

monsieur,' j'ai dit. Il avait beaucoup des choses - des chemises, des foulards, de tout. Eh bien! quelques jours après il me dit - 'Il me manque quelques foulards - deux foulards de cette espèce' - en tirant une de sa poche, parcequ'il faisait attention à tout. 'Ah, monsieur,' j'ai dit, 'c'est très probable, en sortant peut-être dans la ville.' 'Non,' il me dit, 'ce n'est pas ça - je suis volé, et c'est François qui les a pris, et ça n'est pas la première fois,' ainsi enfin il faut que je le renvoie." It was not till long after that Victoire found out that my father had known for years that François had been robbing him, and yet had retained him in his service. He said that it was always his plan to weigh the good qualities of any of his dependants against their defects. If the defects outweighed the virtues, "il faudrait les renvoyer de suite - si non, il faudrait les laisser aller." When he was in his "colère" he never allowed his wife to come near him - "il avait peur de lui faire aucun mal."

The christening of Caroline was celebrated with great festivities, but it was like a fairy story, in that the old aunt Louisa Shipley, who was expected to make her nephew Francis her heir, then took an offence - something about being godmother, which was never quite got over. The poor little babe itself was very pretty and terrible precocious, and before she was a year old she died of water on the brain. Victoire, who doated upon her, held her in her arms for the last four-and-twenty hours, and there she died. Mrs. Hare was very much blamed for having neglected her child for society, yet, when she was dead, says Victoire, "Madame Hare avait tellement chagrin, que Lady Paul qui venait tous les jours, pria M. Hare de l'emmener tout de suite. Nous sommes allés à Bruxelles, parceque là M. FitzGerald avait une maison, - mais de là, nous sommes retournés bien vite en Angleterre à cause de la grossesse de Madame Hare, parceque M. Hare ne voulut pas que son fils soit né à l'étranger, parcequ'il disait, que, étant le troisième, il perdrait ses droits de l'héritage.⁷ C'est selon la loi anglaise - et c'était vraiment temps, car, de suite en arrivant à Londres, François naquit."

The family finally left Gloucester Place and went abroad in consequence of Lady Jones's death. After that they never had a settled home again. When the household in London was broken up, Victoire was to have left. She had long been engaged to be married to Félix Ackermann, who had been a soldier, and was in receipt of a pension for his services in the Moscow campaign. But, when it came to the parting, "Monsieur et Madame" would not let her go, saying that they could not let her travel, until they could find a family to send her with. "It was an excuse," said Victoire, "for I waited two years, and the family was never found. Then I had to *consigner* all the things, then I could not leave Madame - and so it went on for two years more, till, when the family were at Pisa, Félix insisted that I should come to a decision. Then M. Hare sent for Félix, who had been acting as a courier for some time, and begged him to come to Florence to go with us as a courier to Baden. Félix arrived on the *Jeudi Saint*. M. Hare came in soon after (it was in my little room) and talked to him as if they were old friends. He brought a bottle of champagne, and poured out glasses for us all, and *faisait clinquer les verres*. On the Monday we all left for Milan, and there I was married to Félix, and, after the season at Baden, Félix and I were to return to Paris, but when the time came M. Hare would not let us."

"Wherever," said Victoire, "M. Hare était en passage - soit à Florence, soit à Rome, n'importe où, il faudrait toujours des diners, et des fêtes, pour recevoir M. Hare, surtout dans les ambassade, pas seulement dans l'ambassade d'Angleterre, mais dans celles de France, d'Allemagne, etc. Et quand M. Hare ne voyageait plus, et qu'il était établi dans quelque ville, il donnait à son tour des diners à lui."

"Il s'occupait toujours à lire, - pas des romans, mais des anciens livres, dans lesquelles il fouillait toujours. Quand nous voyageons c'était la première chose, et il emporta énormément des livres dans la voiture avec lui. . . . Quand il y'avait une personne qui lui avait été recommandée, il fallait toujours lui faire voir tout ce qu'il avait, soit à Rome, soit à Bologne, - et comme il savait un peu de tout, son avis était demandé pour la valeur des tableaux, et n'importe de quoi."

On first going abroad, my father had taken his wife to make acquaintance with his old friends Lady Blessington and Count d'Orsay, with whom they afterwards had frequent meetings. Lady Blessington thus describes to Landor her first impressions of Mrs. Hare :-

"Paris, Feb. 1829. - Among the partial gleams of sunshine which have illumined our winter, a fortnight's sojourn which Francis Hare and his excellent wife made here, is remebered with most pleasure. She is indeed a treasure - well-informed, clever, sensible, well-mannered, kind, lady-like, and, above all, truly feminine; the having chosen such a woman reflects credit and distinction on our friend, and the community with her has had a visible effect on him, as, without losing any of his gaiety, it has become softened down to a more mellow tone, and he appears not only a more happy man, but more deserving of happiness than before."

My second brother, William Robert, was born September 20, 1831, at the Bagni di Lucca, where the family was spending the summer. Mrs. Louisa Shipley meanwhile never ceased to urge their return to England.

"Jan. 25, 1831. - I am glad to hear so good an account of my two little great-nephews, but I should be still more glad to see them. I do hope the next may be a girl. If Francis liked England for the sake of being with old friends, he might live here very comfortably, but if he *will* live as those who can afford to make a show, for one year of parade in England he must be a banished man for many years. I wish he would be as 'domestic' at home as he is abroad!"

In the summer of 1832 all the family went to Baden-Baden, to meet Lady Paul and her daughter Eleanor, Sir John, the FitzGerald, and the Bankheads. All the branches of Mrs. Hare's family lived in different houses, but they met daily for dinner, and were very merry. Before the autumn, my father returned to Italy, to the Villa Cittadella near Lucca, which was taken for two months for Mrs. Hare's confinement, and there, on the 9th of October, my sister was born. She received the names of "Anne Frances Maria Louisa." "Do you mean your πολυπυμος daughter to rival Venus in all her other qualities as well as in the multitude of her names? or has your motive been rather to recommend her to a greater number of patron saints?" wrote my uncle Julius on hearing of her birth. Just before this, Mrs. Shelley (widow of the poet and one of her most intimate friends) had written to Mrs. Hare :-

"Your accounts of your child (Francis) give me very great pleasure. Dear little fellow, what an amusement and delight he must be to you. You do indeed understand a Paraisical life. Well do I remeber the dear Lucca baths, where we spent morning and evening in riding about the country - the most prolific place in the world for all manner of reptiles. Take care of yourself, dearest friend. . . . Choose Naples for your winter residence. Naples, with its climate, its scenery, its opera, its galleries, its natural and ancient wonders, surpasses every other place in the world. Go thither, and live on the Chiaja. Happy one, how I envy you. Percy is in brilliant health and promises better and better.

"Have you plenty of storms at dear beautiful Lucca? Almost every day when I was there, vast white clouds peeped out from above the hills - rising higher and higher till they overshadowed us, and spent themselves in rain and tempest: the thunder, re-echoed again and again by the hills, is indescribably terrific. . . . Love me, and return to us - Ah! return to us! for it is all very stupid and unaimable without you. For are not you -

"That cordial drop Heaven in our cup had thrown,
To make the nauseous draught of life go down."

After a pleasant winter at Naples, my father and his family went to pass the summer of 1833 at Castellamare. "C'était à Castellamare" (says a note by Madame Victoire) "que Madame Hare apprit la mort de Lady Paul. Elle était sur le balcon, quand elle la lut dans le journal. J'étais dans une partie de la maison très éloignée, mais j'ai entendu un cri si fort, si aigu, que je suis arrivée de suite, et je trouvais Madame Hare toute étendue sur la parquet. J'appellais - 'Au secours, au secours,' et Félix, qui était très fort, prenait Madame Hare dans ses bras, et l'apportait à mettre sur son lit, et nous l'avons donné tant des choses, mais elle n'est pas revenue, et elle restait pendant deux heures en cet état. Quand M. Hare est entré, il pensait que c'était à cause de sa grossesse. Il s'est agenouillé tout en pleurs à coté de son lit. Il demandait si je lui avais donné des lettres. 'Mais, non, monsieur; je ne l'ai pas donné qu'un journal.' On cherchait longtemps ce journal, parcequ'elle l'avait laissé tomber du balcon, mais quand il était trouvé, monsieur s'est aperçu tout de suite de ce qu'elle avait." The death of Lady Paul was very sudden; her sister Lady Ravensworth first heard of it when calling to inquire at the door in the Strand in her carriage. After expressing her sympathy in the loss of such a mother,

Mrs. Louisa Shipley at this time wrote to Mrs. Hare :-

"I will now venture to call your attention to the blessings you possess in your husband and children, and more particularly to the occupation of your thoughts in the education of the latter. They are now at an age when it depends on a mother to lay the foundation of principles which they will carry with

D = private records
 LR = Land registry
 T = Transcripts

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE of NORTHERN IRELAND



THE ELY PAPERS

(D/496, D/527, D/535,
 D/580 [part], D/962,
 D/1096/45, D/3130, -
 D/3805, LR1/9/4A/13, -
 LR1/9L/1-4, LR1/980/3,
 LR1/1251/1, T/1041/20 and
 T/2904)

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1256 NI 02113



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Early family history.
Adam Loftus, 1st
Viscount Loftus of Ely.
The Loftuses of
Rathfarnham.
The Loftuses of Fethard
and of Loftus Hall.
The origins of the name
'Ely'.

Summary.

The Ely papers, as the quantity of reference numbers cited above would suggest, are not one but a host of scattered deposits in PRONI, amounting in total to c.1,550 documents, covering the period 1630-1928 and documenting the estates, mainly in Cos Fermanagh, Wexford and Dublin, the business affairs and the frequent accessions of peerage honours of the Loftus family, from 1751 Barons and Viscounts Loftus and Earls and Marquesses of Ely.




D/580/517 June 1823 Ely & Brig.-Gen. Thos. Browne. Dublin Draft reconveyance of
mortgage premises 5/- Church Street, Dublin. Page 05
no mention of Dignos.

D/62 // Collection of 10 docs 1815-71 concerning estate in Inishmaesaint, Fermanagh
10/- in text.

D/3805/1/B/8 Copy with of John ^{of} 2nd Marquess of Ely 1840. ✓

D/3805/1/E/4 "Patent appointing the Most Noble John [2nd] Marquess of Ely, Custos
Rotulorum for the county of Wexford"

[Loffus Hall is in Wexford]
built 1870-1 in ruin of Redwood Hall which belonged to the Loffus family since 1666.
after which it became known as Loffus Hall. Now - hotel

Signed as  Canard, 18.3. 59 Geo IV

Refers only to "keeper of the rolls" of our peace and all
written precepts preserved and indictments in any wise

touching ^{precepts?} ~~precepts~~ concerning the keeping of our peace
within our county of Wexford.

~~196/3~~
~~Unindexed database while trying to look~~
~~header 39,000 - error code~~
DBAS error no 4702

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[Loftus Hall, Co.](#)

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[Increasing Anglicisation.](#)

[A bankrupt marquess.](#)

[An ignominious end.](#)

Early family history.

The Loftus family originated in Swineshead, or Swineside, parish of Coverham, Yorkshire. The first to achieve greatness was the Rev. Adam Loftus (c.1534-1605), who came to Ireland as a viceregal chaplain in 1560, was appointed Archbishop of Armagh in 1563 and moved to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1567. A *protégé* of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, he was made Keeper of the Great Seal of Ireland in 1573 and Lord Chancellor in 1578, holding this latter office and the archbishopric of Dublin until his death in 1605. He served three times as a Lord Justice of Ireland (in the absence of the Lord Deputy) - 1582, 1585 and 1597-1599. In the 1580s he was an advocate of 'temperate and peaceable government' as opposed to draconianism. He was the main promoter of the foundation of Trinity College, 1592, and from then until 1594 served as its first Provost. The future Earls and Marquesses of Ely descend from a younger grandson of this Lord Chancellor Adam Loftus.



Adam Loftus, 1st Viscount Loftus of Ely.

Very confusingly, there was another Lord Chancellor Adam Loftus, who was a nephew of the first one and founded a completely distinct family. This Adam Loftus was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1619 and was removed from that office in 1638, following his celebrated clash with Lord Deputy Wentworth. In 1622 he was created Viscount Loftus of Ely, and he died at Middleham, Yorkshire, in 1643. His Irish estates were located at Monasterevan, Co. Kildare, and - just across the county boundary- at Mountmellick, Queen's County,

[The Ely papers.](#)

[The Enniskillen](#)

[solicitor's archive.](#)

[The Dublin solicitor's](#)
[archive.](#)

[The London solicitor's](#)
[archive.](#)

[The Ely patents of](#)
[peerage, 1751-1801.](#)

[The Land Registry](#)
[archive.](#)

[Miscellaneous Ely](#)
[papers.](#)



Nicolas, 1st Earl of Ely



now Co. Leix.

The viscounty conferred on him became extinct with the death of his grandson, the 3rd Viscount Loftus of this creation, in 1725. Although the viscounty of Loftus was re-created in 1751 for the other branch of the Loftus family in Ireland, no part of the Monasterevan and Mountmellick estates passed to them. Instead, these descended through the 3rd Viscount Loftus (of the first creation)'s only daughter, Jane, to her son, Henry Moore, 4th Earl of Drogheda, whose nephew, the 6th Earl and 1st Marquess of Drogheda, re-modelled the house at Monasterevan, originally a mediaeval abbey, in Strawberry Hill Gothick in 1767, and called it Moore Abbey. By 1767, Lord Drogheda's rental from the former Loftus estates stood at £5,425 a year.



The Loftuses of Rathfarnham.

To return now to the Lord Chancellor Adam Loftus who died in 1605: he had built himself in 1583 a magnificent seat at Rathfarnham Castle, Co. Dublin. His great-great grandson, another Adam Loftus, was raised to the Irish peerage as Baron Rathfarnham and Viscount Lisburne in 1685, but was killed soon afterwards in the Williamite War. Rathfarnham Castle and the accompanying estate passed to his only daughter and heiress, Lucy, who married the raffish Duke of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1708-1710. Wharton, ever insolvent, sold the property to William Conolly, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, for £62,000 in 1723. ([Illustration of Philip, Duke of Wharton.](#))

At that time it comprised 3,682 acres of arable, meadow and pasture and 2,442 of mountain with a rental of £2,171 a year capable of an increase of £1,228 a year. In 1782, by which time (as will be seen) Henry Loftus, Earl of Ely, was tenant of the castle and demesne, the rental of the Conolly family's Rathfarnham estate was



Charles, 1st Marquess of Ely

£4,084 a year. [For these details, and for title deeds, legal papers, etc, relating to the Rathfarnham estate, see Conolly papers, PRONI, T/2825/C/4/1-11.]



The Loftuses of Fethard and of Loftus Hall.



Jane, Marchioness of Ely

The ancestor of the future Earls and Marquesses of Ely was the uncle of Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburne. He was Nicholas Loftus of Fethard, Co. Wexford (1592-1666), and the Ely papers in PRONI include (D/3805/1/A/1-11) title deeds to his manors of Fethard and Kilcloggan, parishes of Fethard, Hook and Templetown, barony of Shelburne, Co. Wexford, 1637-1668, including a recovery of those manors, dated 1646, containing a fine, 'primitive' royal portrait of Charles I.

He was succeeded by his elder son, Sir Nicholas Loftus of Fethard, whose children all pre-deceased him, and who was therefore succeeded, in c.1713, by his younger brother, Henry Loftus of Loftus Hall, Fethard (1633-1716). From the early 17th century to c.1700 the Loftuses live in the old 15th-century castle in Fethard, which was modified and extended to make it more suitable for domestic accommodation. (Though now a ruin, it was tenanted and lived in until 1922.) In c.1700 they moved south to Loftus Hall, which stands almost at the tip of Hook Head. Henry Loftus's successor was his elder son, another Nicholas Loftus (c.1687-1763), M.P. for Co. Wexford, 1710-1713 and 1715-1751, in whose favour the viscountcy of Loftus, extinct since 1725, was revived. He was created Baron Loftus of Loftus Hall in 1751 and Viscount Loftus of Ely in 1756. By a strange irony, he married as his second wife the widow of the 3rd Viscount Loftus of the first creation. He was succeeded as 2nd Viscount Loftus by his elder son, another Nicholas Loftus (c.1707-1766), M.P. for Bannow, Co. Wexford, and subsequently for Fethard, 1737-1763, who was advanced to the Earldom of Ely in 1766, a week before his death.



The origins of the name 'Ely'.

The name 'Ely' came originally from the Gaelic territory of Elye O'Carroll in King's County, now Co. Offaly. Adam Loftus, 1st Viscount Loftus of Ely (Lord Chancellor, 1619-1638), had sat for King's County in the parliament of 1613; in his patent of peerage, he is described as Viscount Loftus of Ely, King's County; and a cadet Loftus later in the 17th century definitely owned land in Elye O'Carroll. The 18th century Loftuses and Tottenhams for whom various Ely titles were re-created, did not own land in King's County, and indeed the 1766 and 1771 earldoms are described as being of Ely, Co. Wicklow! This has served to obscure the territorial origin of the title.

The 18th century Elys presumably liked the name because it sounded grand and non-Irish, and so did not seek a title which was more appropriate to their own territorial possessions. It was reported in 1800 that Lord Ely was going to be made Marquess of Wexford; however, if this is true, he would have been forestalled by the fact that an Earl of Wexford already existed in the person of the Earl of Shrewsbury. In present-day Dublin, Ely Place and Ely House are always pronounced with the emphasis on the last syllable, and this is almost certainly how the family would have pronounced it in the 18th century. After the Union, with their increasing Anglicisation, they began to pronounce themselves as in the Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire, and Ely Cathedral. That this was a gradual post-Union development is suggested by the fact that the territorial designation for the U.K. barony of Loftus granted them at the time of the Union was not Ely in Cambridgeshire, but a possibly fictitious 'Long Loftus' in their native Yorkshire.



The Wexford boroughs.

This rapid advancement in the peerage to heights

undreamt-of by the more distinguished Lords Chancellor Loftus of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, is attributable to a variety of factors. First, the early Stuart period was one of great profusion in Irish peerage-creation, but the honours so bestowed were mainly for the benefit of outsiders from England and Scotland. Second, the Loftuses were in political alliance with the extremely powerful John Ponsonby, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons and first cousin of the 1st Earl of Ely. Thirdly, and much more important, the Loftus Hall branch of the Loftuses enjoyed great parliamentary patronage.

