

JAMES MARTINDALE BARNES - 10th February 1814 - 9th May 1890

INTRODUCTION

In comparison with his younger friends, the schoolmasters George Stabler and Joseph Anthony Martindale, James M Barnes' life is sparsely documented, but enough remains to provide both a plausible picture of the man and a reasoned critique of his contribution to botanical knowledge.

As the personal details are scarce, I have added quite a large amount of background information in an attempt to place James' life in the context of his times and so make him a more three-dimensional figure: also to expand the tale with material which I hope will be interesting on its own account.

ORIGINS

Unlike Stabler and Martindale, Barnes was born and brought up in Westmorland, travelled away from it and returned to make the county his permanent residence.

He was born in 1814 at Kitcragg farm, Selside, eldest son of Anthony and Margaret Barnes¹.

Anthony Barnes, born c1788, although a Westmorland man, was not from the Selside area originally. All the census returns where his birthplace was recorded give it as Orton, and the Mormon website familysearch.org records an Anthony Barnes (son of John Barnes and his wife Jane Stockdale) being christened at Orton on 18th December 1786. Helen Caldwell, believes that John and Jane Barnes lived at Roundthwaite near Tebay and that John was later recorded as a tailor, living at Forest Hall, Selside².

Margaret Barnes was born Margaret Martindale c1797, only daughter of James Martindale (born Hugill 1760, died 1827) and his wife Ann Cornthwaite, who lived at Larch Bank, Strickland Roger³.

Ann Cornthwaite was a widow, her maiden name was Gibson. Her first husband, James, and her three sons, Thomas, James and Edward, all died of consumption at Sizergh Hall near Levens. The children died aged 4 years, 12 days, and 6 months, respectively. Her husband was 25⁴.

Barnes family traditions, mainly attributable to James M. Barnes' much younger sister, Margaret Taylor, who farmed at Thorphinsty Hall, Cartmel Fell, allege that the widower James Martindale did not regard Anthony Barnes as a suitable match for his sole surviving child, a 16 year old daughter, so the couple eloped to Gretna Green for their nuptials. Confirmation of this event can be found in the "married" column of the Lancaster Gazette of 5th January 1812 - "At Gretna Green, Mr. Anthony Barnes of Fawcett Forest, to Miss Margaret Martindale, daughter of Mr. James Martindale, of Selside, near Kendal". This marriage is believed to have taken place on 16th November⁵. The couple, it is said, were forgiven and on their return, were married again, in Burneside church. Those who have read their Jane Austen will remember what Mr. Martindale would have been well aware of - that a fast-tracked wedding at Gretna, to an impressionable young girl from a better-off family, was a popular career move for impecunious young men on-the-make. James was their first child, he was born at Kit Cragg farm, Selside, the home from which his mother had eloped.

Anthony and Margaret had at least 9 more children (see Appendix 1) and established a family whose members, between them, were to farm the major holdings of the Selside area⁶, and it was in the beginnings of this dynasty that James M Barnes spent his boyhood. His obituaries, which were obviously written by somebody who knew him well, almost certainly his eldest son Joseph Anthony Barnes, note that he was "brought up to farming until he was about twenty years of age..."⁷, but "Farming under the eye of Mr. Barnes, senior, was not the delightfully poetic occupation it is sometimes supposed to be....but....a continued hurry and drive and grind from morning till night, all the year round...it developed a wonderful strength of limb and hardiness of constitution as all who know the stalwart forms of the three surviving brothers can testify"⁸.

Farming was a very labour-intensive activity when James was born, with virtually no mechanisation and Westmorland was certainly not in the forefront of agricultural improvement.

F.W.Garnett in the Introduction to his classic history of Westmorland farming⁹ stated that "Dr. Lonsdale¹⁰ writes, '*Truly or not in the record, it has been repeatedly stated that Cumberland and Westmorland were the last counties in England to receive improvements in husbandry*' and from the evidence which is available it is not too much to say that it would indeed be a bad case with farming in any county in which it was in a more backward state than it was in Westmorland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Pringle, writing of the sheep says, '*no attempt has been made to improve either the carcass or the fleece*...."¹¹Cattle were in almost as backward a state as the sheep.....The quantity of land under the plough was barely sufficient to produce the oats or barley required by the farmer and his family--the production of corn being only secondary to the production of grass, for the whole county was given over to sheep and cattle

raising.....Pringle estimated that there were not 20,000 acres under crops in the whole county in 1794, and large quantities of corn had to be imported to supplement the shortages from Cumberland and Lancashire".

Westmorland farming, we must infer, was attractive only to the dedicated or those unequipped to seek other prospects and opportunities. Nevertheless we must not think of Anthony Barnes as a typical Westmorland "Statesman" unambitiously plodding on his "copyhold" tenancy. Barnes was something of an innovator. James' obituarist wrote, "When the old fashioned sickle was superseded by the scythe, Anthony Barnes was the first farmer in the neighbourhood to adopt the new implement, and when his eldest son became an old man he used to tell with pride of how when a lad of 17 he took his place in the ranks of his father's men and swung with ease a scythe long in the blade"¹². This blade was usually 5' 3" long¹³.

In skilled hands the scythe could double labour productivity at harvest¹⁴. In Westmorland, sickles continued to be used for reaping until well into the 1850s, but "on it being shown that 10 acres could be cut with scythes at a cost of 5/5d per acre as against 10 acres cut with the sickle at a cost of 8/9d per acre, the former soon superseded the latter"¹⁵.

Anthony was a successful farmer. In the censuses he can be seen graduating from Kitcragg (1841) to Burneside Hall, to which he moved in 1844, where he described himself in the 1851 census as "farmer of 630 acres (employing 8 Lab.). He was still farming Burneside Hall at the age of 73 in 1861 and lived there as a widower in 1871, by which date the tenant was his son-in-law, William Atkinson. Anthony Barnes died on 16th May of that year, aged 84 years, at New House, Strickland Roger, the home of his daughter Jane (death notice in Westmorland Gazette, 20th May 1871).

F.W.Garnett in his chapter on cattle wrote about the rise of the Shorthorn in the years after 1810 when Lord Lonsdale was the first to start breeding them in Westmorland. After chronicling the success of the pedigree herds he wrote, "...the non-pedigree Shorthorn breeders are to be found on every farm in the county. At a sale at Burneside Hall in 1865, 38 cows belonging to Anthony Barnes brought from £15-15s to £24-15s., and an average of over £18-10s. On a gentleman remarking to the owner that he had had as good a sale as if they had been pedigree cattle, he replied, '*Pedigree, I kna nowt about pedigree; the'd o'ther pedigrees i thar feaces hednt tha? thets what I ga be*'"¹⁶. Anthony was shrewd as well as long-lived and knew what good stock should look like.

Garnett's quotation originated in a news-item in the Westmorland Gazette of Saturday 13th May 1865, reporting on the proceeds of the sale of Anthony's dairy stock the previous Monday. Anthony was retiring from active farming and I don't think that his statement was quoted in the paper verbatim as a humorous example of quaint usage, but rather as a valedictory for a man well esteemed by his fellow farmers. The advertisements for the farm sales (see Appendix 5) obviously used fulsome descriptions of the condition of the stock, but why would they have used the phrases "famous and well-known SHORT-HORNED DAIRY HERD" and "The above stock being so well-known in the surrounding neighbourhood they need no comment..." if there was not at least some reputation to justify their use¹⁷? It is worth noting that in 1863 a swindler, seeking to part an Isaac Wilson of Middlesborough from a five pound note, pretended to be one of Anthony's sons¹⁸.

It is surprising that James, the eldest son, did not follow in his father's footsteps, because as James' subsequent life demonstrates, he most certainly had application and perseverance in his chosen fields. The Kendal Mercury obituary provides a clue: "His education was somewhat better than that of the average farmer's son of the day, for when 'Parson Airey' had done what he could for him, his maternal grandmother prevailed upon his parents to send him to a school in Kendal *that he might learn Latin and be made a parson*'.....The purpose of this additional education was not realised, for when he left school he devoted all his time to helping his father on the farm".

"Parson Airey" was doubtless the Rev. Thomas Airey described in 1829 as "incumbent and also master of the free school"¹⁹, which although rebuilt in 1793, dated from 1730. In the early nineteenth century in the Diocese of Carlisle, the average Anglican clergyman was much more badly paid than his average peer in England and Wales and many augmented their meagre stipends by school-teaching²⁰. The clergy's disadvantage may have had an unexpected benefit for their Westmorland parishioners in the form of a contingent of educated men who needed additional income.

Writing of the provision of education in Westmorland in the nineteenth century, Garnett quoted Lord Brougham as having stated in a speech in 1862, "...that 45 years ago, when what may be called the education movement began, that celebrated committee, the Education Committee sat in the House of Commons, of which I had the honour of being chairman; at that time we found...Westmorland was the highest of all England, in proportion of the schools and children going to those schools, to the population of the country"²¹. As Marshall & Walton pointed out, "In remote, poor, or pastoral areas, which do not offer easy avenues to employment for younger sons, but which are within reach of economically more developed regions, a premium is placed upon any form of education which appears to offer a means of escape or advancement"²².

As the censuses, and the sale that Garnett mentioned, demonstrate, James would have had to wait over 30 years to succeed his father at Burneside Hall. He had enough education to make his way elsewhere.

In Helen Caldwell's possession there is a small portrait of James, not quite a miniature. It is a picture of a young man with long, fair, somewhat reddish hair, who gazes at the viewer with a serious, slightly apprehensive, expression. He is formally dressed in the style of the 1830s, in a double-breasted frock coat, over what looks like a roll collared waistcoat, a black stock around the high collar of his white shirt. Perhaps this portrait was a keepsake for the mother of a youth setting out to make his way in the world.

According to his obituaries, when James reached the age of 20 or thereabouts he "escaped the severities of farm labour and took a situation in Liverpool", where he remained for about seven years as a "clerk in a business house". We don't know how he got this place, or in what manner of business it was, nor where he lived.

There are a lot of James Barnes' in the 1841 census, but I could only find one one about the right age in the Liverpool area²³. I thought I had succeeded when I found a James Barnes age 25 (i.e. 25 to 29 inclusive²⁴) in a lodging house at Brougham Terrace, Poulton-Cum-Seacombe, Wallasey, near the ferry across to Liverpool. His occupation was stated as "M" i.e. Manufacturer, or, if erroneously applied, "maker" as in "shoe m(aker)". I think the occupation eliminates this James Barnes, as this enumerator wrote "book keeper" or "merchant" etc. for commercial occupations. The dates don't quite fit for his obituarist states that James was 26 when he left Liverpool for London "where he became an officer in the Customs"²⁵, which would mean he moved in 1840.

Further searches in the 1841 census turned up a James Barnes, occupation "Customs" at an address in Union Row, Lambeth, in the parish of St. Mary Newington. On an 1844 street map, this is off the New Kent Road just east of Rodney St. (SE1). Redevelopment of the area has put Union Row just about underneath the modern Deacon's Way, which is about a quarter of a mile from the Elephant and Castle underground station. This James Barnes appears to have been lodging in the household of Francis Bailey (occupation illegible). Another lodger, John Owen also had "Customs" as his occupation, as did the head of the adjoining household, James Earles. As the crow flies, they were about a mile and a quarter from the Custom House on Lower Thames St., just across the New London Bridge.

Once again, we have no idea how he came to be a Customs officer in London, perhaps working in commerce in the port city of Liverpool had provided the right contacts. Maybe a different network did it.

THE WESLEYAN METHODIST

Liverpool, it seems, was James' road to Damascus.

James' great-granddaughter, Helen Caldwell, still has a diary that he started in January 1841, and in it he stated that he was "Brought to a saving knowledge of the truth in Sept. 1837..."²⁶. He was then 23 years of age.

I quote in full, the relevant paragraph from his obituary in the Kendal Mercury and Times because we can learn more from it than the plain fact that an individual had a life-changing experience in Liverpool.

"Here he had time to think, and the deeper feelings of his nature began to assert themselves. It was useless for him to try to satisfy them with the mere husk of churchgoing and moral respectability that went by the name of religion amongst the Selside farmers, so he struggled long and blindly for something better and more real. At last his heart found rest when he dared to appeal to the Great Father, and when, as he knelt in prayer on the step of a carriage in the yard of an inn, he realised the presence and forgiveness of the Eternal God through Christ. His after life can only be explained in the light of this crisis. He cut himself loose from the snares that were beginning to entangle him, he began to read and study, and to take part in religious work. He chose the Wesleyan Methodist Church as his own, because he found in it most help in guarding and strengthening the reality of his newly-found personal relation to God".

As far as "husks" are concerned, we can infer from Garnett's comment (Introduction, op. cit.), "It was customary in outlying districts for at least one farmer to attend church and carry the week's news back to the rest of the dale", that Westmorland did not, in general, suffer from an excess of religious zeal.

We have no idea what "snares...were beginning to entangle him", perhaps the usual one for young men, and it is pointless to speculate, but there is no doubt that for the rest of James' life, that expression of Christianity, known as Wesleyan Methodism, was of the greatest importance to him, both internally as a personal discipline and outwardly as manifested by public observances. The diary provides incontrovertible evidence of the truth of this assertion. So powerful and direct are the statements in this diary that the modern reader might conclude that James suffered from an outlandish religious mania.

Helen Caldwell recalled to me that in her family's memories, James was characterised as stern and forbidding²⁷, but that is the lot of many a Victorian grandfather.

There was certainly a harshness in the Wesleyan tradition which derived from the fundamental belief that everyone is born sinful and self-willed: Robert Southey, in his "Life of John Wesley", written in 1820, quoted him, "Break his will now, begin this work before they can run alone, before they can speak plain... Whatever pains it costs, break the will if you would not damn the child and his soul shall live, and he will probably bless you to all eternity"²⁸.

In a religious age, why was it that a man, who was evidently unimpressed by the established church in Selside, adopted Methodism as opposed to any of the other Nonconformist faiths?

In Kendal in 1829, "Dissenters were very numerous and ten different congregations of them have their respective chapels..."²⁹. Wesley himself had been disappointed by the area, declaring in 1764 that the Kendal Methodists had been so "harassed by seceders and disputers of every kind" that they were "dry and dead as bones"³⁰. Of 13th April 1768 he wrote, "on Wednesday, to Kendal. Seceders and mongrel Methodists have so surfeited the people here that there is small prospect of doing good; however, I once more "cast" my "bread upon the waters" and left the event to God"³¹.

It was in Liverpool that James adopted Wesleyan Methodism as his way³², so it appears that he hadn't made moves in any particular direction before he was 20 and while still under his father's direct gaze. It has been written of Anthony Barnes that he was "...a rigid churchman, who considered Methodism as something unauthorised and below the level of common respectability..."³³.

Methodism was active in Liverpool. According to Gore's "Directory of Liverpool" published in 1829, there were nine Methodist chapels of one adherence or another and three Methodist day and Sunday schools with a total attendance of over 2000 children³⁴. The whole population was approximately 165,000 in 1831³⁵.

