JOSEPH ANTHONY MARTINDALE - 19th July 1837 to 3cd April 1914

Princess Victoria succeeded her uncle William IV to the British crown on 20th June 1837. Joseph Anthony Martindale was born just a month later. He died less than three months before Gavrilo Princip's reckless outrage at Sarajevo, on 28th June 1914, overturned the world he had known.

In 1837 the British monarchy had not yet been rid of the raffish shades of the Regency. That milieu's icon, Beau Brummell, was very much alive, if in debt induced exile in Caen, where he died, penniless and insane, in 1840. In the world which greeted the infant Martindale, politics and society seems still to have conformed very much to eighteenth century forms.

By the time Joseph retired, Queen Victoria had rather overdone remodelling the monarchy into a symbol of rectitude, duty and sobriety. But the odd Prince of Wales apart, this is the symbolism that still persists.

At the end of Victoria's long reign, The major landowners and gentry still occupied positions of great privilege, the aristocracy glittering atop the summit ridges of society, but economic growth was causing the basis of power to shift. Britain had actually changed a great deal. Big business and big municipality had added a huge cadre of the salaried to the ranks of the middle classes. These people were, on the whole, what we think of as typically Victorian, hard working, energetic, inquisitive and sober. Joseph Martindale was one such.

When Princip mortally wounded both the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife the Duchess Sophie, his intention was to ingratiate himself with the leaders of Serbian nationalism by assassinating the heirs to the imperial crown of Austria-Hungary. I doubt he expected to release the dogs of war to predate across half the world. I'm sure he did not contemplate the consequences his zealotry would visit on the lives of those mourning the passing of a village schoolmaster in Westmorland.

But that is all in the distant future of our story. For the time being we return to it's beginnings.

Origins

Joseph was born to John and Jane Martindale in Stanhope, Weardale, County Durham on 19th July 1837. Joseph's birth certificate shows that his father's occupation was "Schoolmaster" and that his mother's maiden name was Bustin¹.

In the obituary printed in the Westmorland Mercury and Times, 10th April 1914, the author, anonymous but possibly his wife or one of his children, clearly well informed (but for one mistake, of which later) and well prepared, states of Joseph, "His forefathers, whom he could trace back to 1600, himself in the direct male line, probably came from North Westmorland, but owned a small estate in Durham on which they lived for many generations till his father, Mr. John Martindale, sold, when it came into his possession"².

When John Martindale's father, Joseph, died, it was John who registered the death. Joseph had died of consumption on 14th November 1837, aged 60, at Wood Meadows, Weardale, County Durham. Joseph's occupation was recorded as "Miner". It is posssible that Wood Meadows was at Daddry Shield (there are remains of old lead mines there), near St. John's Chapel.

Lead mining, which was the chief activity of it's type in the Stanhope area at the time was mainly in the hands of the Quaker inspired and directed London Lead Company, which dominated the industry in the northern Pennines throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as is documented in Arthur Raistrick's fascinating book⁴.

The company mined and smelted lead in an area of over a thousand square miles, from Alston in the north west down to Ravenstonedale in the south west, across to Ryton on the outskirts of Newcastle and to Marrick near Reeth in Swaledale in the south east. It had acquired the leases on various estates over a lengthy period, and employed the miners directly rather than buying in ore dug by independent operators. Nevertheless, in Weardale, when consolidating its activities in 1790, the company bought the moiety of 30 small mines⁵, i.e. some part owners were bought out. I wonder if the Martindale family were one of these, perhaps retaining some farmland as their "small estate", while becoming employees of the London Lead Company.

When registering his father's death, John Martindale described himself as a "Schoolmaster" residing in Stanhope, therewith raising another intriguing and possibly less speculative possibility. The London Lead Company was characterised by the concern it showed for the welfare of its employees, exemplified in the provision of schools for their children. In Weardale, the Company subsidised the building of a school at Stanhope⁶: was this the school where Joseph Anthony Martindale's father first taught?

Joseph would have known family history and traditions which are not available to us, and he was a century nearer to the events. I have trawled the Mormon website Familysearch.org and can't identify a North Westmorland connection, but the information on the website isn't comprehensive. What it does show is that there were Martindales or Martindaills in the Warcop area in 1600, so perhaps that district might be where his family originated.

Anybody interested in what I have managed to piece together regarding Joseph's ancestors will find it in Appendix 1.

We don't know when John Martindale sold the "small estate", but it was probably by 1840 as Joseph later wrote⁷ in 1857 that he "was taken to Durham" in that year. By the time of the 1841 census, John Martindale and his family were living in the township of Crossgate, part of the city of Durham. The obituary⁸ states "Young Martindale did not reside long at Stanhope, for his father was [at] first mathematical master at Bede College, Durham, when Joseph was only two or three years of age". We know from the records of Durham University⁹ which concern the setting up of a training college for schoolteachers, that "Mr. Martindale of the Crossgate House Academy" was appointed as a teacher at the college on 25th October 1841.

Although the obituary continues, "Very shortly after that [taking up the position at Bede College] his family, of whom Joseph was the eldest of seven, removed to Sunderland,...", this move does not appear to have taken place before the end of 1845 and it must have happened by mid 1848, because one of Joseph's siblings, Jane Eliza, was born in Durham in the last quarter of 1845, and another, Henry Featherstone, was born in Sunderland in the second quarter of 1848. In Sunderland, their father "conducted a private school, lecturing and writing on agriculture and chemistry, in the preparation of students" At the time of the birth of the youngest child, Charlotte Hannah in July 1850, they lived at 11 Fawcett St., Bishopwearmouth, Sunderland. The spacious houses in Fawcett St. would have been very suitable for the John's "academy" and Jane's ladies' "seminary" which shared the same address 12. The 1851 census recorded them at Diamond Hall, Deptford, Bishopwearmouth. This is a different area, almost a mile away as the crow flies and I cannot explain the change of address 13.

It seems Joseph was a precocious child, being only seven years of age when, "....amongst youths of 18 or 19, when examined by a well known professor of that day, was awarded the medal for chemistry", his father, however, would not let him accept the medal, presumably he felt it improper for the accolade to go to his son rather than to one of his students. It seems to have been a matter of life-long regret and Joseph, "....in later years often used to refer to him as hard on him" A photograph still exists (see endnote 111), showing a small boy wearing a knickerbocker suit and a mortar-board, posed rather self-consciously, leaning on a side-table. I wondered if it might be a memento of that occasion, but the carte-de-visite type of photograph, which it is, did not exist in the 1840s. Yet tellingly, it might well be George Ernest Martindale (born 1864), Joseph thereby ensuring that his child did not have cause to feel hard-done-by.

John Martindale died at Diamond Hall on 9th March 1851. His death certificate¹⁵ lists his afflictions as influenza (28 days), typhoid fever (7days) and, for 5 days, cerebritis (an inflammation of the brain nowadays often associated with lupus), leaving his widow Jane with a business to run as well as seven¹⁶ children to bring up, of whom Joseph, then aged about 13½, was the eldest.

The return for Diamond Hall in the 1851 census, taken on March 30th, just 3 weeks after John died, only accounts for six children, Joseph (13), Thomas (12), John (9), George (7), Henry (2) and Charlotte (8 months). But there were seven because Jane (5) was absent on census day. She was recorded as a "visitor" in the household of Isabella Waters, Grocer and Tea Dealer of 7 East Cross St., Bishopwearmouth, Sunderland¹⁷.

I think Jane Martindale moved her family back to Stanhope in 1852¹⁸ for, as we have seen, there is evidence that Joseph returned there in that year. I also believe that she continued to support her family by teaching. The 1861 census records her occupation as "Schoolmistress", I assume in her own school. At that date she still had 3 children at home, Jane, Henry and Charlotte. In the 1871 census, she was 64 years old. and no occupation was given for her; Only one daughter, Jane, was recorded as present, and she was described as "Teacher of Private School", so she might have been unqualified. Perhaps this was the last gasp of Mrs. Martindale's school. In the 1881 census, Jane was recorded as "Formerly Teacher" in Joseph 's house in Staveley, where I believe she lived until her death in 1885¹⁹.

What I know of Jane's other children is to be found in Appendix 2.

Joseph Anthony - early years

We have already heard of his academic precocity in chemistry, and from the evidence of his adult life it is clear that as well as being highly intelligent he possessed a great facility for learning. At 13 he was already acting as an "Assistant Teacher" in the school at Diamond Hall, no doubt due to the predicament created by his father's premature death, but he was doing it none the less (1851 census). Accordingly²⁰, this situation meant that "he had to forego a University

education".

In the 1850s, university was far from being the usual way for youths with his background to progress. Nevertheless, it is obvious that his father, who was running a school which prepared students for higher education²¹, recognised his ability, and was in a position to nurture it. Had John Martindale lived, his school might have prospered and provided the means for his eldest son to go to university and embark on an academic life. This wasn't to be, and Joseph buckled down and got on with what was feasible, even though it meant he had some catching up to do.

On 1st March 1853, he was bound apprentice for a period of five years to Thomas Edward Hall, Master of the National School in Tow Law (a rapidly growing mining and iron making township less than 10 miles from Stanhope), undertaking that he would:-

"...not except for illness, absent himself from the said school during school hours and shall conduct himself with honesty, sobriety and temperance and shall not be guilty of any profane, or lewd conversation or conduct or of gambling or any other immorality but shall diligently and obediently assist in the instruction and discipline of the scholars of the said Tow Law National School, under the direction of the Master, and shall apply himself with industry to the instructions which shall be given him by the Master, and shall regularly attend divine service on Sunday"²².

Quite a tall order for someone not yet 16, even though, at that age, he was probably a year or so older than most tyro Pupil Teachers.

In return for all this respectability and effort, Mr. Hall, his heirs of assigns or whoever filled his shoes if he should die, was to provide the Pupil Teacher with appropriate experience and guidance in school, and to "...devote one hour and a half at least in every morning or evening, before or after the usual hours of school – to the further personal instruction of the said Joseph Anthony Martindale". Part way through Joseph's pupil-ship, William Lidgate took over as Master and the indenture was duly, and lengthily, endorsed.

Joseph only remained at Tow Law National School until Christmas 1856, well short of the full five years of his apprenticeship. He had obtained a Queen's Scholarship and was admitted to St. John's Training College, Battersea. A government grant was payable to the school on the success of a Pupil Teacher. As this would have been received sooner than Mr. Lidgate might have expected, I dare say he was happy to terminate the apprenticeship early. Both Hall and Lidgate were Joseph's referees for St. John's²³.

The Training Agreement for Battersea, which Joseph signed on 21st February 1857, consists firstly of his answers to questions which presumably comprise what attributes the college authorities, as befitted a Church of England institution, deemed to be necessary for admission to their cloisters. Of the 12 questions, as well as the usual facts about date and place of birth, current address etc., others relate to the applicant's religious background and observances, his financial and marital circumstances, and employment history. Secondly, the agreement contains the following undertaking "I agree thankfully to accept any School to which I may be appointed by the Principal of the College and I enter the College on that understanding".

From his answers to the questions we learn that Joseph had a 1st Class Queen's Scholarship, was 19½ when he entered St. Johns, and that he had moved to Durham in 1840, returning to Stanhope in 1852.

Entries in the Registry of St. John' College²⁴ state that Joseph was admitted to St. John's on 24th January 1857 and was "sent out" at "Xmas" 1857 to Stanwix National School, Carlisle, on a salary of £80 plus a house. This seems an unusually short sojourn at the College, but maybe, being a very bright young man in a hurry, he had somehow fast-tracked the training process.

Joseph's "School Master's Certificate" still exists. As befits the value placed on these "parchments" by those granted them, it is an impressive document bearing the royal crest, and is composed of 2 thick foolscap (approximately A3) sheets. Most of the space is reserved for the comments of School Inspectors in the years to come, but it is explicitly stated that Joseph was examined in December 1857, "according to the course of study which answers to the first year of normal training". It also informs us that in September 1859, "...having been employed for 1³/4 years in the Stanwix National School, he was required to teach a class in the presence of Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools who made the following report. 'Mr. Martindale is a good teacher and has considerably improved the character of his school'."

Joseph's certificate was of "The First Division of the Third Degree of Merit".

The St. John's college registry has some other cryptic entries suggesting that the Stanwix school managers reported to

St. John's in September 1858 that their probationary teacher was "satisfactory" but that January 1859 he was found to be "unsatisfactory": by Michaelmas 1859 he had found a new appointment for himself, or was directed to it by the college. He moved to Staveley National School at the lesser salary of £70, and no house.

Although this smacks of being obliged to accept an inferior post it's hard to imagine Joseph being not up to the job, so perhaps there were issues other than competence at Stanwix. Whatever the circumstances of his departure from Stanwix, Joseph was to succeed in Westmorland, and the college registry records receiving a "satisfactory" in March 1860. He arrived in Staveley on October 31st 1859, and was to teach there for the rest of his working life. In May 1876, after 18 years as a Certificated Schoolmaster, Joseph's certificate was stamped "This Certificate is raised to The 1st Class".

Bobbinopolis

These notes are not intended to be a history of Staveley or even Staveley School in Joseph's time, as both subjects have already been ably catered for, notably by the Rev. E.W.J.McConnel²⁶, the Staveley and District History Society²⁷, and the Friends of Staveley CE School²⁸, but it will be necessary to provide some context for Joseph's life and work and it is to these publications that I am most indebted.

Neither is the present work meant to be a history of elementary education in the nineteenth century, as we have already talked quite a lot about that in the notes about George Stabler, but we will have to touch on the subject as Joseph's experiences as a teacher were not identical to George's.

Staveley had grown very rapidly over the preceding half century, almost doubling its population from 858 in 1801 to 1667 in 1851). The late eighteenth century had seen the development of first, a cotton and later a woollen textile industry, drawn to Staveley by the prospect of the water power available from the Kent and Gowan rivers. The businesses were never large enough to compete with those in the great textile centres of Lancashire, Scotland and West Yorkshire, but it was to be these regions' insatiable need for the medium of storing and distributing their yarn which turned Staveley into the "bobbin capital" with it's wares manufactured on an industrial scale. By 1851, the bobbin trade supported more local families than did agriculture²⁹.

A report in the Westmorland Mercury of 2nd February 1859³⁰ stated that one firm alone shipped out 3500 gross of bobbins per week, and was in the process of building the biggest bobbin mill in the North of England. 3500 gross is over half a million, which sounds almost implausible, but whatever the true figure was, it was a very great many.

Factory work, however ill-rewarded, meant regular cash wages, usually paid on Saturday, and the village was well supplied with inns and beer-houses in which to spend them³¹. In 1851 the bobbin mills employed 193 workers of whom 105 were young men aged 25 or under. As Joe Scott pointed out, 'Staveley must have been a lively place on a Saturday night'.

I think there will have been an infectious rowdiness which these mens' younger brothers carried with them into school, and that Joseph would have had his work cut out 'getting a grip' in the first few years of his tenure.

Although the community had developed quite dramatically it had administrative characteristics inherited from the rural past: it comprised 4 townships, Kentmere, Hugill, Over Staveley and Nether Staveley. The total population in 1851 was about 1670³², most of whom lived in and around the village of Staveley, where the boundaries of Hugill and the two Staveley townships intersected, Kentmere being somewhat out on a limb. There were churches and schools at Ings in Hugill, Over Staveley and Kentmere. One of the townships contained the village lock-up.

To what extent this fragmentation might have held back the village's "civic" development, I cannot say. Perhaps it was an irrelevance in the era before anything existed which we would recognise as active local government. It remains though, that the needs of an expanding, industrialised, village were different from those of an agricultural community like Levens, where there was a relatively static population. Both communities were still subject to a venerable administrative structure of parish and vestry, yet even these institutions were remote, for neither community was yet a parish in its own right. Levens, however, had less need of their ministrations.

Staveley had, to all intents and purposes, outgrown it's "civic" clothes, but there was no alternative structure to cater for its needs. Progress would depend on the personal initiative of energetic individuals, and, in 1858, one of these came to Over Staveley.

In 1856, the Kendal area had been transferred from the diocese of Chester to that of Carlisle, where the Bishop, Henry Montagu Villiers, determined to overhaul his acquisition. He made the chapelries of Kentmere, Staveley and Ings (Hugill), which had all been subsidiaries of Kendal parish, into separate parishes and appointed reforming³³ vicars.

Staveley received the Rev. William Chaplin, Bachelor of Divinity, born in Dalston, Middlesex in 1824, into the family of a well-off merchant. He had taken his degree at Emmanuel College, Cambridge³⁴, and studied Theology at St.Bees College³⁵.

Chaplin had been curate at Kendal Parish Church since 1850. He arrived in Staveley in 1858 an was to remain there for the next 40 years, and expended much of his formidable energy modernising it.

McConnel wrote of the situation facing Chaplin on his appointment, "...though flourishing in temporal matters, in other respects things were not so well in the parish. The Church was in bad repair, and worse than all, the congregation small and spiritless. The school was simply a horror, a low ceiled, square room, too small, wretchedly furnished, with a broken flagged floor, an unsightly rusty stove in the middle and a coal place in the corner....". What's more, there was no proper vicarage. "...he immediately set himself to remedy all that was wrong".

Joseph's role in all of this

Joseph's appointment as Master seems to have been a part of the Vicar's grand plan for village improvement.

One of the things that needed fixing was the school, and not just it's building and furniture. Though the existing building was only about 20 years old, there had been a school in Staveley since at least the mid C16, teaching being the responsibility of the curate, just as it was in Selside in the youth of James Martindale Barnes³⁷.

As in Selside and hundreds of other communities across England the form of education was the "Free Grammar School", financed by the rents of property bequeathed by benefactors in the past. In these schools, boys were supposedly taught a classical education on the lines of that which Wordsworth received at Hawkshead Grammar School which taught "Latin grammar and the principles of the Greek tongue and other sciences including arithmetic and geometry, sufficient to meet the practical needs of the businessman, surveyor, or navigator. Ancient history was taught through the classics, and Latin was the medium for modern history"³⁸.

Hawkshead was a successful school, sending several boys to Cambridge each year, including Wordsworth. It is hard to imagine Staveley Free Grammar School being anything other than a pale shadow. The curate before Chaplin paid substitutes to do the teaching, the last one being a Richard Walker who had lost both hands in a mill accident in Burneside in 1843 when he was 13 or 14 years of age, so it seems doubtful if much of the classical curriculum was still being taught. Walker left when Martindale, the first qualified teacher, was appointed, and appears to have gone to live in the Lowick area with his wife and children, combining the occupations of schoolmaster and grocer for many years.

Chaplin, according to McConnel³⁹, "found in the school 40 children, of whom 3 or 4 were learning classics. He called a public meeting on June 27, 1859, at the Abbey Hotel". Those present at this meeting discussed how to improve the school and whether they should continue with it as a "grammar school", bearing in mind that the existing endowments provided a total of £60 per year to support it, and that people who sent their children to the mill to earn 2/6 did not want classics and could not afford to pay a quarterly school fee.

Finance, or lack of it, was probably the factor that determined the outcome and the meeting resolved to put the school "under government inspection for 7 years", presumably as a trial, yet to retain financial responsibility for the costs of enlargement or repair in local hands.

Putting the school under government inspection meant that it would be eligible to receive the government subsidies without which Chaplin presumably believed the school could not provide education for Staveley's burgeoning population. He was probably right, but, as we shall see, things did not quite turn out as he might have expected.

In order to benefit from the government scheme, the school was obliged to be in the hands of a Certificated teacher. Within four months Joseph was in post, with his salary subsidised by the Rev. Chaplin who subscribed generously to the school as well⁴⁰. Staveley was claimed to be the second National School to be opened in the county, the first being in nearby Burneside in 1858⁴¹.

I wonder if Joseph, during his time in Stanwix, had somehow come to the Bishop's notice as a suitable candidate? At all events, he seems to have been keen to take on the job. McConnel⁴² quotes Joseph, on accepting the post, as writing "I am most willing to lay out my whole energies in the task I undertake, and shall not shrink from labour". It is fair to say that he lived up to his word.

The 1861 census reveals, that once in Staveley, Joseph lived in digs in the household of Matthew Taylor, Grocer, of Staveleygate, Over Staveley.

This was one of the differences between Joseph's situation and that of his friend George Stabler in Levens. George occupied a schoolmaster's house provided, if not free of charge, by the wealthy landowning family which was his school's patron. It was not the only difference.

The National School

Although Stabler's school might not have, strictly speaking, been a National School and Martindale's was, both were "Church Schools" in the sense that they were part of the same movement, in which the Church of England and the voluntary initiatives allied with it, not the state, had taken it upon themselves to provide for elementary education in England and Wales (see Appendix 3 for an outline of the origins of the National Schools).

Today, we are accustomed to ground breaking ventures turning out to be far more costly than their sponsors expected. The National Health Service is a wonderful example, unleashing a pent-up demand for healthcare that nobody had foreseen.

In 1833 when the Government first granted £20,000 to the Anglican National Society and the Nonconformist Royal Lancastrian Society, to subsidise the building of schools, it didn't know how many children of school age there were in the country. As the scale of the financial commitment that had been taken on gradually became clear, I suppose it was inevitable that the greater part of the funding was going to have to come from the state: as a corollary, the party paying the piper gradually encroached on the choice of the music and we shall see how soon Martindale was to feel the effect.

In Levens the school had been founded and built by the Howard family and was dependent on them for financial support beyond that available in the form of the government grant scheme. In other respects, by the mid Nineteenth Century, the Levens schools were very similar to National Schools. The crucial difference being that though the Levens schools were always hard up, they did have the Howards to bail them out,

On 25th October 1877, George Stabler wrote in his logbook⁴³, "The School was closed this day, because of the interment of the Honble. Mrs Howard, the lady who has for a great number of years been a great benefactor to the schools in this village. Since the School was placed under government inspection she has been the sole subscriber to the school expenses: She was ever ready to use her means for anything that might advance education in the village...".

In Staveley it was different.

Starting from scratch

My main source for the details of Joseph's 42 years as master of Staveley School is the school logbook, which, in a single volume covers almost the entire period of his working life except for the first two years. The log commences on 27th October 1862 and is marked with a handwritten "VOL I". I assume that one of the diktats of the Revised Code of Education of 1862 was the keeping of logbooks and that none exist for earlier years.

Schoolmasters were supposed to restrict the entries to school business, such as lessons taught and tests carried out, so logbooks are not autobiographies and personal revelations are very rare⁴⁵. Nevertheless, occasionally, we catch a glimpse of the personality of the master or mistress when recounting an incident and from time to time there are entries explaining events, for the record. That there is actually more of Martindale's personality to be gleaned from his logbook than of Stabler's from Levens" might in itself suggest how their personalities differed. For the moment I will concentrate on the differences in their working lives.

We have already seen that Stabler's well established school in Levens was under the patronage of a wealthy landowner, who made up the difference between what had to be spent on the essentials (salaries, rates, schoolbooks and heating etc) and income from the cheeseparing government grants and the paltry amount parents paid in their "school pence". In Staveley, the only way of augmenting these was to persuade people to subscribe to the school and the surviving school accounts suggest this would garner little in the way of income. In 1891, £3-3-0d was received as "voluntary contributions from private individuals", less than 1% of the cost of running the school⁴⁶.

Martindale was really in at the deep end, forming a National School from the bare bones of the old Free Grammar. Where there had been 40 boys in 1858, there were 140 children of both sexes "on the books" in 1860⁴⁷. Though attendance would have always been well below the nominal roll, it had probably at least doubled within a year of him starting, The old building was unchanged and the finances were limited. In comparison, George Stabler at Levens Boys' School recorded attendances of between 30 and 38 in the first year of his logbook (1863).

Very soon the government moved the goalposts in an attempt to make elementary education both cheaper for the taxpayer and more efficient, so that it gave the children of the masses a standardised set of basic knowledge at the

lowest possible charge on the public purse. After all, the Crimean War still had to be paid for. The financial effect was to reduce the government subsidy, which had been a capitation grant but was now to be distributed as follows:- 4/- for each pupil with a satisfactory attendance record, with an additional 8/- which was only paid in full if the pupils passed examinations in reading, writing and arithmetic. This payment by result element to be reduced by one third for each subject failed⁴⁸. Across the country, the income of elementary schools dropped. In addition, the government no longer guaranteed the salaries of the Pupil Teachers.

The Rev. Chaplin wrote on 1st August 1865 railing against the workings of the Revised Code of 1862, "....A population exclusively of the manufacturing class. Not a single wealthy resident to support the school but the bare endowment which is itself insufficient to pay the master a good salary. Money is lavishly wasted in wealthy neighbourhoods, but where poverty is the general misfortune, there this unjust & iniquitous arrangement called the RC increases the pressure....".