They controlled a number of seats in the Irish House of Commons for rotten or pocket boroughs in Co. Wexford: Bannow (where the Normans had landed in 1169), which had been overtaken by coastal erosion, and was later described as 'a mountain of sea sand, without a single inhabited house'; Clonmines, which had one inhabited house, but otherwise was simply the ruins of a once important ecclesiastical site; and Fethard, which for a time had as its mayor and returning officer Lord Ely's butler at nearby Loftus Hall, and as its 12-man corporation other domestic servants. In addition, Lord Ely nominated to one seat for the important county town of Wexford, and John and Charles Tottenham of Tottenham Green and New Ross, Co. Wexford, who were brothers and both of whom married sisters of the 1st Earl of Ely, between them nominated to one seat for the borough of New Ross. John Tottenham was created a baronet in 1780 (a photostat of the patent is among the Ely papers D/3130), and his son succeeded to the Loftus estates and ultimately was created 1st Marquess of Ely; Charles Tottenham, who married the heiress to the Ballycurry estate, Co. Wicklow, succeeded to the Tottenham family's share of the patronage of New Ross. This meant that Lord Ely could command eight seats in a parliament of 300, to which might be added, if things went well, a seat for the county of Wexford.

From their first ennoblement, the Loftuses of Loftus Hall combined with this great parliamentary influence

an inability to produce heirs male and so to prevent their peerages from dying out. They therefore devoted their energies during the near-half century between 1751 and the third re-creation of the earldom of Ely in 1794, to huckstering over their ennoblement, promotion and re-ennoblement, advancing themselves twice in that period from commoner to viscount and three times from viscount to earl, and crowning their achievements at the Union in 1801 with an Irish marquessate and a barony in the new peerage of the United Kingdom.



Nicholas Hume Loftus, 2nd Earl of Ely (1738-1769).

The short-lived 2nd Earl of Ely succeeded to the title and estates in 1766 and died, unmarried, in 1769. He bore the name Hume in addition to that of Loftus, and his father had assumed the additional name of Hume, because of his father's marriage into, and succession to, the estates of the Hume family in Co. Fermanagh and elsewhere. In 1736, the 1st Earl, then simply Nicholas Loftus, had married Mary (d.1740), elder daughter and heiress of the Rt Hon. Sir Gustavus Hume, 3rd Bt, of Castle Hume, Co. Fermanagh, who had died in 1731. Under a Hume family settlement of 1729 and the terms of Sir Gustavus's will, Mary, the elder daughter, inherited the entire landed estates of the family, with a rental of £3,000 a year, and Alice, the younger daughter, £5,000 and Sir Gustavus's personal estate. Nicholas Loftus, now Hume Loftus, thus came into immediate enjoyment of the Hume estates, which passed to the only son of the marriage, Nicholas Hume Loftus, 2nd Earl, in 1766, along with the paternal estates in Co. Wexford.



The early history of the Hume family.

According to the Rev. George Hill in *The Plantation in Ulster, 1608-1620* (Belfast, 1877), the founder of the

Hume family in Co. Fermanagh, Sir John Hume (of North Berwick, who belonged to the Hume family of Polwarth later created Earls of Marchmont), was granted the proportion of Ardgart, alias Carrinroe, in 1610, and bought the neighbouring proportion of Moyglasse from its original patentee in 1615. On the former he built what even the hypercritical Pynnar called 'a fair strong castle', Tully, and the latter he neglected. Later, in 1626, he bought from his brother, Alexander, the smaller but contiguous proportion of Drumcose. This made him the largest landowner in Fermanagh. He died in 1639, just in time to miss the 1641 uprising.

In spite of its fairness and strength, and a garrison consisting of 'all the English and Scottish settlers in the immediate vicinity', Tully was compelled to surrender in 1641. All within it were massacred, contrary to the signed and sworn articles of surrender, except for Lady Hume (wife of Sir John's son and successor, Sir George, who was absent at the time), her immediate family and the constable of the castle. Alistair Rowan writes evocatively in *The Buildings of Ireland: North-West Ulster ...* (London, 1983): '... That sense of isolation which the early 17th-century planters in Ulster must have known, is immediately excited by the sight of the roofless, ivy-covered mass of Tully Castle, rising from its knoll above the lough. Its isolation was its downfall, for the castle ... surrendered to Captain Rory Maguire in 1641 and was burnt with its inhabitants. It has since remained a ruin. ...'

The Humes eventually transferred to another site, Castle Hume, Church Hill, where there must have been some sort of house between c.1660 and the building of the important Castle Hume in 1728. Sir George Hume, who was created a baronet in 1671, is described as 'of Castle Hume'. His son and successor, Sir John Hume, 2nd Bt (also described as 'of Castle Hume'), died in 1695 and was succeeded by his only son, Sir Gustavus Hume, 3rd Bt, M.P. for Co. Fermanagh, 1713-1731.



Richard Castle's first Irish commission.

Of Castle Hume Alistair Rowan writes: it '... holds an important place in the history of Irish classicism, for it was here that Richard Castle, who was to become one of the principal protagonists of Irish Palladian architecture, made his debut. ... By 1725 Castle had come to London, where in 1728 he met Sir Gustavus Hume, ... who brought him to Ireland that year. ... Castle Hume was his first work, built for Sir Gustavus from 1728 and burnt out by accident the next year, but completed again.

An estate map of 1768 (D/496) shows it to have been a small classical house of three storeys with a pedimented centre and with pineapples and other sculpture along its stone balustrade in all similar to Castle's other small house at Hazlewood in Co. Sligo. [Actually, the 1768 map does not bear out this description at all: it gives an artist's impression of a decidedly old-fashioned house, peppered with chimney pots. Castle Hume is supposed to have been in ruins by 1793; but this seems improbable, because it was let, from at least 1781 to his death in 1797, to Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly, a substantial Fermanagh country gentleman. It cannot have been abandoned in the early 19th century either, because "Capability" Brown's well-known disciple, John Sutherland, re-made the grounds c.1813 and his work was intact twenty years later.] (Illustration of Castle Hume.)

All that remains today is a long avenue of about thirty beech trees leading up to where the house stood, and a courtyard of stable offices. ... [They] are typical of Castle's robust manner The present court contains two main blocks linked by a range of seven arcaded coach houses. The large block, L-shaped, contained the stables, with an exceedingly fine elliptically vaulted ceiling in cut bricks supported on an arcade of Tuscan columns ...'.



The townlands in the Co. Fermanagh estate.

The main component of the Hume estates, the manors of Ardgart, Castle Hume, Moyglass and Tully, mainly in the barony of Magheraboy, Co. Fermanagh, comprised the following townlands:

Ardees Lower	Ardees Upper	Ardgart
Aughameelan	Aughamore	Aughrim
Ballinakill	Ballustybeg	Ballustymore
Ballustymore Mountain	Ballygonnell	Ballyhose & Levally
Banagher	Blackslee	Boheaveny
Bonohone	Bowara	Brechah
Broghas	Brollagh	Callaghean
Car Island	Carnadarwin	Carranmore
Carrickreagh	Carrowbeg	Carry East
Carrygoola	Cassycon	Church Hill
Cleens	Clenows	Coagh
Concaroe	Corgarry	Corkeel
Corrymore	Crawfordshill	Croaghum
Crogahan & Drummohan	Cullen	Derrydoon
Derrynacross	Derrynaeska	Derrynamew
Derryvara	Dodgebran	Donegal
Drumbadmeen	Drumbadrevey	Drumberry & Drumboovy
Drumgrow	Drumilisaleen	Drummeenaghmore
Drummohan	Drumnassareene	Drumnatoffin
Drumreask	Drumsillagh	Enaghan
Fardrum	Farcassidy	Fassow
Fassow Island	Garryross	Gillyholm
Glen (East)	Glen (West)	Gortnaleo
Gortnaleo	Gortnamonaghan	Gurteen or Garrison
Kelaghan	Killymore	Kilmore Bog

Knockaraven	Largan	Largylinny
Laughill	Leenagh	Legg
Leglehid	Lenaghan	Lenaghan House
Levally	Lockhart	Lurgandarra
Magheragannon	Magho	Mangermoohan
Mangermore	Meenaelybane	Minrin
Moneendogue	Moneywilkin	Moyglass
Muckinah	Muckinash Island	Muglinagrow
Mullaghanilly	Outer Ross	Portmush
Portnaclyduff	Rabraan	Ratona
Ratona Land	Rooskey	Roscor
Shean	Shruanure	Slavin
Ternagheramore	Ternagherbeg	Tonagh
Toneypull	Tully	Tullyloughdan
Tullymore	Wheathill Glebe	Whitehill



The battle over the Hume estates.

It is ironical that, just over a decade after the estates of the extinct Viscounts Loftus had been carried off by another family, the Loftuses of Loftus Hall should have carried off the estates of the Humes. However, this magnificent accession of property was to cost them dear.

Nicholas, the future 2nd Earl, proved to be feeble-minded and early earned himself the nickname of 'Nicholas the Idiot'. The only surviving portrait of him, which is in the manner of a Grand Tour portrait by Pompeo Batoni, represents him as a vacuous fop, but not as an idiot, far less a lunatic. However, it was alleged in the course of subsequent legal proceedings that almost the only things he could remember were 'a few national toasts taught him by the father, who was himself a great proficient'. Because of the question mark over his mental capacity and the improbability of his

marrying and having children, his aunt, Alice Hume, now wife of George Rochfort of Rochfort, Co. Westmeath, took legal proceedings in 1758 to have him declared a lunatic and incapable of managing his own affairs. Had she succeeded in this, she would, in the event of his dying without legitimate issue, have succeeded to the Hume estates under the Hume family settlement of 1729. In anticipation of victory, her husband, George Rochfort, and their son, Gustavus, both assumed the name Hume. But in the event the Rochfort Humes failed in this first round of the legal battle. They made a second, and also unsuccessful, attempt in 1766.

Nicholas, 1st Earl of Ely, who died in that year, had always treated Nicholas the Idiot with coldness and even brutality. But his younger brother, Henry Loftus (1709-1783), the new Earl's uncle, behaved like a father to him and earned his affection and trust. Influenced by this, and by the Rochfort Humes' attempts to get him declared a lunatic, Nicholas the Idiot executed in 1767 a re-settlement of the Hume estates in favour of Henry Loftus, who was heir presumptive to the viscountcy of Loftus (though not the earldom of Ely) and to the Wexford estates. Nicholas the Idiot himself died, young and unmarried, in 1769, whereupon the Rochfort Humes contested the re-settlement of 1767 on the ground of his alleged lunacy.



The longest-running and most celebrated of all Irish lawsuits.

The *cause célèbre* of Loftus -v- Hume, which had started in 1758 and was perhaps the longest-running and most celebrated of all Irish lawsuits, was ultimately settled by a decision of the Irish House of Lords (to which the supreme appellate jurisdiction in Irish legal cases had just been restored) in 1783. The decision was in favour of Henry, 4th Viscount Loftus, who in 1771 had been created Earl of Ely (of the second creation). The case, indeed, brought the newly restored appellate

jurisdiction into disrepute, because one indigent peer, Lord Strangford, unsuccessfully offered his vote to the highest bidder. It must also have saddled the Fermanagh estate with enormous legal costs and made its administration virtually impossible during the period 1769-1783, when the tenants did not know to which landlord they should 'attorn' and pay rent, and some of them probably paid rent to neither.



The extent and value of the Hume estates.

The Hume estates were well worth fighting for. In 1713, Sir Gustavus Hume's estate had been credited with the same rental as that of Sir Nicholas Loftus of Fethard - £1,500 a year. In 1729 the former had a rental of £3,000, and in 1736 the latter had a rental of the same amount. A schedule to the settlement made on the second marriage of Henry, Earl of Ely in 1775 gives the following figures for the Hume acreage and rental: the manor of Hamilton, Co. Leitrim (later known as the Glenfarne estate), containing 17,384 (Irish) acres at a rental of £2,115; the manors of Tully and Ardgart, Co. Fermanagh, containing 17,810 acres at a rental of £3,331; and the manors of Castle Hume and Moyglass, Co. Fermanagh, containing 4,122 acres at a rental of £2,153. This makes a grand total of 38,317 acres at a rental of £7,498, subject to 'fees' (which presumably include head rents) of £345. Glenfarne had come into the family through the marriage of Sir John Hume, 2nd Bt (d.1695) and Sidney (d.1686), daughter and co-heiress of James Hamilton of Manor Hamilton. It was later, probably c.1806, settled on Lord Robert Ponsonby Tottenham, second son of the 1st Marquess of Ely, Bishop of Killaloe, 1804-1820, of Ferns, 1820-1822, and of Clogher, 1822-1850.



The end of Castle Hume

The main casualty of Loftus -v- Hume was the house

and demesne of Castle Hume. When the Rev. Richard Twiss was rowed along Lough Erne in 1775, it was still the most 'conspicuous' seat adorning the lough. '... "What a spot to build on and form a retreat from the business and anxiety of the world": such were the thoughts of Arthur Young [quoted by Alistair Rowan], as he [too] was rowed past Lord Ely's wooded estate in Sir James Caldwell's barge in 1776. He envied the proprietor, who then used the estate simply to derive a periodical profit, felling the trees with "sacrilegious axe" and ignoring its picturesque potential. ...' Obviously, Young whose *Tour* was of the whistle-stop variety, had not bothered to obtain basic information from Sir James Caldwell, who owned the neighbouring estate of Castle Caldwell, near Belleek, and would have been able to tell him all about Loftus -v- Hume. Castle Hume, as has been seen, was neglected until c.1813, and it would seem that the Elys had no proper Fermanagh seat until the 1830s. This was not just because of the cost of the lawsuit; it was also because of the cost of their lavish building enterprises in the Dublin area.



Rathfarnham Castle.

Henry, Earl of Ely, was a pivotal figure in family history, not just because he grimly fought and won Loftus -v- Hume. In 1767, Nicholas the Idiot had acquired for £17,500 from the great-nephew and successor of Speaker William Conolly a perpetuity lease of the oldest Loftus family property in Ireland, Rathfarnham Castle. It was, however, Henry, Earl of Ely who completely re-modelled the house (now being restored to its c.1770 splendour by the Office of Public Works in Dublin).

His work has been fully described by Dr Edward McParland in an article on Rathfarnham Castle in *Country Life*, 9 September 1982. His architects were no lesser figures than Sir William Chambers and James ('Athenian') Stewart, Angelica Kauffman (*Illustration of Angelica Kauffman*) did some of the decorative painting

(and also painted a number of family portraits for the house) and another artist, John Baptist Cuvillie did the rest. In this new mansion Henry, Earl of Ely entertained in a grand style, endeavouring to inveigle the newly widowed Lord Lieutenant, the 3rd Viscount Townshend, into marriage with Lady Ely's niece.



Ely House, Dublin.

He also, in 1771-1772, built himself a large and magnificent Dublin town-house, Ely House, in Ely Place, off Hume Street and St Stephens Green.

(Illustration of Ely House.) It has been since 1922 the Irish headquarters of the Knights of St Columbus, who have restored it to its original splendour. Its location, and the fact that the 1st Marquess of Ely had a house in Hume Street, where he died in 1806, shows that it was part of a Hume estate in Dublin City. Ely House itself passed to Henry, Earl of Ely's widow, who sold it in 1809.



Henry, Earl of Ely in Irish politics.

Henry, Earl of Ely also played a significant role in the political advancement of his family. He had been M.P. for Bannow, 1747-1768, and for Co. Wexford, 1768-1769, and was a Governor of both Cos Wexford and Fermanagh, and Custos Rotulorum for Co. Wexford. These were purely local achievements. In the sphere of national politics, Henry, Earl of Ely was the first head of the family to establish a separate Loftus party in the Irish House of Commons.

This was symptomatic of events during the prolonged political crisis which characterised the Lord Lieutenancy of the 4th Viscount Townshend, 1767-1772. Townshend found himself compelled to break the power of the so-called 'undertakers' or major power brokers, including the Loftuses' cousin and erstwhile

patron, John Ponsonby, Speaker of the House of Commons. Townshend courted and rewarded the minor interests at the expense of the major, and Henry, 4th Viscount Loftus's reward for deserting Speaker Ponsonby was the re-creation of the Earldom of Ely in 1771. Where, however, the Loftus party differed from most of the others which were advanced in this period was that - with the command of at least eight votes in the House of Commons - they were actually a major interest in their own right. They acted as such for the rest of the life of the Irish Parliament.



Charles Tottenham Loftus, 1st Marquess of Ely (1738-1806).

When Henry, Earl of Ely died, with no surviving issue, in 1783, all his peerages became extinct, and the family went back to the beginning again. The heir to all his estates was his sister's son, Charles Tottenham, who assumed the name of Loftus, and began the painful process of using his electoral interest to secure the re-creation of the family honours. In this endeavour he was the most successful Loftus of all, attaining the new height of a marquessate and a U.K. barony in 1801.

Much remains to be learned about his role, as Governor and Custos Rotulorum of Co. Wexford and a leading landowner in the south of the county, in the troubled times before and after the '98 Rebellion. He seems to have kept free of violent partisanship and ultra-loyalism (which some of the Tottenhamams did not). Indeed, he was looked upon as an ally by 'liberal' Protestants like Cornelius Crogan (later executed for his reluctant participation in the rebellion) and by the local Catholic bishop, Dr. Caulfield. In other respects, it is hard to find much to admire about Charles Tottenham Loftus, 1st Baron and Viscount Loftus, 1st Earl and Marquess of Ely, and 1st Baron Loftus in the peerage of the U.K.



The 1st Marquess and the Act of Union.

At the time of the Union, he deservedly earned the contempt of both sides by remaining 'undecided' for as long as possible, in order to extort higher bounty - in his own case the marquessate and the U.K. barony, and jobs innumerable for his sons and political followers. The Union yielded them the immediate cash benefit of £45,000, in compensation for the disfranchisement of the boroughs of Bannow, Clonmines and Fethard. But this loss of political real estate deprived subsequent Marquesses of Ely of their best hope of well-remunerated office for themselves and other family members, such as the office of Joint Postmaster-General for Ireland, which the 1st Marquess held between 1789 and his death in 1806, the Lordship of the Irish Treasury held by his elder son (in consequence of a Union 'engagement') between 1800 and 1806, and the bishopric conferred on his second son in 1804 (also in consequence of the Union).



A family struggling to keep up.

After the Union and his death in 1806, his successors gravitated towards England, mainly because most of their Irish political influence had vanished with Union disenfranchisements. But with a total (seriously encumbered) rental of only £24,000 from all their Irish estates in 1873, and little hope of supplementing their income by obtaining office, they were able only with difficulty to sustain the rank of marquess. Their further difficulty was that their Irish estates were located at opposite ends of the country, with the result that, if they were to play the part which was their due in county society and politics, they really required family seats in both Wexford and Fermanagh. In the early 19th century their success in County Wexford elections ran out; and the Great Reform Act put paid to their post-Union nomination to a seat for Wexford borough in alternate parliaments. As a result, Co Fermanagh became as

politically inviting to them as Co Wexford in the years after 1832.



