 7s. 6d. I think this moderate; – Papa spent no more than I have told you on me – he now has to buy, indispensably [sic] necessary

	£			
A Double headed Truss	2	..		–
20 lbs. of Soap – –	10	..		
Taking the Goods on Board with labour to convey to waterside (a stone's throw) & packing small parcels in crates (Estimated –)	4	..	0	.. 0
	6	..	10	..
Brought forward	6	..	10	– 0
Unavailable expenses in [illegible]	5.			–
4 days expenses in our own hands at 9s. per day –	1	..	16	. –
	8	..	11	—

I know not how Cecilia is to go home; – it was a great folly she should have been permitted to come; a procrastinated separation is always the most hurtful to our feelings; – she, Mamma Peggy & Susan Sanders (my apprentice) have just arrived wet through; Mrs Marten is gone to Bed, & can not return today – Her coach Fare to Ashburton will be 7s. & Coachman 6d 7/6d – I write in great haste as [illegible] is about to start; – I will write more fully when the Ship arrives; I have seen the Commissioners Agent here, he is a Capt. in the Navy, & his Son is going out with us; he, from his Instructions from London recommended us to the Naval Hotel; he could not have been aware that our means do not keep pace with our grade in Society – My kind regards to Mr Mosse yours & family, & Believe me

³¹⁵ In the 1841 United Kingdom census, William Chudleigh was recorded as a school master living in Newton Abbot, Devonshire. In the 1851 United Kingdom census, Chudleigh was recorded as a retired school master, aged 74 and living in Newton Abbot.

³¹⁶ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067. This letter and four other letters from George Ayliffe and Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) were apparently enclosed with William Chudleigh's letter to Colonel George Wyndham dated 8 July 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067), in which Chudleigh requested reimbursement of £15 2s paid for the Ayliffes. That is, it appears that it was only for this reason that the five letters were retained. Susan Sanders, who is referred to in the letter, was George Ayliffe's sister-in-law.

Yours truly & Obliged

G. Ayliffe

A receipt from J Bezant dated 22 May 1838 stated:³¹⁷

Received 22nd May 1838 of Colonel George Wyndham per The Reverend T. Sockett the Sum of Ninety four Pounds, for the difference of Charge between Intermediate & Steerage Passengers on board the Ship “Pestonjee Bomanjee” for the undernamed Persons, & also for the passage of the Children by the same Ship. –

	Thos. H. Ayliffe Senr. & wife	17
	George Ayliffe & Do. [Ditto]	17
	T. H. Ayliffe &	17
5 intermediate Berths	Henry Ayliffe	
	Margt. McCabe	17
	Mr Mitchell & wife	17
	G. Ayliffe’s 2 Children	6
	F. Mitchells Child	<u>3</u>
		£94..

J. Bezant
Superintendt. of Emigratn.

A letter from George Ayliffe to William Chudleigh dated 27 May 1838 stated:³¹⁸

George Inn, Old Town St. Plymouth

27th. May 1838 –

Dr [Dear] Sir

What I fearfully anticipated has most unfortunately come to Pass, & I can but deeply regret Papa should have so far rendered you responsible to such an amount as to have rendered it impossible for you to have crimped a little from each creditor to whom money is to be or has been paid. – It was always my opinion that it is unsafe to limit one’s means to the providing for any number of days, founded on a calculation of a vessel’s intended sailing at a given period, which must solely depend on Wind & weather, & which so many unforeseen circumstances may prevent. – It appears from Papa’s present funds, we spend £1 – Per day, & when we take into consideration that this Sum provides for 10 People (assuming my children as 1 grown person), 2s. a day Pr head can not properly be reckoned extravagant.

We have applied for the 12s. a day – & have been peremptorily told; “this allowance is only made when the Vessel is in the Sound & the Goods shipped” – & this I suppose is to prevent imposition on the part of any persons who might represent themselves as intended Emigrants to obtain this Sum from the Commissioners. – I hope Something or other will be done, but what I can not determine; – you know the responsibility you are under & of course in justice to your family must hold yourself harmless; on the

³¹⁷ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

³¹⁸ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067. It appears that the ‘Mr Mann’ referred to may be Thomas Mann, who was recorded in the 1841 United Kingdom census as a saddler in Main Street, Bovey Tracey, Devonshire. It appears that the ‘Shilstons’ referred to John and Elizabeth Shilstone, who were recorded in the 1841 United Kingdom census as living with five children in Main Street, Bovey Tracey. John Shilstone was recorded as a basket maker.

other hand I blame Papa & ever shall for having so involved you on his account. We have now received Positive intelligence that the vessel will not sail until Monday Week; & what we shall do till then I know not! – My Father can in no way apply to C. W. [Colonel Wyndham] or Mr S-t [Mr Sockett], after his saying “if any more application be made to him (C. W.) he shall have nothing more to do with Papa”. – & indeed I do not see how my Father in conscience could, when this fact stares him in the Face, that, independent of outfit he has received within 5 months £275. The expense of taking our Goods on board having been ascertained I subjoin it

To Hire of a Kedge carrying 3 hands	£	s
Conveyance of Goods from Wharf	4	–
to the Kedge about one Gunshot –		
1 Kedge, horse & man		
one day	–	7
	£	s
Brought Forward	4	.. 7
One Porter		5
Extras		5
Owing to Mr Tuckerman (a Carpenter) for		
a box & some work else for Mamma		5
Washing		3
	<u>£5</u>	<u>5</u>
There then should be for Papa		
A Truss	2	.. 0
Soap	1	.. 10
	<u>£8</u>	<u>.. 15</u>

& there were many other things necessary which however we must go without. – I have declined writing any thing respecting Papa’s application to you, as he must be the best judge how to frame such an act; – I have nothing to do with the outlay of the money; he will read this before I send it to you, & I therefore beg to state, that he spends nothing on me extra, out of doors, nor I believe on any of my Brothers; – he therefore is the best to account to you for the expenditure of his money! – My wife rode to Plymth. in the coach, I wish you expressly to understand that I defrayed this expense myself from the money you paid me for the Clock – Mr. Mann has stated an untruth, I never told him you would pay him any money on my act [account]. If the Beds are only worth 1.2s. there is a deal Table, a large [illegible] & 5 chairs; – 2 very good, & the hair in the other 3 worth – at least 2s. 6d – he therefore has nothing to complain of – I think it will be well for you to Give out that we are Gone. – Should Miss Chudleigh have met with a little pinnafore [sic] of Thomas’ I shall feel obliged by her sending it – Please to tell the Shilstons the Red bag is found – With every sense of regard for yourself & kind regards to all

I remain

Your’s [sic] truly obliged

G. Ayliffe

P.S. For God’s sake write to Mrs. Marten & recommend some step about her; how do her poor children Get on – I wish to God we were all on Board Adieu. – Be good enough to present my best respects & consideration to Mr Mosse, who I hope is, if not recovered, much better! –

A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) (not addressed, though apparently to William Chudleigh) dated 28 May 1838 stated:³¹⁹

My Dear Sir.

I have been from day to day hoping I should not be compelled to apply to You to interfere in alleviating if possible the pressure of Misery with which I am now borne down in the extreme. I asked My Son George to write You a Statement of My Situation, so reluctant was I to trouble You, but I could not prevail upon him – therefore I am compelled from My exhausted Finances to do it Myself. I have now only One Pound in My Possession, & it Appears it will be a Fortnight before the Vessel can be here – She will start next Monday this day Week. I understood that My Affairs were so contrived that I should have sufficient to take the Family on Board but You perceive this will not be the case as tomorrow I shall not have One Shilling left. I thought it more adviseable [sic] to send Henry than to write.

I pray My Dear Sir, if possible to curtail from each Account a Small Sum, and send the Assistance or I, and My Family must sink. I have sent you My Watch, & beg You will do me the favor of disposing of it in some way, and remit the Amount by Henry with whatever You May think You can take from My Creditors. My best respects & kind Wishes to You all & Mr Mosse who I sincerely hope has recovered from his Indisposition. I remain Ever Yours Most truly.

T. H. Ayliffe

May 28th. 1838.

P. S. From the first I understood that nothing should occur to prevent My being impeded in going on Board & what Might Remain afterwards was to go to the Creditors. There are several Poor Families here in the same situation who have spent all their Money & do not know what to do. Adieu, God bless You all.

A letter from William Chudleigh to Colonel George Wyndham dated 8 June 1838 stated:³²⁰

Sir,

I am again induced from pressing circumstances to write you on behalf of Mr Ayliffe – Notwithstanding Your kind liberality towards him he was to the last Moment in Want – His debts on one examination I found to be more than I expected (through the misconduct of his Sons) even when he had not sufficient control –

I flatter myself the difficulties in which they have been placed for the last six Months, will have its desired effect in changing that course which they have followed for some time, and I think nothing will contribute to their advancement more that your Judicious arrangements in not giving them Power over the Property, entrusted to their care –

I believe the old man to be honest and upright, and has been much respected here and has had a good Practice, but the limits of this Sheet will not allow me to go into detail of his Failure –

³¹⁹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

³²⁰ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

You will see by the enclosed the Situation of the Family at Plymouth which I endeavoured to alleviate and sent by the Son £3..10 and Sums advanced them at leaving made £5 – but I wish to observe that I returned the Watch by the Son, as I considered the old man would require it.

The confused state in which the Taylors [sic], & Ironmongers Bills and making the linen were made up to forward to Mr Socket [sic] many things were omitted and before they could have their Clothes I was obliged to pay the Amt for them – and I trust you will remit me the Amt as it is but small and I was particularly anxious that nothing should occur to prevent their going – It was my wish to write you before, but the Family were fearful you would be offended, and requested I would not write till they had left, and they wish me to state that they would wish the Sum to be deducted from the allowance you make them in Australia.

You will excuse my sending Mr Ayliffes Letter as I considered you would be better pleased with it than a Copy, and would satisfy you the truth of my statement

Your answer at your earliest Convenience will oblige

Sir

Yours respectfully

Wm Chudleigh

Bovey Tracey June 8th. 1838

		£	s	d
May 18.	Cash advanced on their leaving	1..	10	6
28	Do [Ditto] – at Plymouth	3..	10	
		£	s	
Taylors [sic] Bill sent to Mr Socket [sic]	11..5 added to Mr Hicks Acct	4.	12	9
Do [Ditto] Paid after		<u>4.</u>	<u>12.</u>	<u>9</u>
		15	17	9
		£	s	d
Clothing returned	4. 6. 6 charged also to Mr Hicks	2.	14	9
Pd [Paid] after		<u>2.</u>	<u>14.</u>	<u>9</u>
		<u>7.</u>	<u>1.</u>	<u>3</u>
		£	s	
Ironmonger charged	9. 5. 7	2.	14	5
Pd [Paid] after		<u>2.</u>	<u>14.</u>	<u>5</u>
		<u>12.</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
		£	15..	2.5

If you please the Amt can be sent to Mr Hicks with his Acct when Paid as there are terms paid out [illegible]

If you wish I will transmit you the Bills as charged on the other side – you will see Mr Ayliffe makes a reference to his Creditors whether any thing could be taken from them, but it was impossible unless I took the responsibility of making up the difference as I had engaged to see all Paid as far as his Book debts would allow, but I am sorry to say they will not satisfy all demands

A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) to William Chudleigh dated 9 June 1838 stated:³²¹

George Inn Plymouth

June 9th 1838.

My Dear Sir.

I have the pleasure of conveying a Letter to You by Mrs Marten informing You of the Arrival of the Pestonjee Bomanjee which did not make her appearance till late in the Forenoon of this day; Circulars have been sent about announcing [sic] that the Ship will not remain longer in the Sound than Twelve Hours, which causes me to be brief in every thing I have to do. I was extremely sorry to be under the necessity of applying for any remittance further, but who could have ever expected, that the Ship would have been so long after the time expressed; had she Arrived on the 24th or 25th. no doubt but I should have had money quite sufficient, but she is now 16 days over her time, and I can assure You from the time I have been at Plymouth My Hand has hardly been out of My Pocket – I have had the paying of every thing, and I can assure you the Family has cost Me Regularly, One Pound a day for living; without taking into the consideration Lodging, Washing, and other little et ceteras which now stand out gainst me. After paying these I still have Soap – Starch, Blue, A Truss & Razors to buy so that after giving Mrs. Marten what may be sufficient to pay for her Return, it appears to me I shall have but a very small Sum left of what I expect to receive from Col. Wyndham's Agent – After what You have had the Kindness to send me, I have been necessitated to borrow Thirty Shillings which I have to return.

I sincerely hope Mrs Marten will not lose her situation from her long stay at Plymouth I am in great fear of it!

Mrs. Ayliffe begs me to request of You not suffer Miss Clampet to decorate her Shop by furnishing it out with her things which she has been obliged to leave behind.

Be assured My Dear Sir both You and My Dear Friend Mr Mosse shall hear from Me the earliest Opportunity, with every particular. This is the last letter you can have from Me in England, and as My time is short I am necessitated to conclude therefore Adieu, and that the Almighty may prosper You & Family with the Blessings of Health & every Happiness in the sincere wish of Your Affectionate Friend.

T. H. Ayliffe

P. S. I would be obliged to send me my [sic] Saunders going out in the Next Ship, the letters You May have in Your possession of Col. W-'s and Mr Sockett. Mrs Ayliffe request [sic] to be very kindly remembered to all the Family.

An undated letter from George Ayliffe to William Chudleigh stated:³²²

³²¹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067. It appears that the 'Miss Clampet' referred to may be Susanna Clampet, who was recorded in the 1841 United Kingdom census as a 'Milliner &c' in Main Street, Bovey Tracey, Devonshire.

³²² Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

On Board Pestonjee Bomangee
Plyth. Sound.

Dear Sir

The Boat is just going on Shore & I hasten to inform you of the Particulars. To be brief, We found it much different to our expectation, it was with difficulty we could get on board which, when done, left us without a shilling; & the Agent informed us he could not advance any thing till our arrival such being his instructions. We have received a Duplicate copy of his instructions, which run that he (the Agent) is to have all possession of every thing cattle &c. & that we are to have the use only of these; & are in no manner of ways to make away with cattle &c. but for our own [illegible; apparently 'consumption'] We are to have only 120 acres [illegible; apparently 'between'] [illegible] as follows 40 for Papa; 40 [illegible] for Self, & the other 40 between my two brothers; for these 40 Acres, the house farming implements &c. we are to pay £4 yearly; These restrictions Mr. Sockett says will exist till we are tried & proved; there is on board [illegible] A fine Iron Grey Stallion; One North Devon Bull; one Milch Cow; & about 40 Sheep; Pigs &c. – We intend to avail ourselves of the first Ship to give you every detail, which will be an amusement & a pleasure to us. – Our Cabins are better that could have been expected; she is indeed a fine Ship; – Of course we all join in the spirit of friendship for you and your family Remember us kindly to Mr. Mosse – I am interrupted; the Boatman calls! You know my Friends what I would say if time allowed!

I am Sincere

Yours truly

G. Ayliffe

PS. Might I beg of you to see Ann Winsor & to tell her she is from time to time to let me know how she & the Child gets [sic] on that I will send you for her what I can spare – she can direct to me at Adelaide Town

A letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to William Nash dated 14 June 1838 stated:³²³

Petworth June 14 1838

Sir.

The Porter to Colonel Wyndham at N 4 Grosvenor Place Hyde Park Corner (Thomas Impey) will pay the amount of your bill for goods had by Mr George Ayliffe (£64..0.1) to any person who will call there properly authorized by you to give a receipt for the same – It will be better that the person should call before ten O'Clock in the morning

I am Sir

Your obedt Servt

³²³ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067. See also receipt of 'W. H. Nash & Co. Wholesale Woolen & Manchester Warehousemen' addressed to 'Mr. George Ayliffe Exeter' and dated 29 March 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067). *The London Gazette*, 16 August 1844 (number 20374), page 2883 refers to 'a Fiat in Bankruptcy awarded and issued forth against William Henry Nash and William Gardiner, of the city of Exeter, Drapers, Dealers and Chapmen, Co-partners'.

T Sockett

To
Mr Nash
Draper
70 South Street
Exeter

A letter from William Chudleigh to Colonel George Wyndham dated 26 June 1838 stated:³²⁴

Bovey Tracey

June 26th 1838

Sir,

Not having had any reply to my Letter stating I had paid £15.2 for Mr Ayliffe, I am induced to trouble you with this to request the favour of an Answer – as I assure you had not the most pressing circumstance occurred to relieve the family I would not have done it, and as you can deduct the Amt from any future allowance. I Hope you will not refuse to pay so small a Sum – I have no objection to transmit you the whole of Mr Ayliffes tome while at Plymouth which will at once convince you of their situation and knowing the liberality you had manifested towards them induced me to advance the money.

Your reply at your earliest Convenience will oblige Sir

Yours respectfully

Wm Chudleigh

A letter from William Chudleigh to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 29 June 1838 stated:³²⁵

Rev Sir,

As you have had the arrangements of Mr Ayliffes Emigration to Australia, I am induced to write you in consequence of having no reply to my Letter to Col Wyndham about 10 Days since, informing him I had advanced the Sum of £15 2.0 to Mr Ayliffe to assist him in his pecuniary embarrassments here and at Plymouth before he sailed, the Particulars of which I stated to him and requested the favour of the Amt to be paid to Mr Hicks of Newton, but finding that has been done I should be glad if you would inform me whether you have had any instructions from Col Wyndham respecting it –

If not too much trouble when you write, you would oblige me by stating the Particulars of the restrictions to be observed over Mr Ayliffe & Family in Australia –

Your Answer at your earliest Convenience will oblige Sir

Yours respectfully

Wm Chudleigh

³²⁴ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

³²⁵ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 2 July 1838 stated:³²⁶

Ennis, July 2nd 1838

Mr dear Sir

I enclose you 2 Letters I have received – As you have all the Bills connected with the business before you, and are better acquainted with what has been done than I am, I think it better to enclose them to you, in order that what is right with regard to Mr. Chudleigh may be done. – Be as good as to keep the Letters untill [sic] my return to Petworth. – Mr. Chudleighs account of the young men is not encouraging, and it will be well that they should be made acquainted of my knowledge of their Character and of my determination to do nothing whatever for them unless they are well conducted. I have paid 190£ to your account at the Bankers.

I am My dear Sir

yours very truly Wyndham

If you write to Mr. Chudleigh will you be kind enough to say that I should have answered his Letter but I did not like to make him pay for a Letter from Ireland –

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to William Chudleigh dated 4 July 1838 stated:³²⁷

Ennis County of Clare Ireland

July 4th 1838

Sir

I received your Second Letter here yesterday Evening – I also recd [received] your first Letter in this Country, and by the Post of the same day I forwarded it to the Revd. T. Sockett at Petworth – This gentleman is the Person who has arranged for me all the business in question, & from him you will receive a communication upon the subject of your Letter – I have no doubt of your being a most honorable gentleman, but as I never had the pleasure of your acquaintance you will excuse in me the caution which has caused your haste in sending me a second Letter –

I think it strange that Mr. Ayliffe on his leaving this Country, should not have addressed a line to Mr. Sockett to say that he was indebted to your kindness for this money, and to request that it might be paid and deducted from his allowance – If he has not done this I must wait untill [sic] a Letter has been sent from him, and if he has neglected it I shall consider him as a dishonest Man – When the necessary enquiries have been made, and satisfactory answers received I shall have great pleasure in paying you this money with thanks – I will not trouble you to write to me again for I shall not be settled at Home for 3 months to come, & I shall be able to arrange the matter without further communication with you upon the subject.

I have the honor to be

Wyndham

³²⁶ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

³²⁷ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 4 July 1838 stated:³²⁸

My dear Sir

I send you another Letter from Mr. Chudleigh and my answer to it – I do not like the haste of this man but you will know what I think of it by my answer – Percy is going on well but he is weak. ...

Yours very truly

Wyndham

Ennis July 4th

1838

A draft letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 5 July 1838 stated:³²⁹

North Scarle Newark

July 5 1838

My dear Colonel.

...

I have a letter from Mr Chudleigh about “£15..2..0 advanced to Mr Ayliffe to assist him in his pecuniary embarrassments here and at Plymouth before he sailed” ~~I saw a letter to you from the same gentleman, in Mrs Newells room, which I told her to forward to you when she could – if she has done so, you have probably answered it, and done the needful.~~

~~If not, and you authorize me, I will send the money – ...~~

A letter from William Chudleigh to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 8 July 1838 stated:³³⁰

Bovey Tracey, July 8th. 1838 –

Revd. Sir

I received last Evening a Letter from Col. Wyndham dated the 4th Inst [Instant] from Ennis Ireland in reply to my Application for £15.2.5 – which I had paid for Mr Ayliffe the Particulars of which it appears Col. W has forwarded to you, and that you will write me on the subject.

I therefore thought it best to send you Mr Ayliffes Letters as well as his Sons that you may see the cause of my doing as I have done and as all Col Wyndhams Correspondence with Mr Ayliffe as well as yours were entrusted to me I felt no hesitation in advancing the Sum I have done –

Col. W observes to me that it was strange Mr Ayliffe didnt write him or you that he had the Sum of me, but you will observe from his Sons Letter that they were afraid of doing so fearing the consequence of his displeasure –

³²⁸ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

³²⁹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

³³⁰ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

Under all the circumstances I trust Col. W. will not hesitate after the receipt of the enclosed Letters to cause the Sum to be paid immediately, as he will have it in his Power to deduct that Amt should he feel disposed to do so from any future allowance he may make the family in Australia – It would be an extreme hardship that I should lose the Sum on want any [sic] Communication from Mr Ayliffe after the receipt of the enclosed Letters as it must at once convince you that I have had no interested motives to serve beyond that of assisting Mr Ayliffe –

I assure you I am extremely sorry that I should have placed myself in my present Situation as the Sons have served me extremely bad – After they left this the youngest Son came here and collected unknown to me the principal Part of his Fathers Book Debts which were placed in my Hands to pay his Fathers Creditors, – so that I am in addition to the Sum I request of Col Wyndham very seriously responsible – I think it right to be understood that I do not consider Mr Ayliffe was a party to it – I am sorry to say Mrs. Marten (Mr Ayliffes Daughter) is Still here, and suffering extreme hardships. I have been at the Expense of 4 four Pounds on Wednesday last to send her Children to Canterbury, but her Friends there will do nothing for her, and I see no other alternative but her being conveyed to her settlement by the [illegible] Authorities –

You will excuse my troubling you with so long a Letter, and I hope you will use your influence with Col Wyndham to remit me the small sum of £15.5.2 as I will not on any Acct whatever trouble him again with another demand –

I am Revd Sir

Yours respectfully

Wm Chudleigh

If necessary I will forward the whole of the Bills with a Deposition on Oath of their being correct, as I am a stranger to Col W. but Mr Ayliffes Letter to me will at once convince him and you, I am not imposing on you. It will afford me pleasure to give you any information you will require –

Your Answer at your earliest Convenience will oblige

A draft letter from the Reverend Thomas Sockett to Colonel George Wyndham dated 13 July 1838 stated:³³¹

St Albans July 13 1838

Mr dear Colonel

...

I am much vexed at Mr Chudleigh's foolish impatience, because I see it has annoyed you to be this pertinaciously applied to –

~~I have not the Papers here, but they are at Grosvenor Place and I will consult them directly—The impression on my mind however is, that Mr Chudleigh did advance the money, and that he did it in kindness to the Parties, and moreover that without some such backing up at the critical moment the whole matter might have been a failure—I had myself such strong apprehensions (founded on my rather extensive acquaintance with emigrants in general and judging of this case in particular) of some awkward hitch at the last, that I at one time thought seriously of going down to Plymouth to meet the ship—but further thinking caused me to apprehend that demands might be made upon me, that would not be made on any other person should matters be going wrong—I therefore ventured to give a private instruction to Mr Waddell, that but as I have not the slightest ... [The draft letter is then continued in shorthand.]~~

³³¹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

A letter from James Waddell to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 21 August 1838 stated:³³²

London 21d Augt 1838

Revd Thos Sockett
Petworth
Sussex

Dear Sir

We duly recd [received] your esteemed favors and seize the first leisure interval to forward you the particulars you require –

You will notice that the unfortunate sheep, is not charged for, and the Box of Tin Ware, deducted, the Baggage of the Emigrants the Wriley Brother informs me was not charged, only the articles which a Bill of Lading was given for, and he also mentioned that the extra Baggage exceeded the allowance

We shall be happy to learn that the subject we addressed Col. Wyndham upon before he left London, vizt extending his purchase to 4000 Acres, with the object of sending out those of his Tenantry in England, and Ireland, who might wish to emigrate, meets with his views – every Account from the Colony gives more and more flattering prospects of its advantages, and rapidly increasing prosperity We observed some of your Emigrants went out in the “Rajasthan”, and the Writer took care that they were properly accommodated at Plymouth – with best [illegible]

We are Dear Sir ever Truly Yours

James Waddell

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to William Chudleigh dated 15 September 1838 stated:³³³

[Text in shorthand.]

Sep 15/38

To Mr W Chudleigh

Mr dear Sir

I have nothing to do with Mrs Marten – If she likes to go to Australia she shall be sent there, but I will give no assistance in this Country, nor will I answer any more applications upon the subject. ...

In haste

Yours,

W –

Obituaries of members of the Ayliffe family referred to the emigration of the family as follows.

³³² Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067.

³³³ Petworth House Archives, PHA 729.

The following notice in relation to the death of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) appeared in *The South Australian Register* on 30 July 1895 at page 6, and was reproduced in *The Adelaide Observer* on 3 August 1895 at page 15:³³⁴

THE LATE MR. T. H. AYLIFFE.

Hamley Bridge, July 29.

The death of Mr. Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, which took place in this township yesterday, makes an addition to the list of octogenarians who have lately departed this life. He died at the residence of his son-in-law, Mr. J. Quinn, at the age of over eighty-one years. The deceased was one of three brothers who arrived in the colony in October, 1838, bringing with them a Secretary and some live stock, including an entire horse. The brothers settled near Flagstaff Hill, on or near the hill that still bears their name—Ayliffe's Hill—and were among the earliest settlers there. All three brothers had passed through some study for the medical profession, but it would appear that only one of them followed that calling, and he was long a well-known and respected member of it, practising at Angaston. Of the three, George died many years ago, and Henry (the doctor) settled at Angaston, where he died, later, Thomas, some time after arrival, finding agricultural pastoral management in those early days required more practical knowledge than he and his brothers possessed, left it, and for a number of years followed the sea as a ship's carpenter in a vessel trading principally between New Zealand and Tasmania. Subsequently he settled at the Sturt, where he farmed for some years. Leaving the Sturt he settled near Stockport, residing there for over thirty-five years, and, besides devoting attention to the farm, turning his medical knowledge to account, and in the absence of other medical aid rendering much valuable aid to settlers. He was for a number of years Clerk of the Local Court, of the Stockport District Council, and Returning Officer for Wooroora and Light. He was the first to start fruit culture on the River Light, where he convinced many that fine fruit could be grown, and for a time he tried many experiments in this line. His niece, Mrs. Hill, widow of the late T. P. Hill, is now in England, and is engaged in an endeavour to secure what may turn out to be a somewhat large estate belonging to the family. Although in some respects peculiar, deceased was a remarkable personality. He had retired from farming for some years, and for a time was an invalid, though he was confined to his room only about three weeks. He leaves a widow, six sons, four daughters, and thirty-three grandchildren.

It is incorrect that, of the three brothers, only Henry practised medicine. George also practised medicine until his death in 1844.

The following notice in relation to the death of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) appeared in *The Advertiser* on 30 July 1895 at page 5, and was reproduced in *The South Australian Chronicle* on 3 August 1895 at page 8:

DEATH OF MR. T. H. AYLIFFE.

The death of Mr. Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe occurred at Hamley Bridge on Sunday. The deceased gentleman, who was in his eighty-fourth year, arrived in the colony with his three brothers in 1838, and bringing some live stock with them they settled near the Flagstaff Hill. The place where they took up their abode was named Ayliffe's Hill. The

³³⁴ An 'entire horse', as referred to in the notice, is a stallion. An undated letter from George Ayliffe to William Chudleigh (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067) stated: 'there is on board [the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*]... A fine Iron Grey Stallion; One North Devon Bull; one Milch Cow; & about 40 Sheep; Pigs &c.'

three brothers studied medicine, and though Mr. Hamilton Ayliffe did not practise professionally he was always willing to give the benefit of his knowledge to those who required it and could not readily obtain medical aid. The deceased went on a visit to New Zealand, where he was made prisoner by the Maoris. He effected his release by escaping at night and swimming out a considerable distance to a vessel trading to South Australia. He afterwards formed a home in the Sturt district, and at a later date removed to Stockport, where he lived for 35 years. He held the offices of clerk of the Local Court, of the Stockport District Council, and returning-officer for Wooroora and Light for several years. He led the way in the cultivation of fruit on the River Light. Mr. Ayliffe was a widely read man, and was especially well versed in history. He leaves a widow, six sons, three daughters, and thirty-three grandchildren.

