Taylor, Michael A (2014) ‘A very able man, of somewhat explosive ... opinions’: the Reverend Henry Stuart Fagan (1827-1890), Church of England parson, Headmaster of Bath Grammar School, literary man, and Irish Home Ruler

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Deposited on: 21 May 2014
'A very able man, of somewhat explosive ... opinions': the Reverend Henry Stuart Fagan (1827-1890), Church of England parson, Headmaster of Bath Grammar School, literary man, and Irish Home Ruler

Version 6.01, 20 May 2014

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SUMMARY
The Reverend Henry Stuart Fagan (1827-1890), after a fine career at the City of London School and Oxford University, became headmaster of several grammar schools in succession, lastly at Bath Grammar School from 1858 to 1870 where he also held the linked parish of Charlcombe. His tenure was complicated by the intractable problems of the unreformed School's governance. He resigned in 1870 to become a country parson at St Just-in-Penwith in Cornwall and then at Great Cressingham with Bodney in Norfolk. He was a prolific writer for periodicals and newspapers, and his output included several interesting travel pieces, besides much on Ireland and Irish Home Rule in which he was a prominent controversialist, somewhat to his detriment in conservative Norfolk. His ecclesiastical politics appear to have been Christian socialist sensu Charles Kingsley, and firmly Anglican, and this gave his involvement in the Irish controversies its special character, for it meant that his Unionist opponents found it far more difficult to try and equate Home Rule with 'Rome Rule'. He was indeed vigorously pro-Irish in all things, but it is not at all clear why, partly because little is known about his parents and his disrupted childhood.

INTRODUCTION
The Reverend Henry Stuart Fagan (1827-1890), sometime headmaster of Bath Grammar School, was recently identified as the author of a much-cited article about Mary Anning (1799-1847), fossil collector of Lyme Regis, Dorset, by Taylor and Torrens (2014). This necessitated a wider look at Fagan's life and work to search for any relevant connections. Taylor and Torrens (2014) focussed mainly on Fagan's scientific activities, such as they were, as well as the article in question. This separate paper describes Fagan's life and work more generally. Further details, and unresolved issues, have been placed in a supplementary document on Fagan and his family (including his stepmother's and wife's families) (Taylor 2014 MS.).

Archival and repository information. Unless stated, genealogical information is from the usual statutory records accessed via www.ancestry.co.uk (including US censuses and immigration), www.familysearch.org and www.findmypast.co.uk; published sources are also given. Place names follow contemporary usage, e. g. Ceylon, and Somerset including Bath. Abbreviations:
AL, A list of the officers of the Army ..., commonly known as the Army List, issued by the War Office annually; b, born; bap, baptised; BN, British Library British Newspapers 1600-1900, Gale database, accessed at various times in 2012; BNA, British Newspaper Archive, Brightsolid and British Library database (URL: http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk), accessed at various times in 2012-2013; BP, British Periodicals, Collection I and Collection II, ProQuest LLC database, accessed at various times in 2012; c., circa; CLSA, City of London School archives, City of London School, Queen Victoria Street, London EC4V 3AL, England; d., died; dc, death certificate; FI, family information by Henry Fagan's descendant Mrs Lesley Anderson (pers. comm. to MAT, various dates, October and November 2012); LRO, Lichfield Record Office, The Friary, Lichfield, Staffordshire, WS13 6QG, England; MI, memorial inscription; OHC, Oxfordshire History Centre, Cultural Services, St Luke’s Church, Temple Road, Cowley, Oxford OX4 2HT, England; OXFUM, Arkell and Hope Libraries, Oxford University Museum of Natural History, Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3PW, England; TA, The Times archive, Gale database, accessed at various times in 2012; TNA, The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU, England (URL: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk); WI, Wellesley Index, Houghton et al. (1966-1989) (URL: www.wellesley.chadwyck.co.uk).

PARENTAGE, CHILDHOOD AND SCHOOLD

Little is known about Henry Fagan’s origins and childhood, presumably because of his disrupted family life and his Irish roots (many Irish records were destroyed in the Four Courts of Dublin in 1922 during the Civil War, and many Roman Catholic parish registers more generally, Bevan 2006). (Main sources: Boase and Courtney 1874-1882, vol. 3; Foster [1888]; Anon. 1890a; briefer notices in Daily News, 28 January 1890; Freeman's Journal, 28 January 1890 (two); Bristol Mercury, 29 January 1890; Guardian, 29 January 1890; The Times, 29 January 1890; Bath Chronicle, 30 January 1890; Graphic, 1 February 1890; Reynolds's Newspaper, 2 February 1890; Boase 1965; portraits in Tynan 1913, Symons 1934 and Wroughton 1982).

Henry's father, Captain Mitchell Henry Fagan (?c. 1780-1856) was a half-pay British Army officer 'of Dublin', of unknown parentage but apparently of Irish and perhaps County Dublin origin, who served in the 2nd Ceylon Regiment during the final conquest of Ceylon (today Sri Lanka) [AL; Boase 1965; date of birth from dc; census; FI]. His sole claim to fame is his account of remains of the deserted city of Topary (now Polannaruwa) (Fagan 1821, Godakumbura 1969). Henry's mother was Eliza Lucilla, née ?Evans (c.1794/1801-1860), also of uncertain origins but seemingly born in Dartmouth, Devon (dc; 1851 census; maiden name from Fl but uncertain). Henry was born on 3 June 1827, and baptised on 8 July, at Stroud, Gloucestershire, (bap. certificate, records for diaconal ordination on 22 December 1850, Oxford diocesan papers, OHC, Ms Joyce Brown, pers. comm. 28 November 2012). Henry's only known sibling, Lucilla, was born on 16 March 1830 and baptised on 30 April at Chelsea, near London.

Mitchell and Eliza Fagan's marriage is still untraced, if it ever existed. In any case, on 20 November 1836, and claiming to be a bachelor while Eliza was very much alive, Mitchell married Jane, widow of Lieutenant Edward Irving (c. 1809-1833) of the 61st Regiment, at All Souls, Marylebone, London (opr; Gentleman's Magazine, February 1837, 201; Champion and
Weekly Herald, January 22, 1837). This very English-sounding lady was born Adriana Cornelia Van Lynden (c. 1800/01-1851), a Burgher (Ceylon Dutch) aristocrat, daughter of the Assistant Collector of Customs in Jaffna. She was also the widow of John Walbeoff (or Wallbeoff) (1792-1831), the Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations in Ceylon, who had died while divorcing her for adultery (House of Lords 1831-1832). One might suspect that Mitchell’s decision had something to do with her £300 annual pension as Walbeoff’s widow (‘Colonial Pensions ... by the House of Commons, to be printed, 5 August 1840’, Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, 34).

Little is known about Eliza and her children thereafter, and nothing about the personal impact on Henry, but it seems likely that the split with Mitchell was permanent (although Lucilla featured in his will in 1856). It is known that Henry’s City of London School bills were sent to, and apparently paid by, ‘Mrs Fagan’ at 63 Ebury Place, Pimlico, London, from 1840 to 1847 (Register of Pupils, vol. 1, p. 61, and accounts Ledger B, archives, CLSA, Mr Terry Heard, archivist, pers. comm. to MAT 4 July 2013; presumably this Mrs Fagan was his mother Eliza, and not Jane Fagan – who in any case was living in Paddington at the time of the 1841 census). This Ledger entry was never altered, whereas others were amended as addresses changed, implying that she was at this address for most of this period. It is not known what role she had – as occupier, lodger, dependent family member, mistress, servant, or some other functionary such as a governess or tutor – or even whether she was actually resident there. During at least the later part of that timescale, someone there was involved in the provision of rented (and, where required, serviced) accommodation (which may or may not have included No 63 itself) for Members of Parliament and similar occupiers (Morning Post, 4 March 1844; The Times, 14 January 1845). However, as will be discussed in the conclusion, it is of considerable interest that one known occupant of No. 63 around 1844, or perhaps 1843, was the Irish Liberal MP, Edmund Burke Roche (1815-1874) (Cork Directory for 1844).

