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Supplementary notes on the family and career of Reverend Henry Stuart Fagan (1827-1890)

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Introduction

These supplementary notes comprise material on the family and career of Henry Stuart Fagan which was not used in the original research paper (Taylor and Torrens 2014), or a further biographical paper (Taylor 2014 MS.). This is because of space, or because the material turned out to be of less relevance, or because the matters in question were unresolved. This surplus material may however be useful for other researchers, and I would be glad to hear of progress with the problems outlined here. All information should be verified before use online or in publication.

Those notes are in roughly chronological order, approximately matching the biographical paper (Taylor 2014 MS.), which should be read alongside it. Taylor and Torrens (2014) should also be read, especially for Fagan’s university and scientific connections.

Only references not already in Taylor (2014 MS.) are given here. Archival and repository information and abbreviations, and acknowledgements, are as in Taylor (2014 MS.), except for cbr, cemetery burial register; NAS, National Archives of Scotland, General Register House, 2 Princes Street, Edinburgh EH1 3YY, Scotland; opr, old parish register.

Mitchell Henry Fagan

Mitchell Henry Fagan (c. ?1780-1856) is sometimes recorded as Mitchel or Michael in sources. Date of birth is calculated from age at death (dc), which is possibly unreliable as the informants were seemingly unrelated; see also discussions below. Boase (1965) records Mitchell as “of Dublin”, whatever this means, in the entry for his son Henry. FI, otherwise unconfirmed, is that Mitchell’s father, of unknown name, was born in Feltrim, County Dublin, and had 9 children, giving Mitchell 7 brothers and 1 sister, and that Mitchell was a direct descendant of the Fagan family of Feltrim, County Dublin, with the family motto Deo patriaeque fidelis [faithful to God and to motherland]. A number of this Feltrim family, and other Fagans (such as those of Co. Kerry and Co. Waterford), served in the Indian Army and its Honourable East India Company and Bengal Army predecessors, but I have not been able to identify Mitchell in several relevant sources (Hodson 1932; Madan 1933; Pirie-Gordon 1937; Anon. 1939b, 1976).

Mitchell Fagan was a British Army officer and served mainly in the 2nd Ceylon Regiment. This was a Sinhalese, but British-officered, infantry unit locally recruited in Ceylon (today Sri Lanka), which fought in the Kandyan Wars which completed the European conquest of
Ceylon in 1815, and in pacification campaigns thereafter. Fagan served as Second Lieutenant from 5 May 1808 (ALS; annotated AL at TNA WO/65/58 appears to have this in MS as 5 May 1806, apparently in error as he is not in 1807 AL). He obtained promotion to 1st Lieutenant (gazetted 26 July 1810, AL and Caledonian Mercury, 6 August 1810) and then to Captain without purchase on the death of his predecessor, with effect from 8 April 1821, gazetted 21 September 1821 (Morning Post, 24 September 1821). The Regiment was disbanded on 24 June 1822 (1823 AL) and Fagan was put on half pay on 10 May 1823 (1824 AL), and so effectively retired.

Fagan returned, at least nominally, to active service when he was gazetted to a Captaincy in the 64th Regiment, the 2nd Staffordshire Regiment of Foot, on (2 or) 4 December 1832, in place of an officer who had just died (Morning Post, 5 December 1832; United Services Journal, part 1 for 1833: 140). But he retired almost at once from the 64th after selling his position to a lieutenant in the same regiment (Morning Post, 22 December 1832, gazetted that day; 1833 AL, in “Resignations and Retirements”). The 64th was then serving in Ireland (Purdon n. d.; Morning Post, 10 August 1832). It is possible that he had second thoughts about serving in this regiment, perhaps because it was based in areas where cholera was active (his predecessor Boyes had died of the disease earlier in November, Morning Post, 1 October and 15 November 1832), or that he had become unwell. However, it is perhaps more likely that this was a technicality to permit Fagan, then in his early 50s, to retire fully from the army while recouping the financial value of his original lieutenancy and perhaps gaining some benefit from his non-purchase captaincy, under the arcane rules and practices governing the purchase of officers’ commissions (Bruce 1980).

On Mitchell Fagan’s discovery of Topary: see also Tennent (1860). He is said by Rutnam (1974) to have published in (or to have been reported in) Orientalist vol. 2, pp. 84 on, and the Supplement to the Ceylon Government Gazette, for 1 August 1820 (neither seen by me).

It does seem anomalous that Fagan was seemingly commissioned as second lieutenant (equivalent to ensign in some regiments) at the age of about 28 as this seems late for normal entry. This is based on the 1856 registration of his death (dc). Perhaps a mistake was made when calculating his age and he was 66 rather than 76, which would make him a more convincing 18 when commissioned. Another possibility is that Mitchell had been promoted from the ranks of another regiment, explaining his missing years. This would not be inconsistent with his being given a commission in a colonial regiment of relatively low status and tropical posting. Something of the sort might explain the unconfirmed family tradition that he might have served with the 42nd Foot, a Scottish Highlander infantry regiment. This FI is not, as it stands, substantiated by ALS for 1808-1833. It may just be plain error, unless he was an other rank in the 42nd, as the ALS only record officers.

A consideration of regimental history (Schofield 2012) raises several possibilities, including that of confusion with the 73rd Foot. The 42nd is colloquially and famously known as the Black Watch – but this name is also applicable to the 73rd (Highland) Regiment of Foot which was split off from the 42nd in 1786, and would merge with the 42nd again later in the 19th century. The 42nd had battalions serving in Ireland on and off from 1805 to
1825. The 73rd served in India from 1786 to 1806 (including Ceylon in 1795-1797),
Australia from 1809 to 1814, and, in particular, in Ceylon from 1814 to 1821 where it
fought in the Kandyan Wars, and then in Ireland from 1823 to 1827 with a spell in
England in 1826. The Kandyan Wars service is plainly too late for Fagan to have
transferred to the 2nd Ceylons in theatre as he was already an officer with the latter in
1808, but the earlier Indian service would give a possible timing, though raises the
question of how Fagan raised the money to purchase the lieutenancy.