By 1837, when James Martindale Barnes had his damascene moment in Liverpool, the Methodist movement had existed for nearly a century. John Wesley had been dead for over 40 years and Methodism had already started to mutate into forms not intended by its founder and which conflicted with the direction in which his successors wished to take the movement. These conflicts tended to possess both doctrinal and jurisdictional aspects. It was no surprise that the 1826/27 rift in Leeds arose from a dispute over the doctrinal purity of installing an organ to accompany the hymn singing, but the dispute was exacerbated by more worldly preoccupations. To many Methodists, the human voice proclaimed the faith, and musical instruments in church were the devil's work (a view, we shall see, that James held), but the intervention of Jabez Bunting, President of the Methodist Conference, in enforcing the adoption of the organ, was just part of a pattern of autocratic behaviour which disaffected Methodists nationwide. For the moment we shall just note that the disenchantment extended to the Wesleyan community in Liverpool where a local preacher, David Rowland, was expelled from the Society in 1834 for, as he saw it, his activities in support of Dr. Samuel Warren, who had himself been expelled by Bunting. Warren was head of a national committee considering setting-up a training college for ministers, Bunting had over-ruled many of his plans. At a formative moment in his life, James was probably exposed to the impact this turmoil had made on Methodism in Liverpool. and possibly to the influence of George Gibson of Beathwaite Green. In a speech made in Kendal in 1837, (Kendal Mercury 18th February 1837), David Rowland referred to George Gibson "who has been at our tabernacle in Liverpool".

As we have learned, James Barnes found that the Anglican faith he had experienced in Selside was unable to satisfy his spiritual needs, but nothing in his life seems to have marked him out as any sort of social radical. Wesleyan Methodism was, I think, particularly attractive to anyone in this position. (See Appendix 2).

John Wesley believed that the established Church of England was doing far too little to save people from the consequences of man's natural sinfulness, eternal damnation. He always stressed that his desire was not to overthrow or even leave the Church of England but rather to reinvigorate it so it did what it was supposed to do. As things turned out, Wesley failed to remake the Church of England, and Anglicanism and Methodism became, and are still, separate churches. This however did not detract from Wesley's message.

The idea which gave Methodism its distinct theological imperative was that achieving salvation required not mere compliance with rules but a high degree of pro-active seeking to be saved. God wanted each individual to be saved but the existence of free-will meant the individual had to choose to come to salvation. A believer must renounce sin, justify himself through his faith in Jesus Christ as the way, and then, by achieving Sanctification, whereby he or she conformed to the image of Christ, become able to receive God's offer of salvation.

Wesley stressed the importance of "Christian Perfection", or holiness of heart and life, in enabling the believer to reach

Sanctification. The corollary of this was a constant personal struggle against backsliding into sin, which if not overcome would ultimately disqualify the believer from salvation and pitch him or her into eternal punishment.

Because we today are unused to the language of religious conviction, anyone publicly declaiming all this now would sound like a fanatic. Bear in mind however, that the boundaries of the mindset common to nearly all in England who took Christianity to heart in the period were original sin on the one hand, and two potential outcomes, salvation and heaven or damnation and eternal torment in hell, on the other. This being so, Wesleyanism offered the believer a process of spiritual self-development that made heaven a realistic aspiration. It is hardly surprising that many seized the opportunity with great enthusiasm.

One of the many was James Martindale Barnes, and while he no doubt impressed his contemporaries as a more than averagely committed Wesleyan, it is unlikely that this level of commitment alarmed them.

While the emphasis was on the believer's personal relationship with God, by choosing Christ and achieving sanctification etc., Wesleyanism promoted the values of loving one's neighbour as oneself, of communal worship and of charity to the poor, sick and friendless. This was formalised in 1785 when John Gardiner, a member of the London Methodist Society, established a charity for visiting and relieving the sick and distressed poor, without regard to their religious affiliation, if any, at their own habitations in London and its vicinity. The charity was called The Strangers' Friend Society and John Wesley was one of its first subscribers. It's interesting to note that in 1841, amongst 29 people listed as subscribers, a Mr. Darwin (yes, Charles Darwin himself) contributed no less than £5-0-0³⁶.

Soon, Methodists in other cities followed London's example and a Strangers' Friend Society was formed in Liverpool in 1789. An indication of the scale of its activities is given by an item in the Liverpool Mercury of 20th December 1839, commenting on the desperate state of the Society's finances consequent on it having relieved "several thousand destitute families, comprising about 10,000 individuals", in the course of the previous year.

We are told that James "took part in religious work" in Liverpool, so perhaps it was for that charity, for once in London he "was actively engaged as a visitor in connection with the Strangers' Friend Society"³⁷.

IN LONDON

James' devotion to Wesleyan Methodism bloomed, as can be seen from a diary he kept for most of his stay in the Capital City (see Appendix 3). But the diary is a record of his spiritual condition, there is virtually nothing about his daily life, so we are dependent on the obituaries for knowledge of his worldly affairs³⁸.

We know he obtained a position described in one obituary as "an officer in the Customs" and in the other as "on the staff of her Majesty's Custom House in London", but we do not know why he took that job or how he obtained it. There were no examinations for entry to the Civil service until 1855 so people relied on their connections, what we now call networking. Liverpool was a booming seaport with dock duties of nearly £174,000 collected in 1837 from 15038 ships with a total tonnage of 1.96 millions³⁹. Did James acquire connections to senior Customs officials through his work in Liverpool or his Methodist contacts there?

We don't know what his duties were in the Customs. We should banish visions of him lurking up some misty creek with a blunderbuss, waiting in the dark to intercept smugglers, that job was done by the Coastguard which came into being in 1822, and had taken over these duties. He probably had an administrative job in, as the obituary stated, the Custom House in Lower Thames St, or maybe at the confiscated goods warehouse.

The obituaries record that James, in later life, often regaled his family with tales from that period, including one which explained a profound dislike of musical boxes, "It was usual to hold periodical sales of confiscated goods, and on several days previous to the sale intending buyers were allowed to enter the warehouse to inspect the articles for sale. Amongst these articles was always a large assortment of musical boxes of every quality and size. Every visitor who intended to buy a musical box, and a good many who had no such intention, used to wind up several to try their tone, quite regardless of the feelings of the unfortunate officer who was condemned to spend the day in the resultant Babel. And to the end of his life Mr. Barnes used to regard these harmless instruments with feelings akin to those which a Russian Czar might entertain towards an infernal machine charged with nitro-glycerine".

From October 1879, Czar Alexander II survived two attempts to blow up trains and one his palace before March 1881 when a bomb thrown at him in the street finally succeeded. He had reason to be upset. Did musical boxes really annoy James as much?

The Customs was a much more prominent arm of the civil government in James' time than it is now and the money it generated was a massive proportion of government income (see Appendix 4), so it was a serious occupation for a seri-

ous young man.

The duties of such a job might have been irksome sometimes, and the holidays infrequent, the 1858 Post Office Directory⁴⁰ recorded them as being on April 9th (Good Friday), May 24th (the Queen's birthday) and Christmas Day, but the business hours were not excessive. The same directory listed them as 10 to 4 all year at the Custom House, and 8 to 4 at the Waterside Offices from March to October (9 to 4 November to February). This would leave the bachelor James with plenty of waking hours to fill. We know from his diary about his spiritual life and involvement in voluntary work, but nothing about any social life. There must have been one, and I suspect it was derived from his Methodist connections. The obituary states "during the five or six years he spent in London [he] attended the Wesleyan chapel at Southwark and City Road....".

Presumably, Southwark was his local chapel, but City Road, built in 1777/78 was, even then, Methodism's Jerusalem. It was the first Methodist church in London built for the celebration of communion and preaching. John Wesley had made it his base and on the same site were his house, where he died in 1791, and also his tomb.

James's obituary continued, "He also vigorously carried on his reading and self-culture....during this time he became acquainted with his first wife, Miss Read, whom he married in 1845".

Nothing else remained in the Helen Caldwell's family memories about Miss Read, other than the inscription on her gravestone in Burneside churchyard which provided her Christian name, Elizabeth, and date of death, March 4th 1859, but no more, not even her age.

Fortunately, their marriage occurred after 1st July 1837 when compulsory registration of births, marriages and deaths began, so a copy of the marriage certificate can be obtained⁴¹. According to the certificate both Elizabeth and James were of "full age" i.e. over 21. We already knew that James was 31 but we had to find another source for Elizabeth. On the 1851 census she was recorded as 47, so if that is correct, she must have been 43 or 44 when she was married: it is possible that she was rather older.

The marriage certificate shows that the ceremony took place, by licence, in the "District Church of St. Mary Magdalen, in the parish of St. George The Martyr, Southwark and stated James' occupation, "Custom House Officer", and that he resided at St. George The Martyr. We also learn that Elizabeth was a spinster, residing in Cornbury Place, that her father was a James Read, "Gentleman" (the title used by men who did not need to work for their living), and that the marriage was witnessed by J. Read and Emily Cremer.

James must have moved. As we have seen, his 1841 Union Row address was in the parish of Newington. Helen Caldwell has an 1844 London map on which James had written his address as 4 Salisbury Terrace, Walworth. The map does not contain this street name, but there are a Salisbury C (Crescent?) and a Salisbury S(t). An 1868 map⁴² of the area includes a Salisbury Row at the western end of Salisbury C. Cornbury Place is on the 1844 map, but no longer exists. They were hardly more than 300 yards apart. Possibly, Miss Read was a member of an active Methodist family in the area and perhaps they attended the same chapel, and both participated in the work of the Strangers' Friend Society in visiting the sick and poor.

I was frustrated that I had been unable to trace James Read in any prior or subsequent records that are accessible online. Barnes/Caldwell family tradition has it that he was a well-off silk merchant and that the "on the shelf" spinster, Elizabeth, came with a worthwhile dowry. We can't substantiate this claim, but a Read family was in the silk trade. The 1841 Post Office directory⁴³ for London lists a Henry Read & Co, silk brokers, 27 Austinfriars, this is between London Bridge and the southern end of the City Road. The 1808 London Post Office Directory⁴⁴ lists three James Reades, one, a Saddler in Golden Square (W1, near Piccadilly Circus), one a Warehouseman in Rood Lane (EC3, in the City off Fenchurch St.) and a third, a Linen-draper at 59 Blackman St, Borough (that section of the modern Borough High St. which runs between the church of St. George The Martyr and the Borough Road): however, connections with any of these are pure speculation.

Elizabeth Read's life before her marriage is also absent from accessible online records, but there is one last scrap of information to extract from her marriage certificate. Who was the Emily Cremer who witnessed the Marriage?

We have got to her by a rather circuitous route.

In his will, James left "...to my nephew George Frederick Cremer my two oil paintings in gilt frames being portraits of the late Mr and Mrs Kingstone".

We know that none of James' siblings married anybody named Cremer so I assumed that Mr. Cremer was a nephew of

Elizabeth Read and therefore a son of an, as yet, undiscovered sister. A search on Ancestry.co.uk revealed a George Frederick Cremer, Auctioneer of Land and Estate Agent in the 1871 and 1881 censuses, and in the birth and marriage indexes, but not in any subsequent censuses and without a death index appearance. In the 1881 census, his 77 year old mother, Emily, born in Walworth, Surrey, was recorded in his household.

Searching on Emily Cremer, born Surrey c1804, threw up a complete set of census returns from 1841 to 1871 (as well as the 1881 already mentioned) showing her married to a William H. (or Henry) Cremer (born "Middlesex, City of London"), who, in the 1841 & 51 censuses was described as a brush manufacturer, first in Stamford St. in the Parish of Christchurch, Southwark and then at 10 Bridge St., Westminster, and by 1861 at 27 New Bond St., in the parish of St. George's Hanover Square, Westminster, styling himself "Importer of foreign toys, employing 1 assistant and 2 porters". The assistant was one of his sons, James Read Cremer. The various censuses all state that Emily was born in Surrey, and two of them state Walworth. The other places cited were Newington and Lambeth. They are all in the same area and the Parish would have been Newington when she was born. A 1795 map⁴⁵ shows Walworth as being predominantly open fields, one of 1814⁴⁶ shows that plenty of land was still undeveloped; by 1844⁴⁷ there were far fewer gaps. Walworth was also Elizabeth's birthplace according to the 1851 census.

The 1851 census also included the 13 year old George Frederick in William Henry's household, and in 1871 this household contained his unmarried niece, one Margaret Read, born at Regent's Park c1830. At the time (2010) I couldn't trace this person in any other online records and thereby clarify the Read connection, but in January 2013 a further search unearthed the "Watts-Read" family tree. This tree claims a Margaret Anne Letitia Read as one of the children of a Thomas Read, himself a child of James & Hannah Read and a sibling of an Emily Read (born 5th November 1803), whom we will see below is most likely to be Elizabeth Read's younger sister⁴⁸.

In 2010, I searched rootsweb for other people interested in George Frederick Cremer and found the family tree of the "Witchell, Thomas, Penno, Legg families of New Zealand" which included him and which stated that Emily Cremer's maiden name was Read. This tree claimed George Cremer (b Holborn 1757), occupation brush, carpet broom and sieve maker (such a person appeared in the 1808 London Postal Directory⁴⁹, in Whitechapel), as William's father, and stated that one of William Henry's siblings was a John Wesley Cremer, born 1819, Holborn. Yet again, I cannot trace other records for this person.

The one we can trace was James' nephew, in New Zealand. George Frederick Cremer was "...a native of London, where he lived and prospered for 25 years as an auctioneer, his offices being in Conduit Street, Bond Street, W. For fifteen years he held the appointment of auctioneer to the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway company, and for the British War Office. In 1881 Mrs. Cremer's health gave way, and removal to a more suitable climate was necessary....For fifteen years Mr. Cremer was a member of the vestry of St. George's, Hanover Square, [note -a parish council rather than a parochial church council body] and was the representative of that body on the London Board of Works, now known as the London County Council. Mr. Cremer's business in Wanganui⁵⁰ is very different from that carried on by him in London; still, it is a long way the best of its kind in the district. The specialities are art needlework and novelties of every kind....before Christmas...Mr. Cremer takes special premises as a German Fair for the sale of toys, dolls, games etc. This is in every sense a house to be commended"⁵¹. In the late nineteenth century, Germany was a major centre of the toy and novelty trade, much as China became in the late twentieth.

I sense that the entries for this NZ directory owe a great deal to the people featured. At any rate, there is a photograph of Mr. Cremer and the information that his "home agent" was Mr. W.H.Cremer, London, England, and Neuhamberg, Germany. This William Henry was one of his brothers, as was James Read Cremer (Witchell, Thomas etc. family tree & 1871 census).

I think it reasonable to deduce that Elizabeth Read and Emily Cremer were sisters and that the Cremer family were Methodists. Goodness knows who the Kingstones were, but if James Martindale Barnes had their portraits and wanted to pass them on to a Cremer, perhaps they were Methodist contacts he had made in London who were well known to the Cremers. The portraits might have belonged to Elizabeth Read and be of ancestors of hers.