The following notice in relation to the death of Elizabeth Esther Bode (who was a daughter of George and Elizabeth Ayliffe) appeared in *The Advertiser* on 10 August 1920 at page 7:

By the death of Mrs. E. E. Bode which occurred last week at the Nailsworth Private Hospital, and which was previously announced in "The Advertiser," the State has lost another of its earliest colonists. Mrs. Bode was born at Exeter (Devonshire), and came to Australia, with her parents, Dr. and Mrs. George Ayliffe, in 1838 when she was two years old. The voyage out occupied six months. The family landed at Glenelg, where, after they had been carried ashore by the sailors, they pitched their tent beside that occupied by Governor Gawler (who had travelled on the same vessel) on the site where the Glenelg Town Hall now stands. Later the Ayliffe family settled on a sheeprun, which extended from the Mountain Hut to Marino. They erected a wooden house which they had brought with them from England. Dr. George Ayliffe practised his profession in the district until he died suddenly, six years after his arrival in the province. He left a widow and six children. The late Mrs. Bode, who was a sister of the late Mr. G. H. Ayliffe, Registrar-General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, was trained for teaching. She possessed a considerable literary gift, and was for years a contributor of short stories, poems and topical articles to the Adelaide and Melbourne papers. When she was about 40 she married the late Mr. J. A. Bode, of Gunningdale Park, Strathalbyn, where she lived until her husband's death about 20 years ago. She then removed to Glenelg. Twelve years ago Mrs. Bode underwent an operation for appendicitis, from the effects of which she never entirely recovered. At times she suffered great physical weakness and pain. She, however, retained all her faculties to the end. One daughter and one granddaughter are left.

A notice in *The Register* on 10 August 1920 at page 4 stated:

The late Mrs. E. E. Bode was born at Exeter, England, and came to Australia with her parents, Dr. and Mrs. George Ayliffe, in the Pestonjee Bomanjee in 1838, when two years of age. The family landed at Glenelg, and pitched their tent beside that of Governor Gawler, on the site of the present town hall and Colley Reserve. Later on the Ayliffe family settled on their sheep run, which extended from the Mountain Hut to Marino. They brought wooden houses with them from England all ready for erection. The late Mrs. Bode was educated and trained for a teacher by the late Mr. T. Ainsley Caterer, and was a constant contributor of short stories, poems, and topical articles to the Adelaide and Melbourne papers. When about 40 years of age she married the late Mr. J. A. Bode, of Sunningdale Park, Strathalbyn, where she resided until her husband's death, 20 years ago, when she went to Glenelg. She has left a daughter and a granddaughter. She was a sister of the late Mr. G. H. Ayliffe, Registrar-General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

Robert Edwards, 'St. Mary's-on-the-Sturt' (1955) 56 *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia* 35, 38–9 refers to the emigration of the Ayliffe family as follows:

Travelling to South Australia in the same ship as Colonel Gawler, the second Governor, were Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe and his family. The *Pestonjee Bomanjee* arrived at Glenelg on 12th October 1838, and four days later Country Sections 12 and 13 in District B were chosen as the site for "Wyndham Farm". Here the Ayliffe family settled and began the task of establishing a grazing property. A small home was soon erected of local stone quarried nearby. The soundness of this stone became known, and was used in many of the pioneer homes in the Parish. Notable among these was the two-storied dwelling of Eustace Reveley Mitford, better known as "Pasquin". He came to the Province in the same ship as Dr. Duncan, and settled on the adjoining Section and was a founder of St. Mary's. Tradition records that the Ayliffe family offered the Building Committee the free right to quarry sufficient stone for the erection of the new church.

Robin Haines, 'Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia, 1831–1860' (1994) 48 *Population Studies* 223, 240 refers to the emigration of the Ayliffe family as follows:

Whether or not she finally succeeded is unknown [referring to Pauline Fagnet de Beaurepaire, who sought to raise funds for her emigration], but it seems that not all members of the gentry were as philanthropic as Colonel Phipps or other landed families including the Spring-Rice, Bruce, and Wyndham families, all of whom personally contributed to emigration costs of labourers on or near their estates.⁵³ ...

One Devon extended family of nine emigrated with assistance to South Australia in 1838. Like many emigrants to Australia, the Ayliffe family's passages were paid by more than one contributor. Offered berths on the *Pestonjee Bomanjee* by the South Australian Colonization Commission, which subsidized the intermediate fare of £32. 10s. with a contribution of £17 (the cost of the steerage passage), Colonel Wyndham paid the remaining £15. 10s. per statute adult.⁵⁵ Wyndham's patronage extended for over 20 years, and covered three generations of the family as he helped them over troubled times, following their requests from the colony.

The footnotes to this extract state:

⁵³ Landlord and gentry sponsorship included the Wyndham family's Petworth Emigration Society (which sponsored labourers and tenants from the family's Sussex, Devon, and Clare estates), the Wiltshire emigration society sponsored by Lord Bruce, and that of the Spring-Rice [Monteagle] family's sponsorship of families on its Limerick estates.

⁵⁵ See James Waddell (owner of the ship) to Socket [sic] (Secretary of the Society) 2 May 1838, *Petworth House Archives* 1067.

Robin Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor: Australian Recruitment in Britain and Ireland, 1831–60* (1997) 94–5 refers to the emigration of the Ayliffe family as follows:

One Devon extended family, for whom a long correspondence exists at Petworth House Archives, emigrated with assistance to South Australia in 1838. As with many emigrants to Australia, their passages were paid by more than one contributor. Offered passages on the *Pestonjee Bomanjee* by the South Australian Colonization Commission,

which subsidised the intermediate fare of £32.10.0 with a contribution of £17.0.0 (the cost of the steerage passage), Colonel Wyndham paid the remaining £15.10.0 per statute adult for the Bovey Tracey family.⁹¹ In addition to the fares for Thomas Ayliffe Senior, his son George Ayliffe and George's wife and two sons, Thomas Junior and Henry, for whom half-fare each was paid, a total of at least £413.6.1 was paid by Wyndham for two pre-fabricated cottages, farming implements, furniture, food and provisions, medicine, clothing, and stock ('one milch cow, one stallion, one North Devon Bull').⁹²

In January 1838 Wyndham, as an investor in the colony with an interest in its potential, had advised Sockett that if any of the people on the Petworth estates who were shortly to become unemployed wished to emigrate to South Australia, he would help to establish them there.⁹³ He was particularly interested in the Ayliffes and requested advice from Sockett about how to proceed. Simultaneously, James Marr Brydone, the surgeon who had been responsible since 1832 for contracting vessels and superintending emigration from the Wyndham estates, advised Sockett that 180 applicants had applied for assistance to emigrate to Australia, but the estate appears to have maintained contact only with the Ayliffes.⁹⁴ His patronage of the family did not end when they landed in SA. Although the family had been allocated 40 acres as part of the transaction between Wyndham and the SA Colonization Commissioners, they did not prosper in the colony, and from the earliest letter after their arrival in 1839, until 1861, members of the family sought and received sums of money to tide them over injuries, droughts, and the drain of large families. When George died some twenty years after arrival, Wyndham awarded his widow an annuity for life. In 1861 her son, Thomas – a child when they emigrated – wrote thanking Wyndham for his continued kindness to his mother but concluded by requesting the purchase price of a small farm.⁹⁵ Although this correspondence gives the impression that Wyndham extended largesse freely when he stood to gain by a general diminution of dependants, the Ayliffes were not a typical labouring family but appear to have been distant relatives – on Wyndham's mother's side – who had fallen on hard times. Wyndham's patronage of the family, stretching across three generations, was atypical.⁹⁶

The footnotes to this extract state:

⁹¹ See James Waddell (owner of the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*) to Sockett 2 May 1838, *Petworth House Archives*, 1067, who informed Sockett that an intermediate passage was, in effect, part of the steerage accommodation which had been enclosed to form a type of cabin. Intermediate passengers were allowed 'a trifling allowance of wine' and porter, and fresh provisions three-times weekly. Sockett advised Wyndham to accept the terms since fresh provisions were 'of great importance to health in so long a voyage'. Wyndham was, essentially, paying the difference between the steerage and intermediate fare. Had he preferred the family to travel steerage, no private contribution would have been necessary since the SA Colonization Commissioners had contracted the boat to carry emigrants to SA.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Wyndham to Sockett, 4 February 1838, *Petworth House Archives*, 729.

⁹⁴ Brydone to Sockett 17 August 1838, *ibid.*

⁹⁵ 25 May 1861, *ibid.* On 17 August 1861 Elizabeth Ayliffe (Thomas Henry's wife, aunt to young Thomas) requested a wardrobe of clothes for her daughter who was engaged to be married to a 'gentleman'. One son was a married farmer and one a mounted policeman and two sons were shortly to leave school with no prospects of employment. The two daughters had left school with few prospects of marriage due to the family's circumstances. She believed should Wyndham provide the wardrobe, the impending

marriage would benefit the whole family. Although Thomas Henry had earlier promised, on 27 April 1861, never to trouble Wyndham again if he sent enough money for him to restock his farm with cows and bullocks to save his family from penury, on 22 June 1861 he wrote, 'I should never had troubled your Lordship again but there is a conspiracy to keep me down. £120 will cover all my liabilities even those that have been standing some years'. *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Colonel George Wyndham (1787–1869) was the illegitimate son of Elizabeth Ayliffe and the third Earl of Egremont. His parents were married in 1801 (after the birth of their children) and legally separated in 1803. See Caroline Dakers, *Clouds: The Biography of a Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) pp. 3–5.

It is incorrect that the Ayliffe family were allocated 40 acres. Rather, the two sections of land allocated to the family covered 80 acres each.

It is also incorrect that George Ayliffe 'died some twenty years after arrival'. He died in 1844, which was six years after the family's arrival in South Australia.

Elizabeth Ayliffe was not 'Thomas Henry's wife' or 'aunt to young Thomas'. Rather, she was the widow of George Ayliffe, a sister-in-law of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior), and the mother of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (III) (the 'young Thomas' referred to.)

The letter of Elizabeth Ayliffe that is referred to is dated '17 August', not 17 August 1861 (the year is not written on the letter). It is apparent that the letter, which is extracted below, was not written in 1861. In it, Elizabeth stated that her 'eldest Son [Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (III)] has married'. Thomas married Adelaide Miller on 14 November 1857. Elizabeth also stated that her 'youngest [daughter (Cecilia Ayliffe)] is, and has been for some time under an engagement of marriage to Mr Hill'. Cecilia married Thomas Padmore Hill on 26 November 1859. Therefore, it is apparent that the letter was written in 1858 or 1859.

Whilst Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) wrote the letter dated 27 April 1861 which is referred to in the extract above, he did not write the letter dated 22 June 1861. Rather, that letter was written by Henry Ayliffe.

Spencer Thomas, 'Colonel George Wyndham, 1st Lord Leconfield, and His Agency in the Fledgling Colony of South Australia, 1838-1860' (1998) 97 *South Australian Geographical Journal* 3, 9–10 refers to the emigration of the Ayliffe family as follows:

This was not a philanthropic mission but a calculated investment. Wyndham emphasised that while the primary objectives of the scheme were to 'establish the party and bring land into cultivation I retain to myself the property as a landlord in this country (but) I am willing for the present to let (it)'.²⁹ There was no ambiguity that the ultimate purpose of the venture was for his benefit. Frederick Mitchell and his family sailed from the River Thames in the *Pestonjee Bomanjee* on 9 June 1838 calling at Plymouth en route to pick up the Ayliffe family from Devon who were being sponsored by the Petworth Emigration Committee. They arrived at Holdfast Bay on 12 October 1838 after a safe journey. The Ayliffe family came from Bovey Tracey in Devon and comprised Thomas Ayliffe Senior, a medical practitioner, and his wife Elizabeth,

George Ayliffe, their eldest son, his wife Elizabeth and their two children, and his brothers Thomas H. Ayliffe Junior and Henry Ayliffe. The Ayliffes were persons of some standing, pillars of their local community, and mixed in good company. Two of the children were establishing themselves in the medical profession and the other was a joiner. The 3rd Earl's mistress and, for two brief years (1801-3), before he divorced her, his wife, was Elizabeth Ilive (Countess Egremont) by whom he had six illegitimate children, the eldest of whom was Col. George Wyndham (1787-1869). Thomas Ayliffe Senior was Elizabeth Ilive's brother so that the sons George, Thomas and Henry were Col. George Wyndham's first cousins. He was so desperate to sever his maternal links that he successfully petitioned Queen Victoria to drop the name Ilive which had been entered on his birth certificate. Sponsoring the Ayliffes to emigrate to South Australia, which was considered a virtually irreversible journey, was considered the best option to remove this close branch of the family. However, while they were out of sight they were never out of mind and they continued to send begging letters throughout his lifetime. Wyndham's guilt complex and his obsession to keep them in Australia ensured a positive response, over and beyond their allowance, which encouraged their dependence on him. The Ayliffes were instrumental in undermining the Agency by exploiting the family relationship. ...

The footnote to this extract states:

²⁹ WSRO, PHA 7917 f. 1, 14 May 1838.

The wife of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) was Hester, not Elizabeth as stated in the extract above.

In relation to the comment that 'the name Ilive ... had been entered on [Colonel Wyndham's] birth certificate', it is to be noted that the record of his baptism on 22 July 1787 at St Marylebone in Marylebone, Middlesex referred to him as 'George Wyndham'.

At 10–17, Spencer Thomas states:

It did not take long for the Ayliffes to launch their systematic campaign vilifying Mitchell's competence. In a letter of 21 January 1839 Mr George Ayliffe wrote to Col. Wyndham:

Neither do we wish in reflecting upon Mr Mitchell to deteriorate him in your estimation for however great his failure of judgement may be we believe him to be an honest, upright, industrious and good meaning man ... The 2 Sections are very bad land. It would be impossible to question Mr Mitchell's motives for selecting Sections 12 and 13 for you when he had purchased Section 14 for himself which is infinitely worse than 12 or 13.

A year later, 23 January 1840, George Ayliffe repeated his allegations demeaning Mitchell's ability. In a note appended to the letter Wyndham regarded these complaints as absurd, malicious, vindictive and disgraceful. These opinions were based on information he had received on 20 December 1839 from Mr John Hallett, one of the original thirteen Principal Officers appointed by the Board of Commissioners, in response to enquiries he had initiated following the earlier complaints. Wyndham had asked for replies to 26 questions he had compiled from the derogatory remarks contained in the Ayliffes' letters. The complaints included criticism of his poor husbandry - going 12 months without tilling the soil, only milking the cows once a day, cutting dry grass for hay; his lax financial control - paying exorbitant wages to three men, employing his wife as dairymaid and paying her £20 a year; his lack of cleanliness by exposing butter to the weather and permitting it to become dirty; his

weak judgement in the selection of land and his failure to purchase land at Encounter Bay; his carelessness in not protecting sheep which were being killed by wild dogs and taking bullock carts over mountainous ground; and finally the absence of attention to detail - not finishing the houses so that they leaked. ...

On 12 October 1839 Mitchell wrote resigning the Agency citing harassment by some of the settlers as his reason and naming the Ayliffes as his main assailants. Sockett replied on 24 July 1840 to the effect that they did not want him to resign as long as he 'could continue to discharge the duties of the agency in a manner satisfactory to his employers'.³⁷ On receipt of this letter Mitchell withdrew his resignation and 'expressed his gratification that you are still disposed to continue me as your agent'.³⁸ He had expected his resignation to be rejected because he had received a letter from Sockett, dated 23 December 1839, saying:

We are much pleased with your correctly made up accounts to 25th March and hope you will continue to make it up in the same way. It is most satisfactory to learn with what energy you and Mrs Mitchell are combating the unavoidable difficulties of your position and we most heartily wish you the success your efforts so well deserve.³⁹

In the same letter he was dissuaded from speculating in tanning because Wyndham thought it 'might take your attention off from the sheep and cattle and he thinks it will be advisable if you should not meddle with it: unless you see very good reason indeed for so doing'.⁴⁰ In order to prevent a recurrence of this episode, Wyndham ordered Sockett to draw up a list of instructions specifying to the Ayliffes and Mitchell the limits of their respective responsibilities. Mitchell acknowledged receipt of the instructions and forwarded a set to the Ayliffes. ...

Wyndham was so concerned with his investment in South Australia that he wrote on 27 December 1840 to Governor Gawler regretting that he was leaving his post and inviting him to visit Petworth on his return to England to discuss Mr Mitchell and the management of his affairs in the colony. On the following day he instructed James Marr Brydone, his Steward (who had succeeded Sockett as Secretary of the Petworth Emigration Committee) to write to the new Governor, Captain George Grey, requesting an interview before he departed for South Australia enclosing a résumé of his concerns in case there was insufficient time to arrange a meeting. The 'Statement' alerted the incoming Governor to the existence and scope of the Agency and the complaints which had been made by the Ayliffes against Mr Mitchell:

which Col. Wyndham considered frivolous and vexatious. Mr Mitchell is a gentleman but in view of the accusations plus the high cost of provisions in Adelaide he has been forced to appropriate £200 of Col. Wyndham's money for himself and requested an increase in salary. ...

Wyndham was reluctant to dismiss Mitchell on the Ayliffes' testimony but the accumulation of evidence finally persuaded him that he to act and he wrote, on 26 April 1841, in the following terms. ...

Immediate steps were taken to strip Mitchell of his responsibilities. Wyndham informed E. J. Wheeler, Chairman of the Bank of South Australia, that he was not to let Mitchell have any more money on his account without his approval, which effectively meant a six months interval between request and payment, if approved. He also wrote to Mitchell telling him to discontinue the allowances to the Ayliffes because he had arranged for them to be paid directly from the Bank. ...

On 10 May 1842, Wyndham saw 'no prospect of indemnity for the outlay of money to any man not residing in the Colony. I have therefore determined to avoid all further

outlay'.⁵⁴ Central to the winding up was the transfer of the Ayliffes' payment from the Agent to the Bank and restricting them to the small Section of land which each occupied.

If they refuse they must be informed that their allowances will be stopped. My objective is to prevent their making away with the property or considering themselves in any position other than my tenants ... I do not wish to have any more outgoings by and what I shall be indebted to you for the trouble you are so good to take me and I trust you to do what you think best for the advantage of my youngest son Percy - for some time or other it may be valuable.⁵⁵ ...

Mitchell was a victim of the depressed state of the Colony in its embryo period, compounded by inadequate resources from Petworth when he needed them and persistent sniping by some of the emigrants, notably the Ayliffe family, much of which was motivated by envy, jealousy and an unwillingness to knuckle down and adapt to the conditions. The failure of adequate finance to reach South Australia in time handicapped his management and ultimately led to his downfall. His subsequent victory over debt and deprivation exhibited qualities he would have exercised on Wyndham's behalf if he had been given sufficient capital at an appropriate time, and if he had been supported in rejecting false accusations from calculating settlers intent on supplanting him.

A letter to Mitchell from L. Pateringor, O'Halloran Hill, South Australia bears out this interpretation.

It has grieved me much of late to observe the disagreeableness to which you in great unenviable situation of Agent to Col. Wyndham have been subjected owing partly to the non-arrival through some unforeseen accident of remittance and advice from Col. Wyndham, but more especially to the vindictive hatred of those placed under your care by your employer. I write not to abuse Mr Ayliffe I am not acquainted with him but as he has lately thrown out insinuations as to your honesty and honourable intentions I seize with avidity the first opportunity of expressing to you my entire conviction of your gentlemanlike and honourable conduct during the four years that I have been happy in your friendship, and of your unceasing efforts since your arrival in this Colony to advance by every means in your power the interests of your employer Col. Wyndham.⁶⁰ ...

In human terms the South Australian episode was unsuccessful. Even the 'hidden agenda' of ridding himself of the Ayliffe family backfired as they remained a thorn in Wyndham's flesh. An incomplete, but indicative, series of accounts enables a 'guesstimate' to be made of Wyndham's investment in South Australia and the return on it.⁶² It ignores any assessment of the labour costs incurred at Petworth or the savings in Poor Law and other charges consequent upon emigration. By the middle of 1842, which effectively marked the transition from Mitchell to [Captain Charles Hervey] Bagot, Wyndham had spent £1 261/8/4 on 'Setting Out' which included the outfitting and provisioning of the emigrants, and £5 950/19/0 for the purchase of 'Land & Stock' in the colony, plus Mitchell's salary and the remittances to the Ayliffes. Detailed financial transactions cease at this point and the remainder is informed conjecture from spasmodic references. The principal outgoings were Bagot's remuneration, £50 a year, and the remittances to the Ayliffes, £170 a year. There were occasional payments such as the £300 for Bagot to windup the business, and varying amounts to the shepherd for his share of the wool. In total Wyndham spent something in excess of £12 000 between 1838 and 1860, more than half of which was incurred in the first four years. ...

This appears to be a substantial loss and good enough reason for Wyndham to rein in his investment. However he still had his property as assets and on 6 May 1856 [John] Jacob offered Wyndham £3 000 for the 10 Sections on the Hutt River which Bagot, 6 June 1856, advised was fair. As the rents continued to be paid until records ceased in 1865 it must be assumed that the offer was declined. Add the 2 Sections near Adelaide occupied by the Ayliffes, the animals in their possession and the goods and implements associated with the Sections and it is reasonable to value them at around £2 000.

The footnotes to this extract state:

³⁷ WSRO, PHA 7917 f. 37, 24 July 1840.

³⁹ WSRO, PHA 7917 f. 23, December 1839.

⁴⁰ WSRO, PHA 7917 f. 23, December 1839.

⁵⁴ WSRO, PHA 7917 f. 91, 10 May 1842.

⁵⁵ WSRO, PHA 7917 f. 99, 19 June 1842.

⁶⁰ WSRO, PHA, 1067, L. Pateringor to F. Mitchell, 28 November 1839.

⁶² WSRO, PHA 7917 ff. 1–151, 12 May 1838–March 1865.

Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project 1832–1837* (2000) 190 refer to the emigration of the Ayliffe family as follows:³³⁵

In Sussex in 1838, emigration sprang to [Colonel] Wyndham's mind as a way of dealing with his personal problem of having to reduce the staff of Petworth House. As the Canadas in January 1838 were not "in that state to invite settlers there," he raised the question of Australia with Sockett.⁷⁷ Even in 1838, Sockett preferred Canada over Australia for people made redundant at Petworth House, but he called Wyndham's attention to a government announcement that agricultural labourers would be sent to Australia.⁷⁸ Because of the timing of Wyndham's interest, Sockett, who had spent several years studying Upper Canada, ended by making a quick purchase in Australia sight unseen. He bought several hundred acres for Wyndham from the South Australian Land Company and seems to have made a small investment himself.⁷⁹ An agent, Frederick Mitchell, was outfitted at Wyndham's expense, given instructions prepared by Sockett, and sent to Australia in the spring of 1838, taking with him some tiresome Ayliffe (Illive) relatives of Wyndham's mother as remittance men.⁸⁰ South Australian land was a popular speculation at the time, but this investment turned sour and led nowhere from the point of view of systematic emigration from Petworth. Over the next few years, Wyndham sent only a trickle of emigrants from Sussex to Australia, apparently allowing those who qualified a free choice between this destination and Canada.

The footnotes to this extract state:

⁷⁷ WSRO, PHA, 729, Wyndham to Sockett, 7 January 183[8].

⁷⁸ WSRO, PHA 734, Sockett to Wyndham, 21 February 1838.

³³⁵ See also Wendy Cameron, Sheila Haines and Mary McDougall Maude (eds), *English Immigrant Voices: Labourers' Letters from Upper Canada in the 1830s* (2000) 190.

⁷⁹ WSRO, PHA 3492, Map of the District of Adelaide, South Australia (1839), and PHA 3493, Special Survey of the Hutt River (1842), showing Wyndham's two sections in Adelaide and ten sections on the Hutt River, a total of 960 acres.

⁸⁰ WSRO, PHA 7917, South Australia. Sockett's instructions to Mitchell were dated 12 May 1838. Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor*, 93–5.

Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson, *Poor Cottages & Proud Palaces: The Life and Work of the Reverend Thomas Sockett of Petworth 1777–1859* (2007) 198–9 state:

One family for which Australia was considered very right was the Ayliffes, Elizabeth Ilive's relations. George was eager to get his mother's kin out of England as soon as possible; they were perhaps undesirable reminders of his illegitimate birth and a potential drain on his resources.

In May 1838 Sockett arranged the manifold details of their despatch and settlement at the other ends of the earth for, as he pointed out, if they were sent to Canada they might come back very soon.⁴²² Frederick Mitchell of Haslemere was appointed superintendent of the party. He could take his own family and assist the Ayliffes to 'establish themselves comfortably'. Mr Ayliffe senior and his three sons, George with his wife and family, Thomas, and Henry, made a party of around twenty in all.

The Australian Commission granted a free steerage passage for the party, and George paid the extra for them to be upgraded to intermediate or second-class cabins.⁴²³ The Mitchells were to proceed by the ship *Pestonjee Bomangee*, which was to sail mid-May from London, picking up the Ayliffes in Plymouth with their baggage. They shopped extensively before they left, spending £239 at the drapers, the collar and shoemakers, and the ironmakers. Colonel Wyndham paid for the shipping of houses (flat-packed one presumes), implements of husbandry, twelve sheep, one stallion and a bull with the party. Sockett records in his account book for 22nd May: 'I was this day backwards and forwards to the Docks attending the embarkation of cattle and other matters from 6.am to 8.30pm'. A colt had been kept in a stable near St Katherine's dock, and Sockett assisted a man to take the colt's shoes off before it went on board, accompanied with its own medicine supplied 'by Mr Tattersall's advice'. Batley, the chemist, provided a medicine chest for the passengers. Sockett tipped the man who helped him, the labourers at the dock, and, by Mary Wyndham's desire, the servants on the *Pestonjee*.⁴²⁴

Arriving in South Australia, Mitchell was to erect the houses, secure the stores, and look around for suitable farming land for settlement. Brydone recommended the land around Adelaide and, once this was chosen, Mitchell could buy stock. Ayliffe senior and George were to receive £70 a year each and Thomas and Henry £30 each, to be paid on their arrival. George Wyndham stipulated that the Ayliffes should have 160 acres of land and Mitchell 40 acres for himself and an annual salary of £150. George Wyndham retained total property rights over the land and wanted a rent of 1s. an acre to be paid half yearly.

The party arrived in Adelaide in October 1838. The Ayliffes had ideas of their own and were a trial to George Wyndham and Sockett from the beginning. Bills left unpaid in England followed the family out, although Sockett did say that, if they were properly accounted for, Wyndham would pay them. Thomas soon opted out of the undertaking and went his own way to work as a carpenter. The rest of the family were not pleased and George Wyndham cut off his allowance. Mr Ayliffe wrote that they were unhappy with Mitchell's management, and their sheep were being killed by wild dogs. Would George Wyndham pay for a horse so that he could ride to church? Sockett sent out £1,960.16s. in July 1838 and a further £600 in December and gave permission for George to go to Adelaide to practise as a medical man. Mitchell had much difficulty in pleasing all parties, and the money from England was slow in coming. By 1840 he was

threatening to resign and Sockett pleaded with him not to do so. Mitchell agreed to stay if he had an increase in his salary. By 1841, following complaints about his dilatory and scrappy accounts, he did resign. By this time George Wyndham had spent £3,821.1s.4d. on the project. By 1842 he feared that the Ayliffes were ‘incapable and unwilling of exerting themselves’ and demanded Mitchell’s farm be handed over to repay a loan of £200 and a £140 deficiency in Mitchell’s accounts. The remaining Ayliffes were to have an allowance and a small amount of land to rent and nothing more. George Ayliffe died in 1844, leaving a wife and six children. He seemingly did not do well in medical practice for £10 was sent from Petworth for his funeral expenses.⁴²⁵ George Wyndham and his siblings were spared having the embarrassing and demanding Ayliffes hanging around them in England but their exile cost George dear.

The footnotes to this extract state:

⁴²² WSRO, PHA 734

⁴²³ WSRO, PHA 740

⁴²⁴ WSRO, PHA 1066

⁴²⁵ WSRO, PHA 7917

Sarah Webster, ‘Agents and Professionalisation: Improvement on the Egremont Estates c. 1770 to c. 1860’ (PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, October 2010) refers to the emigration of the Ayliffe family as follows:³³⁶

The assisted emigration and settlement of the Ayliffe family from Devon on two eighty acre sections near Adelaide forms a significant part of this South Australian estate record. Colonel Wyndham’s purchase of nearly 1000 acres enabled the Ayliffe family and others to rent land in the province, rather than needing to wait to obtain public land only after working as labourers to earn the capital for such a purchase. ... The landowner’s instructions to the Ayliffes in 1838 were that:

‘I retrain to myself the property in all the land, the houses and other buildings of every description that may be erected thereon, and in all the live stock implements of husbandry and other things now sent, or hereafter to be sent by me (excepting such provisions as are intended for immediate consumption) as a landlord in this country retains the property in houses and lands which he lets to tenants... The rent I shall require for the lands including the buildings, is one shilling per acre to be paid half yearly, on the 24 day of June and the 25 day of December in each year immediately succeeding the day when my agent shall have put the person or persons in question in possession of the land by a regular memorandum or agreement to that effect.’⁴⁹¹

...

A significant amount of this ‘vexation and trouble’ can be attributed to a troublesome family who were offered assisted emigration and settlement by the Petworth Emigration Committee in 1838. The Ayliffes were a family from Bovey Tracey in Devon, and comprised Thomas Ayliffe Senior and his wife Elizabeth, their son George

³³⁶ Available at

http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/11990/2/Sarah_Webster_PhD_10_May_2011.pdf. See also Sarah Webster, ‘Estate Improvement and the Professionalisation of Land Agents on the Egremont Estates in Sussex and Yorkshire, 1770–1835’ (2007) 18 *Rural History* 47.