Alternatively, and especially if there was some confusion between the 42nd and 73rd,

(1) Fagan was temporarily attached, perhaps in Ceylon or in Ireland, or a base depot
somewhere, so briefly that it did not appear in the annual AL, perhaps when his
own unit was disbanded, and maybe for the transit home to Britain; or
(2) this is a misunderstanding of a reference to his regiment serving alongside the 73rd
in the wars in Ceylon, or even attendance at a social function such as dinner in the
officers’ mess; or
(3) Fagan served as a private or NCO with the 42nd or 73rd before becoming an officer
in the 2nd Ceylons, given the suspiciously late date of his second lieutenancy as
discussed above.

The matter remains open.

**Eliza Lucilla Fagan**

Henry’s mother Eliza Lucilla (c.1794/1801-1860) is a matter of real uncertainty about her
origins and her maiden surname, said to have been Evans. The Evans surname is known
only from FI, which has not so far been confirmed. DC gives age at death of 65, implying
a date of birth of c. 1794-5. 1851 census has age of 50, implying a date of birth of c.
1800-1, not taking into account census rounding. Eliza Lucilla is a fairly rare combination
of given names and no Eliza Lucilla Evans has been located as born anywhere in the UK.
This may just be a gap in the records, or maybe she adopted those names to suit herself
or to please an older relative. If one assumes that she was baptised, say, Elizabeth Evans,
this is a common name and the problem is still greater if Elizabeth was a second or third
given name.

The only evidence for place of birth is the 1851 census entry (noted below) which I read
as Dartmouth, though the enumerator omitted the corroborative county name. A search
on www.familysearch.org (accessed 12 April 2013) raises the possibility that she was a
daughter of Richard Evans and his wife Mary, maiden surname Rennells, who married at
St Clement, Townstall, Dartmouth in 1795, and whose children over the period 1797-1809
included Mary Elizabeth (bap. 27 January 1797, so perhaps b. 1796), and Elizabeth (bap.
9 March 1802). There is also a Betsy Ann Evans (b. 20 December 1799, child of John and
Elizabeth Evans, bap. 9 February 1800, at St Saviour, Dartmouth. But none match the, in
any case, vague information to hand. Given the uncertainties, Eliza Lucilla is effectively
untraceable without further information.

**Fagan family life to 1830**
The only records of Mitchell and Eliza Fagan en famille so far traced are when they were living in London Road, Stroud, Gloucestershire, in 1827, when Henry was baptised in the parish church there on 8 July (baptismal certificate, OHC, Oxford diocesan papers, ordination records for Fagan’s diaconate on 22 December 1850, Ms Joyce Brown, Local Studies Librarian, Oxfordshire History Centre, pers. comm. 28 November 2012).

FI is that Mitchell “represented Stroud”, but at what is not clear, and I have not been able to locate any such role for him.

The Fagans were living in Draycott Place, Chelsea, where their other known child, Lucilla, was born on 16 March and baptised on 30 April 1830 (opr). She was said to be the “only” daughter of Mitchell Fagan when she married in 1863 (Standard, 21 October 1863).

The issue of Mitchell and Eliza Fagan’s marriage

Eliza was recorded as the “widow of Mitchell Henry Fagan Captain 64th Regiment” on her death certificate, for which her doctor was the informant, presumably using information from Henry or Lucilla. This description was also used in death notices in the newspapers (e.g. the Dublin Freeman’s Journal, 17 July 1860). No record has, however, been located of their marriage. No notice has been found in magazines or newspapers, which is slightly surprising for an army officer, but hardly conclusive given Mitchell’s likely travels. One possibility is that Eliza was of lowly origins and married Mitchell when he was (hypothetically) an other rank in the army, only to be jettisoned in favour of the more upmarket Jane as he was commissioned and climbed up the ladder of Army and social rank. But, for this in itself to explain any lack of newspaper or journal notices of an officer’s marriage (for which there are in any case other possible reasons), any marriage to Eliza ought to be no later than 1808 – which seems marginal given her likely, if still uncertain, birth date of c. 1794-1800.

Another possibility is that the original marriage was by a Roman Catholic priest in Ireland and, perhaps conveniently, later found to be invalid, as it would be if one partner had acted publicly as a member of the Church of England in the year leading up to the marriage, for instance as Mitchell would have done if attending church parade in the Army (Shelford 1841). Interestingly, but today (so far) unverifiably, the family tradition (FI) is that Mitchell had apostatised from Roman Catholicism, leading to a breach with his Irish family. However, Eliza’s apparent birth in Dartmouth reduces, though certainly does not abolish, the likelihood that she was Roman Catholic by birth. At any rate, there is no indication of Roman Catholicism, and the evidence, such as it is, is that Mitchell (at least from 1827) and Eliza were nominally Protestant and Anglican, given the baptisms (and later marriages) of their two children, and Mitchell’s marriage to Jane Irving.

Eliza Fagan’s later life, death and probate, and Henry’s career at the City of London School

Eliza and Henry have not yet been located in the 6 Junne 1841 census (Henry is not with the Mortimers who were in residence at the City of London School). In the same census Lucilla is staying with the family of 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). How long this stay was for is not known – but note the evidence that Henry stayed with Mortimer’s family himself; all this may suggest that Eliza’s home situation was in some way unsuitable for the children at least some of the time (Taylor 2014 MS, and see below). Henry is not boarding at Mortimer’s residence or with any of the identifiable masters in the 1841 census.

A MS copy of a poetry Eulogium to John Carpenter, mediaeval founder of the school, written by Henry and dated May 1844, survives at CLSA. It was delivered at the unveiling of the statue of John Carpenter in 1844 (Fagan 1883; Douglas-Smith 1965, p.93).