Sometime after writing most of the above, a large quantity of christening information (derived from Mormon records) became accessible via Ancestry.co.uk. These records include entries for an Elizabeth Read, born 9th March 1801 and christened on 18th June of the same year, at Westminster, London, and an Emily Read, born 5th November 1803 and christened on the 1st of July 1804, also at Westminster. In both cases the parent's names are given as James and Hannah. I believe the girls were sisters and I don't think it over-stretching the evidence to conclude that they later became Emily Cremer and Elizabeth Barnes.

THE STRANGERS' FRIEND

James might have participated in the work of this charity while he was still in Liverpool. It was very active during his time there as was recorded in "The Picture of Liverpool, A Stranger's Guide" written in 1834. This book quotes from a report of the Society, demonstrating the condition of those who received assistance, "Complicated, painful, and long-continued disorders; a grievous want of suitable food, attendance, fire, bedding or clothing; the cries of a family of half naked and hungry children; and an utter ignorance of every principle of religion".

His obituaries and diary confirm that he was certainly involved once he was in London, though it is clear from the diary that he found it hard to relish the work.

The part of London in which James lived was as yet incompletely urbanised and would not have contained the dense mass of squalor that existed in some parts of London. The horrors that gripped Charles Dickens were in an area round Seven Dials just north of Leicester Square and Covent Garden, nevertheless Southwark had its share for it was the home of the Marshalsea Debtors' Prison where Dickens's father, John, was imprisoned in 1824. Although the Marshalsea was closed in 1842 its role was filled by the newer King's Bench Prison. The older parts of Lambeth, nearer the river, were real slums.

Although the extremely high mortality of the mid eighteenth century caused by epidemic diseases, bad diet and living conditions (inc. catastrophic levels of gin addiction), and infant mortality were less severe in the first half of the nineteenth, the main driver of London's population growth was immigration, and with the exception of Ireland, this immigration was mainly from the home counties. In 1851, over 38 per cent of Londoners were born somewhere else⁵².

A city whose population had nearly doubled in 40 years from under 1 million in 1801 to nearly 2 million in 1841⁵³ (www.londononline.co.uk) and which was still without any mains water or drainage, would be insanitary to say the least.

So there were a lot of strangers in it and a lot of them were unhealthy.

In his diary, James recorded on Tuesday 19th April 1845,

"..Morning...I visited a sick woman in a consumption who had long been confined to her bed. she had been religiously educated but had never complied with the requirements of God or the regards of her own conscience she had the prospect of death before her & her mind was not at peace after talking to her...to explain the.... of salvation for about an hour I engaged in prayer. When I arose from my knees the poor woman's countenance was lit up with joy, with both hands she embraced me...."

On the following day,

"I feel this morning rather unwell in body..."

Probably unconnected. Before we jump to conclusions about Tuberculosis, we should realise that "Consumption" was something of a catch-all diagnosis for serious respiratory ailments, however, regardless of the identity of the pathogens involved in them, one in four deaths in England in 1815 was attributed to "Consumption"⁵⁴. There were real health risks in repeated exposure to such cases.

It comes as no great surprise to read in his obituary that "in 1847 an affection of the lungs obliged him to give up his situation and to retire into the country. He returned to Westmorland and took a house and garden at the small village of Beathwaite Green, now better known as Levens. Here he rapidly regained his strength...". He was 34 and would live another 43 years.

We have speculated about the network that took him to London and found him a wife, but what brought him to Levens when his family were based north of Kendal in the Burneside/Selside area?

Perhaps James felt that his religious beliefs and London connections had distanced him from his family so he might not have viewed the prospect of living in their pockets with unalloyed joy, but there is no cause to think there was any enmity. In later years there were family visits; "Mrs B and the children are off to Burneside Hall for the week..."⁵⁵. In the 1861 census, Anthony B Taylor, age 16, was recorded as a visitor in James' home. Doubtless this was Anthony Barnes Taylor, son of James' sister Jane and Richard Taylor, who farmed at New House, Strickland Roger.

Helen Caldwell suspects that Wesleyanism might have played a part in James' move. Although the chapel was closed and the small group met in a cottage (obituaries)⁵⁶, there had been a Wesleyan congregation in the village since 1793 and a chapel since 1795⁵⁷. It is interesting that this congregation was closely connected with one of south Westmor-

land's numerous Gibson families, to which James might have been related via his maternal grandmother, Ann Gibson. Perhaps he had a mission of his own? - to rekindle a flame of Methodism which flickered fitfully following the death in 1838 of its acolyte, George Gibson of Beethwaite Green. Gibson had been very prominent in local Wesleyanism, being the Leader, Circuit Steward, and Trustee of the Kendal Circuit, as well as a Local Preacher, taking the lead in 1837 in opposing the attempt of Samuel Warren and David Rowland to proselytise for the breakaway Wesleyan Association in the area. In his speech in Kendal (Westmorland Gazette 4th February 1837), Rowland, while addressing Gibson as "our brother" rather intriguingly referred to an Anthony Barnes as "my friend". Surely this can't be James' father, whom we are told looked down on Methodism?

This is where family history becomes very complex, there being so many Gibsons with the same Christian names; so we will allow that we don't really know why he picked Levens, and move on.

LIFE IN LEVENS

According to the obituaries, James at first rented the house, then known as Greengate, not buying it until September 1854 at a cost of £400.00⁵⁸. He remained there for the rest of his life

I'm not aware of James being born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and do not imagine that he made a fortune during his brief period, less than 7 years, in the Custom House, unless he had a good line in "bent" clocks! I don't think so. Neither do I suppose that the previous 5 or 6 years in Liverpool had been unusually lucrative. How then, could he retire through ill health at the age of 33 and by the time of the 1851 census be able to describe himself as "Proprietor of Houses, Fundholder & Annuitant"? He had property, investments and had bought a pension.

The Custom House certainly operated a benevolent fund for the dependants of deceased Customs Officers but I do not know if they pensioned off sick employees. I surmise that his wife brought him a substantial dowry. Whatever the truth of the matter, he had no need to work for his living, and when he died in 1890, he still owned four cottages in Holme and left an estate the gross value of which was £1,581-4-0d.

Using the Retail Price Index and disregarding the great inflation in house prices since 1890, this £1581 would be worth about £130,000 today⁵⁹, however, 4 cottages in Holme plus Greengate House can't be worth less than £1.25 million at 2009 values.

Furthermore, the diary of his elder son, Joseph Anthony, recorded in November 1891 that he had to visit London, "in order to look over Mother's four houses with the Agents"⁶⁰. Though not mentioned in James' will, which was written in 1886, these houses would have been a substantial addition to his wealth and I assume that they had formed part of Elizabeth's dowry, or had been inherited by her.

Once in Levens, "he divided his time and energy between his garden and the church of his choice"⁶¹. He appears to have got to work re-invigorating the Methodists; probably whether they liked it or not. "...He had the chapel re-opened, and soon a gallery was needed to provide room for all who came. He was especially successful in organising the Sunday School (*which was formed in mid 1848*)⁶², and in inspiring young people with a love of what is good, and pure and wise. He conducted singing classes, and taught all the members of the chapel choir to read music, and he was for many years the general adviser of the whole Methodist population, in matters both legal, medical and spiritual"⁶³.

The choral tradition seems to have endured for a Mrs. Robinson, a Levens resident, recalled many years later, "The lusty singing of the grand old Wesley hymns attracted many to walk over on a Sunday evening from the neighbouring farms to enjoy and share them"⁶⁴.

How quickly James had taken Levens Methodism in hand is shown by the following extract of a letter from Kendal Methodist and local preacher, John Stubbs to his son the Reverend Thomas Stubbs, a Wesleyan Methodist Minister, in Cleveland, Ohio, USA, on 14th September 1849;

"I have not done with retailing to you my Travels. There was affresh opening of the Chapel at Beethwaite Green As they have got a new galery made. Both Thomas William and your Father was their. When the Meeting was over Robert Gibson tooke my home in his gig. I had a plesant weeke with the Family he livs at Arnside Tower has a large Farme. It is [stelence?] of Fighting Cocks you know where that is unless you have forgott. We used to go their in the bathing season. When I came home they brought me in their convaience untill I wanted Six Miles and three quarters of home. Came through Lovers Park, got something to Eate under one of the overgrone trees surrounded with Bucks and does, had time to contempolate what almighty Hand had done all those things. Got well home Blessed be god for all his mersis To Me".

I quote from a transcript of the letter⁶⁵ and it is obvious that as well as being confronted by unfamiliar spelling and maybe difficult handwriting of the 84 year-old Stubbs, the transcriber had no local knowledge, hence Levens park becomes "Lovers Park". I wonder if Mr. & Mrs. Bagot are ready for this?

It is interesting that Stubbs mentions the presence of Robert Gibson of Arnside Tower at the re-opening of the Levens chapel. Robert was a prominent and popular local preacher, who had farmed at Arnside Tower since 1832, and about whom, J.A.Barnes wrote of "...the respect with which his name was always pronounced in my hearing". The person doing the pronouncing would have been Joseph's father, James. J.A.Barnes states that Robert Gibson preached frequently at Beathwaite Green chapel, so James would have known him well⁶⁶.

In the same letter, in a section possibly written by Stubb's daughter Mary Williams and her husband Thomas, there is this intriguing reference; "*Mr. Anthony Barnes has ben over at Kendal, he apeard quite a gentleman. He enquired after you. We gave him your Letter to Read. He gave me half a crown to act Bake⁶⁷]with". Is this the hard task-master from Kitcragg whom, we are told "considered Methodism as something unauthorised and below the level of common respectability...". The sentence continued, "but the news that Robert Gibson was to preach in Kendal Chapel induced him to overcome his scruples and go to hear him and he came away delighted"68.*

The first appearance I have found of Robert Gibson acting as preacher at Beathwaite Green Chapel was in 1834 in the Beathwaite Green Wesleyan Chapel register of births and baptisms⁶⁹. This register, which commenced in 1797, also has frequent appearances of one George Gibson as preacher in the period 1816 to 1834⁷⁰. Beathwaite Green resident George Gibson, a wood turner by occupation, was also a well respected Wesleyan Methodist local preacher at the time, so I presume they were one and the same person. If Helen Caldwell is right, he was also Robert Gibson's uncle..

We don't know why the Levens Wesleyan chapel had been closed. It is possible that local Methodism had suffered from the national tendency to fragmentation, and hence declining congregations (Kendal had a Primitive Methodist group by 1822 and by 1832, so had Brigsteer⁷¹), and had lost its impetus. It could be that in the death of George Gibson in 1838, it lost its guiding light. His death notice (see endnote 70) recorded that, "For nearly half a century he was a zealous and diligent local preacher in connection with the Wesleyan Methodists...", and that the "village in which he so long resided", had lost a "straightforward and honest man". Two years earlier, in 1836, Westmorland had lost another of it's leading Wesleyan preachers, Stephen Brunskill, who had done so much to promote the cause in Kendal. Brunskill had taken the tenancy of Berry Holme farm at Helsington in about 1790 and had fostered the infant Wesleyan Society in Levens.

The congregation had been active, it had joined with hundreds of other Methodist chapels in lodging their petitions against slavery in the House of Lords in November 1830⁷², and it wasn't moribund, but James Barnes seems to have enlivened it. In the period December 1847 to May 1848 no less than 14 different preachers were scheduled to take services in Levens, including Gibson from Milnthorpe, and Severs and Whitehead, both from Kendal⁷³.

According to his obituaries, it was James' garden that occupied the rest of his attention after he came to Levens, and he seems to have embarked on this with customary energy and application. We are told that "His gardening talent did not show itself so much in the aesthetic effect of the whole, as in the special excellence of that which happened to be his hobby at the time". Not so much the creator of the modern show garden, but a seeker after horticultural perfection.

"...with plenty of leisure, he soon furnished it [his garden] with a set of valuable fruit trees and thoroughly mastered their management, being a great admirer and follower of the system of Mr. Rivers".

Thomas Rivers (1797 to 1877), Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society was one of the leading nurserymen of his day, managing the family business in Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, for many years. This business had been founded in 1725 and it carried on in the family ownership until it closed in 1985, with the land being sold for development in 1990. At its height in the nineteenth century, under his successor, Thomas Francis Rivers, who developed the Conference pear, the business occupied a 360 acre site⁷⁴.

Although renowned for rose culture, Thomas Rivers' major interest was fruit production and the breeding and introduction of new varieties, particularly during the period between 1850 and 1875. He was responsible for more than 75 different varieties of fruit and his name lives on in plums to this day, as well as in the "Thomas Rivers Medical Centre", a private hospital, which was built on the site.

Thomas Rivers also wrote extremely popular books on roses and on fruit growing; his "The Orchard House, or the Cultivation of Fruit trees in Pots Under Glass" was published in 1850 and by 1858 had run to five editions. He also published "The Miniature Fruit Garden, on the Culture of Fruit trees as Pyramids and Bushes" which was in its seventh edition by 1858. He was the foremost authority on fruit growing, and was frequently consulted about plant breeding by

Charles Darwin when the latter was writing "The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication" in the 1860s.

The "Orchard House" took advantage of the removal of the glass tax in 1845 (before this, greenhouse construction was the province of the rich) and was a comprehensive guide for the successful cultivation of fruit, containing everything from specimen glasshouse designs, builders' cost estimates, instructions regarding the size of pots, choice of varieties, techniques of husbandry, pest control, and a monthly calendar describing what had to be done and when. On page 108 of the fifth edition he wrote; "All the minute and beautiful operations of Nature can be watched.....for the varied works of Nature's laboratory are brought near..... to the heart, which is instinctively lifted in thankfulness to the Giver of all such good and beautiful things".

It is a systematic process towards horticultural perfection, and as such, eminently attractive to a committed Wesleyan.

It comes as no surprise that James was an early adopter of the benefits of the removal of the glass tax. On 28th January 1848, he wrote a testimonial of the advantages of the "Improved Sheets" supplied by a Mr. Rishton⁷⁵:- *Sir, – I have received your Improved Sheets, with which I am highly pleased. I have not had time to test their merits, but feel satisfied that you have rendered a service to Horticulture which cannot be too highly valued.*

James then turned his attention to dahlias, with the intention of raising new and improved forms: perhaps this reflects the acquisition of a scientific interest. When he did not reach the standard he wanted with these, he moved on to roses.

Not content with things floral, James took an interest in fancy poultry and we have discovered that he was "commended" for his entry in the "any other colour" class for this breed at the Preston and North Lancashire Poultry Show" in 1858⁷⁶.

There is some significance in his adoption of the poultry 'fancy' for at the time. Not only were Cochins very fashionable for specimens of the breed, first imported from China in the late 1830s, had been presented to Queen Victoria, they were also amongst the first chickens to be improved by selective breeding. We are told that the commencement of poultry breeding, where birds of different individual characteristics are separated into breeds, began with Cochins, which are now distinguished by their massive size⁷⁷. James was presumably in the grip of this enthusiasm when he gave his sister Margaret some hens as a wedding present in 1856⁷⁸

Barnes' interests moved in a more deliberately scientific direction when momentous events in the outside world intervened.