Chaplin may have been guilty of special pleading, because this letter, which was copied into the school logbook, was addressed to The Secretary of the Council on Education (the Privy Council Committee which supervised the government's annual grants to schools and which was the precursor of the Ministry of Education). Chaplin wrote it after the school had received an unflattering HMI report following the annual inspection in May 1865. He was complaining about the school being unable to afford enough staff.

Chaplin was obviously keen to attract patrons for his projects. On 22^{nd} February 1864, he got Joseph to stage "an examination of the whole school tomorrow in the presence of R.W.Buckley of London & one of the managers of the school". Buckley was a wealthy London barrister who, in 1862, had inherited a large amount of land in the locality from his uncle⁴⁹.

The exam must have impressed Buckley for on 3rd April 1864 the logbook noted that he had presented the school with 40 copies of each of a grammar and a geography book. Buckley was to become a major benefactor in Staveley, funding various building projects at the school, the church and chapels, and the Working Men's Institute. However, I do not believe he subsidised their running costs.

The 40 pupils that Chaplin found at the Free Grammar School in 1858 had become an average attendance of just under 120 during the last week in August 1865 (the logbook does not contain figures for earlier dates). Attendance was very variable due to reasons similar to those we have already seen in Levens, including going to dancing school. There were additional causes pertinent to Staveley which were mentioned in the logbook, such as "peeling bark from poles for bobbin wood" (13th April 1863), and Staveley Spring and October fairs, (1st April 1863 & 7th October 1870). Absenteeism, however, did not offset the fact that there were still far more pupils than the master could educate by himself.

It is clear that Joseph got off to a good start, for the Inspector's comment on his "parchment" in 1860 was, "Mr. Martindale's work in this school is in every way highly creditable". After the 1862 examination the report, as copied into the logbook, says "This school is still improving under Mr. Martindale. The Reading and Oral Answering are decidedly better than they were last year. The children show more intelligence and cultivation and the promise for the future is good". In 1862 he had some help in the form of a Pupil Teacher, John Long and a paid Monitor, Robert Taylor, who later also became a Pupil Teacher. John Long had been his Pupil Teacher since 1860. We will see later that these two were not an unmixed blessing, but they satisfied a need, as did Jeremiah Prill whom Chaplin engaged during a prolonged absence by John Long in mid 1863.

I am not sure when John Long left the school, but Joseph noted on 22nd August 1864 that "Jeremiah Prill is under notice to leave since the Managers, owing to the withdrawal of Government grants have no money to pay him". No reason was given for the grant withdrawal and the school had not received bad HMI reports in 1863 or 1864. It is likely that Joseph was referring to the financial retrenchment after 1862 when the Government no longer guaranteed the wages of Pupil Teachers.

The headroom to offset government stinginess by increasing the school pence was very limited. On 3rd April 1865, Joseph wrote "The managers have given notice that owing to the endowment minute of the Privy Council being applied to this school, that each child must pay 2d per week on the 1st of May instead of 1d.". Then, on 28th April, amongst the reasons for absenteeism, he included "the notice of the managers with respect to an increased payment...", and on 29th May, "The new scheme of payment was enforced today. Two boys in the first Class [the oldest of the children] tendered the old scale which was refused. They came in the afternoon for their books. Another boy in the 2nd Class has gone to the mill in consequence. The payment is 1st Class 3d, 2nd Class 2d, other Classes 1d".

Whatever the reason, the effect persisted, and on 31st July, opening the school after the summer holiday, Joseph wrote,

"Recommenced work. Robert Taylor's indentures have been cancelled & he has left school. The Master is the only teacher"

Chaplin wrote to the Secretary of the Council on Education on the following day, and in addition to his description of the lack of wealthy patrons quoted above, wrote as follows:-

"Sir, I should have acknowledged the receipt of the Report on our school much earlier had I been able to give a definite account of the Pupil Teacher, Robert Taylor. Finding that there is not a penny to pay his stipend it was folly to continue his services. Government having completely broken faith there is no reliance to be placed upon their word. We were induced to apprentice the lad with a guarantee that his stipend would be paid. I am thankful to say that I have obtained a situation for Robert Taylor so that we may be preserved in the future from such base and disgraceful treatment. We have not a penny to pay the salary in arrears......our case should be cited to show how badly the RC works.......Surely My Lords might make grants to pay arrears when Pupil Teachers are engaged upon their offers of help & not now dismissed so that they can no longer be a burden?".

There is no record of a reply and I don't know what became of Robert Taylor.

On 21st August, "Mistress began work – brought her school of little ones and girls". Joseph already had girls in his school so this sounds like the merger of an infants school with his establishment. It took him until 4th September before he could state, "Children finally arranged in classes". Between the two dates he had been variously "Arranging newcomers", subdividing classes, examining "newcomers arithmetic", arranging Monitors and instructing them how to teach the 5th & 6th Classes writing. His entire staff now amounted to one unqualified Infants' teacher with two or more of his older pupils teaching writing to the youngest of the non-infants, and Mrs. Wharton, who gave lessons in sewing, substituted, when ill, by Mrs. Martindale.

Attendance fluctuated, 127 on 26 September, 100 on 16th October, and a weekly average of 90 in mid November.

The 1866 inspection took place on 14th May, the subsequent report acknowledging the problem, and at the same time pointing out its consequences.

"The numbers are too great for the master to work the school thoroughly well with the aid only of a Mistress for the little children. It is evidently not right that the first four classes should be taken together in scripture. Nevertheless it is only fair to say that the master has succeeded much better in this point than could have been expected. The lowest class again learn no scripture at all, the Reading and Writing are somewhat below the average, the Arithmetic is defective throughout the school. Great improvement will be looked for in this particular next year – a greater variety of Needlework specimens should be exhibited".

Nothing seems to have been done and the Inspector's report the following year concluded "unless a better report is received next year on the Religious Knowledge and the needlework, My Lords will feel themselves bound to order a considerable deduction to be made from the grant...". The Inspector had noted "It is evident that great pains have been bestowed on the instruction in secular subjects....the Reading, Handwriting and Arithmetic are very decidedly improved...". Joseph was obviously having to neglect parts of the curriculum in order to teach the rest to an acceptable standard.

It seems that in spite of the lack of staff, Joseph and the Sewing/Infants Mistress and Monitors must have made tremendous efforts to improve the all-round level of achievement. In 1868 the Inspector gave his opinion that "Altogether the school is more efficient than it has been for some time", commenting specifically on "decided improvement" in scripture knowledge, that the examination "has also been passed with credit and the discipline is in a much more satisfactory state this year. The Needlework is greatly improved". Notwithstanding this assessment, which would have been very pleasing to Joseph, the tail had a sting in it; "The Grant has been reduced by £10 on account of the insufficiency of the Staff during the year". The school was being fined because it couldn't afford to employ enough staff.

Martindale could not conjure teachers out of the ether, but he could try to work round the shortage. In the middle of May 1869 he wrote an exceptionally long entry in the logbook. It was the longest to date. In three and a half pages he explained his difficulties and his plan to ameliorate them. "In consequence of the number of classes & diversity of stages to which the children have reached in Reading and Arithmetic, the school has become very difficult to instruct by one teacher.....I hope by this plan to be able to save time which has hitherto been very much frittered away by attempts to teach each Standard separately...".

The framers of the Revised Code may well have assumed that the children in any particular Class (age group) would all

be at the same achievement level, known as Standard (there were 6 at this time), for all three compulsory subjects. Even if they didn't assume complete symmetry in scholastic progress, they probably underestimated the potential difference within a Class, due to variations between the children in their ability, age and attendance. Joseph could not teach different Standards simultaneously to any of his classes. Instead, he would break the curriculum into its essential parts and then teach these parts to the children, in groups, as he deemed to be beneficial. Streaming by subject and ability in other words.

There follows a detailed scheme for juggling his time, the Mistress' and the Monitors' in an expedient intended to let him concentrate on moving the children forward more quickly and evenly in those subjects. He was justifying his divergence from the prescriptions of the Revised Code.

It seems to have worked for the 1869 Inspection found the school to be, "..in very fair order, and the standard of attainment both Religious and Secular is very creditable".

Average attendance was still rising, reaching 116 for the whole quarter recorded in September 1869, but the staff deficiency was still un-rectified. In 1870 another £10 was deducted from the Grant for "insufficient staff".

On 5th June 1871 attendance hit 142, and averaged 137 in the following week, rising to 140 the week after with a maximum of 151 and a minimum of 118. In the week 26th to 30th June the highest attendance was 154, "a wet day however pulled the numbers down to 115". Relief did eventually arrive and at the 1871 inspection, the presence of two first year Pupil Teachers was noted in addition to Mrs. Mary Coulthwaite, the infants and sewing mistress. "The School is in good order and the children have passed with great credit in the elementary subjects". In 1872, "The school is in very good order". On 14th June 1872, average attendance during the week was 154, 192 different children having attended "some time or another".

1872 was not the peak year for the number of children Martindale had to cope with. On 31st August 1877 he wrote, "average attendance this week 173, the highest average we have ever had in this school". The high tide appears to me to have been around 1880, subsequently remaining fairly constant (this could be wrong as the figures are not entered in the logbook systematically).

On 31st January 1879, Joseph wrote in the logbook that he had been compiling the return for the School Attendance Committee, ".....there were over 280 names upon the schedule": not that they turned up all the time by any means. The average for the week ending 13th August 1880 was 174, on 9th January 1899, 70 infants and 120 other pupils were present. On 2nd May 1902 the average for the week was 125, excluding infants.

After 1871 staff numbers do reappear as an issue in the logbook, but for different reasons. In 1875 Joseph recognised that Mary Wilson, Pupil Teacher in charge of the 4th Class, had "..upwards of 50 children in the class, several of them not fit for it, who are forced into it by the last code..." and separately, "the difficulty is how to subdivide it and give a teacher to each without robbing the other classes".

In 1880 the Inspector stated, "An Assistant Teacher should be engaged at once, or a Pupil Teacher passed from another school", but this followed a year in which there had been much disruption caused by illness, including Joseph's own. A similar report in 1881 demanded that, "two qualified Assistant Teachers must at once be employed..", but this was to satisfy the requirements of an article in the current code rather than to correct a serious deficiency in the teaching and results.

Nothing seems to have come of either initiative, but the quantity of teaching staff did gradually increase. In 1886 the Inspector found two certificated teachers present and one assistant, with 2 Pupil Teachers and one Monitor. Both Certificated teachers, the Assistant, and one of the Pupil Teachers were members of the Martindale family. Joseph seems to have solved the teacher shortage problem, when school funds allowed, by the use of his wife and children. Mary Ann was a Certificated teacher and four of their children started out on teaching careers, all of them beginning in their father's school. In 1898 there were only two Martindales but the list included six other staff, i.e. three Pupil Teachers, a Monitor, an Infant Mistress and one other Mistress.

In 2010, Staveley C of E School had 156 children on the roll, and disregarding catering, cleaning, after-school and shares in peripatetic staff, had in addition to the Head Teacher, 8 other teachers, 2 administrators and 8 teaching assistants⁵⁰, who are, I suppose, a sort of adult Monitor.

Getting a grip

The building used for the Free Grammar School was small. It now forms the north east corner of the modern school. An undated note inserted in the front of the logbook gives the dimensions of "the old school" which appear to have

been 30 feet in length, 30½ wide and 21½ high at the ridge, so it would easily have become crowded. Considering the fact that everyone got taught in this early form of open-plan it is hardly surprising that it was prone to noise and disorder.

The pressure on space is apparent in the logbook in 1864 for on 6th April Joseph recorded, "I have given notice that no children can be admitted who are not of the standing of the 4th Class at least. This must continue till the 5th Class is smaller."

In the same year, in an attempt to increase the available space, the village lock-up, which stood at the entrance to the schoolyard, was knocked down and the materials used to build a porch. I believe that in dimensions it was 13' square. Either this porch was intended to perform the role of a classroom, or it was pressed into service for want of any alternative.

It might well have been the porch that led the Inspector, in 1867 in a masterpiece of understatement, to state that the extremely irregular attendance, combined with "....the shape of the room which is such that the Master cannot overlook all his classes at once, and the want of a classroom" were factors which "tend to make the Master's work more difficult than it otherwise would be". He was still complaining as late as 1896, when he commented that the porch's "use for daily lessons [is] to be avoided".

In 1865 it was proposed that candidates for admission should be brought by their parents and asked to read simple sentences, "write the nine figures and be able to count to 20"51. The school could not cope with numbers of children who couldn't do anything.

Infants were a presence that George Stabler never had to put up with at Levens, where they were in a different school, as were the girls. I am unsure how much responsibility Joseph had for the Infants, who had their own mistress (often unqualified in that era) and he did not record much about them in the logbook. He did however intervene when he believed he had to, writing on 3rd September 1876, "I shall take three times a week at least the infants with reading during the second lesson in the afternoon. They are all very backward and as there are a large number of them, I am afraid the Mistress will not manage them unassisted".

It is fairly obvious that their presence in the main schoolroom could only be disruptive. On 3rd October 1876 he wrote that the attendance was too great for the "size and capability of the room" and that "the managers have determined if possible to build a room for the infants...". He was keen to encourage them to get on with it for he continued, "I have already got plans prepared by an architect". All through the rest of that school year Joseph bemoaned the noise, the lack of space and desks and their cumulative detriment to the teaching and order. Of his Pupil Teachers he wrote, "As soon as the new room is finished...I shall expect a great deal better discipline in their classes". The new room was still unfinished on 5th October 1877 but he moved the Infants in anyway.

Nevertheless in 1870, the Inspector thought the infants "seemed to be well managed".

The school was extended again in 1870, but space was always at a premium and on 9th February 1883 Joseph commented, "The School accommodation is getting too small for the number of children. The noise......is in good part owing to this". At that time the managers had not yet managed to "secure a piece of ground to build an infants' school....".

Following the annual examination in May, the Inspector, after commenting unfavourably on the discipline and the "inattentiveness and talking among the infants", went on record about the urgent need for additional accommodation and added a warning, "The average attendance must not again be allowed to exceed the eight square feet limit, which gives room for 201, or the grant may be endangered". Eight square feet is about 0.75 sq. metres per child, a very tight fit indeed, especially as it was based on average not peak attendance.

This time, action was reasonably prompt and the infants were moved into the village institute as a temporary solution to the problem. Land was eventually obtained adjacent to the school, and an infants' room was built in 1886.

Perhaps the open-plan layout (common to most rural schools from the distant past up to late Victorian times) explains the odd remark in the chapter on Staveley in "Some Westmorland Villages". "In his day there were chalk lines drawn in straight lines across the floor. Teachers had to renew these each morning..."; did these demarcate the space allotted to each Standard?

At any rate, the first entry in the logbook on 27th October 1862 is, "Pupil Teachers warned to keep their classes more quiet". On 3rd November Joseph resorted to other means to calm the children down, "School noisy: Drilled them 2:20 to

3:20"53. He repeatedly commented about noise in the first few months and thereafter as well. More than one Inspector reported that the children were too noisy, for example in 1867. The Inspector for 1896 found the reverse to be the case with the youngest class, who showed "very little briskness, many of them lolling around in a careless manner, and much needing a good course of physical exercise".

Along with noise and disorder in the cramped accommodation it is hardly surprising that there was indiscipline. Even less surprising if you think that rowdiness would not be far below the surface of an industrial community. Very early in the logbook Joseph was frankly critical of his Pupil Teachers. It seems unfair to do this to callow youths, still in their teens, but discipline had to be enforced or chaos would have prevailed.

2nd December 1862 - "Robert Taylor's class remains in a 2nd time in consequence of noise, chiefly the result of his carelessness". Robert Taylor was no more than 14 or 15 years old.

7th January 1863 - "Have told the P Teachers that after the 3rd time of speaking to their class for disorder during a morning or afternoon, they must earn [unclear] a sharp imposition for each succeeding reproof". I think he meant that it was up to the PTs to stay in control and that he wasn't going to be impressed if they had repeated lapses.

9th March 1863 – The class Robert Taylor teaches, especially during Reading, is allowed to be idle, noisy and confused. I have spoken frequently to Robert without effect".

The Pupil Teachers would have had difficulties with those pupils closest to them in age as can be seen from the incident reported on 14th January 1863, "John Suart, a boy returned to school from farm labour, and too old and careless of corporal punishment by flogging – took no heed of my repeated request that he should be quiet. I therefore told him to go home. He seemed sorry & commenced to cry when leaving the room". Presumably John Suart's father was going to administer the flogging that Joseph thought was not worth his while. Joseph readmitted the boy after his father promised better behaviour in future.

Joseph sought to reinforce the Pupil Teachers' authority on 14th September 1863, "Spoke for ½ hour to 1st Class on obedience to PT. Some boys thought PTs had a spite against them. Showed them folly of their thoughts".

I don't think all the scholars can have been paying attention as two days later he wrote in the logbook, "I have punished B.Carradus & W.Arkwright severely for noisy and impertinent behaviour when kept in by R.Taylor".

Joseph was obviously ready to use corporal punishment, for whoever wrote the chapter on Staveley in "Some Westmorland Villages" in 1957, recounted "....and woe betide the ones who got their sums wrong – there was a hander for each."

There are however few mentions of punishments in the logbook. On 13th November 1866, "Isaac Preston left because the Rev. W.Chaplin caned him". I don't know what outrage Isaac had committed to get that from the chief of the school managers, but I wonder how many Primary School heads today will secretly envy this level of backup from the chair of the governors.

The 21st century head would probably like the freedom to do as Joseph did on 1st March 1866. "Have expelled Peter Carradus & Wm. Arkwright. The 1st boy left school when kept in and as he was upheld by his mother I told her to keep him away. The other boy has long been very idle, and troublesome and set a very bad example to the rest. I asked his father to remove him".

On 1st February 1867, "A painful [in more than one way] occurrence took place. F.Cragg was guilty of indecent conduct [Staveley was a mixed school] for which after flogging him I expelled him from the school with the concurrence of the Managers. Whether Cragg got another dose from his father is unknowable, but Mr. Cragg wrote "begging me to take his son back again". The managers decided that he should sweat for a while and another note arrived begging Joseph once again to readmit young Cragg. On 18th February he was allowed back into school.

Disciplinary issues were not confined to the scholars, as there is evidence that the hard-pressed Pupil Teachers sometimes overstepped the mark. On 26th October 1863 Joseph had to "...warn the PT and the Monitor that they must not strike any of the scholars and have talked to them about the proper manner of speaking to the Children. As a general rule they are too domineering & bullying".

The Inspector's report in 1863 casts some light on the uphill struggle that I think Joseph had in the early years of his school, "This school is energetically conducted by Mr. Martindale, but he does not seem to have much moral influence over his scholars or Pupil Teachers; though the latter have been ill behaved during the past year and the former though

kept in passable order, shewed signs of a disobedient spirit on the day of the inspection.." nevertheless, "The attainments are satisfactory, reading being much improved".

A glimpse of Joseph at work was given in "Some Westmorland Villages". "In school, he would walk up and down, appearing to be deep in thought, and, with hands behind, he clasped a cane which he swung upwards and downwards, and the point of it showed above his shoulders. At other times he would sit in a chair, with legs double-crossed, and smoke his churchwarden clay pipe, again deep in thought".

Perhaps, amongst other preoccupations, he was thinking about the Pupil Teachers

Pupil Teachers, essential but a mixed blessing

It didn't help in the early years that the Pupil Teachers that were available were less than outstanding. It seems to me that Robert Taylor wasn't really up to the job, but he might have succeeded if he'd had longer to mature and gain some authority. His contemporary, John Long, also contributed to the impression of ill behaviour that was reported in 1863.

On 24th November 1862, Joseph noted that John "seems to have been trying to improve his class". It sounds as if Joseph was agreeably surprised by this, but on 8th April 1863, the day before Robert Taylor had allowed his class "to be noisy, idle and confused", he noted that "John Long laid in bed too long this morning and did not get to lessons, nor was the school in order by school time". The lessons referred to were the tuition that the Master gave to the Pupil Teachers. That these took place before the school opened in the morning (9 a.m. In winter & 8:30 in the summer) might well have been a problem for the teenager, but Joseph had turned up.

On 13th May John Long again absented himself from lessons without leave and the exasperated Martindale forbade "him to come again till he expresses sorrow for his fault" there is then a space in the logbook, as if Joseph had added to the entry later in the day, and then wrote, "He had been to see his parents (who are going from the village) before their departure. I should not have adopted an extreme course on this occasion, but he is so often late (& sometimes absent) that nothing was left to me". It was not until the 18th that "John promised to do better" and he returned to lessons on the 19th. He went sick for the next three days, there was then the Whit holiday, and on 1st June was reported as "sick of a slow Typhus fever". He did not come back to work after the summer holiday in July, having "a certificate of ill health from Dr. Holmes of Bowness". John eventually returned to work on 31st August.

Unsatisfactory Pupil Teachers cropped up in later years as well. John Hedson started in 1871 and on 7th February 1873 there was "More trouble with John Hedson's class (third). Reading fairly done, spelling very poor, Arithmetic inaccurate. Have taken his class in his presence, have shown him how I should treat certain passages in the poetry they learn. The result however is unsatisfactory. He only tells them the dictionary equivalent of the words in the piece & tries to make it a matter of memory. He fails of course".

On 5th December 1874 "John Hedson does not readily break away from his fault of falling into a waking dream. I suppose it is something constitutional, for he is I firmly believe really willing to do his best. Still the fault is a serious one".

Three days later, Joseph wrote of his other PT, "George [Atkinson] puts great earnestness into his work but he is inclined to do too much for the lads & they seem to rest too much on him......although he makes lists of those boys who can and cannot do their work, I am afraid that they are not of such use as they might be, simply because he has not really found out the truth respecting the boys".

Still, when the Pupil Teachers were on top of their jobs the pressure came off the Master, and he was able to attend to other matters - On 2nd May 1873, in the run-up to the annual HMI examination, which partly determined Joseph's salary, "The Pupil Teachers please me very much by their attendance to their work; they cheerfully devote extra time at the conclusion of the school [day] to assist me with some of the half-timers & more backward children".

In the same pre-exam period a couple of years later, on 7th May 1875, "John Hedson has been most active in his teaching for a little time back. George Atkinson takes a creditable interest in his work." This allowed Joseph to spend time the following week "rubbing up back workthe children absent in the time of fever are still far from certain in their work". The Inspector reported, "Mr. Martindale deserves great credit for patient & careful labours in this school. Looking at the numbers of half timers the results of this examination are on the whole very satisfactory..." After the separate examination in religious knowledge in March of that year, the diocesan inspector reported, "Very excellent: the School has been thoroughly well taught throughout the subjects...".

In 1876, George Atkinson won a Queen's Scholarship and went on to Bede Teacher Training College in Durham.

It must be remembered that in those days the annual inspection and examination was a snapshot, one day out of the school year on which officialdom became aware of the school's quality and hence the Master's worth, literally as far as his salary was concerned. I can't really overstate the contribution that effective Pupil Teachers made at a time when quite large elementary schools had a single qualified teacher, who was often the only adult on the premises.

There is more to be mined in the Staveley logbook on this subject, but I think I have made my point.

Hard Times with Half-Timers and other matters

George Stabler had his work cut out with agricultural absentees, but Martindale had some children who officially attended half as often as the others.

The issue of child labour in factories is as old as factory system of manufacture. It wasn't universal, for in the heavier industries children were not strong enough for the work, but it was particularly prevalent in the textile industry, of which Staveley had it's share.

By the time Martindale arrived in Staveley, the legislation which concerned the child workers in textiles was basically what had been laid down by the 1844 Factory Act. This act restricted the hours of work for children between nine and thirteen years of age to six and a half a day, either in the morning or afternoon, no child being allowed to work in both on the same day, except on alternate days, and then only for ten hours. Six and a half hours was regarded as half-time:

The first mention of Half-Timers in the Staveley logbook was on 29th September 1867, "The girls at the woollen mill began last week to attend half time".

There weren't many girls involved as the woollen mill was in long term decline. How to integrate the half-timers with their full-time contemporaries did not become a major anxiety until 6th January 1868, "Chadwick's Bobbin Mill & [a name I couldn't read] Mill come under the new Half Time act [presumably the 1867 Factory Acts Extension Act]. They have sent children but the Managers are uncertain how they will alternate. At present the children who have come from Chadwick's are to attend school one whole week & work one week. I told Mr. [unclear but I think Turton] the Manager he would have to satisfy the Factory Inspector in his mode of sending them & that he had better write to him. The children are all very backward".

It was one thing for George Stabler to sometimes describe children coming up from Levens Infants as backward, but Joseph was trying to fit older children into his school. Later that month (28th) Joseph was already finding that "the irregularity of half time attendance causes difficulties".

These difficulties are well illustrated by a series of logbook entries in 1882, starting with one showing how Joseph tried to compensate for the time these children lost by making sure he taught them himself, "Have succeeded better in getting the half timers properly arranged in their classes, so as to be at school those times I take the classes. Two boys from Philipson's mill & John Shaw from Suart's cannot be brought into the arrangement...this is the <u>first time</u> [my underlining] I have been able to come so near a proper arrangement". Not for long however!