Ely Lodge, Co. Fermanagh.

In the 1830s, the lack of a seat in Co. Fermanagh was made good, when, as Bence-Jones writes in *Burke's Guide to Irish Country Houses* (London, 1978), '... a new house was built a couple of miles away [from the ruin of Castle Hume], on a promontory in Lough Erne, by the 2nd Marquess of Ely and named Ely Lodge. To provide stone for it, the main block of Castle Hume was demolished' 'Ely ... [Lodge, Rowan resumes, was] a large classical house, for which William Farrell prepared a number of schemes before the house was begun. The main front was a five-bay, two-storey, stuccoed block with Tuscan pilasters and a central, columned porch. On either side were single-storeyed bowed wings. ...' The building of Ely Lodge was accompanied and indeed made possible by the abandonment of Rathfarnham Castle, Co. Dublin; Bence-Jones notes that '... By 1837 the castle had been emptied of its furniture and pictures, and its then owner, the 2nd Marquess of Ely, was planning to demolish it ...'. Lord Ely certainly moved some of the pictures - perhaps all of them and the furniture too - to the newly built Ely Lodge.

Ely Lodge lasted for just over thirty years. In 1870, for a series of possible reasons summarised by Rowan as '(i) an unwelcome visit from Queen Victoria, (ii) the discovery of the agent's fiddling, and (iii) the building of a bigger and better house, it was blown up as the climax of the festivities that marked the coming-of-age of the 4th Marquess, who had succeeded to the estate as a boy of eight. ...'

'In the event [concludes Bence-Jones], the new house was never built, doubtless for the reason that the ... [4th Marquess] spent too much money on rebuilding his other seat, Loftus Hall, Co. Wexford. ...' But the stable

block at Ely Lodge was converted to domestic use by at least 1884 (because of the way it is described in the 4th Marquess's will, which was made in that year), and the converted building was called Ely Lodge and became in time a seat of the family until sold by the 7th Marquess in 1947. All that remains today, of the 1830s Ely Lodge are two of Farrell's gatelodges.



Loftus Hall, Co. Wexford.

Mark Bence-Jones describes the new Loftus Hall as '... A gaunt, three-storey mansion of 1871, with rows of plate-glass windows and a balustraded parapet, incorporating parts of the previous house here, which was late 17th century or early 18th century. [This earlier house was] gable-ended and of two storeys and nine bays, with a dormered roof and a steep pediment-gable. It was fronted by a forecourt with tall piers surmounted by ball finials, and had a haunted tapestry room. The ... [site of both houses is] near the tip of the Hook Head, and [they] must have been ... [among] the most wind-swept noblemen's seats in the British Isles. "No tree will grow above the shelter of the walls", Bishop Pococke observed of Loftus Hall in ... [1752] and the same is true of the place today. ...'

Bence-Jones is kind in his comments on the interior of Loftus Hall. In his *Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland, 1837-1921* (Dublin, 1994), Jeremy Williams observes, perhaps more aptly: '... Some traces survive internally of the 17th century house it replaced. All the front rooms are grouped around the top-lit staircase hall, where a heavy, carved and inlaid Jacobean-style staircase rises laboriously to a surrounding gallery with columns of stunted Corinthian ...' made of wood. Although the bleakness of the site defeated this purpose in advance, the house - particularly on the inside - looks as if it was intended to be an Irish Osborne, and was probably built very much under the influence of his mother, Jane, Dowager Marchioness of Ely, who was Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria, 1851-1890.



Increasing Anglicisation.

The family had other residences to maintain as well. The 1st Marquess of Ely was probably the last to maintain a Dublin town-house, and thereafter the town-house was in London. At some point, too, a property called Kearsney Abbey, near Dover, Kent, worth £600 a year in 1883, was acquired.

The 2nd Marquess of Ely (1770-1845) made an English marriage, to a daughter of Sir Henry Watkin Dashwood, 3rd Bt, of Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, who held household appointments under Queen Charlotte and Queen Adelaide. His portrait, after Lawrence, hangs today in the dining-room at Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire, now a property of the National Trust, because his daughter Charlotte, married the 1st Lord Egerton of Tatton. His son, the 3rd Marquess (1814-1845), married a Scottish wife, Jane, daughter of J.J. Hope-Vere of Craigie, Midlothian, who was widowed young, in 1857, and was the long-serving and influential Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria. Her son, the 4th Marquess (1849-1889), who succeeded as a minor at the age of eight, died young and childless in 1889, pre-deceasing his mother by a year.



A bankrupt marquess.

The successor to the marquessate was a remote cousin, who was declared a bankrupt in 1882 and was still a bankrupt in 1894, and so was debarred from his seat in the House of Lords. This is surprising, granted that almost all the 4th Marquess's estates in Cos Wexford and Fermanagh passed to his successor in the title. However, they were charged with debts of c.£120,000 and a jointure of £3,000 a year to the 4th Marquess's widow, who lived until 1917 (the third Ely widow to saddle the estates with a jointure over an unusually long

period of time). According to information provided by the present Marquess of Ely, his branch of the family lived for much of the 20th century on a property in North Wales which they owned or inherited, and therefore did not bother much with the dwindling Irish estates. The 7th Marquess, however, who succeeded in 1953, was in great demand at Fermanagh hunt balls because of his prowess as an amateur trumpeter.



An ignominious end

In this ignominious way, one of the great political families of 18th-century Ireland petered out. Its political influence had been used on the whole for venal rather than for any constructive purpose, and a good deal of its dirty linen had been washed in public in the course of Loftus -v- Hume. Nevertheless, it had thrown up two considerable politicians in the persons of the two Lords Chancellor, two distinguished patrons of architecture in the persons of Sir Gustavus Hume and Henry, Earl of Ely, and a significant courtier in the person of Jane, Marchioness of Ely.



The Ely papers.

As already noted, there is no one major deposit of Ely papers: instead, material has been deposited seriatim in PRONI by two different firms of solicitors and a bank, and older and more significant material than usual is to be found in the section of the Northern Ireland Land Registry archive which relates to the Ely estate.



The Enniskillen solicitor's archive.

The estate office type archive deposited piecemeal by the Marquess of Ely's Enniskillen solicitors, Messrs Cooper & Cooper (D/496, D/527, D/535, D/580 [part])

and T/1041/20), relates mainly, but not exclusively, to the Fermanagh estate, 1641 and 1724-1844.

It includes: a photocopy of the will of William Hore of Harperstown, Co. Wexford, 1744 (T/1041/20); 2 Wexford estate leases, of Rath and Richfield (Henry, Earl of Ely's former seat) respectively, 1761 and 1763; a petition from the corporation, merchants and traders of Wexford to the Commissioners of the Revenue seeking the establishment of lighthouses on the south side of Dublin Bay, 1766; a recovery suffered by the [2nd] Earl of Ely of Knocknegad, Queen's County, Trinity 1767; a renewal to him by the Rt Hon. Thomas Conolly of a perpetuity lease of the castle and park of Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin, 9 November 1767 (all bearing reference D/580); and a bundle of solicitor's correspondence, abstracts of deeds, abstracts of title, pedigree of the Loftus family, etc, 1844, all relating to the possibility that the 2nd Marquess of Ely is the rightful owner of various advowsons (e.g. Kilcloggan), in Co. Wexford (D/527). There are also some later Ely documents of title in D/580 relating not exclusively or at all to the Fermanagh estate, and the original of a will of the 2nd Marquess of Ely, 3 May 1813.

One isolated item relating to the Hume, formerly Hamilton estate in Co. Leitrim is a power of attorney from Sir John Vaughan of Londonderry to Sir Frederick Hamilton of Manor Hamilton, Co. Leitrim, 1641 (D/580/1).

The Fermanagh estate material includes: a rental of the Hume estates in Co. Fermanagh, the property of Nicholas Hume Loftus Esq. (later 1st Earl of Ely), 1742-1743 (D/535); the important maps of Castle Hume and adjacent townlands, by Richard Frizell, 1768, which provide the best surviving evidence for what the Richard Castle house looked like (D/496 - the remaining documents to which reference is made will be found under D/580); c.75 leases of the Fermanagh estate from Sir Gustavus Hume, 3rd Bt, and Nicholas Hume Loftus, 1724-1748; a series of c.60 maps of parts of the Fermanagh estate, made in May 1769, obviously

with a view to a re-letting; a series of 115 new leases granted by Nicholas Hume Loftus, 2nd Earl of Ely, May-June 1769; a further series of c.85 leases, 1770-1807, the first of them granted by Henry, 4th Viscount Loftus, and the last by the 2nd Marquess of Ely; a grant of administration to Henry, 4th Viscount Loftus, 'of the goods and so forth of Nicholas Hume, Earl of Ely, deceased ..., pending suit ...' instituted by George Rochfort Hume and his wife, Alice, 26 December 1769; and a rental of part of the Fermanagh estate, 1793.



The Dublin solicitor's archive.

The Barrington & Son papers deposited in PRONI (D/3805) run from 1630 to 1932, and derive from Northern or Co. Louth clients of this (now defunct) Dublin and Limerick firm of solicitors, including the Marquesses of Ely.

The Ely papers comprise title deeds, deeds of settlement and leases of the Loftus estates in the parishes of Fethard, Hook and Templetown, Co. Wexford, 1637-1928, and at Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin, and in Dublin City (the site of Ely House in Ely Place, off Hume Street), 1767-1770, and to the Hume, subsequently Loftus, estates of Ardgart, Castle Hume, Church Hill, Drumcose, Moyglass and Tully, Co. Fermanagh, and in Cos Leitrim and Mayo, 1630 and 1706-1928. They also include a rental of the Hume estates in those three counties, 1775, and Fermanagh and Wexford rentals of the 4th Marquess of Ely, 1873. The earliest title deed is not present in the original, but is a non-contemporary of a patent from Charles I to Sir George Hume, 1st Bt, 1630, re-granting him lands in Co. Fermanagh. This is part of a bundle of papers about drainage and fishing rights in connection with Lough Erne, Co. Fermanagh, 1879-1925. In addition, there are Irish Land Commission sale papers for both the Fermanagh and Wexford estates, c.1880-1930.

Formal documents include a freeman's ticket for the

Wexford borough, 1703, an important oath roll for the borough of Bannow, 1774-1793, and a patent appointing John Loftus, 2nd Marquess of Ely, Custos Rotulorum for Co. Wexford, 1824.

The papers include a number of pre-1858 wills. These, in chronological order, are as follows: probate (1754) of the will (1753) of James Crawford Esq. of Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh; (subsequently revoked) codicil to the will of Nicholas [Loftus, 1st] Viscount Loftus (of the second creation), 1760; 'A codicil dated the 26 day of July 1763 to Lord Loftus's will, which bears date the 23rd March 1758' (a document of more than ordinary interest because of the extensive provision it makes for illegitimate children, including the Loftuses of Mount Loftus, Co. Kilkenny); prerogative grant of administration to the goods of the late Nicholas, [1st] Earl of Ely, to his younger brother, Henry [4th] Viscount Loftus, 1769; copy probate (1773) of the will (1769) of Nicholas Hume [2nd] Earl of Ely; copy extracts from the will of Henry, Earl of Ely, 1777; copy grant of probate to the will of Henry, Earl of Ely, 1783; and copy will of John [Loftus, 2nd] Marquess of Ely, 1840.



The London solicitor's archive.

This bears reference T/2904 and was copied by permission of Messrs Lethbridge. It comprises genealogical notes on the Loftus family, c.1500-c.1790, and schedules of Ely Settle Estates in Cos Fermanagh and Wexford, 1928.



The Ely patents of peerage, 1751-1801.

The patents of peerage in D/3130 constitute a remarkable sample of this art form (and of the related art form of the patent box). They comprise: the patent creating Nicholas Loftus Baron Loftus of Loftus Hall, 5

October [1751], reciting at considerable length the reasons for his elevation to the peerage, in a patent box made by John Wilson, Winetavern Street, Dublin; the patent creating Nicholas Baron Loftus Viscount Loftus of Ely, 19 July [1756]; the patent creating Nicholas Viscount Loftus Earl of Ely, 23 October [1766], with a royal portrait, full arms of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Hertford, and of Ely himself, and abbreviated arms of the Lords Justices, Lord Chancellor Bowes, the Earl of Drogheda and Speaker John Ponsonby; the patent creating Henry Viscount Loftus Earl of Ely, 2 December [1771], with a royal portrait and full arms of the Lord Lieutenant, Viscount Townshend, and of Ely himself; a photostat copy of the patent creating John Tottenham of Tottenham Green, Co. Wexford, a baronet of Ireland, 18 December [1780]; the patent creating Charles Tottenham Loftus Baron Loftus of Loftus Hall, 28 June [1785], with a royal portrait, and the full arms of the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Rutland, and of Loftus himself; the patent creating Charles Baron Loftus Viscount Loftus of Ely, 28 December [1789], in a patent box made by Charles Tennant at the Sign of the Royal Trunk, Merchants Quay, Dublin; the patent creating Charles Viscount Loftus Earl of Ely, 2 March [1794], with a royal portrait, and full arms of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Westmoreland, and of Ely himself, in a patent box made by John Barnes, trunk-maker, formerly of London, now of 40 Fishamble Street, [Dublin]; and a photostat copy of the patent creating Charles Earl of Ely Marquess of Ely, 1 January [1801].



The Land Registry archive.

The 14 boxes of Irish Land Commission sale papers in the Land Registry archive in PRONI which relate to the estate of the Marquess of Ely run from 1810 to 1928 and bear reference LR1/9/4A/13, LR1/9L/1-4, LR1/980/3 and LR1/1256/1. They mainly contain run-of-the-mill ILC sale papers from the 1880s to the 1920s. This all relates to the Fermanagh estate only, as might

be expected. However, the abstracts of title to the Ely estates relate to those in Cos Wexford and at Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin, as well, and go back to the will of Henry, Earl of Ely, dated 1778, under the terms of which all his real estate was devised to his nephew, Charles Tottenham Loftus, later 1st Marquess of Ely.

The Ely estate material is also unusually rich in pre-Land Purchase documents. These include deeds of settlement, bonds, mortgages, conveyances and a few leases. The earliest original document is the settlement made prior to the marriage of the 2nd Marquess of Ely and Anna Maria Dashwood in 1810. A couple of conveyances of 1824 relate to the site of the new Devenish parish church. Altogether, this is a rich source for the history of the family's finances and fortunes from 1778 onwards, and some of the deeds are also useful because they provide, in the form of schedules, alphabetically arranged lists of the townlands comprising the Fermanagh and Wexford estates. In the case of the Fermanagh estate, just such a list has already been reproduced, transcribed from one of the schedules to the marriage settlement of the 4th Marquess, dated 1875.



Miscellaneous Ely papers.

These comprise: a bundle of 10 maps, valuations, deeds, etc, 1815-1871, relating to the Fermanagh estate, including a tithe composition rental for the parish of Innishmacsaint, 1834, 2 maps by Robert Kerr of Teernanger Beg, 1843, and Tonagh, N.D., valuations of Ardgart, Knockravan, Church Hill and Innishmacsaint parishes (D/962); and Irish Land Commission sale papers, 1875-1930, including an abstract of title from c.1800 to 1844, a file of solicitor's correspondence, 1912-1930, and other papers relating to the sale of the Fermanagh estate under the Wyndham Act of 1903 (D/1096/45).

A.P.W. Malcomson



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DASHWOOD FAMILY

Henry Waterin Dashwood, 3rd baronet
 = Helen Mary GRATHAM (w Helen)

Maid of Honour to Queen Charlotte.
 Household of Queen Adelaide
 1830-37
 -ppointed 23.7.1830 Lady of
 the Bedchamber
 to Queen Adelaide
 1830-37
 1830-37
 1830-37

- Anne Maria (* 16.2.1785 Kirklington Park; † 6.1.1857 Hampton Court Palace)

= 25.1810 in St. George's, Hanover Square
 John Loftus (Tottenham), 2nd Marquess of Ely (* 15.2.1770; † 26.9.1845)
 3.11.1807 23.12.1800
 P.C. D.C.L. (Oxford)
 Ely Lodge, Co. Fermanagh
 English noble

MP for Co. Wexford throughout father's lifetime 1791-1806

Mayor of Wexford 1794-1796

A Governor and Custos Rotulorum of Co. Wexford (1824)

Colonel of militia Wexford

A leading person in the Orange movement (1806)

- Henry Robert (* 15.3.1815; † 15.4.1813)

- George (2nd son)

- Adam

- Augustus

- Henry (5th son)

taken from will. at P.P.O.'s

According to The Complete Peerage 1916 Vol 5 3rd Marquess

John Henry Loftus (* 19.1.1814, Hill St. St. Geo. Hanover Square)

24.10.1832 matri ch ch Woodstock

May to Sept 1845 MP for

= 29.10.1844 St Geo, Hanover Sq, Jane, 4th d. of James Joseph

Hope-Verel of Craigie
 He died 15.7.1857, aged 43. = Eaton Sq. will proved 7.1857

Household of Queen Charlotte
 1761-1810
 1806-1810 Maid of Honour
 till her death 12.11.1805 - 21.5.1810

Dashwood, Anna Maria

Died: 6 SEP 1857

Father: Dashwood, H W, Bt.

Married 1810 to Loftus, John, Marquess of Ely 2nd

Child 1: Loftus, John Henry, Marquess of Ely 3rd, b. 19 JAN 1814

Child 2: Loftus, George William, b. 11 MAY 1815

Child 3: Loftus, Adam, Rev, Lord, b. 13 MAY 1816

Child 4: Loftus, Augustus William Frederick S, b. 4 OCT 1817

Child 5: Loftus, Henry York Astley, b. 9 APR 1822

Child 6: Loftus, Charlotte Elizabeth

Child 7: Loftus, Catherine Henrietta Mary

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1826. Baptism
 Elizabeth Corbie Augusta daughter of John Loftus & Anne Maria Loftus
 30.7.1826 Petrieboorne Marriages Register

Loftus, John, Marquess of Ely 2nd

Born: 15 FEB 1770

Acceded: 1806

Died: 26 SEP 1845

Father: Loftus, Charles Tottenham, Marquess of Ely 1st, b. 23 JAN 1738

Mother: Myhill, Jane

Married 1810 to Dashwood, Anna Maria

Child 1: Loftus, John Henry, Marquess of Ely 3rd, b. 19 JAN 1814

Child 2: Loftus, George William, b. 11 MAY 1815

Child 3: Loftus, Adam, Rev, Lord, b. 13 MAY 1816

Child 4: Loftus, Augustus William Frederick S, b. 4 OCT 1817

Child 5: Loftus, Henry York Astley, b. 9 APR 1822

Child 6: Loftus, Charlotte Elizabeth

Child 7: Loftus, Catherine Henrietta Mary

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Loftus, Henry York Astley

Born: 9 APR 1822
Died: 28 FEB 1880

Father: Loftus, John, Marquess of Ely 2nd, b. 15 FEB 1770

Mother: Dashwood, Anna Maria

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PROMOTIONS AND PREFERMENTS.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS, &c.