Potato Blight had struck Europe in 1845, affecting Ireland severely and returned in 1846 with a vengeance and was present for the next few harvests with disastrous effect. The Peel governments' response more or less succeeded in mitigating the worst effects of the first wave of infection, but this government was ousted in 1846 and the successor proved to be woefully unsympathetic, inadequate and inept in its response to the blight.

In the ensuing famine, hundreds of thousands of the Irish population died and hundreds of thousands more had to emigrate. Famine was particularly severe in Ireland due to the population's dependence on the potato, but it was also was all over North America, the British Isles and continental Europe. In 1846 it had spread to Scotland. In the Highlands, the conditions were quite similar to those in Ireland, both agriculturally and economically i.e. little else than subsistence farming and with a similar dependency on the potato as the staple food. The population of Ireland is widely thought to have declined through death & emigration by around 2 million and in Scotland between 1846 and 1852, though mortality was not so extreme, emigration, some of it forced by the landowners, resulted in approximately 1.7 million Scots leaving their homeland⁷⁹. Locally, by the end of 1845, enough anxiety was felt about the "apprehended failure of the potato crop", on the supply of food for the poor, for the mayor and leading citizens of Kendal to seek estimates of the scale of the problem. Returns were received from 94 farmers in 27 townships, giving "indubitable evidence that above one-half of the potato crop is already diseased or destroyed; and so rapidly is the decay going forward...that few parties entertain the hope of preserving any quantity until the spring of 1846...". In Ings a respondent estimated that 9 out of 10 were rotten and "not one" was fit for seed. In Levens there were 4 respondents and the prognosis was "more than half bad"⁸⁰.

Potato blight was a very high-profile issue. James was one of the many people who sought to find countermeasures.

According to his obituarist, it seems that James entered a public competition for the best essay on the subject of blight prevention. He "worked out a system of planting potatoes with a view to avoiding thedisease caused by *Peronospora infestans*" and that through experiment and calculation "he thoroughly demonstrated ...that he was able to decidedly lessen the liability to [the] disease".

Apparently, nobody won a prize, which was hardly surprising, given that it was to be the 1880s before an effective fungicide was found⁸¹. Nevertheless, "the editor of the "Gardeners' Chronicle" in 1874 deemed James' essay "worthy of a place in its pages". This is significant because the "Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette" was a leading British periodical for horticulturists and agriculturalists, not a lifestyle magazine. Charles Darwin corresponded in its pages about another claimant to the theory of natural selection, as well as contributing numerous articles on such subjects as "the role of bees in plant fertilisation", crossbreeding of plants, the origin of mould and longevity of seeds.

The "Gardeners' Chronicle" had been the first paper to report the appearance of the potato blight in Ireland. On 13th September 1845, its editor held up publication to make a dramatic announcement⁸² "We stop the Press with very great regret to announce that the potato Murrain has unequivocally declared itself in Ireland. The crops about Dublin are suddenly perishing...where will Ireland be in the event of a universal potato rot?".

Ian Hodkinson has discovered an article, not in the "Gardeners' Chronicle", but in a long defunct periodical called the "Florist and Pomologist", now, it seems chiefly valued for its beautiful colour plates, but which had contributors as distinguished as Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace. An anonymous article in the March 1874 edition explained that James had started experimenting in 1849 and described his method of cultivation, quoting him as stating "I have followed this method for twenty three years, and constantly with the same success.....crops with from 90 to 95 percent of sound tubers". All this before the invention of fungicides.

As someone who has regularly grown potatoes less than 300 yards from James' garden and who is not unacquainted with blight. I'd love to be able to make the same claim.

However, it was not for an attempt to stem the ravages of potato blight that James Barnes would gain a public profile in the world of Botany, but for the study of things more attainable.

We are told that it was "about the year 1859" that James began to direct his attention to the collection and study of British ferns, of which he soon became a notable and recognised authority⁸³.

NATURAL HISTORY

For an understanding of Barnes' contribution to botanical knowledge, the reader is directed to Ian Hodkinson's writings in "The Three Legged Society"⁸⁴. Ian has written such a thorough critique that it is superfluous to try to tell the story in these notes. It is however, worth considering why he took up natural history in general, and ferns in particular.

Obviously, as he left no account of his motives, we cannot know for sure, but it is clear that in the mid nineteenth century, many "gentlemen" of leisure busied themselves with the study of natural history. In his book "The Naturalist in Britain, a Social History"⁸⁵, David Elliston Allen attempted to account for the phenomenon.

In essence Allen's argument is that in the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a coincidence of several strands of culture, intellectual, scientific and moral which delivered natural history into the hands of a body of people which was ready to take it up with enthusiasm and large enough to provide a critical mass of interest which outlasted each temporary fad, be it for geology, entomology or botany.

Allen wrote, "These strands constitute the essence of what we have come to call 'Victorianism'.....They held together because they sprang from an inner consistency, from a set of assumptions founded in a certain well-defined emotional-cum-religious attitude which, for want of a better word we may identify as Evangelism - using the word in a non-secular context."

Allen argued that the Evangelical revival which started in the eighteenth century (to awaken the Church of England from its complacent slumber by reinvigorating it with spirituality - my words) was a "...recrudescence of the powerful Puritan strain ...which had lain beneath the surface for the previous hundred years." and that its body of beliefs "which was more a series of emotional reflex actions than a worked-out system of ideas, carried itself by the very strength of its convictions into every corner of middle-class English life and quickly imparted to that key section of the nation a forceful new morality". Allen then put forward the view that this "new morality" was embodied in, and assisted, the "rising tide of industrialism" by "intertwining the moral with the useful", implying (not Allen's words) that progress was godly.

Having identified the driving force, Allen needed to connect it to the motive for studying natural history. He found one by dialectical sleight-of-hand, shifting from the morality of the useful to the usefulness of that which seemed morally edifying, "...pursuits like geology could be justified....as a means of revering the earthly grandeurs of Creation".

It isn't necessary to agree with Allen's analysis of the theology of the Evangelical revival, whether it was purely middle class England that it stimulated, or whether the spiritual aspect of studying was contrived in order to justify time spent "exercising a compulsive fascination". The fact is, a large number of people, most of them middle class, convinced Christians, professional or leisured men, did believe in the value of studying God's handiwork and went to it with a profound seriousness of purpose. What do you think laid the groundwork for the acceptance of Darwinism?

There were other forces working to encourage the diligent amateur. For one reason, in the first half of the Victorian age there were hardly any professional scientists, for another, there was a huge amount of the basics of science, observation, description, classification etc., yet to be done. Much of what needed to be done was accessible to the self-taught: you had to be literate and intelligent, but you did not need, even if such disciplines had existed, to be an advanced theoretical scientist. You still might find reputation, if not fame, growing near your home. For those in the cities, the train made the countryside convenient, and for all, the penny post made communication with the like-minded all over the country rapid and cheap.

Allen commented on the less high-minded corollary of the natural history movement, the competitive urge to acquire impressive collections of the chosen subject.

James Barnes ticks all of the boxes of Allen's "Victorianism", profoundly religious, serious, early rising, self disciplined, inquisitive and acquisitive. George Stabler described James' attitude in the following words, "Perhaps it is not too much to say that Westmorland has had no more an ardent enthusiast as a botanist than Mr. Barnes since the days of Thomas Lawson"⁸⁶. This was meant as the highest form of compliment for Lawson was the most noted northern botanist of his day⁸⁷.

As far as ferns were concerned, Barnes' son wrote that James had "ransacked almost every corner of the country" for his collection.

Ah, ferns. The collection of ferns was described at the time as a "mania" (Charles Kingsley, in his book "Glaucus, or the Wonders of the Shore", 1855 coined the expression "Pteridomania"). Up to the 1830s, ferns had been relatively little studied compared with flowering plants. As they weren't minute they were also easy to find and collect (unlike some mosses and lichens), they were easy to transplant and looked nice in the garden. They were abundant in the wilder, wetter, western and northern parts of Britain.

With a large garden⁸⁸ on the edge of the Lake District, James Barnes was ideally placed, he had the means, motivation and opportunity. In a few years, he "... was regarded as one of the most prominent fern experts in the north of England"⁸⁹. In December 1861, James presented the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution with "a specimen of varieties of Ferns from the neighbourhood of Kendal, classified and arranged by Thomas Gough, Esq. And Samuel Marshall, Esq." (report of meeting of KLSI meeting, Westmorland Gazette 14th December 1861). This little collection is still in the Kendal Museum.

By 1865 he was already well-known, for a review of W.J.Linton's "The Ferns of the English Lake Country" published in that year, and to which he was a major contributor, contains a (sardonic?) recognition of his expertise, "Mr. Barnes's supervision of this province of the vegetable world is so minute and thorough that he might not inaptly be designated bishop of ferns"⁹⁰. What the Wesleyan might have made of being likened to a bishop, is unknown, but I think "thorough" would have been appreciated, and "minute", in his discrimination between varieties, would have been accurate. In an article about fern propagation published in the "Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardens" in February 1880, John Easton of Sheffield recounted a conversation about the results of attempts to crossbreed ferns with with "one of the most successful collectors of special varieties that I know. I refer to Mr. Barnes of Levens in the Lake district".

In 1866, Frederic Clowes, a Windermere surgeon and botanist, wrote of "...my friend Mr. Barnes, of Levens" as, the "...diligent student" who "has added about a hundred entirely new forms to the list of known varieties of ferns...some of them are the most beautiful specimens...which have ever been found in this country". Interestingly, the other two members of the "Three Legged Society" were attracting notice by then, for Clowes also referred to Mr. Stables [sic] of Levens and Mr. Martindale of Staveley as among "others who deserve honourable mention"⁹¹

E.J.Lowe, a prolific writer about ferns in the later nineteenth century, wrote, probably to Stabler, on 17th February 1890, "Mr. Barnes has probably done more than any living man to advance the study of ferns (British)"⁹², and James was remembered by Dr. F. W. Stansfield "as the most successful of the early hunters in the north [of England]"⁹³.

Other than editing the second edition of Linton's book, he does not appear to have published anything, but as we have seen he was an active if critical member of the Kendal Microscopical Society. His fern garden's reputation outlived him. Seven years after his death, it was visited by the Essex based fern authority Charles T. Druery⁹⁴, who wrote up his find-

ings in an article entitled "A Fern Paradise". Druery eulogised James' garden in these terms, "I was recently privileged to visit the collection of British ferns made by the late J.M.Barnes of Levens.....still maintained by the loving care of Mrs. Barnes and her sons in splendid condition" Druery was obviously highly impressed by the profusion of different species and varieties, their luxuriant growth and the multiplicity of specimens; "...and the interest in all the species is of course immensely enhanced by the knowledge that many of the best we see were found by Mr. Barnes himself on the hills which bound our view in every direction..."⁹⁵.

From ferns he went on to mosses, apparently taking them up in 1867, according to George Stabler⁹⁶; "Although by this time he had attained the age of 53, he threw himself into the study with all the energy of youth, searching the county in all kinds of likely places and in every direction. Those who have accompanied him in his rambles can best speak of his wonderful surefootedness and coolness in dangerous places among crags and precipices and also his indomitable perseverance, energy and powers of endurance when botanizing".

Ferns though, were his enduring love. An article in the "Gardener's Chronicle" of 4th January 1873 recorded new fern varieties, either found, or specially bred, that had acceded to the botanical record in the previous year. James' name was there along with other notable fern-men of the period, Lowe, Mapplebeck and (Anthony) Parsons.

We can appreciate the extent of Barnes reputation by the persistence of his memory in fern circles, as a collector, an authority and also a cultivator. The British Pteridological Society did not come into being until soon after his death, but years later, its luminaries still spoke of his contribution to Pteridology. Charles T. Druery, by then the Hon. Sec. of the society, editing, and writing most of, its journal, the British Fern Gazette, referred in 1914 to a prediction James had made about the inconstancy of a fern variety, which subsequent experience had proved to be correct. In the same year W. B. Cranfield recalled that the "finest plant I ever saw of this variety [*Polystichum aculeatum pulcherrimum* Beavis] was in the late Mr. Barnes garden...". In the June 1917 edition of the British Fern Gazette, the fern pictured in the frontispiece was described as "representing one of the best varieties raised by Mr. Barnes...", and in 1918, F. W. Stansfield, the society's President, remembered Col. Jones suggesting, c1878, that a plant in the possession of the noted expert George Whitwell (see endnote 146) should be handed over to Mr. Barnes to develop "as that gentleman was very successful as a grower of *Blechnums*. The suggestion was adopted, Mr. Whitwell receiving a choice *montana* in exchange with a promise of the first division of the *Blechnum*". Barnes successfully established the plant, and Stansfield had seen it in his garden, but there was a near disaster when, over-anxious to fulfil his promise to George Whitwell, James cut it up with a knife, killing about half of it. As late as 1926, James' name was still being cited, by one who knew, as being in the same rank of the pioneer hunters and raisers of ferns as the Rev. Charles Padley, James Moly, Col. A. M. Jones, George Wollaston and George Whitwell⁹⁷.

And now a claim for recognition as a scientific pioneer. It appears that many botanists believed that fern hybridisation was not possible, and this view was challenged by one of the most prolific and prominent writers on ferns, Edward Joseph Lowe (1825 – 1900). Lowe succeeded in breeding hybrids, but it took a long time to convince the botanical establishment of something taken for granted today. What is of special interest to me is that he was not on his own and that of the four other fernists given equal credit by Col. Jones in having come to the same conclusion independently, one was James Barnes⁹⁸.

FAMILY

1859 brought a profound change to his life. On 4th March 1859 Elizabeth died from "Paralysis, Gangrene, Exhaustion". She was buried in the churchyard at Burneside, the resting place of the Barnes family members.

One wonders what Elizabeth had thought about her marriage and her consequent move to Beathwaite Green. This back-of-beyond hamlet was, and must have seemed, so far away from her genteel background in Walworth. No one knows now.

When James registered Elizabeth's death, he gave her age as 58. which was about 3 years more than the 1851 census gives us cause to expect. James had just passed his 45th birthday. Elizabeth's death, though it bereaved him, left him a free agent.

In the 1851 census, James and Elizabeth had a living-in servant girl, one Elizabeth Alderson⁹⁹,

By 1861, Elizabeth had moved on and James' servant was now the 24 year-old Mary Ann Crosby¹⁰⁰.

On 21st December 1863¹⁰¹, at Heversham Parish Church¹⁰², James Martindale Barnes, "Gentleman", married Mary Ann Crosby, "Spinster", and daughter of Joseph Burton Crosby, "Relieving Officer", by licence, in the presence of William Bond¹⁰³ and Jane Crosby. Bond may well have been a friend of James's but Jane Crosby was almost certainly the

former Jane Gibson, Mary Ann's stepmother and thereby the second wife of one Joseph Burton Crosby'.

Joseph Crosby, born in the Darlington area in 1814 was the same age as James Barnes and was one of the ten children of James (a "Corn Traveller") and Hannah Crosby¹⁰⁴ who had come to the Holme/Yealand area around the years 1817 to 1819. The "Corn Traveller" element is evidenced by a later entry on Joseph Crosby's and Jane Gibson's marriage certificate¹⁰⁵.