In the 1851 census Eliza was a ‘teacher’ living with Lucilla in Paddington, London. She died apparently intestate and without significant assets at her son’s rectory at Charlcombe on 11 July 1860 (dc; Freeman’s Journal, 17 July 1860; Gentleman’s Magazine, September 1860, 323). Eliza’s death certificate and notices show that Henry publicly regarded his parents as married, but there would have been considerable social pressure to do so given the stigma of illegitimacy. Interestingly, he failed to obtain a dispensation for illegitimacy for his diaconal ordination, although it is not clear whether the relevant rules were actually enforced (Maitland 1898, 55-56; OHC, see above; LRO records for his priesthood, see below, are incomplete in the relevant area).

Henry Fagan attended the City of London School from 1840 to 1846, boarding for at least some of his time there ([Fagan] 1883, 449-450; see also Taylor and Torrens 2014). He seems to have stayed, for at least some of his time there, with the family of the school’s outstanding headmaster, Dr George Ferris Whidborne Mortimer (1805-1871). A ‘Return’ was compiled by Thomas Brewer, the School’s Secretary, giving for each boy in the school on 31 July 1846 ‘Names, Residences and Callings of their Parents’ (Mr Terry Heard, archivist, CLSA, pers. comm. to MAT 16 July 2013). The entry for Henry Fagan gives the parent’s name as ‘Captain Fagan (deceased)’ [wrongly but no doubt conveniently!], with business or profession ‘Captain in E[ast] I[ndia] Service’ and then notes that Henry was ‘under the Guardianship of
and residing with The Revd Dr Mortimer, Head Master’. There were no boarders officially at the school from 1840 on, which implies that Fagan lived as part of the headmaster’s family in the school during term time. Presumably the Mortimers lived at their 72 Ecclestone Square house in the holidays; it is not known if Fagan stayed with them then. Boarding school can be a place to dump an inconvenient child, but it can also be a refuge from an unbearable home situation. It is not clear if Mortimer was Fagan’s legal guardian during holidays as well, but his role, and his highly respectable status, raise the possibility that he had been brought into a family dispute as a strong ally against Mitchell Fagan. It should also be noted that, in the 1841 census, Henry’s sister Lucilla was staying with the family of Mortimer’s colleague, the Headmaster of Christ’s Hospital, Dr Edward Rice (d. 1853) and his second wife Sophia (but neither Lucilla nor Henry were actual pupils there; Mr Clifford Jones, volunteer archivist, Christ’s Hospital, pers. comm., 2 November 2012).

Fagan plainly revered Mortimer ([Fagan] 1883), and named his eldest son Henry Mortimer Fagan. Mortimer had previously been headmaster of the Western Grammar School (or Western Proprietary School) in Brompton, near Chelsea (Lupton and Curthoys 2004). Perhaps Fagan had been a pupil there, and followed Mortimer when he moved. It is also possible that the families knew each other before Fagan began at the City of London School. Mortimer and his wife Jane née Gordon had had two children baptised at the same church as Lucilla. Moreover, Jane Mortimer was related to William Moir (d. 1860), paymaster in Mitchell Fagan’s old regiment, through her parents, whose cousin was Moir’s son Stratton, known to have been in London about this time (ALS; Sherborne Mercury, 14 June 1830; Newcastle Magazine, July 1830, 336; Morning Post, 23 April 1842; Lewis 1913, 263; Allison 1976; see also Taylor and Torrens 2014, and Taylor 2014 MS.). It is even possible that Eliza Fagan was herself related to the Mortimers, given her (apparently) Devonian origins in Dartmouth, though this is too far from the Mortimers’ origins in Teignmouth for much weight to be put on it.

The decision to send Henry Fagan to the City of London School was seemingly justified. The school was based on an endowment of 1442 but had just been re-established by Act of Parliament in 1834, and opened in 1837, with a progressive curriculum adapting the traditional classical curriculum for the needs of commerce (The Times, 27 July 1844; Athenaeum 2291, 23 September 1871, 403; Anon. 1879; [Fagan] 1883; Douglas-Smith 1965; Lupton and Curthoys 2004). Thanks partly to the Second Master, Robert P. Edkins (d. 1854), the school had a record of producing outstanding mathematicians, contributing to success in Oxford and Cambridge university entrance. Academic standards were high, with the best mathematics teaching in England, as recalled by another alumnus, Edwin A. Abbott, mathematician, author of the two-dimensional satire Flatland, and Mortimer’s successor as headmaster (Stewart 2002, Farnell and Jann 2004-2005). The sciences received more attention than usual for the time, with ‘natural philosophy’ (i.e. physics) and ‘geography and natural history’, and practical chemistry demonstrations; hands-on practical chemistry came just after Fagan’s time, when William H. Perkin (1838-1907), of later mauve dye fame, was a pupil (Douglas-Smith 1965, 83; Travis 2004). Fagan could of course have taken other opportunities. For instance, the public Gresham College lectures were held in the School during 1840-1842, pending the building of the new College, and they included lectures in
astronomy and ‘physic’ (medicine), though not, apparently, geology (Standard, 3 November 1840; Examiner, 5 November 1842; Morning Post, 28 October 1843).

Fagan was a star pupil, winning a Salomon’s Scholarship, regularly chosen to give Latin, Greek and French declamations on speech days, and latterly becoming captain of the school (The Times, 26 July 1842, 31 July 1843, 27 July 1844, 26 July 1845, and 19 March 1847; Standard, 26 July 1842). His Oxford scholarship, highly prestigious for such a new school, was duly marked in the newspapers (Daily News, 1 August 1846 and 15 June 1850) and in an official report to the Court of Common Council of the City of London (Anon. 1846).

UNIVERSITY

Fagan continued this fine academic career at Pembroke College, University of Oxford, matriculating in December 1845 after winning the first Francis Wightwick Scholarship, newly founded by a descendant of one of the College’s co-founders (Ms Amanda Ingram, Archivist, Pembroke College, pers. comm. 2012; Macleane 1897, 1900). Fagan’s mathematical skills would have been welcome, for Bartholomew Price (1818-1898), an ‘inspiring teacher’ and one of Oxford’s key mathematicians, was a Fellow at Pembroke (Hannabuss 2000, 449, 2011). He won the University prize of a Junior Mathematical Scholarship in 1847 (The Times, 19 March 1847), and achieved a first class in mathematics but only a second in classics for his BA degree in 1850 (The Times, 28 May and 5 June 1850). Was Fagan thinking of himself when he remarked on the somewhat artificial life at the City of London school and how a boy from there ‘should have fallen wholly idle when at Oxford the pressure of frequent examinations was taken off’ ([Fagan] 1883, p. 450)? In those last few years before the 1850s reforms, the BA was still the traditional one based on the classics (including history and philosophy), combined with mathematics as a subordinate but important element, and a test of Anglican religious doctrine (University of Oxford 1848, 117-118; Walsh 2000). Finally, Fagan became Francis Wightwick Fellow at Pembroke College from 1850 to 1852, taking his MA degree in 1852 (Morning Post, 5 November 1852).

Fagan’s record as a scholarship boy leaves open the possibility that his separated parents were unable or unwilling to support him (see above). It is relevant that Pembroke was a poor college unfashionable with wealthy landowning families, which lessened peer pressure on undergraduates to spend, and that its Master from 1844 to 1864, Francis Jeune (1806-1868), sought to reduce living charges (Curthoys 1997b, Ward 1997).