On 2nd October, the "girls from the woollen mill say the mill manager has ordered them to attend the mill on alternate days [which he was legally entitled to do]. If this change be made, they will only have three half days direct teaching in the [unclear but I think "book'] subjects in each fortnight". This anxiety was not just altruism, "They all belong to Standards V & VI & there will not be the slightest possibility of obtaining a single pass out of any of them [in the HMI examination] next May. Mr. Harrison the proprietor is from home, but I shall see him when he comes back".

Mr. Harrison was duly seen two days later and proposed to stagger the release of the half timers so that those who went to school in the morning would then go to the mill and "set the others at liberty who can come to school in the afternoon'. Martindale was unsure whether the arrangement would work. On 11th October, "The mill girls began to come again as formerly".

Had Joseph got his own way in the end? Even if he had, the fact that the mill children were part time pupils meant it was always going to be difficult at best, impossible more likely, to bring them up to speed in their schoolwork, which he freely admitted in the entry for 8th April 1881, "The half timers are always a great drag & especially just before an examination when everything is to revise. The whole timers have then to be left too much to themselves in order to make up the deficiencies in the mill lads".

On 9th March 1883, he found "... the strain of teaching all the subjects with present staff very heavy. The half timers will not I fear get through the Grammar & Geography. It would be better to confine their attention to one subject". In this he was contemplating not putting them through additional subjects which, if passed, would have earned extra grant for the

school.

There was another major factor that truncated children's education, early leaving, which we came across in Levens regarding the labour certificates. Stabler only ever mentioned it in connection with individual cases, so I think that it was a much bigger issue for Martindale. Whether or not I am right about Levens, we have figures to prove it was extensive in Staveley,

In July 1871 Joseph analysed the lists of pupils he had presented for examination from the commencement of the Revised Code of 1862 to the end of the 1870/71 school year. He found "....that out of every 100 children who have been presented in Standard I...20 leave before the end of the year: 80 thus reach Standard II, 60 reach Standard III, 42 reach Standard IV, 20 reach Standard V and 14 reach Standard VI". Only 14% of his pupils had gone all the way through his school. He commented further that several left because their parents were moving elsewhere or moving them to other schools and were likely to continue their education, "but the great majority left school for work and will probably receive no further instruction". That can only have been disheartening for a committed teacher who put so much effort into each examination.

There was a silver lining, "This early leaving however is much lessened by the operation of the Factory Acts".

Understandably, Joseph did not always have parental support for his work. He wrote on 2nd December that "The attendance of some of the children in Standards V & VI is very irregular. It seems that the Attendance officer is informed that when children reach those standards they are out of his jurisdiction. The people have found it out and some of them take advantage of it".

Writing to George Stabler on 29th April 1875 he expressed his frustration, ""I wish the examination was over – and I wish some of my half timers had certificates" The point was that the older children could be granted an exemption from school to go to work. This exemption meant that Joseph did not have to take them into account for the purpose of attendance statistics. If nobody bothered about obtaining certificates, they remained on his books as non-attenders and thereby affected the annual grant.

I guess that Staveley parents nowadays are enthusiastic supporters of parents evenings. Martindale tried out the idea repeatedly. He wrote on 19th July 1874, "The scholars of the upper classes were brought together at half past six in the evening and the parents were invited to attend to hear them examined. Very few as in previous years, attended".

It was not only parents about whom he had cause to complain. Before there was such an amenity as a village hall, the school had to do service as a meeting room and the logbook contains several instances of school not taking place as normal (which he was obliged to explain) due to the state that adults had got it into.

On 27th February 1865 Joseph recorded that a half holiday had to be given "to prepare the schoolroom for Church Annual Tea Party". The children were given a whole day off on the 28th, the day of the tea party, but Joseph had to report on the following day, "Registers not taken in the morning because owing to the state of the school there was only one hour's work done".

If the church tea party of 1865 had left a mess, the most striking example dates from 4th December 1894. "The school was used in the evening as the meeting place for the Vestries and Parish Meetings of Over and Nether Staveley. The key was not brought back till 10 o'clock next day, nor could we learn who had it,". It was bad enough not to be able to enter his own school till half way through the morning, but worse was waiting inside, "the floor was dirty with spitting, the gas was not turned off at the meter & had leaked through the night & a few other pieces of damage done".

Thankfully, when the school was used as a polling station for the Over Staveley Parish Council election on 17th December the key was returned on time and no damage was done. I expect that words had been said, and if not, then the spitters must have been from Nether Staveley.

Pressure in the Pipeline – the build up to the annual exam

Parents might not have cared much about the state of their children's education, but the government did. The pressure of the annual examination meant that Joseph was not averse to suspending the curriculum as the inspection loomed, so he could repair deficiencies, or cram for the exam. In 1873 he "commenced to work more especially for the examination in May" as early as 14th February.

In late 1874 and early 1875 there were many absences through illness. On 2nd October, the average attendance for the previous week had fallen to 106, "Many children ill of the measles" which in those days was a serious matter. Joseph himself was ill, all his own children had measles, and on 16th October he reported, "...& I had last week & the early part

of this to be up all night. This took away my strength & my eyes are badly inflamed. Average attendance last week 88..."

On 8th January 1875, typhoid fever was "in the Village – everyone seems afraid". Average attendance dropped to 52 for the week ending 22nd January, it was 67 in the following week. It was not until 5th March that he could say "This week is the first this year in which the average has reached 100. This unfortunate epidemic so closely upon the measles has had a disastrous effect upon the school. The average has been pulled down so far the grants will be affected". He wasn't just thinking of the attendance part of the grant, but that of the exam results, and continued, "The children have been so long absent that they have mostly forgotten what they knew....... I fear the coming of May".

On 9th April Joseph "in part suspended" the timetable to allow the backward children to be examined "and taught in those subjects in which they are severely worst...". (See also 17th May 1874).

On 26th April he noted that "The half timers in Standard III are still very uncertain in Arithmetic".

So anxious was Joseph that instead of closing he "Kept the school open during the week [Whit Week, when the school usually closed] on account of the Inspector's visit: but so universal is the holiday at this time – all mills and places of work being closed, families going visiting' & brothers & sisters coming home from service that we never had more than half a school".

In the event he got quite a good report as I have quoted above, but with a qualification, that "a larger proportion of qualified children should be presented next year". What the inspector meant was that Joseph was only offering for examination those scholars in whom he had confidence, and, I suspect, had had the time to prepare. I expect that Joseph felt he had managed well in the circumstances.

In another year he had forebodings for very different reasons. On 21st April 1882 he wrote, "The Inspector's notice has come. Examination to be held during Whitweek. I don't know how I shall manage to get the children to school, as it is a general holiday in the village".

The half timers were still "a real drag...there is not enough time to get everything looked over" (28th April). He was feeling the pressure, "....the strain of keeping all going properly is very great".

By 19^{th} May he thought "If the children are steady and careful on the examination day they should do well – but the Whitsuntide holidays will have a bad effect".

Then Joseph thought of a cunning plan, which he noted on 20^{th} May, "Shall give Monday next week holiday. I have arranged with the Sunday School Superintendents to have the children's tea parties on that day. Tuesday must be devoted to toning children's excitement down in readiness for Wednesday".

His report that year was not too bad, "The discipline is satisfactory and the attainments fair on the whole...".

He closed the school on 9th June and the following week so he and the children could have the holiday the inspection had cost them.

In May of 1889 Joseph expected the examination on Monday 3rd June, but "owing to a mistake on Mr. Chaplin's part", he was wrong and the Inspector turned up on Friday 31st May, "Some of the children were absent & had to be sent for...so far as I can see the surprise had no hurtful effect, or very little, on the Children's performance." Joseph then added a truth born of long experience in the classroom, "as a rule exercises are better performed in the latter part of the week, and the day being Friday was somewhat in their favour".

The Inspector gave quite a fulsome report that year.

In spite of thorough preparation, things did not always go his way. In the previous year Joseph had been quite confident, "Except for illness of teachers, and a somewhat lowered attendance from cold weather, we have had a fairly prosperous year" (30th April).

On 11th April he was "looking forward to examination next week".

Mistake. On 28th May, "The Examination schedule has been received and the results in Arithmetic...have been a grievous and most unexpected disappointment to me. I have conducted for the past five or six weeks before the examination almost daily examinations and I know for a fact that the children....were considerably above the

average...over previous years'.

Is there any teacher in whom this doesn't strike a chord?

Perhaps he was reminded of a remark about the children's work which he had written eight years earlier, on 20th May1881, ".... there is a great difference in the accuracy from day to day...".

It was ever thus.

Girls

We need to remember that Staveley was a mixed school, so Martindale had girls to teach, unlike in Levens where there were separate girls' and infants' schools each with its own school mistress.

For many years this meant that the load on Martindale was increased because it meant that other than the infants teacher, he was the only adult in the school, and until 1884, with the appointment of Miss Miller as Infants and Sewing Mistress, the only Certificated teacher.

Martindale didn't say much about girls specifically in the logbook, certainly not like the half timers. Other than in a limited part of the curriculum there was nothing to distinguish their education from that of the boys. When Drawing was added to the curriculum (28th August 1890), "The boys will take it for one hour during the time the girls of their standard have sewing".

In the nineteenth century sewing was an obligatory part of the girls' curriculum and it featured regularly in the Inspector's criticisms of Staveley school, as in 1865, "it is a pity that some arrangement has not been made for instruction of the girls oftener than once a week in needlework. Better results will be looked for next year". In 1866 he demanded that "...a greater variety of needlework specimens should be exhibited". Alas, in 1867, he found "the needlework to be very inferior". The infrequency of sewing lessons is another aspect of the chronic understaffing of the school at that time. In 1868 the Inspector noted that "the Sewing mistress assists with the general work of the School", so I assume that Joseph was plugging staffing gaps with her at the expense of the sewing. In spite of this, progress had been made and the Inspector reported that the needlework was "greatly improved".

The quality of this work remained uneven and the 1881 report criticised the needlework of the "upper stages" for being "too dirty". Are we surprised? I am not sure if there were any facilities for hand washing. If the recollections of the village printed in 1957⁵⁶ are correct, "there was no water in or near the school, any thirsty children were allowed to go to Taylor's well for a drink". Piped water did not come to any part of the village much before 1900⁵⁷.

What did surprise me about the needlework is not the Inspector's comments about it's quality, but the mean spirited insistence on its utility, as in 1869 "Patching and darning should be taught and all ornamental work given up". As if a little ornament wasn't fitting for poor girls at a National School.

The presence of girls brought with it additional causes of seasonal or other regular absenteeism. Not sheep clipping which drew away some of the boys (logbook entry 13th June 1865), but "annual house cleaning" (mentioned on 15th March & 28th April 1865). There was also this remark on 20th April 1868, "Many girls always absent on Mondays". I expect this was wash-day, but what was the cause of "Not a single girl of the 1st class" attending during the week ending 7th July 1870? It was the last week of term, but that's all that was special about it.

We have heard that, like George Stabler's school in Levens, Joseph's had pupils leaving to go to dancing classes, but the presence of girls in Joseph's school added yet another event to the repertoire of absences. On 3rd November 1864 he noted in the logbook, "- a few girls have gone to the mistress school to learn knitting".

There were some things that were better (or safer?) in the hands of girls. "Very cold weather. With some difficulty got a fire lighted in the middle of the morning. Appointed Hannah Beetham fire-lighter" (logbook entry 9th October 1867).

And some things that still distinguish girls in school today, like taking care, "The 3rd Standard are becoming very nice spellers indeed, many of the children, especially the girls taking pride in it"(6th December 1881) - Or being interested in their work, "a few of the children of the upper standards & they, in the main girls, seem interested in learning the names & something of the structure of flowers" (10th July 1891).

If the girls couldn't ornament their sewing, it's pleasing to read in the entry for 25th September 1891, "The girls under the superintendence of the teachers have for some time past ornamented the empty fire grates with flowers & ferns & of late with fruits (hips, berries & ferns)....the girls like the work bringing fresh material twice a week".

Like many others, before and since, I think he found the girls more receptive to schoolwork than the boys. In a letter to George Stabler, dated 29 April 1875 he wrote. "it is universally conceded that the feminines are the finest portion of the human race. Boys are coarse goods". This might have been true, but saying it wouldn't help Stabler, who had a boys' school to run.

There isn't anything in the logbook to suggest that Joseph treated his female pupils much differently from the boys. I don't suppose the girls were involved when he "played with scholars at football" on 24th November 1864, but we do know he did include them on at least one of his periodic outings.

On 16th September 1875 he took the top two classes up to the top of Staveley Head, "The hill is so near the village, & the ascent is so little tiring that even girls can do it with comfort & yet the view on a clear day is very extensive. I chose it in preference to a more distant one that I might take more of the scholars along with me. The children heartily enjoyed themselves". In our ears horribly old fashioned, but tender nonetheless. He would know full well that the girls in poor families would be less robust than the boys.

Of Alice Woof who left the school on 23rd August 1878 because her parents had left the village, "I am very sorry to lose her as she was a sharp girl, took great interest in teaching & would have made a good Pupil Teacher. The girl was very grieved to leave".

Teacher

In the preceding sections concerning the village and the school I have tried to illustrate Joseph's working life and the things which affected it. I realise that a lot of my illustrations come from the first half of this life, but it is in that period that Joseph established himself in Staveley and put his imprint firmly on the school. The logbook is most interesting in that period and after the early 1880s the work related entries are less so. In part this is the result of the gradual dilution of the "payment by results system" (which petered out in the mid 1890s) by more generous minded and sympathetic education regulations, which provided more staff and a less austere curriculum. In part it was because Joseph was a successful schoolmaster and kept on top of his job right up to retirement.

Some of the illustrations I give above inevitably throw light on Joseph's personality and character, For example, he had a firm hand with staff and pupils and he was a hands-on head who would teach his way out of trouble, making sure he took the half-timers himself. He was resourceful when he got the Sunday School superintendents to change their programme so he could settle the children down for the exam, and quite ready to challenge the factory managers so those half timers could get as much school time as possible.

He was confident enough to abandon the restrictions imposed by the Revised Code of 1862 when he thought it the best way to improve results. We know that from time to time he felt under great strain. We have had a glimpse of kindness in dealing with the girls.

He was prepared to take a long term approach to innovation. In a letter to George Stabler on 30th March 1871, having outlined his thoughts on how the "new code" would affect his school's income, he continued, " *I am also going for Grammar as a regular subject of instruction in all the Standards* [there follows a detailed account of what he was going to teach each standard]....of course, the upper Standard cannot reach the stage I have marked at first, and it may be six years [my underlining] before the scheme will be in its entirety"⁵⁹.

He was an extremely hard worker who would put himself out to teach those who had fallen behind. No doubt it seemed more of a penance to the children at the time, including the half-timers, either having to go to his house in the evening, or being kept back when afternoon school was over (logbook entries of 15th and 22nd October 1875 and 24th March 1876). On occasion there were after-school activities which the children would have attended more readily. In an undated letter to George Stabler (probably c1885) he mentioned having had some of the schoolchildren to his house one evening, "showing them some stereoscopic views".

There are a few other examples of the "kindness of heart....which was one of his best known traits" but they are few, for as I have said before, the logbook was for business, not self-expression. On 13th April 1865 he told the children that there would not be the usual holiday on Easter Monday or Tuesday, as there would be one the following week "for the consecration of the church". On Easter Monday he had an attendance of 60 or 65 but as he had learned that a holiday was not required on the following Monday, because the consecration would would be at 3:30 in the afternoon, he suspended lessons. "I allowed the Children to play a few games in the School room and then dismissed them".

Of William Johnson, who left school on 2nd March 1866 he wrote, "He was a boy of fine disposition, willing, cheerful & obedient. Am most sorry to part with him".

It must have been freezing on 31st January 1873 for he let the children leave at afternoon playtime to "...go on to the Scar to slide in the Tarn". What risk assessment?

When on 21st December 1882 his daughter Edith ended her employment as an Assistant Teacher, in order to attend Whitelands teacher training college in Chelsea, he seems to have been genuinely touched by the Scholars who '...presented her with a very nice writing desk. It was entirely of their own doing, neither teachers nor managers hearing anything of the matter till the subscription was nearly finished, when it by chance leaked out".

Joseph even went out of his way to treat the half timers fairly. In November 1882. "The children had holiday on ... Thursday all day. It is usual at Kendal fair to have two half-days, but I gave a whole day, that both groups of half timers should get a holiday...".

His obituary in the Westmorland Gazette was unequivocal in its description of his character; "He was a born teacher...He was upright in character and endeavoured to inculcate that principle into his pupils, and his kindness of heart, which has frequently been recognised by his old pupils in letters written home, was one of his best known traits".

The anonymous author of that obituary states that Joseph was "one of the pioneers in modern scholastic methods". What that author had in mind I cannot say, but here follow some extracts from the logbook which strike me as evidence of innovation or of going the extra mile for the children. Once again, I'm limited by what Joseph chose to enter in the log, so the evidence is patchy.

In December 1862 he recounted the foundation of a book club by his older pupils, "The 1st and 2nd classes have established a book club. A payment of ½d a fortnight constituting membership. 21 members have already joined. Miss Edgeworth's 'Rosamond' is the first book bought. Scholars who leave school are, if willing, to remain members' (logbook entry 5th December 1862).

Maria Edgeworth (1797 to 1846) was a very well known Irish novelist in her day and amongst her output were stories for children which continued to find favour with teachers well after her own lifetime. Joseph didn't claim paternity rights over this club, but the selection of this improving tale as the first purchase makes it difficult for me to believe he was not its driving force.

A year later (logbook entry 23rd November 1863), on the first anniversary of the book club, Joseph noted that the children had subscribed £1-4-5d and 21 books had been bought. I did not find any more references to the book club in the log.

Other initiatives appear out of the blue from time to time and are mentioned only once, as on the following day, "The children have subscribed and bought a small microscope and one or two slides at a cost of 14/6. It is to be used by each subscriber in turn, who may take it home for that purpose". This has got to be something that Joseph, with his own love of natural history, brought about. Earlier that year (19th March) he recorded lending a small microscope to the 1st Class "each boy to have it in his keeping for a week", so the idea must have caught on.

On 12th October 1863 he recorded an attempt to motivate the children by issuing those who passed the annual examination with "an embossed card containing a record of his successful work".

Further initiatives, clearly aimed at inspiring the scholars, followed quickly. On 12th January 1864 he "divided 2/among the children of the 1st & 2nd Classes..." who had done well in the Arithmetic tests in the previous half year; then on 18th January he bought "...a small globe to present to the best boy in geography".

On 17th June 1891 Joseph started using counters, what we might call "play money", to help teach the mysteries of compound division and subtraction, and multiplication tables, and for the younger children in Standard II, "working out little problems under the guise of buying things at a shop"

He thought that the pupils were "greatly interested" in this innovation, but he "warned the teachers to make the use of them [the counters] subservient to both mental and written calculation. I shall carefully watch this experiment".

Those of us brought up with "real money" might just remember that compound arithmetic skills were essential when we reckoned in £sd and not decimals. Here is an example from an 1880s textbook for elementary schools, James Currie's "First Steps in Arithmetic - "if 17¾ yards cost £9- 18s-10½d, what is that per yard?" (answer, eleven shillings and twopence farthing, with a remainder of 57/71 of a farthing. How's that for spurious accuracy?).

A much earlier innovation was the school trip. The earliest one I can find was on 17th September 1874 when he took eleven of the 1st Class boys (the other children had the day off) plus the two Pupil Teachers, to the top of High Street and back via Kentmere, Garburn Pass and Hill (sic) Bell and Froswick, returning via Kentmere reservoir.

He professed that the boys were 'greatly delighted with the views, "pointing out to them the different hills, valleys etc. and telling them their names...and any interesting information I could think of". They were on the top of High Street at 1 o'clock and after sitting down to eat their dinner they set off home an hour later

They had started from the School at 9 a.m. And were back in Staveley at 5.20 in the afternoon "rather tired and very hungry".

He did something different on 23rd June 1875 when he took the top two Standards to see the Museum in Kendal. Although "The time at our disposal was too short, owing to the early hour at which the Museum closes...the children seemed to enjoy the visit". Then, because the children had not seen a military encampment before, he took them to Kendal Castle where the Volunteers were camped".

The next trip in the logbook is the one for the two upper classes to Staveley head on 16th September 1875, which he'd organised to include girls.

On 21st June 1876 he "gave holiday. for the purpose of taking as many of the 1st Class children as could afford the expense a trip up Lake Windermere". They started on the 8 a.m. train from Staveley to Windermere station, walked down to Bowness, thence by steamer to Waterhead and then walked up to Stock Ghyll Force, where, "the children did not seem to care for the fall quite as much as I thought they would". They retraced their route and got back in Staveley at 7 p.m.. Joseph was obviously disappointed by the children being less than overwhelmed by the waterfall, but noticed that they "were greatly amused by a couple of swans who came to be fed to the side of the landing stage". More surprising to us nowadays is his comment about these young teenagers that "a few had not seen the lake before". It is a reminder of the small world which they inhabited.

The last such outing I found was another trip to High Street on 26th August 1878. Did he find that the children were not particularly interested, or could he no longer get away with declaring a holiday so he could close the school? It wasn't as if he disliked these excursions, he was renowned for roaming around the countryside and the Kendal Museum was one of his major interests.

Outside the Envelope

In reading the logbook I have been struck quite forcibly by the abrupt appearance and subsequent lack of mention of what I call his "big ideas".

On 13th June 1891, "I have made a small collection of themes and essays abridged from the works of good writers, as Addison, Steele, Gilbert White, Hawthorne....and others for the children in Standards VI and VII to take as models". The idea was that the children would copy the essay and then he would explain the "more easily caught excellencies of the style", and also the more difficult parts, and then lead the children to discover the meaning for themselves. The children would take the piece home to study and next day would "reproduce it keeping as closely to the original as possible". After having their papers corrected they would compare their version with the original. This was an ambitious goal.

Once again it's impossible to tell how well the idea was received and whether he persisted with it.

Another new project commenced on 18th June 1891, when Joseph wrote that the "Children of the upper standards [are] to bring as many kinds of flowers tomorrow as they can find. I shall point out the structure of a few, & tell the names of all. In an attempt to generate interest in natural history he got his son, presumably George Ernest, to show the boys his collection of butterflies and moths.

I think the results were a disappointment. On 10th July he noted that those interested were mainly girls who "bring a considerable number *[of flowers]* each week. The greater number however, are not so enthusiastic as I could wish. After the novelty wears off, many seem to think running about all night more fun than looking for plants".

There you have the difference between Joseph and the teenage boys at a village elementary school.

One of his obituarists⁶¹ wrote that though he "was on more than one occasion pressed to open up a school for higher education for Kendal and neighbourhood, he could not be prevailed upon to do so, preferring to remain at the only school of which he had had charge". I wonder if from time to time he could not resist the urge to teach at that standard.

On a personal note, he wrote to George Stabler on 20th September 1870, "....I have at last made up my mind seriously to go in for a degree at London University....I shall go in for Matriculation at the end of 1871......I shall be prepared for a Science Degree......In the matriculation I have decided to take German....I have joined the chemistry class at Kendal. In the examination I shall attempt to take honours in Botany" This resolution came after a favourable Inspector's report and when an extension to the school had just been finished, promising "a great effect upon the order of the children".

His personal project did not come to pass. I assumed this was the case as no such achievement was mentioned in his obituaries. Confirmation was supplied by Diana Manipud of the Archives and Corporate Records Service of Kings College London, who has kindly checked the Kings College records and also the University of London Historical Record, to no avail. I doubt that even Joseph could squeeze this project into his busy life.

The Enthusiast

Joseph's obituary⁶³ uses the expression "so great an enthusiast" about his various interests and it is absolutely apposite.

I think he was a man prone to powerful enthusiasms. How else can we explain the amazing logbook entry dated 6th June 1879?

As we saw in the section "Getting a grip" above, it was only on 3rd June that he had declared that he determined to take the Infants' reading class at least three times a week, because he thought they were very backward.

On 6th June he stated "I shall take five times a week the whole time children of the first class in GERMAN [my capitals] and he went on to record "The children have already learnt the German characters & the declension of the definite article". He had got the Pupil Teachers, poor things, learning the language and they have "proceeded as far as the 4th declension of nouns". I don't know which textbook he was using but he was "not quite satisfied with our author's system of declensions".

Unsurprisingly he wrote "We shall not profess the subject on the occasion of the Inspector's visit". However much the official curriculum might have been broadened since 1862, German was certainly not in it.

In the same entry he determined to "commence more systematic drill next week, if my foot allow me to walk about a little more comfortably".