Joseph, by then a farmer, of the parish of Warton, married Fanny Gibson at Beetham Church on the 5th of July 1836¹⁰⁶. Amongst the other witnesses was a Mary A Crosby, whom I believe to have been Joseph's sister.

They soon had at least three children, Mary Ann, born 24th June 1837, Frances Hannah in 1839 and Isabella Rachel in 1841. Fanny died from consumption on 29th June 1843, and Isabella, of croup, on the following day¹⁰⁷.

Joseph was re-married rather quickly, to a Jane Gibson at Tottlebank Baptist Church in December 1843¹⁰⁸.

Research carried out by Helen Caldwell has convinced her that Fanny and Jane were cousins i.e. that their mothers were sisters (surname Wills) who married brothers Thomas and Nicholas Gibson; that one of Thomas's sons was Robert Gibson of Arnside Tower, the prominent Methodist local preacher; that Fanny who was christened on 19th July 1837 at Stricklandgate Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Kendal was one of Robert's sisters. Whether or not Fanny and Jane's uncle was the same George Gibson as the Levens local Methodist preacher is another matter.

It's tempting to think that the Gibson "clan" found a replacement wife for Joseph Crosby, and mother for his small children from out of their number, and then did something similar for the childless James Barnes, but whatever the relationships were that connected the Gibsons, it seems very plausible that Mary Ann Crosby first found her way into James' household, and then subsequently his heart, through his Methodist connections.

It is obvious from a comment to George Stabler that he did not relish the single life. In the letter of 1st August 1871, after telling George that Mary Ann and the children had gone to Burneside for the week he continues, "so am left a lonely bachelor, do you know what that means"¹⁰⁹. Evidently, James knew what he was talking about. Having spent a youth struggling against the temptation to sin and then being married to a considerably older woman, James soon got into the swing of being the husband of a much younger one: in fact, he had got off to a flying start.

To the best of our knowledge they had four children. The first, named after their respective fathers was Joseph Anthony, born, strikingly early, on 17th March 1864. The following year saw the arrival of a daughter who inherited the names of their mothers, Margaret Frances (4th June). There was to be a wait of almost five years before there was a second son, James Martindale, born 12th February 1869 and the family was completed on 9th May 1874 with the birth of Annie Jane¹¹⁰.

Frances died in the family home, aged 14, on 16th September 1879¹¹¹. The cause was given as "Gastric Ulceration- 7 months - Atrophy". Unlike Elizabeth, Frances was not buried in Burneside, but in Heversham churchyard which was the natural resting place for the residents of Levens, which did not have its own graveyard until 1913.

THE CHARACTER ENIGMA

Helen Caldwell, commenting on her own grandfather, James Martindale Barnes junior, pointed out that "unlike his father.....who had a reputation for being a stern Victorian, he had an impish sense of humour which endeared him to his pupils", and that James' daughter, Annie, had a reputation for being "very genial"¹¹².

That James was not entirely without humour is recorded in a letter written by George Stabler to the veteran bryologist William Wilson on 6th November 1860, "....."Mr Barnes and I had a hearty laugh at your onslaught on Didymodon Jeneri...."¹¹³. Even for a serious man, there was a time and place for laughter, but perhaps the upbringing of his children was not the place. Possibly, due to a combination of Wesley's views on children and his own experience, he was hyper-aware of the danger of sinful backsliding.

Other surviving correspondence gives insights into James' character. There are three letters to his near neighbour George Stabler in the Robert Walker Papers in the Kendal Record Office¹¹⁴. Stabler, the schoolmaster at the Levens Boys' school, took his summer holidays in Welburn, near Castle Howard in Yorkshire, where he could see his parents and botanise and visit the eminent botanist and explorer Richard Spruce with whom he had become friendly. Barnes would write to Stabler giving him Levens news and describing his own botanical activities.

We don't know when Barnes and Stabler first met but it cannot have been long after Stabler arrived in the village at the

beginning of 1861 because they lived so close to each other. There was only one other dwelling and the Girls' school between Greengate Cottage and the School House. They were bound to be aware of each other, they had common interest in plants and gardens, and nearly everyone else was an agricultural labourer. They became close friends and spent a great deal of time in each other's company and with the third member of their botanical trio, the Staveley schoolmaster Joseph Anthony Martindale.

In two letters¹¹⁵ sent during the drought of 1868 (1st July and 18th July), James reported he had watered Stabler's plants, noticed that someone had picked most of Stabler's raspberries and "*I do not think the blackkeys [blackbirds] are to blame this time as I have only seen one for about a fortnight*", complained several times to the wife of Stabler's neighbour about their "*abominable hens*" which had scratched up some of Stabler's ferns, and made his own opinion clear to Stabler about what the latter should do, "*If I was in your place I really could not and probably would not stand it*".

In the first letter, James said what he thought about the The Kendal and District Microscopical and Natural History Association to which all three of them belonged and had indeed helped to revive in the same year, "*I was at the meeting last night. Between you and me I may say that the thing in my eyes is simply bosh and already its days are numbered, that is unless some speedy alteration takes place. Gough, Leeming, Clowes, Atkinson and Severs were absent, the only person I knew that was present were Martindale (and he is worth more than the whole concern), Inglis and Glover.*"

James had obviously not kept his judgement to himself, "*I told them that unless they would choose their subjects and set to work, the thing would be a failure.*" Continuing in forthright mode, "*I see no fun in walking 10 miles just to look down a brass tube or two at I know not what. The best and only thing that I saw there of any interest to me was a Cod-dington lens owned by a person who looked like a parson. This lens was of about ¼. inch focus and by far the best thing in that way that I have seen. He said it cost him about 17/-*"¹¹⁶. James might well have had good cause to prefer the older instrument, for it is difficult to know how good the microscopes were that the Kendal naturalists used : or perhaps the older man was scoffing at what he thought were gadget freaks espousing the newfangled for its own sake.

James was possibly not fully aware of the effect his frankness had on others, including the, I think, somewhat mercurial Joseph Anthony Martindale. He told George, "*I think I might have offended Martindale in some way, he was to have met me in Mardale and did not. Neither have I heard from him*". Mardale is rather a long way for Barnes to go from Levens for Martindale not to show up.

However, the letter wasn't all "grumpy old man" content, James went on to mention having received "*a very nice letter from Wood...*". This letter had put James in a good humour. Wood¹¹⁷, a leading bryologist, had examined some of James' specimens and thought, correctly as it turned out, that one was new to science and should be named Bryum Barnesii. James signed off, "*very kindest regards to all my friends at Welburn, Ever Yours....*"

On 18th July he recounted a village event. "*Now for news. well there was a publication of banns at our church on Sunday last and will shortly be a wedding all being well, so you see you are going to loose the bible [?], that is the way with some people always shilly shallying, but [?] it is too late*". I wonder if James was having a dig at George Stabler, who was as yet unmarried. Anyway, James continued, seeming to relish the gossip "*Well can you guess who are to be the happy couple, give it up, I will tell you then, Mr Hewitt grocer at Causeway End to Mrs. Jane Bare, daughter of Mr. Spicer, your neighbour*".

After a generous appreciation of the well-known authority, "*Mr. Wilson of bryological notoriety*¹¹⁸...*he seems [from his letters to James] to be a very pleasant and gentlemanly man*", he went on to discuss the visit of another botanist, name regrettably illegible, and thereby to reveal his own competitiveness in botanical exploration "*he went down to....and got a good division [?] of his A Confluens. I have also got mine. I went on purpose for it, got to see it, got hold of it and kept hold, it went badly against the grain I could see but there was no help for it was mine...*".

Before closing with "*My wife joins in kind regards to all our friends at Welburn, Very Sincerely yours...*" he lectured the younger man on the female mind, "*I am very glad you are enjoying yourselves, but do be careful you do not lead some of the susceptible Yorkshire young ladies to think you mean it when you do not. I say be careful that's all*". Whatever all this, and the earlier remark, was about, George got married the following year.

The third letter is dated 4th August 1871. As usual, nothing was happening in Beathwaite Green, "*all is going on in the village just as of yore, or as it was in the beginning*", but a typically candid Barnes related that as the temperature in Stabler's frames "*was somewhere near boiling point.....I told Mrs. Wilson to lift the lights about 2 or 3 inches during the day*". James was ordering about Mrs. Stabler's relatives.

In another paragraph, James voiced his opinion of a visiting botanist named Davies who had been "*exceedingly anxious*

to see you...as yet I have not made up my mind whether to like or dislike him, he is what is sometimes called a bump-tious sort of personage".

He had good words for another botanist, Mr. Lowe, who visited in the same week, *"he is a jolly, fussy, earnest, good natured being with whom you would be friends in two minutes"*. James Barnes, though not secretive with his opinions, was by no means misanthropic, and was as ready with warm words as with criticism, and mindful of the feelings of his friends.

Although he took a liking to Lowe, he was careful not to take too much for granted with Stabler when Lowe wanted to see George's special plants, *"I should have liked to have his opinion on your F. mas stableri but did not have your permission to let him see it"*. The letter includes thanks to Stabler for sending him a newspaper cutting *"with a full account of the flower show and I congratulate your father on his success.."* and, intriguingly, commiserates with *"..his disappointment that he was not to be first for ferns"*, before continuing with a typical remark *"this must be managed better next year"*.

James asked George to *"remember me kindly to Dr. Spruce, he is worthy of all honour for his work's sake, and although I have not had the pleasure of making his acquaintance, I can, and do, respect and esteem him in the highest degree"*. James had not then met Spruce so he was careful to praise only that which he knew, the man's achievement.

James concluded, *"With kind regards to your father and mother, also to your own family..."*.

Obviously we must be careful not to read too much into a mere three letters, but I think the reader will agree that it is clear that James was a man of decided and by no means ungenerous opinions, who was not reticent about expressing them. Oddly enough not a word about religion, but Stabler was Church of England and I expect that James, to whom such things were very personal, respected the other man's position

Perhaps other things were not quite so sacred. We know that from Joseph Anthony Martindale's obituary¹¹⁹, that he, Stabler and Barnes often met to "discuss plants and politics, and as Mr. Martindale was a staunch Conservative and Mr. Barnes a Liberal the flame was often kindled and stormy times ensued".

We are told by Stabler¹²⁰ about "the great willingness, kindness and pleasure he always had in initiating others into those things in which he himself had found so much pleasure, and also in kindling enthusiasm in others". Another botanical contact, the lichenologist and bryologist Edward Morell Holmes wrote of him as being "a most genial and liberal correspondent..."¹²¹. Yet in contrast we have seen above how James could speak his mind. I have called him forthright, frank and candid, but I suppose I have to add "blunt" to the vocabulary.

Helen Caldwell has related the following tale of an occasion when James was invited to Arnside Methodist Chapel to hear the inauguration of the new harmonium and when asked his opinion of it he is reputed to have said dourly, "In Levens we don't worship the Lord with machinery"¹²².

This might not have been as intemperate an off-the-cuff remark as it seems, because the issue was of some significance to Wesleyans.

Way back in 1826, the Methodists of the Brunswick Chapel in Leeds wanted to install an organ, despite the Methodist Conference rules at the time discouraging this. Although Conference did eventually give consent in 1827, the issue had caused such a falling out within the Leeds Methodist community that the circuit was riven in two, and in 1828, 3000 members seceded¹²³.

It would be a mistake to think that the split in Leeds was entirely, or even mainly, doctrinal, for the attitudes and behaviour of the people involved seem to have contributed much to the climate of ill-feeling: however, a memory of this dispute might have affected James' reaction.

In late 2012 I gained another glimpse into James' character from an accidental discovery made by Stephen Read, Secretary of Levens Local History Group. Stephen had visited The London Metropolitan Archives on a wholly unrelated research subject, and while waiting to sign in had browsed the Archive's index. He found that the Archive contains the papers of Edward James Read (1816 -1895)¹²⁴, born the son of James Read, Gentleman, at Pleasant Row, East Lane, Newington, Surrey. Edward Read was a lawyer who rose to become Clerk of the Peace for the City of London. This job was the period equivalent of the chief executive of a county council. A responsible and remunerative position. His papers include letters from and concerning William Read (born Walworth, Surrey c1809) in the period 1864/1865, when a crisis in his life separated him from his wife Caroline, appears to have cost him his tailor's business, and relocated him from

Ealing to Levens. One of the correspondents is James Martindale Barnes, and the papers contain one letter (ref CLA/040/03/210) from him (dated 21st November 1864) to Edward Read as follows:-

Levens, nr Milnthorpe, Nov 21st 64

Dear Edward

I feel greatly obliged for your very kind and considerate letter rec'd this morning, and may say in reply that I am quite aware of the position I shall be in if Wm and his family come down here, I am however willing to do anything to help you through this difficult matter. I cannot see the least hope of his keeping from stimulants in London and I think the sooner he gets away the better. If in the country it is just possible he might through my influence be induced to abstain long enough to loose the craving for it, still that is very doubtful I have great influence over him at present but that will not always last indeed it has already lasted longer than I expected.

Another consideration and a very important one is that his expenses ought to be illegible word (small?) and must be very considerably brought down I think this can only be done in the country, I will therefore do anything you think right in the matter.

I do most sincerely pity him and would fain hope after what you have done for him he may yet prove himself a man.

I am exceedingly pleased to hear of your still brightening prospects you do seem to be one of fortunes favourites and there is no telling what you may be yet, before you die. With kindest love to all your family, I remain your very affectionate,

J M Barnes

On the evidence available at present it is not possible to be sure just how William Read was related to Edward Read (they might have been brothers) or how either/both of them were related to James Martindale Barnes's late wife (she had died in 1859) Elizabeth Read. There is enough circumstantial evidence in terms of place of birth and parents names (where we know them) to suggest that they were all members of an extended family. William was possibly one sibling of Elizabeth's and Edward might have been another, or a cousin of some kind. It is probably enough to know that they were all Reads and that James Martindale Barnes seems from the above letter to have been, and continued to be, on terms of some intimacy with his late wife's kin, and prepared to be of great assistance in re-settling William, and apparently some of his children, whose life was obviously in disarray. James' experience as a Stranger's friend was no doubt what formed his view of the tangling snares of the city. In the 1851 census William Read described himself as a 'tailor, employing 12 men', and in 1861 a 'master tailor' – it is clear from his own letters in the Edward Read papers that he was, or had been, a man of some means and at any rate retained enough to be able to live in retirement by 1871. Something had happened to dislocate his life and break up his marriage and I wonder if he had had some form of breakdown resulting from, or in, an addiction to drink or drugs. William and his wife Caroline had eight children that I'm aware of, of which three died as youngsters, a Charles in 1843, aged 3½ weeks, a William, aged 11 in 1853, and Alfred in April 1861, aged 2years & 2 months.