FAGAN AND SCIENCE

The possibility that Fagan was short of money as an undergraduate makes it additionally interesting that he paid the fee of 2 guineas (£2 2s, roughly £400-500 in 2013 pounds) for a course of geological lectures by the famous geological Professor William Buckland (1784-1856) (register for course beginning 20 April 1847, OXFUM Buckland Miscellaneous Mss. 13), later recalling an explanation of the formation of what are now understood to be dinosaur footprints –

to see the old Dean tuck his arms behind him, lifting his gown up into a sort of cock’s tail, and walk across the lecture-room foot before foot as a fowl walks, explaining
thereby the fact that the big foot prints on the Massachusetts sandstone flags are in single lines, and not in truth as are the tracks of men and apes, and bears, and that, therefore, the creature who made them was a big bird [...] (Fagan 1878, 769).

Those lectures were optional and irrelevant to the final examinations, unless by luck a chunk of Buckland’s providential geology could be worked into a classical composition or an answer on natural theology.

Taylor and Torrens (2014) discuss the implications of this course, and the wider issue of Fagan’s interest in science. They noted that Fagan seems to have been supportive of science as a headmaster, and in his general civic duties as a parish minister, but also that it is not clear that he was particularly unusual in this. Indeed, his main obituarist fails to mention any personal scientific interest (Anon. 1890a). I now make some additional comments and notes to complement Taylor and Torrens (2014).

Fagan is not known to have had a personal geological collection of his own (the comments he makes on fossil prices in one article may relate to acquisitions for his school, Taylor and Torrens 2014). There were no geological specimens alongside the ethnographical and antiquarian objects he lent to an exhibition of the St Just Polytechnic Institute which featured a number of geological items from other lenders, and yet anything from his past domiciles in the Midlands or West Country would have been of real interest there in geologically different Cornwall (Cornishman, 29 December 1881; Royal Cornwall Gazette, 30 December 1881). Tynan’s account of the Norfolk household, admittedly much later in his life (1913), does not mention any geological contents. Finally, Fagan seems to have published very little on science, and that only in the popular journals, such as a piece on evolutionary thought which gave a fairly open-minded account of some recent research and fossil finds (Fagan 1878), and a single review of a book on the flora of New Zealand (Fagan 1889). However, this last probably reflects his horticultural interests more than anything else; Fagan was president of the St Just Horticultural Society and planted shrubs and trees in the churchyard there (Royal Cornwall Gazette, 11 September 1875; Cornishman, 27 November 1879).

This pattern is borne out by Fagan’s known society memberships. While still at Oxford, Fagan joined the Ashmolean Natural History Society, the main informal society for Oxfordshire, on 11 November 1850 (Abstracts of the Proceedings of the Ashmolean Society, vol. 2, 264), but this was seemingly an exception. The admittedly patchy published lists show very little evidence for his later society memberships. The Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, not far from Market Bosworth, did not publish membership lists (Dr Mark Evans, Leicester Museum, pers. comm. 1 August 2012), losing its original early minutes book (Transactions, part 1 (1876), 2), and later publishing retrospectively what it could find, over 1876-1884, in a volume which only lists members for 1837 and 1838. Their printed Transactions for 1851-1858 appear to have no reference to Fagan. However, a retrospective comment was made (part 5, for 1850-1855, pub. 1879, 165) that there were ‘fourteen Literary Societies and Mechanics’ Institutes in the County’ in January 1853, when they formed a County Union of such institutions, so perhaps Fagan was more likely to join a society closer to home, such as the Burton one to whom he delivered some talks as noted below.
The situation in Bath is rather clearer. Fagan did not join the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, which annually listed members in their *Proceedings*, and he is not in the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club’s lists for 1865 and 1869, published in the first volume of their *Proceedings*. It is not known if Fagan was a member of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, which had a fine geological museum. He did deliver at least two papers there, on the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland, noted below, and another on the Bayeux, Cherbourg and Coutances area (*Bath Chronicle*, 7 November 1861, and 8 and 15 February 1866). However, those were under the aegis of the Bath Literary and Philosophical Association, revived in 1856, and a separate operation from the Institution, which acted simply as a venue (Peach 1888, 182). By 1871, and presumably for some time before, the Association held fortnightly meetings, when papers were read on literary and scientific subjects, followed by tea and then discussion.

Fagan did join the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall in Penzance, but only for a single year around 1880, his arm perhaps twisted by his Pembroke contemporary Prebendary Hedgeland (Taylor and Torrens 2014). In terms of national societies, Fagan does not come up on an online search of the Geological Society of London’s publications, including formal membership business, and he was never in the Geologists’ Association (published lists for 1873 and 1882, and Association archives, Ms Sarah Stafford, pers. comm. 8 March 2013).

However, Fagan did lend his support to more general educational movements and to the inclusion of science in them. As well as the events noted by Taylor and Torrens (2014), he is recorded as giving a set of three lectures on astronomy at Burton upon Trent under the aegis of the Burton Literary Society (*Derby Mercury*, 14 December 1853). At Bath, he supported the 1864 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, for which the Grammar School was one such venue (Anon. 1864, discussed by Taylor and Torrens 2014). In St Just, Cornwall, as well as presiding over the occasional scientific talk at the local Mechanics’ Institute (or Literary Institution – the reports are not always clear) (e.g. *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 1 March 1873, 3 March 1882), Fagan was evidently willing to be the chairman of the (presumably) Mechanics’ Institute’s scientific committee, and once gave a speech at a prize-giving and handing out of certificates, advising the recipients to work for the love of science, to achieve success in life and gain its ‘beneficial influences on their intellectual and moral nature’ (*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 25 November 1876). He was also sometime President of the St Just Mechanics’ Institute (*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 22 January 1876).

One other possible, though perhaps unlikely, link with the fossils of Lyme Regis is Fagan’s Oxford contemporary Henry Parry Liddon (1829–1890), Church of England clergyman and High Church Oxford don and theologian. Liddon came from a family in Colyton in Devon not far from Lyme. He was educated at George Roberts’s school in Lyme Regis (Chandler 2004, Powell 2008), where he would have known Mary Anning, and where he had been encouraged to take an interest in geology, though his biography shows no evidence that this interest lasted far into adulthood (Johnston 1904: 4, 14), and he does not appear to have attended Buckland’s lectures (register noted above; Ms K. Santry, OXFUM, pers. comm. 8 February 2012). Liddon was a contemporary of Fagan’s at Oxford, attending Christ Church. Like Fagan, he graduated in 1850 and was a high-flyer who did well academically, so perhaps
they knew each other there. However, Liddon was decidedly High Church in contrast to Fagan, at least in later life.

EARLY CAREER

Fagan is not known to have done any original work as a Fellow of Pembroke College. This is unremarkable, for expectations of research and teaching were minimal until the reforms of the later 1850s. Rather, such a fellowship was a reward for academic success, often used as a comfortable billet till a Church of England living came up, or to launch a professional career (Engel 1983; Leach 1994; Curthoys 1997a). Fagan was amongst the few Oxford graduates who went into school-teaching (about 3% of those matriculated in 1848-9). Ordination was a valuable qualification for the more desirable positions (Curthoys 1997b), and Fagan did not lose much time in being ordained deacon by the Bishop of Oxford on 22 December 1850 and priest by the Bishop of Lichfield on 6 June 1852, once he had attained the minimum ages of 23 and 24 respectively (Blunt 1866, II, 545; Oxford diocesan papers, OHC, Ms Joyce Brown, pers. comm. 28 November 2012; Lichfield diocesan records B/A/10c/24, LRO, Mr Andrew George, Principal Archivist, pers. comm. 5 November 2012; Standard, 24 December 1850; Morning Post, 10 June 1852).