On Henry Fagan’s recorded home address of 63 Ebury Street, Pimlico (Taylor 2014 MS.): the 1841 census (HO 107/732/9/4, p. 7) is of no great help as it appears to record No 63 as the property occupied that night only by a teenage female servant, Hester Searle, pointing to the absence of the usual occupants. The census sequence is confusing here, as is the actual and possible subdivision of some properties, but the sequence of 60s numbers on this page must refer to the actual house numbers in Ebury Street as the No 67 entry includes one Henry Moxon who is known to have lived at 67 Ebury Street (Newcastle Courant 12 July 1844). There was an auction of household furniture at 63 Ebury Street advertised in the Morning Post for 25 March 1841, which may suggest a break in occupation (or may just have been in a different flat). However, this is far enough in time from the early June date of the census that it does not necessarily explain the census result. There is some evidence of subdivision into separate households in the 1851 census as a half pay army surgeon seems to be occupying part of the building. This was John Hartshorn[e] who was former Assistant Surgeon at Chelsea Hospital. Whether this army/Chelsea connection is a coincidence or not is unknown.

In The Times, 14 January 1845, there is an advertisement for a furnished house to be let, aimed at Members of Parliament, with or without attendance (i.e. servants), and interested parties are instructed to apply at 63 Ebury Street. Whether the house to be let was No 63 itself is not clear; it may not have been, as another advertisement, this time for a house in Park Road, Hyde Park Gate, appeared in the Morning Post for 4 March 1844. A Mrs Gates or Gaits of the 63 Ebury Street address was helping with an appeal for a respectable widow in the Morning Post of 9 February and 13 March 1844. In the 1851 census the house was occupied by a lodging house keeper, Mrs Williams, who is also recorded in Boyles April London Court and Fashionable Guide, 115, in 1847, a date which may suggest that Mrs Fagan left around 1846-7 – perhaps not coincidentally just after Henry had left school.

In the 1851 census Eliza was a ‘teacher’ living with Lucilla and a servant in 14 Petersburg Place, Paddington. Eliza was described as “head” of her household, and Lucilla as a “student”.

Eliza died at her son’s rectory at Charlcombe near Bath on 11 July 1860 (Freeman’s Journal, 17 July 1860). She left neither will nor, presumably, significant property, though any could always have been handed over to her children prior to death (Gentleman’s Magazine, September 1860: 323; no probate grant found in NPC or Leeds Probate Registry).
Mitchell Fagan, Jane Irving and the Walbeoffs

If Henry was telling the truth about his mother’s marriage, Mitchell Fagan committed bigamy when, on 20 November 1836, he married Jane, the widow of Lieutenant Edward Irving of the 61st Regiment, both of whom Mitchell may well have known while serving in Ceylon (opr, which unambiguously identifies Fagan, and states that he is a “bachelor”; Gentleman’s Magazine, February 1837: 201; Champion and Weekly Herald, January 22, 1837, which identifies him also by his regiment but gets Irving’s wrong, as 62nd). The 61st served in Ireland between 1824 and 1828 before moving to Ceylon till 1840, but retained a depot in Ireland till 1833 (Cannon 1844).

Jane Irving was born the Burgher (Ceylon Dutch) aristocrat Adriana Cornelia Van Lynden (c. 1800/01-1851). She was daughter of Baron Van Lynden, formerly of the Dutch Army and latterly Assistant Collector of Customs in Jaffna. She was being acrimoniously divorced for adultery by her first husband, John Walbeoff (or Wallbeoff) (1792-1831), expatriate Welshman and latterly fabulously well paid civil servant with the post of Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations, when he died with the divorce Bill still going through the House of Lords. Walbeoff’s annual salary was £1500 in the money of that time, perhaps 200x 2013 values, plus another £180 for acting as a magistrate (Huntingdon, Bedford and Peterborough Gazette, 23 June 1832). The act for divorce seems never to have completed its passage. Her disastrous marriage to Walbeoff in 1817, and later life, are outlined by Lewis (1913), Anon. (1939a) and [Hepponstall] (1939), but those sources are collectively unreliable or at least incomplete: for instance, they do not list the full five children evident from her will and other sources including these for the bill listed below (Mr Denis Mollison, pers. comm. 7 June 2013). They also include a claim that their eldest son, John Edward Walbeoff, was a wrangler, i.e. one of those awarded the highest marks in the final honours examination for mathematics, at the University of Cambridge, but I have not been able to confirm his attendance at this university in alumnus lists (Venn 1940-1954; for his apparently inglorious later life, see below.)

Walbeoff père had sent his wife back to England with the children; on her return voyage in 1829, she had an affair with the ship’s doctor, whom Walbeoff sued for £7000 damages, i.e. for harm to his property rights (as then enshrined in law) of exclusive access to his wife. He got only £150, probably because his wife and her family revealed his own neglect and adultery. He died in a hunting accident. Later, stories sprang up of his being killed by one of his wife’s lovers, or committing suicide when his young and flirtatious wife eloped with an army officer, and of his ghost haunting the cinnamon plantations. Walbeoff’s house is now Temple Trees, the official residence of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka (Goonetilleke and Wijayadasa 1986). Sources for divorce bill: House of Lords (1831-1832), Irāmanātan et al. (1877) and House of Lords Journal 62, 7 July 1830.

Jane had been staying in Irving’s house during the divorce proceedings, or at least their later stages, as the House of Lords evidence noted. As well as children by Walbeoff, Jane had a daughter, Emily Charlotte (1833-1899), by Irving. Irving came of a Westmorland family and was in the 61st South Gloucestershire Regiment of Foot (AL: Ensign from 7 January 1826, after a transfer from the 25th King’s Own Borderers where he had seniority
of 22 December 1825; Lieutenant on 18 October 1827, still formally in 61st when he died). Irving and Jane married after Walbeoff’s death but he soon died, on 21 August 1833, aged 24 (MI in Lewis 1913: 268; *United Service Journal*, March 1834: 430). Their daughter Emily is confirmed by Edward’s will (TNA PROB 11/1868; date of birth from Regimental Birth Indices (1761 to 1924), for 61st Foot, Colombo, vol. 1034, p. 33). When Irving died, he had arranged to exchange with an officer of the 70th Foot, almost certainly to spare Jane and himself the embarrassment of remaining in his regiment and in Ceylon after the adultery and divorce cases, and perhaps also to come Home, for the 70th was then serving in Ireland (Cannon 1849). But this exchange had not been implemented on his death and was cancelled (*United Service Journal*, December 1833: 574 and February 1834: 286; *Morning Post*, 23 November 1833).