April 10. Earl of Morton, K.T. his Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

April 19. Sir R. S. Donkin, Sir Hudson Lowe, and Sir John Cameron, invested with the insignia of a Knight Commander of the Bath.—Mr. Serjeant Blossett, Dr. C. Ker, and W. Franklin, esq. (appointed a Judge at Madras) knighted.

April 23. The Marquis of Queensbury invested with the Order of the Thistle.—Capt. Sir J. Brenton, Bart. R. N. and K. C. B. knighted.

Whitehall, April 24. Richard Powlett Wrighte Benyon, of Englefield House, co. Berks, esq. has received the Royal Licence that he and his issue may relinquish the surnames of Powlett and Wrighte, and from grateful and affectionate respect for the memory of his late kinsman, the Rev. Peter Beauvoir, of Downham Hall, co. Essex, M.A. deceased, and to commemorate his descent from the family of De Beauvoir, henceforth take and use the surname of De Beauvoir, in addition to and after that of Benyon; that he may be called Richard Benyon De Beauvoir; and that he and they may bear the arms of De Beauvoir quarterly in the first quarter with his and their family arms.

War-Office, April 26. 74th foot: Capt. D. Stewart, to be Major.—80th ditto: Major G. D. Pitt, to be Lieut.-col.—Capt. W. C. Harpur, to be Major.

Whitehall, May 10. Sir George Naylor, Knight, and Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, to be Garter Principal King of Arms; and the King was graciously pleased at Carlton Palace to invest him with the gold chain and badge appertaining to the said office.

War-Office, May 10. 16th Light Dragoons, Brevet-Col. Francis Newbery, to be Lieut.-col.—63d Regt. of Foot, Lieut.-col. Edw. Burke, to be Lieut.-col.—2d West

India Regt. Lieut.-col. Edw. O'Hara, to be Lieut.-col.

May 17. Lieut.-col. Hum. E. P. Lygon, of 2d Life Guards, to be Col. in the Army.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Hon. and Rev. Hugh Percy (one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury), to be Archdeacon of that Diocese.

Rev. J. Croft (rector of Saltwood), Prebendary of Canterbury.

Rev. Reg. Heber, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn.

Rev. H. C. de Crespigny, Neatishead V. Norfolk.

Rev. Robt. Collinson, Holme Cultraan V. Cumberland.

Rev. T. Hill, Chesterfield V. Derbyshire.

Rev. T. Jackson, East Cowton V. Yorkshire.

Rev. J. Leggett, East Tisted R. Hants.

Rev. C. S. Luxmore, Broomyard V. Herefordshire.

Rev. John Page, B.D. Gillingham V. Kent.

Rev. Geo. Palmer, Harlton R. Cambridgeshire.

Rev. Howell W. Powell, Heapham R. near Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.

Rev. N. Simons, Ickham R. Kent.

Rev. Thos. Skrimshire, South Creek V. Norfolk.

Rev. J. Thomas, Great Burstead V. Essex.

Rev. W. Vaux, M.A. Chaplain to Abp. of Canterbury.

Rev. W. Upjohn, Bynham V. Norfolk.

Rev. J. G. Whaley, Winesham R. Suffolk.

Rev. W. B. Whitfield, Lawford R. Essex.

CIVIL PREFERMENTS.

R. Smith, esq. M.A. of Buckden, Commissary of Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, and Apparitor General of Diocese of Lincoln.

J. L. Knight, esq. Recorder of Brecon.

J. Hill, esq. Attorney-general for Chester.

W. Payn, esq. Treasurer for Berks.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

Minchhead.—J. Douglas, esq. *vide* Lottinell. *Shaftesbury.*—Hon. Robt. Grosvenor, *vide* Moore.

BIRTHS.

Lately. At Bûrons, near Canterbury, the Marchioness of Ely, a son.—The Lady of Adin. E. T. Smith, a son.—At Banbury, the wife of Rev. Geo. Smalley, a son and heir.—At Halston Hall, Mrs. Rob. Fletcher Bradshaw, a son and heir.—At Beech Lodge, Great Marlow, Mrs. Wadhams Wyndham, a son.—At Deal Castle, Hon. Mrs. Crowe, a son.

April 13. Mrs. Spencer Percival, a dau.—19. In Upper Wimpole-street, Lady Amelia-Sophia Boyce, a son.—22. At Brentry House, Gloucestershire, the wife of John Cave, esq. a dau.—23. At Eton, the wife of Rev. Dr. Keate, a son.—The wife of Dr. Uwins, Bedford-row, a dau.—26. At Yester-house, Haddington, Marchioness of Tweeddale, a son and heir, who takes the title of

Earl of Gifford.—28. At Twickenham, Mrs. Chas. Baldwin, a dau. her 15th child.—30. At Upminster-house, near Stamford, Countess of Lindsey, a dau.

May 1. Mrs. H. Spink, of Knaresborough, two boys and a girl.—3. At Cambridge, the wife of Rev. A. B. Henniker, a dau.—4. The Lady of Right Hon. Robt. Peel, a son.—5. At Cueden-hall, Lancashire, the wife of R. Townley Parker, esq. a son and heir.—6. At Gayton, co. Northampton, the wife of Rev. J. Bush, a son.—9. At Thomas's Hotel, London, Mrs. Lane Fox, a dau.—11. At Broughton Rectory, Mrs. Edm. Probyn, a son.—12. The wife of the Rev. J. Gould, of Newtown Blossomville, a dau.—14. The wife of Rev. Dr. Cotton, a daughter.

M.A.S.

KIRKBY HALL HOME OF



THE NOEL FAMILY

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND PARISH OF KIRKBY MALLORY By Dorothy Fox

HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES of LEICESTERSHIRE By John Nichols

LADY BYRON AND EARL SHILTON By David Herbert

Kirkby Hall built by the Noel family and dates back to the 17th century

John Noel, the younger son of Andrew Noel, Sheriff of Rutland, married the heiress Anne Fowler, daughter of John and Barbara Fowler. Barbara was one of 4 daughters of Thomas Harvey of Elmsthorpe. In 1541, Thomas Harvey had been granted the Lordship of the Manor of Kirkby Mallory by King Henry VIII . Harvey died 3 years later and left Anne property and estates at Elmsthorpe, Kirkby Mallory, Peckleton and Earl Shilton

A summary of John Nichols`s account of the period is as follows. John Noel died in 1593 and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son William who in 1604 was made High Sheriff of Leicester .William Noel`s eldest son died without issue leaving his 2nd son Verney, who had married Elizabeth the 2nd daughter of Wolston Dixy, to inherit the estates. Their only son William married Margaret Lovelace, Baroness Wentworth (1st wife) . Their eldest son Thomas was to die without descendants in 1688 leaving John Noel heir to his brothers estate.

The earliest records for the Hall`s existence, is the Hearth Tax returns for 1666 . Sir John Noel`s estate as described in a Rent Roll in 1696 is as follows " *The Manor of Kirkby Malory , The mansion house with spacious fine gardens and orchard and belonging to it a very fine wood . A large park very well wooded and stored with deer* ". The text then goes on to list some 32 names of the various tenants and the amount of rent paid by each amounting to a total of £565 -10s - 0 . A reference was also made to the Wind Mill and Water Mill on the estate, acknowledging payment in their case of £22.



[click here to see enlargement of Kirkby Hall](#)

Sir Edward Noel married Judith Lamb and succeeded to the title 9th Baron Wentworth . His son and heir Thomas was born November 1745, three daughters were then to follow. Judith, Elizabeth and Sophia born 1758. Tragically Lady Wentworth died in 1761. Sir Edward died in 1774 and is buried at Kirkby Mallory alongside his wife. His funeral was such that the Rector felt obliged to write the following lines along side his entry in the Church Records Book.....*November 8th.1774 Edward Noel Lord Viscount 39 years was burried privatly being carried to church by 8 of his laboures & the pall bore by 10 tenents & their sons of this parish, his children, brother & sister attending him to the grave.*

Thomas Noel now became 2nd Viscount Wentworth with his seat at Kirkby Mallory Hall. His younger sister Sophia married Nathaniel Curzon , son and heir of Lord Scarsdale of Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire . Elizabeth married James Bland -Burges and Judith married Ralph Milbank on the 9th of January 1777, the marriage taking place in Kirkby church.and was performed by Judith`s uncle, the Rector Rowney Noel.

In 1788 at the age of 42 Lord Wentworth (Thomas Noel) married Mary, Countess Ligonier, but the marriage produced no children .Lord Wentworth did however have two illegitimate children, a daughter named Anna and a son Thomas. When Lord Wentworth died in 1815 the bulk of his estate passed to his sister Judith Milbank, then living at Seaham in County Durham . Forced by the terms of the Will to change their names to Noel ,Lady Judith and Sir Ralph came to live at Kirkby Mallory Hall . Lady Judith not only inherited the Manors of Kirkby but also of Peckleton, Desford, Elmsthorpe, Barwell and Stapleton .Judith, suffering from poor health was to live at Kirkby for about seven years before dying on the 28th of January 1822. so ending the Noel family association with the village. However, Lady Judith and Sir Ralph Milbank as he was then, had a daughter Annabella .

In 1812 at the age of 20 Annabella was living in London ,and it was while she was here

that she met the famous poet, Byron . Lady Elizabeth Melbourne, Annabella`s fathers sister, being one of the most fashionable hostesses in London had invited Byron along with Annabella to one of her house parties. Three years later on January 2nd 1815 George Byron, now the 6th Lord Byron married Annbella Milbank . The marriage however was doomed to failure, stories and gossip of Byrons alleged outrageous behaviour only made the situation more impossible .That said, Lady Byron gave birth to a daughter on the 10th of December 1815. and was named Augusta Ada . The marriage by this time had broken down irretrievably, so shortly after the birth, Lady Byron took her daughter and moved to Kirkby Mallory Hall to stay with her parents . Lord Byron, finding himself more alienated finally signed a deed of separation and on the 23rd of April set sail from Dover for the continent, never to see his daughter again.

After the separation, Ada as she was known, made her home at Kirkby Mallory Hall and received her schooling under the supervision of a governess . Ada was to become a brilliant mathematician and worked closely with Charles Babbage on designing and programming the forerunner of todays modern computer. At the age of 19, Ada married Lord King who, shortly after was made 1st.Earl of Lovelace thus making Ada a Countess . They had three children, but sadly in 1852 Ada was to die young at the age of 36 and was buried with her father at Hucknell in Nottinghamshire. Her mother, Lady Byron had a memorial erected to her memory adjacent to the church yard at Kirkby Mallory





THE MEMORIAL TO ADA, COUNTESS OF LOVELACE ERECTED ON THE EDGE OF KIRKBY MALLORY CHURCH YARD

After the death of Lady Judith in 1822 the hall was to stand empty.

Lady Byron and Ada chose to live in various houses in the south, while making only brief visits to the area for the purpose of administrating the estate. In 1833 the estate was bought by the Baroness Sophia de Clifford who moved into the Hall in that year with her Husband and family of 4 plus a staff of 14 servants. The family lived at the Hall until the late 1880`s. Sophia had died in 1874 and was commemorated by the villagers with a wall plaque inside the Church.

Herbert Clarkson Hartley was the last owner of the estate prior to the sale in 1921 in which the Hall and the various properties were sold off. The Hall again stood empty for several years until finally being demolished about 1950. Following some considerable landscaping work, a racing circuit was eventually constructed and the estate became known as the "Mallory Park Racing Circuit".

For a more indepth account of the Mallory Park Estate and the families who lived there, then the recently published book "Mallory Park" Portrait of a County Estate by Gareth Evans comes highly recommended.

Mallory Park Racing Circuit.	
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Anne Isabella Noel (1792-1860), by unknown photographer

Noel [*née* Milbanke], **Anne Isabella** [Annabella], *suo jure* Baroness Wentworth, and Lady Byron (1792-1860), philanthropist and wife of the poet Lord Byron, was born at Elemore Hall, Pittington, Durham, on 17 May 1792, the only child of Sir Ralph Milbanke (afterwards Noel), sixth baronet (1747–1825), and his wife, Judith Noel (1751–1822), eldest daughter of the first Viscount Wentworth. Her father, the eldest son of Sir Ralph Milbanke of Halnaby Hall, Yorkshire, was the whig MP for Co. Durham and was renowned for his work for the poor and his support for the abolition of slavery. Both parents were enlightened, and Annabella and her adopted sister, Sophie Curzon, were among the first to be inoculated. She was brought up to be concerned for the workers and tenants of the estate and helped establish a school in Seaham. An early reader, Annabella Milbanke was especially interested in mathematics and

astronomy, which she studied with a Cambridge tutor; new ideas on magnetism and phrenology fascinated her.

In 1810 Annabella Milbanke attended her first London season: she loved dancing and attracted many eligible suitors. She met George Gordon Noel Byron, sixth Baron Byron (1788-1824), in 1812, the year he became famous, and soon after rejected his first marriage proposal. They communicated during 1813, often discussing literature in their letters, and he visited her at Seaham. She accepted Byron's second proposal in 1814 and they were married on 2 January 1815, spending their honeymoon at Halnaby Hall. On the first day Byron received a love letter from his half-sister Augusta Leigh, which he showed to his wife, saying he had married her out of revenge for her previous refusal.

Augusta came to stay with them in London. Both women were concerned about Byron's mental condition, and his aunt and a cousin came to protect the pregnant Lady Byron from his threats. The baby, (Augusta) Ada, [*see* Byron, (Augusta) Ada, countess of Lovelace], was born on 10 December. On 15 January 1816 Lady Byron, at Byron's request, took the baby to her parents' home in Leicestershire, promising to return if his doctor advised it. Byron did not accept her parents' invitation to join his wife and they never met again.

Eventually Lady Byron's parents discovered the cause of their daughter's distress and consulted an eminent lawyer. Rumours about Byron and his half-sister, prevalent before his marriage, resurfaced and they were ostracized from society. Byron decided to leave the country; he departed on 25 April 1816 and never returned. In 1824 he died helping in the Greek War of Independence. On his deathbed he talked urgently to his faithful servant Fletcher, telling him to go to Lady Byron and say he was 'friends with her'. There was much more but Fletcher could not understand him. Lady Byron was devastated when Fletcher visited her and could impart little of Byron's last words to her.

Lady Byron supervised the education of her daughter, Ada, who proved to be a very intelligent child. She persuaded the mathematician Augustus de Morgan that her daughter should not give

up mathematics on her marriage in 1835 to Lord King (later earl of Lovelace). Letters from her daughter to Lady Byron suggest that their relationship was a close one, until Ada fell into the hands of bookmakers, shortly before her premature death from cancer in November 1852. Lady Byron found it impossible to forgive her son-in-law for failing to prevent Ada's association with gamblers; she was similarly disillusioned with her close friend Anna Jameson, who had secretly lent her daughter money.

Meanwhile, Lady Byron had returned to her early ambitions to help the poor and ignorant. She tried to investigate and understand problems and offered not only money but practical suggestions. A supporter of the Brighton Co-operative Society, she helped pioneer a branch in Hastings. She also lent the ground floor of her house in Brighton to the mechanics' institute for educational purposes.

However Lady Byron's main interest was developing education for the underprivileged, and her greatest achievement was to establish Ealing Grove School. She had visited and written about Emanuel de Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl in Switzerland and used his principles in establishing the Ealing School. Its aim was practical as well as idealistic, and lessons included allotment schemes, carpentry, masonry, and the commercial principles of marketing garden produce, and Ada regularly helped by giving lessons. An agricultural school was also set up on the Leicestershire estate. Many notable people visited Ealing Grove, including the writer Joanna Baillie, Seymour Tremenheere of the council of education in London, and her son-in-law, the earl of Lovelace, who started a school with similar aims at Ockham in Surrey.

In 1840 Lady Byron attended the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Convention and became involved in improving slum conditions and discussing rights for women. She shared with Mary Carpenter (1807–1877), the pioneer worker in reformatories for girls, the belief that society should undertake the education and care of orphans. In 1852 she bought Red Lodge in Bristol, which Mary Carpenter administered as a reformatory for girls.

On the death of her mother in 1822 Lady Byron took the name Noel but continued to be known as Lady Byron. By the death of her cousin, Nathaniel Curzon, Baron Scarsdale, in 1856, the abeyance of the barony of Wentworth terminated, and she became Baroness Wentworth. She died on 16 May 1860 at home in 11 St George's Terrace, Regent's Park, London. She was buried in Kensal Green cemetery, London.

Many people who knew Lady Byron well would have been surprised to read the hostile judgements made about her by notable twentieth-century writers; none more so than Lord Byron, who wrote as early as March 1816: 'I do not believe—that there ever was a better, or even a brighter, a kinder or a more amiable and agreeable being than Lady B' (*Byron's Letters and Journals*, 5.44). He told William Parry eight years later that 'The prospect of retirement in England with my wife and Ada gives me an idea of happiness I have never experienced before' (Parry, 122). Amelia Matilda Murray said that she was 'one of those pure spirits, little valued by the world, though worshipped by those who knew her well' (A. M. Murray, *Recollections of Amelia Matilda Murray*, 1868, 72).

Sources R. G. King-Milbanke, second earl of Lovelace, *Lady Noel Byron and the Leighs* (1887) · R. G. N. Milbanke, second earl of Lovelace, *Astarte, a fragment of truth concerning George Gordon Byron* (1905) · Lovelace MSS, Bodl. Oxf. · *Byron's letters and journals*, ed. L. A. Marchand, 12 vols. (1973–82) · *The life and letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron*, ed. E. C. Mayne (1929) · D. L. Moore, *Ada, countess of Lovelace* (1977) · W. Parry, *The last days of Lord Byron* (1825) · M. Elwin, *Lord Byron's wife* (1962) · M. Strickland, *The Byron women* (1974) · P. Gunn, *My dearest Augusta* (1968) · H. B. Stowe, *History of the Byron controversy* (1870) · M. Gardiner, countess of Blessington, *A journal of conversations of Lord Byron*, new edn (1893) · J. Pierson, *The real Lady Byron* (1992) · d. cert.