Ayliffe and his wife Elizabeth and two children, and two brothers Thomas H. Ayliffe junior and Henry Ayliffe. Two of the Ayliffe sons were medical practitioners, the other a joiner. This family were in fact related to Colonel Wyndham as his mother, Elizabeth Ilive/Ayliffe, former mistress and later wife to the third Earl, was the sister of Thomas Ayliffe senior. While Spencer Thomas uses the evidence that Wyndham appealed successfully to Queen Victoria to drop the name Ilive entered on his birth certificate as an indication that he wanted his cousins banished to Australia, it is probably more likely that he considered them a suitable case for assisted settlement, and that dropping the name Ilive was an unconnected attempt to remove the social stigma of illegitimacy.⁴⁹⁶ No mention of this family connection is made in the archive, although Wyndham states elusively ‘and if you please we will drop altogether any reference to the past with these persons’ [the Ayliffes]. Nevertheless, the Ayliffes certainly seemed to have had generous allowances made for them by Colonel Wyndham.⁴⁹⁷

As stated, Wyndham’s land purchase enabled him to send out forty-eight emigrants as steerage passengers, at a cost of 17 pounds, 10 shillings each. Nevertheless, due to a ‘wish to put Petworth Emigration Committee passengers on a superior footing to others’, an extra £17 per person was paid by the Committee for the Ayliffes to convert it to an intermediate passage that provided the emigrants with their own berth, and a further £70 to ensure fresh provisions three times a week and wines and spirits daily for them. The Ayliffes also received generous provisions, that can be seen for example in the bill for clothing and materials bought in Newton Abbot by the family (£145/9/6).⁴⁹⁸ Other materials purchased included tents, sacks, rope, line, twine and nets. Even more interesting are two lists of agricultural implements purchased for the estate, including ploughs, ox chains, scythes, sheep shears, brick-layer trowels, pick axes, a cart and a milk skimmer and many others, costing nearly £200, a further £200 being spent on two other lists. The accounts record that the emigration committee sent out materials for building houses, and food provisions. They also sent one stallion, one bull, and forty sheep and pigs with the settlers.⁴⁹⁹ Other prize Petworth animals followed, and were influential in the development of high quality sheep and horse breeds in the region.⁵⁰⁰

Despite this apparent generosity in the provisioning of the Ayliffe family, their correspondence before embarking on the *Pestonjee Bomanjee* contains continuous requests for more money.⁵⁰¹ A Mr Chudleigh, writing to Wyndham to request payment of debts honoured by him on behalf of the Ayliffes stated that ‘notwithstanding your kind liberality towards him he was to the last moment in want’ and that ‘his debts on one examination I found to be more than I expected (through the misconduct of his sons) over whom he had not sufficient control’.⁵⁰² It appears that the ship was expected at Plymouth sixteen days earlier than her arrival, causing apparent hardship among the Ayliffes and other families waiting for it. Thomas Ayliffe reported that the family had applied for assistance from the Emigration Commissioners at Plymouth for twelve shillings a day and ‘have been told “this allowance is only made when the vessel is in the sound, and the goods shipped” and this [I] suppose is to prevent imposition on the part of any persons who might represent themselves as intended emigrants to obtain this sum from the commissioners’.⁵⁰³

The Ayliffes had received, by their own recollection, £275 within five months ‘independent of outfit’.⁵⁰⁴ Such generosity appears unique even to the amply supplied assisted emigration schemes of Egremont. Nevertheless, even on the day of boarding the ship, the Ayliffes complained that the agent would not advance money to them until they reached Australia, and that they would not own, but rent the Australia property until they had proved their worth.⁵⁰⁵ The Ayliffes’ eventual arrival in South Australia in October 1838 began a barrage of cantankerous correspondence, particularly in relation to Wyndham’s agent, Frederick Mitchell, which is examined below.

...

The agent [Frederick Mitchell] was expected to act as superintendent to the emigrants, and take responsibility for the goods and materials carried by the ship. The most significant responsibility, however, was to select suitable land near Adelaide on arrival and to establish the party for a year or two near supplies and assistance. Mitchell was expected to select 160 acres, and provide three dwellings and settlements of 40 acres for Mr Ayliffe, for his son George and his family, and for his brothers Thomas and Henry jointly. Another house and 40 acres was intended for Mitchell and his family. He was then required to purchase stock and report back regularly to his employer with accounts and receipts.

... In a second set of instructions to Mitchell (18 July 1840) the landowner advised his agent that the Ayliffe family were not to interfere in the management of the estate, and furthermore that 'you are to have no more to do with them, than my agent or bailiff in England has to do with my tenants in this country'. In the same correspondence, Wyndham sent 'a form of agreement to be entered into by the Messrs Ayliffe – its provisions are similar to those under which my English farms are [rent] but you may make such variation as are suited to the seasons and the general system of letting practised in the colony'.⁵⁰⁹

... Mitchell was to pay 'Mr Ayliffe senior and Mr George Ayliffe monthly each at the rate of seventy pounds a year – you will also pay Mr T.H. Ayliffe and Mr Henry Ayliffe monthly each at the rate of thirty pounds a year – your payments to Mr Ayliffe and his sons are to begin to become due from the day of their landing in South Australia'. These allowances, Wyndham later claimed, were 'to enable them to establish themselves', and were not intended to be continued beyond this point, however it was to be determined.⁵¹⁰ The (half yearly) rent of one shilling per acre for the Ayliffe and Mitchell families appears to have been a nominal fee that was intended by Wyndham to have symbolic, rather than financial consequences. ...

Mitchell's initial choice of land appears to have been limited to a few sections.⁵¹³ His choice of two eighty-acre country sections south of Adelaide, however, soon came under criticism from the Ayliffe family. Mitchell describes the sections as having 'a potato and barley soil' with a stream running through it. He claims there is an '[a]bundance of good pasture, [and] plenty of timber', with '[m]any situations resembling the South Downs'.⁵¹⁴ The agent appears to have been so pleased with the prospect that he purchased section fourteen adjacent to this land for his own use. However, the Ayliffes claimed that Mitchell had demonstrated a significant 'failure of judgement' in this selection:

'The 2 sections selected are very bad land - it would be impossible to question Mr Mitchell's motives for selecting the 2 sections 12 and 13 for you when he has actually purchased for himself section 14 which is infinitely worse than 12 or 13. I beg distinctly to be understood as not feeling the slightest disrespect for Mr Mitchell's private character I believe him to be possessed of an upright disposition perfectly sober and industrious: but he is generally thought incapable of managing a farm or an estate.'⁵¹⁵

The inferior quality of this land was confirmed by subsequent surveys. Captain Bagot, who eventually replaced Mitchell as agent described the Adelaide sections in 1846 as 'on three spurs of the south end of the Mount Lofty range and do not contain 20 acres of available land [with] very little soil upon a cold clay slate formation'. Despite the earlier criticisms, some of the Ayliffes remained on the land, 'but the part they had in cultivation was not profitably productive and has been allowed to run out. Very little value is put upon land here except in favourable situations. A bushel of wheat per acre [is] considered a fair rent for hard tillage land and that is about 3/ [shillings]'.⁵¹⁶

Mitchell's poor initial choice, therefore, appears to have thwarted any chance of success by the Ayliffé family. However, this family's determination to farm the estate may also be questioned, as it certainly was by Colonel Wyndham in later years, who stated: 'I consider them all incapable and unwilling to exert themselves', and 'I do not suppose there is one amongst them capable of managing anything beyond a common garden'.⁵¹⁶

...

Nevertheless, Mitchell's uncertainty regarding the selection of this second section, and his tendency to report the opinions of others as justification for his actions, his infrequent and apparently muddled accounts, and his resignation (withdrawn) citing the Ayliffes' harassment (12 Oct 1839) could well be read as signs of weak agency. The agent's ability to manage the estate was continually undermined by the Ayliffes, by the time lag in correspondence with Petworth, and by a lack of funding. The Ayliffé complaints were probably exacerbated by jealousy, and by delays in the payment of remittances from England. George Ayliffé's complaints against Mitchell's ability (24 Jan 1840), however, were noted in the text as 'absurd, malicious, vindictive and disgraceful' after a report from Mr John Hallett, confirmed that many of the practices mentioned by the Ayliffes were common in the colony, while others were not based on facts; but many of the difficulties Mitchell faced were in fact due to the limited means at his disposal.⁵¹⁹ However, when Mitchell's necessity led him to borrow £200 from the Colonel without prior permission, Wyndham claimed that Mitchell had 'done a dishonest thing in a straightforward way which does not give me confidence'.⁵²⁰

...

In April [1841], Wyndham wrote to Mitchell to relieve him of his position.⁵²²

The role of land agent on the Wyndham estate in South Australia was therefore 'unenviable'.⁵²³ Frederick Mitchell endured the hardships of early settlement alongside the Ayliffé family. However, he suffered from an inability to make decisions, a lack of funding, and unsupportive, even spiteful tenants. ...

The surviving Petworth documents relating to the Australian speculation reflect Colonel Wyndham's interest in his distant relatives, the Ayliffes, who cannot, therefore, be seen as representative assisted emigrants. ...

Nevertheless, the Wyndham interest in Australia offers the researcher an opportunity to consider estate management in a colonial context, to examine small-scale investment in the colonies, and, more interestingly, to interpret the reasons why this might have failed. The three themes of people, capital and ideas may offer some suggestions; the unsuitability of the Ayliffes as settlers, and of Mitchell as agent; as well as the insufficient capital for the scheme all played a part. There were however additional reasons connected with the particular location in Australia and the sheer distances involved.⁵³⁰ Poor communication and an inadequate understanding of pioneer settlement, climate and land quality by landowner and agent alike, are some of these answers.

The footnotes to this extract state:

⁴⁹¹ WSRO, PHA 7917, 14 May 1838.

⁴⁹⁶ S. Thomas, 'Colonel Wyndham'.

⁴⁹⁷ A. McCann, personal communication, Sep. 2010, 'Thomas the elder was in prison for debt shortly after his sister Elizabeth died (various family members having been

living with her, and presumably off her before her death). Tyler's letter books include a reference to having to redeem some monogrammed Egremont sheets from a pawnbrokers, to whom Thomas senr had pawned them after the Countess' death ... it seems to me that Col. George mistrusted them so much, that he would not trust them with proper leases, let alone with ownership ...'.

⁴⁹⁸ WSRO, PHA 1067, PHA 631, 22 May 1838; PHA 1067, April 1838.

⁴⁹⁹ WSRO, PHA 1067. George Ayliffe describes "about 40 sheep and pigs". However, some of the sheep died on the voyage (WSRO, PHA 1067).

⁵⁰⁰ The motivations and consequences of transferring animals from Petworth to Australia is an element of this research that could be researched further. For example, while Lord Egremont did not invest in the Swan river colony, a potential area of influence would have been in the uncertain outcome of a request by a Thomas Heuty to purchase and send out to his son in Swan River a horse from Lord Egremont's stock, and one bred from the same stock, in order to breed horses intended for the East Indies market (WSRO, PHA 136, 28 August 1830). Colonel Wyndham also enquired about sending cattle to Australia in 1841 (WSRO, PHA 1071), and much of the correspondence from the Australian settlers and agents in this archive relates to the value for sale and hire of particular animals, especially sheep, used for breeding in the region. The transfer of animals, seeds and products necessary for cultivation to the colonies, as well as the returning products for sale including wool, is an important element of this colonial research.

⁵⁰¹ The Pestonjee Bomanjee sailed from the River Thames on 9 June 1838 and called at Plymouth en route to pick up the Ayliffe family and others from Devon. It arrived at Holdfast Bay in South Australia on the 12 October 1838.

⁵⁰² WSRO, PHA 1067, 8 June 1838.

⁵⁰³ WSRO, PHA 1067, 27 May 1838.

⁵⁰⁴ Although given the nature of this letter as requesting money from another source, it seems far from reliable. WSRO, PHA 1067, 27 May 1838.

⁵⁰⁵ WSRO, PHA 1067, 9 June 1838.

⁵⁰⁹ WSRO, PHA 7917, July 1840.

⁵¹⁰ WSRO, PHA 7917, 10 May 1842.

⁵¹³ WSRO, PHA 7917, 26 Oct 1838.

⁵¹⁴ WSRO, PHA 7917.

⁵¹⁵ WSRO, PHA 7917, 21 Jan 1839.

⁵¹⁶ WSRO, PHA 7917, 10 May 1842 and 13 Oct 1847.

⁵²⁰ WSRO, PHA 7917, 27 Dec 1840.

⁵²² WSRO, PHA 7917.

⁵²³ WSRO, PHA 1067.

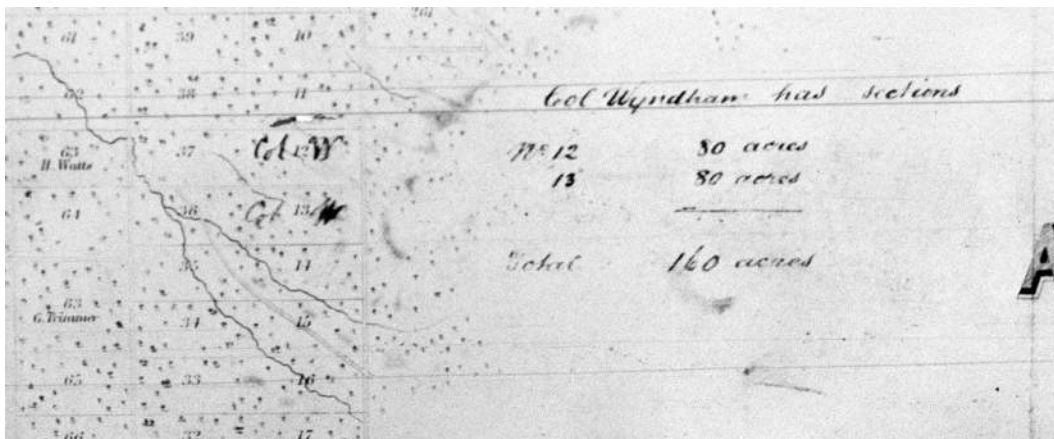
⁵³⁰ G. Blainey, *The tyranny of distance. How distance shaped Australia's history* (Melbourne, 1968).

The wife of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) was Hester, not Elizabeth.

It appears that the reference to ‘Tyler’s letter books’ is to the letter books of William Tyler, which are contained in the Petworth House Archives.

Surgeon in South Australia

Below is an extract from a copy of John Arrowsmith, *The District of Adelaide, South Australia; As Divided into Country Sections. from the Trigonometrical Surveys of Colonel Light late Survr. Genl.* (1839), which shows the location of two sections of land south of Adelaide purchased by Colonel George Wyndham.³³⁷ This was the land on which the Ayliffe family lived. The copy is contained in the Petworth House Archives, and contains handwritten annotations including ‘Col W’ written over sections 12 and 13.



It appears that the boundaries of section 12 were approximately aligned with the current locations of Cashel Street, Julia Avenue, Grandview Drive (being aligned with Goodwood Road) and Quinton Court (being aligned with Ayliffes Road). It appears that the southern boundaries of section 13 and section 36 (to the immediate west of section 13) were approximately aligned with the current location of Mill Terrace. Each of those areas covers about 80 acres.

In a letter to Colonel Wyndham dated 7 April 1838, the Reverend Thomas Sockett noted that the price of 80 acre sections being sold was £80 each, and suggested 12 sections at a total of £960 ‘as the purchase now to be made’.³³⁸

Colonel Wyndham’s instructions to Mitchell dated 12 May 1838 suggested that ‘[i]t might be desirable ... to secure about two sections (ie) 160 acres near the town of Adelaide and there establish the party and yourself for a year or two in order to be convenient to supplies and assistance’. He said that ‘[i]n that case you will appropriate a house and forty acres to Mr. Ayliffe, a house and forty acres to Mr. George Ayliffe, a house and forty acres to T. H. Ayliffe and Henry

³³⁷ Petworth House Archives, PHA 3492.

³³⁸ Petworth House Archives, PHA 734.

Ayliffe jointly and the remaining house and forty acres to yourself and family'. The instructions also referred to Mitchell 'selecting the remaining eight hundred acres'.³³⁹

In addition to the 160 acres purchased south of Adelaide, Colonel Wyndham purchased 10 sections of 80 acres each near the Hutt River (in the Clare Valley) in South Australia.³⁴⁰

In a letter to Colonel Wyndham dated 21 January 1839, George Ayliffe described sections 12 and 13 as 'very bad land'. He said that it would be impossible to question the motives of Colonel Wyndham's agent, Frederick Mitchell, in selecting those two sections when Mitchell had purchased section 14, which was 'infinitely worse', for himself.³⁴¹ As appears in the extract above, section 14 was to the south of section 13.

The land on which the Ayliffes lived was known as Wyndham Farm. As referred to below, a petition that appeared in *The South Australia Government Gazette* on 1 April 1841 at page 1 listed Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) as a surgeon of 'Wyndham Farm' and George Ayliffe as a surgeon of 'Belle Vue Cottage'. A petition that appeared in *The South Australian Government Gazette* on 13 May 1841 at page 2 and in a supplement to *The Southern Australian* on 18 May 1841 listed Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) and George Ayliffe as surgeons of 'Wyndham farm' and Henry Ayliffe as a stockholder of 'Wyndham farm'.

A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to James Marr Brydone dated 29 November 1840 stated:

Dear Sir

I have no intention of buying a single foot of Land in Canada –

I regret what has been done in Australia –

These distants they produce only vexation & trouble. –

Yours [illegible]

Wyndham

Sunday

I am now writing to Captain Baggot [sic] about this Australian affair – possibly he may wish to invest some Capital there being in the [illegible]

³³⁹ A copy of the letter is held by the State Library of South Australia.

³⁴⁰ Survey of the Hutt River (Petworth House Archives, PHA 3492).

³⁴¹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 7917.

A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) to Colonel George Wyndham dated 1 February 1841 stated:³⁴²

Adelaide Feby. 1 – 1841

Sir.

This to acknowledge with sincere gratitude, on behalf of the whole family, the benefits You have conferred upon us by the recent Arrangements You have caused to be made in our favor – & though we regret much that the amount of Stock &c. now so entrusted to us, should be insufficient to emancipate us from a dependence on Your generosity, we are nevertheless thankful, persuaded as we are, that it was in the absence of Accurate Information from the Colony, as to the quantity of Stock &c on Your Estate, that your Instructions of July last were drawn up. I trust Colonel Wyndham, you will not in perusing this letter, entertain a doubt as to the spirit in which it is written, – a spirit I do assure You pregnant with satisfaction for Your kind, & benevolent intentions, & sanguine in hope for the final accomplishment of the Views – which you did us the honor to communicate previous to our departure from England, – or in any way conceive that, we wish by the representation of facts, to abuse the liberality You have extended towards us.

As it is Your wish, I shall not trouble You with any details as to the manner in which Your Stock Estate, &c. &c. have been managed, since I last did Myself the honor to address You, but I am in justice to My Sons bound to observe, that had it not been from a combination of their exertions, and unremitting industry, in working as common Laborers, as also for the [illegible] & generous aids in the way of credit which has been extended to us by several Tradesmen, & Merchants – assistance I am proud to say, a good cause, & honest dealing, has never failed to command Here, & which You are well aware is so essential to the Stability of an Infant Colony, the Interest of whose community rests upon the well being of its individual component Numbers – Mrs. Ayliffe and Myself must have perished; as it is, it has been nothing better than keeping Body & Soul together; for believe me Colonel Wyndham, we have been for Many Weeks, aye Months together, without tasting fresh Animal food, & only Water to drink.

To be brief – The Inventory forwarded to You by Mr. Gilles, and its Valuation, will show You the amount we have received at Your hands we doubt not will convince You, how impossible it will be for us to do much / if any thing / in the way of Agriculture in the absence of Capital, till we hear from You; I should however observe, that had we the Capital, we should not feel warranted in expending it upon the Two Sections, on which we are at present located, the Soil not being available for any other purpose than Pasture, & that very indifferent & limited; You will therefore readily conceive how anxious we are for Instructions from You, respecting Your Land at the Hutt, which we are informed is very good – As it is, we shall endeavour to increase the Cattle intrusted [sic] to our care; until we hear further from You; contenting Ourselves with tilling that which is already fenced, if indeed we can raise friends to do so. Mr. Osmond Gilles in allotting the Cattle to us, remarked, that “he regretted it was out of his power to advance any Cash, in as much as, he was well aware that without funds it would be difficult, if not impossible to proceed with any chance of Success,” & this I remark not with dissatisfaction towards You, but in order to bring You acquainted with the result of Your Bounty – a result, which speaks for the past – & to show the actual position in which we are placed. We need not I am sure use any argument to prove our position to be a very difficult one, when You consider that we have had to engage a Shepherd at £1. – per Week & Rations, One farming Man at 18 Sh. per Week &

³⁴² Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067. Osmond Gilles, who is referred to in this letter, had been the first treasurer of South Australia and was a substantial land owner in the Province.

Rations, One Boy to Milk & watch the Cows at 8s per Week & Rations, & One Bullock Driver at £1. – per Week & Rations, without even the Means of paying them their first weeks Wages, but from the Circumstance of My Sons still employing themselves, in active manual labor. It is well known that we cannot under Ten, or Eleven Months expect any returns; & seeing from the Valuation sent to you, the worth & amount of the Crops for 1840. What may we reasonably expect will be the produce for 1841? Now though Sheep, & Cattle are the proper investment for Capital, in this Colony, it must be in a proper scale; that is there should be a Sufficient Number to render an increase a Matter of important consideration as regards returns to the Owner.

Now Colonel Wyndham all we beg to solicit of You, & we doubt not it will meet Your approbation, to make a short calculation of what may be the probable returns of profits attached to the Stock, placed under Our care in 12 Months; as to consider how many parties are to participate in those profits, deducting from their amount the attendant expenses, losses from wild Dogs & Diseases &c. – then to say whether You think, we shall be able to give You a pleasing Account of Our future prospects, with our present limited Means. We feel convinced You were not aware of how many head of Cattle You have here, and placing our reliance in the justice You have ever manifested in all Your proceedings towards us, we have no fear of your attaching [sic] blame to us for any disappointment from the present event of things, since our Residence in Australia. Trusting however with what has been confided to our care, to give You a satisfactory account of Ourselves, at the expiration of a Year, and relying firmly on You not to abandon us ere we be in a position to protect Ourselves, unless indeed, anything should occur to deserve it – but of this we have no fear.

With every token of Respect & Gratitude,

I remain with the highest esteem,

Your very Obedient Servant,

T. H. Ayliffe

A petition that appeared in *The South Australia Government Gazette* on 1 April 1841 at page 1 includes the following:

Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, sen., Surgeon, Wyndham Farm

George Ayliffe, Surgeon, Belle Vue Cottage

A petition that appeared in *The South Australian Government Gazette* on 13 May 1841 at page 2 and in a supplement to *The Southern Australian* on 18 May 1841 includes the following:

G. Ayliffe, Wyndham farm, surgeon

T. H. Ayliffe, Wyndham farm, surgeon

Henry Ayliffe, Wyndham farm, stockholder

The 1841 South Australian census lists ‘T. H. Ayliffe’ (above 50 years), ‘G. Ayliffe’ (under 35 years, but not under 21 years), ‘H. Ayliffe’ (under 35 years, but not under 21 years), ‘Mrs Ayliffe Sr.’ (above 50 years), ‘Mrs G. Ayliffe’ (under 35 years, but not under 21 years), ‘T. H. Ayliffe’ (under 7 years), ‘Elizabeth Ayliffe’ (under 7 years), ‘Cecilia Ayliffe’ (under 7 years) and ‘George Ayliffe’ (under 7 years).

It therefore appears that Thomas (senior), Hester, George, George's wife Elizabeth and their three children, and Henry were living at Wyndham Farm in 1841. As referred to below, it was recorded in an obituary of Thomas (junior) that 'some time after arrival, finding agricultural pastoral management in those early days required more practical knowledge than he and his brothers possessed, left it, and for a number of years followed the sea as a ship's carpenter in a vessel trading principally between New Zealand and Tasmania'.³⁴³ Thomas (junior) had returned to South Australia by 1845 when he married.

The petition published in *The South Australia Government Gazette* on 1 April 1841 records that at that time 'Belle Vue Cottage' was the residence of George and his family. George's widow, Elizabeth, continued to live at Belle Vue until her death in 1894.³⁴⁴

The following notice appeared in a number of editions of *The Southern Australian* from 12 July 1842 to 12 August 1842:

Professional Notice.

ADELAIDE MEDICAL AND SURGICAL DISPENSARY,

Currie-street, Adelaide.

GENERAL attention is respectfully called to the following extract of a letter from Dr. Litchfield to Mr Ayliffe, Surgeon, of Currie-street :—

"Adelaide, July 7th, 1842.

"My dear Sir—I am going immediately to Sydney, and if you will take charge of the following patients, now under my care, you will call on them to-morrow. [Here follow the names of such of Dr. Litchfield's patients as were under immediate medical attendance, accompanied by Dr Litchfield's opinion of the respective cases, and previous treatment thereof.] In conclusion, I have only to add my full confidence in your doing that justice to my recommendation of you to my patients I have every reason to believe you capable of, and which the short notice of my departure has prevented my further extending.

"Yours faithfully,

"J P. LITCHFIELD.

"Mr Ayliffe,

"Surgeon,

³⁴³ *The South Australian Register*, 30 July 1895, page 6, reproduced in *The Adelaide Observer*, 3 August 1895, page 1.

³⁴⁴ See, for example, *The South Australian Register*, 27 October 1894, page 4: 'DEATHS. ... AYLIFFE.—On the 26th October, at Belle Vue, Edwardstown, Elizabeth, relict of the late Dr. George Ayliffe, and mother of T. H., G. H., and Mr. H. Ayliffe, and Mrs. Bode and Mrs. T. P. Hill, in her 86th year. A colonist of 56 years.' An obituary at page 5 states: 'The family established a home known as "Belle Vue," near Edwardstown, which continued to be Mrs. Ayliffe's residence.'

“Currie-street.”

Pursuant with the above recommendation, the Messrs Ayliffe have entered on the discharge of the duties prescribed, and have embraced the present medium more widely to circulate Dr. Litchfield’s recommendation, than his sudden departure from the colony would admit.

T. H. & G. AYLIFFE,

Surgeons.

It is therefore apparent that Thomas and his son, George, operated as surgeons out of what was known as the ‘Adelaide Medical and Surgical Dispensary’ in Currie Street, Adelaide in 1842.

The following notice appeared in a number of editions of *The Southern Australian* from 14 March 1843 to 4 April 1843:

ADELAIDE DISPENSARY,

HINDLEY-STREET.

MESSRS. T. H. & G. AYLIFFE, Surgeons, &c., hereby intimate to their connection and the public in general, that the business of the above establishment has been removed to, and will for the future be conducted on, the premises, Hindley-street, formerly in the occupation of Mr White, tailor, where, from the increased facilities afforded, and the addition of a large stock of genuine Drugs, they are enabled to place the advantages of professional advice within the reach of all classes.

The usual routine business of a Chemist and Druggist is connected with the above.

Physicians’ prescriptions and family recipies [sic] faithfully dispensed on moderate terms

N.B.—Commissions allowed to Carriers and others.

It is therefore apparent that Thomas and George were operating as surgeons out of what was known as the ‘Adelaide Dispensary’ in Hindley Street, Adelaide in 1843.

The following appeared in *The South Australian Register* on 3 June 1843 at page 3:

THE “PATERNAL” GOVERNOR.

“If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled ; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body ; what doth it profit ? — James ii, 15, 16.

The following is a correspondence between his Excellency Captain Grey and Mr John Stephens, in reference to the relief of a poor family who were recently thrown into want owing to the father and head of it being suddenly rendered incapable of pursuing his employment by bodily affliction, and to which we have elsewhere called the attention of all who feel any interest in the condition of our poor. After our readers shall have perused the correspondence, we shall leave them to draw their own opinion as to how far his Excellency is entitled to the character of a “paternal” Governor, how

estimable soever he may be in private life, and we believe him to be all that his friends claim for him as a gentleman and a benevolent man.

To His Excellency Captain Grey,

North-terrace, May 12, 1843.

Sir—The assistance of the Government is earnestly solicited on behalf of Mr James Baker, of Morphett-street, who is confined to his bed by an abscess, and of course unable to provide for his wife and five children, who are at this moment in want of a loaf of bread.

I have known the family for some time, and occasionally employed the husband and wife. They are honest, sober, and industrious persons, and, in my opinion, deserving of rations until the head of the family be able to resume his work.

I enclose the certificate of Mr Ayliffe the surgeon who is in attendance upon Mr Baker.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JOHN STEPHENS.

[Inclosure.]

I hereby certify that James Baker is under our care, confined to his bed, and stands in need of relief by rations.

T. H. AYLIFFE.

May 10th, 1843.

Private Secretary's Office, May 13, 1843.

Sir—In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, written on behalf of Mr James Baker, which I have laid before the Governor, I am directed by his Excellency to state, in reply, that the Government never affords relief to persons who have a natural claim for assistance upon near relatives or others who are able to support them, and that, under any circumstances, his Excellency would prefer seeing benevolent individuals (as in other countries) either themselves assist, or induce their friends to assist, the indigent poor, instead of making application to the Government upon the subject.