He appears to have begun to teach himself German much earlier. He had told Stabler, in a letter dated 20th September 1870, he had "been doing it rather strongly for some time" ⁶⁴. I think he had some professional help because in a couple of later letters (27th May & 15th December, 1871) he mentioned consulting a Mr. Strouvelle. It seems that Monsieur Strouvelle was a language teacher at St. Mary's College, Windermere⁶⁵.

There were things about German that clashed with the predilections of his scientific mind for, writing again on 12th February 1872, he commented, "I have begun to read my German Grammar again. What do you think of a rule that has 214 exceptions".

There is an explanation for his enthusiasm for German. His obituary in the Westmorland Mercury and Times⁶⁶ tells us that he had a flair for languages and had taught himself both German and French which he used to correspond with foreign botanical experts. Joseph also translated correspondence and articles from botanical journals for his friends Stabler and Barnes.

Which brings us to the greatest enthusiasm of all - Botany.

We have seen how the experiment of June 1891 seemed to be a disappointment when flowers did not engage the minds of Staveley youth, but officialdom was to present Joseph with a second chance to teach his favourite subject.

I don't know how early the "object lesson" became a recommended teaching method. I believe the first mention in the Levens logbook was on 24th July 1896 and, in the Staveley book, on 4th May of the same year. The point of the "object lesson" was for children to study an object, be it a frog, milk, table, hair-brush, window or whatever else and thereby develop such skills as inquiry, observation, description and recall.

Both schools had masters who were botanists, so it's not a shock to find out that botanical object lessons took place. The May 1896 entry in the Staveley book in which the proposed arrangements for the coming school year are laid out, shows them to be entirely to do with natural history, the parts of a plant, a fern, potato, mushrooms, rain, winter etc. for Standards I & II. For Standard III they were more specific e.g. Herbaceous and Woody Stems, Nodes & Internodes,

True Roots, Stomata. Simple and Compound leaves, "All the object lessons to be illustrated by fresh specimens". Joseph obtained copies of "Oliver's Text Book of Botany" and gave each teacher some portions to study, with explanations. That is, all except Miss Blamire, the long serving unqualified Mistress, whom he seems to have thought he should instruct himself.

In 1898 the inspector commented favourably, particular about Botany, "the lessons in which are interesting and well illustrated". In 1900, "Botany deserves special mention", which is hardly surprising, as it was being taught by one of the North of England's leading botanists.

The Botanist

We know that Joseph had shown a considerable scientific bent as a child and that his father John lectured in agriculture as well as in chemistry⁶⁷, but we can't be sure when Joseph began to take a serious interest in botany. His obituaries are not particularly helpful. Although their botanical content concentrates on Joseph's achievements in lichenology, we do need to recognise that, as E.M.Holmes wrote, he was also "a good all-round botanist". According to the obituary in the Westmorland Mercury and Times, his herbarium contained twice as many of flowering as it did of non-flowering plants. Holmes believed that Joseph began the study of lichens in about 1867, having been previously more interested in flowering plants. The earliest surviving letter (31st March 1865) that he wrote to George Stabler⁶⁹ mentions Babington's ranunculus rather than any lichen, but that is hardly conclusive.

In the catalogue of the Martindale Herbarium (Kendal Museum), the earliest dated specimens attributed to Joseph suggest that he did a little collecting in Scotland during his time in Stanwix and up to 1864. The earliest datable one in Westmorland was in 1865, at Staveley.

A notebook, formerly kept at the school, and quoted by McConnel⁷⁰ records events of interest to the naturalist, chiefly ornithological, but with enough botanical content to indicate an informed interest in plants. The earliest date quoted by McConnel was in February of 1863.

It is possible that Joseph developed a scientific interest in botany after he came to Staveley for there is a remark concerning his botanical activities stating that "his earlier days were passed with two friends, Mr. George Stabler....and Mr. J.M.Barnes, of Levens..." By 1866, although Barnes was the more prominent botanist, Stabler and Martindale had quite well established local reputations and they were amongst those held up as botanical exemplars by Frederic Clowes in a paper given at the Windermere Institute on 5th December of that year."

Tantalisingly, the sources are silent as to how the three men "subsequently...broke up their work into three sections, flowers having exhausted their researches... Stabler taking Mosses, Barnes Ferns, and Martindale Lichens". Was the labour divided by lot, by previous experience or by personal preference?

Barnes' obituaries⁷³ state that he had been studying and collecting ferns since c1859, so he already "owned" that area of study, Stabler had been influenced by Richard Spruce and had been working on mosses and liverworts since at least 1856⁷⁴. That left lichens and algae as the remaining major categories of non-flowering plants (cryptogams), and I don't suppose any of them fancied algae. Actually, Martindale did collect algae later on.

In 1868, Joseph sought the assistance of other collectors via the periodical "Hardwicke's Science-Gossip", a journal whose quaint name belies its serious purpose as a "means of interchange...between students and lovers of nature", with this appeal, "Lichens - A student living in Westmorland would be glad of correspondents in other parts of England, with a view to the interchange of specimens, local or rarely fruiting".

I think 1867 was the year of decision for this major project. Not only does Holmes' obituary date the start of Joseph's long involvement with lichens to about that year, but Stabler also seems to have become a much more active collector. In the Stabler Collection in the Kendal Museum, the quantity of mosses and liverworts identifiable as being personally collected by Stabler rose from single figures in all preceding years to over 100 in 1867 and nearly 300 in 1868. In 1869, he followed Joseph's example and sought the exchange of specimens⁷⁶.

I have called the trio's activities a "project" deliberately. I think they set out to study and record, and to produce a coherent work on the non-flowering flora of Westmorland. What their thoughts were about publishing to a wider audience than the 160 odd subscribers to the "Natural History Record", I cannot say, but when the invitation to write the botanical section of the Westmorland volumes of the Victoria County History came along, Martindale did not refuse it.

I cannot prove a purposeful origin for the project, but I think there are enough fragments of information to suggest that the idea isn't just whimsy, though it is speculation.

Firstly, Joseph's system of subdividing the county, and its adjacent areas into river basins, provided a structure within which the collection, collation and analysis of the data could be organised and the results compared and presented.

Secondly, it was written of the trio that they, "...broke up their work into three sections, flowers having exhausted their researches for a while..." If they had just been keen collectors, with no object in view, why would they constrain the range of their individual interests?

Thirdly, as well as seeking out other collectors via Hardwicke's Science-Gossip, George Stabler turned to prominent practitioners. In a letter to the veteran bryologist William Wilson, on 26th June 1869, he disclosed that he felt the need for a mentor in his studies. He wrote, "Lately I have been working among the Hepaticea and feel very much the want of an active adviser.', but continued,"...we are much in want of a work on the subject" 80.

Fourthly, from the same correspondence we know that Stabler was taking his entire school summer holidays in Welburn where he was "frequently with Dr. Spruce", when "botany and botanists are our principal topics", and that Spruce gave him "a very fine lot of duplicate" specimens. We would expect Stabler to have turned to Spruce for mentoring, but Spruce had been very much incapacitated by illness in the 12 months before June 1869, and when fit to work had been "...engaged on his S. American Hepaticea". In September 1868 Stabler regretted that Spruce, "...talks about coming to see me, but I am afraid his health will not permit him to travel so far".

Finally, although time was overtaking them, Spruce still gave advice on how their work should be presented, as can be seen in Martindale's letter to Stabler dated 4th November 1887. In this, Joseph wrote, "Dr. Spruce wants you & me to write about the Mosses, Hepaticea & Lichens of Lakeland.....after the fashion that two friends of his in the south of France have treated the cryptogamic flora of the Pyrenees. When you and your sister go home at Christmas, perhaps you and she could bring back the book which the Doctor offered to lend us'. Martindale had to remind George the best part of a year later to ask Spruce "...if he will let you bring over the work on the Pyrenean Botany he should like us to emulate". Is this last not a statement of intent?

I don't know whether the book was ever borrowed.

By late 1888, Joseph was very involved with the publication of the "Natural History Record". In the early 1890s, on top of his professional workload, he had family tragedy to deal with. Barnes died in 1890, Spruce in 1893 and during that decade Stabler's eyesight and general health were declining.

It is easy to say that, for part-time amateurs, such a project was too ambitious an undertaking and that it fizzled out as they grew older. But despite the forty intervening years it would have come to fruition in the early twentieth century in the form of the Victoria County History. It is a lasting shame that Joseph's completed manuscript was never published.

First Steps in Lichens

It is tempting to imagine that John Martindale might have known George Dixon (1812-1904), Superintendent of the North of England Agricultural School (later Great Ayton School), and through him, his protege William Mudd,

Dixon was born in Staindrop, County Durham, which is about 14 miles, as the crow flies, from Stanhope, which was Martindale country. He was apprenticed as a teacher in Darlington and later in Bishop Auckland in the early 1830s. He came to Great Ayton to take charge of the new school in May 1841⁸².

Professor Mark Seaward wrote that Dixon promoted the study of natural history, paying particular attention to the importance of botany, giving detailed instruction in plant taxonomy to his pupils and encouraging them to collect plants and form their own herbariums. Dixon also supplied cheaply priced books and apparatus to 'working men, young students, natural history classes, and home students for the successful study of botany, entomology, and conchology¹⁸³.

Seaward considers that it was under Dixon's influence that William Mudd (1829 - 1879), a onetime gardener, developed a lifetime passion for lichenology, so that in only a few years he had become an acknowledged expert, corresponding with many of the leading lichenologists at home and abroad. Mudd's first published paper, in 1854, was an account of the remarkable lichens of the Cleveland area, and his "Manual of British Lichens" published in 1861, was the first reasonably comprehensive and practical British lichen flora.

Mudd's later career seems to have been blighted by early prominence, for although this earned him the post of Curator of the Cambridge University Botanic Garden in 1864, the rarified atmosphere of nineteenth century academia would

have been alien to him. His experience there was not entirely happy and he did little more work on lichens.

It was William Mudd's book that Joseph sought when he began the systematic study of lichen. Writing to George Stabler on 8th December 1868⁸⁴ he mentioned the he had had his brother Tom looking for a copy in Darlington, and looking in vain, "Penny the publisher says that only 125 or 150, he forgets which, were published".

He must have found a copy, for on 3rd August 1869 he was telling Stabler about the work he had done measuring lichen spores, comparing his own results, to 5 decimal places, with those of Mudd and William Allport Leighton, as well as the foreign experts, Frederik Nylander and F.C.G. Arnold. He reckoned that Nylander's, Arnold 's and Leighton's results agreed with his own, but Mudd's were "all too large...but not in any regular way....there remains such a general want of accuracy in Mudd that his measurements are entirely worthless". Martindale did temper his disapproval with a little joke when he continued. "P.S. I am sorry that Dr. Spruce is not so well – and poor Massee – what botanizing under difficulties. Well I'd rather flounder through Mudd than have to dive into Amazonian rapids".

"Poor" Massee was presumably William Edward Massee who had been working on mosses at Castle Howard and set off to Amazonia in Spruce's footsteps. Massee eventually became "Keeper of Lower Cryptogams" at Kew, and very prominent in his field.

The Botanical Achievement

The Martindale herbarium at Kendal Museum has been catalogued by Museum volunteers over the period 2008 to 2010. The information in the following paragraphs would have been inaccessible without their work.

Although it does contain some some ferns, this is the flowering plant not the lichen herbarium, which is in the Natural History Museum at Kew, uncatalogued and gathering dust. There is a small quantity (85) of lichen specimens in the Kendal Museum which were catalogued by Professor Hodkinson in 2008. Most of these were collected in the 1870s & 80s.

The catalogue of the herbarium has 4250 entries, including duplicated specimens, of which c1730 have a Martindale identified as the collector, and there are many others with local "stations" that are unattributed. There is an enormous variety of flowering plants, grasses, sedges, heathers and ferns etc.. Joseph is catalogued as the collector for c790 of the entries, with another 120+ in his and George Ernest's (his eldest son's) joint names. We know from Joseph's letters that he frequently botanised with "Ernie", as he referred to him, so the 750 odd specimens attributed just to George show that he was a keen and active botanist on his own account. Joseph's other children contributed small numbers of specimens, including Edwin, who sent one from Ontario in 1904 and another from Saskatchewan in 1910.

His friend George Stabler makes his appearance too, with 26 specimens, many of which are from his 1884 and 1894 Scottish trips: however, the only specimens attributed jointly to Joseph and Stabler are from a trip to upper Teesdale in County Durham as early as 1868. There are single items from each of Harold, Edgar and Oswald Stabler, a few from J.A.Barnes, one of James Martindale Barnes' sons, and a couple from John Michie.

If the herbarium is a reliable guide, Joseph did not do a lot of collecting in the next few years, and after 1873, up until 1884, nearly all the specimens recorded as being collected by a Martindale are attributed to his son George. Was this decade exclusively for Lichens as far as Joseph was concerned?

The two of them look equally busy for the next few years, but there is a nine year gap with nothing recorded between 1893 and 1902: more lichen time, or is the herbarium incomplete? Frustratingly, there are about 70 specimens attributed to a Martindale but undated, and there are many local ones neither dated nor attributed. After 1902 there are few with Ernie's name on them.

Joseph retired in 1902 and, according to the entries in the herbarium, continued to be a very active collector who does not seem to have been much restricted by advancing years. Almost 550 specimens are dated 1903 and after, nearly 40 belonging to 1912. Joseph was still collecting, in the immediate environs of his home, in mid 1913. The last dated specimen is shown as having been collected on 20th August, seven months before he died.

The locations in the herbarium give me the impression that Joseph collected more of his specimens from the immediate environs of his home than did his friend George Stabler. Although he wrote to George on 9th December 1872 that he had been "...thinking over the matter of a trip to Ireland & have come to the conclusion that Donegal will suit us the better...<u>it is virgin territory</u>...I think it very probable that the fortnights excursion could be nicely done for under £5 each...", there is no evidence that this relatively ambitious plan came to anything, but they did go to the Isle of Man for a while in the following July.

The value of Martindale's lichen collections lie in that they form a baseline for comparison with the results of more recent studies, particularly with respect to the changing distribution of species resulting from such factors as atmospheric pollution and changing climate. Lichens are particularly sensitive to aerial pollutants such as sulphur dioxide and tend to decline in abundance and species richness at high concentrations.

Prof. Ian Hodkinson has written a comprehensive analysis and account of Martindale's botanical activities⁸⁵, and I have shamelessly appropriated some of his words in an attempt to define the significance of Joseph's work.

Joseph's attempts to understand the distribution of both higher and lower plants within his adoptive county and adjacent areas led to an 1888 paper, the inaugural one, in the *Westmorland Natural History Record* entitled "Our District". In this he recognised differences in the floras of the different river drainage basins within the region, noting the distinguishing plant species of six areas, namely the basins of the rivers Leven/Duddon, Kent, Lune, Eamont, Eden and Tees. For each area he noted the basin geology and the characteristic species of the flowering plants, ferns, mosses, liverworts and lichens. For the mosses and liverworts he drew heavily on information provided by his friend George Stabler. It is unfortunate that the *Westmorland Natural History Record* had a very small circulation and a very brief life. This concept of river basin floras was later used, without due acknowledgement, by Albert Wilson in his 1938 *Flora of Westmorland*.

Perhaps his his most significant scientific contribution was a series of four papers entitled "The Lichens of Westmorland", published in the widely read journal the *Naturalist*, between 1886 and 1890. In these papers Martindale provided a comprehensive review of the 215 species then known to occur within the old county boundaries, including habitat and distribution data.

As an adjunct to a second major strand of his work, on the flowering plants of Westmorland, Martindale published, again in the *Westmorland Natural History Record*, a review of historical plant records for the county before the time of Linnaeus and spanning the period 1597-1744. The review, listing 253 species, draws on the published work of several authors, most notably John Ray and John Wilson. It is evident that Joseph went to great lengths to identify the locations of his predecessors finds and thereby to understand the significance of their distribution. I suspect that Joseph felt a considerable empathy with the likes of Ray, Wilson and the Quaker Thomas Lawson. Joseph was finally able to write to George Stabler on 20th May 1891 that he had found Lemna Trisulca (Ivy Duckweed) in a ditch at Hale Moss, south of Beetham, Westmorland, *"this completes the confirmation of Lawson's lists"*.

Joseph A. Martindale himself described just a single new species of lichen himself, Lecidea multifera, based on material collected near Ravensbarrow Crag in Kentmere, but this is hardly the measure of his work. Others before him had collected and studied the flora *in* Westmorland, but he pioneered a more holistic approach to the flora *of* Westmorland.

Had the Westmorland volume of the Victoria County History been published, this achievement would have been recognised at the time, but few have seen the 34,000 words which comprise a considerable body of work including an introductory section incorporating a detailed historical botany account up to c.1900, a meticulous listing of local names for plants and a topographical/geological background to the area, including a development of his ideas on river basin floras. As we have seen, the incompetence and lassitude of others consigned Joseph's achievement to the shadows.

Mark Seaward⁸⁶ has written that by the 1880s and 1890s, British universities were beginning to concentrate on plant physiology (how plants work) as a framework for botanical study, where previously the emphasis had been on classifying plants by their degree of similarity (systematic botany). This marks the period in which Martindale, Stabler and Barnes were at their most active as the swan-song of systematic botany; it is doubly frustrating that they were denied the opportunity for recognition before academia adopted a different preoccupation.

The understanding of DNA sequencing came about nearly a century after our three friends were at the height of their botanical researches. It is the watershed in the study of living things: it is almost a metaphor of the biblical fall. Where they tramped the bye-ways of Westmorland in Warcop, Crosby Ravensworth and elsewhere and strained their eyes at cheap microscopes and Coddington lenses as they sought to classify their findings, our modern botanists have eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Nowadays we have a robotic certitude, but perhaps some of the wonder has been lost. Both figuratively and literally the Three-Legged-Society botanised in Eden.

No Ordinary Man

It is quite clear to me that the man we have met in the preceding pages was anything other than ordinary.

We have met the schoolmaster and know of his dedication, yet we also know the man who could say, perhaps with some regret, "We began school again on Monday & Botany is relegated to the second position again" Anyone reading his letters will certainly realise that botany was no mere hobby, an agreeable pastime for his leisure hours, it was an almost compulsive pursuit. I'd risk the opinion that botany offered his scientific abilities the expression thwarted by his father's death, which he believed had denied him the chance of a university education.

As we have seen with Mudd, he was not willing to take other's work for granted, expecting the well known authorities to be at least as thorough as he was prepared to be. On 8th December 1868 he complained about lichen specimens he had received from an (illegible) supplier, "I can't trust the names – almost all are wrong",

On 16th December 1870 he wrote to Stabler announcing that he had found a new species, which had been authenticated by Nylander himself, "it is the plant Crombie mistook as I was telling you". The Rev. James Morrison Crombie (c1831 – 1906) was to achieve widespread recognition for his catalogue of the lichens in the British Museum.

On 15th December 1871 Joseph had been reading a new book⁸⁸ by the well-known lichenologist W.A. Leighton, which soon became the standard British work on the subject⁸⁹, "picking out his references to his own collection of dried lichens & find his carelessness here as remarkable as anywhere else. It is too bad – some of his lichens have been proved to be other than he named them – others have been greatly doubted – and where has he changed the name himself or acquiesced in the decision of others the error is corrected as quietly as possible when it is noticed – but in a great many instances he just ignores his specimen altogether". On 24th November 1881 he reported that he had determined a specimen he had gathered on the Isle of Man, pointing out that he had previously sent it to the Channel Islands expert Charles du Bois Larbalestier, "who did not know it".

On 3rd February 1886 he criticised Leighton's method as "hardly modern enough. I find I want a lot of specimens to see what I have got...". On 29th July 1886 it was Arnold's⁹⁰ and Leighton's as well as Larbalestier's determinations that he thought were all wrong. Carelessness again came in for reproof on 1st December 1888 in the shape of John Gilbert Baker's "A Flora of the English Lake District" (1885), when he found that Baker had attributed to E.Robson of Darlington material actually collated by a Stephen Robson - "in the matter of book research Baker is careless".

Old ways were criticised as well. On 14th June 1888, in a letter to George Stabler. He wrote, "Dr. Clowes has sent me his herbarium, very few plants have localities".

Considering that Joseph seems only to have taken up lichens as his own special subject around 1867, his expertise must have developed rapidly if he felt able to find fault with established authorities by the end of the decade: but we already know he was a quick learner.

I'm sure he had great confidence in his ability to learn, not only an obscure family of difficult to identify plants, but in the acquisition of the tools to study them even if that meant the foreign languages in which many of the experts of he time wrote: hence the interest in German as discussed above, and French, which Holmes⁹¹ tells us he knew well.

We would be forgiven for thinking that all we have learned of Joseph so far was quite enough to occupy his mind fully and to distinguish him from your average village schoolmaster. It might be enough for us, but it wasn't for him.

Joseph was described as "A student all the days of his life" and I cannot think of a better description of the man's undiminishing spirit of enquiry.

His obituarists in the Westmorland Gazette, the Westmorland Mercury & Times and the Journal of Botany tell us that he was fluent in French and German, as well as being a Latin scholar and familiar with the Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic and Norwegian languages, that his scientific pursuits included Entomology, Osteology (the study of bones) and Geology. We are also told of his antiquarian activities, gathering information about the history of Staveley from old records and of his work on local place names. In addition there was archeology, "he was the means of further research being made in connection with" an ancient British "camp" at High House, Hugill, and was "mainly instrumental for the discovery of an ancient British settlement at Millrigg, Kentmere", reading a paper regarding that discovery at the actual site, before the Cumberland and Westmorland Archeological and Antiquarian Society on 19th September 1900.

When he wrote to George Stabler on 25th September 1887⁹³ Joseph referred to discussions they had been having about the meaning and derivation of various words, *maudlin, meander* and *maunder*. Becoming interested in the origins of terms, Joseph read a paper to the Kendal Natural History Society on the subject of English plant names, their etymology and foreign language influences on their forms.

The arts too were in Joseph's sights. There is a record of him playing the harmonium to accompany the choir's singing at a meeting to raise funds for improvements to the church⁹⁴, and according to his obituaries, he composed music for hymns and "set some of Tennyson's poems to music, "though these are not committed to notation" (I'm relieved to find something he couldn't do). He had a marked ability "as an artist in watercolours" and was "an excellent draughtsman" particularly in the drawing of plants.

Other sources add more evidence. In the preface to his "Tales of Old Staveley" McConnel acknowledged that Martindale's antiquarian notes provided much of the material in the book.

We know that he learned German and in 1879 even started to teach it in his school. He also taught, or attempted to teach, himself Greek, as is demonstrated by this extract from a letter to George Stabler dated 15th November 1870; "I have been heavily engaged in learning Greek & no end of things. Greek is difficult & if I am able to squeeze through, it will be all....".

Even allowing for the hyperbole present in obituaries, the above is still an impressive list of extra-curricular intellectual skills. Obviously, Joseph didn't involve himself in all of them simultaneously and we are assured that "he was by no means a slave to his hobbies and researches" Incredibly, it appears that he actually had surplus leisure time in which he could involve himself in the community. He did not however have the time to be, as his obituary in the Westmorland Mercury claimed, ".... a personal friend of Dr. Gough the blind philosopher". That man had died before Joseph was born.

Some of this involvement was related to his own interests. For some time he was the organist, first at the old church of St. Margaret and then at St.James', after the latter was opened in 1865. He also "developed choral singing in the school and in St. James' church⁹⁷. In 1870 he took on the cataloguing of Bishop Watkin's library at Calgarth; "the...inventory enumerates 3024 volumes but I am told that there will not be much more than half that number now. I shall do it during the Christmas Holiday" (letter to George Stabler 26th November 1870).

Joseph was a member of the several incarnations of the Kendal Natural History Society from 1868 onwards, being it's President in 1912/13, he was also a member of the Kendal Literary and Scientific Society for many years, being on its Council from 1903 to 1913.

Characteristically, at the Kendal Natural History Society he took charge of an ambitious project⁹⁸. Writing to George Stabler on 16th August 1888 he stated "I am glad Dr. Spruce's health is so good on the whole and pleased that he likes the Notebook". All across the country, natural history societies published journals and Kendal was not going to be an exception. Joseph wrote a lot of material for this journal which was published as "The Westmorland Natural History Record", as well as rounding up other society members to contribute to it. He edited it and arranged it's printing and distribution with the publisher, Edward Gill of Finkle St., Kendal. It was a thick periodical, published only in 1889. Though it had about 160 subscribers⁹⁹, at a price of just one Shilling it appears to have exhausted both the publisher's willingness, and the Society's capacity, to support it. In the preface to the bound set of the Natural History Record it is stated, presumably by Joseph, that "the publisher has found that the publication has been carried on at some loss, and the further appearance of the note book will depend on the amount of assistance he is assured of". Evidently these assurances were not forthcoming and it ceased publication after a life of less than two years.