Archives BL, family corresp., Add. MS 31037 · Bodl. Oxf., corresp. and papers · Boston PL, letters and papers · Ransom HRC, corresp. and papers | BL, corresp. with Lord Holland, Add. MS 51639 · BL, corresp. with Lady Melbourne, Add. MS 45547 · Bodl. Oxf., letters to Mary Somerville and her family · CKS, letters to Mary Duppa (later Faunce) · U. Birm. L., corresp. with Harriet Martineau · University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, corresp. with George Macdonald

Likenesses C. Hayter, portrait, 1812 · M. A. Knight, portrait, c.1820, Castle Museum, Nottingham · Freeman, steel engraving, 1833 · J. Hoppner, portrait (aged about 8), Hull City Museum, Ferens Art Gallery · photograph, NPG [*see illus.*]

Wealth at death under £70,000: resworn probate, July 1861, *CGPLA Eng. & Wales* (1860)



(Augusta) Ada Byron (1815-1852), by Margaret Sarah Carpenter, 1836

Byron, (Augusta) Ada [*married name* (Augusta) Ada King, countess of Lovelace] (1815-1852), mathematician and computer pioneer, was born on 10 December 1815 at 13 Piccadilly Terrace, London, the only child of George Gordon Noel Byron, sixth Baron Byron (1788-1824), poet, and his wife, Anne Isabella Noel, *née* Milbanke, Lady Byron (1792-1860), daughter of Sir Ralph Milbanke Noel, bt. Soon after her birth and the subsequent celebrated break-up of her parents' marriage she became famous through the opening lines of canto three of Byron's poem *Childe Harold*:

Is thy face like thy mother's, my fair child!
Ada! sole daughter of my house and my heart?
When last I saw thy young blue eyes they smiled,
And then we parted—not as now we part, But with a hope.

Ada was brought up in the sole custody of her mother, who kept her out of the limelight. She was educated to be a mathematician and a scientist because her mother feared that she might turn out to be a poet like her father. A lonely but imaginative child, she was taught by a series of tutors (including the celebrated mathematician Augustus De Morgan) and at an early age was fascinated by mechanical things and toyed with the idea of designs for a flying machine powered by steam. When she was seventeen, in 1833, she met Charles Babbage, most likely through the natural philosopher Mary Somerville, a mutual acquaintance. Babbage showed Ada his first calculating engine, the difference engine, and her interest in mathematics was transformed from a duty to a joy. She attended lectures about the engine, examined the blueprints, studied and taught mathematics, and became part of the same social circle as Babbage. They had many friends in common, in addition to De Morgan and Somerville, including Charles Dickens and Sir Charles Wheatstone.

Ada is best-known for her incisive notes and comments on Babbage's plans for an analytical engine. Because she was an independent (albeit enthusiastic) observer, and possessed a marked talent for conveying new and sometimes difficult concepts in limpid prose, her writings on this topic are much valued by historians. In November 1834 Babbage first shared with her his general idea for a new calculating engine that would not only have foresight but could act on that foresight. According to Lady Byron's diaries, Ada was touched by the 'universality of his ideas' (Toole, 69). In 1843 she translated a paper by General L. F. Menabrea, later to be prime minister of Italy, describing Babbage's main attempt to implement this notion, the projected analytical engine (which was to supersede the aborted difference engine but which was never built). She added extensive notes to Menabrea's paper which contain not only what is regarded as one of the earliest computer programs but also prescient comments about the future of such an engine, which have stood the test of time. Her correspondence with Babbage about the time that she was preparing this work for publication elaborates further on her idea of what would now be termed a program, and, moreover, places it in the context of its possible use. Thus on 10 July 1843 she suggested to him:

I want to put in something about Bernoulli's Number, in one of my Notes, as an example of how an explicit function, may be worked out by the engine, without having been worked out by human head and hands first. (Toole, 198)

Though other instances of what might be regarded as a program of instructions for the engine to calculate numbers have been found, the Bernoulli numbers were a perfect choice of example with which to differentiate Babbage's analytical engine from all other calculating engines.

Ada's work was published in September 1843 in Taylor's *Scientific Memoirs* (vol. 3) as 'Sketch of the analytical engine invented by Charles Babbage esq. by L. F. Menabrea, of Turin, officier of the military engineers'. The translator and annotator is not identified on the title page, but each of her notes is individually signed AAL (Augusta Ada Lovelace). She asked penetrating questions about how the analytical engine might be applied, and hypothesized that if it could understand the relations of pitched sounds and the science of harmony 'the engine might compose elaborate and scientific pieces of music of any degree of complexity and extent' (*Scientific Memoirs*, 3, 1843, 694). She also saw the graphical potential of the analytical engine, and that by changing to a new medium, the punched card, scientific information would be seen in a new light. Thus, in a famous and influential metaphor, she wrote 'Analytical Engine *weaves algebraical patterns* just as the Jacquard loom weaves flowers and leaves' (*ibid.*, 696).

Interestingly, Ada also saw the limits of such a technological innovation and described the tendency people have to 'first, *overrate* what we find to be ... remarkable, and secondly, by a sort of natural reaction, to *undervalue* the true state of the case' (*Scientific Memoirs*, 3, 1843, 722). Her comment 'The Analytical Engine has no pretension whatever to originate anything' (*ibid.*) evokes and anticipates the heated debate between proponents of artificial intelligence and those who believe the human mind cannot be reduced to a machine.

On 8 July 1835 Ada married William King, eighth Baron King of Ockham (1805–1893), lord lieutenant of Surrey. He was created earl of Lovelace in 1838. They had two sons, Byron Noel (1836–1862) and Ralph Gordon (1839–1906), who were successively Baron Wentworth and second and third earl of Lovelace, and a daughter, Anne Isabella Noel Blunt, an equestrian, who wrote *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* (1881) and was married to the poet Wilfrid Scawen Blunt.

After Ada, Lady Lovelace, wrote the 'Sketch' in 1843 her health, which was always fragile, became worse. Physicians prescribed laudanum, and many of the extensive letters she left were written under the influence of her illness and drugs. She hypothesized a 'calculus of the nervous system' (Toole, 296) but at the same time was sceptical of the claims of mesmerism's ability to cure tumours. Her social circle expanded to include not only Sir David Brewster and Michael Faraday but intellectual characters who were also great followers of the horse races, such as members of the Zetland family. She gambled and won on the horses, and gambled and lost, and was at the mercy, both emotionally and financially, of several of her gambling friends. According to the bank books, her involvement in gambling stopped in June of 1851 when she suffered severe haemorrhages. In a panic Lord Lovelace went for help to Lady Byron, only to be faced with Lady Byron's concern being Ada's gambling, not her health. Until Ada's tragic death, from cancer of the uterus, at 6 Great Cumberland Place, London, on 27 November 1852, she was in

excruciating pain, bedridden, and, because of financial need, at the mercy of Lady Byron who took over the Lovelace household and prevented Babbage from seeing her daughter.

On 3 December 1852 Ada was buried (at her own request) next to her father in the parish church of St Mary Magdalene in Hucknall near Lord Byron's ancestral home at Newstead Abbey. In 1979 a computer software language, the official language of the United States department of defense, was named 'Ada' in her honour and in 1993 a blue plaque was erected at her home at 12 (formerly 10) St James's Square, London, in commemoration of her being a 'pioneer of the computer'.

Betty Alexandra Toole

Sources B. A. Toole, ed., *Ada, the enchantress of numbers* (1992) · A. Hyman, *Charles Babbage: pioneer of the computer* (1982) · *DNB* · GEC, *Peerage* · d. cert.

Archives Bodl. Oxf., corresp. and papers | BL, letters to Charles Babbage, Add. MSS 37189–37194 · Bodl. Oxf., corresp. with Mary Somerville and her family

Likenesses M. Carpenter, portrait, 1836, Gov. Art Coll. [*see illus.*] · A. E. Châlon, portrait, c.1838, BM

Wealth at death under £10,000: letters; bank books

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Betty Alexandra Toole, 'Byron, (Augusta) Ada [*married name* (Augusta) Ada King, countess of Lovelace] (1815-1852)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 18 Nov 2004:
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37253>]




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The Lord Byron Gallery - Byron's Family:

Augusta Ada Byron King, Lady Lovelace (1815-1852)

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[\[Pictures of Byron\]](#)[\[Byron's Friends\]](#)
[\[Places\]](#)[\[Byron Portrayed in Film\]](#)

	
<p><i>Engraved by W. H. Mote from a drawing by Frank Stone</i></p>	<p><i>Artist unknown</i></p>
	
<p>From a portrait of Ada from the offices of John Murray [John Murray]</p>	<p>Unveiling of a plaque on the house in London where Ada used to live. <i>Picture taken by John Barnes</i></p>

Augusta Ada Byron was born on 10 December 1816. She holds the distinction of being Lord Byron's only legitimate child as well as being perhaps the only good thing that came of his marriage to Annabella Milbanke. Lord and Lady Byron separated when Ada was only 5 weeks old. From that point on she was raised solely by her mother. Shortly afterwards Lord Byron left England for the last time. Ada would never see him alive again. Not surprisingly Ada became an avid mathematician like her mother. And though she never really knew her father well it should be noted that they shared many similarities. Throughout their lives both had accomplished great things, but they were also haunted by periods of scandal and disgrace. And both died young at exactly the same age - 36.

In July 1835 Ada married William, 8th Lord King (1805-1893), who would be created the first Earl of Lovelace in 1838. Together Ada and Lord King had three children: Byron Noel King, The first Viscount Ockham and 12th Baron Wentworth (1836-1862), Ralph Gordon Noel, 9th Lord King, 13th Baron Wentworth, and the 2nd Earl of Lovelace (1839-1906), and Anne Issabella Noel King, 15th Baroness Wentworth(1837-1917).

Ada is best known for being the worlds first computer programmer. In 1834 she met Charles Babbage, who invited her to study his "difference engine". Through study and asking Babbage questions Ada soon became and expert on the inventor's work. When Babbage changed his plans and began to design his "analytical engine", Ada saw tremendous potential in the machine. She understood it better than most other people, perhaps even including it's inventor. She wroteabout Babbage's Engine with such clarity and insight that her work became the premier text explaining the process now known as computer programming.

In the late 1970's the U.S.Department of Defense commissioned a new computer language. Based on PASCAL it is a general-purpose language designed to be readable and easily maintained. It is efficient for machines, yet easy to use. It was intended to become a standard language to replace the many specialized computer languages now in use. They called it ADA in honour of Lady Lovelace.

Ada died of cancer on 27 November 1852 at the age of 36.

Links:

AugustaAda Byron (1815-1852)	LadyAugusta Ada Links
ADABYRON LOVELACE: TheFirst Computer Programmer	AdaByron King, Countess of Lovelace 1815-1852
AugustaAda Byron	The BabbagePages - Ada Lovelace
AdaByron, Lady Lovelace	Ada Home: the Homeof the Brave Ada Programmers
Yahoo!'sAda Links	Yahoo!'sCharles Babbage Links

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BYRON

(*) William, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, b.1606. He had issue:

(1) Frances Berkeley m.1720 William Byron, 4th Lord Byron (b.1669 & d.1736) & had issue:

(1.1) William Byron, 6th Lord Byron, b.1722 & d.1798. He m.1747 Elizabeth Shaw.

(1.2) John Byron, Admiral of the Royal Navy, b.NOV 1723 & d.1786. He m.8 SEP 1748 Sophia Trevanion (d.6 NOV 1790, below) & had issue:

(1.2.1) John Byron, "Mad Jack", Captain, b.1756 & d.1791. He m.9 JUN 1779 Amelia D'Arcy & had issue. He m.13 MAY 1785 Catherine Gordon of Gight & had issue:

(1.2.1.1) (by Amelia) Augusta Marie Byron, b.26 JAN 1784 & d.1851. She m.1807 Colonel George Leigh (below) & had issue. She associated with her half-brother George Gordon Byron-Noel & had issue.

(1.2.1.2) (by Catherine) George Gordon Byron-Noel, 6th Lord Byron, b.22 JAN 1788 & d.1824. He associated with Caroline Lamb, Claire Clairmont, & his half-sister Augusta. He m.2 JAN 1815 Anne Isabella Milbanke; see note for issue.

(1.2.2) Frances Byron m.Charles Leigh, General, & had issue:

(1.2.2.1) George Leigh, Colonel, m.1807 his cousin Augusta Byron (above) & had issue:

(1.2.2.1.1) Georgiana Augusta Leigh, b.NOV 4 1808. She m.FEB 4 1826 Henry Trevanion (also father of Marie by her sister, Medora) & had issue:

(1.2.2.1.1.1) Bertha Trevanion b.1826 & d.1858.

(1.2.2.1.1.2) Agnes Trevanion, b.1828 & d.1882.

(1.2.2.1.1.3) Ada Trevanion, b.1829 & d.11 FEB 1882.

(1.2.2.1.2) Augusta Charlotte Leigh, b.FEB 9 1811 & d.MAR 1830.

(1.2.2.1.3) George Henry John Leigh, b.JUN 3 1812.

(1.2.2.1.4) Frederick George Leigh, b.MAY 9 1816.

(1.2.2.1.5) Amelia Marianne Leigh, b.NOV 27 1817.

(1.2.2.1.6) Henry Francis Leigh, b.JAN 28 1820.

(1.2.3) George Anson Byron, b.1758 & d.1793. He m.1779 Henrietta Dallas & had issue:

(1.2.3.1) George Anson Byron, 7th Lord Byron, b.1789 & d.1868. He m.1816 Elizabeth Chandos-Pole.

(2) Barbara Berkeley, d.1772. She m.29 MAR 1726 John Trevanion (b.1667) & had issue:

(2.1) Sophia Trevanion, b.1729 & d.6 NOV 1790 & interr.12 NOV 1790 Bath Abbey. She m.8 SEP 1748 her cousin John Byron (above for issue).

(2.2) Frances Trevanion, b.1727 & d.1762. She m.1747 John Bettesworth & had issue:

(2.2.1) John Bettesworth, d.1789. He m.Frances Eleanor Tomkyns & had issue:

(2.2.1.1) John Purcell Bettesworth Trevanion (assumed grandmother's name in 1801),

b.1780 & d.1840 in Brussels. Major in Dragoon Guards. He m.Charlotte Hosier & had issue:

(2.2.1.1.1) Henry Trevanion, b.1805 & d.25 DEC 1855. He m.Georgianna Leigh & associated with Medora Leigh.

Note: Lord George Gordon Byron "6th Lord Byron" associated with his half-sister Augusta Byron Leigh, daughter of their father John "Mad Jack" Byron's marriage to Amelia D'Arcy, who divorced her first husband, the Marquis of Carmarthen (later Duke of Leeds; see below) in 1779 to marry Jack. Amelia then died 27 JAN 1784 from consumption thought to have been brought on by accompanying Jack on a hunt too soon after giving birth to their daughter. George's mother was Catherine Gordon, Jack Byron's second wife, and daughter of George Gordon, 12th Laird of Gight (d.1779) & Catherine Innes. Byron associated with Caroline Lamb, below. Byron associated with Claire Clairmont and had issue:

(1) (by Claire) Allegra Alba Byron, b.JAN 1817 & d.1822.

(2) (by Augusta) Elizabeth Medora Leigh, b.APR 15 1814 & d.AUG 28 1849. Medora associated with her brother-in-law, Henry Trevanion (he was married to her half-sister, Georgina Leigh, daughter of Augusta and George Leigh) and had issue. She then m.AUG 23 1846 to Jean-Louis Taillefer and had issue:

(2.1) (by Henry) Marie Violette Trevanion, b.MAY 19 1834 in Morlaix. She becomes a nun "Sister St.Hilaire" in 1856. She died 1873.

(2.2) (by Jean-Louis) Elie Taillefer, b.JAN 27 1846 & d.29 JAN 1900.

sources: "Byron's Daughter: A Biography Of Elizabeth Medora Leigh" by Catherine Turney; "The Oxford Companion to English Literature" by Margaret Drabble & the Oxford University Press; "Medora Leigh: A History & Autobiography" by C.Mackay & E.M.Leigh. Evidence of Medora's paternity is as follows:

- (*) She must have been conceived in July of 1813. Augusta was in London with Byron at that time, attempting to secure a loan. She had left her husband, George, in 1811 after he was disgraced when he was caught skimming money from sales of the horses of his patron, the Prince of Wales. Augusta spent that Christmas with Byron at Newstead Abbey, with her children but sans her husband.
- (*) Byron told Lady Melbourne he was in a "scrape", and that he'd had a love affair in the summer of 1813 that left him deeply troubled. Few things worried Byron who was a Lord, a legislator, a satirist and a crack shot. He implied in his letters that if this relationship was publicly admitted it would be so socially unacceptable that he and Lady Melbourne would have to discontinue their friendship and correspondence, although, in most circumstances, he did not really care about "society" or what it considered acceptable behaviour. He continued to refer to this problem in letters for over a year - until late in 1814.
- (*) After Medora's birth, Byron told Lady Melbourne when she inquired whether the danger in his ill-starred romance was worth it: "Oh, but it is worthwhile, I cannot tell you why, and it is not an Ape, and if it is, it must be my fault." -- it was a common superstition at the time that children born of incest resembled apes.
- (*) Byron's wife certainly believed Medora was her husband's, and even introduced her to her daughter Ada as her half-sister. Annabella exonerated herself for having walked out on him after a year of marriage on the grounds that she believed that he had slept with Augusta. Annabella also claimed that Byron had told her that Medora was his, saying "Do you know that is my child?" He treated his sister with a "familiarity" that greatly troubled his wife, leaving her, in her own words, "shocked & astonished". Annabella confronted Byron about Augusta, but he warned her that "he had worn out all the ordinary forms of sin, and longed for a new vice".
- (*) Caroline Lamb alleged Byron had told her about the affair with his sister "in the flush of passion".
- (*) During a holiday spent at the Byron family mansion, Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham, Byron and Augusta carved their names in the bark of a tree - a singularly romantic action, but not irrefutable evidence for carnal connection.
- (*) In 1818, Byron wrote to his friend Thomas Moore, consoling him for the death of Moore's child, and mentioning "I know how to feel with you because I am quite wrapped up in my own children. Besides my little legitimate [Ada] I have made unto myself an illegitimate since [Allegra], to say nothing of one before." He proudly told other friends in 1813 that he was madly in love with a girl, they were having a baby, and if it was a girl it would be named "Medora".
- (*) Medora was born the next spring, and named for the heroine in one of Byron's most popular poems, "The Corsair", which was a tale of incestuous love.
- (*) John Hobhouse, a close friend of Byron's, was contacted by the adult Medora. He wrote of her: "Elizabeth Medora Leigh, stating herself to be the child of Byron and starving -- some imposter, I hope."
- (*) Medora was first told of the circumstances of her conception by her elder sister, Georgiana, who had spent many happy holidays with Byron and Augusta as a child, and who doubtless witnessed their "familiarity". This assertion was backed up by Medora's brother-in-law, Henry Trevanion, who had been Augusta's lover.
- (*) Medora wrote to her mother in August of 1843: "Since I was made to understand you could never have loved me, the child of your guilt...now I can only beg you, by the memory of my father, the brother to whom you, and the children you love & which by my destitution owe all."
- (*) She then wrote to the Duke of Leeds, saying that Lady Byron had backed up Georgiana and Henry's statements: "of the infamy of my mother, once so deeply loved, that I owed my birth to incest & adultery."
- (*) Ada, Byron's legitimate daughter, was aware of Medora's paternity, and wrote to her mother Annabella: "I am not in the least astonished. In fact, you merely confirm what I for years and years had scarcely a doubt about." Medora herself wrote of Ada that "I was made to feel that I was to be Ada's sister at all times, which I was really."
- (*) Augusta Leigh wrote in 1819 to her brother during his exile: "I have never ceased nor can I cease to feel for you a moment that perfect and boundless attachment that bound and binds me to you -- which renders me utterly incapable of real love for any other human being...I repent of nothing except that accursed marriage -- and your refusing to continue to love me as you had loved me...it is heart-breaking to think of our long separation, and I am sure more than punishment for all our sins...They say absence destroys weak passions and confirms strong ones. Alas! Mine for you is the union of all passions and all affections."
- (*) In his letters back to her, Byron usually singled out Medora when he asked for news of her children. "Pray remember me to the babes and tell me of little Da," he wrote to her in 1816 from Venice, using Medora's babyhood nickname. Another time, not long after his departure from England, he asked with concern about Medora and requested information about her.