Your letter has been referred to the Emigration Agent, and the report of that officer shows that the case of James Baker is one in which the Government cannot properly interfere.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

A. M. MUNDY,

Private Secretary.

J. Stephens, Esq.

To His Excellency Governor Grey,

North-terrace, Adelaide, May 18, 1843.

Sir—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency’s letter of the 13th inst., in answer to my application on behalf of Mr James Baker’s family for rations from Government during that unfortunate man’s illness, in which your Excellency is pleased to state—first, “that the Government never affords relief to persons who have a natural claim for assistance upon near relatives or others ;” secondly, “that, under any circumstances, your Excellency would prefer seeing benevolent individuals (as in other countries) either themselves assist, or induce their friends to assist, the indigent poor, instead of making application to the Government ;” and thirdly, and by way of corollary, “that the case of James Baker is one in which the Government cannot properly interfere.”

Since the receipt of your Excellency’s letter, I have made more particular inquiry into the case, and I am enabled to state, for your Excellency’s information, that neither Mr nor Mrs Baker has any “relative,” near or distant, in this Colony. As a family they stand isolated and alone. Who your Excellency intends to indicate by the “others” on whom the family in question has a “natural claim,” I am at a loss to conceive ; not myself, I presume, because they are not allied to me by any ties of consanguinity; but if your Excellency rests that claim upon the bond of universal brotherhood, then have these poor people a double claim upon your Excellency—first, as the father of the people over whom you rule, and, secondly, as their fellow-man.

There being no poor-house, or any system of parochial relief, in the Colony for its indigent poor, I hold that the emigrants (being British subjects) whom the Home Government tempted to these shores have a legal and a moral claim upon the Colonial Government for support, and that at any rate the morality of this claim is acknowledged at home, from the fact that, whilst many of your Excellency’s other drafts have been dishonoured, those which you have drawn for “Destitute Emigrants” have been paid ; besides which, I find the class of persons for whom it appears I have made a fruitless application are formally recognized in your Excellency’s Quarterly Returns.

I apprehend that it is quite optional with individual Colonists whether and to what extent they choose to exercise their benevolence in cases of sickness and distress ; whilst, on the other hand, I admit that every one who is willing, but unable, to work has a claim for support upon the body politic ; still no Government has a right (except by fair and equitable taxation) to throw the onus of the maintenance of its poor upon casual charity. At any rate, this would directly encourage mendicity, which the mother-country at the present moment is strenuously exerting itself to put down. In the present instance I have done what I could ; but it is not possible for private individuals (particularly one like myself, whose means are limited) to maintain an indigent family, and one too which has no natural claim on me or any other Colonist any more than upon your Excellency ; neither will my professional engagements any more than your Excellency’s allow me to go a-begging for the relief of every deserving pauper who may chance to cross my threshold. If such be your Excellency’s desire, I respectfully submit that your free-born and enterprising subjects would soon dwindle into a community of beggars, instead of labouring to become a thriving body of farmers, merchants, and shopkeepers.

Mrs Baker, I find, has six children (one at the breast) instead of five, as I stated in my letter of the 12th inst., and only one of them is old enough to earn her own livelihood ; yet such has been the honest pride of this family that until now they have never purchased a pound of meat or a loaf of bread upon credit. If they have earned money they have bought themselves food and candles ; if not, they have hungered and thirsted, and sat in darkness, hiding their poverty and wretchedness from each other’s and their neighbours’ eyes. If this be not a “case” in which your Excellency can “properly interfere,” I for one should shudder to descend deeper into the depths of human woe for one more harrowing by which to excite compassion. But had this

family been other than I have represented them to be, and had the heads of it precipitated themselves and their children into want by prodigality and intemperance (as once I grant their habits might have led them to do), I apprehend that, as British subjects (and we are not amenable to the laws or governed by the customs of other countries), they have a claim upon the parent state for succour in the hour of sickness and destitution.

If, however, your Excellency is in the anomalous position of not only being without the funds from which to afford relief to pauper-Colonists, but deprived of the power to provide for their maintenance by drafts upon the Home Government, then I would respectfully suggest that the question —“What is to become of the poor of the Colony?” is one for the early and mature consideration of your Excellency’s forthcoming Legislative Council, especially as the thickening gloom which every day gathers over our commercial horizon gives token of coming distress greater than that which formerly prevailed, and for the relief of which your Excellency then so nobly departed from your official instructions, I am persuaded that the Colonists, as a body, would cheerfully submit to any provision for their poor which should bear equally upon all, rather than be ever and anon taken from their counting-houses and homes to tax one another’s pockets, to minister temporary relief to those whom affliction or poverty may deprive of the means of earning their daily bread. Indeed, I need not remind your Excellency that men’s charities too often begin and terminate within the narrow sphere of their own families or selves, and that, unprompted by self-interest, what is everybody’s business becomes nobody’s.

Personally I ask no favour at your Excellency’s hands, and, in conclusion, I cannot but regret the tenor of your Excellency’s communication, not only as affecting the family on whose behalf I have ventured to trespass upon your Excellency’s patience, and towards whom, after all, I must venture to say, your Excellency stands in a more responsible situation than myself or any other private individual, but as involving the fate of a great, and, I fear, an increasing number of your Excellency’s destitute subjects.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JOHN STEPHENS.

P.S. Mr Ayliffe informs me that Mr Baker is likely to be confined to his bed two or three weeks longer, and as I could not see his family starve in the meantime, I have acted upon your Excellency’s suggestion and collected a few shillings for their immediate sustenance. From your Excellency’s known benevolence and kind-heartedness, I hope to be honoured by your Excellency’s commands to add your Excellency’s name to the list of their benefactors. I can vouch for the case being one deserving the exercise of your Excellency’s private charity, although, unfortunately, not coming within the scope of your Excellency’s Government’s assistance.

J. S.

To the foregoing letter no answer has been returned.

[Messrs Ayliffe’s Second Certificate.]

Adelaide Dispensary, May 16, 1843.

This is to certify that James Baker has been for some time past and still continues under our care, suffering from rheumatism and glandular inflammation, and is likely to be confined to his house for two or three weeks longer, and that, as he has a wife and six children wholly dependant upon his daily labour for sustenance, his case is truly deserving such assistance as it may be in the power of the benevolent to confer.

T. H. and G. AYLIFFE,

Surgeons,

Hindley-street.

The following notice appeared in a number of editions of *The South Australian Register* from 18 November 1843 to 2 December 1843.

“Good wine needs no bush.

“An old friend needs not a new face.”

FAMILIES and the Trade are respectfully informed that the undersigned will forthwith re-open the premises recently vacated by Messrs Ayliffe, as a

WINE AND SPIRIT STORE,

and hopes that the good old adage which he has placed at the head of this advertisement will be found not inapplicable to his establishment.

CHAS. CALTON.

Hindley-street, November 16, 1843.

It is therefore apparent that the Ayliffes moved from the location of their dispensary in Hindley Street in 1843.

The following notice appeared in *The Southern Australian* on 9 February 1844 at page 3 and on 13 February 1844 at page 3:

NOTICE.

MESSRS AYLIFFE, Surgeons, Hindley-street, in order that they may duly meet their several engagements, hereby request that all accounts due to them be paid to them, or to Mr Taylor, their Solicitor, Rundle-street, within one month from the date hereof, otherwise proceedings will be taken to recover the same.

T. H. G. & H. AYLIFFE.

Adelaide, Feb. 5, 1844.

It is therefore apparent that Thomas, George and Henry were operating as surgeons out of Hindley Street, Adelaide in 1844.

The following notice appeared in *The South Australian Government Gazette* on 4 April 1844 at page 86:

THIS is to give notice, that the Partnership lately subsisting between us the undersigned Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, George Ayliffe, and Henry Ayliffe, under the firm of Messieurs Ayliffe, as Surgeons and Apothecaries, at Adelaide in the Province of South Australia : And also that the Partnership lately subsisting between us the said Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, George Ayliffe, and Henry Ayliffe, as Stockholders, at Adelaide aforesaid, was dissolved by mutual consent on the thirtieth day of March last : And that by the like consent all debts due to the said firm are to be paid to Mr. Taylor, Solicitor, Rundle-street, at Adelaide aforesaid : And all amounts due to the said firm

are to be forwarded to the said Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, for settlement. As witness our hands this second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and forty-four.

T. H. AYLIFFE.

G. AYLIFFE.

HY. AYLIFFE.

Witness—Thomas Taylor,
Attorney and Notary,
Adelaide.

The following appeared in *The South Australian* on 22 January 1847 at page 4.

Advertisement.

As a memento of gratitude for the services rendered, and unbounded attention paid to my wife, by Mr Surgeon Ayliffe, at a period when she was in great dread of her life being sacrificed by the bite of a venomous [sic] snake, near the Dry Creek, I hereby make this my public acknowledgment to that gentleman, and exceedingly regret it is not in my power to render him a more lasting testimonial of my esteem and gratitude.

W. JENKINS,

Dry Creek.

It is not clear whether the person referred to in this notice as ‘Mr Surgeon Ayliffe’ was Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) or his son Henry Ayliffe. George Ayliffe, who also practised as a surgeon, died in 1844. As referred to below, Henry was recorded as a surgeon of Kensington in 1847.³⁴⁵

A Murray, *The South Australian Almanack, and Town and Country Directory, for 1847* (1847) states (at page 50):

COUNTRY DIRECTORY.

COUNTY OF ADELAIDE

...

Ayliffe, Thomas, jun., proprietor, section 12

Ayliffe, Thomas, sen., ditto, ditto

Ayliffe, Henry, proprietor, Kensington

³⁴⁵ John Stephens, *The Royal South Australian Almanack and General Directory for 1847* (1847) 107. Henry Ayliffe was examined and qualified as a member of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London on 22 July 1852: Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, Candidates Qualification Entry Book 1849–1852 (information emailed to the author by Janet Payne, Archivist of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, on 12 February 2013).

It is therefore apparent that in 1847 Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) and Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) were living at Wyndham Farm, whereas Henry Ayliffe was living at Kensington, which is east of Adelaide.

John Stephens, *The Royal South Australian Almanack and General Directory for 1847* (1847) states (at 107):

TOWN AND COUNTRY DIRECTORY.

...

Ayliffe, H., surgeon, Kensington

The following notice appeared in *The South Australian Government Gazette* on 18 April 1850 at page 266, 25 April 1850 at page 285, 2 May 1850 at page 303 and 9 May 1850 at page 318:

HUNDRED OF ADELAIDE

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Commissioners, in virtue of the powers vested in them by Ordinance No. 14, of 1849, have levied a rate of fourpence half-penny per acre on all purchased lands in said Hundred, for purposes mentioned in said Ordinance, and require the several owners or occupiers as undermentioned, or their agents, to pay the respective amounts set opposite their names to the Collector, at their office, Clark's Buildings, Hindley-street, Adelaide, on the following days, from Saturday the 11th day of May next, to Saturday, the 18th day of May next, inclusive, between the hours of ten o'clock in the forenoon, and three o'clock in the afternoon. ...

<i>Owner or occupier</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
...				
Ayliffe, Mrs.	80	1	10	0
Ayliffe TA, sen.	80	1	10	0

A letter from Henry Ayliffe to his wife, Esther Ayliffe, dated 1850, a transcribed copy of which is appended to Ian Hamilton, 'The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton' (1978), stated:³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶ The 1851 United Kingdom Census records Henry Ayliffe as living at 20 Upper King Street in Bloomsbury, Middlesex, aged 41 (in fact, he was aged 35), married, a 'Student at Bartholomews Hospital' and born in London. He was living with his uncle, Richard Jinks (aged 63, born in 'Hants King's Cliffe [sic]', a widower and a window blind maker employing six men), Richard's son George Jinks (aged 28, unmarried and an auctioneer), Richard's niece Mary Gadson (aged 49, unmarried and a housekeeper), Richard's grandson Valentine Jinks (aged 6), and three house servants. Richard Jinks, who was a son of Richard and Ann Jinks, was baptised on 28 September 1788 in King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire. Richard had been a window blind maker in Upper King Street since at least 1818: see *Johnstone's London Commercial Guide, and Street Directory* (1818) 280: 'KING STREET (UPPER) BLOOMSBURY. ... 22 Jinks, Richard, *Venetian blind maker*'. As referred to above, Thomas and Hester Ayliffe were recorded as the godparents at the baptism of George William Jinks, who was a son of Richard and Sarah Jinks, on 11 June 1822 at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel in London. In 1823 and 1824, Thomas and Hester were living at 18 New Ormond Street, which was around 400 metres from

To Mrs. Henry Ayliffe,
Wyndham Farm
Adelaide,
South Australia. (To the care of Messrs. Downer & Graves, Hindley Street).

This is my direction – London, 20 Upper King St., Bloomsbury.

My dear Wife,

It is impossible for you to conceive the amount of interest with which I received and read your dutiful and affectionate letter on the 29th of last March. I need not tell you that I did so with an interest of the acutest description where it spoke of your troubles it drew tears plentifully from my eyes & sympathy from my heart but how happy am I to have it in my power to say, cheer up! my own dear Wife! – be a woman! Ours is the victory!! Let not my enemies imagine that my own Good Patron Colonel Wyndham has forsaken me in the hour of need; for all their ill-conceived ideas are dashed to atoms on the very ground on which they built them!! – The fool, as some have been pleased to term me, has for once proved to be the “Wise Man”. Think not your husband who strives for you, who struggles for you, who confronts the world for you, and his dear children, dear to his bosom as the blood that warms it, is the fool that his enemies have endeavoured to make him out, no! far, very far from it. and I trust to heavens that the same hand that has held me up across the Wide Ocean, that has preserved my life for my wife & my dear, dear children in the hour of peril that has born me up through all the hazards of my undertaking in England will sustain me on my return! – My trust in Providence I am sure is not vain. – I foresaw the blow that was threatening us, & I have just met it with a manful brow & a calm fortitude and have gained the victory!! return your thanks to the Almighty for his indulgent kindness towards us. The pain of my mind which arose from your description of my poor dear Mamma’s illness was soon relieved by Papa’s letter to my sister. Tell Papa to give Mamma one tablespoonful of the Cod-liver Oil twice a day and she will recover strength & flesh. It is quite a new medicine and works wonders. I trust I shall see them once more; this they have / thank God / the comfort of knowing viz. that I have succeeded with Colonel Wyndham and furthermore I am far from being held low in his estimation. I am getting on very fast with my studies and there is very little doubt of me passing. My lecturers tell me that there is no fear, for they are sure I shall pass. I study night and day. I am at hospital from ¼ past 9 in the morning till ½ past four in the afternoon and then again from 7 till 8 in the evening. Now let me tell you what I have done. I have paid off Mr. Lucking and Messrs. Downer & Graves I have purchased several things which shortly should arrive care of Mr. A.L. Elder Grenfell Street Adelaide. There will be a besides another for you as well as a hat and for Mrs. Wise. A Workbox for my daughter Fanny and sundry other things, for I have not yet made up the parcel; I have also bought another for a Goldwatch for you; but which I reserve until my return as your wearing it might not

Richard’s residence in Upper King Street. At the time of the 1861 United Kingdom Census, Richard was living at 20 Upper King Street with his son Henry Jinks (also a window blind maker), his daughter-in-law Agnes Jinks, his grandson Edward Jinks, a lodger and Irish ‘Catholic Priest’ B Hearn, and an Irish domestic servant. Bennett Woodcroft, *Chronological Index of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted for the Year 1862* (1863) 81 states (for 23 April 1862): ‘1175. RICHARD JINKS, of No. 20, Upper King Street, Bloomsbury, in the County of Middlesex, Window Blind Maker, for an invention for—“Improvements in apparatus for suspending, raising and lowering venetian blinds, and for retaining them and other blinds and also curtains and sun shades at any required height [sic].” *Provisional protection only.*’ Richard died on 13 December 1867 at 84 Southampton Row, Bloomsbury (previously called 20 Upper King Street) and was buried on 20 December 1867 at the General Cemetery of All Souls, Kensal Green in London.

seem prudent at present, but of this you may be certain that it is my possession and that you will faithfully receive it from me on condition that you will never part with it till your death and that you will then leave it to my dear little Fanny if she is living or our next dear little Daughter. You will most likely find a few shillings in the parcel to reimburse you for what you will have to pay for it. You see I have not forgotten you nor shall I forget those who during my absence have behaved kindly to you and my Children. I have had a great deal to pay, and a great deal to buy in Books and Clothes, as I am at the finest Hospital in London. Time, my dear Esther flies, and it will soon be again bearing me on its ample pinion to your support and protection. How do you think I shall be received by the people? Write & tell me. – I shall get Colonel Wyndham to request Captain Bagot to interest himself for me on my return. I shall return with a high rate of medical knowledge because I am studying hard & I am sure it will puzzle old Boyer (?) to beat me or Dr. Kent either. I shall no doubt be equal to any of them. All the world who have the least knowledge of my history give me the highest credit for the step I have taken; It was indeed the most judicious thought that ever entered my head – and you see the success with which it is likely to be crowned. All my debts are paid, and I am in a fair way of returning to Australia as a [member] of the Royal College of Surgeons, London and be in a position to support you & my children. Let nothing daunt your Spirits, remember that it will not be long ere you will again have me on the spot to maintain & protect you. Now you are in the position you will be called upon to support in life and bear in mind that you are the wife of a Surgeon and of course hold the rank in society of a Lady, for whatever may be the rank of a female before marriage. She is always a Lady after marriage if she is married to a gentleman and a surgeon bears that title at all times in the world. And so “my dear little” Fanny was nursing the baby when you were writing to me “and if she could run out and meet me how she would kiss me” – Press the dear little Girl to your breast for me and tell her she will yet have her Papa to kiss before very long, and he will kiss her. Tell her he will soon come back from England and bring her some pretty presents as also my poor dear “Bags.” Keep him for me, and tell him he need not come to England for me as I shall soon return. I have also bought a Celestial globe of a very large size. I hope to pass in about 15 months from now. Tell dear Papa that his son is becoming a very good Anatomist and that Students 2 & 3 years standing come to me to them [sic] up on the bones. There is no Student in Bartholomews’ Hospital knows the head better than his son Henry, although some people take upon themselves insultingly to call him, yet have even in their own bodies proofs to the contrary. Never mind, Esther, you & I will go along together and I dare hazzard [sic] the opinion that they put your husband in a pan and fry him for a fool, & they will waste their fat. Tell Mr. Wise I think his speech was a good one but made for an unworthy man. He must be careful how he defends himself against the “Mercury”. I have no time to write to him. Now remember me to all and everybody. Kiss my father and mother for me. Kiss all my children ten thousand times over for me & tell them they will see their Papa again. Ask little Fanny from me if she lives [sic] poor Papa and tell me what she says also little Henry I will excuse mistakes in your letters as long as I see an improvement. You compose better, but you do not pay attention to the “spelling”.

Now my dear Wife, goodbye to all of you, Papa & Mamma and even my enemies if I have any, and also your Sister out. I am promised a Ship. I am trying...

Words under the seal. [sic]

also a tea – handsome. My dear little

not yet bought & paid.

/ any. Henry.

I have sent you the Illustrated London News describing the Lord Mayor's Show. Take care of all the papers, I have sent you several already. I have got the microscope and a perfect skeleton. Cod-liver oil will be good for Henry if he is thin. How does the baby grow? Is Thomas fenceing [sic] in the section? You do not tell me what they are doing. Where are the cows and turkies [sic]?

As referred to above, the death certificate of Thomas's wife Hester, who died on 10 June 1850, records that she was the 'Wife of T. V. [sic] Ayliffe, Surgeon, Sturt'.

Karl Blind, 'The Earliest Traveller to the High North' (1898) 2 *Saga-Book of the Viking Club* 198, 216 states:

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Albany F. Major said that in thanking Dr. Blind for the paper he had just read, he wished to express on behalf of all present the pleasure they felt in seeing the Jarl among them once more. ... Mrs. Wyndham Hill wished to support the vote of thanks. She had heard in her youth, from a learned grandfather, of Pytheas and his voyages, and had listened with much pleasure to Dr. Blind's account of him.

As noted above, Cecilia Hill (also known as Cecilia Wyndham Hill) was a granddaughter of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior). It seems likely that the 'learned grandfather' referred to is Thomas. It appears that her other grandfather, John Sanders, was a plasterer.³⁴⁷

Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) died on 28 May 1852 'at his residence near the Sturt River' in South Australia (that is, presumably at Wyndham Farm), aged 78 years. The death certificate records that the cause of his death was 'General Debility' and that his rank or profession was 'Surgeon Sturt River'.

The following notice appeared in *The South Australian Register* on 1 June 1852 at page 2, and was reproduced in *The Adelaide Observer* on 5 June 1852 at page 4:

DIED.

On Friday last (May 28) at his residence near the Sturt River, after a few hours' illness, Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, Esq., M.D, aged 78. Deceased was one of the early colonists, having arrived here with Governor Gawler in the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*, in October 1838; and was much respected by all who had an opportunity of appreciating his amiable character. Conscious of his approaching end, he expressed a desire to take leave of his family, and that wish having been gratified, he awaited his last hour with pious resignation, and departed in peace.

Correspondence between the Ayliffe family and Colonel George Wyndham following Thomas's death

The Ayliffe family continued to correspond with Colonel George Wyndham following the death of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) in 1852. The purpose of the correspondence was usually to request additional financial support.

³⁴⁷ See 'Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia — Pestonjee Bomanjee 1838' <http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/fh/passengerlists/1838PestonjeeBomanjee.htm>.

A letter from Henry Ayliffe to Colonel George Wyndham dated 14 July 1859 stated:³⁴⁸

Adelaide
July 14th 59.

My Lord,

I have the honour to greet Your Lordship on the Peerage. – I have had the honor of Your Lordship’s communications and am thankful for their contents. – I had indulged the hope, that, my energies thwarted only by ill luck would have prompted Your Kindness a little further, without injury to Your Lordship’s Estate, but making a little King of me. – £100 would have cleared me of the world, & still would. I have several times applied here for professional appointments under Governmt, but have had no one to advocate my cause, the popular clamour being / jealous of my high connexions / that I need none. – I know my profession well. – A word from You to where Your Lordship can best dictate would turn the scale. I believe we are soon to have a new Governor. My present adverse position is not due to my self, but much I fear to the supineness of my father when in England and enjoying the bounty of The third Earl of Egremont, for he brought me to nothing & I never had more than £30 a Year that I enjoyed at Your Lordship’s hands to back me, excepting when I was last in London, & then I succeeded. – I believe I should have been more successful in a more polite part of the world.

I have the honour to be

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s

Most Obligated Servt.

H. W Ayliffe.

The Honourable George Wyndham
Baron of Leconfield

A letter from Elizabeth Ayliffe (the widow of George Ayliffe) to Colonel George Wyndham dated 17 August stated:³⁴⁹

South Australia Sturt
August 17th.

My Lord,

Permit me most gratefully to thank you for your kind and much needed present – And believe me I should have taken an earlier opportunity of expressing my sense of your liberality to my self and family – but that necessity compels my trespassing still further on your Lordship’s valuable time with my affairs. – I had hoped that a change in the times would have prevented my doing so. – The annuity which you kindly allow me, is and has been of the greatest service to me It has assisted me to maintain a respectable position in society – also to educate my children decently. – and in a manner to ensure their filling that position creditably. – I have struggled to educate my sons who are now

³⁴⁸ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072.

³⁴⁹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072.

nearly approaching manhood, as well as, under circumstances I could hope to do – yet I have not been able to give them Professions or otherwise forward them in business. – Without which young men in these colonies can hope to do very little – My eldest Son has married and is farming a section besides being occasionally engaged in contracting for Government Works – My second Son – George has entered the Mounted Police Force – My other two Sons whom I shall shortly be compelled to remove from school – are of course – and I fear will be without employment. – My daughters – I have two – have also left school and are now (being entirely without fortunes) my chief source of anxiety The youngest is, and has been for some time under an engagement of marriage to Mr Hill – A gentleman Who has for some years held a high and responsible position under Government – both here and on the Mauritius – I should immediately consent to the marriage but from recent losses – caused by the trying state of the colony I am unable to furnish her with a suitable wardrobe This is a source of deep regret to me as a marriage with a gentleman of so good a standing would secure to her a comfortable and independant [sic] position in society – and be of great assistance to her younger brothers. – Trusting to your past kindness since the loss of my Husband to you Sir I venture to apply – I need not assure you that my, and my children’s gratitude will ever be your’s [sic] Before closing permit me to appologize [sic] for thus taking up your Lordship’s valuable time with my affairs

I remain Sir,

Most gratefully, yours

E Ayliffe

As noted above, it is apparent that this letter was written in 1858 or 1859 given that in the letter Elizabeth stated that her ‘eldest Son [Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (III)] has married’ and that her ‘youngest [daughter (Cecilia Ayliffe)] is, and has been for some time under an engagement of marriage to Mr Hill’. Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (III) married Adelaide Miller on 14 November 1857. Cecilia Ayliffe married Thomas Padmore Hill on 26 November 1859.

A letter from Elizabeth Ayliffe to Colonel George Wyndham dated 28 October 1859 stated:³⁵⁰

Adelaide
Oct 28th. 59.

My Lord,

On behalf of my self and children I beg most sincerely to return my thanks for past favors & respectfully solicit a continuance of the allowance you have been making me for a few years longer, as the education of my sons is far from complete & they, with two of my daughters are still with me – One of the latter, however, is about to be married – Should you at present withdraw your favors from me I shall be destitute, as my relations are not in a position to render me the slightest assistance – I was left with a large family to bring up & it may recur to you that in your letter to Mr. Edwd. Stevens of the bank of South Australia, in the Year 45 I was encouraged to hope for your kind assistance while my family was on my hands – In authenticity of what I have stated the Revd. James Pollitt has attached his signature

I am, My Lord,

³⁵⁰ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072.

Your Lordship's Obedt. Servt.

Elizabeth Ayliffe

James Pollitt
Incumbent of St Luke's
Lord Lecolnfeild [sic]

A letter from Henry Ayliffe to Colonel George Wyndham dated 14 December 1859 stated:³⁵¹

Adelaide
Decr 14th 59

My Lord,

Allow me to return my sincerest thanks for Your Lordship's unexpected kindness. Although the Colony is at present in a most fearful state of depression, Yet I have now so diminished my liabilities that they are not worth naming and my prospects in consequence much brighter

With grateful acknowledgements [sic] of all favours

I remain

Your Lordship's faithfully

H W Ayliffe

To
The Right Honourable
The Baron Leconfield

A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) to Colonel George Wyndham dated 15 February 1860 stated:³⁵²

Stockport South Australia

Feby 15th 1860

My Lord,

When I arrived in this Colony, young, strong, and healthy, I felt I had no right to be a recipient of your Lordship's Bounty, but a numerous family, a fractured elbow, and a succession of dry seasons, has exhausted the hard earnings of twenty years, and without some kind assistance from your Lordship, I must abandon my Farm, and return to that labour my crippled arm renders me unequal to. £200 or £300 would render me truly independent. permit me my Lord this opportunity to express my gratitude for your lengthened kindness to my Brother.

I am your Lordship's most Obedient & Grateful Servant

T. H. Ayliffe

³⁵¹ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072.

³⁵² Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072.

A letter from Henry Ayliffe to Colonel George Wyndham dated 16 April 1861 stated:³⁵³

Adelaide
April 16th 61

My Lord,

It is a duty I owe Your past & many kindnesses, singleheartedly to draw Your attention the extensive mineral wealth now developing itself on York's [sic] Peninsula, as I am sure a sum of £300 or £400 could be made to realise to Your Lordship's estate, a good many thousand. – Had I but 20 or 30 shares only, in one or other of these copper mines, I should be independant [sic] for life, but as this would take from £40 / to £50 / there is no use in talking about it: however should You feel disposed to become a share-holder in any of them I should feel proud of the honour of conducting any agency, or furnishing any information in the matter. Being a fair chemist I can assay & judge for myself; consequently You could depend on any commission being faithfully, cautiously & promptly carried out. York's Peninsula is a tongue or tract of Country lying between Spencers & St. Vincent's Gulf, and the mines thereon are known in general terms as "the Wallerroo [sic] Copper Mines", but with individual distinctions, and some of their Ores yeild [sic] from 40 to 52 ½ per cent of copper

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's

Most faithfully

H W Ayliffe

The Right Honourable
The Baron of Leconfield

P.S. I am sorry to read of the demise of Major General Sir Henry Wyndham.

A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) to Colonel George Wyndham dated 27 April 1861 stated:³⁵⁴

South Australia

Stockport April 27th 1861

My Lord,

I cannot again trouble you, with my reasons for declining your Lordship's Bounty on my arrival in the Colony, but I assure your Lordship, they were those of a [sic] honest man, but being crippled, permit me, earnestly to beg, you will enable me to purchase a team of Bullocks, and a couple of Cows, to enable me to support my Family, and your Lordship may be assured of my gratitude, and that I will never trouble you again.

³⁵³ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072.

³⁵⁴ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072.

I am
Your Lordship's
Very Obedient Servant
T. H. Ayliffe

A letter from Henry Ayliffe to Colonel George Wyndham dated 22 June 1861 stated:³⁵⁵

Adelaide
June 22d / 61

My Lord,

I should never have troubled Your Lordship again but there is a conspiracy here to keep me down. £120/ will cover all my liabilities even those that have been standing some years. There is no credit in the place and having nothing to back me I have consequently no friend here. – I never put foot into such “a hole & corner” place in my life. – I am not a spend thrift neither am I an indolent or idle man. I work here in my profession, but cannot get my money when I have earned it, so beggared is the place! – and these people are worrying my life out and will not give me time, or I could liquidate their claims. – I am pained to be driven to this course. – I never cast my lot among so illiberal & persecuting a mob of people in my life; in so much, that, had I the means, I should instantly leave for some other colony or place better suited to my feelings & habits. – May I once more find You my friend?