What was proposed was put into effect, for a period of time at least, the Edward Read papers containing letters from William at Levens in 1865/66, and the 1871 census recording William's residence at the time as 5 Sizergh Cottages. Also resident was his daughter Catherine. William disappears from view after 1871, but may well have gone back to London and died in Marylebone in 1878¹²⁵. By the time of the 1881 census, Catherine also seems to have been in Marylebone where we believe she kept a lodging-house, amongst whose residents was her brother William. Subsequent censuses suggest a peripatetic life, usually in company of William (a compositor by occupation), but resident at 8, Green Road, Kendal by the 1911 census. She may well have died in Kendal¹²⁶.

Is it a coincidence that Green Road is in the same part of Kendal as Oakfield, where Mary Ann Barnes lived in 1911? The question is unanswerable, but there are instances of Read connections with South Westmorland that individually are just slightly unexpected, given the background of the Read family, but which taken together suggest a longer term family relationship.

We know that two of William Read's sons worked on farms in the area, one of them long before William moved to Sizergh. The 1861 census finds the 16 year old Charles Read, an "apprentice", boarding at Godmond Hall, Strickland Roger, farmed by James Martindale Barnes' sister Jane Taylor and her husband Richard. The 1871 and 1881 censuses both record Arthur Read as an unmarried farm servant (indoor) at Moss End, Preston Patrick, farmed, in 1871 by Rowland Parker and in 1881 by his widow Mary. The connection was not restricted to William Read and his children. The 1901 census reveals one of Edward Read's children, Clara Catherine, living on her own means as a separate household at 18 Church View, Aynham Road, Kendal, home of George Hully, a compositor, and his family.

BOTANICAL CONTACTS

One of the incidental glimpses afforded into James' life by the three letters to George Stabler involves the number of

visitors or other botanical contacts that James had. In three letters he mentioned correspondence with two leading botanists (Wood & Wilson) and visits from 4 others, as well as references to 8 other members of the Kendal Microscopical & Natural History Association, plus botanising in the lakes with a local couple (a Mr. & Mrs. Hodgson). As we will see below, these were but a small selection of the contacts his prominence attracted.

It appears that James did meet Spruce on at least one occasion. In "Richard Spruce (1817 - 1893 Botanist and Explorer)¹²⁷ there are two references to a Mrs. Barnes, one of these must be incorrect as it refers to an undated letter from Spruce to his factotum Matthew Bartendale Slater in which Spruce wrote, "*The very day you called here with Barnes I...*": nobody with Spruce's background would have referred to a female visitor just by her surname. Maybe the date might be inferred from those of discoveries made by Barnes locally, for as Ian Hodkinson has pointed out, we have reason to believe that James botanised in the Castle Howard area on occasion¹²⁸.

The other reference to Mrs. Barnes is in a letter of 31st December 1880 in which Spruce records receiving a packet from George Stabler "*& cont.s, nearly all his own and Mrs Barnes'...Among Barnes' are some from Dr. Wood...along with copious notes from Wood himself...*". It is possible that Mary Ann collected mosses, but we know that James did and that he had been in correspondence with Dr. Wood, exchanging specimens. In fact, we know that in 1871 James visited Dr. Wood in his home at Broughton near Manchester¹²⁹.

The letters in the Robert Walker papers in the Cumbria Record Office, Kendal are to George Stabler, from a variety of botanical contacts, but quite often George's correspondents refer to or enquire about James Barnes. A selection of names identified from these letters plus others quoted in his obituaries (Westmorland Gazette and Kendal Mercury & Times) comprises a goodly selection of the British fern community, Frederic Clowes, Charles T. Druery, (Joseph?) Foster, P Neil Fraser, (William?) Barnard Hankey, the Hon. Swynfyn Jervis. Capt. (later Col.) A.M.Jones, Edward J.Lowe, J.E.Mapplebeck, Thomas Moore, Abraham Stansfield & Sons of Todmorden (see endnote 93), G.B.Woolaston, and Mr. Clapham of Scarborough. Also named are bryologists Robert Braithwaite, Henry Boswell, William Curnow, G.E.Hunt, John Nowell, (Thomas?) Rogers, William Henry Pearson and (Charles James?) Wild.

A.M.Jones published a lengthy series of "nature prints" (a process for making images from impressions of dried plants made on lead plates) of British ferns in the 1870s and 1880s and in the text accompanying these publications he mentioned James Barnes appreciatively. In 1876 he remarked on "...the untiring energy of Mr. Barnes and other northern hunters"; in 1880, "...to Mr Barnes also special thanks are due for his very practical assistance..... and that a special acknowledgement is due to Mr. Barnes [*amongst others named*] who have over and over again surrendered most willingly their very best fronds for the general good"¹³⁰.

Ian Hodkinson has documented what is known about the botanical contacts with whom James corresponded, but the most unusual person whom we know he encountered was W.J.Linton. We know James helped Linton when the latter was writing his book "The Ferns of The English Lake Counties"¹³¹, because Linton acknowledged his contribution. In the book's preface Linton acknowledged Frederic Clowes, the Windermere surgeon, as his principle advisor, but Barnes was the only other collector thanked by name. In the preface to the second edition (1878), which James edited, Garnett, (the publisher) wrote that James had "rendered great help" to Linton¹³².

Garnett felt no need to explain who James was to the potential reader of the second edition, "Mr. Barnes of Levens, to whose fame as a fernist nothing can be added here..." That James was editing Linton's book was not only testimony to his reputation in the world of ferns, Linton was no longer available to do the work, he had skipped off to America in 1867, not long after the first edition had been published.

William James Linton¹³³ was born in London in 1812 and at the age of 16 was apprenticed as a wood-engraver, at which craft he became very successful. In 1842 went into partnership with John Orrin Smith, a noted engraver of animals and landscapes, and their first big commission was for the new Illustrated London News which was launched in 1842. However Orrin Smith died in 1843, and Linton was left as sole partner, continuing to work for the Illustrated London News. Linton became one of the more prolific Victorian engravers, working with many well known figures such as Charles Dickens (Christmas Carol 1843) and the painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti. He also edited "The Odd Fellow", a magazine of politics and general literature, which was afterwards called "The Fireside Journal". He even wrote, illustrated and published a series of children's books under the pseudonym "Mr. C.Honeysuckle".

The 1851 census found Linton at Mite Side, Irton, Cumberland, with his wife Emily Wade Linton, and their five children. They would have two more before Emily died in December 1856. In 1852 they moved to Brantwood on Coniston Water. A year later he managed to raise the money to buy it, and there he spent much of the next two decades as a creative artist, still working with wood engraving. In 1858 he married Eliza Lynn, a daughter of the vicar of Crosthwaite, near Keswick. There he illustrated Harriet Martineau's "The English Lakes". This work was commissioned for the first edition (1855) but was not ready until the 1858 edition. Later, together with Eliza he wrote a Lake District guidebook,

"The Lake Country" in 1864, and he also created a fern garden, but the marriage was not a success and Eliza moved back to London. In 1867, Linton moved to America, living in Hamden, near New Haven, Connecticut, teaching part time in New York. He was something of a celebrity there, described as 'the centre and soul of whatever was progressive in wood engraving'. He died in 1897. Linton sold Brantwood to John Ruskin in 1871 when he decided he was not going to return from America¹³⁴.

Taken at face value, the above might characterise him as particularly fitted to collaborate with a man like James in the production of a botanical reference book, but there was another side to the man which makes it hard to imagine them working together.

He had acquired a taste for radical politics, notably Chartism, a radical British democratic and mainly working class, movement which flourished in the 1840s (see Appendix 5), and which put the fear of God up the British establishment. Its nominal demands sound unexceptionable today, but in the context of the time were incendiary, particularly as there were many in the movement who argued for the use of force to obtain them if necessary. The hype surrounding all this conjured up imagined horrors of mayhem on a French Revolutionary scale. When the tipping point passed in 1848 without this happening, Linton might have thought it wise to leave London for the comparative obscurity of Cumberland and to add guidebooks to his existing publishing venture, that of republican newspapers.

Linton had been a fervent supporter of European political exiles and revolutionaries e.g. Garibaldi and Mazzini and had contributed to a paper called "The Red Republican" while in London and it seems that via its columns, he invited his sympathisers to contact him to facilitate the formation of republican societies throughout the country. For a short time he did all this at Ravensglass, and continued when he moved to Brantwood, publishing the "The English Republic" and assisting Joseph Cowen with the equally radical "Northern Tribune". According to Kineton Parkes¹³⁵, "At Brantwood he received his exiled and refugee friends, and Colonel Stolzman, a Pole, who fought under the first Napoleon, resided with him for some years, and died here. All men of republican tendencies were welcomed there.."

I wonder if James ever visited Brantwood on fern business as it is amusing to imagine him with the assorted radicals and even Linton's wife. Eliza Lynn Linton was supposedly the first female journalist in London who, after her marriage, took up a career writing racy novels and 'sensation fiction' and became a vehement anti-feminist. She was described in the "New Statesman" of 24th February 2003 as "a journalist whose reactionary cattiness made her the Lynda Lee-Potter of her day..."¹³⁶.

CLOSURE

James was not solely occupied with botany and Methodism. We can see occasional newspaper items that record involvement in civic affairs - service on the Grand Jury at the Kendal Quarter Sessions¹³⁷ and participation in the activities of the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution¹³⁸. There was also work in the cause of charity¹³⁹ and his position re. a matter of public concern¹⁴⁰. Other than these there is very little on record about the years James spent in Levens. Nevertheless, as we have seen, he is mentioned from time to time by other botanists in their letters to George Stabler¹⁴¹.

Robert Braithwaite expressed the intention of visiting him (19th May 1876). The same author in July of 1879 or 80 commented "I hope Mr. Barnes is well, I thought he wrote last in rather a despondent state about his work being finished". The obituaries are silent on this period of his life, maybe by this time he had done all he could with the mosses and lacked the will or energy to tackle something new, leaving that to the younger and fitter men, Stabler and Martindale.

A letter of 11th February 1885 suggests that Braithwaite was still corresponding with James at that date, but by then I think James' s health was starting to fail. Martindale wrote to James M. Barnes junior on 21st August 1888 - "we are glad that your father feels pretty well": most probably this was a relative state by then.

James' obituaries record that his later years "were harassed by a disease of the skin which terribly disfigured his face, and which, during one of its stages, caused him severe and almost constant pain in the eye"¹⁴². Mercifully the pain abated some months before the end of his life.

On 15 December 1889 W.H.Pearson commiserated with Stabler about his poor health and about James' and on 23 April 1890, he was "sorry to hear that my old friend Mr. Barnes is becoming so weak".

He died peacefully at Greengate Cottage, two weeks later, on 9th May 1890. The doctor from Milnthorpe, John Cundell Carden, certified the causes as "Lupus, Exhaustion"¹⁴³. James is buried in Heversham Churchyard, with his daughter, Margaret Frances and his wife, Mary Ann, who survived him by over 30 years and who died on 11th November 1923.

While his widow still lived in Levens, his family maintained the fern garden, but they had left the village by 1911 and

in the years since then other owners changed the garden to suit their own requirements¹⁴⁴, and ultimately sold the house and garden for redevelopment. James' garden has now gone for ever, but his reputation survived well into the 1930s, for he was recognised as "the famous collector of many fine varieties of *Lastrea propinqua*...." by Reginald Kaye at the time he was establishing his hardy fern collection in Silverdale¹⁴⁵.

We are told that on James' death his best plants were taken to Mr. Whitwell "for care", so they may well have found their way into Kendal's picturesque Serpentine Wood¹⁴⁶. Some of the fern collection probably found its way to Ashmeadow House in Arnside which was acquired in 1918 by James Martindale Barnes jnr. as an extension of Earnseat School which he had established in 1900. In this garden, "Jimmy" Barnes continued the family tradition of fern and fruit tree cultivation (see www.ashmeadow-woodlands.org). After the school was closed in 1979 the property languished unoccupied or in the hands of tenants until it was restored and extended as an Abbeyfield retirement home.

HIS CHILDREN

Joseph Anthony, born 17th March 1864. He attended Levens Infants' school and was then admitted to the Boys' school on 4th April 1870. He achieved Standard VI (the highest level of elementary education at the time) in 1877. He appears to have been an able scholar, particularly of Physical Geography, and Composition, and in a recitation of a scene from the Merchant of Venice in 1875 was recorded by George Stabler, the schoolmaster as having "entered heartily into the character of Shylock"¹⁴⁷.

The 1881 census recorded him as a 17 year old "scholar" in the family home, Greengate Cottage, and in his diary he recorded that he had been at Heversham Grammar School, but had not enjoyed the experience. According to Helen Caldwell, he then attended the Wesleyan College at Headingley, Leeds, where he obtained a B.A.¹⁴⁸ before becoming an Assistant Tutor there. He was still there in May 1890, for he gave it as his address when on the 10th of that month he registered his father's death.

Surviving pictures of Joseph in his 30s give the impression of a sensitive and intense, perhaps highly-strung, young man.

He became a Methodist Minister in the Stoke-on-Trent Circuit. In the 1891 census he was recorded as a "boarder" at 60 Bridge St. Stafford. Later postings took him to Lancaster, Cambridge and Newcastle.

His daily diary entries from 1886 to 1900, and intermittent journal entries from 1900 to 1939 record his life in some detail, and what follows here is based on a small selection kindly provided by Helen Caldwell.

For some years the ministry proved to be an acceptable life and he appears to have enjoyed preaching. On Sunday 27th April 1890 he wrote, "Otley Ps.XLVI 5, John XXI 17. Fair time preaching in the morning. Afternoon walked out to Clifton with my host Mr Armitage & heard him preach. Had a good time at night, and many thanks from several members of the congregation. My host promised £10 to Levens Chapel, unasked. Pleasant time staying with him".

Joseph had started the scheme to build a new Wesleyan chapel in Levens in 1888 while his father was still alive. James did not live to see its completion. The scheme came to fruition in 1892 as Joseph recorded on Sunday 17th July, "Levens Opening Services: Matt. V 13; Rom VIII 3. Good congregation in morning, quite full at night including vestries; felt very much at home in both services. Realise more & more what a beautiful little place the new chapel is. Quiet restful afternoon & wonderfully still, soothing half-hour in garden after dusk".

As time went by, he found the rigidity of the Wesleyan Methodist doctrine more and more irksome and the chastity inherent in the life of an unmarried Wesleyan Minister intolerably oppressive. In an entry in 1898 he wrote, "I don't think any of us believe as our fathers did". Helen told me that he resigned from the Methodist Church in 1900, but in the 1901 census, which found him in "Fern Cottage" with his mother, his occupation was still given as Wesleyan Minister.

Joseph had been interested in Edith, the schoolteacher daughter of his father's friend, Joseph Anthony Martindale, the Staveley schoolmaster. Regrettably, he had taken so long about bringing matters to a conclusion (shilly-shallying in James Barnes' terminology), that in 1891 she moved to Staveley in Derbyshire where she later married a foundryman¹⁴⁹.

Joseph returned to Levens and helped for a while in his brother's school at Arnside, unhappily; did a bit of writing and translation, and finally found reasonable satisfaction in organising tours to Europe for (mainly) Methodist ladies. In 1906 he married Sarah Jane Greenall of Kendal. After this event, according to Helen Caldwell, his diary entries became less frequent and angst ridden. In the 1911 census, Joseph and Sarah were recorded as living at 5 Ashfield, Kendal and his occupation as a self-employed "Tourist Agent"¹⁵⁰. They did not have any children. He died in 1950. His funeral, in Kendal was according to the Quaker rites.