Fagan seemingly chose early on to become a schoolmaster. It is likely that he had been influenced by his experiences as a star pupil in a cutting-edge school with such a fine headmaster as Mortimer, in whose steps he seemingly aspired to follow. But Francis Jeune, Master of Pembroke during Fagan’s residence, was almost certainly another major influence. This is further discussed in the conclusion; for now, it should be noted that Jeune had been a successful headmaster of the reinvigorated King Edward’s School, Birmingham, whose head in the early 1850s was Edward Hamilton Gifford, another Pembroke man (Macleane 1897, 470). It is perhaps no coincidence that Fagan’s first appointment was as Assistant English Master at this reputable grammar school, on 26 February 1851; however, he stayed so briefly that he does not appear in school histories (Governors’ Order Book, and printed School Lists for June and December 1851, Ms Alison Wheatley, Archivist, pers. comm. 26 February 2013; Birmingham Gazette, 17 February 1851; Hutton 1952; Boardman 1990; Trott 1992). Within months, Fagan became headmaster of Burton-on-Trent Grammar School (Morning Post, 14 July 1851; though barely appearing in its history, Radford 1973). He then became headmaster of the grammar school at Market Bosworth, Leicestershire in 1855 (Leicester Chronicle, 13 January 1855; Hopewell, 1950), after being shortlisted for the school at Newark (Nottinghamshire Guardian, 25 May 1854). Finally he became headmaster of Bath Grammar School in 1858, for which Jeune had given him a reference (Bath Chronicle, 7 October 1858).

The City of London School, and King Edward’s Grammar School at Birmingham, were fine schools. But most English grammar schools were very different. Many were ancient foundations with management structures as antiquated and ramshackle as their buildings, and whose reform was blocked by vested interests until central government forced it through in the 1860s. The City of London School might have had proper classrooms, but Bath still had the traditional large room in which several forms were taught at once, though Market Bosworth had two smaller rooms beside its main schoolroom (Seaborne 1971, 172-173, 181-
185, pls. 150, 156; Wroughton 1982). Moreover, grammar schools’ traditional role, of bringing pupils to university entrance level, emphasised academic ability. Unsurprisingly, Fagan preferred this emphasis, especially in such a polite city as Bath (to which he could also try and attract boarders, with the income and social cachet that they brought) (Bath Chronicle 30 December 1869; Wroughton 1982). However, university entrance level education implied some social acceptability and family wealth. Yet many schools had shifted emphasis to provide a much elementary education to local children, inevitably of lower social status. Market Bosworth had effectively become two conjoint schools, the ‘grammar school’ with about six pupils, and a basic ‘English school’ with several dozen, and Fagan’s attempt to enforce his authority over both led to a dispute, with the Trustees refusing him a reference for his next position (Leicester Chronicle, 30 June 1860; Hopewell 1950).

Bath also suffered from obsolete management structures and facilities, and conflicting aims (Schools Inquiry Commission 1868a, especially 93-95, 1868b, 175-185 and 249-263; Symons 1934, Wroughton 1982). The school was just one of the charities overseen by the Bath Charity Trustees, and was more directly affected by local politics than a private school might be. It had recently suffered a long and debilitating lawsuit in Chancery which imposed a rigid management plan. There were conflicts due to the unreformed government of the school, tensions between different social groups of parents, and disagreements amongst the Trustees about the management of the school as well as the supporting charitable assets, no doubt further confounded by wider local politics. A factor unique to the Bath Grammar School was that reporters attended all meetings of the Bath Trustees. The most minor disagreements were magnified in the local newspapers, as a former master (seemingly in sympathy with Fagan) pointed out to the Schools Inquiry Commission of the 1860s, which saw fit to print his letter in their official report (Schools Inquiry Commission 1868a, 93-95). The press sometimes indulged in personal attacks, such as portraying Fagan as a combative Irishman lacking common sense, in a controversy over corporal punishment (editorial, Bath Chronicle, 16 October 1862). Fagan was also attacked by factions within the Trustees themselves, as well as more widely in Bath, on one occasion for nothing more than following instructions to carry on his predecessor’s practice (and, probably not coincidentally, following Mortimer’s at the City of London School) of avoiding specifically Anglican doctrine in religious teaching, in order not to exclude the non-Anglican pupils such as nonconformists (Bath Chronicle 31 March, 5, 12 and 19 April 1860; Athenaeum 2291, 23 September 1871, 403). Other disputes centred on Fagan’s disagreements with his second master, his alleged inability to maintain discipline, and neglect of the school at times during the day, but it is clear that some of this arose from the division of authority and responsibility within the school (Western Daily Press, 21 December 1864 and 4 January 1865, Bath Chronicle 29 December 1864 and 5 January 1865). The root problem was seemingly the failure of the Trustees to work together as a body, to accept their responsibility to support Fagan, to delegate to him authority commensurate with his responsibility, and to refrain from undermining him, sometimes on very petty grounds; hostile Trustees once demanded an inquiry into the unspecified misbehaviour one evening of a ‘lady visitor’ to his family, before conceding, grudgingly, that no action need be taken against him (Bath Chronicle, 2 July, 8 October and 12 November 1868).
A major problem was that the Trustees would not give Fagan the powers to choose and direct his staff, and to select new pupils. Under Fagan, ‘the boys [...] who chose to work had no reason to question his ability and readiness to equip them with scholarly pursuits’ (Symons 1934, 342-343). Yet the Trustees admitted pupils from poor families with the aim of providing free basic schooling. Whether this was to help the families, or to exert political patronage, this led to mixed standards, aspirations and motivations, making teaching very difficult and upsetting the more aspirational parents who wanted their children to go to university. Fagan did eventually obtain a higher degree of selection, and better maintenance of standards of work and attendance (Wroughton 1982), but seemingly never fully resolved those issues before he left (Bath Chronicle, 8 July 1869).

Fagan was clearly mildly progressive as a headmaster. He paid attention to modern languages (Symons 1934, 342-343), and maintained science teaching. Fagan even offered prizes for the best collections of ferns, flowers and shells, as well as eggs and insects, and a special prize for fossils on one occasion (Wroughton 1982, 92; Bath Chronicle, 24 December 1868; Western Daily Press, 22 December 1862). But he was not necessarily particularly exceptional. Henry Jefferson, the headmaster at Kingswood School from 1855 to 1865, took boys geologising and botanising, for instance (Hastling et al. 1898, 289). The reports of the Schools Inquiry Commission do not make any special mention of science at Bath other than noting the optional lectures in physics and chemistry (Schools Inquiry Commission 1868a, 27, 1868b). But, as with all else, Fagan had to work within the constraints imposed on him.

Symons (1934, 355) asserted that there was no evidence that Fagan took interest in the boys’ conduct or games out of school hours. This criticism is perhaps irrelevant to a day school before the rise of the later 19th century ‘public schools’, which were total institutions which sought to control their pupils’ whole lives. But, in any case, the school lacked sporting facilities of its own, though the boys did make use of what could be rented (Wroughton 1982). And when Fagan proposed moving out of the city centre, to a healthier site on higher ground on Lansdown, with room for sport, the Trustees knocked him back with the excuse that it would be inconvenient for some children, and because of the supposed difficulty of seeking permission from the Court of Chancery (Western Daily Press, 19 May 1862; Bath Chronicle, 22 May 1862).

The Bath headmastership was linked to the living of nearby Charlcombe parish. This gave a total income of some £1000 annually (The Times, 11 October 1858), plus any income from boarders. There was a major ‘restoration’ in 1861, supervised by the architect Giles Gilbert Scott (1811-1878), but the current church booklet does not mention any involvement by Fagan (Frewer and Machin 2008).