(* In a case like this, it is almost useless to compare physical appearances, for if Medora was not Byron's daughter, she was certainly his niece and his first cousin once removed, besides. But Medora *did* have a pronounced resemblance to Byron; she inherited her mother's dark hair instead of his chestnut, but she possessed the large, luminous Byronic eyes. Especially in the lower half of her face her appearance echoed his, and comparisons of their portraits show they had nearly identical ears.

Through his legitimate daughter, Ada, Byron had one granddaughter, Anne Isabella King-Noel, Baroness Wentworth, who was b.22 Sep 1837, London & d.15 Dec 1917, Egypt. Anne m.8 JUN 1869 to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (b.17 Aug 1840, son of Francis Blunt) & had issue:

(1) Judith Anne Dorothea Blunt, Baroness Wentworth, b.6 Feb 1873 & d.10 Sep 1922. She m.1899, Cairo, Egypt to Neville Stephen Lytton, 3rd Earl of Lytton (b.6 Feb 1879, div.1923) & had issue:

(1.1) Noel Anthony Scawen Lytton, 4th Earl of Lytton, b.7 Apr 1900 & d.18 Jan 1985. He m.Nov 30 1946 Clarissa Mary Palmer & had issue:

(1.1.1) Caroline Mary Noel Lytton, Silversmith, b.Dec 29 1947.

(1.1.2) John Peter Michael Scawen Lytton, 5th Earl of Lytton, b.JUN 7 1950. He m.Ursula Komoly.

(1.1.3) Lucy Mary Frances Lytton, Hydrogeologist, b.Jan 29 1957.

(1.1.4) Thomas Roland Cyril Lawrence Lytton, b.Aug 10 1954

(1.2) Lady Anne Lytton, b.AUG 24 1901 & d.1979.

(1.3) Winifried Lytton, b.MAR 19 1904. She m.NOV 9 1921 Claude Tryon.

sources: "Who Was Who vol. VIII 1981-1990" A&C Black, London, 1991; "Lord Byron: Wrath & Rhyme" edited by Alan Bold; "The Dictionary of National Biography, From the Earliest Times to 1900"; The Official Earl of Lytton homepage at: <http://www.lytton.co.uk/ffaindex.htm>.

Claire Clairmont was daughter of Charles Gaulis Clairmont & Mary Jane Vial; through her mother's marriage to William Godwin, Claire became the stepsister of author Mary Godwin, later wife of Percy Bysshe Shelly, daughter from William's 1st m.1797 to feminist Mary Wollstonecraft. Their family:

(* William Godwin m.1st MAR 29 1797 to Mary Wollstonecraft (Mary had one daughter, Fanny Imlay, b.MAY 1794 by Gilbert Imlay; Fanny would commit suicide OCT 9 1816 from an overdose of laudanum). He m.2nd DEC 21 1801 to Mary Jane Vial (widow of Charles Gaulis Clairmont & by him mother of Clair Clairmont) & had issue:

(1) (by Mary) Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, b.AUG 30 1797. Her mother d.SEP 10 1797 from puerperal fever. Mary m.DEC 30 1816 Percy Bysshe Shelley & had issue. Under her married name, she wrote a little novel called "Frankenstein":

(1.1) Clara Shelley, b.FEB 22 1815 & d.MAR 6 1815.

(1.2) William Shelley, b.JAN 14 1816 & d.JUN 7 1818.

(1.3) Clara Everina Shelley, b.SEP 2 1817 & d.SEP 24 1817.

(1.4) Percy Florence Shelley, b.NOV 12 1818 in Florence, Italy & d.DEC 5 1889. He m.JUN 22 1848 to Jane St.John. No issue.

(2) (by Mary Jane) William Godwin, b.MAR 28 1803.

(* Henrietta Spencer & Frederick Ponsonby are listed. They were parents of:

(1) Lady Caroline Ponsonby, b.1785 & d.1829. She m.1805 William Lamb, 2nd Viscount Melbourne, div.1825. She associated with Lord Byron, above. She is famous for calling Byron "mad, bad, and dangerous to know."

sources: "Glenarvon" by Lady Caroline Lamb; "Lady Caroline Lamb" by Elizabeth Jenkins.

6th Lord Byron is here: <http://www.dcs.hull.ac.uk/cgi-bin/gedlkup/n=royal?royal35426>

Henrietta & Frederick is here: <http://www.dcs.hull.ac.uk/cgi-bin/gedlkup/n=royal?royal12895>

Times
13.7.1827 Lady Byron takes Bifrons for a residence p2 etc

We understand that Lady Byron has engaged Bifrons,
near this city, the seat of Edward Taylor, Esq. (Kendish Chronicle)

> 100 tons each fell. Bill had wanted to leave 3 or 4 dead - not yet excavated
5 days at least to extract, boards erected. A man leads a horse & waggon & escaped, earth
fell on waggon + part of horse & man escaped.

28.8.1882 Cattle disease at Bifrons p8 etc

Pneumonia Several valuable cattle have been destroyed
Restrictive measures required

Thurs
3.9.1818 Fires at Patuxent bridge On Fri afternoon Utterage / barn took fire
by the falling of one within it which had not been made he persons by weatherboards
caught fire, whole built on a - base, threatening waggon + adjacent quills. Non-re Union engine
31.1.1860 Henry Chamier on the accident at Belesborne sent from city
3 men buried alive at Belesborne 31.1.1860 p7 / Bar entered a few quarters
Spin fields, evening, WDR with 11, dose 115 - life / I com. at next end of quantity
Mr. Lloyd surveyor wa near the spot
when fire broke out

<p>Databases</p> <p>Keyword Searching</p> <p>Browse Searching</p> <hr/> <p>Search Controls</p> <p>Result List</p> <p>History</p> <p>Hold Title</p> <hr/> <p>Patron Functions</p> <p>Help</p> <p>Logoff</p>	<p>Return to Browse</p> <p>Record Display in Both Oxford OLIS Live and Bodleian Pre-1920 Catalogues</p> <p>Record 1 of 1 for Search:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Mark MARC Display Library Holdings</p>	
	Title	The influence of apathy, and other poems.
	Author	Trevanion, Henry.
	Publisher	Lond. 1827
	Description	cm.16
	Library Holdings	
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8.6.1828 Ada, d of Henry + Georgiana Augusta Trevanion
l'atris boue parit le 1er "Esquire"

BOOKS BY A. L. ROWSE

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The Byrons and Trevanions

A. L. ROWSE

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To
Rosalie Glyn Grylls (Lady Mander)
in constant affection and faithful Cornishry

273667

Thou wert the solitary star
Which rose and set not to the last.

Still may thy spirit dwell on mine,
And teach it what to brave or brook—
There's more in one soft word of thine
Than in the world's defied rebuke.

Thou stood'st, as stands a lovely tree,
That still unbroke, though gently bent,
Still waves with fond fidelity
Its boughs above a monument.
Devoted in the stormiest hour
To shed thy weeping leaves o'er me.

But thou and thine shall know no blight,
Whatever fate on me may fall;
For heaven in sunshine will requite
The kind—and thee the most of all.

Like many of the poet's prophecies this did not come true. Fortunately he never knew the extent of her submission to Lady Byron's psychotically unbending will, and the gradual deterioration and confusion of Augusta's personality under the strain, the ramming home of a sense of guilt which was not natural to her. Nor was the poet justified in his confidence that the *dam-nosa hereditas* would bring no blight on her children. We shall see how it worked out in the case of the child, Medora, and the infatuation that grew up between her cousin Henry Trevanion and her, in whom the Byron and Trevanion genes were, of course, doubled.

Henry Trevanion was the second son of Byron's cousin and acquaintance, J.T.P.B. Trevanion of Caerhays, and his first wife Charlotte, daughter of Admiral Hosier (presumably of Clementina Churchill's family). Charlotte died in 1810, aged twenty-seven, and is buried at Caerhays. Twenty years later Trevanion married again, in 1830, a young daughter of Sir Francis Burdett, the aristocratic Radical, patron of parliamentary reform. It was Burdett who brought Augusta the news of Byron's death at Missolonghi, and was one of those who turned the funeral procession in London into a demonstration against the government. One sees the political affiliations of the family. At the funeral in Nottingham, when Byron was gathered to his

ancestors in the vault at Hucknall Torkard, Henry Trevanion represented his family.

What was Augusta, harassed by money worries, with little or no help from the helpless colonel, herself the chief breadwinner from her exposed job at St James's Palace, to do with all those children? Georgiana was the eldest of them, born in 1808. In 1825, though she was only sixteen, Henry Trevanion, a few years older, came up to London and here was a prospect of marrying off Georgiana happily. Or so Augusta thought, ever sanguine, for all the blows she had received. Moreover, she had fallen for young Henry herself, since meeting him at a family gathering of their relations. No one ever charged Augusta with being frail outside the charmed circle of her Byron-Trevanion flesh and blood. She fell for him as she had for Byron—the genes were too strong for her—and relations followed a similar pattern. After the first carefree rapture she was anxious, as she had been with Byron, to see Henry safely married. And she remained loyal to him through all the troubles his sexual temperament brought down upon her and her family.

She wrote enthusiastically to Lady Byron, her mentor and boss of the whole tribe (Byron's successor as seventh lord as well): 'The young man is studying the law and has talent to make the most of his profession—exceedingly clever and in other respects the only person I know *worthy* of Georgey. He was introduced to me by his Father about last July twelvemonth and I've seen much of him since from liking him and finding him so far superior to the *common herd*.' The fathers on both sides were not helpful. Colonel Leigh disapproved; J.T.P.B. Trevanion promised a marriage settlement of £100 a year, but not a farthing of it was paid. Henry had little in the way of means, so everybody fell back on Augusta as usual, who raised £2,000 on her expectations from Byron's eventual legacy (after rich Lady Byron's death). The wedding took place in February 1826 at St James's, Piccadilly, only Augusta and Medora being present of her family to support Georgey and Henry at the altar. (He was more interested in religion than the law.) Lady Byron lent the young couple a house of hers near Canterbury: no one seems to have noticed how appropriate its name was—*Bifrons*. It became still more so in the extraordinary sequel.

In 1827 Trevanion published, with Longman, a book of poems, *The Influence of Apathy*, of which I possess a pretty copy, green and gold, inscribed by Georgy for 'Flossie Trevanion'. Most of the poems were written in adolescence, and they are dominated by the mighty shadow so recently passed from the European scene. Trevanion, too, is haunted by passion and guilt:

Fly—fly—we must not meet again—
Another hour like this will throw
A careless frenzy o'er my brain—
Alas, 'tis half-bewildered now.
Why stay we here? These moments bring
To our lost souls a deeper sting;
Oh, God! why had we not the power
To shun the death-blast of this hour?

Or—

Oh! weep not—weep not—let me fly
In anger, as when last we parted;
All—all but this I'll bear—to die
Were bliss than thus part broken-hearted.

Some poems cast reflections, as it might be of Newstead:

Wild, glimmering on the hearth, the blazing pile
Casts its warm light around the spacious hall;
And many a ghost to superstition's eye
The distant shades in such abode would bring;
On either side the tarnished armour stands,
On the thick walls, with deep and varied tints,
Kings, mounted heroes, and brocaded dames,
In tapestry tell the deeds of other days,
While, through the crevices the frequent gusts
Lift the torn cloths and wave their giant forms...

It could be Newstead, but in fact it is the ancient house at Caerhays, which Henry's father was to rebuild—and ruin the family in doing so. For in the background is the sea:

See yon little bark that's gliding
Lightly o'er the slumb'ring wave;
Summer zephyrs now are riding
O'er that blue, unfathomed grave.

Soon its snow-white sail will shiver
To the blast that's gathering near...

Several of the poems are about, or written to be set to, music; one of them is dedicated 'To J . . . T . . . n, Esq. on his Singing'—Henry's elder brother, John. A volume of songs and a cantata by 'the blind organist' of Truro was dedicated to their mother. Evidently there was something of a cult of music in the last years of the draughty old house.

The long title-piece has an eloquent tribute to Byron, several passages of which are marked with approval by a family hand:

One sad exception—one whose soul hath fled
Stricken, but not polluted, to the dead;
The slave of feeling, but too proud to show
That feeling to a world esteemed a foe;
Barred from thy native land—compelled to roam—
Adored of nations—yet without a home:
No kindred arm thy fevered head to rear,
No fond attention thy last hour to cheer...

One wonders whether that turbulent spirit did not exert an influence upon its paler shadow; for Henry Trevanion's life was to follow a similar pattern of passion, guilt and exile. And it is certainly odd that, amid the innumerable tributes to Byron, no one has unearthed this moving celebration of him from within the family.

A husband, and a father—names with power
To wound, not calm thee in thy dying hour;
Such was thy fate—and are there none to mourn,
Departed spirit, o'er thy hallowed urn?
Must then thy radiant course like comet glare
Win the world's gaze, and vanish into air?

There follow further passages the sympathetic pencil has marked:

Must barren hearts—the readiest to condemn
The faults that owed their very birth to them—
Must those the beings who with icy sneer
Warped each warm virtue of thy brief career—
Who spurned the feeling oft too truly shown,
Because that feeling never was their own?—

The answer Trevanion gave, only three years after Byron's death, was the answer the future would give:

Forbid it, Greece! While Freedom dare expand
Her orient standard o'er her native land . . .

These lines too are marked by the approving hand. Then Trevanion, a good classical scholar, goes on to rank Byron with the heroes of ancient Greece, citing their names and the roll-call of places where they fell.

Thy grateful sons shall write for other years
The name of Byron in a nation's tears.

The title-piece has a moralizing prose-argument prefaced to it, which reads ironically in what was about to happen.

The disposition of Youth to affection; to confidence; to imbibe flattery; to engage unadvisedly in friendships. The result of the abuse of this ingenuousness—suspicion and distrust, art, and indifference to all that previously interested. Suicide considered. The inefficacy of public or private tuition, in the abstract, to avert the evils incident to entering the world; to invalidate the temptations of sin. The tendency of a career of sin to deaden the sensibility of our affections. And he ended his sermon with 'the incapability of worldly enjoyments to insure happiness. Happiness—tranquillity of mind. Tranquillity of mind attainable only by the means of apathy.'

This vein of religiosity increased his appeal for Augusta who, under the influence of Lady Byron, was becoming more religious herself. This would not have been approved by Byron, who, for all his mother's indoctrination of Calvinism, had the sense to arrive early at the position: 'I do not believe in any revealed religion, because no religion is revealed.' He was not, however, an unbeliever in a '*Great First Cause, least understood*;' though I conceive He never made anything to be tortured in another life, whatever it may in this. I will neither read *pro* nor *con*.' This was wisdom—a sheer waste of time. Yet Miss Milbanke had the impertinence to think that this man of genius would not reflect seriously: she could teach him!

Henry Trevanion proved himself anything but apathetic in bed, for all his apostrophizing.

Oh! woman! jewelled link of being's chain,
First dream of love, last object of disdain,
Sad is the storm, o'erwhelming is the sea,
Star of the soul! that turns our course from thee:
But all must be forgotten, all must cease
But Apathy, for him who seeks for peace.

True enough for him—yet he could not attain to this blessed consummation. He was very active sexually, and the girls were appallingly pregnable; they seem to have had no idea of birth-control, even of the most elementary kind. Georgey had three girls in quick succession, and herself rather cold, like Lady Byron, came to detest Henry. They quarrelled incessantly. Over Georgey's second confinement Augusta sent Medora down to Bifrons for company; she was then fifteen and soon became pregnant too. The news of approaching scandal reached Lady Byron through her intelligence net, and she provided the money for the three young people to go over to Calais. Here Medora's child was born and left in the charge of the doctor, with whom it apparently died.

Medora returned to live with Augusta in her apartment in St James's Palace. Augusta was frequently absent on duty, while Henry and Medora read the Bible together—he continued to be religious—and the girl found herself pregnant again. Henry poured out his soul to Augusta: 'My dearest Moe [so he called her]—I owe some explanation for the pain I caused you by my wild note. I took laudanum—I promise you not to do so again—would to God that had been all!' A number of well-known people in Regency society took laudanum—the poetess 'L.E.L.' for one, whom Henry knew: he addressed a poem to her.

To Henry, Augusta was all sympathy: 'You know how I have loved and regarded you as my own Child—I can never cease to do so! Show me how I can comfort and support you—confide in me, dearest—too much suffering has been caused by want of confidence. What *might not* have been prevented could I have known, guessed, even *most remotely* suspected—but—I would not breathe a word if I could help it to give *further* pain! . . . To Medora she was less sympathetic: 'You know that I confidently hoped and intended you to be confirmed this Easter. I suppose it is now hopeless—consult your own heart and wishes. I hoped



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Couch Trevanion & Other Cornish Families

822 total entries, last updated Wed Mar 14 16:47:56 2001

All questions, comments or suggestions regarding information on this page should be addressed to: [Sarah Melton](mailto:Sarah.Melton@thelawnranger.co.uk) <sjmelton@thelawnranger.co.uk>

All info and corrections and correlations gratefully received

- *ID:* I126
- *Name:* Henry TREVANION
- *Given Name:* Henry
- *Surname:* Trevanion
- *Sex:* M
- *Death:* 25 DEC 1855 in Brittany,France
- *LDS Baptism:* status: LIVE
- *Note:*

Henry was comparatively poor and more interested in religion than law.