Your Lordship's
Ever faithfully
H. W. Ayliffe

To The Right Honourable
The Baron of Leconfield

A letter from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (III) to Colonel George Wyndham dated 1861 stated:³⁵⁶

Park Side Nr Adelaide S. A
Mon 25th 1861.

My Lord,

I beg to thank your Lordship for the extreme kindness you have shewn to my Mother (Widow of the late Mr Geo Ayliffe) in allowing the income which has enabled her to bring up her family although no assistance ever reached her from any other source – At the same time if not trespassing [sic] upon your Lordships kind generosity – I would ask a further favor for myself Wife & children – Viz that your Lordship would kindly place in the hands of some respectable gentleman in the Colony a sufficient sum to enable me to purchase a small Station or a part of one so that by steady application &

³⁵⁵ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072.

³⁵⁶ Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072. The letter is dated ‘Mon 25th 1861’. February, March and November were the months in 1861 in which the 25th day fell on a Monday.

industry I might have a fair start in business & be placed in a position to obtain for my Mother the comfortable support now so necessary in her advanced years – Of course it is almost unnecessary to mention that what ever sum your Lordship might be pleased to advance for the above purpose would be repaid say with your Lordships permission in 7 years with 5 per cent interest per annum – I beg to assure your Lordship that the kindness at all times shewn to my mother – is & always has been sincerely felt by her & consequently by me & all the remaining members of the family & that I should never have troubled your Lordship on my behalf did I not feel that it was absolutely necessary for me to obtain a fair start in a business (which hither to I have been unable to obtain from facts already known to your Lordship) to place me in a fair position to assist my mother & other members of the family

Trusting that if your Lordship does not think fit to acced [sic] to my proposition that you will in some other way assist me

I beg to remain

My Lord

Your obedt Servt

Thos. H. Ayliffe

Lord Leckonfield [sic]

ELIZABETH, THE COUNTESS OF EGREMONT

Elizabeth Ilive was born in about 1769.³⁵⁷

As discussed above, she was a sister of Thomas Ilive (later called Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe). I have discovered that her father was Abraham Ilive, and that her sisters were Frances and Maria Ilive. It appears that her mother was Cecilia Ilive.

Elizabeth lived with, and married, George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont.³⁵⁸

Joseph Farington recorded in his diary that Ozias Humphry believed Elizabeth was 'with His Lordship at 15 years of age'.³⁵⁹ If this is correct, it would mean that she was with Lord Egremont from around 1784 or 1785.

Lord Egremont and Elizabeth had eight children. Their first child, George, was born when Elizabeth was about 17 or 18.

Their children were: George, who was born on 5 June 1787 and baptised as 'George Wyndham' on 22 July 1787 at St Marylebone in Marylebone, Middlesex; Frances, who was born in about 1789; Henry, who was born on 12 May 1790 and baptised as 'Henry Wyndham Ilive' on 24 June 1790 at Petworth, Sussex; Edward, who was born in about 1792 and baptised as 'Edward Wyndham Ilive' on 20 April 1792 at Petworth; William, who was born in about 1793 and baptised as 'William Wyndham Ilive' on 13 September 1793 at Petworth; Charlotte, who was born on 11 April 1795 and baptised as 'Charlotte Wyndham Ilive' on 10 June 1795 at Petworth; Charles, who was born on 10 September 1796 and baptised as 'Charles Wyndham Ilive' on 5 October 1796 at Petworth; and Elizabeth, who was born in about 1802.

Edward, William and Elizabeth did not survive infancy.

In 1796, Elizabeth was awarded a silver medal by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce for designing a new form of lever for lifting heavy weights called a 'cross-bar' lever.

³⁵⁷ According to the burial register of St Decuman's in Watchet, Somerset, a notice in *The Morning Post* on 3 January 1823 at page 3 and a notice in *The Morning Chronicle* on 3 January 1823 at page 4, Elizabeth was aged 53 at the time of her death. Given that she died on 30 December 1822, it is apparent that she was born in 1769 (unless her date of birth was 31 December).

³⁵⁸ George O'Brien Wyndham was born on 18 December 1751 and died on 11 November 1837.

³⁵⁹ Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol VI, 2140. However, Farington also recorded that Humphry believed Elizabeth 'was a farmer's daughter', which is incorrect. Rather, her father, Abraham Ilive, was a printer. In any event, Elizabeth gave birth to her first child in June 1787, and so was with Lord Egremont in 1786 when she was around 16 or 17 years of age.

The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures (1797) vol VI, 246–8 states:

XXXI. Description of a Method of using, to the best Advantage, the Power applied to the Cross-Bar Level, for raising large Weights. By Mrs. Elizabeth WYNDHAM, of Petworth.

WITH A PLATE.

From the TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY for the ENCOURAGEMENT of ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.

The Silver Medal of the Society was presented to Mrs. WYNDHAM for her ingenious Contrivance, a Description of which is given in the following Letter from her.

I HAVE sent you a model of a mechanical invention of my own, which you will laugh at, as every one here did at first ; but, I assure you that the workmen all approve of it very much, and agree that it is of great service to them. Since you left Petworth, a great work has been begun, of moving earth in which there are great quantities of stones : I observed that the men made use of the lever in a very ineffectual manner, by standing three or four at a time on the bar of the lever, by which means some of them were placed so near the fulcrum, that their power was in a great degree lost ; besides, they were obliged to steady themselves upon sticks, for fear of falling, which took off their weight upon the lever.

A, (Plate XIV, Fig. 2.) is the lever.

B, is an upright piece of wood to be fixed to the lever, taking care that the side marked with the letter B be placed opposite the letter A, on the lever, as by that means it inclines backwards, which increases the power.

C, is a cross-bar for the workmen to hold by.

D, is a cross-bar to be placed at the bottom, behind the upright piece of wood, for the men to stand upon, and the end of the lever passes through it. These additions are made to take on and off, and are only to be used when the strength of the rocks requires an increase of power.

If the rock to be moved should be, as I have often seen it, placed so high above the ground as to put the men in danger of being hurt by falling, on the displacing of the rock, in such case the lever may be reversed, so that the men will then stand upon the bar on which, in common cases, their hands are placed ; and thus they will not be in danger of falling.

Below is an image of the medal awarded to Elizabeth.³⁶⁰

³⁶⁰ Timothy Millett Limited, Historic Medals and Works of Art
<http://www.historicmedals.com/viewItem.php?no=445>: ‘Society of Arts, Mercury and Minerva Medal, silver medal, 1796, by T. Pingo, Britannia seated left is conferred with honours by Mercury and Minerva standing before her, ARTS. AND. COMMERCE. PROMOTED/ SOCIETY INST. LONDON/ MDCCLIII, rev. To Mrs Wyndham, MDCCXCVI/ Cross Bar/ Lever/ Improved/ No. CLXX, within wreath border, 44 mm (MI 684/401; Allen 2). Extremely fine and rare... This is the first premium medal of the Royal Society of Arts and was awarded in gold and silver for work in arts, manufactures and commerce. It was designed by James “Athenian” Stuart. Elizabeth Ilive (d. 1822) was the mistress of George Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont (1741 [sic]-1837), Petworth House. Elizabeth, known as “Mrs Wyndham”, shared the Earl’s interest in science and together they would entertain friends from artistic circles at Petworth, Elizabeth often conducting chemical experiments. This prize was awarded



Elizabeth wrote ‘Planting of Potatoe Shoots’ (1797) 28 *Annals of Agriculture* 324. The article does not contain her name, but rather states (at 324): ‘By a Lady.’ At 331, it states: ‘Petworth, March 11, 1797.’

In an epilogue to the article (at 333), the publisher of the journal, Arthur Young, stated:

* It is with great pleasure that I insert this very interesting paper. It is highly satisfactory, and proves clearly that the method detailed is of real importance ; and as this very ingenious lady intends prosecuting her trials next year in a field better prepared for the experiment, I have no doubt but she will command a yet more brilliant success, and establish so beneficial a practice free from every doubt or hesitation ; indeed the result of the present trial goes nearly to do this. I could enlarge here on the merit of attending to such objects—but the reflections must be obvious to every reader. When female cultivators can thus form and register their experiments, it is with reason I wish for such correspondents.

A. Y.

Lord Egremont and Elizabeth married on 16 July 1801 at Petworth. The entry in the Petworth church register is said to state:³⁶¹

George O’Brien, Earl of Egremont, of this parish, bachelor, and Elizabeth Ilive, of the same parish, spinster, were married in this Church by Licence, this 16th day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and one, by me Thomas Vernon, Curate.

This marriage was solemnized between us, O’Brien Egremont, Elizabeth Ilive, in the presence of William Tayler, John Upton.

Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol III, 1113–5 states (for 1798):

for her invention, the “cross-bar lever”, which she designed to improve the lifting of weights. Elizabeth bore the Earl seven children and eventually they married in 1801, but separated two years later.’

³⁶¹ Quoted in ‘EARL OF EGREMONT’, *Notes and Queries* (1904) s10-I, 234.

Tuesday Decr. 18th

Mrs. Wyndham, who lives with Lord Egremont called on me to see my pictures. I told her I had none finished by me but hoped in a few months to have several to shew her. She professed to have great delight in painting and devotes much of her time to it. Mr. Andre, the Surgeon, she said, lives with them and had mentioned me, as had Philips. She had a fine little Boy with her, abt. 2 years old, *very like Lord Egremont*. She spoke warmly in favor of Monsr. Calonne, said He was an enthusiast in regard to pictures, and much of a gentleman in manners. She remarked on the little impression the great changes in France seem to have made on his mind, as on other of the Emigrants, who instead of breaking their hearts as Englishmen wd. do, from being Counts turn Cobblers or anything for a livelihood. She invited me to Petworth, and said Ld. Egremont wd. be glad to see me there. She seldom comes to town, not oftener than once a year, but thinks she shall come in the Spring to see the Orleans collection which I mentioned to her. — She appears to be abt. 36 years old. ...

Thursday Decr. 20th

... When Marchant went with Mr. Hayley the last autumn to Petworth, He saw in Great Hall there, several of the pictures of Vandyke standing, and Collins the Miniature painter, Philips, the Portrait Painter, and a Clergyman from Cambridge copying them. This was liberally allowed them to do by Lord Egremont & Hayley told Marchant, that when there was no company they dined with Lord Egremont & Mrs. Wyndham only. As these artists went to Lord Egremonts at *their own solicitation*, & not at his, this was as handsome a reception as they could reasonably expect. Hayley is in great favour with his Lordship. Sometime since one of his children, by Mrs. Wyndham died; which affected them much and they went for a change to Hayleys House. ...

In Joseph Farington, *The Farington Diary* (edited by James Greig, 1923) vol 1, 254–5, the third last sentence of the extract above is transcribed as follows:

This was liberally allowed them to do by Lord Egremont and Hayley told Marchant, that when there was no company they dined with Lord Egremont & *Mrs Wyndham*, when company was there they dined with Mrs Wyndham only.

Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol VI, 2140 states (for 1803):

Sunday Octr. 9th

... Humphry dined with me. — He told me that Mrs. Wyndham was married to Lord Egremont above two years ago. — He believes she was a farmer's daughter, & was with His Lordship at 15 years of age. — She was according to her own account neither desirous of being married to His Lordship nor of being acknowledged *Countess of Egremont*, which He sd. she might declare herself if she pleased. The cause of their present unhappiness is Jealousy on her part. — She apprehends His Lordship is not faithful to her, — and that with people about her. — At present they do not cohabit.

At vol VI, 2280 (for 27 March 1804), Farington states:

... He [Thomas Daniell] saw Lord Egremont a few days since. His Lordship asked Him "Whether little H[umphry] talked as much nonsense as ever". — Daniell since that called on His Lordship. On being shewed up to His Lordship He understood that He had been sometime waiting below. Lord E. called for Miss [Frances] Windham, His Eldest Daugtr. & bid Her bring H. upstairs. She is a pretty, modest girl of 16 or 17. She calls Lord E. Pappa & He is very fond of Her. — Lord E. took Daniell into

another room & then returned to H, & on coming back sd. He was gone, & that He shd. sooner have got rid of Him had He not begn [sic] to talk of Royal Academy business. — That day Daniell dined with [his] Lordship, but H. was not asked. The Bishop of Fearn, & Mr. Clarke author of a Maritime work, were there. — Lord E. sat at the top of the table & Miss Windham on his right hand. While Mrs. Windham (Countess of E) Her mother resided there she sat at the top of the table. She lives separate from Him in a House in Orchard St.

The manner of Lord E. is not likely to please at first. There is a great deal of *the Peer* about Him, the effect of a habit of superiority, but Daniell thinks him good-natured. ...

Elizabeth's name appears in land tax records in respect of a property at Sudbury, Middlesex for 1804 and 1805. The Land Tax Assessment Books are dated 6 June 1804 and 19 June 1805, respectively. The entries record that 'Aldridge' was the proprietor and that 'Lady Egremont' paid £20 5 s in rent, together with £4 for each of two parcels of adjoining land, for each of those years.³⁶²

Elizabeth's name appears in land tax records in respect of the property at 1 Montagu Square in Marylebone, Middlesex for 1806 and 1807. The entries record that the occupier of the property was 'Lady Egremont' and that she paid £140 in rent for each of those years.³⁶³

According to the National Heritage List for England, the building that currently stands at 1 Montagu Square was constructed in about 1810 to 1811.³⁶⁴ It therefore appears that the building that stood at that address when Elizabeth lived there no longer stands. Montagu Square does not appear in land tax records for 1805.³⁶⁵ Therefore, it appears that Montagu Square was constructed at around this time, and that Elizabeth was one of its original residents.

Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kathryn Cave) (1982) vol VIII, 3010 states (for 8 April 1807):

Daniell told me that Lord & Lady Egremont are to live together again. She called on Daniell a few days ago, and looks very well. She is abt. 40 years old.

A letter from William Blake to Ozias Humphry dated 18 February 1808 stated:³⁶⁶

The design of "The Last Judgment," which I have completed, by your recommendation, for the Countess of Egremont, it is necessary to give some account

³⁶² Land Tax Records, Parish of Harrow on the Hill, 1804 at page 15; 1805 at page 15. The pages on which the entries appear are headed 'Sudbury'.

³⁶³ Land Tax Records, Parish of Marylebone, 1806, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3929 at page 65; 1807, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3940 at page 68.

³⁶⁴ The National Heritage List in England, <http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1223086>.

³⁶⁵ Land Tax Records, Parish of Marylebone, 1805, Land Tax Assessment Book vol 3920.

³⁶⁶ Archibald G B Russell, *The Letters of William Blake* (1906) 198–9.

of; and its various parts ought to be described, for the accommodation of those who give it the honour of their attention.

William Blake wrote the following poem, which refers to Elizabeth:³⁶⁷

The Caverns of the Grave I've seen,
And these I show'd to England's Queen.
But now the Caves of Hell I view,
Who shall I dare to show them to?
What mighty soul in Beauty's form
Shall dauntless view the infernal storm?
Egremont's Countess can control
The flames of Hell that round me roll ;
If she refuse, I still go on
Till the Heavens and Earth are gone,
Still admir'd by noble minds,
Follow'd by Envy on the winds,
Re-engrav'd time after time,
Ever in their youthful prime,
My designs unchang'd remain.
Time may rage, but rage in vain.
For above Time's troubled fountains,
On the Great Atlantic Mountains,
In my Golden House on high,
There they shine eternally.

The following appeared in *The Times* on 30 January 1812:

On Sunday night, as John May, a servant of Lady EGREMONT, was passing along Back-lane, near Parson's-green, Fulham, he was met by robbers, one of whom demanded his money, and gave him a violent blow on the head with a stick; the servant resisted, and hearing some persons approaching, the robbers ran off.

³⁶⁷ The poem is contained in Blake's Notebook, known as the 'Rosetti Manuscript'. Morton D Paley, 'William Blake, Jacob Ilive, and the Book of Jasher' (1996) 30 *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* 51 speculates as to whether Blake was familiar with Jacob Ilive and *The Book of Jasher* (1751). At 51, 53-4, he states: 'The fact that a work purporting to be the lost book of Jasher (or Jashar) had been published in his [Blake's] own century must have been known to him [Blake], especially as it had been produced by a man well known in the printing profession, one whose heterodox religious ideas had some common ground with his own. The fact that this work [*The Book of Jasher*] was widely considered a forgery would hardly have deterred [sic] Blake, whose characteristic view was that not the literal fact of production but the inner meaning of a work determines its authenticity. ... In the 1751 *Book of Jasher* Blake may well have found useful sentiments and examples, as well as a model for the layout of part of his own Bible of Hell, *The [First] Book of Urizen*. ... We may well imagine that William Blake would have found Ilive's [life] story of some interest. ... Blake, with his interest in biblical antiquities and his connections with the printing trade, would have had ample opportunity to know the first edition [of *The Book of Jasher*]. It is interesting to consider what distinctive features might have interested him most. ... A further point of comparison may be made between the format of *The Book of Jasher* and [Blake's] *The [First] Book of Urizen*. ... [B]oth play upon the reader's experience of opening a conventional Bible, only to present a text subversive of such a Bible. Finally, just as *Jasher* concludes after its last verse (37: 32) "*The End of the Book of Jasher*," *Urizen* concludes "The End of the [first] book of Urizen" (E 83), both in imitation of colophons in medieval texts.' It is also interesting to consider whether Blake may have known that Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont was a niece of Jacob Ilive.

The Gentleman's Magazine : and Historical Chronicle (1813) vol LXXXIII, part 1, 403 includes the following entry in a list of subscribers:

£. s. d.

...

The Countess of Egremont, Fulham 2 0 0

T Faulkner, *An Historical and Topographical Account of Fulham; Including the Hamlet of Hammersmith* (1813) 273 states:

The elegant mansion of the Countess of Egremont was almost wholly built by its late owner, Mr. Ellis, including in its centre a small house, which was the residence of the late Dr. Cadogan.

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 13 November 1815 at page 3:³⁶⁸

CHANGES.

... Countess of Egremont, from Broadstairs to Ramsgate ...

J Norris Brewer, *The Beauties of England and Wales; or Delineations Topographical, Historical and Descriptive* (1816) vol X, part 4, 99 and J Norris Brewer, *London and Middlesex; or, an Historical, Commercial, & Descriptive Survey of the Metropolis of Great-Britain* (1816) vol IV, 99 state (under 'FULHAM'):

A short distance is the very elegant residence of the Countess of Egremont. ... The present mansion was erected by Mr. Ellis, and includes, in its central compartment, the former dwelling of Dr. Cadogan. The style of architecture is eminently appropriate to the situation. Light, and abounding in relief, it conveys the idea of a summer retreat of the most luxurious description ; and the grounds are disposed with a similar delicacy of taste.

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 11 March 1817 at page 3:

BRIGHTON, MARCH 9.

...

ARRIVALS.—The Countess of Egremont ...

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 21 April 1817 at page 2:³⁶⁹

THE COUNTESS OF EGREMONT'S BALL.

The first party for the season in Dover-street was a quadrille party, held on Thursday evening. It was given to a juvenile circle, which assembled at ten o'clock, and broke up at two. Refreshments were provided, consisting of every delicacy. The company were high delighted—of course they did not separate without regret.

³⁶⁸ Broadstairs and Ramsgate are in the Isle of Thanet in Kent.

³⁶⁹ Dover Street is in Mayfair.

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 4 October 1817 at page 3:

FASHIONABLE CHANGES.

... the Countess of Egremont, on a tour ...

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* on 4 October 1817 at page 2:

Departures from Cook's Hotel, Albemarle-street :— ... the Countess of Egremont, on a tour ...

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 8 October 1817 at page 2:

FASHIONABLE ARRIVALS.

...

RAMSGATE.

Amongst the recent fashionable arrivals at this delightful spot, are—

... Countess of Egremont ...

'Compendium of County History. Middlesex' in *The Gentleman's Magazine : and Historical Chronicle* (1818) vol LXXXVIII, part 1, 507 states:

Seats.

...

Fulham, ...

— Countess of Egremont.

James Dugdale, *The New British Traveller; or, Modern Panorama of England and Wales* (1819) vol III, 488 states (under 'FULHAM'):

At a short distance, the elegant villa of the Countess of Egremont meets the eye. The style of architecture is light, and well adapted for a summer retreat. The grounds are laid out in a manner appropriate to the character of the building, and display considerable taste.

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 2 January 1819 at page 3:

FASHIONABLE ARRIVALS.

... the Countess of Egremont, at her new residence in Waterloo-place, from her seat at Putney ...

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* on 17 August 1819 at page 3:

The Countess of EGREMONT has left her house, Waterloo-place, for Paris.

London and Its Environs; or, the General Ambulator, and Pocket Companion for the Tour of the Metropolis and Its Vicinity (12th ed, 1820) 112 states:

... at a short distance further is the elegant residence of the countess of Egremont, which has been greatly enlarged since the decease of Dr. Cadogan, its former inhabitant.

Boyle's Court and Country Guide, and Town Visiting Directory Corrected for January, 1821 (1821) 236 states:

Egremont. Countess of, 4, Waterloo-pl

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 23 October 1821 at page 3:

FASHIONABLE ARRIVALS.

... Countess of Egremont, in Piccadilly.

Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont is referred to as the godmother in the baptism record of Charles William Philip Hamilton de Courtenay at St James, Spanish Place in Westminster, Middlesex on 4 November 1821. As referred to above, this was the child of her niece Frances de Courtenay.

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Post* on 3 January 1823 at page 3:

DIED—On Monday night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, at her house at Waterloo-place, the Countess of Egremont, aged 53.

The following notice appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* on 3 January 1823 at page 4:

DIED.

...

On Monday night last, between and eleven and twelve o'clock, at her house, in Waterloo-place, the Countess of Egremont, aged 53.

The following notice appeared in the *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal, and Huntingdonshire Gazette* on 3 January 1823 at page 2:

DIED.—

... At her house in Waterloo-place, the Countess of Egremont. ...

The following notice appeared in *The Lincoln, Rutland, and Stamford Mercury* on 3 January 1823 at page 2:

DIED.—

... On Monday night, at her house in Waterloo-place, the Countess of Egremont. ...

The following notice appeared in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* on 4 January 1823 at page 3:

DIED.

... In Waterloo-place, the Countess of Egremont. ...

The following notice appeared in *The Examiner* on 5 January 1823 at page 23:

DEATHS.

...

On Monday night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, at her house in Waterloo-place, the Countess of Egremont.

The following notice appeared in *Trewman's Exeter Flying-Post: or, Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser* on 9 January 1823 at page 4:

LONDON, TUESDAY, JAN. 7, 1823.

...

The remains of the Countess of Egremont were removed yesterday morning from her house in Waterloo place for interment in the family vault in Somersetshire.

The following notice appeared in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet & Plymouth Journal* on 11 January 1823 at page 2:

DIED.—At her house in Waterloo-place, the Countess of Egremont.

The following notice appeared in *The Lancaster Gazette* on 18 January 1823 at page 3:

DIED.

...

On the 30th ult. at London, the Countess of Egremont.

The Gentleman's Magazine and Chronicle, XCIII (1823) part 1, 92 states:

DEATHS.

LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS.

...

Dec. 30. ...

In Waterloo-place, Countess of Egremont.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, XIII (1823) 259 states, under the heading 'DEATHS' (for 30 December 1822):

— In Waterloo Place, London, the Countess of Egremont.

The burial register of St Decuman's in Watchet, Somerset for 1823 states:

Name.	Abode.	When Buried.	Age.	By whom the Ceremony was performed.
Right Honourable Countess of Egremont	London	Jany 10th	53	Charles Alford

The Present Peerage of the United Kingdom (1833) 52 states:

GEORGE O'BRIEN WYNDHAM, Earl of EGREMONT, Baron Cockermouth, and a Baronet ; Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Sussex. Born Dec. 18, 1751. Succeeded his father, Charles, the late Earl, Aug. 21, 1761. The Earl married Miss Ayliffé, who died Dec. 30, 1822.

Heir-Presumptive—Percy-Charles, the Earl's brother.—Creations—Earl and Baron, Oct. 3, 1749.—Arms—See plate 11.

The following article appeared in *The Brighton Patriot* on 21 November 1837:

THE LATE EARL OF EGREMONT, HIS TITLES, ESTATES, &c.

...

The acknowledged family of the late Earl of Egremont, consists of six children ; three sons and two daughters by Miss Ayliffé, previous to her marriage with the Earl, and one daughter by a Miss Fox, whose father, we believe, was formerly manager of the Brighton Theatre. Of the daughters of Miss Ayliffé, the eldest was married to Sir Charles Burrell, Bart., the youngest, to Mr. King. His Lordship's daughter by Miss Fox is the present Countess of Munster. To each of these ladies, on her marriage, he is said to have given a very considerable fortune.

The marriage of his Lordship with Miss Ayliffé is said not to have produced that harmony which might have been expected from long acquaintance and union. This is attributed by some to the Countess having divulged her marriage, contrary to the injunctions of her husband ; by some, to jealousy on the part of the lady ; by some, to the failure of issue, his Lordship having married the lady at a moment when he had reason to expect an increase in family. However this may be, certain it is, love did not shed the pleasures of harmony and confidence on the nuptial couch of his Lordship. ...

An obituary of George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, IX (January 1838) 91 states:

By a lady now deceased, who bore the name of Mrs. Wyndham, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Iliff, one of the Under Masters of Westminster School, the Earl of Egremont had issue three sons and three daughters. The former are, George Wyndham, esq. now of Petworth, Colonel in the army ; Henry Wyndham, esq., of Sladeland, Sussex, a Major-General in the army ; and Charles Wyndham, esq., of Rogate, Sussex, a Colonel in the army. The daughters are, Frances, married to Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, Bart. and has issue three sons and one daughter ; Mary, married in 1819 to George Earl of Munster, eldest son of his late Majesty William the Fourth, and has issue two sons and two daughters ; and — married to John King, esq.

The London Gazette, 25 January 1839 (number 19698) at page 142 states:

Whitehall, January 21, 1839

The Queen has been pleased to grant unto George Wyndham (otherwise George Wyndham Ilive), of Petworth, in the county of Sussex, Esq. a Colonel in the Army ; Henry Wyndham (otherwise Henry Wyndham Ilive), of Sladeland, in the said county, Esq. a Major-General in the Army ; and unto Charles Wyndham (otherwise Charles Wyndham Ilive), of Rogate, in the same county, Esq. a Colonel in the Army, Her Majesty's royal licence and authority, confirming to them, respectively, the surname of Wyndham only, and that such surname may be taken, used, and borne by their issue respectively :

And also to command, that the said royal concession and declaration be registered in the College of Arms.

The Popular Encyclopedia; Being a General Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, Biography, History, and Political Economy (1841) vol VII, part II, 459, under 'EGREMONT, EARL OF', states:

By a lady now deceased, who bore the name of Mrs Wyndham, the daughter of the Rev. Mr Iliff, one of the under masters of Westminster school, the earl of Egremont had issue three sons and three daughters.

Notes and Queries (1904) s10-I, 148 states:

EARL OF EGREMONT.—An article in the *Morning Leader* of 1 February on the Albany mentions incidentally that the Earl of Egremont (*i.e.* George O'Brien, third earl) never married. Can you or any of your readers refer me to the dates of three or four issues of the *Daily Western Times* of Exeter, of about twenty years ago, which stated that he was twice married, or to any other sources of a similar purport, or to the name of the lady by whom he is said to have been jilted, or to the titles of works bearing on his public or private history? This earl was certainly followed in the titles by a fourth earl, whilst at the same time his three illegitimate sons unaccountably took the entailed estates. Though he was a prominent personality for the long period of his life of eighty-six years, and a munificent patron of the artists of his day, very scant records would appear to exist as to his life, to prove or disprove his relations with Lady Melbourne and the parentage of his children. Is it suggested that the Premier Lord Melbourne was his son?
ARCHÆOLOGIST.

Notes and Queries (1904) s10-I, 192–3 states:

EARL OF EGREMONT (10th S. i. 148).—Any old peerage would have proved to ARCHÆOLOGIST the relationship between the third and fourth Earls of Egremont. It would indeed have been "unaccountable" if the third earl's "entailed estates" had devolved on his illegitimate sons ; but nothing of the kind occurred. Like many others before and since, the third Earl of Egremont disposed by will of whatever property he had the power of disposition over. Such estates as were entailed followed the entail—a not unusual occurrence.

As practically every memoir-writer from about 1770 to 1837 refers to the Lord Egremont in question, from Horace Walpole down to Creevey, and Petworth during his reign was one of the best-known great houses in England, ARCHÆOLOGIST can hardly be termed correct in assuming that very little is known about him. I think Charles Greville mentions the story of the alleged paternity of Lord Melbourne. The latter called the story in question, "a lie," but the old proverb of a "wise child," &c., gives later generations, if they choose to think otherwise, an option.

The descent of the present noble owner of Petworth from Lord Egremont makes the whole subject not altogether suitable for discussion in the press. H.