Martindale was a very active honorary curator at Kendal Museum. He was associated with the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archeological Society. His knowledge was recognised when he was commissioned to write the botanical section of the Victoria County History of Westmorland. Regrettably, although he completed his commission, the whole project came to nothing due to the incompetence and prevarication of the editorial board.

Another work, which was probably never intended for publication, is a small notebook, written and illustrated for the amusement of his children. "The Botany of Fairyland" is a charming little work in which plants are invested with personalities so as to encourage an interest in botany among the very young. A mention of the title in the Westmorland Gazette obituary struck me as odd, and uncharacteristic of the man, but that was before I realised how wide his mind ranged, and before I saw the work (see endnote 111).

Some of Joseph's public commitments might have come about through his role of the Rev. William Chaplin's agent of change.

Chaplin, as we have seen, set himself to right what he thought was wrong about Staveley and according to "A Lakeland Valley Through Time", ed. Joe Scott, he was "an active leader in the village", organising the building of a new church, a new vicarage, the laying of a pavement down the village street, the setting up of a savings bank, imposingly named

"The Staveley Permanent Mutual Benefit Building Society", "penny lectures" and the Working Mens' Institute. "He was Chaplin to the Volunteer detachment and chairman of everything – The Gas Company, a committee to discuss improving the drains", the arrangements for the celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1897, and the school managers.

I don't know about the drains or the pavement etc., but Joseph was the "legman" in some of Chaplin's enterprises. He was Secretary of the Gas Company (see Appendix 4) and the building society, he helped with the penny lectures 100, he was one of the first to sign up for the Volunteers, a forerunner of the Territorial Army, when it was set up in 1878 and became its Colour Sergeant and later Quartermaster. Two of his sons also joined this unit, George became Quartermaster and Edwin was Orderly Room Sergeant. Edwin went to the war in South Africa with the Volunteers active service company of The Border Regiment. He was unscathed in this conflict, but his military training was to put him in harm's way, fatally, at the age of 44, in 1918. Characteristically, Joseph took advantage of the annual volunteer camps, in such places as Brackenber, Bare or Fleetwood, to botanise in unfamiliar locations. Some background regarding the Volunteers can be found in Appendix 5.

Joseph was, for a time the Parish Overseer, who collected the poor rate from the ratepayers (see letter to Stabler dated 24th November 1881), and when a Parish Council was formed for Over Staveley, under the provisions of the Local Government Act of 1894, he served on that body, becoming Chairman for the period 1907 to 1910¹⁰¹.

Not all Josephs' community involvements were extra-curricular. He was, at different times, both Secretary and President of the Windermere District Teachers' Association¹⁰², and I assume this was how he met his second wife. After retirement, he became a school manager at his old school, and also gave lectures on botany and geology for the County education authority at Windermere, Ambleside and Appleby. Finally, when he retired, Westmorland appointed him Inspector of Religious Instruction for its council schools "and year by year, whenever weather permitted he made his journeys in the summer on foot. He was a great walker" 103.

And walk he did. Writing to Joseph Anthony Barnes on 21st August 1888, Joseph recounted a botanising excursion with his son Ernest, "We walked [from Staveley]to Kendal to catch the seven o'clock train to Tebay. We walked from there through Orton...We then descended from the Scar [Orton] into the Lyvnet valley near its source...Going down the valley we reached Crosby Ravensworth and called at the vicarage...After leaving Crosby we went to Oddendale and on to [words unclear]Anna Well ...we followed the stream..to Shap..after getting some tea at the Greyhound..we returned to Staveley by train". I think they covered about 17 miles on that day.

A fortnight earlier the pair had walked from Kendal to Shap but, "we found nothing very interesting on any part of the journey".

One of Joseph's successors as Schoolmaster wrote"-

"Mr. Martindale was a fine man. I knew several of his family well and heard much about him from them. He left behind him a fine tradition when to retired in 1902, having been Master of Staveley School for a period of forty two years and ten months. He was a great friend of the late Charles Greenall, a prominent Westmorland County Councillor and economist, he told me how after meetings of Mr. Martindale's Natural History Society in Kendal (there were no buses, and the last train to Windermere had always gone) how he used to "set" Mr. Martindale home to Staveley, five miles away. If their discussion had not finished by the time they reached Staveley, Martindale would turn round and sometimes walk with him all the way back to Kendal" 104

The ordinary side of life

In all of this he had a family life, including seven children who survived into adulthood.

Unlike his friend George Stabler who was several years in Levens before he married, Joseph acted much more quickly and was married in just less that two years after taking up his position in Staveley school. His wife was a 24 year old Kendal schoolmistress named Mary Ann Seed.

Mary Ann was born in Halifax in 1837¹⁰⁵. She was one of the c8 children of Joseph Seed ("Inspector of Worsted Yarn" in 1841 and 1851, and "Inspector of Weights and Measures" in subsequent censuses) and his wife Mary.

The 1861 census recorded Mary Ann, aged 24 as a "Teacher" and "Boarder" in the household of William and Elizabeth Scott in Highgate, Kendal. On 17th October of that year, she was married to Joseph Anthony Martindale at Kendal Parish Church¹⁰⁶. The ceremony was conducted by none other than William Chaplin, the Vicar of Staveley. The wedding

was witnessed by her father, Joseph Seed, Thomas B. Martindale, (Joseph Anthony's brother, who was teaching at Troutbeck at the time), and Barbara Lord, who was a fellow teacher, and boarder in the same lodgings as Mary Ann.

I don't know where they lived immediately after their wedding, or how many times they moved before settling at 12 Danes Road in the township of Hugill, where they were for the 1881 census. The birth certificates of their rapidly and regularly expanding family might well supply the missing information. I know that their third child, Charlotte, died in April 1866, aged 4 months, at East View, Nether Staveley, but by the time of the 1871 census, they were at 3 Danes Rd..

The family started quickly and grew rapidly, an exemplar of Victorian fecundity. Edith Jane was born in 1862; George Ernest in 1864; Charlotte Mary, who only lived 4 months, in 1866; Catherine Elizabeth (Kitty) in 1867; Mary Emma in 1869; Clara Elizabeth who was born in 1871 but did not see her first birthday; Edwin Featherstone in 1873 and Ellen Winifred in 1875, by which time Mary Ann was 38.

Joseph and Mary's children

Edith Jane¹⁰⁷ was born in mid 1862 and was recorded in the 1881 census as a "Pupil Teacher" in her parent's home. She left Staveley School on 21st December 1882 to go to Whitelands teacher training college in Chelsea.

After qualifying, Edith returned to live with her parents and was recorded in the 1891 census as a "Certified Schoolmistress – Headmistress of Pub Eli [sic] Sch". This situation did not persist for long as later the same year she married William Flint Godfrey. Godfrey had been born in 1861 and was an Iron Furnace Pattern Maker. In the 1891 census he is recorded as living with his widowed father William (Iron Foundry Foreman) and married sister Rebecca Bradley, in Cavendish Place, Barrow Hill, Staveley, Derbyshire. It seems that Edith had been courted by Joseph Anthony Barnes, son of her father's friend James Martindale Barnes of Levens, but Barnes family tradition is that the young Methodist Minister took so long about bringing matters to a conclusion that, in 1891, she moved to Staveley in Derbyshire, where she later married Godfrey.

By the standards of the time it must have been something of a whirlwind romance. In less than 9 months after the census showed her as living in Staveley, Westmorland, with an established and very respectable career, she was in Derbyshire married to a man who later went into the pub trade. Perhaps she felt that at 28 she could not afford to dawdle on the highroad of life, moved to a new job and happened to meet a man who was ready for marriage.

I wonder if she already knew him? In the 1881 census a boarder named Elizabeth Godfrey was recorded in the Martindale household. Elizabeth was a 15 year old Pupil Teacher, recorded as having been born in Escrick (between York & Selby), Yorkshire. She was the daughter of a man we have already come across in his official capacity, Robert Godfrey, Surveyor and Inspector of Nuisances, of 8 Beech Villas (somewhere near Parkside Rd.), Kendal. Was he related to William Flint Godfrey in some way?

Edith and William had 3 children (1901 & 1911 censuses), William Eric, Ernest Martindale and Eva Mary, born in 1893, 1898 and 1900 respectively.

According to the 1901 and 1911 censuses, William and Edith had the Black Bull Inn at Hill Top, Bolsover, and later, the Blackwell Hotel, Blackwell, Alfreton, Mansfield, Notts..

An Edith J. Godfrey, aged 61, died in Mansfield in 1924.

George Ernest¹⁰⁹ was born in mid 1864. George or "Ernie" as his father referred to him later, grew up in Staveley and followed the family calling, becoming first a Pupil Teacher (1881 census – aged 16) and later, "Assistant Master, Secondary School" (1891) census.

We know from his father's letters to George Stabler¹¹⁰ that he took a keen interest in Botany, accompanying Joseph Anthony on many collecting excursions and by belonging to specimen exchange clubs. From the Martindale herbarium in Kendal Museum we can see that he was an active collector on his own account. Like his father and brother, George was also a member of the Staveley Rifle Volunteers, indeed he gained commissioned rank as Quartermaster, and from surviving family photographs of him in military attire, now in the possession of his granddaughter, he seems to have continued an association with the Territorials into middle age¹¹¹.

Like Edith, he changed course. Though becoming first a Pupil Teacher and then an Assistant Teacher at his father's school, he resigned his post in 1887. In a letter to George Stabler dated 18th September 1888, Joseph mentioned that "Ernest...is going to Liverpool tonight. His work beginning tomorrow". The 1901 census records the 36 year old bachelor, lodging at 121 Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, his occupation being "Accountant" in a marine insurance company. He married a 26 year old Lilian Jones, daughter, I think, of Isaac Jones, pawnbroker of Wallasey, Cheshire, on 21

September 1905, in New Brighton, Cheshire. The 1911 census records their address as "Lullingfields, Delavor Road, Heswall, Wirral". His occupation, "Secretary to Marine Insurance Company". By then they had 2 children, Ursula Featherstonehaugh aged 3 (born 29th May 1907) and Anthony Featherstonehaugh, 5 months. They had two house servants. I wonder if Joseph Anthony's ancestral research had uncovered a connection with that old family who had occupied Stanhope Hall until the mid seventeenth century, or was upward mobility the motive for gentrifying the "Featherstone" name to a form which is actually pronounced "Fanshawe"?

George and Lilian had two more children, Nancy, who was born in 1914, and Michael.

After George retired, Lilian and he moved south (Lilian apparently not caring to live near Liverpool), probably to Henley-on-Thames to start with, and then settling in Oxford. George Ernest died in late 1947, but Lilian seems to have lived until 1973, Ursula until 1978 and Anthony until 1959¹¹².

Charlotte Mary was born in early 1866¹¹³ and succumbed to pneumonia on 19th April 1866, when she was only four months old .

I had suspected that he had more children by Mary Ann than the "six surviving" mentioned in his obituary, but knew nothing of another until I came across this bleak entry in the school log book, made on 20th April 1866 "Great sickness among children, my youngest child died on the Thursday. I gave the school holiday on Friday. On Wednesday and Thursday I could teach next to nothing". I was then able to find her in the death index for the second quarter of 1866.

Catherine Elizabeth (Kitty) was born 1867¹¹⁴, and she also became an elementary schoolteacher, starting as a Pupil Teacher in her father's school. I know from the logbook that she worked in Staveley school as an Assistant Teacher up to May 1899 at least. She qualified and continued to live, unmarried, at 12 Danes Rd. until she disappears from our view after the 1911 census. The death of a Katherine Martindale of about the right age, was registered in Kendal in 1954. Kitty was appointed as Head Teacher of St. Mary's Girls' School, Windermere in April 1906 ¹¹⁵(Staveley Primary School 250th Anniversary) and was certainly still there at he time of her father's death the daughter mentioned in Joseph Anthony's obituary (Westmorland Mercury and Times, 10th April 1914).

Mary Emma¹¹⁶, born in 1869, seems to have kept house for her father when her mother died (1891 census). Like Kitty, she remained at home, but neither the 1901 nor the 1911 censuses record her as having any occupation. The death of a Mary E. Martindale of about the right age, was registered in Kendal in 1958.

Clara Elizabeth¹¹⁷ was born early in 1871 but seems to have been a very sickly child. She died on 26th January 1872, aged 9 months. From a letter Joseph wrote to George Stabler in February 1871 I thought that Mary Ann might have suffered a still-birth. I searched for the registration in Kendal, in 1871/72, of the deaths of infants with the surname Martindale, and found a Clara Elizabeth. Her death certificate confirmed her parentage and explains the brief but forlorn entry in the school logbook on Friday 26th, "Absent from School. Went to Kendal for the doctor for my youngest child". He was still absent on the following Monday and Tuesday and although at School on 2nd February he felt "unwell & unequal to teaching today".

Edwin Featherstone, born 1873¹¹⁸, was one who didn't start teaching. The 1891 census records the 17 year-old in his parent's household, occupation "Office Clerk at a Brewery". I couldn't find him in the 1901 census, but this was because he had just arrived in South Africa, to take part in what we now call The Boer War. Edwin seems to have caught one of his father's other enthusiasms, for in 1888 he had joined the Staveley Volunteers ("F' Company of 2nd Volunteer Battalion The Border Regiment), eventually becoming Orderly Room Sergeant. Edwin and a contingent of 11 other local men commanded by Captain John Thompson, together with the 2 other officers (Lts. J.F. Haswell, & E.W. Wakefield) and the rest of the men in the battalion's active service company, sailed on the steamship Nineveh from the Royal Albert Docks on 4th March 1900. The Nineveh made a brief call at Tenerife on 9th March, and arrived at Cape Town on 27th March. The Staveley men were all to return home safely¹¹⁹, but they did see some action (see Appendix 5). They returned to Southampton on 29th April 1901.

On 7th November 1903, having left from Liverpool some days earlier, Edwin disembarked from the ship "Tunisian" at Montreal¹²⁰. The passenger list records his occupation as "Factory Foreman" (somewhat unclear) and his intended destination as Caledonia, Ontario. He settled at Dahinda¹²¹, not far from Regina, Saskatchewan and took up farming. The next person on the Tunisian's passenger list was a Warren Clegg, age 30, a Sanitary Engineer (record also slightly unclear) from Lancashire, also intending to go to Caledonia, Ontario.

The 1906 census record, dated 21st July, lists Edwin F. Martindale, a 33 year-old single man who emigrated from England in 1903, as residing at Yellow Grass in the sub-district of Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan where he was in

partnership with Warren Clegg and James Mitchell. Together they possessed 4 horses, 2 milk cows, 5 other cattle and 2 hogs.

In immigration records of January 1910 for the Port of Montreal, for border crossings into the USA, there is an Edwin F. Martindale, aged 36, a single man, occupation farmer, last permanent address, Rouleau (Saskatchewan) Canada. The address he gave for his nearest relative was his father, Joseph, at Staveley near Kendal, England. He seems to have been in company of another single farmer (they were adjacent entries in the "List or Manifest of Alien Passengers Applying for Admission"). This man was Frank Bywater, age 23, also living in Rouleau, whose nearest relative was his father, James, in Gomersal, Leeds. By a coincidence, James Bywater was a schoolteacher (1901 census). Frank had emigrated in 1905 and farmed in Qu'Appelle in a township called Rouleau. His elder brother William followed him in 1906 and his parents in 1912. Frank and Edwin are recorded, in adjacent entries, as arriving in Boston USA on 16th March 1910 from Liverpool on board the S.S. Devonian.

Canadian military records contain the attestation form that recorded Frank, now farming in Dahinda, enlisting in the Canadian Expeditionary force on 16th December 1914. He was discharged as medically unfit, on "compassionate" grounds, in 1917.

On 11th October 1911 Edwin married another English emigrant, a Mary Smith, "3rd daughter of Samuel H. Clegg of Manchester" Mary, a schoolmistress, was one of Warren's sisters (1891 England census).

The 1916 census of the district of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, in the Municipality of Key West, records the presence of Edwin F. Martindale who had done military service "overseas" and had emigrated to Canada from England in 1902 (sic) and his wife Mary who had emigrated in 1910. There were, as well, Warren Clegg and his wife Margaret, both of whom emigrated in 1903. Both Edwin and Warren are recorded as being farmers (Warren was Mary's younger brother). They were neighbours.

An Elizabeth L. Clegg, Schoolmistress, a single woman aged 60, born Heywood, England (daughter of Sam Clegg, Coal merchant, of Heywood, Lancs.) - was an emigrant on the ship Andania, sailing from Liverpool on 21st June 1929. She had previously been in Canada between 1910 and 1920 when she had lived at Dahinda, Saskatchewan. Her destination was Hollyburn, West Vancouver BC, the address of her sister Mary S. Martindale. Her nearest relative in the UK was Ethel Leach Bladnoch (a sister) of Ainsdale, Southport. The records are a bit confusing as also on the ship was Mary S. Martindale herself, a widow, aged 62, she was also emigrating to Hollyburn, but the address was amended to read "Brother W.L.Clegg", but her UK relative was also Mrs. Bladnoch. Mary's previous sojourn in Canada had been in Dahinda from 1910 to 1926. At some time in the intervening years she had been at Arnside, Westmorland¹²³

Curiously, a widow named Kate Bywater, aged 73, was also an emigrant on the passenger list. She had lived in Hollyburn from 1911 to 1923 and she was going back to her son there. The 1916 census records a Kate Bywater, 58 year old wife of James H. Bywater, a Teacher, of Key West, Saskatchewan. The couple had emigrated from England in 1912, following their sons Frank, aged 29 who had emigrated in 1905 and William, 33, who had come over in 1906. Both sons were recorded as farmers. Frank had indicated that he seen military service overseas. We can find all of these Bywaters living in Gomersal in the 1891 & 1901 censuses.

All of the above is something of a diversion, but it does illustrate very well the pattern of emigration and return amongst groups of relatives, friends and neighbours which characterises this period, when the lure of cheap land filled so many here in Britain with optimism that Canada would be the place at the end of the rainbow.

Whether that was how Edwin perceived his life in Canada we do not know, but when the First World War broke out he wasn't slow to show his patriotism and leave the farm.

The Roll of Honour¹²⁴ states that he joined the 10th Canadian Regiment in March 1915 and served with the Expeditionary Force¹²⁵ in France and Flanders from the following August (if this means August 1915 it conflicts with the 1916 census, see above). The Roll of Honour states that Corporal Martindale "....took part in many engagements, being employed in the Intelligence Department *[the memorial in Staveley Church says 'Brigade Scouts']* and was awarded the Military Medal (London Gazette, 18 July, 1917), for bravery and devotion to duty under heavy shell fire on 28th and 29th April 1917". He died at No.7 Casualty Clearing Station 23 Jan. 1918, of wounds received in action the previous day". His grave is in Fosse No. 10 Communal Cemetery Extension, near the mining village of Sains-en-Gohelle, between Bethune and Arras.

An oddity is that his death is noted amongst the records of the Windsor Freemasons, Canada, specifically the Enniskillen Lodge No. 185, Hamilton, Enniskillen is in Ontario, not Saskatchewan.

Ellen Winifred. Born in 1875¹²⁶, Ellen followed the family tradition and became a schoolmistress. She was a Pupil Teacher at her father's school, which she left on 24th August 1896 in order to train at Whitelands College. The 1901 census found her as a "boarder" at 23, High St., Stratford on Avon, in the household of Henry Clarke, a seed dealer. Her occupation was given as "Assistant Teacher". The marriage of an Ellen Winifred Martindale was registered in Kendal in early 1908, and her husband would appear to have been one George Elliot Adamson. I can't find any trace of either of them in the 1911 census, but, by process of elimination I deduce that Ellen was probably the daughter mentioned in Joseph Anthony's obituary¹²⁷ as being in Rhodesia.

An Ellen Winifred Adamson was recorded, on the passenger list¹²⁸ of the Union Castle line ship "Winchester Castle", as disembarking at Southampton on 14th September 1946, having embarked at Durban, South Africa. Her age was given as 61, ten years too young, but her "proposed address in the UK" was indeed 12 Danes Terrace, Staveley, Westmorland, her occupation was "Teacher", and her "Country of last permanent residence" was "S. Rhodesia". The record also states that England was where she now proposed to live permanently. I assume that she had been widowed and wished to come home.

The death of an Ellen W. Adamson, aged 77, was registered in Kendal in early 1952.

Family life and health

Not much information is available about the Martindale family's life. What little there is suggests that other than for the dramas of illness and childbirth, and the tragedies of contemporary childhood mortality, it was fairly uneventful. Joseph himself seems to have been of generally good health "until advancing years made long tramps impossible". Apart from writing to George Stabler on 7th July 1891, "I can't go to Penrith or anywhere this week – for I have a boil on my neck and a swollen lip and gum, adding additional charms to my handsome features", I noticed very little mention of his physical health in his letters: certainly nothing to suggest any chronic condition.

The school logbook offers more information, simply because the Master had to account for his absences¹²⁹.

Schools being breeding centres for infection, particularly in that unvaccinated, unmedicated, damp and overcrowded era, Joseph caught his share of the inevitable whenever it flared up, especially in the winter. According to the logbook, Joseph was "too ill to go to school" for a considerable part of March 1866. He reported "great sickness amongst children" on 20th April, before continuing:-

"My youngest child died on the Thursday [the previous day]. I gave the school holiday on Friday. On Wednesday and Thursday I could teach next to nothing".

Charlotte Mary's death certificate is hard to read, but I think the cause was pneumonia. Martindale had been ill himself, and in and out of school for most of the previous month, so he was already worn down when the tragedy caught him.

Over the years, illness certainly caused Joseph to have his share of absence from work, very often at about the same time of year that epidemics were striking his pupils. The most common season, as you would expect, was the winter, especially from January to April, when everyone was at their lowest ebb. Unfortunately, he rarely recorded the cause even when the absence was long. From the logbook (15th May 1874) we know that bronchitis had kept him at home for a week. Rheumatism in January 1878 "kept me back from working as I ought to do". Inflammation of the bladder (28th March 1884) made him absent all that week and both rheumatism and neuralgia affected him throughout February 1898. But on the whole he reported, as in this example on 9th January 1893, in these terms, "The school was opened [after the christmas holiday] I was not present as I was very seriously unwell". On 16th January, "I returned to school after a week's absence, but was too weak to teach very much". Intermittent absences such as those between 22nd May and 11th June 1885, during which time "the doctor forbids me to exert myself", were doubtless due to him trying to keep going, if the school couldn't be staffed, it had to be closed.

In 1876, Joseph compiled an attendance list¹³⁰ showing the average attendances for each quarter, going right back to the year 1866/67. He annotated the list with symbols identifying the causes of exceptional absences in the last two years. In the school year 1874/75 measles affected the quarter starting October 1874 and did not spare his own household - "I have been absent from school Monday Tuesday and Wednesday through illness. The children at home have all had the Measles & I had last week & the early part of this to be up all night. This took away my strength & my eyes are badly inflamed".

Typhoid fever was prevalent in the following three quarters. There was a respite in October to December 1875 but "Hooping" cough and cold weather struck in the first half of 1876. Joseph didn't continue this analysis in later years, but in April 1895 he calculated that 42 named children had lost a total of 2951 attendances due to epidemics of Scarlet Fever and Diphtheria during the 1894/95 school year.

We have already mentioned these epidemics in the context of school attendance, but we must not forget the anxiety Victorians experienced due to the prevalence of infectious diseases that, if not necessarily fatal in themselves, were very debilitating, making the victims vulnerable to others that were, e.g. Pneumonia.

On 31st September 1878 the school was "visited by Dr. Page, the doctor to the Sanitary Authority & by Mr. [Robert] Godfrey, Inspector of Nuisances. Agnes Dawson had been ill of scarlet fever, Dr. Page....ordered the school to be closed & disinfected and cleaned". From September 1879 Scarlet Fever was again rife in Staveley. The "2 or 3" cases that Joseph noted on 5th September quickly became "School almost deserted" on 19th September. In October, the fever was in the household of Ada Blamire, one of the Pupil Teachers, so she couldn't come to school. Later she caught the disease herself, though happily, she recovered, to serve for twenty more years as Pupil and later, Assistant Teacher, until she left to get married on 29th April 1899.

Joseph himself became ill with a "throat complaint" and was unable to teach "through want of voice" but still went to his school. It was not until mid January of 1880 that he "felt able to teach with comparative ease".

Little wonder that Joseph wrote the following on 19th December 1879, when he closed the school for the Christmas holiday, "I have never had a more unfortunate and miserable half year....since I commenced teaching".

On 23rd April 1886, Joseph confided, "I have been at Staveley over 26 years and do not remember a time just before the examination when the school has had so many absent through illness".

I think the entry Joseph made a week later (30th April) is such a fitting description of the pernicious effect of infections that it is our last word on this subject. "The last four or five months have been particularly unfortunate. Scarlet Fever has kept many children from school during January and February: And during the last month inflammations, sore throats and simple fever has half emptied the school. One boy John Procter [surname not entirely clear] was at school one day and dead the next of inflammation. His death alarmed many parents who at once kept every child at home that had any cold at all".