In 1827 Trevanion published, with Longman, a book of poems called "The Influence of Apathy".

- *Change Date:* 29 JAN 2000 at 00:00:00

Father: [John Trevanion Purcell BETTESWORTH](#) b: 1780

Mother: [Charlotte HOSIER](#) b: 1783

Marriage 1 [Georgiana Augusta LEIGH](#) b: 4 NOV 1808

- *Married:* 4 FEB 1826 in St James' Piccadilly - only Augusta and Medora Present

Children

1. [Ada TREVANION](#) b: 1829 in Bifrons House,near Canterbury,England
2. [Bertha TREVANION](#) b: 1826
3. [Agnes TREVANION](#) b: 1828

Marriage 2 [Georgiana Augusta LEIGH](#) b: 4 NOV 1808

Marriage 3 Ada TREVANION b: 1829 in Bifrons House,near Canterbury,England

Children

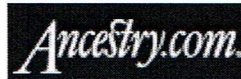
1.  Ada TREVANION (PRIZELDA?) b: c1845

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Couch Trevanion & Other Cornish Families

822 total entries, last updated Wed Mar 14 16:47:56 2001

All questions, comments or suggestions regarding information on this page should be addressed to: Sarah Melton <sjmelton@thelawnranger.co.uk>

All info and corrections and correlations gratefully received

- *ID:* I144
- *Name:* Ada TREVANION
- *Given Name:* Ada
- *Surname:* Trevanion
- *NPFX:* Miss
- *Sex:* F
- *Birth:* 1829 in Bifrons House, near Canterbury, England
- *Death:* 1882
- *LDS Baptism:* status: LIVE
- *Note:*

Born in the summer of 1829mily (Geraldine Leigh) and the other half to a Trevanion cousin (possibly Hugh Eric?).

She inherited ?28,000 from the Trevanion family and when she died passed half to the Leigh fa

- *Change Date:* 15 OCT 2000 at 01:00:00

Father: [Henry TREVANION](#)

Mother: [Georgiana Augusta LEIGH](#) b: 4 NOV 1808

Marriage 1 [Henry TREVANION](#)

Children

1.  [Ada TREVANION \(PRIZELDA?\)](#) b: c1845

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All info and corrections and correlations gratefully received

- *ID:* I110
- *Name:* John Trevanion Purcell BETTESWORTH
- *Given Name:* John Trevanion Purcell
- *Surname:* Bettesworth
- *NICK:* Major in Dragoon Guards
- *_AKA:* Became John Trevanion in 1801
- *NPFX:* Major
- *Sex:* M
- *Birth:* 1780
- *LDS Baptism:* status: LIVE
- *Note:*

- *BIOGRAPHY:* Assumed the name of Trevanion on coming of age in 1801

Having rebuilt the mansion at Caerhays in the castellated style, using designs by Nash, the same architect as that of Buckingham Palace in London, it became desirable to sell the family estates.

In 1852 the castle of Caerhays and its lands were purchased at a St Austell auction by Dr Drake on behalf of RM Fellowes of Reigate, Surrey for the sum of ?5000. Mr Fellowes also purchased the manorial rights of Treverbyn-Trevanion, mainly in the parish of St Austell for approximately ?20,000 but in the end this Mr Fellowes did not complete his intended purchase. It should be noted that the guide price of the Caerhays Estate was probably under-stated because Mr Fellowes' own surveyor estimated the value of the Castle Buildings alone at time of sale as ?10,000. It follows that the Trevanions were in dire financial straits and needed the money quickly.

Eventually Mr Michael Williams of Scorrier House bought the manor of Caerhays.

The Estate of Treverbyn-Trevanion was purchased by Mssrs Gill and Imery who - to this day 2001 - still mine china clay in the district.

Please refer to Parochial History of Cornwall, Vol III, pg 337 to 343

- *Change Date:* 30 JAN 2001 at 22:22:16

Father: John BETTESWORTH

Mother: Frances TOMKYNS

Marriage 1 Charlotte HOSIER b: 1783

Children

1.  Henry TREVANION
2. John TREVANION
3. Charlotte Agnes TREVANION b: 8 SEP 1806

Marriage 2 Francis Ellinor BURDETT b: 1761

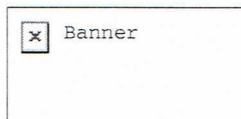
- *Married:* 1830

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CPU seconds used 0.03

John Bellesworth US + 1789

= France ^{Eleanor} Trevanion + 1821 d of John Trevanion

Barbara Doherty

- John Trevanion Pinnell #1782 + 1840
= Charlotte Horner #1783 + 1810

took name Trevanion on his 21st birthday

- Francis Bellesworth

= John (Capt) Quantock

- John Charles Trevanion Bellesworth

He inherited
Carmay Lake
- 1801.

- Henry Trevanion Bellesworth #1805 + 1855

- George Bellesworth RN + 1832

- Frederick William Trevanion Bellesworth

Rise to eminence

The Byrons and Trevanions

By A. L. Rowse
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £8.50)

This book was well worth writing: that it has been written by Dr A. L. Rowse ensures that it will be well worth reading. Even today Cornwall and Lancashire are remote from each other, psychologically and physically; four hundred years ago it must have seemed impossible that they should ever meet and merge. But they did, in the persons of two remarkable families, the Byrons of Rochdale (and later of Newstead) and the Trevanions of Caerhays.

Both families rose to eminence, first in their counties and then at court, in the days of Queen Elizabeth I. A Byron was an agent of the great Cecil; a Trevanion lady nursed the infant who was later King Charles I. Naturally enough both families were loyal during the Great Rebellion. Sir John Byron, fifth head of the family at Newstead, was ennobled as the first Lord Byron in 1643. John Trevanion was gentleman usher to the future King James II, and was killed at the battle of Sole Bay. His brother Richard, also a sailor, accompanied James to France after his dethronement and remained with him until the king's death in 1701.

Both families nevertheless maintained their royal connections under the succeeding dynasty. A Richard Byron commanded King William III's personal yacht, and the fourth Lord Byron was gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's consort. John Trevanion, another sailor, was knighted by King George I. During the next century Byrons and Trevanions became ever closer. The fourth peer, William, and John Trevanion head of the Caerhays family, married two sisters, daughters of Lork Berkeley of Stratton. The fifth lord, William's son, known as the "Wicked Lord", had a son and a grandson, both of whom predeceased him. The title should therefore have passed to his brother John, a distinguished admiral, known as Foulweather Jack, who married his cousin, Sophia Trevanion. But he was already dead, and his eldest son, too, and so it came about that John's grandson, George Gordon, became the sixth Lord Byron, at the age of ten.

In any book with "Byron" on its cover, the first question is what does it tell us about the poet? In this case the answer is a great deal. And it illuminates two hitherto rather puzzling aspects of that febrile character. Byron's pride in his ancestry has often seemed exaggerated, largely because his father was an exiled

and undistinguished: it has made Byron appear a snob. Dr Rowse makes it clear that on the contrary the Byrons had done the state much service for more than two centuries and had been employed at successive courts. (Was that why Byron himself despised kings?) Secondly, how was it that Byron as a youth had the immediate entrée into the upper ranks of London society? Was it all done by charm? Much of it was, but his Trevanion grandmother had been the admired Mrs Byron, the intimate friend of Dr Johnson and his circle, which included Mrs Thrale and Mrs Montagu and Fanny Burney, before her death at Bath in 1791. It was easy for a grandson to follow in so phosphorescent a wake, even without his own noble "stemma".

Dr Rowse also underlines the strong naval strain in the Byron-Trevanion inheritance which must have contributed to Byron's dominating love of seafaring and the sea. Finally his analysis of the influence of John and Sophia's "genes" on Byron, his half-sister and her husband, all three of them their grandchildren, is one of the most valuable facets of this scintillating book. The only valid criticism of it is that it lacks any genealogical tables to help its comprehension by readers not already familiar with the tangled tale.

Stewart Perowne

Ada

A Life and a Legacy

MIT Press Series in the History of Computing

I. Bernard Cohen, editor; William Aspray, associate editor

Editorial Board: Bernard Galler, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; J. A. N. Lee, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia; Arthur Norberg, Charles Babbage Institute, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Brian Randell, University of Newcastle, Newcastle upon Tyne; Henry Tropp, Humboldt State College, Arcata, California; Heinz Zemanek, Vienna, Austria

Memories That Shaped an Industry, Emerson W. Pugh, 1984

Memoirs of a Computer Pioneer, Maurice V. Wilkes, 1985

Ada: A Life and a Legacy, Dorothy Stein, 1985

IBM's Early Computers, Charles Bashe, L. R. Johnson, J. H. Palmer, and E. W. Pugh, 1985

Dorothy Stein

The MIT Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England

that period earlier than is usual in our colder climate;—in Italy and the East—it sometimes occurs at twelve—or even earlier—I knew an instance in a noble Italian house—at ten. . . . I cannot help thinking that the determination of blood to the head so early unassisted may have some connection with a similar tendency to earlier maturity.³⁸

His use of the word “sanguine” and Lady Byron’s references to her “bilious attacks” show that medical thought still bore traces of the ancient Greek humoral theory. This held that the body contained four fluids, or humors, that corresponded to the four elements of which the universe was composed. The humors—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile—determined by their relative proportions not only health and sickness but also the predominance of certain personality traits. The humoral theory was both a physical and a psychological system, an attempt to connect mind and body. There were other such theories to come into Ada’s life.

Before the end of her childhood Ada was well acquainted with discomfort, pain, and physical restraint; another frequent visitor was death. Her effusive and affectionate grandmother died when she was six, and the mysterious Papa two years later (bled to death by his own physicians, as it happens). In the following year Grandpapa died. Ada’s sadness and bewilderment in this period are revealed in two letters she wrote to a younger cousin, the son of the man who inherited her father’s title. Calling the boy “Brother,” she fantasized their loving and comforting each other when all the adults had departed.³⁹

The deaths in the family, on the other hand, greatly enhanced Lady Byron’s income and independence. With her ostentatiously unostentatious manner of living, she clearly did not need all of her revenues, so she handed her jointure to the new Lord Byron, who had received his peerage denuded of the family estates. Although Jane Austen taught us that ten thousand pounds a year was as good as a lord, many lords had to make do with considerably less. Still, it was considered shameful, and possibly degrading to his rank, for a nobleman to be unable to maintain a minimally aristocratic lifestyle. Byron had willed his money—what remained after the amount that yielded his widow’s jointure—to Augusta, who, with her large and feckless family, needed it just as badly as the new Lord. But Annabella was finding out just how effective a financial obligation could be in securing devotedly loyal friends, and she harbored a jealousy and resentment toward Augusta that could barely be concealed by pious moralism.

The removal of her husband and ailing parents also freed her to make a grand tour of the Continent, taking Ada with her; they remained

came down with measles, followed by serious complications. She was then thirteen, a significant age. Since her return she had been pursuing an interest in astronomy, corresponding with Mr. Friend and his daughter Sophia about it. On 27 May 1829, Mr. Friend wrote to inquire of Lady Byron:

How does Miss B. come on with her astronomy. The next month toward the end will exhibit Jupiter to her to great advantage & at a reasonable hour. I hope you have a good telescope & it will be an amusing exercise to sketch the planet with his moons & observe the variation of their positions in succeeding nights. She may be fortunate enough to witness a few eclipses & occultations but I would not consult books on the occasion. She may make tolerable guesses at the approaching phenomena & verify them by her own observations.⁴⁰

But Ada was to enjoy no such starry amusements. On 29 June Lady Byron explained her delay in replying by “the serious anxiety which I have had reason to feel on Ada’s account for the last two months. . . . Ada has been and still is in a perfectly helpless state; the loss of all power to walk or stand having followed other effects of the measles, and too rapid growth.—There is not, I am assured, any danger in her present disabled state, but as it deprives her of the pursuits of mind, as well as of active employment, my thoughts & time are more than usually occupied by her.”⁴¹

There are a number of possible causes of temporary paralysis of the legs. Most of them, however, do not persist for more than a few months if recovery is eventually to be as complete as it was in Ada’s case. The fact that her “disablement” stretched, with decreasing severity, over several years, ending only when she was considered of marriageable age, suggests that her recovery might actually have been delayed by the prolonged and stringent bed rest—which itself can weaken muscle tone—to which she was subjected in addition to the other debilitating treatments favored by Lady Byron.

A series of letters written by Ada to a friend of her mother’s a year after the onset of her illness shows that she was permitted to sit up for only half an hour a day, a period that was increased to an hour toward the end of the summer. She admitted her “low spirits,” but at least her schoolwork had been resumed—often again in a reclining position. By the autumn of 1831, however, she was walking on crutches and optimistically seeking advice on building a bridle path. At last, in September 1832, a letter from her mother’s former maid, Mrs. Clermont, bore congratulations on her walking without “supporters,”

as long as she had weights in her hands, some six months previously, indicating that her problem was at least partly one of balance. For some time after even this date, she was often weak and giddy.

During the period when she was still on crutches, the first reference to a new and fashionable interest of Lady Byron's appears in their correspondence. It occurs in response to a suggestion by Lady Byron that Ada should take the carriage into London, where her mother was then visiting a friend. Ada was curiously reluctant to quit her solitude and her studies, worrying over what might happen to her Latin verbs as a result of the interruption. Finally she asked, "have you a bedroom amongst your ground floor apartments? If not it might be rather awkward for me. — Having now stated all the fors and againsts which occur to my constructive organs, I leave it to your judgment."⁴²

Lady Byron must have been an early convert to phrenology; but once converted, she ceased to be the plaything of fashion. Although one of its founders, Spurzheim, had crossed the Channel in 1814 to lecture to the benighted Britons, the London Phrenological Society was not established until 1824; it had taken a decade to catch on. Like the ancient humoral system, phrenology was an attempt to relate body—or in this case, brain—to mind. The "functions" of the brain were classified in terms of a set of behavioral "faculties," and attempts were made to relate these faculties to the structure of the brain as it appeared to the anatomists of the day. Some "organ" of the brain was supposed to give rise to each faculty, or behavioral disposition. Just how many faculties there were, and their exact locations in the head, were matters of some dispute. Among the faculties were included such "feelings and propensities" as "combativity," "constructiveness," "destructiveness," and "acquisitiveness." Then there were faculties and associated organs for "sentiments," such as "veneration," "hope," "ideality," "conscientiousness." Still another broad class were the "knowing faculties," including "individuality," "form," "size," "weight," and "color." Finally there were "reflective faculties," such as "comparison," "wit," "causality," and "imitation." Only the less noble and desirable of the faculties were shared with the lower animals. The organs corresponding to these faculties in particular individuals could be large or small, giving rise to greater or smaller corresponding dispositions. The shape of the skull, being molded around the protuberances beneath, was therefore affected by the sizes of the various organs. Thus, a person with a large organ of veneration could be identified by phrenologists, not by his deeds of piety and devotion, but by the bump on his head over the location of the enlarged organ.

One of the many memoirists of the period recorded a conversation with a prominent phrenologist named Deville:

He told . . . of an anonymous lady whom he had to caution against sensitiveness to the opinion of others. Some years afterwards she came again and brought her daughter, who, when finished, was sent into another room, and the lady consulted him upon her own cranium. He found the sensitiveness so fearfully increased as almost to require medical treatment. He afterwards met her at a party, when she introduced herself as Lady Byron. Her third visit to him was made whilst Moore's *Life of her husband* was being published, and, in accordance with his prescription, she had not allowed herself to read it.⁴³

Moore's *Life, Letters, and Journals of Lord Byron* was published in two volumes in 1830 and 1831, by which time Lady Byron had been consulting phrenologists for a number of years. Deville may have been correct in his conclusion, from measuring the bumps on her head, that she was sensitive to public opinion. He was wrong, however, about her not having read Moore's book; she even published a pamphlet to register her objections to it, though it was supposedly printed for private circulation only. Moore offered to include it with his second volume.

Most phrenologists were doctors; like psychoanalysis, however, it was a game that any amateur could play. Phrenology had social and religious, as well as medical and scientific, implications. Although the bumps and their underlying organs were innate, proper training and redirection could achieve compensatory enlargement or diminution within limits; hence, phrenology encouraged a compassionate sternness on the part of "governors": parents, teachers, employers, jailers, and madhouse keepers. Phrenology presented a kind of smorgasbord of progressive but not revolutionary ideas, from which so strong-minded and opinionated a woman as Lady Byron could pick and choose those she found congenial. It was perfectly suited to provide the final touch of authority to her judgments and pronouncements upon others.

The advice and exhortations in her letters to Ada were sprinkled with phrenological terms. "I want to see the Bird [Ada] to raise its bump of Self-esteem a little—I am sure it is morbidly sensitive," she wrote at one point.⁴⁴ At other times she felt Ada's self-esteem was entirely too high. Ada soon adopted the phrenological vocabulary, but her attitude toward the entire system was as fluctuating and ambivalent as her other associations with her mother. Her scientific bent led her

All that can be said of this is that her lessons continued and even, in some respects, intensified, for the duration of her lengthy recovery, which may or may not have been slowed by them. And the incapacity of her final illness was at times welcomed by her as an opportunity at last to devote herself to sustained work.

Whether or not brought on by her mental exertions, can Ada's numerous illnesses account for the fact that career and fame, or at least tangible achievement, eluded her? Once more, it is possible to point to a number of her contemporaries, including Darwin, Faraday, and Harriet Martineau, who also experienced lengthy periods of continuous or intermittent bad health, which for many years they accommodated to productive intellectual lives. Ada's physical illnesses were severe and at times incapacitating, yet it is notable that during the weeks and months in which she labored over the *Menabrea* Notes she made frequent mention of nagging and debilitating illnesses that were not permitted to interfere with publication deadlines. Even more significant, perhaps, was her anticipation, as the symptoms of her final illness developed, of using her enforced immobility at last to achieve some work of substance. (As it turned out, though, this final determination to create and to make coherent her heritage, her questing, and her suffering was as unproductive as most of her previous efforts.)

It is difficult to determine the effect of Ada's bouts of mental instability on her intellectual career. Periods of exaltation, of hubris, which she herself labeled "mania," accompanied her most ambitious plans; but were they reflections of her daring imagination or the causes of her undertaking projects she was ill-equipped to carry out? The periods of depression that followed may have been responses to the realization of her inability to effect these projects, or may themselves have prevented that persistent application, the lack of which both she and her guardians recognized as characteristic of all her undertakings. Possibly her lack of persistence in the end prevented her from acquiring sufficient knowledge to turn her philosophical speculations into fruitful ideas for investigation; the ideas and suggestions she expressed remained always too vague and mystical to be successfully pursued.