Has ARCHÆOLOGIST consulted the 'D.N.B.'? There is a long and interesting article upon Sir George O'Brien Wyndham, third Earl of Egremont, with various references appended thereto, in vol. lxiii. pp. 244-6.

A. R. BAYLEY

[Reply also from DR. FORSHAW.]

Notes and Queries (1904) s10-I, 233-4 states:

EARL OF EGREMONT (10th S. i. 148, 192).—I remember seeing the issues of the *Daily Western Times*, but cannot give their date.

In Petworth House there is a picture bearing on the frame the endorsement "Elizabeth, Countess of Egremont." I believe it is by Romney. She is represented in a reclining attitude on a sofa-cushion placed on the ground, and about her stand her two sons and two daughters (all born before the following recorded ceremony); the eldest son holds a bow and arrow. These sons were the progenitors of the present important families of Leconfield and the Wyndhams of Sussex.

In a register belonging to Petworth Church is the following entry :—

"The year 1801, page 37, No. 148.—George O'Brien, Earl of Egremont, of this parish, bachelor, and Elizabeth Ilive, of the same parish, spinster, were married in this Church by Licence, this 16th day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and one, by me Thomas Vernon, Curate.

"This marriage was solemnized between us, O'Brien Egremont, Elizabeth Ilive, in the presence of William Tayler, John Upton."

It is puzzling to note that, from the time of the ceremony in 1801 up to the death of this unfortunate lady in 1822, a period of twenty-one years, the Earl appears not to have admitted the validity of this marriage, as the various peerages of his time (which must have been duly submitted to him for his revision), as well as sundry works of family history, state that he died *unmarried*—also the lady was known in Petworth simply as "Mrs. Wyndham." Nevertheless, she was buried at St. Decuman's, a lonely church on the cliffs of Somersetshire, in the old burial-place of the Dukes of Somerset, and her burial (conducted by a cousin of the late Dean Alford) is there entered as that of "Countess of Egremont," without any distinguishing Christian name. This is a somewhat strange coincidence, as it suggests a possible explanation of the doubt—were there *two* countesses existing at the same time, and was there a reason for leaving the identity of the one ambiguous? There is a tradition that this lady at the time of her death (at Hurlingham) had long been living there apart from the Earl, and that her burial was arranged solely by her brother, a Devonshire farmer, and that none of the Earl's family appeared at it. This might account for her title only being given in this indefinite and informal manner, which could hardly have occurred had the Earl revised the entry.

FORMER PETWORTH RESIDENT.

H. refers to the entailed estates of this nobleman. The entail was made by the will of his father, Charles, the second earl, dated 31 July, 1761, and proved in 1763. (See Folio 'Cæsar,' No. 379. Probate Division, Somerset House.) This will entailed Petworth, Cockermouth Castle, and the London property in Piccadilly, on the male line legitimately born; failing which the entail passed to the male descendants of Earl

Charles's two daughters, the Countesses of Carnarvon and Romney. When was the entail broken? Certainly not by the fourth earl.

ARCHÆOLOGIST.

It is in my view plausible that the notes by 'Archæologist' and 'Former Petworth Resident' were, in fact, written by Cecilia Hill.³⁷⁰

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries – Being a Personal Narrative of Events 1888 – 1914* (1921) part 2, 206–7 states:

13th July [1908].—Percy Wyndham, who has been staying here, went away. At breakfast he gave me some interesting particulars about his family history which I had asked him for. He tells me as to his grandfather, Lord Egremont, and his marriage, that his (Percy's) grandmother was the daughter of a certain Reverend Iliffe, a beneficed clergyman of Surrey, Vicar of Bramley, I think, who made her over to him when quite young. She was very beautiful and very innocent. Lord Egremont practically bought her of [sic] her father, and for some years they lived together very happily. There were three sons of the union, George, Hugh, and Charles, and two daughters, Lady Burrell, a very pretty woman, and Mrs. King. Lady Munster was by another woman, a celebrated *demi-mondaine*, Mrs. Fox. George, the eldest son by Miss Iliffe, was born in 1787. Later Lord Egremont married her and had a daughter, Lady Elizabeth Wyndham, but no son. Then they quarrelled, as she found out he was unfaithful to her, and there was a legal separation, and she lived alone for many years at Fulham in the house now the Bishop of London's Palace. She was a well educated woman and affected science as her hobby to the extent that Lord Egremont got the Royal Society to give her a medal for some pamphlet she had written. Her house at Fulham was much frequented by scientific people. She was quite respectable in every way except her connection with Lord Egremont which at the time she began it she probably did not understand the meaning of. 'Her subsequent marriage with him,' Percy said, 'would, if it had been made in Scotland, have legalized us all.' When Lord Egremont died nobody knew how he would leave his property and a great number were disappointed. His nephew, who succeeded him as Lord Egremont, he did not like and used to laugh at. He, the nephew, got the Orchard Wyndham property and the property at Dinton, and he began to build an enormous house intended to rival Petworth, but he never finished it, and it is now a ruin. Hugh got Cockermouth and the Cumberland property which he never knew how to manage, getting no more than £5,000 a year from it when it was worth £30,000, and afterwards, when it reverted to Petworth, became worth perhaps £100,000. Charles got Rogate, and George Petworth and the rest. Lord Egremont had more confidence in George than in the others, and rightly. The persons most disappointed by his will were the Herberts, his sister having married one of the Carnarvon Herberts. When the will had been read they ordered their carriages and went off. This at the outset embittered Percy's father towards these relations. When the quarrel between Lord Egremont and his lady occurred, Percy's father (he was then thirteen) had been told to leave off writing to her, and having disobeyed was flogged by his father — all this is interesting and most of it new to me.

³⁷⁰ For example, in Cecilia Hill's pamphlet, 'Statement of Facts Re Thomas Hamilton, Called Ilive – Afterwards Ayliffe, and His Family, the Late Earl of Egremont, and the Wyndham-Ilive Family' (1889), which is appended to Ian Hamilton, 'The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton' (1978), Cecilia stated that Elizabeth 'lived with her brother at Hurlingham until she died'. This is incorrect; Elizabeth died at 4 Waterloo Place, where Thomas also lived. The same error is made in the note supposedly written by a 'Former Petworth Resident': 'There is a tradition that this lady at the time of her death (at Hurlingham) had long been living there apart from the Earl ...'

Some of the Iliffe family spell their name Ayliffe. Percy is of opinion that his grandfather's political wisdom and ability have been somewhat overrated. He, through life, avoided taking part in public affairs or joining a party, and so his talents were never put to the proof. He was a very generous dealer with his wealth, maintaining a number of needy hangers-on at Petworth who had almost permanent lodging and board in the house, and painters and other artists innumerable.

The second surviving son of Lord Egremont and Elizabeth was named Henry, not Hugh.

Bramley in Surrey was, in 1811, described as a parish annexed to the parish of Shalford. It was noted that '*Lord Egremont has a seat not far from the village*'.³⁷¹ In 1831, Bramley was described as a parish and curacy in the vicarage of Shalford and diocese of Winchester.³⁷² That is, it was not a vicarage itself. A list of vicars of Shalford and a list of curates of Bramley, though apparently not complete, do not list anyone by the name of Iliffe, Iliff, Ilive or Ayliffe.³⁷³

H A Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837: The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire* (1950) 222–224 states:

Five or six years after this disaster [his engagement to Maria Waldegrave] Egremont formed an unofficial connexion with Elizabeth Ilive, whose origin and parentage are obscure. Her father is variously reported to have served on the staff at Westminster School, to have been a Devonshire farmer, or a Surrey rector. No evidence can be cited to support any one of these suppositions. The union, while it lasted, was one of affection, though not of exclusive devotion; for there was a contemporary liaison with Elizabeth Fox, by whom he had a son and a daughter. Elizabeth lived at Petworth first as 'Miss Ilive'. Later on she became 'Mrs. Wyndham', and finally, after her marriage in July 1801, Countess of Egremont. Lady Caroline Lamb found Egremont 'more amiable ... than in any other view' when in company of his children by her, amongst them being included the daughter of Elizabeth Fox. They were his recognised family. The military services of the sons in the Napoleonic War are described in Chapter XV. ... Elizabeth shared his [Lord Egremont's] patronage of the arts. For her Blake completed 'The Last Judgement',² now in the Petworth collection. She was interested also in scientific subjects, and designed a lever for lifting heavy weights for which she received a silver medal from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. On 16 July 1801 she became Egremont's lawful wife, and one legitimate daughter was born, only to die in infancy. But the marriage that should have established her position destroyed it. An adjustment to the changed circumstances was too difficult. A deed of separation and settlement was executed in May 1803, and she left Petworth never to return. She lived first near Harrow until in 1807 Egremont bought Hurlingham House in Fulham for her for £18,000. She quitted this in 1815 and moved to Waterloo Place, where she died in 1822. She was buried at St. Decuman's, her funeral costing her husband £450.

Footnote 2 to this extract states:

There is no evidence that Elizabeth ever received Blake's dedication of this picture to her ...

³⁷¹ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England* (1811) 295.

³⁷² John Gorton, *A Topographical Dictionary of Great Britain and Ireland* (1831) vol 1, part 1, 270.

³⁷³ Clergy of the Church of England Database <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>.

As referred to above, a notice in *The Morning Post* on 2 January 1819 announced the ‘arrival’ of ‘the Countess of Egremont, at her new residence in Waterloo-place, from her seat at Putney’.³⁷⁴ That is, contrary to the statement that Elizabeth ‘quitted this [Hurlingham House] in 1815 and moved to Waterloo Place’, it appears that she moved to 4 Waterloo Place at around the start of 1819.³⁷⁵

John Edward Reginald Wyndham (the sixth Baron Leconfield and the first Baron Egremont), *Wyndham and Children First* (1968) 33 states:

This Lord Egremont [George O’Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont] became quite bored with the *haut monde* and retired to Petworth, preferring to hobnob with artists like Turner and agriculturists like Arthur Young – and with a Miss Iliffe who bore him six bastards before he eventually married her. On 16 July 1801 she became his lawful wife, but the marriage that should have established her position destroyed it. An adjustment to the changed circumstances proved too difficult for both of them. A deed of separation and settlement was executed in May 1803, and she left Petworth never to return. In the meantime one legitimate daughter was born, only to die in infancy. I have inherited Petworth through the illegitimate line. What happened, I suppose, was that Miss Iliffe, when she came downstairs as a wife after being kept upstairs as a mistress, started bossing the servants about and interfering with Egremont’s arrangements and disturbing his comfort. He needed a mistress but he could not manage a wife.

As to the girl who was born in wedlock, I remember once dining alone at Petworth with my Uncle Charles Leconfield, my predecessor there, and discussing family affairs. I mentioned the legitimate girl and said: ‘It was a good thing that she wasn’t born a son and survived, wasn’t it, Uncle Charles?’

‘My dear boy, it doesn’t bear thinking of!’

Alison McCann, ‘A Private Laboratory at Petworth House, Sussex, in the Late Eighteenth Century’ (1983) 40 *Annals of Science* 635, 635 states (footnotes omitted):

There has recently come to light in the Archives at Petworth House, Sussex, a number of bills for the supply of scientific equipment to Elizabeth Ilive (c1770–1822), otherwise known as Mrs Wyndham, resident mistress of George O’Brien Wyndham (1751–1837), third Earl of Egremont. From these, and from certain entries in estate workers’ accounts, it is clear that Elizabeth Ilive began to acquire scientific apparatus in October 1797, and in the spring of the following year, the Earl had a laboratory built for her at Petworth House. There still remain at Petworth House over 120 pieces of scientific apparatus, and it appears that much of it is that bought by Elizabeth Ilive.

At 636–637, McCann states:

The lady for whom the laboratory at Petworth was established did not come from the same rank of society [as certain aristocrats interested in scientific matters in the late 18th century]. Tantalisingly little is known about her origins and education. Elizabeth

³⁷⁴ *The Morning Post*, 2 January 1819, page 3.

³⁷⁵ See also ‘Compendium of County History. Middlesex’ in *The Gentleman’s Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* (1818) vol LXXXVIII, part 1, 507, which recorded that the seat of the Countess of Egremont was at Fulham.

Ilive is variously reputed to have been the daughter of a librarian at Westminster School, or the daughter of a Devon farmer.⁶ Her association with the Earl of Egremont began when she was very young, probably only just 16, in about 1786.⁷ She lived at Petworth House from about 1789, being allowed the courtesy title of Mrs Wyndham,⁸ and bore the Earl seven children who lived with her at Petworth. Although the Earl had several other children by a number of other women,⁹ his children by Elizabeth Ilive, together with one daughter by an Elizabeth Fox,¹⁰ were his acknowledged family, and it was to them that the Earl left all his unentailed estates on his death in 1837.¹¹

Elizabeth Ilive lived rather a strange existence at Petworth. When the company consisted merely of immediate family, and visiting artists and their families, she was allowed to dine downstairs, but when any polite society was received, she and the other artists were banished to a separate dining-room.¹² In her retirement, she occupied herself with her children, with an interest in botany,¹³ with painting and sketching,¹⁴ with the patronage of artists, including William Blake,¹⁵ and with scientific experiment.

The footnotes to this extract state:

⁶ See Wyndham (footnote 2) [H A Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837: The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire* (1950)], 222; *The Farington Diary* (of Joseph Farington, R.A.) edited by James Greig (London, 1923), II, 159, entry for 9 October 1803.

⁷ According to the entry of her burial at St. Decumans church, near Watchet in Somerset, in 1822, Elizabeth Ilive must have been born *c.* 1770. Her first child by Egremont was born in 1787.

⁸ ‘Lady’s Dining Room & Sitting Room’ are mentioned in the list of chimneys swept in 1789 (Petworth House Archives (subsequently PHA) 2229); the 1790 list includes ‘Miss Illif’s Bedchamber and sitting-room’ (PHA 2230); in the 1797 list she is described as ‘Mrs Wyndham’ for the first time (PHA 2237). This was the name by which she was known until her marriage. The bills for scientific equipment were addressed to Mrs Wyndham.

⁹ In addition to his children by Elizabeth Fox (see footnote 10) the Earl was the reputed father of two of Lady Melbourne’s children; one of the Countess of Berkeley’s children; and his 1798 will includes among the legatees a child called Mary Gerald of whom nothing further is known. The Earl is also popularly believed to have fathered children on many girls in the Petworth area.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Fox, *alias* Crole, was also at one time the mistress of the Prince Regent. Egremont may have had as many as four children by her. PHA 8661 is a draft will of 1798 which lists four children surnamed Fox. However, only Mary, later Countess of Munster, was brought up at Petworth with Elizabeth Ilive’s children.

¹¹ PHA 8660 and 1610 are analyses of the Earl’s will. See also his obituary in the *Brighton Patriot*, 14 November, 1837. The only estates which were entailed were the Wyndham family estates centred on Orchard Wyndham in Somerset. These went to the third Earl’s nephew, George Francis Wyndham, who became the fourth Earl of Egremont.

¹² Greig (footnote 6), I, 255, entry for 20 December 1798.

¹³ She subscribed to Curtis’ *Botanical Magazine*, which she took with her when she left Petworth.

¹⁴ Greig (footnote 6), I, 254, entry for 18 December 1798; PHA 5950, bill from Ann Jemima Provis ‘for making known to Mrs Wyndham the Venetian manner of Painting’, 30 October, 1800.

¹⁵ Blake dedicated his painting of *The Last Judgement* to her. This painting is still at Petworth.

At 641, McCann states:

In any case, she did not have long at Petworth to work in her laboratory. In July 1801, she and the Earl were married,⁴⁸ but instead of assuring her position, this step seems to have destroyed it. There was one legitimate child, who died in infancy in 1802,⁴⁹ and then in May 1803 a deed of separation was drawn up, and Elizabeth, now Countess of Egremont, left Petworth for ever. She lived first near Harrow, then moved to Hurlingham House in Fulham, which she left in 1815 for No. 4 Waterloo Place, London, where she died in 1822.⁵⁰ Very little is known about her life after her separation from the Earl. It is not known whether she took her scientific equipment with her. No reference to the laboratory has been found in the Petworth House Archives later than December 1799. It seems likely that when she left Petworth the laboratory was abandoned, and eventually the remaining equipment was put away in a cupboard.

The footnotes to this extract state:

⁴⁸ Petworth parish registers, W.S.R.O. Par 149/1/1/1; PHA 8656 is the marriage settlement.

⁴⁹ Petworth parish registers, W.S.R.O. Par 149/1/1/1.

⁵⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, XCIII (1823) part 1, 92.

Alexander S Gourlay, ‘Egremont, Lord [George O’Brien Wyndham] (1751–1837)’ in Laura Dabundo (ed), *Encyclopedia of Romanticism — Culture in Britain, 1780s–1830s* (1992) 189–190 states:

Sir George O’Brien Wyndham, Third Earl of Egremont, was one of England’s richest men, an important patron of the arts, and an agricultural innovator and experimenter; he acquired a reputation as an eccentric by going his own way on a relatively large scale and caring little when others disapproved. His huge estate, Petworth, was often crowded beyond the possibility of formality with guests of all kinds and classes; it housed one of the country’s finest art collections (still largely intact), including works by Renaissance and Baroque masters and contemporary Englishmen, notably Barry, Blake, the Daniells, Flaxman, Fuseli, Gainsborough, Hoppner, NorTheote, Romney, Turner, and many others.

Egremont succeeded to the peerage at age 12, but never showed substantial interest in national politics. After attending Westminster School, he toured Europe twice, mostly in the north. As a young man he was prominent in London society. One woman wrote in 1774, ‘He is a pretty man, has a vast fortune, and is very generous, and not addicted to the vices of the times.’ But projected society matches fell through; he kept mistresses and from the 1780s to 1803 lived with Elizabeth Ayliffe (or Iliffe), who bore him several illegitimate children and was known as Mrs. Wyndham as well as the Countess of Egremont. He married her in 1801, legitimizing their offspring but losing the title; they lived apart from 1803 until her death in 1822.

Egremont became interested in Turner very early in the painter’s career, buying *Ships Bearing up for Anchorage* (‘The Egremont Seapiece’), exhibited at the Royal Academy at

1802, and many other works, mostly from Turner's London gallery. After 1820, Turner was regularly in residence at Petworth until the 1830s, recording its daily life in lively sketches, studying works in Egremont's collection, and executing commissions from him. Other artists visiting or taking refuge at Petworth included Haydon, Charles Leslie, Richard Collins, Constable, and the sculptors Edward Carew and Francis Chantrey, from most of whom Egremont also bought or commissioned works.

Egremont was perhaps the most important patron for both Turner and Carew, though his taste was rather conservative. Flaxman's *St. Michael Overcoming Satan* and *Pastoral Apollo* at Petworth are among the sculptor's most successful freestanding works. Blake's only important aristocratic commissions came from Petworth House, perhaps through Hayley: *A Vision of the Last Judgment* and a version of *Satan Calling up His Legions* were commissioned by the Countess, and Lord Egremont purchased *The Character's of Spenser's 'Faerie Queen'* from Blake's widow.

Caroline Dakers, *Clouds: The Biography of a Country House* (1993) 3–4 states:

Though the legend that Egremont sired seventy-two illegitimate children was probably an exaggeration, the Earl certainly indulged in many liaisons. Lady Melbourne is the best known of his mistresses, her son William Lamb, later Prime Minister said to be Egremont's son. But Egremont also had a constant companion, Elizabeth Ayliffe, whom he eventually married in 1801 after the birth of all their children, one of whom was Percy's father, George. The marriage was less successful than the affair and in May 1803 a deed of separation and settlement was drawn up. Egremont acquired estates in Australia to provide for Elizabeth. As a descendant put it, the Earl had 'needed a mistress but he could not manage a wife'.⁷

...

When she [Mary Blunt] married George [Wyndham], he and his brothers and sisters were legally entitled to use only the name Ayliffe. In 1838 they petitioned to be allowed to take the surname of Wyndham but their cousin, who had inherited the earldom, blocked the petition. In January 1839 the petition was finally granted: George, by now over fifty years old, could legally use his father's name. He was granted the title Baron Leconfield in 1859.

The footnote to this extract states:

⁷ Egremont, *Wyndham and Children First*, p. 33. See also David Cecil, *The Young Melbourne* (London, 1939).

It is not correct that Lord Egremont and Elizabeth Ilive married after all of their children had been born. One child, Elizabeth, was born after the marriage. Nor is it correct that Lord Egremont acquired estates in Australia to provide for Elizabeth. The Wyndhams' estates in Australia were acquired after Lord Egremont's death, and long after Elizabeth's death. Further, it is incorrect that before 1839 Lord Egremont's children were only entitled to use the name Ayliffe. Rather, in 1839 George, Henry and Charles were granted a royal licence and authority to use the name Wyndham rather than Wyndham Ilive.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁶ *The London Gazette*, 25 January 1839 (number 19698), page 142.

Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project 1832–1837* (2000) 14–15 state:³⁷⁷

In his new position at Petworth, Sockett thrived in the community of interesting people – the French émigré noblemen who gave way over time to natural scientists and artists – and he stayed to tutor the three boys among the five children of Egremont and Elizabeth Illive who survived infancy.¹³ (Illive’s origins are not certain, though she may have been the daughter of a schoolmaster. In any case, she did not match Egremont in rank, and their long relationship did not survive their private marriage in 1801.)

Christopher Rowell, ‘Wyndham, George O’Brien, third earl of Egremont (1751–1837)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) vol 60, 663, 663 states:

In his youth Egremont’s reputation was as a man of fashion; he made two grand tours of Europe between 1770 and 1772. His expensive—and by his own account—predominantly Francophile tastes embraced courtesans, one of whom, Mlle Du Thé, he imported to London. In July 1780 the ‘handsome’ Egremont’s engagement to Lady Maria Waldegrave was broken off (Walpole, Corr., 25.68, 75). The impediment was Egremont’s philandering and, perhaps, the realization that he valued his freedom above a respectable alliance; his ‘shy and taciturn’ nature may also have been relevant (Leslie, 1.164). About 1784 Elizabeth Ilive (1769–1822) became his principal mistress and the unofficial chatelaine of Petworth, where she pursued her artistic and scientific interests. As ‘Mrs Wyndham’ she gave birth to seven illegitimate children, but their marriage, on 16 July 1801—which produced a legitimate daughter who died in infancy—provoked a permanent separation in 1803, due to his continued infidelities. His amours were notorious; in 1828 Thomas Creevey wrote of ‘my Lord’s Seraglio’, noting that he had a ‘very numerous Stud’ (a double entendre, since he also had a racing stable of 300 horses; Life and Times, 274). His liaison with Elizabeth Milbanke, Viscountess Melbourne (1752?–1818), reputedly produced one prime minister—the second Viscount Melbourne—and the wife of another—Lady Palmerston. He is also known to have had four children with Elizabeth Fox, ‘Mrs Crole’ (c.1770–1840).

Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson, *Poor Cottages & Proud Palaces: The Life and Work of the Reverend Thomas Sockett of Petworth 1777–1859* (2007) 38 state (citation omitted):

In July 1801 Elizabeth [Ilive] at last married the Earl, but Lady Elizabeth Wyndham, the only legitimate baby of their relationship, died early in 1803 and was buried on 9th February. There is seemingly no existing record of the date of her birth and baptism, but after her death her wet nurse, Ann Wild, submitted a bill for £21 ‘for acting as wet nurse to his Lordship’s last (decd) [baby], (a daughter)’, suggesting the baby had needed a nurse for about a year at say ten shillings a week. If this is so, Elizabeth was pregnant when she married. After little Elizabeth died, Lady Egremont left Petworth not to return. Situations that seemed romantic and exciting at seventeen may have seemed far less so to Elizabeth when she was in her thirties and had given birth to eight children, three of whom had died, an experience exacerbated by the presence of other mistresses and other children at Petworth. She spent the next twenty years at various addresses in London, settling finally at 4 Waterloo Place.

³⁷⁷ See also Wendy Cameron, Sheila Haines and Mary McDougall Maude (eds), *English Immigrant Voices: Labourers’ Letters from Upper Canada in the 1830s* (2000) 14–15.

At 196, they state:

In 1839 it was announced that the name of Ayliffe/Iliffe/Ilive was to be dropped in favour of the usual plain Wyndham for the children of the third Earl and Elizabeth.

Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson, 'Elizabeth Ilive Comes Alive: Petworth House Archives' (2010) 78 *West Sussex History: Journal of the West Sussex Archives Society* 11, 11–14 state:

Elizabeth Ilive, later the 3rd Countess of Egremont is one of history's shadowy figures. Reputed to have been beautiful and clever, her family background is still unknown in spite of a great deal of vigorous research and speculation. ... We catch glimpses of her in the gossip of visitors to Petworth House, in Arthur Young's letters and Joseph Farington's diaries but a rich source of material that brings Elizabeth out of the shadows is to be found in the accounts and bills for the 1790s and 1800s stored in the archives at Petworth House. The yearly accounts for Petworth House and the London House were collected each year by the Earl's steward, tied into bundles and stored for over two hundred years in the estate office. The catalogues of many of these accounts are at the West Sussex Record Office. ...

We do not know if Elizabeth wore her green greatcoat when, in 1803, she took a landau with two footmen and drove away from the London House never to return; but as this took place in July it is unlikely.

Shoes, made of kid or dog skin, were usually purchased from Thomas Ellis, of Hanover Square, who supplied plain, and fancy purple skin shoes; Elizabeth paid 5.10s.6d for eleven pairs for herself, Frances and Charlotte in the spring of 1800. Such soft fine shoes were not made for serious walking. She was to complain a few years later how the cobble streets of Norwich wreaked havoc with her sore feet.

...

Amongst the many books bought, or sent for binding to Nicholls the booksellers, in 1799 were copies of Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture*. The volume for 1797 was of especial interest as Elizabeth's report on the trials she had initiated into potato cultivation (comparing the planting of shoots taken from potatoes to that of potato pieces with eyes) was the first article written by a woman that Young printed. It would have been even more pleasing if the Earl had allowed Elizabeth's name to be given at the head of the article, but Young circumvented the censorship as far as possible by citing it as from 'a lady' living at Petworth and writing crossly the Earl; 'of what consequence to a careful reader, the age, sex, or beauty of a writer; provided he or she writes good sense?'¹¹ ...

Many of these bills are cited specifically as being paid by Mrs Wyndham herself, which presupposes that she had access to money to do so; indeed Deacon and Wilkinson demanded ready money. It is unlikely that Elizabeth had money of her own. We have, so far, no formal or informal record of her parents, and her brother, Thomas, was constantly in financial straits.

The footnote to this extract states:

¹¹ Arthur Young to the Earl of Egremont, March 22nd, 1797, WSRO, MP. 1505.