His family was not immune, and after Charlotte's and Clara's deaths I expect he was more easily alarmed by a spectre hovering over them. In January 1875, as we have seen, Typhoid fever was in the village, "everyone seems afraid". I expect that included Joseph, who, by that time, had five surviving children and another on the way.

Their eldest daughter, Kitty, was a cause of concern. On 2nd April 1886 Joseph noted that "Catherine Martindale takes great pains with her work [as a Pupil Teacher]. She has not been in good health for a few weeks". A year later, on 9th April 1888, he wrote, "My daughter ill. Doctor says she must have rest for some days. An awkward time for a teacher to be absent from her class". She was away until 27th April. On 5th May 1889 Kitty "had slight fit last Tuesday. I am very anxious about these recurrences...I have begged her to do nothing in the morning till she gets a beaten egg & some milk & a little spirit". Perhaps he need not have worried, Kitty lived a lot longer than he did.

Joseph must have been close to his mother. His letter to George Stabler dated 8th January 1885 stated, "....I dare not tell my sister Jane for it will go nigh to break her heart, but I have written to George [a brother, in South Africa] to break the news as gently as he may be able. Your late illness is my only reason for not asking you to come to the funeral". He went on to recount the distressing events surrounding her death; "At four o'clock in the morning she got Kitty to call us up & Mary did all she could. As soon as she could be persuaded which was not for a few hours we sent for the doctor. He was very attentive, but some restriction had arisen in her bowels which caused violent sickness & she died of exhaustion about 6 o'clock yesterday morning" On the following day, Joseph wrote in the logbook, "My Mother's death has upset me. Away from school Wednesday, Thursday and Friday" 132.

Distressing as his mother's death was, it was what befell Mary Ann that really afflicted him.

In his letters to George Stabler, Joseph referred to his wife's health several times, but outside the stress of repeated pregnancies and a house full of children I can't detect any theme of chronic ill-health. However, on 27th May 1871, Joseph wrote, "Mrs. Martindale was confined about five weeks ago & I am sorry to say gathers strength very slowly".

Clara Elizabeth Martindale was probably sickly all her short life¹³³ and this probably exacerbated the difficulty Mary Ann had in recovering from childbirth. On 12th February 1872 Joseph wrote to cancel a Saturday's botanising with George Stabler as, "...my wife has had such a weary & careful time of it that I should have been ashamed to have left her knowing she required rest, & that with Kitty unwell, she would have been unable to have any". This was written on black edged mourning notepaper, less than 3 weeks after Clara's death.

On 27th April 1873, a week before the annual examination, he wrote in the logbook, "A fortnight ago yesterday my wife was struck down with illness. For eight days I was never in bed. Last week I was only in school on Monday and I have been in anxiety & dread. The teachers have all behaved splendidly and I believe the scholars have done their best, but I have not been able to do anything". We do not know what was wrong with Mary Ann, but it must have been something very threatening. On 5th May the book received this terse entry, "We have done what we could". The examination took place on 7th May and the Inspector's subsequent report was not very good.

Was there anything recurring in this affliction or was it a single episode of infection? We cannot tell, but whatever the illness was, Joseph was very alarmed.

On 28th November 1890 Joseph made this heartrending entry in the logbook:

"My wife became unwell in the first week of October & rapidly grew so weak that I was obliged to sit up with her all night. The long hours of watching and the anxiety I was under rendered me unable to attend to the schoolwork as I should have done & my own class has especially suffered. I came to school at the beginning of the secular work *[presumably after the morning prayers]* & looked after things as well as my distress would permit. My wife died on 18th November & I was absent from school during the rest of the week. The school had holiday on Friday Nov. 21, the day of her funeral".

On 12th December, "Work going on much as usual. I am not well myself. The weather has been cold".

Mary Ann Martindale was only 53. According to her death certificate¹³⁴ she had suffered from "gastritis" for 7 weeks, complicated by "induration of left lung" and "asthenia". In the creative world of nineteenth century diagnosis "asthenia" was medical obscurantism for debility and weakness, a condition to be expected in one who had suffered for seven weeks with a serious stomach illness, combined with a lung disorder. Induration of the lung is often associated with heart failure. Maybe there had been a long term problem after all.

By 1890, the youngest of their six surviving children was 14 years old and four were over twenty, all of them living at home, so Joseph was at least spared having to bring up a young family on his own. In the 1891 census, only the youngest, Ellen, was still at school, four of them had jobs (3 as teachers) and one, Mary, had become Joseph's housekeeper.

Although the circumstances of his household relieved him of some responsibilities, the strain imposed by his wife's illness and the grief attending his personal tragedy had their effect. According to E.M.Holmes¹³⁵, Mary Ann's death had not just affected Joseph's health, it had also "arrested" his work on the lichens of Westmorland. We know how important this work was to him so we can imagine what depth of sadness would deprive him of the desire to carry it on.

Something of his state of mind is revealed in his letters to George Stabler¹³⁶. None survive from the latter part of 1890, but one, from 14th May 1891 explains why he was unable to visit Levens; "I can't leave home this Whitsuntide. Sorry, that is to say, to refuse & disappoint you; for I feel quite indifferent myself as to where I am". In the section on "Family and Health" above, some other occasions on which he described being in a similar mental condition are discussed.

The passage of time probably helped to reawaken the desire to botanise and no doubt a part was played by the resumption of normal life.

The time that passed was just over four years and, normality was restored by marriage to Emily Jane Ruthven in Windermere Parish Church on 27th December 1894¹³⁷. The marriage was witnessed by George Hutchings Ruthven, Emily's eldest brother¹³⁸.

I don't know how Joseph and Emily met, it might have been through Joseph's lecturing, or through his activities as Secretary of the Windermere District Teacher's Association, for Emily was Headmistress of Windermere Girls' School.

It is also possible that Joseph was already acquainted with her through his natural history connections in Kendal. Emily's grandfather, John Ruthven, was a well known local geologist. It is tempting to think that familiarity with Ruthven's pioneering map of Lakeland geology¹³⁹ might have inspired Joseph to organise his own map of the flora of Westmorland according to its river basins¹⁴⁰.

Emily Jane Ruthven was born in Kendal in early 1852¹⁴¹. She was the second of 10 children of Richard Ruthven, a carpet designer and his wife Emma. Richard's occupation was described in other censuses as "clerk" (1841), "Designer" (1861), and "Designer & Architect" (1871), by which year Emily was towards the end of her time as a Pupil Teacher. Richard died in 1877 and by the 1881 census, Emily was a schoolmistress in Windermere, living in Bowness

as a lodger at the home of John Gill, "Master Joiner" at 8 Biskey Howe Terrace, Undermillbeck. The 1891 census finds her and her mother living at North Terrace, Undermillbeck, According to a handwritten family tree kindly given to me by Nancy Walker of Arnside, Emily was Headmistress of Windermere Girls' School from 1876 to the year of her marriage in 1894.

I have had the pleasure of talking to someone who had met her: Nancy Walker (née Gawith) of Arnside is a granddaughter of one of Emily's sisters and can remember knowing her when she was a child and Emily was in extreme old age.

Nancy Walker left Kendal to take up nursing in 1945 at the age of 18 so her recollections of the Martindales are of those she had met before then, and are of Emily and two of her step-daughters, "the two I thought were old maids", probably Kitty and Mary Emma. "I knew the two girls.... The thing I remember most about them was this, whenever funerals were mentioned they were always arguing about [the issue of] 'I don't want to have you buried on top of me' – they could not afford to have two places, always arguing. I used to think this is so ridiculous, it's only a dead body then".

Mrs. Walker commented that "She was very lively even in her 80s, much more lively than those old daughters of hers,we all adored her. Aunt Emily, she was such a humorous positive person, whereas her sister, my grandma wasn't very humorous, they used to play beggar my neighbour together....I was thinking how on earth did Aunt Emily come from Staveley to where my grandma lived at the top of Kendal Green, she must have got the bus and then walked across, but she was an old, old thing in long black skirts, but she must have because they didn't have any transport, she was a great old thing" 142. A portrait photograph of Emily, possibly taken not long after her marriage, emphatically demonstrates that she could not have always been described as a "great old thing" 143

Emily survived her husband by many years, and died at 12 Danes Road on 6th August 1946, aged 94¹⁴⁴. More about her ancestors can be found in Appendix 6.

Joseph and Emily had one child.

John Ruthven Martindale was born in the spring of 1896¹⁴⁵, his mother was then 44 years old. Having one's first child when on the wrong side of 40 evidently isn't exclusive to the demands of twenty-first century careers.

By 1914 John was "entering on a promising scholastic career, now at Windermere Grammar School". so the implication is that by the age of 18 he was likely to have the academic life that Joseph had been denied by the untimely death of his own father, and it so nearly came about.

In later years he was described as "carrying to a higher" plain (*sic*) his father's "great mental gifts", ability to acquire and communicate knowledge and to "absorb with equal facility classics, mathematics and practical science". In 1914 he "won his way to Pembroke College, Cambridge, with an exhibition" going up just when war broke out; and this is where Gavrilo Princip unknowingly made his first mark on our schoolmaster's family.

He did get his degree, in 1921, achieving what had been denied to his father, but he was dead within three years,

"In Cambridge, as well as taking up his studies, he had joined the University Officer Training Corps. After a year, due in part to his skill in mathematics, he was commissioned into the Devon Royal Garrison Artillery".

An aptitude for maths is essential to an artillery officer, who's raison d'être is the visiting of destruction on people and things he can't see in conditions he can't control. Possibly there was also a genetic advantage in the leadership department gained from having two head teachers as parents. He was gazetted as a second Lieutenant on 8th July 1915¹⁴⁸. On 31st August 1916¹⁴⁹ he went to France, "in charge of a platoon, numbering 90 men and 60 horses".

You might infer from the name of his regiment that it's purpose was to sit in gun emplacements round Plymouth ready to defend the naval base from surprise attack. This it had been once, but by 1916 the realities of trench warfare demanded heavy artillery on the battlefield to destroy or neutralise the enemy artillery, as well as pounding strongpoints, troop concentrations, supply dumps, roads and railways etc. behind enemy lines.

The most mobile of the RGA's heavy weapons were the 60 pounder guns, six of which, in sections of two, made up a battery. I think that Lieutenant Martindale commanded a two gun section in one of the 60 pounder batteries, possibly the 167th, 169th or 170th which were sent to France on 31st August 1916¹⁵⁰ On that date, the battle of the Somme had been in progress for two months and hope remained that a breakthrough might still be possible.

That hope proved to be illusory, but without one somewhere, there wasn't going to be a victory for anybody. The next big offensive by the British came in the Ypres area between July and November 1917, in what came to be known as Passchendale, the epitome of trench warfare attrition.

The obituary states that John was on active service in France for a year, being mentioned in dispatches, and though I don't know whether he took part in the succession of battles in this offensive, it seems likely, given the massive use of artillery during it. At some point, in some battle, "...his active career was suddenly terminated by the bursting of a shell in the dug-out where he and three other officers were sitting. The other three were blown to atoms, but he marvellously survived, though with a shock and injuries to the spine from which he never fully recovered".

The obituary continues, "After doing duty on home service for a time, he was demobilised in 1920 and returned to complete his education at Cambridge".

"He took his degree in 1921 and became Associate (*sic*) of the Institute of Chemistry of Great Britain and Ireland". He had achieved what his father had long before wanted for himself, but it had required a determined struggle for he had never recovered properly from his injuries. We know that he had spent time in the Red Cross Hospital for Officers at 4 Percival Terrace, Brighton¹⁵¹ and that, "when he sat for his Tripos he had to be carried from a Nursing Home to the examination, and the last four years of his life were spent in one convalescent home after another. Always lying on his back and never free from pain".

Such a predicament must have been dreadful for a young man whose outdoor recreations had been "roaming over the fell-sides and swimming", but he immersed himself in a variety of activities, the study of music, photography and building radios, and was "too keenly interested in his work and in those around him to complain about himself.....Up to the last two weeks there was still the eager vitality planning for the future, the vivid personality anticipating release and recovery from fettering disabilities". Even at this distance in time, there are still traces of "Jack" Martindale's vibrant personality. Nancy Walker told me how fondly he was remembered in the family and Dr. Angus Winchester of Lancaster University, recalled that Jack was a favourite cousin of his grandmother¹⁵². A photograph¹⁵³ of Jack, which Angus thinks was taken in 1917, shows him as very much the young army officer, who would be all of 21 years of age, complete with pipe and toothbrush moustache, but grave of expression: might he have already been wounded?

When he died on 21st July 1924. The primary cause of death was tuberculosis of the spine, resulting from his war wound., He was 28 years old¹⁵⁴.

Though his name is on the roll of honour in Staveley church, he is not commemorated on the Staveley War memorial. It was erected before he died. A child at the school later remembered that when the memorial was being built "Mrs. Martindale...was crying"¹⁵⁵. There are three Martindales named on the memorial, one of them was her stepson Edwin who was killed in 1918. This was the second consequence, for the family, of Gavrilo Princip's mad act in 1914.

Joseph Anthony Martindale - Character

We have seen the committed and successful teacher who stretched himself as well as his staff and pupils. We have met the determined student, the dedicated botanist and the servant of the community. As well, there is the all-round enthusiast whose big ideas were not always realistic. He certainly wasn't ordinary, but what are we to make of him?

Perhaps it is unfair to play the amateur psychologist, but it is unavoidable for some of the material is too intriguing. I will set out some of it to speak for itself, and will try to avoid implying judgements for which the evidence does not suffice.

Let's start with the statement, made by one of his obituarists. "Though he was on more than one occasion pressed to open up a school for higher education for Kendal and neighbourhood, he could not be prevailed upon to do so, preferring to remain at the only school of which he had had charge" If we ask why he was reluctant, an easy answer is that he already had quite enough to do in Staveley. He had the ability, but was there no ambition?

The Rev. William Chaplin said of Joseph that, "one has so often felt that with his undoubted and unusually brilliant powers he might have occupied a high position among the great intellects of this world" It think, by it's fulsome nature, this statement was by way of a eulogy, nevertheless it clearly conveys the opinion that Joseph was cut out for greater things than a village school.

I suppose that Joseph had put down his roots and had a life which satisfied him, a life which, moreover, he did not want to risk or disrupt by venturing into uncharted waters. He knew Staveley's pool inside out and had become a fair sized fish in it. In any case, how much time for botany would be available to a man setting up and running a school for higher

education?

I don't think he was ever put off doing anything by that thing's intrinsic difficulty, viz. the Greek or the German, or any of the other things that he taught himself, including the study of lichens. Lichenology was the least developed of the three strands of flowerless plant studies that the trio set themselves to tackle, and the one with the fewest adherents. Is it just possible that he was attracted by the difficulty of the task, and it's isolation?

In 1889 Joseph published "The Study of Lichens, with special reference to the Lake District" 158.

This work, which I suppose was aimed at the botanically minded tourist, tells us why he found lichenology so compelling. On the cover he quotes John Ruskin¹⁵⁹, characterising lichens as, "Creatures full of pity covering with strange and tender honour the sacred disgrace of ruin, laying quiet fingers on the trembling stones to teach them rest". Ruskin's musings on the agelessness and permanence of these "humblest of the green things that live" bring a lyrical romanticism to their contemplation; and this is echoed in Joseph's own words at the end of his little book:-

"How mysterious it is that in things so small, with so little grace, there should yet be in their most secret parts-where, from the beginning of creation till these latter days, the eye of man has never pried – so much that is exquisite in design, so lavish a profusion of detail, and such fitness and perfection in the whole".

He was conscious that few others were privy to these wonders:-

"During the twenty years in which I have been engaged in the examination of lichens, I have only twice had the pleasure of meeting and speaking with anyone who had taken up the study with heartiness...few English botanists, of late years at all events, ever give more than a cursory glance at lichens.....so far as the flowering plants and ferns are concerned, I believe there is no country in which plant distribution has so fully worked out as it has been in our own. But with lichens the reverse is the case...and we do not seem to have a single observer who has made any extended researches calculated to illustrate the life and development of lichens....It is true that there are difficulties to be encountered in the investigation...".

I have written earlier in these notes that I thought that he was confident of his own ability to learn. I also think he believed that by concerted application of his energy and thoroughness he could master the very difficult on his own, and that he applied this attitude no less to Lichenology than to his teaching. If he tried hard enough he would achieve the outcome he wanted, even if it was a long struggle.

Holmes recalled that Joseph had written to him in 1869¹⁶⁰ stating that all his spare time in the "last two years" had been "fully taken up with the study of lichens, and I find that I make but very little progress with them. On looking over my collection I am astonished at the great number which I have determined, to which the mark of 'doubtful' is attached. Those I am certain of are very few in comparison".

I don't imagine that he ever doubted the outcome was worth the effort. I don't think he particularly wanted recognition, the satisfaction lay in mastering the subject. His obituarist wrote, "....he was a man who did not advertise himself and made what his friends thought was a mistake in not putting his knowledge into such a form as it could be profitably applied by others.....and to this and his keen determination that work rather than the man should count is due the utterly inadequate public recognition of his talents, researches and collections" ¹⁶¹.

This is not to say that Joseph found recognition unwelcome, when it came from an informed source. Into his letter to George Stabler dated 10th February 1890, Joseph copied (a translation of?) the text of a letter he had received from a J.Richard of 31 Rue de Magenta, Poitiers in Western France:- "I have got from Dr. Nylander your interesting paper 'The Study of Lichens....and I have read it with infinite pleasure; not only as a member of that scanty brotherhood of Lichenologists but also as an old student of stylish literature and language....it is my excuse for introducing myself to you and begging to shake hands with the happy 'defender' of lichens....I would fain send to you some of my own papers about lichens...together with a few specimens from my duplicates.... "162".

The correspondent was probably Olivier Jules Richard (1836 – 1896), a Lichenologist prominent enough in his time to have made it into Wikipedia. Richard had already published papers regarding the theories of Professor Simon Schwendener (that lichens are a symbiotic product of fungus and algae) with which Joseph profoundly disagreed. Schwendener was right, but it took until the mid C20 before proof was forthcoming. We have already seen what Joseph had written about the solitary predicament of the lichenologist, and Richard's comment bears him out.

Joseph's pleasure in receiving a token from a man of high reputation is very evident in this extract from a letter to Stabler, dated 4th November 1887; "I wrote to Dr. Spruce about...and had a most kind letter from him in return....he

also sent me a copy of his photograph taken some years ago...He wears a Scotch cap. He was good enough to ask for my photograph in return, which made me very proud – perhaps more so than I ought. Of course I sent him one as soon as I could get a copy from Hogg"¹⁶³.

Some other statements jar with what we seem to know. How is it that a man who had so many public roles, including collecting the rates, could be described as, "somewhat reserved with strangers" and by E.M.Holmes as, "of a retiring disposition", who it was hard to persuade to lecture because of his "reluctance to appear in public" less?

Somebody must have persuaded him. As well as "Retired Schoolmaster", his occupation was described on the 1911 census as "Lecturer in Botany".

Holmes wrote that, "...he was a man of considerable ability and determination, doing with the utmost thoroughness and precision everything he took in hand". This is a characteristic of a reflective and self contained personality, not a gregarious one.

It is possible that, not being gregarious, he was awkward in a social context or appeared distant and a little prickly, short of a little of the oil that smooths the surface of human contact. Like his friend George Stabler, he was prepared to perform in a public entertainment, but by reading poems like "Horatius" by Lord Macaulay, not by singing ¹⁶⁶. He read papers on botany and archeology before audiences, but, unlike George he never seems to have joined any national botanical societies.

In the chapter on James Barnes we have seen how that rather blunt man thought he might have offended Joseph. In the letter he wrote to George Stabler on 27th May 1871, Joseph had to explain not communicating with his friend. "Mr. Severs told me a few days ago that he had seen you recently, & that you inquired if I was offended with you because I had not written. It is I am glad to say a case of imagination on your part. My only reason is that I have been so hardworked, so anxious and out of sorts generally that I had no energy to write to you, even when I had the odd halfhour. I have lived a strange kind of life for some time, but the worst is nearly over, & I feel considerably in better spirits than I did last week".

I don't think I would have apologised by telling George he was imagining things, and I think I would have been a bit more diplomatic than this, when, on 8th August 1888, trying to hurry up his contribution to the Kendal Natural History Society journal; "There was nothing in your last letter that wanted answering. You knew at what time I should like to have your papers. When they come late they don't get properly revised. Send your papers as soon as possible". That it was well intended is confirmed by, "P.S. Thank Mrs. Stabler for sending the honey. It came quite safely", but it does sound a discordant note.

Some of his other letters sound slightly odd. One, dated 24th February 1869 in which he gently ribbed George Stabler on the latter's forthcoming marriage seems a touch juvenile:- "Oh Stabler, Stabler had'st thou not warnings sufficient My prophetic eye sees thee in many situations unbecoming a true votary of science. I sigh for thee -- but I suppose as the madness has infected thee, needs must that it run its usual course". Another letter (14th February 1869) is illegible, in such a peculiar script that it looks as if Joseph was trying to write with the wrong hand: And then there's the whimsical poem that he wrote (see Stabler chapter). Was a well developed sense of humour the one quality that Joseph lacked?

Returning to the letter of 27 May 1871. It isn't just the form of the apology that caught my eye, it was the explanation of his state of mind- "so anxious....no energy to write to you" etc.. Granted that the culmination of the school year, the annual examination, had taken place earlier that month, so Joseph had reason to be tired out, but the exam had gone quite well and the Inspector was to give a good report. The key to his state of mind is in the same letter (see "Family Life and Health" section above) where he describes his wife's poor health following Clara's birth, which may have been difficult and was ultimately ill fated.

The situation had affected him so much that he admitted that, "I had a letter from Dr. Spruce which I am sorry to say I have not replied".

On 12th February of the following year he wrote on black edged mourning notepaper about his wife's state of health (see "Family and Health" section above). Following Clara's death they were both in low spirits, "I have done nothing for myself for some time except that I have read for practice a little of Schiller's Thirty Years War. I get very slowly on with anything and only that I should be more miserable doing nothing. I could sometimes almost resolve to give up trying to learn anything at all...".

There is one surviving letter from 1874, written on 1st August, so it is impossible to know the events which preceded it,

but, once again, low spirits were the reason given for not writing to George; "I have intended writing to you anytime these holidays, but I have been doing nothing...I have not done a single thing in Botany... I have padded about in the garden and the other day I took up [a German book] but I found that my mind was not on it, so I threw it down after I had read a page or two.......I don't seem to have anything specially interesting to write about. Indeed I am in such an indifferent state of mind that nothing seems worth talking about let alone thinking about".

The words in that last sentence are those of a man suffering a clinical depression.

Unable to apply himself to anything, yet he was the same man who could over-commit his time to a host of activities, leading him to write, on 24th November 1881 that, as well as his Volunteer involvements, he had "Rate Book to write up & rates to collect... I can hardly get anything done", and nine years later, on 27th December 1888, "I have been kept on the run with Volunteer business & have not had time till now to wish you & yours a Merry Christmas". Joseph seems to have been the living rebuttal to the old adage "never volunteer".

Final Words

In his willingness to contribute to the community Joseph was his own hard taskmaster, and although I'm sure he overloaded himself to the point of strain, what he did for the village and it's people was remembered, and not just by McConnel.

He was remembered when Arthur Mee was collecting material for "The Lake Counties" volume of "The King's England series of books in the 1930s. He is in the book the Friends of Staveley School published in 2005 celebrating the 250th anniversary of its founding. He also figures prominently in the Staveley & District History Society's history of their village, "A Lakeland Village Through Time" published in 1995.

The date of the last surviving letter to George Stabler is 1893, so there is nothing from that source to illuminate Joseph's second marriage. After 1890, unless I have missed something, the school logbook becomes very dry and uninformative about his state of mind or his family's health. I hope this was because he was settled and happy.

His final entry in the logbook was on 17th July 1902, and this is all that he wrote,

"School broke up for the Midsummer Holidays. I now retire from teaching after being in this school from Oct 31st 1859-- a period of 42 years 10 months".

Uniquely, he completed the entry with his signature.

He carried on with his botanical work and lecturing, he became one of the school managers, and he acted as Inspector of Religious Instruction for Westmorland County, walking to his inspections whenever he could. He was still doing this duty as late as October 1913 and then intestinal cancer took hold. "His stern stoicism warded off the suspicions of his most intimate s, to whom he would never yield the point that he was in failing health. Up to the last he kept his secret from those around, had always a word of goodwill to them who met him during his last months of confinement" ¹⁶⁷.