Margaret Frances, born 1865, died 16th September 1879. Margaret probably started at the Levens Infant's and then Girls' schools before the dates of the surviving registers¹⁵¹. Her name appears in the list of pupils who showed "proficiency" in freehand work in the Government Drawing Exam of May 1877¹⁵².

James Martindale, born 12th February 1869. He attended Levens Infants' school and was then admitted to the Boys' school on 21st April 1875. He achieved Standard IV in 1879. During his time at the school, George Stabler made far fewer remarks about individual pupils so there is virtually no mention of him in the logbook.

Like his brother he was highly intelligent. We know he went to Heversham Grammar School, where he matriculated in January 1887 and also the following year gained a qualification called "Intermed. Arts"¹⁵³ (University of London General Register part III, published 1901).

In the 1891 census he was at his parents' house and his occupation was given as "Assistant Teacher", but we do not know where he taught. In 1892 he became a teacher at Woodhouse Grove School near Leeds.

In 1895 he was acting as tutor to two boys of the Johnson family at Littleover Hill in Derbyshire, and doing more exams in Leeds and sending papers away in the post. The College of Preceptors is mentioned, so he was probably aiming for their teaching qualification. In fact, he gained a BA degree from London University. In Nov. 1890 his brother wrote, "James arrived after his B.A. exam in Manchester", and 3 weeks later, "Telegram saying James had passed B.A., a great delight". In 1896 he gained a Teacher's Diploma from London University. Both of these qualifications were acquired by private study rather than attending the university.

According to his granddaughter Helen Caldwell¹⁵⁴, he was able to use funds from his late father's estate to help him establish a private school at Earnseat House in Arnside, which he initially leased from a family friend, James Crossfield. Starting with 6 pupils in 1900 (1901 census shows 3 in residence), he built up the numbers (1911 census records 17 pupils) and acquired more property for the school before handing over the Headship to his son John Anthony Godsmark Barnes during the Second World War. He shared his father's passion for ferns¹⁵⁵, but unlike his father, JMB the first, who had a reputation for being a stern Victorian, he had an impish sense of humour which endeared him to his pupils.

James married Celia Godsmark on 13th May 1905. They had 3 children. He died at Arnside on 25th May 1964.

Annie Jane, born 9th May 1874. Annie attended Levens Infants' school and was then admitted to the Girls' school on 4th April 1881. She achieved Standard VI in 1887 and left school on 28th April of the same year. At no time during this period did Miss Mason, the schoolmistress, make comments about any individual girls.

Annie started acting as housekeeper to Joseph Anthony Barnes when he was working at Lancaster in 1893, and she carried on during his later postings in Cambridge in 1898, and at Newcastle in early 1900. She left him to act as housekeeper at Earnseat School (1901 census) which opened in May 1900, where she remained until her marriage.

According to Helen Caldwell, Annie met the Rev. Joseph Manning, a minister on one of the Lancashire Methodist circuits, on one of her brother's European tours and in August 1904 they were married. Joseph was born in 1869 at Moulton, Northamptonshire, and had studied at Handsworth Wesleyan Theological College, opened in 1881. The 1911 census shows them at "The Manse", Low Fell, Gateshead with their son Kenneth Barnes Manning, aged 5. Kenneth had been born in Warrington. The census recorded the fact that another child had been born, but had not survived.

WHAT HAPPENED TO MARY ANN?

After James' death in 1890, his widow continued to live at Greengate Cottage, which by 1901 had become "Fern" Cottage (1901 census). When C.T. Druery visited the garden for his 1897 article, he found it "still in the loving care of Mrs. Barnes and her sons", and photographs taken in 1899 by James junior show it still in good order.

James junior and Annie (intermittently) lived with Mary Ann for several years as did Joseph Anthony, between his return from Newcastle in 1900 and his marriage in 1906. James had left Mary Ann a life interest in the house, but by June 1908 she no longer wished to live there and it was sold. The house was then bought by Miss Mary Salkeld, who kept the garden open to fellow members of The British Pteridological Society¹⁵⁶ until her death in 1919.

By the time of the 1911 census, Mary Ann was at 6, Oakfield, Kendal accompanied by a servant, Annie Thompson, who described herself as a "sick nurse".

Mary Ann died on 11th November 1923¹⁵⁷, aged 86, at Earnseat School Arnside, where she had gone to live with her son James. She was interred in Heversham churchyard with her husband and her eldest daughter.

Appendix 1 - James' siblings - most of this information was given by Helen Caldwell, I have added some information gained from censuses and other sources.

As far as we can tell, James was the eldest and he had nine or ten or possibly eleven brothers and sisters. In order of birth they were:-

Thomas. Born in 1816 and died the same year. We have no information about this child and it is possible he might have belonged to another Barnes family (Helen Caldwell).

John. Born 1818, died 1872. Again, Helen Caldwell wasn't sure if John was part of this family, but Jamie Barnes, great great grandson of Thomas (see below) includes him in his family tree as does "aido92", owner of the Lea / Ireland Family Tree with whom I corresponded via the Ancestry.co.uk website, and who supplied the year of death. I do not know anything else about John.

Anthony. Born 1820, died 15th January 1909 (GRO ref. Jan-Mar 1909, Kendal, vol. 10b p495). He married Margaret Ellwood on 26th July 1849 at Kendal Parish Church (marriage notice in the Westmorland Gazette of 28th July 1849). Her father, John, was a farmer at Hollins, Strickland Ketel at the time of the 1851 census. Anthony and Margaret farmed for most of their married life at Garnett House, Burneside. They had at least 9 children, one of whom I know to have died tragically young, as this notice in the Westmorland Gazette on Saturday 26th April 1856 reports:-

“On Saturday last, after a very short illness, believed to be croop, aged 6 years, John, son of Mr. Anthony Barnes, jnr., farmer of Garnett House. On Friday he was at Miss Smallwood's school, and in good health; he went with his little sister home to Garnett House, and then returned to stay with his grandfather, Mr. John Ellwood, Hollin Hall. His grandmother having made supper asked him to take his, but the child said he did not want any, and laid himself down on the hearth. They then discovered he was ill and put him to bed. He soon became insensible, and grew worse and worse until two o'clock on Saturday afternoon, when he died.”

Two of Anthony and Margaret's daughters married Martindales – Agnes married Robert Sinkinson Martindale, Margaret married William Walker Martindale, both sons of Edward Martindale deceased (Burneside Parish Records). Edward was related to the girls' great grandfather James Martindale. Both Margaret and Anthony ended their days at West View, Selside – Margaret in 1896 and Anthony in 1909, (gravestone in Burneside churchyard). The 1901 census recorded Anthony as a widower in the household of son-in-law Robert S. Martindale, Benson Hall, Scalthwaiterigg, Skelsmergh.

William. Born 1822, died 15th June 1874. He farmed at Mozergh, Selside. On 3rd October 1860 he married Mary Ann Ellwood in Mew Hutton Church. Mary Ann was the daughter of Thomas Ellwood, of the Gill, Hutton-i'th'-Hay, miller and farmer (marriage notice, Westmorland Gazette 6th October 1860. GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1860, Kendal, vol. 10b, p947). Another Ellwood! Helen Caldwell advised me that Mosergh farm is the only one still (August 2009) farmed and owned by Barnes descendants, to our knowledge. William was involved in a fatal road accident in 1854 while driving his father's milk cart to Kendal. In Kent St. Burneside, loaded with full churns, he collided with the cart of one Simon Clark, aged 80, farmer, of Brow Foot, Strickland Ketel. Mr. Clark was pitched off his cart and his own horse rolled over on him, inflicting injuries which led to his death 6 days later. The inquest verdict did not blame William (Westmorland Gazette, 1st April 1854).

Jane. Born 1824, died 19th August 1904. Jane married Richard Taylor who farmed at New House (believed to be what is now called Braban House), Strickland Roger. Their eldest son Anthony Barnes Taylor became the Windermere Registrar and in his spare time wrote dialect stories. He is recorded as staying with James Martindale Barnes (senior) at the time of the 1861 census, aged 16. At that time, Richard and Jane farmed at Godmond Hall, Strickland Roger.

Thomas. Born 1827, died 11th December 1899. When he married his sister-in-law, Agnes Ellwood of Strickland Ketel, on 27th May 1851 at Kendal Parish Church (GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1851, Kendal, vol. 25 p521), he was farming at Burneside Hall (wedding announcement, Westmorland Gazette 31st May 1851). The couple later farmed at Bowston Hall. A notice in the Westmorland Gazette of 5th December 1857 records Thomas and his brother Anthony having been caught fishing with an illegal net and being summonsed by The Kent Angling Association for illegal fishing. Their plea was that they were not poaching, but were merely taking them to a pond at Burneside Hall for the purposes of breeding.

They apologised and swore never to do it again and were forgiven any punishment. The incident is interesting, for if their excuse was convincing it says something about the persistence of the medieval practice of having fish-ponds as food stores.

Ann. Born 1829. Ann married William Atkinson and after her father, Anthony Barnes, retired, they farmed at Burneside Hall. They later farmed at Overthwaite near Farleton. William achieved a considerable reputation as a successful and innovative farmer and breeder of shorthorn cattle, winning many prizes. After his death in 1903 Ann remained at Overthwaite with her son William who took over the farm (1911 census).

Edward. Born 1832, died at Burneside Hall, Wednesday 11th November 1857 (GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1857, Kendal, vol.10b, p363). See also gravestone at Burneside church where his and Amelia's deaths are recorded with those of their parents.

Margaret. Born 1833. Married John Taylor who farmed Thorphinsty Hall, Cartmel Fell. She was still farming at Thorphinsty Hall as a widow in 1901 and in 1911 (1901 & 1911 censuses). A photograph taken a year or two after their wedding shows John with a black eye. He was a part time bare knuckle fighter (Helen Caldwell). Not so sure that James would have approved. Their eldest child, Margaret is on mother's knee. They had nine children in all. The Taylors continued to farm here until 1921 (Jennifer Forsyth, "Cartmel Fell a Patchwork History", Hayloft Publishing, Kirkby Stephen 2007).

Henry. Born 1836, died between the 1901 and 1911 census dates. His wife, Agnes was recorded in the 1911 census as widow living at Old Hutton in the household of her brother-in-law John Hayton in 1911. Census records show a Henry Barnes born Westmorland as a Police Constable in St. Bees (1871) and Kendal (1881), and the same man was a Chiroprapist in Kendal in the 1881, 91 & 1901 censuses.

Amelia. Born 1841, died at Burneside Hall 29th June 1857, "after a lingering illness" (death notice in Westmorland Gazette of 4th July 1857). (GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1857, Kendal, vol.10b, p335). I wonder if an epidemic killed both her and Edward?

Appendix 2 - Notes on Methodism

Before Methodism existed there were already various movements dissenting from the notion that the Crown had total control over an individual's spiritual life and that this should be exercised, via an Established Church which provided the only legal forms of worship.

Any of these, Baptists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Calvinists etc., could provide spiritual homes to Protestants who wouldn't conform to that notion, but the range of options for the timid or socially conservative Protestant was limited by a set of legislation that was enacted after the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty in 1660.

These acts were intended to put an end to the religious tumult of the seventeenth century by making it very difficult to operate Nonconformist churches as well as a serious disadvantage not to be an Anglican.

The Corporation Act of 1661 effectively excluded Nonconformists from public office. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 made use of the Book of Common Prayer compulsory in religious service and required all ministers to have been ordained by bishops. Upwards of 2000 clergy refused to comply with this act, and were forced to resign their livings.

The Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade groups of more than 5 people who weren't from the same household from meeting for the purpose of unauthorised worship. the Five Mile Act of 1665 forbade Nonconformist ministers (inc. those who had left the church as a result of the Act of Uniformity) from coming within five miles of incorporated towns or the place of their former livings. They were also forbidden to teach in schools.

This legal discrimination was fairly effective in protecting the monopoly of religious influence enjoyed by the Established Anglican Church and to a large extent marginalised the old Nonconformist movements which pre-existed the Restoration. Their appeal became restricted to those whose dissenting religious tendencies were reinforced by an opposition to authority in general.

In its monopolistic position, the Established Church, with the convulsions of the seventeenth century behind it, became complacent and unambitious. It was a religion which in the words of C.M.L.Bouch & G.P.Jones ("The Lake Counties, 1500 to 1830" Augustus M.Kelly, New York 1968), "preferred a sober piety to anything resembling religious enthusiasm". A church which satisfied itself with maintaining the forms of worship and fulfilling the calendar of routine observance and the landmarks of life, baptism, confirmation, marriage and burial. Maybe I have overstated the case for

somnolence, for the average parishioner, so far as we can tell, found the status-quo comforting enough, yet there were those for whom the Church of England was just insufficiently holy. John Wesley was one of them.

Wesley was not a seventeenth century Leveller, he was a political conservative, he criticised the greedy rich and opposed slavery but in general supported the existing social and political order.

Lest we think that this implies that Methodism just evolved as a more fervent subsidiary of the Church of England (a sort of predecessor to the Clapham sect and the Evangelical Movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century) we need to remember that Wesley had an ambivalent attitude to the Church of England.

He had a High-Church family background, he was an ordained Anglican minister and he refused to leave the Church of England, believing that Anglicanism was "with all her blemishes..... nearer the Scriptural plans than any other in Europe". Yet, as a clergyman within the Established Church he had no plans to go further. "We dare not", he said, "administer baptism or the Lord's Supper without a commission from a bishop in the apostolic succession".

Wesley felt that the church failed to call sinners to repentance, that many of the clergymen were corrupt, and that people were perishing in their sins. He believed he was commissioned by God to bring about revival in the church, and no opposition, or persecution, or obstacles could prevail against the divine urgency and authority of this commission.

Wesley wanted to conquer sin, not social deprivation. The poor were suitable cases for treatment because they lacked the diversity of opportunity for sin which was available to the rich. They were not spiritually healthier than the rich, but the chances of cure were greater when so many sources of sin were cut off from them. Wesley was not very good at preaching to the rich.

If Wesley was to be settled in the Church of England, it had to be one that was able to accommodate Wesley's conscience. That never came about, but severance did not take place until after he was dead.

In 1739 the restless Anglican clergyman and missionary ended his involvement with the Moravian sect in London on doctrinal grounds and decided to form his own followers into a separate movement. "Thus," he wrote, "without any previous plan, began the Methodist Society in England."

The term "Methodist" was originally a nickname a group of Oxford students to which John and Charles Wesley belonged in the early 1730s. They all met regularly for Bible study and prayer, to receive communion and do acts of charity. They became known as 'The Holy Club' or 'Methodists' because of the methodical way in which they carried out their Christian faith.

Unwilling that people should perish in their sins and unable to reach them from church pulpits, Wesley began field preaching. Seeing that he and the few clergymen co-operating with him could not do the work that needed to be done, he was led, as early as 1739, to approve local preachers. He evaluated and approved men and women who were not ordained by the Anglican Church, to preach and do pastoral work.