Jane’s third marriage, with Mitchell, seemingly soon have ended in separation, for in the 1841 census, Jane was at 21 Baker Street in Clerkenwell, London, with her daughter, a servant, and a Ceylon Dutch relative. Jane’s description as “independent”, strictly speaking, only indicates that Jane had her own source of income, but it is strongly suggestive in view of the situation in 1851 (see below). She is positively identified by the presence of Emily, her servant Elizabeth Goulding who is mentioned in her will, and “Henry Roosmalecovy”, aged nominally 15, a student at “King’s College”, presumably King’s College School, and who must be a relative of the Charlotte Elizabeth Roosmale-Coq who had married Jane’s son John Edward Walbeoff at Colombo in 1838 (*Asiatic Journal*, 4 June 1838: 323). A likely candidate is Charlotte’s brother Andrew Henry Roosmale-Coq (or Roosmalecocq) (b. 1824), son of Robert Carl Roosmalecocq (De Vos 1924, [Hepponstall] 1939). An Andrew Henry Roosmalecocq, son of Robert Charles Roosmalecocq of Ceylon, is indeed the only pupil of that surname recorded at King’s College School, starting in the Summer term of 1840 and boarding with the Second Master (Mr Bryan Stokes, School Archivist, King’s College School, pers. comm. 5 February and 8 April 2013). His birth date is recorded as 1824 which is consistent with the rounded census data. The school records also state that Andrew later had two sons, Andrew Henry, born 1857, and Frederick Owen Young, born 1858, who attended King’s College School in the 1870s. This does not match the information in De Vos (1924). Perhaps this Ceylon Dutch genealogist had made a mistake, or was unaware of an illegitimate family in England.

Jane was still more likely to have been living independently of Fagan in the 1851 census. At the 1851 census, Jane, a “Government Pensioner” aged nominally 50, and recorded as head of the household, and Emily were living at 17 Hemingford Villas, Islington, London, with the housekeeper, Elizabeth Goulding (from Appleby, Westmorland, so presumably obtained through Edward’s family), and a servant.

Jane died on 17 July of chronic hepatitis and ascites. Her DC records her as aged 50, “formerly Hadriana Cornelia Baroness Van Linden” and “wife of Mitchell Henry Fagan Esquire late Captain in the Army”. She was buried at Highgate Cemetery on 23 July 1851, with a Rev. Irving, presumably a relative, officiating. She was buried in private grave 2903, square 27, Western Cemetery, in the same plot as her son-in-law William Austin (1811–1848; buried 25 October 1848, two days after Jane purchased the right of burial) and her grandson and Emily’s second son John J. F. I. Noble (1854-1855); the MI is now completely effaced (cbr; Mr Justin Bickersteth, Registrar, Highgate Cemetery, pers. comm.)
10 May 2013; Mr Denis Mollison, pers. comm. 10 May 2013). Her will, TNA PROB 11/2140, signed on 12 November 1850, like her death certificate, formally stated her identity as Mitchell Fagan’s wife but appointed a solicitor, rather than Fagan, as executor. This was probably not just because Fagan might have been blind by now; an estrangement is strongly indicated by her failure to include him when she made her bequests, including a range of specific items to various family and friends, with the main residue to Emily. The executor would not accept responsibility for executing her will as she wished, as a problem had arisen over an “indenture” of 7 August 1851. What this was is unknown. Possibly it may relate to assets which, in fact, Edward had left to his daughter Emily in his own will and which Jane only held in trust for her (TNA PROB 11/1868). Alternatively, perhaps, Mitchell might have claimed his wife’s property as his own. Before the Married Women’s Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, a married woman’s property was treated as if it was her husband’s, unless covered by an agreement such as a marriage settlement, and she could not leave it as she wished without his consent.

Emily Irving soon, on 27 August 1851, married Captain William Noble (1828-1904), the noted amateur astronomer (Chapman 2004), at Kirkby-Stephen in Westmoreland, the county whence her paternal family came (Morning Chronicle, 30 August 1851). She died at their house, Forest Lodge, in Maresfield, Sussex, in 1899.

John Edward Walbeoff’s later life

John Edward Walbeoff or Wallbeoff, Jane Fagan’s eldest son and Henry’s stepbrother noted earlier, appears to have lost his job in the Ceylon customs service and the associated pension, whether through incompetence or malfeasance is not clear. He was back in Britain by March 1864 when he was arrested at Exmouth for begging from local gentry with what seemed the absurd and fraudulent tale of his life, but was released when it turned out to be true (Western Times, 1 and 8 March 1864). Who was almost certainly the same man seems to have lived a hand-to-mouth existence, apparently as a shipping clerk (for which his Ceylon customs experience would be useful), but periodically in trouble for, variously, drunkenness and threatening behaviour (Western Daily Press, 2 and 4 November 1869), petty theft (sentenced to one month’s hard labour for stealing a shirt, Bristol Mercury, 23 October 1875; Western Daily Press, 21 October 1875) and begging (as at Bath, where he pleaded to the magistrates that he had lost his Ceylon civil service pension through his folly and indiscretion, Bath Chronicle 5 April 1877). One wonders if John Walbeoff or his wife were behind the unpleasant scene involving a “lady visitor” to Fagan’s family at Bath which led to uproar in the Headmaster’s house and the street outside and criticism of Fagan by some Trustees, but it is hardly possible to prove this (Bath Chronicle, 2 July, 8 October and 12 November 1868).

Mitchell Fagan’s later life

Mitchell Fagan has not been confidently traced in the 1841 or 1851 censuses, perhaps due to transcription errors or a return to Ireland. There is a “Michael” Fagan of “ind[ependent]” means and Irish origins recorded by the 1841 census, lodging in [Royal] Circus Street, Greenwich, quite close to where Mitchell was lodging when he died in 1865 (see below). The main discrepancy is the age given of 35, implying birth ca. 1806, even if
one assumes that his true date of birth (see above) was c. 1790. However, this is hardly crucial especially if the information was provided by a non-relative.