He died on 3rd April 1914. His funeral, which took place at St. James' Staveley, was an imposing and well attended affair, the pallbearers being sergeants in the Volunteers and Territorials. The church was crowded and a large number of s made up the procession from his home to the churchyard. The Westmorland Mercury and Times report listed almost a hundred people by name, including representatives of the Volunteers, the Education Authority, the various botanical, geological, natural history and literary & scientific societies of Kendal, the Windermere and District Teacher's Association, and Windermere Grammar School.

A fitting send-off for this "singularly winning personality" and "thorough gentleman" ¹⁶⁸.

He was the last of the "Three Legged Society" to go: James Martindale Barnes the younger attended the funeral, Barnes' father had died in 1890, and then George Stabler in 1910. The strength of Joseph's personality ensured he was remembered for many years, as is attested by a Staveley version of the Westmorland Oak-Apple-Day doggrel traditionally used to torment schooleachers. This rhyme was remembered in 2012, by someone who was born and grew up in Staveley in the 1950s¹⁶⁹.

"29th May, Yak bob day,"

If you don't give us a holiday we'll all run away.

Where will you run to?

Down the Brick Lane

And old Mr. Martindale will bring us back again."

The last words on Joseph shall be Arthur Mee's: "schoolmaster and friend of the village for nearly half a century....who

APPENDIX 1 - Ancestral Minutiae

Exploring the records on the Mormon website Familysearch.com, and any publicly accessible family trees on Ancestry.com, I think I have traced Joseph Anthony's ancestry back to a Joseph Martindale who was born in Stanhope c1724 and is probably his great-great-grandfather. His great grandfather seems to have been John Martindale (born Stanhope 4th October 1750, who married an Esther Featherstone (a name which reappears amongst Joseph Anthony's brothers and children) on 22nd August 1772. See Stanhope Registers 1750-1799, on http://genuki.cs.ncl.ac.uk/ Transcriptions/DUR/STP1750.html).

The records suggest that John and Esther's son, Joseph, who was born on 27th July 1778, also at Stanhope, married an Elizabeth Dawson there on 15th March 1803. It seems that their son was the same John Martindale who was born at Stanhope on 27th April 1803, christened there on the 1st of May, and who married Jane Bustin (b Stanhope c1807 – year inferred from age given on 1851 census) on 27th January 1835 at St. Nicholas Church, now the Cathedral Church, Newcastle Upon Tyne. As we shall see, the Bustin name was given to one of Joseph Anthony's brothers.

Joseph Anthony's father, John, was 38 when the 1841 census was taken and 48 when he died in 1851, so a birth year of 1803 would be correct. I'm therefore confident that the father on Joseph Anthony's birth certificate and the man we find via Familysearch are one and the same. Further evidence establishing the Joseph Martindale who was born in 1778 as Joseph Anthony's grandfather is Joseph's death certificate on which is stated that his death, at the age of 60, was registered by his son, John Martindale, Schoolmaster.

Joseph, whose occupation was given as "miner", had died of consumption on 17th November 1837 at Wood Meadows, Weardale (GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1837, Weardale, Durham, vol. 24, p184).

This evidence above increases my confidence in the information on Familysearch about more distant ancestors but tells me nothing about the "small estate".

I can't get any further back than 1724, and although I think this lineage is probably correct readers should be aware that the Stanhope area contained plenty of Martindales and Featherstones, so any error in attributing parenthood will have sent us on a wild goose chase.

Plenty of Martindales existed in Westmorland as well as in Weardale. If Joseph was correct regarding the origins of his family being in the north of the county, Warcop might be the area, as although none show up in the 1841 census, Martindales or Martindalls were there in 1600. (source- IGI, Familysearch.org).

Bustins however, are very rare creatures, there being only 145 on the 1841 census (Ancestry.co.uk), but there are a few clues to Jane's origin. We can find 5 Bustins living in County Durham, only one of whom was born before 1800, a Thomas Bustin, living in Stanhope, age about 70 (i.e. between 70 and 75). He seems to be in the household of Ralph Ridsdale, a lead miner. According to the Hope family tree which I found on Ancestry.co.uk, Ralph was his cousin on his mother's side. I can't find Thomas in the 1851 census and the death index suggests he might have died in 1844 (GRO ref. Jan-Mar Durham, vol. 24, p62). This is supported by the Hope family tree.

According to Familysearch.org, a Thomas Bustin, son of Anthony Bustin, was christened in Stanhope on 13th September 1766, and a Jane Bustin was born on 18th April 1806 to Thomas Bustin and his wife Hannah, formerly Slater. This child was christened on 19th October 1806 at Stanhope. The Hope family tree has her as the second of their seven children, and shows her as marrying John Martindale, about whom the tree is uninformed, at St. Nicholas Newcastle on 27th January 1835. The compiler of the Hope family tree might be in the dark about John Martindale, but we know who he was.

Anyhow, all this is for a Martindale family historian to pursue.

APPENDIX 2 – Siblings

Looking through the censuses we find that his nearest sibling was **Thomas Bustin Martindale**, only a year younger, born in Stanhope, in the first quarter of 1839 (GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1839 Durham, vol. 24. p299). He was at Diamond Hall in 1851, but by the time of the 1861 census he was a 22 year old "certificated schoolmaster" lodging in the household of Samuel Draycott, coachman and labourer at Longmire Yeat, Troutbeck, Westmorland. He appears to have got married in 1867 (GRO ref, Jan-Mar Stockton, Durham vol. 10a, p81) at Stockton on Tees, to Catherine Hannah Dale, also a

teacher. The Staveley school logbook records that on 20th July 1868, "School taught by my brother Thomas Martindale Certificated Teacher in my absence".

By 1871 they were living at 1 Smithfield, Stockton, and had a son, James Ernest, aged 3. In the 1881 census, the family, now with the addition of a daughter, Edith Elizabeth aged 4, lived at Hartington Road, Stockton. Interestingly, Mrs. Martindale seems to have continued her teaching career throughout her marriage, and in 1891 her 14 year old daughter's occupation was recorded as "Monitor". Another Martindale was starting out in schoolteaching. Catherine died in 1894 and is buried in Oxbridge Lane Municipal Cemetery, Stockton-on-Tees (source gravestonephotos.com).

Catherine's gravestone also carries her husband's name, carved on it as "T B Martindale". There is nothing on it referring to Thomas' passing, but perhaps this is explained by his absence.

The 1901 census shows that Thomas still lived in Hartington Road and Edith was an "Elementary Assistant Teacher". James Ernest was in South Africa where he married Sarah Elizabeth Lambert on 26 Dec 1892 in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, He became a school headmaster and died in Durban on 20 Jun 1931. His father Thomas, widowed since 1894 also moved to South Africa, where he died on 1 Jul 1908 at Umhlali Beach Lower Tugela, Natal.

Edith married a Thomas Fish in 1903 (GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1903 Hartlepool vol.10a, p258). In 1911 they lived in Stockton-on-Tees (1911 census).

The information about James Ernest and Thomas in South Africa is derived from these sources, a personal communication from his great, great granddaughter Margaret Rosenberg and also a website consulted in October 2020, https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Martindale-1362

Of **John Featherstone Martindale**, born in 1841 in Durham (GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1841 Durham, vol. 24, p100), it is almost certain that he was the tailor's apprentice recorded in the 1861 census as having been born in Durham City and residing in the household of Geo. Lister, "Tailor and Woollen Draper" of Tow Law, County Durham.

In subsequent censuses we see him in 1871 working as a "Tailor's Cutter" in Bishop Auckland, married to Agnes (surname Bunyan, for marriage cert. see GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1869 Durham, vol. 10a, p 459), and with a 10 month old son Thomas B (Bunyan) – for birth cert. see GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1870 Auckland, Durham, vol. 10a, p257).

In about 1872 they moved to Penrith where their second child, Jane, was born and where John seems to have spent the rest of his life. The 1881 census shows the family at 123 Graham St., again as a tailor's cutter. By then there were six children in the household, Thomas (10), Jane (9), Isabella (7), Henry (5), Charlotte (2), and Edith (2 months). 1891 found them at 135 Graham St.. By then, Thomas was a 20 year-old student at a training college and Isabella was in her third year as a pupil-teacher. Henry was a clerk at the railway goods yard and the rest of the children. Charlotte, Edith M, and the newer arrivals, Catherine (8) and J.Agnes (4) were at school. A Jane Martindale, of the right age and birthplace, was recorded as a "General Servant" in the household of Elizabeth Hetherington at 20, Wordsworth St., Penrith.

In 1901 The household consisted of John (59), Agnes (56), Jane (29), Henry (26), Edith Mary (20), Catherine Eliza (18), and Jemima Agnes (14). Henry's occupation was recorded as "Clerk at Shap Granite Works", Edith was a "Clerk at Post Office", and Catherine a "Pupil Teacher". Thomas was to be found as a "Certificated Schoolteacher", living with his wife, Mary Lois Martindale, in Abertillery, South Wales. Isabel was a "boarder" at Yew Tree Farm, Mayfield, Staffordshire, in the household of George and Olive Mottram, her occupation was typically Martindale, "School Teacher".

A Charlotte Martindale, age 22, born Penrith, was recorded as a "Housemaid" in the household of Horace King Wilkinson, "Bank Clerk" and his three sisters at Middlewood, Chatburn, near Clitheroe, Lancashire. It seems a rather grand establishment for a bank clerk, having 4 domestic servants in all, but he seems to have come from a moneyed background as the 1881 census records his father, solicitor William Wilkinson and mother, Florence, residing at Middlewood Hall, Chatburn, with 5 indoor servants.

John appears in the 1911 census in Penrith, as a "retired tailor's cutter". His household contained his wife, Agnes, and 3 unmarried daughters, Isabella (37), a Head Schoolmistress, Edith (29) a Postal Clerk, and Jemima, no occupation, so presumably doing the youngest daughter's duty of staying at home to look after her parents. Son Thomas appears as the Head of an Elementary School in Abertillery.

The death index records the death of a John F. Martindale in Penrith aged 74 in late 1915 (GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1915, Penrith, vol. 10b, p646).

George S. Martindale (Possible GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1843, Durham, vol. 24, p103) appears on the 1851 census as a 7 year-old "scholar" in his mother's household at Diamond Hall, but his course becomes vague thereafter. A George Martindale aged 18, born Durham, is recorded as an "Assistant Teacher" in the household of William and Jessie Neill, respectively the Headmaster and Matron of the Deaf and Dumb Institution, Charlotte Sq., Newcastle-upon-Tyne. After 1861 I'm unable to point to any of the myriad of George Martindales to be found in the censuses with any confidence that it's him. I think he emigrated. Joseph Anthony Martindale's obituary of 1914 states "two brothers....and two sisters are now in South Africa where a number of relatives live". Coincidentally, there is a place named Martindale in the Eastern Cape Province.

I wonder if some relatives had lived in the Cape since the early days of English emigration to South Africa? In a website dedicated to "British 1820 Settlers to South Africa (www.1820settlers.com) I found that a William George Featherstone was born at Fort Beaufort, Eastern Cape Province, in 1836 and died at 'Stanhope Farm', Amabele Station, Eastern Cape Province, in 1915.

There are also three specimens in the Stabler Herbarium in Kendal Museum which were collected by "G. Martindale" in South Africa (Table Mountain and the Cape of Good Hope), of which only one is datable, being 1868.

In the Staveley school logbook for the dates 23rd to 25th July 1868, Joseph made this entry, "School Holiday. The master gone home to see his brother before he departs for India". He didn't specify which brother, but I think we have accounted for the other ones.

Jane Eliza Martindale (Probable GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1845 Durham, vol. 24, p109). Jane was in her mother's household in Stanhope at least up to the date of the 1871 census, when her occupation was recorded as "Teacher in a private School"; perhaps it was her mother's. I have come across a record of her acting as a witness to the marriage of her cousin Edith Hannah Bustin. This wedding took place on 11th September 1875 at the Wesleyan Chapel, High Street, Clapham, London. The groom was E. Walter Maunder, who became a prominent astronomer at the Royal Observatory, well known for his work on sunspots and the solar magnetic cycle, and after whom was named the phenomenon known as "The Maunder Minimum". After 1875 no trace. I think she emigrated to South Africa: I infer this from a letter written by Joseph to George Stabler on 8th January 1885, regarding the death of Joseph's mother.

Henry Featherstone Martindale (Probable GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1848 Sunderland, vol. 24, p339). Still in his mother's household in Stanhope, aged 12, for the 1861 census, he too disappears from view. He re-emerges in the 1871 census as a "boarder" in the household of George Gall "Coachbuilder", of 25 Randolph Street, St. Pancras, London, his occupation "Clerk". On May 31st 1873 he married his employer's daughter, Clara Mary Gall, in Camberwell Parish Church, London. In the 1881 census he wasn't listed as having been present at 26 Randolph St. with his wife and two children Ellen, aged 4 and George, 1, but Clara's marital status was recorded as "wife". After that the British trail goes cold.

They too emigrated, as is shown by entry No. 23 in the records of Anglican baptisms at Keiskama Hoek (South Africa), 1882 – 1899, Cory Library, Grahamstown, MS 19 154. transcribed by Anne Clarkson. "Frederick Charles, born 15 December 1886, baptised 2 January 1887. Son of Henry Featherstone and Clara Mary MARTINDALE of Keiskama Hoek, teacher.

Keiskamahoek is a small farming town in a basin at the confluence of the Keiskama and Gxulu rivers below the Amatola Mountains in the Eastern Cape Province. It was even smaller in the 1880s.

Charlotte Hannah Martindale Born 30th July 1850, she was recorded in her mother's household in the 1861 census. After that, nothing. The marriage of a Charlotte Hannah Martindale was registered in Weardale in 1875 (see GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1875, Weardale, Durham, vol. 10a, p436). The index page records two marriages. Without buying the marriage certificates I can't tell who she married, as I can't find any of the people on the index page in subsequent online records. Perhaps they all emigrated to South Africa.

APPENDIX 3 – Origins of the National Schools

These lie with the imposingly named "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church". The quotations in the following paragraphs, are taken from the website of the Society's 21st century incarnation "The National Society for Promoting Religious Education". They are mainly from a lecture delivered by Canon Charles Smyth, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge on the 150th anniversary of the society in 1961.

This organisation was founded in 1811, by three men of the High-Church persuasion, the Rev. Henry Handley Norris,

Mr. John Bowles J.P., and Joseph Watson. Watson had "made a sufficient fortune in the City as a wine merchant and Government contractor during the Napoleonic Wars" to retire "from business in 1814, at the age of forty-three....". Not only had Watson got the means and time, he had the desire "to devote all his time and energies, for the remainder of his life, to the service of the Church of England". Watson was a man of considerable influence and the movement no fringe faction, for it was sponsored at the highest level of the Established Church as was demonstrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury being chairman of the Society's inaugural meeting.

The aim of the Society was that "the National Religion should be made the foundation of National Education: Education for all, firmly based on the Christian Gospel and Anglican principles".

In the early nineteenth century, before the emergence of the evangelical movement, the Church of England's role as the established religion of the state was under some pressure, partly a result of the intellectual side effects of the French Revolution, but mainly due to reaction to its perceived slothfulness. "The Radical case against the Established Church was very much the same as the case of Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell against the monasteries in the sixteenth century: namely, that it was not useful, and performed no services to the community sufficient to justify its wealth. Therefore it should be disestablished and, in great measure, disendowed, and its property taken over by the State to be employed in the best public interest upon the.....principle of utility, and in such ways as national education".

Whether the intention of Watson and his friends was to seize the initiative of usefulness in the name of the Established Church I cannot say, but even if the motives were solely educational, nobody could point at an institution which took upon itself the responsibility for virtually the entire elementary education of the nation's children, together with the training of their teachers, as being of no benefit to the community.

"With prodigious energy, the Society established a national system of education, supplemented by the State from 1870 onwards. Five thousand Church of England and Church in Wales schools, educating almost a million children and young people, are the heirs of that proud tradition".

The Church's success, and maybe an element of fiscal cynicism by the Whig government of the time, is evidenced by that government's decision, in August 1833 to endorse the Church's role in education for the poorer classes by subsidising it to the tune of £20,000 annually, rather than opting for the centrally organised State system proposed by the more secular and anti-clerical Whig MP, J.A. Roebuck.

Where a parish did not have such a school, the Society would seek to establish one by offering grants for the construction or modification and equipping of schoolrooms, provided that the schools were conducted according to the Society's notions. These included the Monitorial System developed by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster. The system relied upon the grouping of pupils by ability. The children in the top group were taught by a qualified teacher but would also themselves spend time teaching children in the lower groups.

APPENDIX 4 - The Staveley Near Kendal Gas Company Ltd.

I would like to acknowledge the following sources for the main of the information given below, "A Lakeland Valley Through Time" (see endnote 24), "Gasworks in Cumbria" (www.cumbria-industries.org.uk/gasworks.htm) by Roger Baker and a personal communication from the same in June 2010.

The London and Westminster Gas Light and Coke Company was the first Gas Company in the world. It was founded in 1812 and in the following year, Westminster Bridge was gaslit. Within a decade, numerous towns and cities throughout Britain were lit by gas. Gaslight cost up to 75% less than oil lamps or candles, which helped to accelerate its development and deployment. By 1859, gas lighting was to be found all over Britain and about a thousand gas works had sprung up to meet the demand for the new fuel (Wikipedia). When Carlisle gasworks was built in 1819, only 14 other places in Britain had their own gasworks, but by the time Kendal had one (1825) only two towns in the country with populations exceeding 10,000, Lincoln and Whitehaven, had not got a gasworks.

Whitehaven's deficiency was made up in the 1830s, and by the end of the 1850s most of the larger and/or industrial towns in Cumberland and Westmorland had acquired their own. Milnthorpe's was opened in 1861 Staveley, probably the smallest place in Cumbria with its own gasworks, was a relative latecomer with what is possibly the smallest public gasworks. The gas production plant was supplied by the Chadwick Iron Works in Manchester, and the mains pipes from the Tees Side Iron Works, Middlesborough. The drum shaped building that now houses the Roundhouse Theatre, just off Staveley's Main St. sits over the tank base of the old gasholder and the retort house was a converted woollen mill.

Though there had been a private plant supplying Chadwick's bobbin mill since 1858, it was 1862 before the Staveley Gas company was formed ("A Lakeland Valley Through Time", Staveley & District History Society 1995). Tenders

were invited for the erection of a gasworks in mid 1866 (Westmorland Gazette, 14th July 1866) and I believe it was in 1867 that the gasworks was completed (an item in the Westmorland Gazette of 14th September 1867 reported "On Wednesday last, the shops of the village were for the first time lighted with gas). A gasmain was laid, supplying the streetlamps, church, station, some mills and the school. A half-day holiday was declared on 22nd January 1869 so that workmen could put the gas pipes into the school. The following day also had to be a half-holiday as the work overran (Staveley School logbook): nothing changes.

If the gasworks been built in the expectation of local industrial expansion driving an increase in demand, those having this expectation (the Rev. Chaplin et al.) were to be disappointed, industrial expansion on the scale required did not take place and the business never really took off. It paid no dividend for its first 12 years, and it got less income from supplying gas than from the sale of coal. In 1913 it was sold to Kendal Corporation who connected Staveley to their own gasworks and the Staveley premises became a "gasholder station" providing temporary storage for, rather than production of, gas.

APPENDIX 5 – The Rifle Volunteers

"F" Company, Staveley, with a muster roll of 72 men in 1887 ("A Lakeland Village Through Time", see endnote 27) was, as at 1880, one of 9 such companies forming the Westmorland Rifle Volunteers, "A" company being in Kirkby Lonsdale, "B' in Appleby, "C" to "E" in Kendal & "G", "H", and "J" in Windermere, Ambleside and Grasmere respectively.

The Rifle Volunteers were a predecessor of the Territorial Army, The movement owed its origin to a realisation by the War Office, that so many troops were stationed around the Empire, there would not be enough for home defence if the Army had to send an effective expeditionary force to another area of conflict. There were real fears of hostilities with France, so in 1859 the Lord-Lieutenants of the English, Welsh and Scottish counties were authorised to form volunteer rifle and artillery corps for home defence. Initially, the members of these corps had to attend 8 days drill and exercise in four months, or 24 days in a year. They would receive military pay while under arms, but not otherwise and, at the beginning, were to pay for their own uniforms and personal firearms. You might expect this to have been received with nothing less than derision, but the movement was taken up enthusiastically across the whole country. Its expansion probably mirrored the increasing militarisation of Victorian England. By April 1862 it had a strength of over 162,000 men, had reached 200,000 by 1880 and peaked at around 290,000 in 1901.

As Victoria's reign progressed and Imperialism developed from a commercial convenience into a almost a moral obligation, British culture and society became increasingly militarised. Not quite in the Prussian sense whereby readiness for war was the determining factor in shaping national institutions, but an interest in things military rose high in the national consciousness and participation in them an attractive proposition. One of the attractions of the Volunteer movement was probably the opportunity it gave to the lower middle classes and the skilled artisans to express their patriotism and to share in the pomp and glamour of the bright uniforms.

There were opportunities for some adventure and a wider and more interesting social life in the form of military exercises, annual camps, shooting competitions, balls, and regimental bands. Altogether, the movement could be seen by many of its members as a recreational pursuit. I fancy that many of the regular army did regard it as more like amateur theatricals than a second line of national defence.

However, the British Empire was plunged into crisis in South Africa as the 19th century drew to a close. Britain had acquired the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch in 1815 in the Napoleonic wars. British occupation was resented by the Dutch Boer settlers who responded by moving northwards out of the colony and setting up their own republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The discovery of diamonds in 1867 near the Vaal River, ended the isolation of the Boers in the interior and subjected them once again to the interloper's expansionist ambitions and dispute simmered throughout the 1870s as ambitious colonialism, driven by the Cape authorities and local business interests, collided with the Boers' implacably independent outlook.

The British annexed the Transvaal in 1877 and in December 1880 the Boers staged an uprising by attacking a British column which was on its way to Pretoria. Boer forces outnumbered the British regulars and there followed a series of small skirmishes which ended in with a British defeat at Majuba Hill on 26th February 1881. On 6th March a truce was declared, Gladstone's government was not willing to get involved in a distant war over sheep and cattle country. A political compromise was achieved with the Boer republics effectively regaining their autonomy under a nominal British oversight, and British troops were withdrawn. The Boers had lost about 40 killed and the British about 400 (source Wikipedia).

None of this solved the problem and in 1886 the discovery of a huge seam of gold near the Boer capital of Pretoria

reignited British imperial interests. The festering dispute boiled up again and this time there was significant political support in London and from media barons who whipped up popular enthusiasm.

On 11th October 1899 forces from the Boer republics made a pre-emptive strike into British held Natal and the Cape Colony and achieved striking success: in December 1899 in what was dubbed 'Black Week' the Boers inflicted three reverses on Britain's regular troops at Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso. This, Second Boer war was to prove a much more expensive affair than that of December 1880, it would cost the British over 20,000 dead, and the Boers around 9,000. By January 1900 Britain had sent the largest force overseas that it had ever done, amounting to some 180,000 men, with further reinforcements being sought (Wikipedia).

The Government in London found itself faced with both a manpower problem and a political crisis and there was growing public pressure for volunteers to be allowed to fight. This resulted not only in the recruiting of a volunteer force known as The Imperial Yeomanry, but the co-option of the Rifle Volunteers. It was decided that each regular battalion in South Africa would be supplemented with a company of 116 all ranks from it's affiliated Rifle Volunteers, and once in South Africa the volunteers became an integral part of the regular battalions. In all about 9,000 men embarked for 12 months service with these companies in early 1900 (www.victorianmilitarysociety.org.uk).

Despite their valour and keenness to do their bit, there has been a tendency to devalue the contribution played by volunteers and see them as more of a hinderance to the regulars than a help. It was alleged that Boer leaders freed the prisoners they took from these units and sent them back with derisive messages requesting the British commanders not to clutter up the field of battle with such men. However, the performance of the entire British Army proved to be a serious disappointment and a cause for wholesale reform. It was fortunate that we did not have to wait until 1914 to find this out.

Whatever the truth concerning their military usefulness, we can't deny that Rifle Volunteers went to South Africa and suffered with the regulars. From the men who formed the 2nd Volunteer Battalion the Border Regiment, "F" Company sent it's own contingent to the war. Serving under Major John Thompson were Sgt. E.F.Martindale, Lance Sgt. Henry J.Ivinson, Bugler Walter A. Barker and Pvts. John Bewsher, S.John Brockbank, Robert Brockbank, Matthew Gaskell, J.Thomas Johns, Thomas Johnson, William D.Murdoch, John Robinson and Joseph Usher.

In his book "For Queen and Cumberland" (Hayloft Publishing Ltd., Kirkby Stephen 2008), Martin Daley tells the story of Cumberland Volunteers, but as they served alongside the Westmorland men, some light is thrown on the adventures of the latter. Quoting from the letters of Pte. Dan Daley, his great-grandfather, Daley recounts that young man's voyage out on the Nineveh, during which there was bout of organised horseplay when "crossing the line" in which Dan encountered "a big lump of a lad from Staveley" called Tommy Thompson. This is hardly likely to have been Major (at that time Capt.) Thompson, possibly Dan didn't properly catch the big lump's name and it might have been Thomas Johnson who was his opponent in the nautical sport of "cockfighting". The source for this paragraph and the following ones is Martin Daley's book.