Susan Matthews, *Blake, Sexuality and Bourgeois Politeness* (2011) 181–2 states:

For a writer and artist whose work centres on the moment of apocalypse and who viewed Michelangelo as the greatest of all artists, the ambition to represent the Last

Judgment comes as no surprise. Nor is it surprising that Humphry should have set up a commission for Blake's work from Lord Egremont, a major patron of the arts who commissioned important work from Flaxman. Blake had almost certainly been introduced to Egremont at Petworth by Hayley when he was a near neighbour at Felpham. As a member of the Committee of National Monuments (known as the 'Committee of Taste'), Lord Egremont was involved in the decision to commission Flaxman to produce a monument to Nelson in St Paul's cathedral in 1807.³⁸ Yet Blake, it seems, conceived of the 1808 Petworth *Vision of the Last Judgment* quite specifically as a work for a female patron, the Countess of Egremont: in drafts of a letter to Humphry in January and February 1808 Blake writes that the work was 'completed by your recommendation [under a fortunate star] for The Countess of Egremont [by a happy accident]' (E552).³⁹

Most commentators assume that the Petworth *Vision of the Last Judgment* was commissioned by Lord Egremont and addresses a male audience. This assumption may be encouraged by the 'misogyny and asceticism' of a subject which Steven Goldsmith understandably reads as showing 'apocalyptic consummation of Babylon' which 'marks the end of all evils attached to material existence, from the imperfections of fallen language to the equally dangerous temptations of the female body'.⁴⁰ In the lengthy description of the Last Judgment drafted in 1810, Blake explains that his picture shows the harlot '[bound] seized by Two Beings each with three heads they Represent Vegetative Existence. <as> it is written in Revelations they strip her naked & burn her with fire' (E558). Such a topic might seem particularly inappropriate to Blake's female patron.⁴¹ The Countess of Egremont, born Elizabeth Ilive, had been Lord Egremont's mistress since about 1784 when she was fifteen and, though the relationship was not exclusive, she was soon established, as 'Mrs Wyndham', the mistress (in that other sense) of Petworth. Her background is unknown (a family history suggests unhelpfully that her father was either 'on the staff at Westminster School' or 'a Devonshire farmer, or a Surrey rector'). In 1801, however, when Blake was staying in nearby Felpham, Egremont married his mistress of seventeen years by whom he already had seven children. The countess was a woman of wide-ranging interests who had won a silver medal from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce for designing a new form of lever for lifting heavy weights.⁴² In December 1798, Joseph Farington describes 'Mrs. Wyndham, who lives with Lord Egremont' calling to see his pictures: 'She professed to have great delight in painting and devotes much of her time to it'.⁴³ He reported that 'she seldom comes to town, not oftener than once a year, but thinks she shall come in the Spring to see the Orleans collection which I mentioned to her. – She appears to be abt. 36 years old.' Two days later, Farington writes that 'Hayley is in great favor with the Lordship' and describes how 'they went for a change to Hayley's house' when 'one of his children by Mrs Wyndham died' which 'affected them much'.⁴⁴ At just the date at which Blake's illustrations for Flaxman of Gray's 'A Long Story' provide a positive image of the generosity of an aristocratic lady, Mrs Wyndham was running up two receipted bills (dated 1798–9 and 1800–1) with Flaxman for 'plaister statutes' and 'for models'.⁴⁵ Artists were welcome to visit Petworth and Farington is struck by Hayley's report that 'when there was no company they dined with Lord Egremont & Mrs Wyndham only'. This he considers 'as handsome a reception as they could reasonably expect'. Mrs Wyndham, or from 1801, the Countess of Egremont, seems to have acted as a link with visiting artists.⁴⁶

By 1803, however, the countess was separated from her husband of two years and moved out of Petworth. Farington's diary for 1804 mentions that she 'lives separate from Him in a House in Orchard St' and in 1807 Egremont bought her a house in Fulham.⁴⁷ Although in 1807 Farington reports having heard from Daniell, on whom she had just called, that 'Lord & Lady Egremont are to live together again' it seems likely that she enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy as a viewer and purchaser of art. She clearly continued to visit artists' studios in London and if Blake's studio was on

her list in 1807 she would already have been to see the 1806 version of *The Last Judgment*, now in Pollok House Glasgow. It seems likely that both the purchase of the Petworth *Last Judgment* and the version of *Satan Calling up his Legions* described in the *Descriptive Catalogue* as dedicated to ‘a Lady’ reflect the taste of the countess rather than her husband, whose manner Farington (no democrat himself) describes as ‘not likely to please at first’ since ‘[t]here is a great deal of Peer about Him, the effect of a habit of superiority’.⁴⁸

Whereas Blake would have associated Lord Egremont with the classical imagery of commemorative sculpture, *The Vision of the Last Judgment* offers a ‘blank in Nature’ that disrupts the colonisation of the afterlife by bourgeois mores. Blake’s notebook dedication suggests a certain intensity:

What mighty Soul in Beautys form
 Shall dauntless View the Infernal Storm
 Egremont’s Countess can control
 The flames of Hell that round me roll
 If she refuse I still go on
 Till the Heavens & Earth are gone (E480-1, deletions omitted)

In this poem the countess is a positive figure of female power; or, as Farington puts it in 1807, she ‘looks very well. She is abt. 40 years old’. The Petworth *Vision of the Last Judgment* is conceived for a very different audience from the bourgeois reviewers (whether liberal or anti-Jacobin) who objected to the bodily nature of Blake’s imagination in the illustrations to *The Grave*: one that offered a flagrant rejection of the mores of bourgeois society.⁴⁹

The footnotes to this extract state:

³⁸ Philip McEvansoneya, ‘Lord Egremont and Flaxman’s ‘St Michael Overcoming Satan’, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 143, no. 1179 (June 2001), p. 351.

³⁹ Morton D. Paley, *The Traveller in the Evening: the Last Works of William Blake* (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 6–7, suggests that one of the illustrations to Thornton’s *Virgil*, no. 13, is a ‘graceful compliment to the Egremonts’ which acknowledges the earl’s ‘almost legendary’ benefactions to the poor.

⁴⁰ Steven Goldsmith, *Unbuilding Jerusalem: Apocalypse and Romantic Representation* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 146–7.

⁴¹ For instance Morton D. Paley, *The Apocalyptic Sublime* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 97 refers to ‘the even more ambitious version commissioned by the Earl of Egremont’.

⁴² H. A. Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 223.

⁴³ *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), III, pp. 1113–14 (18 December 1798).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1115.

⁴⁵ McEvansoneya, ‘Lord Egremont and Flaxman’s “St Michael Overcoming Satan”’, p. 352, fn.

⁴⁶ Christopher Rowell, ‘Turner’s Petworth’, in Christopher Rowell, Ian Warrell and David Blayney Brown, eds., *Turner at Petworth* (London Millbank: National Trust/Tate Publishing, 2002), pp. 15–27, 23.

⁴⁷ Farington, *Diaries*, VI, p. 2281 (27 March 1804).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ On aristocratic sexual mores in the period, see Philp, *Godwin's Political Justice*, p. 177.

CECILIA HILL

As discussed above, it is my view that accounts of the Ayliffe family history which were written by Cecilia Hill, who was a daughter of George Ayliffe and a granddaughter of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior), should be treated with caution. Some of those accounts have the appearance of pseudo-history, and some of them can be disproved. Further, contemporary newspaper reports in relation to Cecilia, which are set out below, cast doubt on her credibility.

Some of the newspaper reports relate to trips that Cecilia made to New Zealand in 1887 and San Francisco in 1889. During those trips, she falsely claimed that she was a correspondent for the London *Morning Post*. Another of the newspaper reports relates to court proceedings that Cecilia brought in England against the executors of the estate of a deceased wealthy man. According to the executors, two documents allegedly signed by the deceased, upon which Cecilia's case rested, were forgeries. The jury found for the executors.

Two accounts of the family history written by Cecilia's first cousin, Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe, are factually inaccurate and in my view should also be treated with caution.

Cecilia was born on 24 August 1838 during the Ayliffes' voyage to South Australia on board the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*.³⁷⁸ She was baptised on 2 August 1840 in Adelaide, South Australia.

Cecilia married Thomas Padmore Hill on 26 November 1859 at Christ Church in St Kilda, Victoria.

Thomas and Cecilia Hill had two children, Frederick Wyndham Hill, who was born on 16 January 1862 in Collingwood, Victoria and died on 2 October 1936 in Prahran, Victoria, and Alfred Brandon Hill, who was born in 1864 in Melbourne, Victoria and died in 1875 in Victoria.³⁷⁹ Thomas Hill died in 1879 in Victoria.

Cecilia died on 6 November 1915 at St Peter's Home in St John's Wood, Middlesex.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ See www.familyhistorysa.info: 'AYLIFFE Cecilia born 1838-08-24 at sea aboard Pestonjee Bomanjee, father AYLIFFE George, mother SANDERS Elizabeth'. The website further states: 'The major sources of these records were the (Holy) Trinity and other church baptism registers and the *South Australian Births Registrations 1842 to 1906*, SAGHS, 1997.'

³⁷⁹ Alfred is recorded as Alfred Padmore Hill in the index to the Victorian death register.

³⁸⁰ National Probate Calendar for England and Wales, 'Wills and Administrations, 1916' states (at 134): '**HILL** Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham of 21 St. Edmund's-terrace Regents Park **Middlesex** widow died 6 November 1915 at St. Peter's Home Regent's Park Probate **London** 6 September to John William Iliffe schoolmaster. Effects £944 15s. 5 d.' In what appears to have been a final act of obfuscation, Cecilia made John William Iliffe, a schoolmaster of Uppertorpe, Sheffield, the executor to her will. In the will, which was dated 1 November 1915,

The following appeared in the *Auckland Star* on 26 July 1887 at page 4:

Mrs. C. H. W. Hill (correspondent for the London “Morning Post”) arrived in Auckland per Mararoa yesterday, and is staying at the STAR Hotel. Mrs Hill has made a tour of the colony in the interests of her journal. The Napier “Telegraph” says:—“Mrs. C. H. W. (T.P.) Hill intended to leave by Griffiths’s line of coaches for Taupo and Ohinemutu, *en route* for Auckland, but has been compelled by ill-health to abandon that part of her programme. To-day she proceeds to Auckland by the Mararoa, but will, health permitting, make her way southwards to the Lake district. Mrs Hill, who during her stay at Napier has been a guest at Bishopscourt, has been among us some few weeks, and true to her calling as a *literateure* she has given us a taste of her quality, both publicly and privately, as a writer, a lecturer, and reciter, and has thereby afforded much pleasure to a large number of the inhabitants of Napier. If she has met with what our Scotch cousins term the left hand of friendship from isolated individuals, we hope that will not cause her to carry away a displeasing impression of Napier.”

The following appeared in the *Taranaki Herald* on 2 August 1887 at page 2:

Mrs. C. H. W. Hill, who was here a short time since, and who claimed to having some connection with the London *Morning Post*, is now in Auckland, and is staying at the Star Hotel. The Napier *Telegraph* says :—“Mrs. C. H. W. (T.P.) Hill intended to leave by Griffiths’ line of coaches for Taupo and Ohinemutu, *en route* for Auckland, but has been compelled by ill-health to abandon that part of her programme. If she has met with what our Scotch cousins term the left hand of friendship from isolated individuals, we hope that will not cause her to carry away a displeasing impression of Napier.”

The following appeared in the *Evening Post* on 20 August 1887 at page 2:

ROTORUA, 19th August

Mrs. C. H. W. Hill, the representative of the London Post, is at present sojourning here. Since her arrival she has been confined to her hotel suffering from the effects of the rough journey hither.

The following appeared in the *Bay of Plenty Times* on 5 September 1887 at page 4:

MRS. C. H. W. Hill, correspondent of the London Morning Post left here on Friday last in a chariot drawn by eight horses, the ribbons being handled by the well-known John Nicholas. Doubtless the good lady would enjoy the superb scenery of Mangarewa Bush.

The following appeared in the San Francisco newspaper, the *Daily Alta*, on 29 October 1887 at page 8:

she stated: ‘I give & bequeath to my Executor John W. Iliffe Esq. the Genealogical M. S. (typewritten), the History of the Iliffe, Ilike [sic], Ayliffe, O’Neil Hamiltons & O’Neil race since their suppression in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth down to the present period.’ Although the title of this manuscript suggests that her family was related to persons by the name of Iliffe, it appears that she and John William Iliffe were not, in fact, related.

A Distinguished Lady.

Among the passengers who arrived from Australia by the *Zealandia*, yesterday, was Mrs. Cecelia Hamilton Hill, widow of the late Thomas P. Hill, who ranked high in English educational and literary circles, was well up in Masonry and esteemed as a confrere of Disraeli and Lord Brougham. Mrs. Hill is now making a tour of the world as the special correspondent of the *London Post*, having spent the past four years in constant travel through Europe and the English Colonies. Mrs. Hill has also delivered several lectures in the leading cities she has visited, and will probably deliver a lecture in this city. She is stopping at the Palace.

The following appeared in the *Taranaki Herald* on 12 March 1888 at page 2:

Many will remember a Mrs Cecilia Wyndham Hill, who visited New Plymouth some time since, and passing herself off as the special correspondent of the *London Morning Post* imposed on nearly everyone. An English gentleman who was then in New Zealand, hearing much talk about Mrs Hill, determined to make inquiry about her when he returned to London. He made inquiry of the editor of the *Morning Post*, and received the following reply:—"Morning Post, 12 Wellington-street, January 5, 1888. Dear Sir,—Mrs Cecilia Hill is *not* a correspondent of our paper. She has sent me a number of letters, none of which have been published, and I have written her several times to stop the sending of the letters. I know nothing whatever about her. The expenses of anyone sent out by the *Morning Post* as correspondent are always entirely (and liberally) paid by the paper, and no one is permitted to apply for 'free passes.'—Very truly yours, THE EDITOR." This effectually disposes of Mrs Hill's pretensions, and we apprehend that the special correspondent "lay" is about played out.

The following appeared in the *Malborough Express* on 13 March 1888 at page 2:

ANOTHER FEMALE FRAUD.—It will be remembered that some twelve months ago a lady, Mrs Cecilia Wyndham Hill, came to New Zealand stating that she was the special correspondent of the *London Morning Post*. She was everywhere received with open arms ; she was invited to Government House, and was the guest of the Bishop of Napier ; she was publicly escorted through the scenery of the Hot Lakes District ; she was granted a free pass over the railways, and had what the Americans would call "a real good time" in this country. The *New Zealand Herald* states "that an English gentleman who was at that time in New Zealand, hearing so much talk about Mrs Hill determined to make enquiry about her when he returned to London. He wrote to the Editor of the *Morning Post* and received the following reply:—"Morning Post, 12, Wellington-street, W.C., January 5th, 1888. Dear Sir, Mrs Cecilia Hill is not a correspondent of our paper. She has sent me a number of letters, none of which have been published, and I have written to her several times to stop the sending of the letters. I know nothing whatever about her. The expenses of anyone sent out by the *Morning Post* as correspondent are always entirely (and liberally) paid by the paper, and no one is permitted to apply for 'free passes.'—Very truly yours, The Editor."

The following appeared in the *Tuapeka Times* on 14 March 1888 at page 2:

SOME CLEVER WOMEN.

Scarcely a month passes without the presence in the Colony of some distinguished male or female from the Home Country, whose invariable mission is—the reporting on our resources or on the Colony as a field of immigration, or the ascertaining of our natural attractions, to lay which before the tourist population of America and England. It scarcely matters that they are duly accredited ; it is only necessary that they present themselves to some responsible official at Wellington, who gives them a free pass over the Government railways, the assistance of Government servants as guides, and

bestows upon them sundry other privileges to which colonial writers, descriptive and otherwise, are altogether strangers. During the last few years, the number of these favoured scribblers and "accredited agents," who have imposed upon our credulity and hospitality, is simply astonishing ; but the few cases of flagrant imposition which have come to light lately will, we trust, teach us a lesson which we should not be slow to profit by. Some few months ago Mrs Cecilia Wyndham Hill came to New Zealand, stating that she was a special correspondent of the "Morning Post." This good lady had quite a cheap and festive time of it when in our midst. Securing a railway pass on the strength of her connection with a London daily, in which she was to sing the praises of this happy land, Mrs Hill moved about the country pretty freely, seeing everything that was worth seeing. Not only did she "dead head" it on the railway, but her total bills, which frequently got her into trouble, were generally settled on the strength of a puff in those articles which were to illuminate the readers of the "Morning Post." In the Hot Lakes district, by sheer audacity, she secured the assistance of the Government guides, who took her all over the historic ground of the eruption, and otherwise treated her as a distinguished person of the first water. An English gentleman, feeling interested in this good lady, wrote to the editor of the "Post," and ascertained that "Mrs Cecilia Wyndham Hill had no connection with that paper whatever ; and, moreover, he knew nothing whatever about her." After this we should say that the special correspondent lay is about out. Another distinguished lady impostor is Mrs Gordon Baillie, who, it will be remembered, visited New Zealand and the other colonies about a year ago. During her travels, she professed to interest herself much in the matter of the crofters' emigration. She received much attention at the hands of the Government, and her progress through the country, like that of Mrs Hill, was cheap and enjoyable. She examined the block of land at Caitlins River with a view of reporting on it as a site for a crofter settlement, and other places were also visited by her with the same philanthropic purpose. In Australia she met with exceptional recognition, and was honoured as a visitor of more than ordinary standing. On her return to Scotland, she wrote or spoke about the result of her mission, and was particularly condemnatory of New Zealand as a field for the crofters. By some means or other she incurred the displeasure of the "Scotsman," and that paper looked into Mrs Gordon Baillie's antecedents and found that she had a history. The police records of Scotland disclosed the fact that Mrs Baillie was the daughter of a laundress, and had been several times "wanted" for defrauding creditors. But, worse than all, she had even received a sentence of nine months' imprisonment. With a few experiences like this, which must be the means of having us laughed at at Home, we will gain sense and learn to know these people when they come amongst us.

The following appeared in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* on 15 March 1888 at page 3:

A LITERARY WAR DANCE

(*Evening Press.*)

Another travelling literary lady has been exposed. This is Mrs Cecilia Wyndham Hill, who passed herself off in New Zealand as the special correspondent of the *Morning Post*, and who, on the strength of that and other representations as to her literary and social position, managed to get numberless introductions, and to have, on the whole, a very pleasant time of it during her stay in the colony. We are not aware that Mrs Hill did anything here more discreditable or culpable than making statements about her connections, occupations, antecedents, and qualifications which, upon inquiry, prove to have had no foundation in fact. She certainly did tell some very remarkable taradiddles ; but we are bound to say that they were perfectly transparent, so much so that nobody need have been imposed upon by them who was not over anxious to form the acquaintance of a literary lioness. Mrs Hill was an extremely stout party -- distinctly a party -- somewhat in the cottage loaf order of architecture, on the silver side of 50, arrayed in a mortified bonnet, a veil of tears and faded garments of the rag-bag *mode*,

and carried a formidable umbrella and a “ridicule” full of documents. When she paid a visit, she came to stay ; and when she did *us* that honor, she stayed so long that we imagined she must be one of the eternal Hills. If we remember rightly, she mentioned that she belonged to an old family. She had a pleasing habit of putting her head on one side and half closing one eye, while she recited her story in a drawl of singularly blood-curdling slowness and deliberateness. It was much about the regular thing, and displayed no signs of original talent. Lady of means and position, well connected, valued contributor leading London papers, husband met with losses, hard times, lady anxious to supplement income by her pen, instantly snapped up, roving commission *Morning Post*, going through the colonies to write letters in the style of Sala, only more so, publish a book afterwards, glad of information as to the right people to know, proper places to visit, best hotels to stay at, money no object, wanted to see everybody and learn everything, &c., &c., *ad infinitum*. We wished she could have made it convenient to be continued in our next or have distributed herself over several issues ; so we tried to stem the torrent by the usual enquiry as to whether she was travelling alone. But she was quite ready with the lost trunks, and the son left behind at Melbourne to look after them and join his sainted mother later on. That fixed her. We recognised her at once, and had a telephone message from the Prime Minister begging us to call on him *instanter*, if not sooner. She saw we knew her, and only remained longer to show us a list of people who had been recommended to her as being the right sort to be acquainted with. They [illegible – apparently ‘included all’] the wealthiest and most [illegible – apparently ‘high-toast families’] in the place. We assured her that she would not suffer any risk of contamination or degradation by getting on the most intimate terms with the whole list. She lingered a moment to try and remember something she had forgotten. It was that though she was specially engaged for the *Morning Post*, she was prepared to toss off a few little things for the colonial papers *en route*, if they made it worth her while. We told her we believed our contemporaries were in want of talent, but *we* were full up of it. She left, saying she would call again, but we knew she didn’t mean to, and she never did. We next heard she had been chucked out of some place where she tried to lecture. We felt quite grieved for the old dear, she played her part so thin. Now, Mrs Baillie Gordon did really well. She was a wonder. As Professor Blackie says, “She would deceive the devil.” But he must be a poor devil if Mrs Cecilia Wyndham Hill got round him. The female literary globe-trotter is getting monotonous. She adds one more to the Hills that flesh is heir to.

The following appeared in the *West Coast Times* on 17 March 1888 at page 2:

Referring to a person not unknown in Hokitika the Auckland correspondent of the Otago Daily Times says:—“Several persons have given themselves out in New Zealand as having been commissioned by London papers to travel through the colonies and write descriptive notices of them. On the strength of these assertions they have been received courteously in high quarters. They have given themselves airs, and almost demanded as a right that they should be afforded free quarters and free travelling. It will be remembered that some short time ago Mrs Cecilia Wyndham Hill came to New Zealand, saying that she was a special correspondent of the *Morning Post*. She was received at Government House, Wellington, and resided for some time with the Bishop of Napier. She received a free pass to travel over all the railways. This she made good use of. She went to Rotorua, and through an introduction from the Native Minister she was escorted over the sights of the Lake Country. She occasionally got into trouble with hotelkeepers, but on the whole she managed well. An English gentleman who was then in New Zealand, hearing much talk about Mrs Hill, determined to make inquiry about her when he returned to London. He communicated with the editor of the *Morning Post*, and received the following reply:—“*Morning Post*, 11 Wellington street, W.C., January 5, 1888: Dear Sir,—Mrs Cecilia Hill is not a correspondent of our paper. She has sent me a number of letters, none of which have been published, and I have written her several times to stop the sending of the letters. I know nothing whatever about her.

The expenses of anyone sent out by the Morning Post as correspondent are always entirely (and liberally) paid by the paper, and no one is permitted to apply for free passes.—Very truly yours, THE EDITOR.” This effectually disposes of Mrs Hill’s pretensions. The special correspondent lay is about played out.”

The following appeared in *The Advertiser* on 12 October 1889 at page 5:³⁸¹

That remarkable woman, Mrs. T. P. Hill, has just published a pamphlet containing what she calls a statement of facts concerning the wrongs which “my father, grandfather, and us, their children, descendants of an illustrious but unfortunate race” have endured at the hands of the Wyndham family, the head of which is Lord Leconfield. From the concluding paragraph of the *brochure* I gather that Mrs. Hill has not been received with open arms, or indeed even recognised by her aristocratic relatives. It runs thus :—“I wish to place this solemn fact on record, *i.e.*, that I came twelve months since to this country, a widow, alone, and in an almost dying state, from the effect of the American blizzard, by which I was struck while passing over the Northern Pacific railway, and which nearly resulted in my death ; that for the time being I was in absolute want of the necessaries of life, and on friends unknown to me communicating that fact to the various members of family I was left to my fate ; and that from then up to the present moment, although I have been in the deepest trouble and sickness, I have been left to strive and suffer alone. I am the widow of a freemason. These kinsmen are freemasons as well as relations ! Note.—Well might Lady Daly (first cousin to the first Lady Leconfield, whose husband was Governor of South Australia at the time) after entertaining some of the family say, as she did say, to a mutual friend— ‘How deeply I sympathise with that most ill used, most wronged family ! There is nothing that I could do that I would not to atone to them even in a small degree for all they have suffered, but Sir Dominick is too poor to help them with money.’ Lady Daly never lost an opportunity of being kind, and at her instance Sir Dominick obtained for young George Hamilton Ayliffe, a handsome, elegant lad of nineteen, a Government appointment. ‘He is fit for the guards,’ she used to say, and was as proud of his beauty and fine figure as though he had been her own son. She thought no ball or dance complete without him. Even very good-looking fellows were envious enough of the lad’s handsome face and figure, with the envious Iago to have said, as he said of Cassio,

‘He hath a daily beauty in his life

That makes me ugly.’”

The following records are listed in an index to the Archives of the University of Notre Dame in Indiana:³⁸²

³⁸¹ The pamphlet referred to in this article, ‘Statement of Facts Re Thomas Hamilton, Called Ilive – Afterwards Ayliffe, and His Family, the Late Earl of Egremont, and the Wyndham-Ilive Family’, was published in 1889 and is appended to Ian Hamilton, ‘The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton’ (1978). In it, Cecilia Hill claimed that Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) was a descendant of the Duke of Hamilton.

³⁸² Monsignor Robert Seton was a grandson of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton (born in 1774), who was the first native-born American to be canonised by the Catholic church. She grew up in Wall Street, New York, next door to Alexander Hamilton. Cecilia Hill’s reference to ‘the Wyndham-Seton connection in Australia’ may refer to the marriage of Leonard Miles Cariston Seton to Eleanor Wyndham in 1882 in Bukkulla, New South Wales. Eleanor Seton was a granddaughter of George Wyndham, who was born in Wiltshire in 1801, emigrated to New South Wales in 1839 and was distantly related to the Wyndhams of Petworth.

1894 Jun. 28

Hill, Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham: Bayswater, (England)

to Monsignor (Robert Seton): Jersey City Heights, New Jersey

She met (Seton) four years ago in Edinburgh and they talked of the Wyndham-Seton connection in Australia and other branches of the family. There has lately been erected a statue of great great grand uncle (Alexander) Hamilton in New York. She met Senator Alexander Hamilton, a third or fourth cousin, when she was in the United States six years ago. Could (Seton) address a copy of the newspaper reports of the proceedings to Father Francis (M.) Wyndham, Superior of the Oblates of St. Charles, Bayswater.

II-1-d - *A.L.S.* - 3pp. - *12mo.* - {3}

1894 Jul. 26

Hill, Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham: Bayswater, (England)

to Monsignor (Robert Seton): Jersey City Heights, New Jersey

She was pleased to receive (Seton)'s letter and thanks him for the efforts he has made to get the newspapers re Hamilton's statue. She is also pleased to be brought into knowledge of the existence and identity of kinsfolk of (Seton's) and hers. She showed (Seton)'s letter to her cousin, Father Francis (M.) Wyndham, who said that his family were the only Wyndhams ever wintering at Pau, and must be the ones alluded to by (Seton). Hill will be pleased to see (Seton), should be [sic] travel either to England or Australia. Her address in Australia is near Adelaide, or New South Wales.

II-1-d - *A.L.S.* - 4pp. - *8vo.* - {2}

1894 Sep. 8

Hill, Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham: Spa, Belgium

to Monsignor (Robert) Seton: (Jersey City Heights, New Jersey)

She thanks Seton for his photograph; she wishes he had written her name on it at the time of sending the photo. The mournful details of the house of Hamilton were in part known to her. An American lady told her of the reported suicide of Ray Hamilton. Hill came here for her health. She will give Seton's message to Francis Wyndham, her cousin, who will be happy to see Seton. P.S. They have a number of Americans at Spa.

II-1-d - *A.L.S.* - 3pp. - *8vo.* - {3}

1894 Nov. 22

Hill, Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham: High Holborn, (Belgium?)

to Monsignor (Robert) Seton: (Jersey City, New Jersey)

Hill thanks Seton for the newspaper cuttings. The two last letters Seton sent of her cousin Francis Wyndham got lost. He sent them on to Spa but she had left. Everyone says the photo she sent is taken in a bad attitude; she will send one that will recall her more fully. She has just returned from Germany and is here "enpassant."

II-1-d - *A.L.S.* - 4pp. - *12mo.* -

The cousin referred to, 'Francis M. Wyndham', was Cecilia Hill's second cousin, Francis Merrick Wyndham.³⁸³ He was a son of Lord Egremont and Elizabeth Ilive's youngest son, Charles Wyndham, and was baptised on 7 January 1839 in Rogate, Sussex. He was the author of various books including *Wild Life on the Fjelds of Norway* (1861) and *Latin and Greek As in Rome and Athens, or Classical Languages and Modern Tongues* (1880). 'Francis M. Canon Wyndham' is listed as 'Censor Deputatus' in various publications.³⁸⁴

Cecilia Hill's suggestion that Alexander Hamilton was her 'great great grand uncle' (presumably on the side of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe) can easily be disproved. Alexander Hamilton had one sibling who survived infancy: James Hamilton, who was born in about 1755. James Hamilton was clearly not the father of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior), who was born in about 1773 or 1774, or Elizabeth Ilive, who was born in about 1769. In any event, as discussed above, I have discovered that the father of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) was Abraham Ilive.

The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine (1898–99) vol XXX, 155 states (under the heading 'Recent Wiltshire Books, Pamphlets, & Articles'):

Facts, not Fancies, by one of the Race. Auliffe—O'Neill—Ayliffe. Preliminary Pamphlet (1898). Royal 8vo., pp. 38. Price 2/6. Frontispiece, a very poor pencil drawing of Brinkworth Church.

This pamphlet, intended as the preface to a series, setting forth the true greatness and the unmerited misfortunes of the real line of the family of "Auliffe O'Neill, Ayliffe," whom we in Wiltshire know as the Ayliffes of Grittenham, Brinkworth, &c., deals almost wholly with genealogical and historical details, the whole of which go to prove, in the writer's (Mrs. Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham Hill's) opinion, that the Ayliffes are descended from Ayliffe, King of Northumbria, and the O'Neills, Kings in Ireland—whereof one of the first married Scoti the daughter of Pharaoh (date not given) and settled on the Nile—whence he took his terrestrial title, O'Neill," *i.e.*, "O' th' Nile," and

³⁸³ F C Burnand, *The Catholic Who's Who and Year Book* (1908) contains the following entry for Francis (at 432–3): 'Wyndham, REV. FRANCIS MERRICK, O.S.C. born at Rogate Lodge, Sussex, 1838, son of Colonel Charles Wyndham, M.P. (brother of 1st Lord Leconfield) by the Hon. Elizabeth Scott, daughter of 4th Lord Polwarth; educated at Harrow and Merton College, Oxford (M.A. 1864); took Anglican Orders; received into the Church 1868, while curate to Charles Lowder at St George's-in-the-East, London, his fellow-curate George (afterwards Canon) Akers being received at the same time; ordained priest of the Congregation of Oblates of St Charles 1871. Having given seventeen years' work to St Charles's College, he was in 1891 elected Superior of the Bayswater Community, a headship he has since continued to hold by re-election until his rule (in which Cardinals Manning and Vaughan preceded him) has reached a record length. A great event of his Superiorship was the gift of £10,000 made in 1904 by the community to the Cardinal Vaughan Memorial School. Father Wyndham, who is the highest authority in this country on all that concerns Joan of Arc, appeared as a witness in 1897 before the tribunal of the Bishop of Orleans, to whom was confided the hearing of the Maid's Apostolic Process. He is the author of *Wild Life on the Fjords of Norway* (1861) *Synopsis Canonum Synodorum Diocesanarum Westnionasteriensium* (1876) *Latin and Greek as in Rome and Athens* (1880) *The Maid of Orleans* (1891) *An Anti-Masonic Catechism* (1896), and other works.'