Who is undoubtedly our Mitchell Fagan died of “natural decay” on 8 December 1856, stated to be aged 76, resident at 13 Royal Hill, Greenwich, which seems to have been a house above a shop, in a street of shops and tradesmen (dc, with “Michael” in error for Mitchell; description of Royal Hill based on W. Archdeacon’s Greenwich and Woolwich Directory for 1852). Mitchell was buried at All Saints Cemetery, Nunhead, Surrey, on 13 December 1856 (cbr). The witnesses were John Robert Buckingham of Royal Hill, and Margaret Crooks of 13 Royal Hill, presumably his landlady or fellow lodger and related to the Jannet Crooks who registered his death, DC (which has “Michael”).. Buckingham has not been identified and may simply have been a convenient neighbour. Mitchell Fagan had become blind by 28 November 1856 when he signed his will (TNA PROB 11/2243/107). In it he left all to his daughter Lucilla. He failed even to mention his wives or son Henry, let alone his stepchildren, in what was understandably a very brief will. The will was proved on 22 December 1856. Lucilla was the executor. Whether this reflected a continuing estrangement with Eliza and Henry is an open question, as Lucilla was unmarried at the time and arguably needed the money more than Henry, but it is perhaps significant that no death notices in the newspapers have so far been found, in contrast to what would soon be done for Eliza.

The Crookes are not present at 13 Royal Hill, in the 1851 and 1861 censuses; however, a Crookes family can provisionally be identified as living in this area. On 24 May 1840, Richard Crookes, “merchant”, and his wife Margaret, of Prior Street immediately off Royal Hill, had a daughter Janet (bap. 26 June, St Alphege, Greenwich, opr). Richard is named as a “traveller” (presumably a commercial traveller) in the record of Janet’s own marriage to Henry Darley (at Camberwell in 1864). Two of the Darleys’ children were baptised in St Mark’s Presbyterian Church, Greenwich: Janet Mary Ann (born 17 November 1867 and bap. 24 May 1838) and Herbert Ivor (born 16 January 1876 and bap. 12 March 1876). There also appears to be a brother-sister pair, Margaret B. Crookes (born Ireland c. 1838, Belfast or Dublin depending on 1861 or 1871 censuses), and Richard Crookes (born Greenwich 1843); they were active in the oils and colours business in Greenwich where they were separately resident in 1871, moving to Croydon in 1871. Richard was stated to be the son of a Richard Crookes when he married Sarah Barber at Greenwich on 25 February 1866, and one of his and Sarah’s children, Richard James Crookes, born 11 February 1870, was baptised on 8 May 1870 at St Mark’s Presbyterian Church. It may be that Margaret B. Crookes (b. 1838) and Richard (b. 1843) were Janet’s siblings, given the timings and places of their births, and their Presbyterian affiliations. It also suggests that their parents Richard (senior) and Margaret Crookes may have moved from Ireland to Greenwich and back there, and furthermore may have been Protestant Scots-Irish, given also their surnames. The question remains open of whether Mitchell was lodging with them only coincidentally, or because of prior Irish acquaintance or even family connections.

The Western Grammar School

Henry was seemingly of the right age to attend it in the later 1830s. At the school, in Brompton Crescent in 1841, Mortimer’s successor Robert Lamb had two boys aged 10 and
of a different surname to his own, living with his family (1841 census; name and address from Preston Chronicle, 24 December 1840). Those were almost certainly boarders. A little later, in 1847, the school took the young W. S. Gilbert of operatic fame while he was still 10 (Ainger 2002: 20).

George Ferris Whidborne Mortimer and his wife Jane Gordon — further information

His father William Mortimer (c. 1774-1845) was a ‘country gentleman’ (Lupton and Curthoys 2004), in reality a merchant, trader and businessman, of Bishopsteignton, and latterly Wareham in Dorset (1841 census, Wareham). He was involved in trading and shipping, especially in the pottery clays and culm or coal (Trump 1986, 26; Newcastle Courant, 2 February 1793; Manchester Mercury, 7 October 1817; will, drawn up in 1842, TNA Prob 11/2024; McDonald 2005; 1841 census, Wareham). He died in Wareham, Dorset, having moved there sometime by 1829 or earlier, perhaps in 1813, whether for trade reasons (Wareham, like the Teign Valley, is a source of ball clay for pottery) or personal ones, or both, is unknown. References: Sherborne Mercury, 26 January 1829, 17 May 1841 and 9 August 1845; Exeter Flying Post, 3 September 1818; Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, 8 May 1841).

See discussion in Taylor and Torrens (2014) of his likely relationship to George Ferris Whidborne the palaeontologist. The origins of George Mortimer’s mother and William’s wife are so far untraced; it is likely, but not certain, that she was a Whidborne of the same family around the Teign estuary.

George Mortimer’s wife Jane Gordon was the “youngest” daughter of Alexander Gordon (c. 1766-1846) of Bishopsteignton (Newcastle Magazine, July 1830: 336) and she must be the Jane Gordon baptised on 25 July 1809 at East Teignmouth. Alexander was evidently well off, living first in Teignmouth and latterly in Bishopsteignton. He had perhaps made his fortune in India, as he had a daughter Isabella born on 29 October 1807 and baptised on 12 August 1808 in Calcutta. He was a son of Captain John Gordon, laird of Carroll, near Brora, Sutherland, whose other children included the civil engineer Professor Lewis Gordon CE FRSE, and Anne wife of the engineer Sir William Siemens (Bristol Mercury, 23 May 1846; Gentleman’s Magazine, July 1846: 106; Scotsman, 25 March 1835; English and Scottish wills, TNA Prob 11/2037 and NAS SC70/1/67 Edinburgh Sheriff Court Inventories; death notices in the Inverness Courier, 27 May 1846, and Elgin Courier, 29 May 1846; identification by means of relatives listed in his will of 1837, especially his “Brother Joseph Gordon of Edinburgh Writer to the Signet [a category of Scots lawyer]” and his sister Jane Gordon who died unmarried in 1840; Bulloch 1906: 106-116, who omits him but is plainly incomplete and uneven; Anon. 1890: 82; Anon. 1877; Isabella marriage at Bishopsteignton on 26 June 1832, North Devon Journal, 28 June 1832).