The Nineveh reached Capetown on 24th March and the Westmorland and the Cumberland volunteers found themselves part of the 1st Battalion of the Border Regiment, an element of General Hart's brigade. They began their long march towards the Transvaal border. On 21st April 1900 they saw their first and only action, at Bosman's Kop where the Volunteers formed the support for the attack on a Boer position by the Border Regiment regulars. Although they were not in the van of the attack, they came under fire and one of the Penrith men was slightly wounded.

For the rest of their service in South Africa they marched endlessly from one assignment to another. They had done 360 miles when they entered Pretoria (capital of the Transvaal) on 13th July. In August, now under General Clement's command, they marched further north to Kommando Nek and then west to the Crocodile River where they guarded the camp while the regulars attacked a Boer Stronghold. The Regimental Diary records that the Borders had travelled more than 1200 miles since the Volunteers joined the regulars. In September the Border Volunteers joined other Volunteer detachments to escort a convoy of Boer prisoners to Pretoria. They then went up-country to carry out routine patrols and to help build the chain of blockhouses with which Kitchener planned to curtail the Boer forces' freedom of movement. More than 8000 of these strongpoints were built before the end of the war, but by then, the Staveley men were safely home. Leaving Capetown on the SS Tagus on 9th April 1901, The 3 officers (Capt. Thompson, Lt. Haswell and Lt. A.Lee*) and the 98 men reached Southampton on the 29th, and from thence went by train to Carlisle where the Penrith and Kendal men went their separate ways.

^{*}Wakefield had returned to England, sick or wounded, in late summer 1900, but he evidently rejoined the war with a

another Border Regt. Volunteer company, for we find him, by then a Capt., arriving at Southampton in the SS Roslin Castle on 18th June 1902 with Lts. A.C. Scoular, G.H. Shepley, and 86 men.

Information on shipping movements came from extracts from the London Times Shipping List and the Cape Times to be found at http://www.britishmedals.us/kevin/intro.html

An informative history of Volunteers, albeit socially different through being urban (Manchester) rather than rural, is to be found at http://www.tameside.gov.uk/museumsgalleries/mom/history/riflevolunteer.

APPENDIX 6 - Emily Ruthven's family background

Emily was a daughter of Richard Ruthven, a native of Kendal, whom the censuses variously describe as a "clerk" (1841), a 27 year-old "Carpet Designer" (1851) a "Designer" (1861) and "Designer & Architect" (1871). Richard and his wife, Emma, who came from the Middlesex area of London, and their children, lived in the Castle Park district of Kendal from at least 1851, when the street was recorded as Castle Park Crescent (Castle Park Terrace in later censuses).

In the 1861 census, Emily was not at Castle Park Terrace, she was recorded in the household of her grandfather John Ruthven, "in Ring [sic] Bells Yard", Kendal.

The censuses record ten children, of which Emily seems to have been the second. After Richard died in 1877 (GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1877 Kendal, vol. 10b, p459), Emma continued to live in Castle Terrace, but by 1891 she had moved to Undermillbeck, Bowness-on-Windermere where her household just contained Emily, by then a 39 year-old Schoolmistress. In the 1901 census she appears as Emma Morris Ruthven in the household of her son-in-law William A. Nelson, a builder, at No. 1 Ash Meadows, Scalthwaiterigg, Skelsmergh near Kendal. Emma died in 1902 (GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1902 Kendal, vol. 10b, p465). It is odd that the "Morris" name should appear on record late in her life, but it serves to confirm that she was the Emma Morris Hutchings whom Richard Ruthven married in late 1849 (23rd December) in St. Martin in The Fields, Middlesex, London (GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1849 St. Martin in The Fields, Middlesex, vol. 1, p158).

Richard Ruthven might well have been a very interesting man, but his father certainly was, he was John Ruthven, the shoemaker turned geologist and fossil collector, born in Kirkby Stephen in 1793, and friend of Professor Adam Sedgwick of Cambridge University, native of Dent and the great pioneer of earth sciences (1785 to 1873).

Geology was one of the very first branches of natural history to gain public attention. Years before fern mania gripped the Victorians, there was a fascination for geology. Educated people debated whether the Biblical catastrophe of Noah's flood had caused the landscape to be as it was, or whether gradual change, over vast eons of time, had been the cause. Large scale civil engineering works for canals and railways etc. exposed rock strata to view, and curiosity was rampant. The curious wanted specimens, and turned to professional collectors for their supply. John Ruthven was one of these.

I owe the following details from a handwritten family tree, to Nancy Walker of Arnside:-

John Ruthven's father, James (1766 to 1847) was a shoemaker in Kendal, but his grandfather John Ruthven M.A. (1687 to 1732) was a burgess of Glasgow. Some of John the geologist's descendants had considerable achievements to their credit, A granddaughter married Sir James Murray, the first editor of the Oxford English Dictionary and one of their offspring, Sir Oswin Murray, a barrister, became Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty; another, Hilda, became Director of Studies in English and Icelandic at Girton College, Cambridge. There was evidently some ability in John's genes.

- 1 Joseph Anthony Martindale, birth certificate, GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1837, Weardale, Durham, vol. 24, p 221
- 2 Anon., "The late Mr. J.A.Martindale Staveley", Westmorland Mercury and Times. 10th April 1914
- 3 Joseph Martindale death certificate, GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1837, Weardale, Durham, vol. 24, p184
- 4 Arthur Raistrick, "Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare The London (Quaker) Lead Company 1692 1905" Moorland Publishing Company, Buxton 1997.
- 5 Ibid
- 6 Ibid
- 7 Personal details in St. John's Training College, Battersea, Training Agreement dated 21st February 1857. This document is in the archives of the University College Plymouth St. Mark & St. John. I'm grateful to Nicola Chaffe, Library Assistant at University College Plymouth St Mark & St John, who has kindly provided me with copies of Joseph's training agreement and registry entries from the old St. John's College, Battersea. In 1923, St. John's merged with St. Mark's College Chelsea and, in 1973 the whole lot moved to a new site in Plymouth.
- 8 Obit, J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 9 Information from Durham County Council Record Office, ref. E/HB 2/2, kindly supplied by Liz Bregazzi, County Archivist, personal communication 2009.
- 10 Obit, J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 11 Most of Fawcett St. was built between about 1820 to 1850, originally as elegant houses for the well to do, but by the end of that period some professional people living there began to operate their businesses from home quoted from www.sunderlandstreetnames.co.uk
- 12 Alphabetical Directory in "Ward's Northumberland and Durham Directory", Robert Ward, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1850. see www.historicaldirectories.org
- 13 There is still a Diamond Hall School in Sunderland, but it replaced an older one which had occupied what is now the Diamond Hall Pocket Park, in the Millfield district.
- 14 For other quotations in this paragraph, obit, J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 15 John Martindale, death certificate, GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1851, Sunderland, Durham, vol. 24, p 201
- 16 Obit, J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above. The Westmorland Gazette obituary (see endnote 20 below) says 8 children, but I cannot find any evidence to support this claim.
- 17 Isabella's husband, Alexander, was absent on the 1851 census day. In that of 1861 he was recorded as a ship-owner.
- 18 See discussion of Joseph's Battersea College Training Agreement further on in text.
- 19 Jane Martindale death, GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1885, Kendal, vol. 10b,, p 471
- 20 Anon., "Mr. J.A.Martindale, Staveley", Westmorland Gazette, 11th April 1914
- 21 I infer this from the words in the obituary, "...in the preparation of students"
- 22 Indenture document in Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, ref. WD/K/119
- 23 Battersea St.John's College Training Agreement. Now held in the archive of University College Plymouth St. Mark & St. John. Copy kindly provided by Nicola Chaffe.
- 24 Battersea St.John's College Registry. Now held in the archive of University College Plymouth St. Mark & St. John. Copy extract kindly provided by Nicola Chaffe.
- 25 School Master's Certificate, Cumbria record Office, Kendal, ref. WD/K/120
- 26 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel in "The Story of Staveley School 1538 to 1927" (self published, Staveley, 1927).
- 27 Joe Scott, ed. "A Lakeland Valley Through Time" (Staveley, Staveley & District History Society 1995).
- 28 "Staveley Primary School 250th Anniversary 1755 2005" (Friends of Staveley CE School, Titus Wilson, Kendal 2005).
- 29 This paragraph draws heavily on Joe Scott, op. cit., see endnote 27.
- 30 Quoted in Joe Scott, op. cit.
- 31 Joe Scott, op. cit.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 See "Kelly's Directory of Westmorland", Kelly's Directories, London, 1894.
- 35 Ibid. Note, St Bees founded in 1816, was the first college set up outside Oxbridge for the training of Church of England clergy.
- 36 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel, "Tales of Old Staveley", (self published, Staveley, 1942).
- 37 See biographical notes for James Martindale Barnes.
- 38 Quoted from Hawkshead Grammar School website, http://www.hawksheadgrammar.org.uk/schoolhistory.html
- 39 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel, op. cit. 1927.
- 40 Ibid
- 41 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WG, see endnote 20 above. I find this hard to believe as when the Lancaster Gazette mentioned the Levens Schools in an item on 8th September 1821 it described them as being taught under the "National System". Possibly the Levens Schools followed the system without being part of the movement.

- 42 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel, op. cit. 1927.
- 43 Levens Boys' School logbook for the period April 1863 to December 1890. Currently (Jan 2010) held by Levens Local History Group.
- 44 Staveley School logbook for the period 1862 to 1902, Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, ref. WDS145/1/1/1
- 45 Extract from the Revised Code of Regulations for 1862, printed in the Levens Boys' School logbook (see endnote 43 above) "The Principal Teacher must daily make in the Log Book the briefest entry which will suffice to specify either ordinary progress, or whatever other fact concerning the School...may require to be referred to at a future time...no reflections or opinions of a general character are to be entered in the Log Book".
- 46 See "Copies of school accounts: Staveley National School 1891-1894, 1897" Cumbria Record Office, Kendal ref. WD/K/120
- 47 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel, op. cit. 1927.
- 48 In 1864 George Stabler presented 28 children for examination, of whom 26 passed in Reading, 26 in Writing and 14 in Arithmetic. There were therefore 66 passes out of a possible 84. Levens School earned thereby a grant amounting to £8-16s instead of a possible £11-4s. The attendance grant was £7-4s (based on an average attendance of 36). The total government grant for 1864 was therefore £16-0s. Levens Boys' School logbook, see endnote 43 above.
- 49 Joe Scott, op. cit.
- 50 Staveley C of E School website as at 1st September 2010
- 51 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel, op. cit. 1927.
- 52 "Some Westmorland Villages", compiled for the Westmorland WI, ed. B.L. Thompson, Titus Wilson, Kendal 1957
- 53 "Drill" was an early form of PE and seems to have involved various exercises performed standing in the schoolroom or after marching the children out into the yard. The point was that it was disciplined physical activity, done in unison, and above all, orderly. It was prescribed by the Education Code of the period.
- 54 "Some Westmorland Villages", see endnote 52 above.
- 55 Robert Walker papers in the Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, ref WDX 950. Unless otherwise stated, all letters quoted in this document are in this collection.
- 56 "Some Westmorland Villages", see endnote 52 above.
- 57 Joe Scott, op. cit.
- 58 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 59 Ibid
- 60 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WG, see endnote 20 above.
- 61 Ibid
- 62 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 63 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WG, see endnote 20 above.
- 64 Ibid for all letters quoted in this paragraph
- 65 An advertisement for Saint Mary's College in Harriet Martineau's "A Complete guide to the English Lakes", publ. J.Garnett, Windermere, 1855, lists Strouvelle as a "Fellow" of that College with a qualification from the University of Berlin. John Peter Alexander Strouvelle was a naturalised British Subject (1871 census). By the 1881 census he had moved to Croydon and described himself as a "Professor of Languages". Records on Familysearch.org give his birth date and place as 1833, Rhenish, Forbach, Prussia, & his year of death as 1889. St. Mary's College was founded in the early 1850s to provide education for the sons of the less affluent clergy. In the 1871 census it had 89 scholars in the age range 11 to 18. I don't know when it ceased to be such an institution, but it is now private housing. It is hardly a surprise to find out that botany was a hobby of Strouvelle's (see paper by Frederic Clowes reproduced in the WG of 8th December 1866, "On the Inducements to Study Natural History etc,").
- 66 Obit, J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 67 Ibid
- 68 Edward Morell Holmes, "Joseph Anthony Martindale 1837 1914, a British Lichenologist", Journal of Botany, British and Foreign, vol 52, September 1914
- 69 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 70 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel, op. cit. 1927.
- 71 Obit, J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 72 Frederic Clowes as reported in the WG of 8th December 1866, "On the Inducements to Study Natural History etc.".
- 73 Anon. "The late Mr. J.M. Barnes of Levens", Westmorland Gazette 17th May 1890, and Anon. "The late Mr. J.M. Barnes of Levens", Kendal Mercury & Times 16th May 1890.
- 74 Stabler Herbarium, Kendal Museum, earliest date for a moss (BARTRAMIA ITHYPHYLLA) identifiable as collected by Stabler.
- 75 Hardwicke's Science Gossip, 4, 168
- 76 Hardwicke's Science Gossip, June 1869, 144
- 77 "The Westmorland Natural History Record" was a quarterly journal of the Kendal Natural History Society,

- published between March 1888 & December 1889, by Edward Gill, Kendal. The figure of 160 is in JAM's letter of 16th October 1888 to George Stabler, Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 78 In the Armitt library in Ambleside there is a bound set of the Westmorland Note Book & The Natural History Record, which also contains the prospectus for the Record, in which the editor (JAM himself?) states, of the Society, that its object is "to work out in full the natural history of our District".
- 79 Obit, J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 80 9 letters from George Stabler to Wilson, August 1868 to June 1870. William Wilson collection at the Natural History Museum Vol II of MSS WIL in the Botany Library.
- 81 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 82 "The Dixon Family" on greatayton.wikidot.com
- 83 Mark Seaward in an article published in the Cleveland Naturalist's Field Club Proceedings (Vol. 5, part 3, Spring 1993)
- 84 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 85 Ian D.Hodkinson & Allan Steward, "The Three-Legged Society", Centre for North-West Regional Studies, Lancaster University, 2012
- 86 D.L.Hawksworth and M.R.Seaward, "Lichenology in the British Isles 1568 1975", Richmond Publishing Co. Ltd., Richmond, 1977
- 87 Letter to George Stabler dated 16th August 1888 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 88 The Rev. William Allport Leighton, "The Lichen Flora of Great Britain, Ireland and the Channel Islands", self published 1871.
- 89 See endnote 86 above.
- 90 The renowned authority Dr. Ferdinand Christian Gustav Arnold (1828 1901) of München, Bavaria.
- 91 E.M.Holmes op. cit, see endnote 68 above.
- 92 "Some Westmorland Villages", see endnote 52 above.
- 93 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 94 Kendal Mercury 21st February 1863.
- 95 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel, op. cit. 1942 see endnote 36.
- 96 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WG, see endnote 20 above.
- 97 Joe Scott, op. cit., see endnote 27 above.
- 98 I inferred this from what he told Stabler in various letters. Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above, but later found that the prospectus for "The Westmorland Note Book and Natural History Record. Price one Shilling" which is bound into the copy in the Armitt Library in Ambleside, explicitly states that Martindale was chosen by the Kendal Natural History Society to edit "for our pages all those papers read before the Society".
- 99 Letter to George Stabler 10th or 16th October 1888 (Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above).
- 100 The Kendal Mercury reported his "maiden effort" being a lecture on "The Continent of Europe". KM 25th January 1862.
- 101 Over Staveley Parish Council Minute Book. Kendal Record Office, ref. WPC/43.
- 102 Windermere Teachers' Association, a branch of the NUT. The NUT was founded as the National Union of Elementary Teachers (NUET) for all teachers in England and Wales in June 1870, the year that Forster's Education Act set up elected local school boards to build elementary schools. In 1888 it became the National Union of Teachers (quote taken from the NUT website at http://www.teachers.org.uk/node/8515)
- 103 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 104 From a memoir written by J.C.Robinson, Staveley School Headmaster 1921 to 1955, kindly supplied by John Berry, Secretary of Staveley and District History Society, personal communication 2008.
- 105 I have inferred her birth year from the ages given in later censuses as can't find a GRO ref. for a birth certificate. I presume Mary Ann was born in the first half of 1837 (under the provisions of the Births and Deaths Registration Act of 1836, birth, marriage and death certificates did not start to be issued until 1st July 1837).
- 106 Joseph's first marriage, certificate, GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1861, Kendal, vol. 10b, p 966
- 107 Edith Jane, birth, GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1862, Kendal, vol. 10b, p569; marriage, GRO ref. Oct-Dec, 1891 Kendal, vol. 10b, p1189; death, probable GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1924 Mansfied, vol. 7b, p95
- 108 See biographical notes for James Martindale Barnes.
- 109 George Ernest, birth, GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1864, Kendal, vol. 10b, p594; marriage, GRO ref, Jul-Sep 1905, Birkenhead, vol. 8a, p1028;
- 110 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 111 Liz Rhodes, personal communication 17th March 2013, as are the comments about moving after GEM's retirement. GRO refs. for Nancy Featherstonehaugh M, birth, Jan-Mar 1914 Wirral, vol. 8a, p727; marriage (to Arthur W. Rhodes), Jul-Sep 1942 Westminster. Vol. 1a, p969. Have not identified those for Michael George M. Liz Rhodes is the daughter of Arthur & Nancy Rhodes. The "Botany of Fairyland", the photographs, and GEM's comission were

- shown to me by Liz at the launch event for "The Three-Legged Society" book, at Kendal Museum, on 10th April 2013
- 112 George Ernest & his children, probable GRO refs. for deaths. George Ernest, Oct-Dec 1947 Oxford, vol. 6b, p814; Lilian, Jan-Mar 1973 Oxford, vol. 6b, p2828; Ursula, Jan-Mar 1978 Oxford, vol. 20, p2859; Anthony, Jul-Sep 1959 West Cheshire, vol.10a, p535
- 113 Charlotte Mary, birth, GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1866 Kendal, vol.10b, p625; death certificate, GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1866 Kendal, vol.10b, p421
- 114 Kitty, birth, GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1867 Kendal, vol. 10b, p630; death, probable GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1954, Westmorland S, vol. 1b, p451
- 115 Kitty, Head Teacher, "Staveley Primary School 250th Anniversary 1755 2005", see endnote 28 above.
- 116 Mary Emma, birth, GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1869 Kendal, vol.10b, p578; death, probable GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1958 Westmorland S, vol. 1b, p722
- 117 Clara Elizabeth, birth, GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1871 Kendal, vol. 10b, p660; death certificate GRO ref. Jan- Mar 1872 Kendal, vol. 10b, p441
- 118 Edwin Featherstone, birth, GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1873 Kendal, vol.10b, p666
- 119 Safe return of volunteers, "A Lakeland Valley Through Time, a History of Staveley, Kentmere and Ings", see endnote 27 above.
- 120 Canadian Passenger Lists 1865 1935. unless stated otherwise, these and other Canadian /US immigration, military and census records which I quote were accessed via Ancestry.co.uk.
- 121 Settlement at Dahinda, from Roll of Honour entry, department of Veterans Affairs, Canada, http://www.veterans.gc.ca/content/collections/virtualmem/photoview.cfm?casualty=304774&photo=57350 122 Edwin's marriage, ibid.
- 123 Mary Martindale at Arnside, address given as 1, Lynnslack, Arnside, Canadian Virtual War Memorial, http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/sub.cfm?source=collections/virtualmem/Detail&casualty=304774
- 124 Edwin's military service & circumstances of his death, see endnote 121 above.
- 125 His army number was A/26643 and he is variously listed as serving in the 46th Battalion the Canadian Expeditionary Force (http://hamiltongreatwar.org/cef/46nr.html) and as being in the 10th Bn. of the Alberta Regiment (www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/sub.cfm?source=collections/virtualmem/detail&casualty=304774). The Wikipedia entry for the 46th Bn. CEF reads, "The 46th Battalion served with the 10th Infantry Brigade, 4th Canadian Division from 11 August 1916 until the Armistice. The unit has come to be known as "The Suicide Battalion". The 46th Battalion lost 1,433 killed and 3,484 wounded a casualty rate of 91.5 percent and won 16 battle honours in 27 months".
- 126 Ellen Winifred, birth, GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1875 Kendal, vol. 10b, p698; marriage, GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1908 Kendal, vol. 10b, p1077; probable death, GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1952 Westmorland South, vol. 1b, p603
- 127 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 128 Accessed via Ancestry.co.uk
- 129 Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section are from the School Logbook, see endnote 44 above.
- 130 See Staveley School Logbook entry on 1 Sep 1876.
- 131 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 132 Jane Martindale, death, GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1885 Kendal, vol. 10b, p471
- 133 Clara Elizabeth. Death Certificate gives causes of death as "Torpid Liver and bowels. Effusion on the brain".
- 134 Mary Ann Martindale, death certificate, GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1890 Kendal, vol. 10b, p443
- 135 E.M.Holmes op. cit, see endnote 68 above.
- 136 Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 137 Joseph's second marriage, certificate, GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1894 Kendal, vol. 10b, p1184
- 138 The other witness was an Ellen Moore who might well have been a neighbour of Joseph's, for a lady of that name lived at 14 Danes Rd. at the time of the 1901 census.
- 139 See a copy of John Ruthven's 1855 map in the Armitt Library, Ambleside, or at, http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/webmap/thelakes/html/maps/m01680.htm
- 140 I think Joseph was quite proud of this map, see letter to George Stabler 19th March 1888 '....we are going to have a map printed in colours. It is one by Bartholomew ¼ inch in scale & is a very correct one...300 maps will cost £4-10/-.."Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 141 Emily Jane Ruthven birth, GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1852 Kendal, vol. 10b, p534
- 142 Nancy Walker, personal communication May 2010.
- 143 Kindly given to me by Mrs. Marion R Winchester, Angus Winchester's mother, July 2011.
- 144 Emily Jane Martindale, death, GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1946, Westmorland South, vol.1b p475
- 145 John Ruthven Martindale, birth, GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1896 Kendal, vol. 10b, p749
- 146 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.

- 147 This and following quotations about JRM come from his obituary, E.N. "Mr. J.R. Martindale", Westmorland Gazette, 9th August 1924.
- 148 Supplement to the London Gazette, 7th July 1915, p6676.
- 149 Medal index card for Martindale, John Ruthven, R.G.A., Lieut. British Army WWI Medal Rolls Index Cards, 1914-1920 via Ancestry.co.uk
- 150 See "The Heavy Batteries of the Royal Garrison Artillery" on "The Long, Long Trail" website of resources for WW1. http://www.1914-1918.net/heavy-battery-index.htm
- 151 Medal index card, see endnote 149 above.
- 152 Angus Winchester, personal communication 24th March 2011. See also endnote 138 above.
- 153 See endnote 143 above.
- 154 John Ruthven Martindale, death certificate, GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1924 Kendal, vol. 10b, p669. On the death certificate the causes were given as "1. Caries Spine (Injury in Great War), 2. Lumbar Abscesses, Emphysema, Amyloid Disease". The primary cause was therefore tuberculosis of the spine, the abscesses would be a consequence. As if that wasn't enough he suffered chronic lung disease and an incurable metabolic affliction.
- 155 Norman Mackereth, quoted in "A Lakeland Valley Through Time", see endnote 27 above.
- 156 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WG, see endnote 20 above.
- 157 Rev. E.W.J. McConnel, op. cit. 1927.
- 158 Pub. George Middleton, Ambleside, 1889, price 6d.
- 159 John Ruskin, Modern Painters, Smith, Elder & Co., London 1843.
- 160 E.M.Holmes op. cit, see endnote 68 above.
- 161 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WG, see endnote 20 above.
- 162 In this section, all letters quoted are in the Robert Walker papers, see endnote 55 above.
- 163 Hogg was a Kendal photographer; This is likely to be the portrait that appeared in Joseph's obituary in the Westmorland Mercury & Times.
- 164 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 165 E.M.Holmes op. cit, see endnote 68 above.
- 166 See "Staveley Penny Readings", Westmorland Gazette, 24th December 1864, 14th January 1865, 11th February 1865, 20th January 1866, & other dates.
- 167 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WM&T, see endnote 2 above.
- 168 Obit. J.A.Martindale, WG, see endnote 20 above.
- 169 Liz Rhodes, a great-granddaughter of JAM, personal communication 12th February 2013.
- 170 "The Lake Counties", ed. Arthur Mee. Hodder and Stroughton, London, 1937.