³⁸⁴ See, for example, Frances Alice Forbes, *Life of St Vincent de Paul* (1919).

that they have shared to no small extent in the general injustice meted out in England to all things and persons Irish. It is indeed hinted not obscurely that if right were might the properties held by a good many noble families of the present day, who are by no means spared by the writer, would revert to their rightful owners, the direct representatives of the Ayliffe Race. In matters such as the family connections of the Irish Kings with the line of the Pharaohs, and the coat armour of Saxon princesses, a mere Wiltshireman can hardly be expected to pronounce an opinion—but when we read that of “the noble dead who sleep around us here [*i.e.*, in Brinkworth Churchyard] few know their history ; and we may add, more particularly those who have taken upon them the office of enlightenment to others, notably Canon Jackson, afterwards Bishop of London, whose bishopric was possibly a reward of his mendacity or ignorance. Masterpieces of both, his efforts as [*sic*] displayed in a pamphlet published by the Archæological Society of North Wilts entitled ‘The Ayliffes of Grittenham,’” we begin to feel sure that there is a mistake somewhere. This is certain, in any case, that in the Latin epitaph from the tomb of Sir Joseph Ayloff, in Hendon Church—as quoted here—there are eight misprints.

The following appeared in *The South Australian Register* on 17 April 1900 at page 6:

Mrs. Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham Hill was yesterday plaintiff in an action brought against the executors of the late Mr. William Campbell, to recover £700, with £173 interest, money alleged to have been entrusted by the lady to the deceased. “It was set out in the opening statement of counsel that the plaintiff had from time to time given Mr. Campbell, who was a very wealthy man, sums of money to invest. The case rested upon two documents signed by Mr. Campbell, which the defendants said were forgeries. In 1885 Mr. Campbell came to England from Australia. In 1888 the plaintiff left Australia and came to England, and returned to Australia in 1891. The plaintiff came back to England in 1892. In the years 1893 and 1894 the plaintiff received money from her literary work, and also small drafts from Australia, amounting to about £400, which she gave to Mr. Campbell to take care of and invest. She also handed him thirty shares of £10 each in a Building Society at Melbourne. On November 21, 1894, she called at Mr. Campbell’s house in Portman-square to arrange about the purchase of Blandford House, Dorsetshire. Mr. Campbell was not at home, and she wrote him a note and received his answer as follows:—‘Portman-square, November 22, 1884. Dear Mrs. Wyndham Hill—In reply to your letter of yesterday, I beg to say that I will arrange, the purchase of Blandford House. I do not know what Australian building (*sic*) shares are worth, but Bank stock are all right. I believe that those standing in my name are Bank of England, and those in Australia will be worth £700. Keep up your spirits; hope the pure air will improve your health.—Yours, truly, W. Campbell.’ On May 5, 1896, the plaintiff got the following receipt:—‘19, Portman-square, May 5, 1896.—Received of Mrs. C. H. W. Hill the sum of £400 (four hundred pounds sterling), in addition to the shares in the St. James Building Society. The money was entrusted to me for the purchase of a house for Mrs. C. H. W. Hill.—W. Campbell.’”

The plaintiff was called, and in cross-examination admitted that there were discrepancies between originals and copies of letters of which she had made use. She repudiated the charge that she had tried to blackmail Mr. Campbell, but stated that he had offered to pay her passage to Australia. She had gained an action against him for libel, and had recovered £600. The Jury, after the plaintiff’s evidence, found for defendant.

The following appeared in *The Advertiser* on 27 April 1900 at page 6, and was reproduced in *The Chronicle* on 5 May 1900 at page 45:

MRS. WYNDHAM HILL AGAIN.

A STRANGE STORY.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

London, March 23, 1900.

In the Queen's Bench the other day Mr. Justice Laurance, and a special jury, tried a curious action in which Mrs. Cecilia Hamilton Wyndham Hill, widow of a gentleman at one time well-known in Adelaide, sought to recover from the executors of the late Mr. William Campbell, £700, together with £173 interest, money alleged to have been entrusted by Mrs. Hill in November, 1894, to the late William Campbell.

In opening the plaintiff's case, Mr. Witt, Q.C., said Mr. Campbell died in 1896, a very wealthy man. The plaintiff gave him sums of money from time to time to invest. The case rested upon two documents, signed by Mr. Campbell, which the defendants said were forgeries. In 1885 Mr. Campbell came to England from Australia. In 1888 the plaintiff left Australia, and came to England, and she returned to Australia in 1891. The plaintiff came back to England in 1892. In the years 1893 and 1894 the plaintiff received money from her literary work, and also small drafts from Australia, amounting to about £400, which she gave to Mr. Campbell to take care of and invest. She also handed him 30 shares of £10 each in a building society at Melbourne. On November 21, 1894, she called at Mr. Campbell's house in Portman-square, to arrange about the purchase of Blandford House, Dorsetshire. Mr. Campbell was not at home, and she wrote him a note, and received answer as follows:—"Portman-square, November 22, 1894. Dear Mrs. Wyndham Hill—In reply to your letter of yesterday, I beg to say that I will arrange the purchase of Blandford House. I do not know what Australian building (sic) Shares are worth, but bank stock are all right. I believe that those standing in my name are Bank of England, and those in Australia will be worth £700. Keep up your spirits; hope and pure air will improve your health.—Yours truly, W. Campbell."

This letter, said Mr. Witt, was important, as the jury would see that it spoke of shares and money; in all about £700.

On May 5, 1896, the plaintiff got the following receipt:—"19, Portman-square, May 5, 1896. Received of Mrs. C. H. W. Hill the sum of £400, in addition to the shares in the St. James's Building Society. The money was entrusted to me for the purchase of a house for Mrs. C. H. W. Hill.—W. Campbell." That receipt was sent to the plaintiff at High-street, Wotton [Wootton] Bassett, and the plaintiff had the envelope in which it was sent. In August, 1896, Mr. Campbell died, and almost immediately the plaintiff put in her claim. The plaintiff took precaution of having the above documents photographed, and she sent copies to the defendants' solicitors. A long correspondence ensued. The defendants' solicitors decided to resist the plaintiff's claim, and she had to bring this action.

Mrs. Hill was called, and bore out the opening statement of counsel. In cross-examination she admitted that a copy of the letter of November 22, sent to the defendants' solicitors, differed from the original. She could not say why the copy differed; perhaps it was the fault of the person who copied the letter. A young lady copied the letter, which was first sent to the defendants' solicitors. She could not understand how the copies introduced words which were not in the original. In 1894 she was not in great want. She may have written letters saying that she was starving. [The learned counsel produced a number of letters and post-cards, alleged to have been written by the plaintiff to the Campbell family, making serious accusations against them.] She had no recollection of writing the letters and post-cards. She repudiated the

charge that she had tried to blackmail Mr. Campbell. Mr. Campbell wanted to pay her passage out to Australia, but she would not go. She had brought an action against Mr. Campbell for libel in 1888, and he paid her £600 in settlement. She signed a declaration that she would destroy all documents of his that she had in her possession. She still had in her possession a letter of his written in 1883. Re-examined—She had produced all Mr. Campbell's letters that were in her possession. She also produced a number of copies of letters sent to defendants' solicitors. The copies were not in every respect like the originals. That closed the plaintiff's case.

The jury intimated that they had heard enough of the case, and returned a verdict for the defendants.

The documents dated November 22, 1894, and May 5, 1896, were, by order of the learned judge, impounded, and it is probable that Mrs. Hill has not heard the last of the matter. My own idea, based on personal experience, is that the lady is not entirely responsible for her actions.

Two accounts of the family history told by Cecilia Hill's cousin, Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe (who was a son of Henry Ayliffe and a grandson of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior)), can be shown to be factually incorrect.

Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe, 'Origin of the Name Ilive' (appended to Ian Hamilton 'The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton' (1978)) states:³⁸⁵

... Now, notwithstanding this consecutive and highly dramatic narrative of Shane O'Neil's burial, he did not die as stated, but assuming the expressive alias of "Ilive", dwelt there in security many years, and he passed the name on to many of his descendants. Whether with the knowledge of Elizabeth, who was his cousin or not, history does not declare; but, as in the time of that Queen one Lady whose name "Ilive" received on her husband died "a grant of augmentation of arms in right of his wife" it is only reasonable to suppose that they were known as belonging to the greatest of earth's great ones. The last assumption of it by any of the then recognized great ones, was by Thomas Duke of Hamilton, and from whom we are descended. James, was his first Christian name. He married first Sophie, Grand Duchess of Saxe Coburg Gotha, but his father had married the daughter of Sir George Ayliffe of Grittenham – hence Ilive – Ayliffe, later assumption. Sir George Ayliffe was by right Duke of Dorset, but for adhesion to their near relations the Stuarts who had been cast out in favour of the Hanoverians the title was held in abeyance, some of their estates sequestrated in the

³⁸⁵ This extract refers to 'Thomas Duke of Hamilton', however there was no Duke of Hamilton named Thomas. Assuming that the person referred to was in fact named James ('James, was his first Christian name'), it is to be noted that there were five Dukes of Hamilton named James (the first, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Dukes of Hamilton). However, none of the Dukes of Hamilton married a Sophie or any member of the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (indeed, the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha only existed between 1826 and 1918). Nor did any of the Dukes of Hamilton marry an Ayliffe, let alone a daughter of Sir George Ayliffe. Douglas Hamilton, the eighth Duke of Hamilton, did raise the 82nd Regiment of Foot (a British regiment) for service in the American War of Independence, however it does not appear that the regiment was led by him. Further, the eighth Duke of Hamilton only had one child, Anne Douglas-Hamilton, who died without issue. None of the Dukes of Hamilton had a brother named Alexander, though the 10th Duke of Hamilton (born in 1767 and died in 1852) was named Alexander. The reference to 'the printing and publishing house of the Coventry Iliffes' appears to be a reference to the business of William Iliffe who lived near Coventry. His son, Sir Edward Iliffe, was created the first Baron Iliffe in 1933.

crown. The Duke of Hamilton first appears in command of Royal troops in America – but so shameful were the cruelties permitted against the white colonists, and then he was instructed to utilize the Indians as cohorts, or mercenaries, against the whites. This Hamilton indignantly refused to do, and for his defiance of the English Government, he was outlawed, and a price was put upon his head. Assuming the name of “Ilive”, he and his brother Alexander put their futures into what were then termed Vitners houses one on Cornhill and the other on St Bride’s Street near Fetter Lane, and one of these houses was put as a sign to the other “Thomas Ilive”, and on the other “George Ilive” which was to signify so long as those signs appeared that they were neither assassinated, nor taken. There they remained long after the Duke and his brother had passed away. The one in St. Bride’s Street became the printing and publishing house of the Coventry Iliffes, and is not removed to Cannon Street. Iliffe’s Printing Establishment, which I presume had become too large for a private enterprise; has merged into a company. The Iliffes are seated at Coventry near Birmingham, in the County of Warwick. Where the Vitner of on Cornhill was located, now is occupied by the Young Men’s Christian Association. The Duke’s descendants are scattered to all parts of the globe, and their seats of their Masters: but this is a digression. The Duke having taken part against the Crown, went to America to head the Tyrone rising in America, the last blow struck for America Independence, in 1776; and that was the last time his son Thomas Hamilton Ilive-Ayliffe remembers to have seen him He was wont describe [sic] this scene of his parting with his Mother.

“He remembered having been awakened from sleep at night, and carried by someone into the room where his father and mother were together. He was greatly impressed by the size of his father, and the splendour of his appearance, and he would relate how he played with jewelled hilt of his father’s sword which was so bright that it dazzled him. He would tell us likewise, how his mother’s beauty and sadness impressed him, and that she wore a long white dress, and her long black hair fell in long ringlets over it.”

His first, last and only distinct remembrance of his father. With him Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe – the last of that name have disappeared.

Henry Charles Hamilton Ayliffe, ‘Memoirs of Descendants of the Ayliffes of Grittenham in Australia’ (appended to Ian Hamilton ‘The Story of the Ayliffe Family History As Collected by Ian Hamilton’ (1978)) states:³⁸⁶

July, 1838 Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe, accompanied by his wife and two sons, the eldest and the youngest, the second son having gone to sea on loss of his commission in the Navy, by remaining too late at a dance to join his ship, unknown to his parents; and a numerous following. The eldest son was married and his wife was also on board, and the first marked events on board after the emigres had crossed the line was the birth of two female children, one to George Hamilton Ayliffe, and one to ----- Taylor who was accompanying the family, as head shepherd to Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe Sen. - for the missing son’s name was the same as his father’s, Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe, au passant, be it stated that the said commission was obtained by the influence of Meade, Earl of Chamillian, a connection of the family. Even before the marriage Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe’s sister with Capt. Meade, the Equery [sic] in Waiting to George the 4th:- further be it stated, that had the Captain’s wife borne an heir a contingency prevented by the oversalivation of the Lady, into the Chamillian Estates

³⁸⁶ It appears that the reference to ‘Meade, Earl of Chamillian’ is intended to refer to one of the Earls of Clanwilliam, whose surname was Meade. It does not appear that King George IV had an equerry named Meade. It is incorrect that Douglas Hamilton, the eighth Duke of Hamilton (who raised the 82nd Regiment of Foot (a British regiment) for service in the American War of Independence), or indeed any of the Dukes of Hamilton, was attainted.

and honours, as Captain Meade was of the Sen. branch, and there were only two lives between him and the Estates and honours. ...

Accompanying the family, was one Col. Gawler, chosen to succeed Col. Light, as Governor of the Colony of South Australia which was being settled under the Colonization Committee, and the money provided came largely from the Ayliffe Exchequer; although paid nominally by Col. George Wyndham-Ilive, nephew of Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe. The reason of this personation was that the father of Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe Sen., Duke of Hamilton, had been made attainer for taking part in the American War. The was for American independence against the Crown and all his lands were sequestered in the Crown - sequestered, not confiscated, which attainer would have long before the date of their extradition have been removed from Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe; but previous to O'Connell's Relief bill, Emancipation of Catholics, who under the penal laws were adjudged criminals. Altho' never so virtuous, the said Thomas had married a Catholic, this all his hereditary estates and honours were lost pro tem, in 1869. When Thomas Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe had long been dead, and his son longer, for George Hamilton-Ilive-Ayliffe pre-deceased his father by many years, helped as some say to his doom by mal-treatment of a medical man, paid as in the case of his Aunt Meade to do such dreadful work. ...

The suggestion that 'the second son' of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (senior) (that is, Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior)) did not travel on the *Pestonjee Bomanjee* is incorrect. There are a number of later references by members of the family to him having travelled on the ship. A notice under the heading 'Correspondence' in *The South Australian Register* on 20 October 1888 at page 4 states: "'Thos. H. Ayliffe writes:— 'In the list of the passengers per Pestonjee Bomanjee October 12, 1888, I find the following names of persons now living were omitted :— Henry Ayliffe, surgeon, Angaston ; Mrs. Elizabeth Ayliffe, Glenelg ; Mr. Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, of Hamley Bridge ; Mrs. Bode (Miss Ayliffe), of Sunningdale, Strathalbyn ; Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, of Maylands.'" The reference to 'Mr. Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, of Hamley Bridge' was to Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior). An obituary of Henry Ayliffe in *The South Australian Register* on 29 April 1890 at page 5 stated that he 'first arrived in South Australia in the ship that brought Colonel Gawler to our shores in October, 1838, in company with his father and two elder brothers'. An obituary of Elizabeth Ayliffe in *The Advertiser* on 27 October 1894 at page 6, which was reproduced in *The South Australian Chronicle* on 3 November 1894 at page 8, stated: 'The late Dr. [Henry] Ayliffe, who died at Angaston about five years ago, and Mr. Ayliffe, of the River Light, were her brothers-in-law, and arrived by the same vessel [the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*].' The reference to 'Mr. Ayliffe, of the River Light' was to Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior). An obituary of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) in *The South Australian Register* on 30 July 1895 at page 6, which was reproduced in *The Adelaide Observer* on 3 August 1895 at page 15, stated: 'The deceased was one of three brothers who arrived in the colony in October, 1838 ...'

Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) is not listed in the 1841 South Australian census. It therefore appears that he may have left South Australia by that time. The obituary in *The South Australian Register* on 30 July 1895 at page 6, which was reproduced in *The Adelaide Observer* on 3 August 1895 at page 15, stated: 'Thomas, some time after arrival, finding agricultural pastoral management in

those early days required more practical knowledge than he and his brothers possessed, left it, and for a number of years followed the sea as a ship's carpenter in a vessel trading principally between New Zealand and Tasmania'.³⁸⁷ He had returned to South Australia by 1845 when he married Jane Bell³⁸⁸ – the great-grandmother remembered by my great-grandmother.

³⁸⁷ Correspondence from Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) to Colonel George Wyndham suggests that Thomas declined to receive assistance from Colonel Wyndham upon arriving in South Australia. In a letter to Colonel Wyndham dated 15 February 1860 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072), he stated: 'When I arrived in this Colony, young, strong, and healthy, I felt I had no right to be a recipient of your Lordship's bounty ...' In a letter to Colonel Wyndham dated 27 April 1861 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1072), he stated: 'I cannot again trouble you, with my reasons for declining your Lordship's Bounty on my arrival in the Colony, but I assure your Lordship, they were those of a [sic] honest man ...'

³⁸⁸ The following notice appeared in *The Adelaide Observer* on 15 July 1843 at page 7: 'ADELAIDE SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE. ARRIVED. ... July 10. The schooner *Governor Gawler*, 16 tons, Capt. Underwood, from Hobart Town. Passenger—T. Ayliffe.' Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) married Jane Bell on 23 July 1845 in Adelaide, South Australia. John Hamilton Ayliffe, who was Thomas and Jane's first child (and my ancestor), was born on 14 April 1846 in Adelaide.

CONCLUSION

The origins of Thomas and Elizabeth Ilive – later known as Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe and Elizabeth, the Countess of Egremont – have been cloaked in mystery for more than two centuries.³⁸⁹

Elizabeth's parentage has long been speculated upon. It has variously been claimed that her father was a vicar, a farmer and a school master. The obituary of her estranged husband, only 16 years after her death, asserted that she was 'the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Iliff, one of the Under Masters of Westminster School'. That account has since been adopted in various sources, including in the English peerage guides.

Likewise, the background of my ancestor, Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe, has been the subject of numerous theories. Two of his grandchildren made various claims about his lineage. A paper written by a descendant of Thomas in 1978 listed eight different theories concerning Thomas's ancestry.

The truth of Thomas and Elizabeth's origins is perhaps more remarkable than any of those accounts.

As discussed in this book, I have recently discovered that the father of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe was in fact Abraham Ilive of Oxford. It is apparent that this was the printer Abraham Ilive who died in Oxford in 1777.

Given that Thomas and Elizabeth were siblings, Abraham Ilive was also the father of Elizabeth. It seems likely that their mother was Cecilia Ilive.

It appears that Abraham was aged in his 60s when Elizabeth and Thomas were born.³⁹⁰ At around the time that he died, he and his wife had two other children, Frances and Maria.

Abraham Ilive was a member of a prominent family of London printers, which included his two brothers, Isaac and Jacob Ilive, both of his parents, Thomas and Jane Ilive, and both of his maternal grandparents, Thomas and Elinor James. His grandfather, Thomas James, was a grandson of the first librarian of the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford, Dr Thomas James.

Shortly before he died in 1777, Abraham publicly entreated members of the University of Oxford for financial assistance, declaring that he was 'confined to his Bed by a severe Fit of Illness ... and in want of the common Necessaries of Life'. He described himself as 'distressed', his family as 'helpless', and his

³⁸⁹ Since at least 1803 when Joseph Farington recorded in his diary that Ozias Humphry believed that Elizabeth 'was a farmer's daughter': Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 1979) vol VI, 2140 (for 9 October 1803).

³⁹⁰ As discussed above, it is in my view likely that Abraham Ilive was aged about 70 at the time of his death, rather than 74 as indicated in a notice published in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* a few days before he died.

circumstances as ‘deplorable’. As adverted to in this notice, Abraham had gone from being an active printer, whose family had long been involved in books and printing, to a state of poverty. In a settlement examination in 1778, his eldest daughter, Frances, stated that after quitting London House in Aldersgate Street about 30 years earlier Abraham had ‘never gained any [other] subsequent settlement either by Renting House or [Tenement] Paying Taxes or Otherwise howsoever’.

After Abraham’s death, Cecilia Ilive lived at the workhouse of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate in London. In 1778, her eldest child, Frances, underwent a settlement examination ‘on behalf of her Sister Maria’ in the parish of St Clement Danes in Westminster, and her second eldest child, Maria, was removed from that parish to the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate. For 23 years, Cecilia was a recipient of ‘The Company of Stationers Quarterly Gift to the Poor of their Company’.

In light of these facts, the turn of events in the lives of Abraham’s two youngest children is extraordinary.

Within a decade of Abraham’s death, Elizabeth was living with one of the wealthiest men in England, George O’Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont. At that time, Lord Egremont lived at Petworth House in Sussex and at his town house, Egremont House, in Westminster. In 1787, Elizabeth gave birth to the Earl’s first child, who would become the first Baron Leconfield. She had seven more children by Lord Egremont and eventually married him. She maintained a laboratory at Petworth House, published an article on agriculture, and was awarded a medal for inventing a form of lever. William Blake dedicated at least one of his paintings to her.

Twelve years after Abraham’s death, Thomas – who had been only two or three when Abraham died – commenced an apprenticeship with an apothecary in London. He afterwards attended St John’s College at the University of Cambridge and was admitted as a member of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London. For almost 40 years, Thomas practised as an apothecary and surgeon in London and then as a surgeon in Devonshire. It is apparent that Ayliffe Street, which was in Newington, was named after him. When aged in his 60s, Thomas emigrated with his children and grandchildren to Adelaide in South Australia where he continued to practise as a surgeon.

Both Elizabeth’s family, the Wyndhams, and Thomas appear to have distanced themselves from the Ilive name. After her death, Elizabeth’s parentage was not acknowledged by her family. As noted above, claims were made, and adopted in the English peerage guides, that her father was ‘the Rev. Mr. Iliff, one of the Under Masters of Westminster School’. By 1810, Thomas had changed his name from Ilive to Ayliffe.³⁹¹

³⁹¹ Elizabeth was also sometimes called Elizabeth Ayliffe after her death, though she does not appear to have been called Ayliffe during her lifetime. *The Present Peerage of the United Kingdom*

The closeness of Thomas and Elizabeth is evident in the final years of Elizabeth's life, after she had separated from Lord Egremont. It is also reflected in the support given by the Wyndhams to Thomas and his family following Elizabeth's death. It appears that Thomas and his family lived with Elizabeth at Waterloo Place in St James's, Middlesex³⁹² shortly before she died. Two of Thomas's grandchildren were born at Elizabeth's residence, and she was the godmother of one of those children. Elizabeth's eldest son, Colonel George Wyndham, partly financed the emigration of the Ayliffes to South Australia, and supported the family for some years after Thomas had died. When Thomas's son, George, died only six years after the family's arrival in South Australia, he left a widow and six children who became dependent on Colonel Wyndham for financial support.

Although there are accounts that the early farming ventures of the Ayliffe family in South Australia were not successful, it is to be recalled that the Ayliffes were, for the most part, a family of surgeons, not farmers. Indeed, by 1842 Thomas and his eldest son George were working as surgeons in Adelaide, as was Thomas's youngest son Henry by 1844.

Further, it appears that the two sections of land that were allocated to the Ayliffes to farm south of Adelaide did not admit of successful agriculture. Thomas said in 1841 that 'had we the Capital, we should not feel warranted in expending it upon the Two Sections, on which we are at present located, the Soil not being available for any other purpose than Pasture, & that very indifferent & limited'. George described it as 'very bad land'.

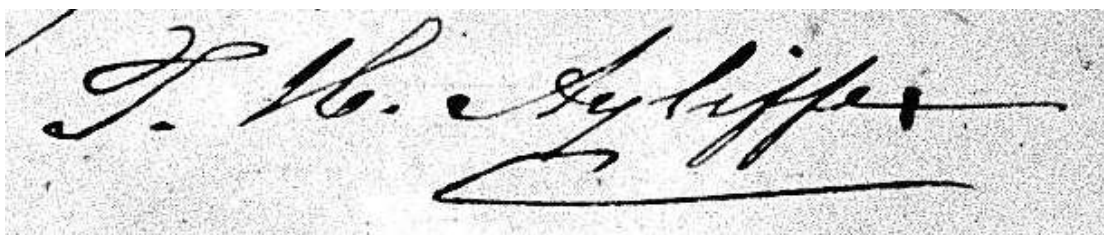
It appears that only Thomas's son, Thomas, extensively pursued farming, which he did at Stockport in South Australia for over 35 years.³⁹³

(1833) 52 states: 'The Earl married Miss Ayliffe, who died Dec. 30, 1822.' *The Brighton Patriot* on 21 November 1837 stated: 'The acknowledged family of the late Earl of Egremont, consists of six children ; three sons and two daughters by Miss Ayliffe, previous to her marriage with the Earl, and one daughter by a Miss Fox ... Of the daughters of Miss Ayliffe, the eldest was married to Sir Charles Burrell, Bart., the youngest, to Mr. King. ... The marriage of his Lordship with Miss Ayliffe is said not to have produced that harmony which might have been expected from long acquaintance and union.'

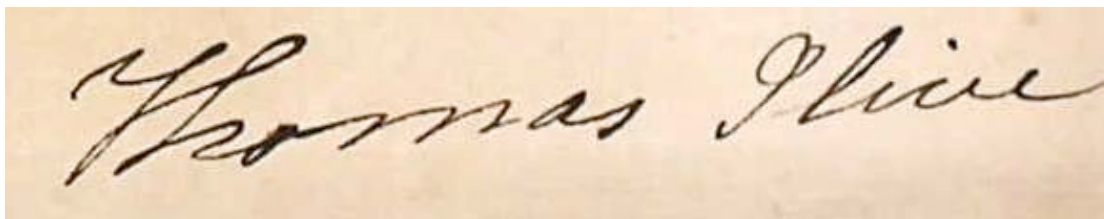
³⁹² *The Wonders of Nature and Art; or, Library for the People* (1827) 255 states: 'The wealth of London may now almost be said to be concentrated in the parish of Mary-le-bone. ... Every attribute of wealth is assembled in Mary-le-bone and St. James's. For example, who can walk from Pall Mall, through the splendid piles of Waterloo Place, the Quadrant, Regent Street, and Portland Place, to the terraces and villas of the Regent's Park, without feeling his breast swell with national pride ? In public buildings we are far surpassed by the French ; but there is no such display of individual wealth, or magnificence of private residences, in the best quarter of Paris, as in the line we have just quoted.'

³⁹³ Before the family emigrated, Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe (junior) had himself contemplated emigrating from England and undertaking agriculture. A letter from Colonel George Wyndham to the Reverend Thomas Sockett dated 4 February 1838 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 729) stated that Thomas (junior) 'has been brought up as a Joiner, and he wishes to go to America either to follow his Trade, or commence Agriculture'.

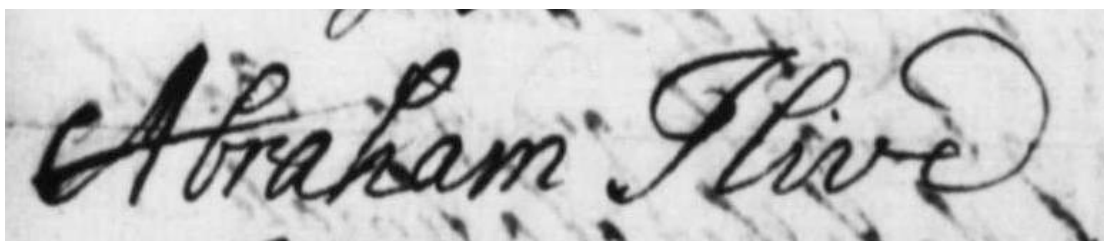
That Thomas's most significant legacy – the establishment of a large family in Australia – was brought about with the support of Elizabeth's family, the Wyndhams, reflects what appears to have been a close relationship between Thomas and Elizabeth. That relationship began when they were children living in destitute circumstances. It ended with them living together again, in Waterloo Place, near the end of Elizabeth's life. By that time, Elizabeth was a Countess and Thomas a surgeon. Perhaps the bond between them had been made all the stronger by their shared memories of a very different life when they were children, and the knowledge of their family's long and important association with the printed word.



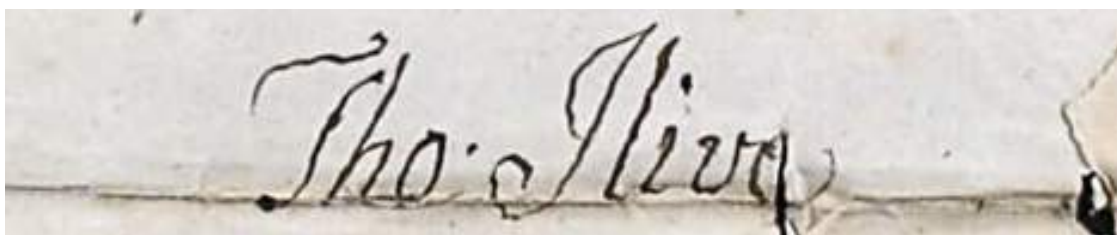
Signature of Thomas Hamilton Ayliffe from a letter to Colonel George Wyndham dated 1 February 1841 (Petworth House Archives, PHA 1067)



Signature of Thomas Ilive from a marriage allegation sworn on 2 April 1796 (English Marriage Bonds and Allegations)



Signature of Abraham Ilive from a document dated 17 February 1738 recording the receipt of money from William Manning by the churchwardens of the parish of St Martin Vintry in London (*City of London Sessions: Sessions Papers* (1738), London Metropolitan Archives, CLA/047/IJ/13/1738)



Signature of Thomas Ilive from his will dated 2 June 1724