Jane’s mother Christian Gordon (bap. 1772-1848) was born Christian Clark of Aberdeen, daughter of Alexander Clark of Aberdeen. About 1791 she married the watchmaker Robert Pirie (c.1762-1799). Christian Pirie was widowed in Calcutta in 1799, and remarried first James Rannie at Calcutta in 1801, and then Alexander Gordon in London in 1808 (Standard, 13 June 1848; Gentleman’s Magazine, August 1848: 219; identification from her English will, TNA Prob 11/2078, especially the marriage of her daughter Mary Pirie (or

**Henry Stuart Fagan, 1851 census**

On 30 March 1851, Fagan was resident in Edgbaston, and in post at King Edward's School, Birmingham.

**Emily Kinnier and her family**

Emily Kinnier was born on 12 March 1827 and christened on 27 April 1827 at St Leonard's, Shoreditch, London. Her father was 'James Kinnier, M.D.' of New York. He appears to be an Ulster Scots East End of London doctor of that name. Two physicians of that name of Scots and/or Irish extraction turn up in New York in the US Census of 1870, so, unless the same man was double counted, it is possible that two men have been conflated in the following discussion. However, except for peripheral matters such as Civil War service, Emily's father can be positively identified first in London, then on the *Jamestown*, and then in New York by the presence of his distinctively named children. There are anomalies with the age for James Kinnier given in the US censuses but as this issue also affects the whole family, it is not conclusive in any way.

James Kinnier (?c.1790-?1874) (sometimes Kinnear, Kinner, etc. in sources; age from 1841 census) matriculated at Glasgow University in 1809 and graduated MD in 1814, where he is recorded as *Hibernus*, i.e. an Irishman by birth, and "Filius Natus Maximus Jacobi Mercatoris apud Castle-Blayney in comitatu de Moneghan", i.e. eldest son of James Kinnier merchant in Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan (Addison 1898, 313; 1913, 239). He noted that he was also an 'alumnus' of Edinburgh University (Kinnier 1833), but his wording left open the question of whether he completed his course to graduation. He is not in the list of Edinburgh graduates (Anon. 1867) but a James Kinnier did matriculate in 1811 for one year only, evidently in the middle of his time at Glasgow (Edinburgh University archives, Ms Denise Anderson, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library, pers. comm. 29 April 2013; URL = http://www.archives.lib.ed.ac.uk/alumni/search.php?view=individual1&id=8376 ).

Kinnier married Elizabeth Mapple (born c. 1807, Middlesex, 1841 census) on 21 or 24 June 1826 at St Leonard's, Shoreditch, London. As well as Emily (b. 1827), known London-born children are Mary Matilda (1829-1831), James Lister (b. 1831), Alfred Wallace (b. 1833), Arthur (b. 1835), Franklin (1837-1838), Frances or Fanny (b. 1841),
and Florence (1847). Constance was born in New York in 1850 and Eliza about 1851. (But see discussion of the Kinniers’ burial in New York below.)

Kinnier’s origins, surname, and the names of his children (including Wallace, after the Guardian of Scotland in the war to maintain Scottish independence) indicate that he was of Ulster Scots origins, and certainly Protestant and probably Presbyterian in religion, especially as he went to the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh rather than to Trinity College Dublin (Dr Linde Lunney, pers. comm. 31 January 2013), though the choice of universities might also have had to do with the more vocational Scottish approach. In London he was evidently functionally Church of England for his marriage and his family’s baptisms. His entry in the *London Medical Directory* for 1845 stated that he had served as a commissioned officer in the Medical Department of the Army, and he commented on his passing the examination of the Medical Board, presumably for this (Kinnier 1833). It has not been possible to confirm this from AL. However, the 1814 date of his MD suggests the possibility that he did qualify, and even briefly entered service, but was let go in the 1814 demobilisation following Napoleon’s abdication; his period of service could well have been so short that it fell between successive annual ALs.

From census data and the addresses in his publications (Kinneir 1825, 1845; Kinnier 1833, 1836, 1841, 1846, 1848), the *London or London and Provincial Medical Directory* for 1845 onwards, and a law case at Whitechapel (*Morning Post*, 7 February 1835), he seems from at least 1825 to have practised, effectively as a general practitioner in the modern sense, in the East Road/City Road area of east London. His publications, such as they are, would certainly be consistent with such a poor area near the docks, as their subjects include streptococcal fevers and the systemic complications of venereal disease (the *Directory* entries suggest that he may also have published the anonymous review of a work on medical education in the *London Medical and Physical Journal* for May 1825).

From about 1846 Kinnier was in a partnership with Alfred Atkyns, dissolved on 1 February 1848 (*London Gazette*, 4 February 1848: 428; Atkyns is often spelt as Atkins in the sources). Kinnier sold up to Atkyns and moved to Sloane Street in the West End and then to Trinity Square in Southwark (Kinnier 1848; *London Medical Directory* for 1849 and 1850). Atkyns sued Kinnier for not moving far enough away to fulfil the exclusion radius agreed by them. In something of a test case for contract law widely reported in the medical press and often later cited in legal textbooks, Kinnier lost and damages of £1000 were awarded against him, confirmed on appeal on 17 January 1850 (*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 that Kinnier now absconded rather than pay up. He next appears as a cabin passenger arriving with three of his sons at New York from Liverpool on the US ship *Jamestown*, a packet ship of the Black Star Line, on 11 March 1850 (immigration records). He must have left straight after the court decision, as the *Jamestown* had been advertised to sail on 20 January and in the event left Liverpool on 22 January, two days later, and apparently becoming involved in a minor collision at Dungarvon, Ireland, on 10 February (*Daily News*, 12 January 1850; *Morning Chronicle*, 23 January and 12 February 1850). This slow voyage, obviously under sail rather than steam, had relatively few cabin passengers but several hundred in steerage (the cheapest and worst accommodation) –
no doubt the latter were post-potato famine emigrants. ‘Experienced surgeons’ were offered free cabin passages (Daily News, 12 January 1850), presumably including Kinnier. So this was presumably not one of the better ships with their own medics to deal with dangerous diseases brought aboard by the poor emigrants. The impression of Kinnier’s haste is reinforced by his picking a winter North Atlantic crossing. It is not known when the rest of the family crossed, and they may have done so under an assumed name, but they were all living together in New York City for the US Census of 1 June 1850 (as “Keniier”). So poor Emily had to make another Atlantic crossing before she could get married.