Despite the substantial perquisites, it is clear that, by 1870, Fagan had enough of Bath. Fagan himself evidently found the city centre school a stressful place to live, and had to live on Lansdown for health grounds for a spell, while later on he sought to reside at Charlcombe (Bath Chronicle, 14 March and 3 October 1867; Wroughton 1982). He used his health to justify his proposal, some time by May 1870, to exchange Charlcombe and the headmastership with the Rev. John R. McDowell, incumbent of St Just-in-Penwith in Cornwall, and the exchange was formally confirmed in August, with both in their new posts by the end of that month. St Just was the most westerly town in England, with about half the income of
Fagan’s Bath benefice (1868 values, not counting the house, [Polsue] 1868, vol. 2, 289; Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1868; Western Gazette, 13 May 1870; West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser, 11 August 1870; Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, 19 August 1870; Royal Cornwall Gazette, Saturday 27 August 1870). How Fagan wangled this doubtless had something to do with McDowell being Irish (a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Burtchaell and Sadleir 1924, 533), and with the fact that Philip Hedgeland (1825-1911), Vicar of nearby Penzance and, from 1868, Prebendary of Exeter, had been a Pembroke contemporary – and indeed coauditor of Buckland’s lectures (Maclean 1897; Courtney 1911; Taylor and Torrens 2014).

Perhaps Fagan had finally admitted to himself that he was in the wrong job. The school's historians – one a later Headmaster – describe Fagan ‘by temperament unsuited for the headship of a school’ and his headmastership as a time of friction with Trustees and undermasters (Symons 1934, 354; Wroughton 1982). For all his academic credentials Fagan apparently lacked the ability to deal with people, including boys, that is so important for a headmaster. His disputes with subordinates, often in front of the boys, certainly suggest a lack of self-control. These disputes were unnecessarily and fatally public, especially when he lost control of himself and of the situation. Fagan also disagreed with Trustees, even in public such as at a speech day. But, in justice to Fagan, the record was plainly distorted by the local newspapers’ lavish reporting of the school’s problems.

More fundamentally, the Trustees are to be blamed for putting Fagan, as they did his predecessors and successor, in an impossible position. Their incompetence is, ironically, shown by their apparently being in such haste to be rid of Fagan that they did not bother to scrutinise McDowell’s candidature properly, with disastrous results even before McDowell fell ill and died in 1874 (Symonds 1934; Wroughton 1982). The school was, in any case, already in difficulties before Fagan’s time, and during the actions taken by central government as a result of the work of the Schools Inquiry Commission, it was formally downgraded in 1872, and taken out of the hands of the Charity Trustees and entrusted to a new Board of Governors for the school alone.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Fagan’s post at Burton on Trent Grammar School evidently enabled him to marry Emily Kinnier at St James, Paddington, London, on 22 July 1851 (Gentleman’s Magazine, October 1851, 423), and to resign his Oxford fellowship, with its condition of celibacy. A wife would be a great help on the domestic side of running a school, especially when there were boarders to generate income. Emily (b. 12 March 1827, bap. 27 April 1827 at St Leonard’s, Shoreditch, London) was the eldest daughter of ‘James Kinnier, Esq., MD, of New York’, (c.??1797-1874), and Elizabeth Kinnier. This exotic-sounding physician was in fact an East End of London doctor from Co. Monaghan, and probably an Ulster Scot and Protestant, given his children’s names and his training at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh (MD Glasgow 1814; age from 1841 census; Addison 1898, 313, 1913, 239; Kinnier 1833; Edinburgh University archives, Ms Denise Anderson, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library, pers. comm. 29 April 2013; censuses; London or London and Provincial Medical Directory for 1845 to 1850; Morning Post, 7 February 1835; Taylor 2014 MS.). Kinnier
had latterly sold up to his partner, but breached the agreement to move his new practice beyond the specified distance. This led to something of a test case for contract law in which Kinnier had £1000 damages awarded against him (*London Gazette*, 4 February 1848, 428; *London Medical Gazette* 45, 129 and 167-168; *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, 6 February 1850, 84; *Lancet* 1 for 1850, 101, 161). It seems unlikely that Kinnier paid. On 22 January, a few days after final judgement, he was departing Liverpool on the US ship *Jamestown* for New York (*Daily News*, 12 January 1850; *Morning Chronicle*, 23 January and 12 February 1850). The Kinniers were in New York for the 1 June 1850 census, so Emily had to recross the Atlantic to marry Henry at St James, Paddington, London, on 22 July 1851 (*Gentleman’s Magazine*, October 1851, 423).

Henry and Emily had eleven known children, three daughters and eight sons, from 1852 to c. 1869 (listed in Taylor 2014 MS.). Four children died before their time. Two deaths were at Bath/Charlcombe: James Christopher (1863-1868) as a child and Emily Lucilla (1852-1867) as a teenager (MIs at Charlcombe; *Somerset County Gazette*, 10 August 1867). Henry Mortimer (1854-1880), Anglican curate at Pakenham, Suffolk, committed suicide due to severe depression when staying at Brighton with his mother (*Cornishman*, 16 December 1880), and the literary and poetical Charles Gregory (c.1860-1885), who took a First at Oxford died in India where he was Principal of Kerala Vidya Sala College (*Cornishman*, 1 October 1885; O’Donoghue 1892-1893, 70-71) - this last loss in particular a ‘heavy blow’ to Fagan (Anon. 1890a).

At his church of Charlcombe on 6 August 1860, Fagan officiated at the marriage of Charles Grant Walker of the Madras Civil Service, to Catherine Jane Cusworth (c. 1839-1861) (*Leicester Journal*, 22 June 1855, Foster [1888], vol. 4, 1483; *Morning Post*, 9 August 1860; *Bath Chronicle*, 9 August 1860). Walker was son of the Methodist minister Edward Walker (1800-1879) and had been a past star pupil of Fagan’s at Bosworth, with a fine performance in the Indian Civil Service examinations (*Critic*, 18 August 1860, 206; *Gentleman’s Magazine* October 1860, 425). Catherine was the daughter of Joseph Cusworth (1787-1857), another Wesleyan Methodist minister and Governor (i.e. managing head) of Kingswood School for the sons of Wesleyan clergy, which had moved to Charlcombe (*Hastling et al.* 1898, 168, 235, 287; *Ives* 1970). She died of cholera in Coimbatore on 21 December 1861 (*Argus* [Melbourne], 25 April 1862). Charles married again, this time to Fagan’s sister Lucilla on 9 September 1863 at Madras (*Standard*, 21 October 1863; *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 24 October 1863; *Gentleman’s Magazine*, November 1863, 635). Charles and Lucilla were on furlough in Bath when Lucilla died on 11 August 1867 (dc; *Western Daily Press*, 26 July and 14 August 1867; *Bath Chronicle*, 15 August 1867; *Morning Post*, 14 August 1867; *Hampshire Advertiser*, 17 August 1867; *Somerset County Gazette*, 17 August 1867). (This was ascribed to ‘disease of the heart and liver 7 weeks’ but in fact the reports of a stillbirth or perinatal baby’s death some time into the 7 weeks suggest some condition such as eclampsia or scarlet fever leading to a stillbirth and puerperal fever – the gynaecological elements suppressed in the resulting death certificate as usually happened in those days, Jalland 1986. The timing of her niece Emily’s death is also close and an examination of her death certificate might be of interest.) Charles was Under-Secretary to the Government of Madras when he died of ‘consumption’ on 14 July
1869 on medical leave in Melbourne, Australia (Argus [Melbourne], 17 July 1869; Jackson’s Oxford Journal, 11 September 1869; Allen’s Indian Mail, 22 September 1869).