Yet she did work hard enough for long enough to make clear that only extremely dogged application would have sufficed to compensate for a deficiency in native quickness and talent, especially for assimilating the mathematical techniques of symbolic manipulation. It is unusual to find an interest in mathematics and a taste for philosophical speculation accompanied by such difficulty in acquiring the basic concepts of science as she clearly displayed. We can only be touched and awed by the questing spirit that induced her to launch so slight a craft upon

Appendix

Unnatural Feelings Mental & Bodily

Ada's letters, like those of many of her contemporaries, were freighted with discussions of diseases and symptoms, of treatments and cures, both mental and physical; but of all the questions that arise from an examination of her life, that of the assessment of her chronic ill health seems more difficult to address decisively than any other. Nonetheless, her illnesses, her speculations over their causes, and the extent to which illness and disablement contributed to her inability to realize her early intellectual promise were of such significance to her that an attempt to account for these afflictions should at least be made.

It is not at all surprising that even the politest society in the first half of the nineteenth century was sick a good deal of the time. Queen Victoria had typhoid fever as a young girl, and her consort Prince Albert died of it in 1861. The germ theory was a development of the latter half of the century, and so too were effective means of controlling and preventing infectious disease. One book of household advice of the period, for example, warned against the boiling of drinking water, which, it said, concentrated in it impurities such as lead. If you did not know about bacteria, that advice was reasonable enough.

Illness and attempts to control its ravages had important effects on public as well as private events. Asiatic cholera reached England in 1831. Ada was stricken with what may well have been cholera in 1837 and considered herself marked by it; later she used its prevalence in the neighborhood as an excuse to stay away from her husband's country seat. But the advent of cholera in England was also indirectly the cause of many popular disturbances. In an attempt to isolate the disease, the authorities ordered that its victims be treated in special hospitals and buried in special cemeteries, public health measures that

All that can be some respects, which may or of her final ill at last to devo

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It is difficu bility on her she herself le but were the her undertak of depression of her inabil vented that guardians re her lack of p knowledge for investig: always too Yet she c only extren for a deficie the mather to find an i ulation acc of science ; by the que

relatives, dead or dying, might be commandeered for the dissections so necessary to the training of medical students. (The Anatomy Act of 1832 enabled medical schools to take the bodies of unclerical paupers and felons.) The result was a number of riots and attacks on cholera hospitals and medical schools.¹ Middle-class people, even the kindest, whose relations were not in danger of dissection, tended to be insensitive to the depth of feeling of the poor in this matter. August De Morgan, for example, overhearing a conversation about the identification of grave robbing, is reported to have burst into a paroxysm of indignation, and to have said: "Comin' Thro' the Rye":

Should a body want a body
Anatomy to teach,
Should a body snatch a body
Need a body peach?²

Despite this bad beginning, a later cholera outbreak led to a celebrated public health success. In 1854, when an epidemic raged in the Soho area of London, Dr. John Snow persuaded the Soho Board of Guardians to remove the handle of the pump at Broad and Cambridge Streets, which was the source of drinking water at the center of the affected area, and the epidemic died down. Yet the cause of the outbreak and the way in which the infection had entered the water were unknown. It was not until thirty years later that Robert Koch identified the organism that actually caused the illness and was carried in the drinking water.

Antibiotics were of course unknown. When one was ill, all one could hope for was the relief of some of the symptoms and suppuration, enduring the others until a spontaneous recovery occurred. The lack of understanding of the nature and mechanism of infectious diseases let alone others against which even present medical science has no less spectacular inroads, had a number of consequences. Even the doctor to doctor, from regime to regime, in search of a cure, indeed they still do when faced with the more mysterious and baleful complaints. The result was both a proliferation and a conflation of the symptoms and the causes to which they were attributed.

For example, Ada's early childhood illness was mysteriously identified or attributed to, "a determination of blood to the head." When there is an excess of blood, almost any condition can be referred to the whole body, either in one part of the anatomy or suffused throughout. What is the historian to make of such a welter of unfamiliar terminology, conditions, and causes? Even the most up-to-date medical science

is perplexed when faced with only a few vague symptoms, couched in strange terms, with neither the possibility of questioning the patients nor recourse to the now indispensable tools of laboratory testing. Furthermore, medical historians have been only too thoroughly converted to the diagnosis of psychosomatic illness, as the pendulum of medical science itself is slowly swinging toward the identification of biochemical mechanisms of "mental" as well as physical illness. Yet, with all these obstacles, it does seem clear that Ada and her mother were chronically and unusually ill compared with most of their acquaintance, a surprising number of whom lived to advanced ages. Contrasting what Ada and her contemporaries experienced of her recurrent and varying complaints with the interpretations which they might now be subject, we can perhaps shed light on the intervening changes in the meaning of illness, in the nature of physical science, and in the relationship of both to their social context.

Her most common and earliest-noted characteristic was a biliousness, which may or may not have been similar to her affected area, and the epidemic died down. Certainly by the time she was in her twenties, and referring to her condition as "my but too common" her mother felt in command of her own symptoms; for Lady Augustus De Morgan wrote sagely to Augustus De Morgan, in answer to his worries about the strain on Ada's health caused by her studies, "if she would attend to her stomach, her brain would be capable even of more than she has ever imposed on it." Ada's "gastritis" was severely painful and accompanied by vomiting and other unpleasant effects that caused her to seclude herself during her attacks.

Her first serious illness occurred when she was seven and a half. It involved headaches and apparently affected her eyesight and presence of knowledge, theories abounded. Her second serious illness occurred in May, 1829, at the age of thirteen and a half. Her mother indeed they still do when faced with the more mysterious and baleful complaints. The result was both a proliferation and a conflation of the symptoms and the causes to which they were attributed. For example, Ada's early childhood illness was mysteriously identified or attributed to, "a determination of blood to the head." When there is an excess of blood, almost any condition can be referred to the whole body, either in one part of the anatomy or suffused throughout. What is the historian to make of such a welter of unfamiliar terminology, conditions, and causes? Even the most up-to-date medical science

relatives, dead or dying, might be commandeered for the dissecting tables so necessary to the training of medical students. (The Anatomy Act of 1832 enabled medical schools to take the bodies of unclaimed paupers and felons.) The result was a number of riots and attacks on cholera hospitals and medical schools.¹ Middle-class people, even the kindest, whose relations were not in danger of dissection, tended to be insensitive to the depth of feeling of the poor in this matter. Augustus De Morgan, for example, overhearing a conversation about the epidemic of grave robbing, is reported to have burst into a parody of "Comin' Thro' the Rye":

Should a body want a body
Anatomy to teach,
Should a body snatch a body
Need a body peach?²

Despite this bad beginning, a later cholera outbreak led to a celebrated public health success. In 1854, when an epidemic raged in the Soho area of London, Dr. John Snow persuaded the Soho Board of guardians to remove the handle of the pump at Broad and Cambridge Streets, which was the source of drinking water at the center of the affected area, and the epidemic died down. Yet the cause of the disease and the way in which the infection had entered the water were still unknown. It was not until thirty years later that Robert Koch identified the organism that actually caused the illness and was carried in the drinking water.

Antibiotics were of course unknown. When one was ill, all one could hope for was the relief of some of the symptoms and support in enduring the others until a spontaneous recovery occurred. The lack of understanding of the nature and mechanism of infectious diseases, let alone others against which even present medical science has made less spectacular inroads, had a number of consequences. Even in the absence of knowledge, theories abounded. The well-to-do went from doctor to doctor, from regime to regime, in search of a cure—as indeed they still do when faced with the more mysterious and baffling complaints. The result was both a proliferation and a conflation of the symptoms and the causes to which they were attributed. For example, Ada's early childhood illness was mysteriously identified as, or attributed to, "a determination of blood to the head." When bleeding is the treatment of choice, almost any condition can be referred to as an excess of blood, either in one part of the anatomy or suffused over the whole body.

What is the historian to make of such a welter of unfamiliar terms, . . .

easily be perplexed when faced with only a few vague symptoms, often couched in strange terms, with neither the possibility of questioning the patients nor recourse to the now indispensable tools of laboratory testing. Furthermore, medical historians have been only too thoroughly converted to the diagnosis of psychosomatic illness, just as the pendulum of medical science itself is slowly swinging toward the identification of biochemical mechanisms of "mental" as well as physical illness. Yet, with all these obstacles, it does seem clear that Ada and her mother were chronically and unusually ill compared with most of their acquaintance, a surprising number of whom lived to very advanced ages. Contrasting what Ada and her contemporaries made of her recurrent and varying complaints with the interpretations to which they might now be subject, we can perhaps shed light on the intervening changes in the meaning of illness, in the nature of medical science, and in the relationship of both to their social context.

To begin with, it will be convenient to summarize Ada's medical history. Her most common and earliest-noted characteristic was a delicate stomach, which may or may not have been similar to her mother's bouts of "biliousness." Certainly by the time she was in her late twenties, and referring to her condition as "my but too common *Gastritis*," her mother felt in command of her own symptoms; for Lady Byron wrote sagely to Augustus De Morgan, in answer to his worries over the strain on Ada's health caused by her studies, "if she would but attend to her stomach, her brain would be capable even of more than she has ever imposed on it." Ada's "gastritis" was severely painful and accompanied by vomiting and other unpleasant effects that caused her to seclude herself during her attacks.

Her first serious illness occurred when she was seven and a half. It involved headaches and apparently affected her eyesight and prevented her from reading for some time. Her second serious illness began in May, 1829, at the age of thirteen and a half. Her mother wrote at the time that "the loss of all power to walk or stand . . . followed other effects of the measles, and too rapid growth." A year after the illness she was still permitted to sit up for only half an hour a day; in the course of the summer that period was increased to one hour. In 1831 she was able to walk with crutches, and in March 1832 her mother noted that she could walk unassisted if she carried weights in her hands. By September 1832 she had discarded the crutches, but she was still frequently weak and giddy over a year afterward.

After Ada's acquaintance with Mary Somerville began, Lady Byron wrote confidently to the latter of her daughter's delicacy: "The com-

and therefore particularly affect the nervous system."³ This letter refers specifically to Ada's paralysis of the legs, from which she had by then recovered. But, if written in 1835, as seems likely, it also refers to the nervous breakdown, or "weak state," described in Ada's own letters to Mrs. Somerville on 20 February and 4 April of that year. We will consider later whether the two conditions could have been connected elsewhere than in Lady Byron's medical opinion.

Ada's next really serious illness seems to have occurred after the birth of her second child. It lasted some time, perhaps months, and from this period she was wont to date her decline in health. Her illness was possibly cholera; she called it cholera in a later letter to her mother and speculated that her subsequent troubles resulted from her having overreached during her recovery, developed asthma, and then been unable to eat for some time.⁴ Indeed, after a somewhat stout adolescence she seems to have become progressively more liable to periods of anorexia, ending in almost skeletal thinness.

There are many almost unmistakable allusions in her correspondence with both mother and husband to menstrual disorders. Her periods were not only very heavy but accompanied by the symptoms of water retention:

I have been a stupid, heavy idle LOUT these 2 days. Now I think it is blowing over again, & I am returning to *activity*. It is not that I have been *ill* at all. But I have been alternately FLIGHTY, (hating to settle to anything), & *stupid*; & have grown rather *puffy & large* also.

The fact is it has been the critical time; & as I seem to be coming out of my stupidity now, *without RESULTS*, I conclude that as before it has very probably *missed* for this time.⁵

In November 1840, about six months into her study of mathematics with De Morgan, she remarked that while mathematics was a "good ballast," sometimes she had "whims."⁶ These soon became manifest in some very grandiose letters, first to her mother, later to others as well. Around the same time she mentioned "a sensation like a current in the head which accompanied some of my worst derangements of circulation," and also that she had often had a horror of going mad.⁷

Singing lessons, urged by her to her husband as beneficial to her health, specifically as counteracting her asthma and hysteria, were begun at about the same period. Nevertheless, she continued to be subject to fits of severe depression and also to periods referred to as "mania." On 21 December 1841 she wrote Sophia De Morgan of one such episode: "There has been no end to the manias & whims I have been subject to." These severe mood swings continued for a number

of years and gave rise to many efforts on her part to connect, explain, and control her various symptoms.

In February 1844 she wrote Woronzow Greig to announce yet another strange sort of attack:

I think this attack will prove of no consequence, & is merely an accidental *parenthesis*, if you can understand the phrase. It looked a little awkward at first, but I consider it as quite proved to have been nothing but a passing state of the nervous system & Lady B— & my Doctor are *both* of them *fully satisfied*. I had been very queer of late at times in some of the sensations I have had about my *head*, (which during the latter months has plagued me *instead of my chest*) & yesterday morning the whole throat & face suddenly swelled up (in one instant) to enormous size, & I *felt* as if threatened with instant annihilation (tho' I am told that sensation is deceptive). This strange seizure lasted 3 minutes; but left behind it (of course) most strange feelings in the brain & eyes. I fancy it is of a cataleptic nature; but Dr. Locock says there is no giving a name to it, for it is completely *à moi* & not at all according to any precedents. He uses the phrase that a "sudden *tension takes place in the nervous cords & lasts a few seconds or minutes*." It is evident that he completely understands the case & how to treat it.⁸

Despite Dr. Locock's "understanding" of the case, the swellings did recur, and by the end of the same year he had diagnosed a "watery deposit," which he treated at first with bleeding and then with laudanum or morphine, not only against the "head sensations & swelling" but to relieve her "mad look" as well: "He told me that it was *really* peculiar, & horrible to the spectator, altho' he did not believe I ever could be *mad*, or scarcely even delirious."⁹ Delirium was a common alternative hypothesis to "mania" when patients seemed to be raving; its advantage was that it was attributable to physical causes, such as fever. She found that her hands swelled if she drank more than a pint of liquid a day; "also this fact: that I have known myself gain 8 lbs weight under a week, mainly from yielding to a thirst for fluids."¹⁰

The last serious condition (before the symptoms of the cancer that killed her) to appear in her correspondence was the "heart attacks"; but on mentioning these she commented that she had been subject to such seizures for some twenty years, hence from about the time of the onset of her adolescent paralytic illness. In addition, there are numerous references to her shivering fits, treated with warm baths, and to frequent and severe colds; and finally her mother noted that "some of the senses are also below par—Smell & Taste—& always

If we take Ada's illnesses as simply an unfortunate conjunction of painful, inconvenient, and debilitating conditions, it is impossible not to be struck by their number and variety. That is, she seems to have had frequent and severe gastric upsets, asthma and hay fever, paroxysmal tachycardia, a kidney complaint of some sort, and, possibly most important for our purposes, a manic-depressive condition, to cite only the most distressing and persistent.

Her three-year paralysis of the legs is as mysterious as any of her afflictions, precisely because of the rarity of this combination of lengthy immobility followed by total recovery. (She was later an enthusiastic waltzer and mountain climber.) Complete recovery from poliomyelitis, for example, if it occurs, usually does so within a few months or a year. In Ada's case the paralysis was said to have followed an attack of measles and "too rapid growth." There are several possible complications of measles, among them encephalomyelitis and Guillain-Barré syndrome, that result in severe paralysis from which total recovery is possible. The latter syndrome is even accompanied by such neurological symptoms as tachycardia (heart palpitations) and difficult breathing, from which Ada also suffered. Yet recovery usually occurs within four to six months. One can only surmise the weakening and prolonging effects that Lady Byron's "lie still" therapy might have had on Ada's lengthy convalescence; but the observation that Ada could walk unassisted if she held weights in both hands—a good six months before her crutches were discarded—combined with Greig's recollection that she was still prone to dizziness and a recumbent position over a year later, suggests that some disturbance of balance, perhaps an inner-ear disorder such as Ménière's syndrome, was as much responsible for her laggard return to mobility as the weakness or paralysis of her leg muscles.

For Ada herself, however great her physical suffering, it was the effect on her intellect of each successive affliction that concerned her most; on the other hand, she sometimes almost seemed to welcome the prospect of an invalidism that would leave her confined to her room yet free to be intellectually productive. After the strange psychotic episode of 1841, reported to Sophia De Morgan, there appeared numerous cautionary references, both on Ada's own part and on those of her mother and husband, to the need to avoid "mania." Her deep depressions seemed scarcely to need explanation, or treatment other than "stimulants" (by which she seemed to mean interesting or exciting activity, rather than the tincture of opium and alcoholic draughts that were prescribed for so many conditions). The term "mania," of course,

excessive, rather than clinical insanity; but in a number of these letters the word seems quite clearly to be used in the latter sense.

It has been suggested by Ada's biographer, Doris Langley Moore, that Ada's "mania," or at least the symptoms that appear in her letters—consisting of intimations of extraordinary powers and abilities, her presumptuous arrogance toward Babbage, and a fitful religiosity that at times bordered upon frenzy—were themselves the side effects of the opium preparations with which her doctors so liberally dosed her for her digestive, respiratory, and nervous complaints. This, however, is to misunderstand the social climate in which opium was taken in the nineteenth century, its medicinal purposes, and its effects on users.¹²

Laudanum, a solution of opium in wine spirits, had been created by Dr. Thomas Sydenham in the 1660s. It was very freely consumed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with women users outnumbering men, among all classes of society. The "Black Drop" that Lady Byron found while rifling her husband's trunk, for example, was a laudanum preparation. Ada's contemporary, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, was a devotee of the drug, while Harriet Martineau did not favor it during her first lengthy siege of disabling pain because of its soporific effects. Later, as she neared death, she, like Ada, abandoned mesmerism for the surer anodyne of opium.

Morphine, a stronger derivative of opium, did not begin to be used on an appreciable scale until the 1820s or 1830s. Heroin was introduced only at the end of the century. Although opium's addictive effects were well known, they were of little concern, and it was not these that eventually led to the drug being outlawed, but rather the occasionally lethal effects of overdose, and the increasing control of drugs by the medical profession. In other words, opium use was not considered a social problem, at least among the genteel. With the drug freely and cheaply available, addiction was not so much a social threat as a personal weakness. And the effects of addiction, such as the withdrawal symptoms, were weighed against the perceived benefits of the drug.

What were these benefits? Opium has a remarkable capacity to control pain and to induce a pleasurable mood. This made it, as many doctors testified, an invaluable medicine for the many conditions for which cures were unknown. Its tendency to produce constipation made it a specific for diarrhea, and infants and children of all classes were treated with preparations whose titles, such as "Mothers' Quietness," often suggested that the benefits were as much to the mothers and