Who was presumably the same James Kinnier (judging from the timing, slightly over the minimum residency period of 5 years) was naturalised a US citizen in the Common Pleas Court of New York County on 30 March 1855. James and Emily Kinnier are clearly identifiable in the 1860 and 1870 censuses in New York, from their children’s names, but plainly massaged their ages downwards. By 1870, Kinnier appears to have been successful enough to have a live-in butler and other servants, though designating himself in the 1870 census as Scottish rather than Irish, perhaps to detach himself from Irish politics, and avoid anti-Irish prejudice. There is also an Irish-born physician called James Kinnier MD of about the same age in a lodging house on the same census evening but in another district; perhaps our James Kinnier was on a visit that night and was counted twice. It is not clear whether our James Kinnier is the one who served as assistant surgeon on the USS Commodore Barney, an armed paddle-steamer ferryboat, on blockade duty during the American Civil War (Porter 1898: 430, 492).

James Kinnier died at New York on 6 October 1874, as recorded by the application on 12 October 1874 by his son James L. Kinnier in the Surrogate’s Court, County of New York, to be appointed executor, as backed by four known siblings of his. This dating positively identifies him as the James Kinnier MD buried at Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY (Index to Marriages and Deaths in the New York Herald (1835-1876): 1871-1876: vol. 4: 433; URL: www.green-wood.com, accessed 24 April 2013). Cemetery records (Mr Jahongir Usmanov, Green-Wood Cemetery, pers. comm. August 2013) show that the Green-Wood James Kinnier likewise was a MD who died in New York on October 6, 1874, of ‘apoplexy’ at Samaritan Home for the Aged. He was recorded as widowed, born in Ireland and 75 years old at the time of his death (an unimportant discrepancy in age given his known erratic recording in censuses). He was buried on 9 October 1874 in Lot 3695 in Section 32, together with the apparent reinterment of one Elizabeth Kinnier (on the database as ‘Kinner’) who was English-born and had died on 13 September 1870, aged 62. She had previously been buried in a different lot on 16 September 1870. The obvious assumption is that she was Kinnier’s wife – the name, nation of birth and age are right – but there here arises a discrepancy as the lots belonged to members of a family surnamed Harrison, which was not her maiden surname, and an affidavit filed at Green-Wood Cemetery on September 25, 1903 lists various children and grandchildren of this Elizabeth which do not immediately match the evidence for our couple. Possible explanations include changes of names; or that those are stepchildren of James’ remarriage to a second Elizabeth, following from the death of the first Elizabeth; or that this Elizabeth is in fact a sister-in-law or other relative of his; or that matters have been confused by an evident family dispute. I have left this matter open as the main concern is to identify James’ death.
Henry and Emily Fagan’s children

Briefly listed here from baptismal and census data, and noting those who died early, to confirm that places and dates of birth are consistent with Fagan’s known career, and other information that has come to light, though I have not made an effort to fill gaps. Bath, for this purpose, includes Charlcombe. Tynan (1913) says that Henry and Emily had 6 or 7 sons and 2 daughters; presumably she did not know of the first daughter and first son, who died early. She says that one son was an officer RN (or midshipman?) and quite unlike the others, but this one has not been identified; perhaps a slip for Lucius who became an army officer.

1. Emily Lucilla Fagan, born 14 June 1852 (Spectator, 19 June 1852: 593); bap. 2 October 1852, Burton-on-Trent; died Bath 3 August 1867, buried Charlcombe (Somerset County Gazette, 10 August 1867; MI, Charlcombe).


6. Charles Gregory Fagan, born Bath c. 1860; first class BA, University of Oxford; poet in the Irish literary revival; went to India in 1884 and died in post as Principal of Kerala Vidya Sala College, India, 14 September 1885 (Cornishman, 1 October 1885; O’Donoghue 1912, 136).


8. James Christopher Fagan, born 24 May 1863, died 1 April 1868 (MI, Charcombe; bc).


10. Lucius Emilius Fagan, born c. 1867, Bath. Apparently an officer in Indian Army. Presumably named after his eldest sister, with appropriate changes.

11. Blanche Clara Fagan born c. 1869, Bath. Perhaps the ‘daughter’ born at the Grammar School, 1 July 1868 (Bath Chronicle, 9 July 1868; Tynan 1913).

Lucilla Fagan and Charles Walker
Henry’s sister Lucilla’s husband Charles Walker was born at Manchester, 1838, and lived at Leeds, 1841 and 1851 censuses. He was the son of the Wesleyan minister Edward Walker. He had been Captain (i.e. head boy) of Market Bosworth Grammar School, and won a scholarship to Queens College, University of Oxford, during Fagan’s first year as headmaster (Leicester Journal, 22 June 1855). Walker graduated in 1859 and was first in merit amongst the candidates selected in 1859 and tested in the Indian Civil Service examinations. When Acting Head Assistant at Coimbatore he had a severe attack of the cholera which killed his wife. In April 1866 he went home [ie to the U. K.] for 20 months. He was suffering unmistakably from ‘pulmonary consumption’ when he returned to Madras in November 1867 and on 16 February 1869 he obtained a year’s leave in Australia on medical certificate. References: Morning Post, 1 September 1859; Daily News, 14 August 1860; Critic 21.528, 18 August 1860: 206; Allen’s Indian Mail, 22 September 1869; Foster 1888, vol. 4: 1483).