COUNTRY PARSON AND AUTHOR, 1870-1890

Fagan now took up the traditional Oxford graduate career of country parson - as, of course, he had been at Charlcombe. Moreover, while at Bath in the mid-1860s, Fagan started a third concurrent career as a literary man, perhaps for relaxation, but perhaps also planning ahead for when he left Bath. I do not attempt to list Fagan’s substantial output of periodical articles, reviews, ‘letters to the editor’ in newspapers, and occasional poems, which must have numbered in at least the low hundreds when those which were anonymous and now untraceable are taken into account. Fagan’s writings are known to have appeared in, Academy, Antiquary, Belgravia, Blackwood’s, British Quarterly Review, Churchman’s Shilling Magazine, Contemporary Review, Dark Blue, Examiner, Fortnightly Review, Fraser’s, Gentleman’s Magazine, Good Words, London Society, Macmillan’s, National Review, St James’s Magazine, Temple Bar, and Time (WI and BP, including variants and errors such as ‘H. S. F.’, ‘Eagan’ and ‘Pagan’; Boase and Courtney 1874-1882, vol. 3, 1178; [Fagan] 1865, 1871, 1876, 1883; others identifiable by mentions in newspapers, e.g. Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, 5 February 1869 and 11 February 1870). Fagan also wrote letters and articles for newspapers, notably the Graphic, an illustrated weekly edited by his Pembroke College contemporary Arthur Locker (Maclean 1897, 236), which published a series of pieces on Ireland in 1882, and commissioned the further trip when Fagan was caught up in Blunt’s arrest (see below; Tynan 1913, 120). Fagan published few if any books other than pamphlets, apart from two short religious works which appear to be transcripts of sermons (Fagan 1862a, 1862b). The former has not been seen by me but the latter is entirely a work of social theology on such matters as the ‘clergy not being justified in declaiming against such worldly amusements’. Perhaps his most readable pieces today are his travel pieces, such as those on rambles in Wiltshire and Somerset, and his Cornish pieces, as well as accounts of travels on the Continent (e.g. [Fagan] 1865, 1866, 1871, 1874, 1876, 1879; see also Taylor and Torrens 2014). They should however be used with caution, in view of the highly critical assessment of his piece on Mary Anning ([Fagan] 1865) by Taylor and Torrens (2014).

In 1882, Fagan became rector of Great Cressingham with Bodney near Thetford in Norfolk, which was rather more lucrative than St Just (about £800 a year in 1882-1885, not counting house, Royal Cornwall Gazette, 3 February and 12 May 1882; Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1885). It also had a much smaller population; perhaps Fagan was getting old (or more involved in his writings) and welcomed the reduced workload. He was, at least at this time, absent-minded and unpunctual (Tynan 1913), and on one occasion had to be fetched by train from a nearby town when he forgot he was booked to officiate at a funeral (Bury and Norwich Post, 10 January 1888). One also wonders about the impact of the deaths of four children. Fagan died on 24 January 1890 of bronchopneumonia and septicaemia, aged 63, at Great Cressingham and was buried at Bodney (dc; Anon. 1890a). He was intestate, leaving, rather surprisingly for the father of a large family, £4,434 - about 4-5 years’ parochial income, so perhaps his writing was lucrative. Emily died in London on 1 May 1923, aged 96.
St Just-in-Penwith was a small town, with a mixed economy of farmers, miners, and fishermen, providing a good base for the various recreational and improving institutions, societies and events such as horticultural shows, in many of which Fagan was involved. He was, for instance, sometime President of the St Just Horticultural Society and President of the Literary Institution and, separately, of the Mechanics’ Institute at St Just, and a supporter of the St Just Polytechnic Society (Cornishman, 23 January 1879, and 13 January and 15 September 1881; Royal Cornwall Gazette, 11 September 1875 and 16 September and 30 December 1881). Fagan was also involved in the usual church-related organizations such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Cornishman, 13 November 1879), and the local school board, though in this latter the other denominations also insisted on representation, and further research might confirm the preliminary indications that Fagan had significant problems here (e.g. Royal Cornwall Gazette, 26 June 1875 and 24 June 1881; Cornishman, 14 November 1878). A reading of newspaper databases (BN and BNA) suggests that Fagan’s involvement in such things was much reduced in Norfolk. This might of course be due to the relative newspaper coverages, and (as will be discussed below) his political activities. But there was probably genuinely less activity, Great Cressingham being overwhelmingly agricultural with a much smaller population dominated by landowners, farmers, and labourers.

Fagan’s obituary claimed that he had a ‘far more intimate acquaintance than most country clergymen [… with] the mining and fisher-folk of Cornwall, and [with] the peasantry of East Anglia’, to all of whom ‘his sympathies extended’ (Anon. 1890a). A family friend, however, gives a rather different picture of Norfolk: ‘the tragedy of the country parson […] a fellow of his Oxford college, a scholar, a poet, an artist, sensitive, impressionable, ardent […] getting up in the pulpit every Sunday to address a few yokels […]? He was not understood nor beloved of his folk nor did he love it. Often he used to sigh for the Cornish Celts, with whom he had been happy’ (Tynan 1913, 141).

CHURCH POLITICS

By career, education and family, including marriage to the daughter of an Ulster Scot, Fagan was impeccably Protestant. He was Anglican by training at Oxford and by career, and firmly in favour of the Established Church (Cornishman, 5 June 1879), and, although politically Liberal, argued against the Liberal leader Gladstone’s proposed disestablishment of the [Anglican] Church of Ireland against the mood of a rowdy public meeting in Bath (Western Daily Press, 4 April 1868; Bath Chronicle, 9 April 1868; also later in Norfolk, Hampshire Advertiser, 5 December 1885).

The Church of England was and is notoriously broad. Where did Fagan fit? Fagan was evidently ecumenically minded, but in an even-handed way. He spoke at a St Just Methodist meeting (Royal Cornwall Gazette, 9 March 1872). He deplored splits within the churches at an Easter service to which he invited the Salvation Army (then distrusted by some as disruptive Evangelicals) (Cornishman, 13 April 1882). He also deplored, and encouraged collections for the victims of, sectarian rioting in Birmingham in 1867, and anti-Irish and anti-Catholic riots in Cornwall in 1870 (John Bull, 6 July 1867; Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette, 11 July 1867; Royal Cornwall Gazette, 28 April 1882). Punch lazily assumed, partly from his Irish name, that he
was a sympathiser with Roman Catholicism, and attacked him for it, and Fagan was unwise enough to rise to the bait and receive a second dose of abuse as a ‘pseudo-papistical coxcomb’ (vol. 43, 93 and 145, 6 September and 4 October 1862; see Fig. 2). In fact, in his own words Fagan was ‘neither High Church nor Romanist’, and also disavowed the evangelical Low Church, or at least its Biblical-literalist, anti-evolutionary tendency (Fagan 1878, 764). This is notably consistent with his presence in the miserably small audience for Buckland’s geological lectures in the late 1840s, when the climate of Oxford University was dominated by right-wing Anglicanism and hostility to science (Brock 1997; Nockles 1997; Rupke 1997; Taylor and Torrens 2014).

There is a particularly interesting comment in a report on clerical supporters for Irish home rule (Pall Mall Gazette, 3 March 1888), which described Fagan as neither Broad nor High Church, nor Evangelical, but one of the ‘prominent men of the “new school” of Christian socialists’ alongside such as William Tuckwell (1829–1919), ‘self-styled radical parson’ (Whyte 2006). This would be to use the term ‘Christian socialist’ in its contemporary meaning, in the sense of Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), who held that to be a good Christian meant that one had to be involved in politics and reform (Vance 2009). Fagan was not as radical as Tuckwell, except insofar as Irish Home Rule seemed radical to some. But it is possible to compare him to Kingsley in their Liberal politics, positive attitude to science, and advocacy of progressive policies. Fagan mediated at a miners’ meeting to discuss grievances (Royal Cornwall Gazette, 30 December 1871), commented publicly on distress in West Cornwall (Royal Cornwall Gazette, 23 November 1877), and suggested spending public money to alleviate poverty around St Just, not on dole but improvements which provided employment (Cornishman, 2 January 1879; also 13 February 1879). In a call for wider reform of public health legislation, Fagan publicly criticised St Just’s sanitation – and effectively therefore its landlords and vestry board - in a London newspaper (Pall Mall Gazette, 13 January 1872; Royal Cornwall Gazette, 20 January 1872). And when Fagan lectured on Kingsley himself to the Institution at St Just, ‘the lecturer’s well-known broad and liberal views enabled him to sympathise with his subject’ and he ‘very highly commended [Kingsley’s] theology, his composition, his sanitary notions and his muscular Christianity’. Appropriately, Fagan lamented the deterioration of the Plain an Gwary, St Just’s amphitheatre for traditional Cornish wrestling (Royal Cornwall Gazette, 23 November 1877).

LIBERAL POLITICS AND THE IRISH QUESTION

Fagan was active in the Liberal Party, at least in Norfolk, being sometime President of the Liberal Association at Swaffham (e.g. Bury and Norwich Post, 25 January 1887). His connections may well have dated from Pembroke College times given Jeune’s links to the Liberal leader William Gladstone (or, as we will see, from even earlier). They were perhaps deployed during his 1870 and 1882 changes of parish, both livings being in the gift of the then Liberal-held post of Lord Chancellor.

It is probably no coincidence that Fagan’s activity in the Liberals was at a time when Ireland was dominating politics, with the Irish Republican Brotherhood’s bombing campaign in Britain, and Gladstone’s intensely controversial espousal of Home Rule. Fagan was always interested – obsessed would perhaps be just as accurate - by Ireland. Its history, culture,
domestic productions, and current affairs always featured in his writings. His wife was of Irish origins, and his replacement at Bath was Irish. Even at Bath, his opinionated lecture on the Cromwellian settlement had provoked what was, perhaps tactfully, reported as an ‘animated discussion’ (Bath Chronicle, 8 and 15 February 1866), his involvement in the debate on Irish disestablishment has already been noted above, and he published trenchant reviews of books on Irish matters (Fagan 1867, 1873, [Fagan] 1869). Now, in the 1880s, Fagan piled into the Irish controversies (e.g. Fagan 1886, 1887a, 1887b; criticism of the evictions at Glenbeigh, Pall Mall Gazette, 15 January 1887). Fagan was on the platform at the notorious anti-eviction meeting at Woodford, co. Galway, in 1887, where the chief speaker, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, was arrested, and Fagan was a witness at the trial (Standard, 26 and 27 October 1887). No wonder Pembroke College’s historian mischievously recalled Fagan as ‘a very able man, of somewhat explosive Home Rule opinions’ (Maclean 1897, 481-482).

The Irish writer Katharine Tynan (1859-1931; married surname Hinkson) had been in love with Fagan’s son Charles, and remained a great family friend after Charles’s early death. Her memoirs give a valuable portrait of Fagan late in life, especially as she was a Parnellite Home Ruler who was hardly likely to show anti-Irish prejudice (Clarke 2009; van de Kamp 2004). She affectionately recalled Fagan, ‘more literary man than parson’, his Norfolk parsonage overflowing with books, and his unconventional family dressed in Irish cloth (Tynan 1913, 118-124, 137-139). Indeed, when his daughter Mary married the Rev. Long (see above), her going-away dress was of Irish poplin, and her trousseau, other than dresses and millinery, was mostly of Irish manufacture (Bath Chronicle, 2 September 1886). Fagan enthusiastically supported Irish manufactures, as well as movements such as the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language: in their way political statements, as, more overtly, were his memberships of the Irish Protestant Home Rule Association and Irish National League (The Times, 31 May 1883; Freeman’s Journal, 28 September 1888; Chaudhry 2001). But Tynan recalled more critically that Fagan (certainly later in life) ‘shouted his Irishism from the housetops’, being ‘an Irish patriot, very much flamboyantly so’, and unwisely (and sometimes embarrassingly) inclined to be in favour of people whom he met if they were Irish. She recalled a pleasant if unthinkingly ‘loyal young Englishman’ of ‘extremely simple’ politics – ‘England, the Church and the Queen; and all the rest of the world nowhere’, being tutored by Fagan for Army entrance but finding his ‘excessive and aggressive Irishism’ hard to bear (Tynan 1913, 304-305, 1924, 331-338).

Fagan is not a major figure in modern Irish history, being absent from the Dictionary of Irish biography and the Oxford dictionary of national biography, though he does appear in some accounts of Irish cultural and political movements, such as Tynan’s, and more recently Chaudhry (2001). It is beyond the scope of this paper to give a full assessment in this specialist field, though it is worth noting that one Dublin newspaper said on his death that ‘his name will long be held in respectful affection by the Irish people’ (Freeman’s Journal, 28 January 1890). However, it seems likely that Fagan’s significance, but also perhaps a reason for his low profile today, was that, for all his Irishness, he was an impeccably English establishment figure. As he explained in a key pamphlet, Irish Nationality, which sought to explain Irish national sentiment to the English, he felt ‘in a position to look from the English and also from the Irish point of view’ (Fagan 1886).
It was important that Fagan was a middle-of-the-road Anglican parson. This immediately posed a problem for Unionists trying to smear Home Rule with insinuations of 'Rome Rule', as they called subordination to the Roman Catholic Church. One Home Ruler, perhaps repeating an earlier but untraced obituary in an Irish newspaper, recalled Fagan as '[s]ince 1886 [...] one of the most ardent and effective workers in the cause of Ireland [...]', a striking witness to the falsehood of the assertion that the Protestantism and educated intelligence of Ireland are altogether opposed to Home Rule and who 'was not to be intimidated' by the 'Primrose Boycotters' who 'attempted to punish' him (New Zealand Tablet 17(50), 4 April 1890). The Primrose League was a popular right-wing movement founded in 1883, in which a key figure was Lord Randolph Churchill, who also encouraged Ulster Protestants' and Orangemen's opposition to Home Rule – all criticised by Fagan, partly because of the risk of sectarian violence (e.g. Liverpool Mercury, 14 August 1886; Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, 14 August 1886; Royal Cornwall Gazette 20 August 1886; Freeman's Journal, 26 August 1886; Fagan 1887a, 1887b). In return Fagan was criticised in the press and at local meetings (e.g. Bury and Norwich Post, 8 February 1887; Birmingham Daily Post, 30 August 1888). One newspaper even accused Fagan of indecency and disloyalty to the Queen simply because he attended a Home Rule dinner in Cork at which the Loyal Toast to Her Majesty was omitted (Birmingham Daily Post, 30 August 1888); sadly, the writer did not vouchsafe whether he cited the Queen in her capacity as head of state, or head of the Church of England.

Some obituarists, and Tynan (1913, 1924), noted how Fagan's Home Rule politics led him and his family to become socially estranged from the conservative landowners of Norfolk, and from some Norfolk clergy, one of whom criticised Fagan at a Primrose League meeting in nearby Pakenham (Ipswich Journal, 24 March 1887). Tynan suggested that some farmworkers in his congregation moved to other sects for political reasons, but this might have been partly because they distrusted clergy as being part of the landowning class (Fagan 1888).

AN ASSESSMENT
It is very likely that Henry Fagan aspired to be a major and perhaps even reforming headmaster in the mould of George Mortimer. But another likely role model, and certainly a major influence, can be detected in Francis Jeune, Master of Pembroke (Macleane 1897; Leach 1994, 2004; Trott 1992). Jeune had himself been a revitalising headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham, as noted above, and he was also a major reformer of his College and of Oxford University. He had been a prime mover in the University reforms that culminated in the radical changes of the 1850s in the teeth of a Tory majority. Also out of step with the University as a whole, and also presaging Fagan’s, were Jeune’s Liberal politics (in which he had contacts with Gladstone over University reform), and his middle-of-the-road position ecclesiastically, neither Tractarian nor broad church. But less happily, and perhaps also adumbrating Fagan’s style, Jeune had a brisk and intimidating manner as a schoolmaster, and as Master of his college. He was indiscreet and overbearing, tended only to be interested in the clever men amongst the undergraduates, and drove through opposition like a bulldozer – or, in less anachronistic terms, a 'Roman road, equally regardless of obstacles and scenery' (Trott 1992; Macleane 1897, 465, 1900, 239-240).
Fagan was seemingly unwise in choosing a career without sufficiently considering whether it was realistic in terms of his personal experience and skills, whatever his paper qualifications and experiences, but he may simply have been misled by the exceptional quality of his schools in London and probably Birmingham. Fagan would certainly have been more successful with the judgement, tact, restraint, and downright deviousness in dealing with people that the best teachers show – and the ability to know when to shut up because one is unlikely to win. But Fagan was also unlucky in his positions, and certainly in the Bath Trustees and their newspaper reporters. Given the problems which his predecessors and successor had, only central government intervention, perhaps, could resolve the problems – as indeed it did.