Lucilla fell ill, was delivered of a stillborn daughter on 6 July 1867, and herself died on 11 August, in what were apparently lodgings at 24 St James Square, Bath. DC, for which Charles was the informant, gives the cause as “disease of the heart and liver. Seven weeks”. The onset preceded the stillbirth; perhaps, in modern terms, Lucilla had contracted septicaemia leading to miscarriage and multiple organ failure, or perhaps eclampsia leading to stillbirth and puerperal fever. She was buried at Charlcombe (MI).

Notices: 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. The address was a lodging house in the 1861, 1871 and 1881 censuses, as were other buildings in the street, and continuity is suggested by the fact that it was operated by the same keeper, William Collings, in 1861 and 1881 (though he was not present in 1871). The 1861 lodgers were a rector from Cheshire and a fundholder from Hampshire, so it was plainly a respectable lodging house. This may seem an odd place, but her illness may have been sudden, and, even assuming she could be safely moved, a sickbed there may have been more practical than a house in the middle of a school full of boys, and a rectory (if indeed it was available) full of children. It is always possible that there was a contagious disease involved; the timing is very close to the death of her niece and partial namesake Emily Lucilla.

**Henry Fagan’s residence at Charlcombe**

A major dispute over the Bath Grammar School led to a long legal case in Chancery which imposed conditions on the operation of the school. Amongst other things, this required the headmaster to live in Bath Grammar School itself. It is not clear what was done with the rectory. William Brooke Kempson (1795-1859), Rector of Stoke-Lacy, Herefordshire, died there in 1859 (Foster [1888], vol. 2, 785; Venn 1940-1954, part 2, volume 4), but he could have been a visitor rather than occupier. The rectory would have been useful for Fagan’s large family and for staying out of Bath during holidays, and it is interesting that Henry’s sister Lucilla was evidently looking after some of her nephews and nieces at Charlcombe Rectory at the 1861 census, while Henry and his wife were at the school in Bath city.

**Blanche Forrester**
At the 1861 census there was also present at Charlcombe one “Blanche Forrester”, noted as born in Bath. It is presumed that she was a friend of Henry and Emily’s eldest daughter and it is possible that their youngest daughter was named for her.

She is here identified as Blanche Caroline Forrester (1850-1870) born Bath 4th quarter 1850, daughter of Robert B. Forrester, land and house proprietor, and Mary Forrester lodging in Phillack, Cornwall, in 1851 census. She died aged 19 on 6 April 1870 at Woodlands, Mylor (on the inlet of Carrick Roads, north of Falmouth, Cornwall) (West Briton, 14 April 1870, Royal Cornwall Gazette, 23 April 1870).

Robert Forrister was born Robert Berkley or Birkley in Leicester c. 1827 (see below) but added the surname of Forrester in 1849 as a result of the will of William Forrester of Leicester (St James’s Magazine, vol. 1, p. 2, “Changes of Name”). He came into his inheritance on his 21st birthday (Leicester Chronicle, 25 July 1848, Leicestershire Mercury, 29 July 1848). But it looks very much as if he squandered his inheritance with such things as a big party for his tenantry on his 21st birthday; he soon ran into financial problems and had to assign property in Leicester for a period to his debtors (including relatives), and moved first to Ramsey, Isle of Man, and then to Bath (Bath Chronicle, 2 January 1851; Birmingham Gazette, 6 January 1851; Leicester Chronicle, 24 and 25 January 1851; Stamford Mercury, 16 July 1880). He seems to have recovered financially in due course, with a son at Marlborough College.

His wife and Blanche’s mother was Mary-Oliver Vassall, who married Robert at Walcot, Bath in July 1849 (Standard, 4 July 1849; Gentleman’s Magazine, August 1849, p. 198). She was daughter of the “late” (in wedding reports) William Vassall MD. Visitation of England and Wales, Volume 13 edited by Joseph Jackson Howard, Frederick Arthur Crisp, p 43, has William Vassall (1780-1845) of Winterbourne Court, Gloucestershire, army surgeon in Peninsular War, who had married m Anne Oliver, daughter of Col. Samuel Oliver of Great Wigston, Leics., who died at Thornhayes, Downside, but was buried at Lansdowne, Bath, in 1875, aged 78.

**Move to Cornwall and exchange of benefices**

Fagan’s plan seems to have taken some time to implement, not surprisingly; the proposal was mentioned in the press at least as early as May 1870 and the formal announcement was made in August, with McDowell and Fagan in their respective posts by the end of that month (Western Gazette, 13 May 1870; West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser, 11 August 1870; Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, 19 August 1870; Royal Cornwall Gazette, 27 August 1870).

**Emily Fagan probate**

Will proved on 5 June 1923, then resident in Bayswater, London. Identity confirmed by the executor being Rev. John Stead Patrick Fagan, her son (NPC). Small estate of £537.

**Fagan publications**
it is unclear if he was the ‘H. S. F.’ who wrote a letter on intestate succession, Examiner, 6 April 1850, 218)

**Fagan as a Liberal Party establishment figure**

Tynan (1913: 186) interestingly notes that in the mid-1880s Emily Fagan was an “old friend” of “Mrs Rickett” who was somehow connected to the industrialist, lay preacher, and writer Joseph Rickett, later Sir Joseph Compton Rickett (1847-1919). He was a pupil of Fagan’s at Bath and latterly became a Liberal Member of Parliament in 1895 and Cabinet Minister in 1916 (Anon. 1901: 101-102; Sutherland 1989: 535). However, this elevation only took place after Fagan’s death, so is not discussed in the biographical paper.

Rickett was the eldest son of Joseph Rickett, sometime farmer of Barham House, Easthoathly, new Uckfield, Sussex, and his sister Catherine Eliza Rickett married Henry Mortimer Fagan, Henry and Emily’s son, in 1880 (Standard, 17 May 1880; Bury and Norwich Post, 25 May 1880). It seems likely that Emily’s friend “Mrs Rickett” was his mother, and in the 1871 census Emily and her daughter Mary are visiting the Rickett family in Croydon.

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