Fagan’s personal approach and lack of self-restraint seemingly also failed him more widely. Any public discussion of the Irish question was always going to be difficult. But it is telling that Fagan managed to upset a Cornish audience by spoiling his fine lecture on their Celtic cousins ‘The Bretons, their history, poetry and characteristics’, with an unnecessary and partisan diatribe on the ongoing Franco-Prussian War (*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 28 January 1871). He also surprised a local audience, who supposedly knew his normally liberal sympathies, by refusing to stay in the chair when a lecturer was criticising the Church of England, presumably on the then vexed issue of burials of nonconformists in its graveyards (*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 2 December 1876).

One could perhaps read too much into Fagan being summonsed and fined for trespass over a farmer’s field at Charlcombe when he was refused permission to continue an earlier arrangement for a convenient shortcut (*Western Daily Press*, 18 April 1864; *Bath Chronicle*, 21 April 1864), or the occasions when he evidently paid off a girl cut with a knife by his son Arthur before the case came to court, and when a servant was prosecuted for theft of cloth and food from the vicarage (*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 9 March 1872 and 15 March 1873). One would need to know more about the situations in question. However, it does seem fair to say that, in general, Fagan does seem to have been indiscreet and insensitive in his conversations, and apt to upset people, as his Academy obituarist acknowledged (Anon. 1890a): he ‘failed to estimate rightly the value of words, using them as weapons in controversy without due regard to the feelings of others’. That obituarist’s claim, that this was alleviated by Fagan’s personal amiability, is perhaps more than a shade optimistic in view of the accounts given by Kathleen Tynan. And others were much more hostile. A Cornish reader of this Academy obituary alleged that many St Just people would disagree with the obituarist’s statement that Fagan had been the ‘kindest and most liberal of men’. This reader in fact came close to saying that Fagan was temperamentally unfit to be a clergyman or teacher. This person was, however, evidently motivated by resentment of Fagan’s 1870s criticism of local landowners over the insanitary state of St Just parish (see above), or perhaps just political spite (*Cornishman*, 6 February 1890). Whether or not this blatant breach of the decorum surrounding the newly deceased makes the assertion any more credible, it is interesting that the newspaper editor saw fit to publish at all. Another seemingly indecorous local writer claimed, briefly, that he was ‘not very favourably impressed’ by Fagan (*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 30 January 1890), whom he called an Irishman, as the previous piece had also implied.
This mistake of calling Fagan an Irishman, also made (though this time without malice) by Tynan, reminds us that although Fagan was certainly English by birth, education and career, he was just as certainly Irish culturally, politically, and by descent, and above all emotionally. What remains puzzling is just what made him so strongly Irish. Too little is known about his childhood, and in particular (one suspects) his father’s relationship to Henry himself and to Ireland, for us to judge what, if any, special influences made Henry interested in Ireland and its issues ‘since I was a boy’ (Fagan 1886, 3). But it should be noted that Edmund Burke Roche MP (1815-1874) was apparently living at the same address as his mother (see above). At the time of his known residence in 1843/1844, moreover, he was Liberal MP for County Cork, being later ennobled as Lord Fermoy (Boase 1892, *Modern English Biography*, vol. 1, 1028; *Morning Post*, 18 September 1874). Roche was grandson of Edmund Roche (d. 1823) who was tried for high treason and acquitted at the time of the 1798 rebellion (Madden 1860, 588). He was an O’Connellite who wrote for the *Nation*, a proto-nationalist newspaper (*Freeman’s Journal*, 2 October 1837 and 13 June 1855; *Tablet*, 17 June 1843; MacGrath 1949). One wonders what impression he might have made on a teenage and fatherless Henry Fagan; but in the absence of any more positive evidence, one can hardly be conclusive.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank Mrs Lesley Anderson, descendant of Henry Stuart Fagan, for discussion and for information handed down within the family (FI). Much of this was in fact consistent with the documented records, and I have therefore usually cited it only for information which I have been unable to obtain in any other way and is necessarily therefore uncorroborated. I apologise for the misleading impression this gives. I also thank Mr Larry Andersen and Mrs Coreen Andersen, Ms Julia Crane and Mr Denis Mollison for help with genealogical information.

I am particularly grateful to Professor Hugh Torrens for extensive discussion and information, and to Ms Stella Pierce (Wincanton) and Ms Jane Whyberd for genealogical information and discussion.

For discussion and information, I thank Ms Judith Curthoys, Archivist, Christ Church, Oxford; Mr William Fraser, Churchwarden, St Mary’s Church, Charcombe; Mr Geoff Hancock, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow; Mr Ron Lewin, Bristol and Avon Family History Society; Dr Linde Lunney and Dr Patrick Maume, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*; Ms Mary Mitchell, Norfolk Family History Society; and Dr Peter Van de Kamp, Institute of Technology Tralee.

For assistance with archives, I thank Ms Denise Anderson, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library; Mr Walter Baynes, The Dixie Grammar School Association, Market Bosworth; Mr Justin Bickersteth, Registrar, Highgate Cemetery; Ms Joyce Brown, Local Studies Librarian, Oxfordshire History Centre; Ms Judith Curthoys, Archivist, Christ Church, Oxford; Mr Kevin Gallagher of www.burtongrammar.co.uk; Mr Terry Heard, Archivist, City of
London School; Ms Amanda Ingram, Archivist of Pembroke College, Oxford; Mr Clifford Jones, Christ's Hospital; Ms Kate Santry, Oxford University Museum of Natural History; Ms Sarah Stafford, Geologists’ Association, London; Mr Bryan Stokes, School Archivist, Kings College School; Mr Jahongir Usmanov, Green-Wood Cemetery, New York; and Ms Alison Wheatley, Archivist, Schools of King Edward the Sixth in Birmingham. I thank the City of London School and King Edward’s School, Bath, for permission to reproduce portraits of Henry Fagan. I thank the staffs of the National Library of Scotland and the libraries of National Museums of Scotland and the University of Leicester.

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Figure 1. Henry Stuart Fagan (1827-1890), presumably ca. 1852, when he took his MA degree at Oxford University (the central shield reads ‘Pemb[roke] Col[lege] Oxon’). Original in archives of and copyright the City of London School; reproduced by courtesy of the School.
Figure 2. Henry Stuart Fagan (1827-1890), presumably ca. 1858-1870 while he was headmaster of King Edward’s School, Bath. Original in archives of and copyright the School; reproduced by courtesy of King Edward’s School, Bath.
Figure 3. A cartoon from *Punch* for 6 September 1862, p. 93, when it attacked Fagan, unfairly, as a sympathiser with Roman Catholicism for nothing more than recommending a visit to the High Church or Anglo-Catholic church of All Saints, Margaret Street, London, to listen to the congregational worship. It is not quite clear how to interpret the cartoon, but presumably Fagan is the donkey, with long ears and odd musical tastes, braying loudly as he craves the thistle of Romanism or ‘Popery’, which Mr Punch is busily scrutinising and sketching for his magazine. Symonds (1934) and Wroughton (1982, 115) mention, without giving details, a *Punch* cartoon of Fagan carrying a string of vegetables slung round his neck while riding a small pony to school from his Charlcombe rectory. This is untraced: possibly it is based on a slightly garbled account of this cartoon, which shares the combination of vegetation, small equine and rural residence.