Wesley always claimed that wanted to reform the Church of England, not throw it over. In 1745 he wrote that he would make any concession which his conscience permitted, in order to live in peace with the clergy. But that conscience meant he could not give up the doctrine of an inward and present salvation by faith by itself. He would not stop preaching, nor dissolve the societies, nor end preaching by lay members.

This ambivalent attitude whereby Wesley preached that Methodism was not a separate sect and that it was still a part of the Church of England, did set Methodism apart from the older Nonconformist sects. For one thing, Methodists did not get persecuted.

Once Wesley had proved that people could defy one authority without the sky falling in, the ability of any religious authority to control some of them was weakened: if Wesley could do it, so could they. It was in this way that dissent started to grip the Methodists. That they waited until he had died probably attests to Wesley's organisational skills and charisma.

The use of lay preachers was one of the keys of the growth of Methodism, it made growth possible, but at the same time, if the right people were not available, growth might be slowed and geographical coverage patchy. It could also mean that when local societies formed themselves, it was not always in the image of what Wesley intended. Wesley tried to keep a grip on things by annual visitations to the individual societies, but as time passed and the movement grew, this became less and less effective as a unifying influence.

A series of schisms occurred, caused in part by lay members desire to govern their own societies and in part by belief that the original movement was departing from pure Methodism. There were also those, unlike Wesleyans, who believed that Methodism had a political dimension. The Methodist New Connection, the Primitive Methodist Church, and the Bible Christians all separated between 1797 and 1815. The Protestant Methodists formed in Leeds in 1827 and a further group known as the Wesleyan Methodist Association appeared in 1836.

In the area of the modern county of Cumbria, there were 390 Church of England places of worship by the end of the nineteenth century, over 200 Wesleyan, about 120 for the Primitive Methodists and 45 for the United Methodists, New Connexion and Bible Christian combined (John Burgess, "The Achievements of Cumbrian Methodism", Cumbria Religious History, Carlisle, 1982).

Appendix 3 - The Diary

The diary commences on 1st January 1841 when James was nearly 26 years of age and ends on Saturday 10th May 1845, when he was just over 29.

It is not continuous. 1841 comprises the first 44 pages of the book (which looks like a pocket account book from the way the page columns are printed), 1842 only occupies 2 pages, there is nothing for 1843 and 1844 is less than 6, as is 1845. Though the diary covers most of the period during which he lived and worked in London, the entries (but not the book) finish months before his marriage in September 1845. On the face of it this is very frustrating, but we are unlikely to have missed much because the diary contains almost nothing of his temporal life. Other than the mention of the odd indisposition and a few names of preachers he heard, there are virtually no facts, Nothing about his social life and nothing about his work. What he wrote amounts to a log of the state of his spiritual life with entries only made when he had something important to record and nothing written when all was routine.

"Important" appears to equate to "tribulation", there is little regard for grammar, syntax and punctuation and the entries often seem to be a stream of consciousness (conscience?) in which the spiritual tide ebbs and flows between ecstasy and self abnegation. He was in constant dialogue with God, beset by the Devil and backsliding, grateful for the reassurance of religious observance and prostrating himself at the feet of Christ. It seems reasonable to opine that there is not a word in this diary that is absent from the vocabulary of Wesleyan theology. It is often very intense and obviously written not as a précis of recent thoughts and feelings, but in real-time, with the handwriting degenerating into scribble in his haste.

Actually, the diary gets off to a very formal and deliberate start. The title page is laid out like that of a printed book:-

*Diary
of
James Martindale Barnes
Brought to a saving knowledge
of the truth in Sept. 1837
has by the Blessing of God
been wonderfully preserved
to the present time
January 1st 1841*

The first entry, which he signed, was his list of new year resolutions: nothing here but commitments to lead a serious minded and Wesleyan life, tempered with an adult awareness of practicality:-

Oh Lord God I have solemnly covenanted with thee before thy people at the beginning of this year that I will devote the residue of my days to thee in order to this (before Thee) with a trembling heart I inscribe the following resolutions Oh my God help & help me to put them fully into practice.

1st. That I will not drink any more ale, wine or spirits unless in cases of extreem (sic) necessity

2nd. That I will not speak evil of anyone out of their presence.

3rd. That I will not indulge in any unprofitable conversation.

4th. That I will not (Lord help me) remain in bed after 6 o'clock unless in cases in which it is fully justifiable.

5th. That I will spend one hour every morning in devotion such a self examination reading scriptures, private prayer & keeping diary.

6th. That I will not avoid visiting the sick & poor when opportunity arises.

7th. That I will do nothing in which I feel doubtful whether it is a sin or not.

To these I hastily subscribe should I wilfully break any one of these resolutions I shall consider it to be wilful sin being made solemnly with God.

Perhaps the first resolution harked back to the "snares" in Liverpool, but he didn't forswear it medicinally. The second suited a man of resolute opinions and the third looks like rejecting levity. The fourth is necessary for the performance of the fifth and is one he expected to, and did, have trouble keeping. There are several entries in early 1841 regretting that he had overslept. The fifth resolution is consistent with the Wesleyan need to justify, and really desire, salvation, and it throws light on the purpose of the diary as a tool in the development of holiness of heart and life. The sixth is about doing his Christian and Methodist duty. The seventh is entirely in line with Wesley's teaching that "Having sin does not forfeit the favour of God; giving way to sin does" (from Wesley's sermon "On Sin in Believers") and that though sin was wilful breaking of a law of God, there were "involuntary transgressions" which though not sins in themselves, could lead to eternal damnation.

The first entry in the Diary did not bode well:-

Friday Jan 2nd - *"...finds me in a dreadful lethargy...on the very borders of the kingdom of Satan....beginning to be alarmed by my state"*.

But on Saturday there was an improvement, *"...by the blessing of God the memoirs of that good and worthy man D.-Stoner has fallen into my hands....I have now resolved to set out afresh as I often have done before"*.

By the following Tuesday, *"...my mind was kept in peace with the exception of a few evil thoughts which would have crept in but I was able to resist, the Lord strengthening me"*.

And on Wednesday, *"Through the Grace of God my resolutions remain unbroken...though I at times have had some considerable difficulty in suppressing evil thoughts and pride"*. He was able to get out and visit the sick, *"This evening I have been deeply affected by visiting the sick one poor woman apparently just on the point of death without salvation and without any knowledge of the way. Oh my God what human misery caused by that viper sin...does he not weep over those of this sinful and miserable city Oh Lord wrest the reins of power out of the hands of the devil"*.

The following morning he overslept by a quarter of an hour and *"felt condemned on that account"*.

On Sunday, after taking up *"my cross"* at the prayer meeting, he went *"round my district distributing tracts"*. Did members of a particular Methodist Society or Congregation have districts allocated to them for distributing pamphlets which explained Methodist doctrine, how to be saved, or other proselytising tasks, or was it just the area where he lived?

Anyway, he seems to have plunged in right at the deep end, *"I found a professor of religion very sick (an aged female) and talked with her but found her lamp was out, commended her to the mercy of God and left her. O Lord help me to live every moment to thee, so that I may not have to find when the hour of tryal (sic) comes, that I have built on sandy foundations"*. He then visited *"a Roman Catholic"* who declined James offer to pray with him *"because it was against the laws of his church"*.

On Tuesday 12th Jan. he wrote that he had broken 3 of his resolutions *"1st I overslept myself nearly an hour 2nd I joined in unprofitable reading and conversation 3rd I did not visit the sick"*.

During Thursday, *"...the Devil laid a very severe temptation in my way.."* but *"God being my helper"* he was able to resist. James did not specify the temptation, but it must have been severe as on Friday he *"kept a day of fasting & prayer...felt it good to be able to visit and relieve the sick & poor..."*.

All this in the first fortnight of the diary, and it goes on in much the same vein.

On 30th March, *"...I am still in the narrow way, and my desires after perfect holiness as strong as ever...all the sins of my profligate youth were brought up to my view in all their hellish and horrifying aspects.."*. On that day he filled 2½ pages with self criticism in his quest *"...for more holiness for the...subjection of all my follies and evil desires and perfect conformity of heart and life to the will of God"*.

Etc., etc..

The 1844 entries don't start until 30th July, but they start on a depressing note of lack of spiritual progress, *"I am down at last without God in the world literally...after a continual sinking....and find myself with no more religion than a bare profession"*.

Later in the year, in spite of a distressing event, he sounded a more positive note.

Monday 5th Aug. *"This day my mind has been deeply affected, a friend on his deathbed presented me with a volume of sermons & another book, as a last token of respect"*.

Towards the end of the diary, James seems to have been more optimistic about his spiritual condition.

On Friday 2nd May, *"...I may say with confidence that I have been growing in grace....while visiting the sick I have been abundantly encouraged"*.

On 4th May, *"...the enemy of my soul has been disappointed & I am still on my way to heaven. This morning I heard a delightful sermon at Southwark Chapel by the Rev Dr Newton"*.

The diary ends on 10th May 1845 with the statement *"....this day not for one moment forget that 'Thou God seest me' "*. Why it stops there I have no idea. Though there are plenty of blank pages left in the book and that last phrase seems like a deliberate ending.

The last page in the book is devoted to practical matters. It comprises a list of James' *"Shirts Stockings etc Sept 1st 1842"*. You might be interested to know that in addition to 13 day shirts, he had 4 night shirts and 9 night caps.

It wasn't the last diary James wrote, there were several more but because a grandson, finding them full of religious ramblings and very difficult to read, threw them away. This does however tell us that James' faith was not just a youthful enthusiasm.

Appendix 4 - Customs Service

Before the days when income taxes were as important as they are today, indirect taxes, levied on what were regarded as luxury goods, were the major part of government revenue. Customs officers were first appointed as far back as 1294 (National Archives, research guide), in the reign of Edward 1st. Between 1836 and 1840, 79% of U.K. exchequer revenue came from indirect taxation (Colin Matthew, "Short Oxford History of the British Isles - The Nineteenth Century" (Oxford University Press 2000), so the Customs, which dealt with duties on imported goods and the Excise (exported goods, stamp duties, licences to make various products e.g. beer) departments were, between them, very significant elements of the national bureaucracy: in fact, their personnel, plus those involved in the income tax, were the majority of the c25,000 people of what we now call the Civil Service.

The "Handbook of London" 1850, by Peter Cunningham states that "Nearly one half of the customs of the United Kingdom are collected in the Port of London, and about one half of the persons in the Civil Service of the country are employed in connection with the customs. The only articles producing, each of them, and in the order mentioned, above a million a year to the customs... are sugar, tea, tobacco, wine and brandy....Liverpool, after London is the next port where the largest amount of customs is collected.....".

The disparity between the scale of early nineteenth century government and that of modern times is striking. In the period 1836 to 1840, The Army and Navy accounted for 58% of central government expenditure, debt charges took up 25% and civil government a mere 10%. The balance was taken by administrative costs, the Post Office etc.. In 1830 the Foreign Office had only 39 permanent staff, the Home Office 25 and the Colonial Office 31 (Matthew, op. cit.).

In the provinces the national government bureaucracy was even more thinly spread. Gore's Directory of Liverpool 1829 recorded 130 Customs House officials, 90 men in the Excise dept. and 13 people were listed as tax collectors. Local government was not generously staffed either, for example, Gore lists 44 police officers in Liverpool in 1829 for a population (in 1831) of approximately 165,000.

If a man was seeking a job in civil government then Customs or Excise would offer the most opportunities, and the London Customs had the largest establishment of all. In 1852 it employed over 1800 people (Post Office Directory for London 1852).

Appendix 4 - Chartism - most of these notes are taken, somewhat improbably, from the website of www.britainexpress.com, which is primarily concerned with UK tourism, but it does the job.

The Chartist Movement had at its core the so-called "People's Charter" of 1838. This document, created for the London Working Men's Association, was primarily the work of William Lovett. The charter was a public petition aimed at redressing omissions from the electoral Reform Act of 1832. It quickly became a rallying point for working class agitators for social reform, who saw in it a cure-all for all sorts of social ills. For these supporters the People's Charter was the first step towards a social and economic utopia. The People's Charter outlined 6 major demands for reform. These

were:-

- Institution of a secret ballot
- General elections be held annually
- Members of Parliament not be required to own property
- MPs be paid a salary
- Electoral districts of equal size
- Universal male suffrage

The comprehensive nature of the Charter doubtless contributed to its downfall, for the number of demands probably diluted support for any single one of them.

The first gathering of Chartist delegates to their National Convention took place in London on February 4, 1839. Although 53 delegates came to London, they were aware of laws forbidding gatherings of more than 50 men, and so took care that no more than that number were present at any one time. At this gathering the nature of the divisions that were to trouble the Movement were apparent, as some delegates favoured violence if necessary, some favoured a general strike, and there was even talk of electing a "people's parliament". In other words, in common with many social movements, they could figure out what they were against, but had a harder time figuring out what to do about it.

The Convention did adopt the motto "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must", which may have frightened off those more moderate middle-class members who might have been persuaded to support their cause. Agitation continued throughout the spring of 1839, and government troops were used to ensure order in some areas of the country, notably the north.

The proponents of the charter gathered over 1.25 million signatures in support of their aims. They presented the charter and the signatures to Parliament when it gathered in July, 1839. Though supported by future Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, the charter was rejected by the House of Commons by a vote of 235 to 46. In the wake of this defeat in the Commons, the National Convention lost its importance and finally dissolved itself in September.

With the national leadership of the Movement no longer effective, local reformers took charge. The government had many leaders of the movement arrested or detained. There were outbreaks of violence in several regions, notably at Newport, where 24 protesters were killed.

The suppression of the Chartists drew further attention to their cause, but the movement in general failed to cross class lines and gain the necessary support among members of the ruling aristocracy and landed gentry.

The Chartists attempted to submit their petition to Parliament twice more. In 1842, when they claimed to have gathered over 3 million signatures of support. In 1848, the year in which political revolution spread all over Europe, there was another petition. This was supposed to have 5 million signatures on it but it was a farce. Many of the signatures were alleged to have been faked, Queen Victoria's and Mr. Punch's among them.

Chartist leaders had promised a huge demonstration of 300,000 at Kennington common in London. Nothing like this number turned out and the proceedings were peaceful although 8000 troops and 150,000 (?) special constables had been readied for trouble (Wikipedia). There was a full scale riot in Manchester which lasted three days. The "Establishment" proved to be both determined and able to suppress the trouble, the revolution didn't happen and the movement petered out over the next few years..

Why did Chartism seem a threat to authority? The aims of the Chartists may seem mild and eminently sensible to modern readers, but to the government of Victorian England they represented a potential for upheaval and overthrow of social institutions and entrenched authority. The violent turmoil of the French Revolution was still fresh in the minds of many in positions of authority. Rather than being swayed by the sensibilities of the Chartist's demands, they reacted in fear at the possibility of violent overthrow of society, and of their own positions in it.

Why did Chartism fail? Chartism failed for a number of reasons; most obviously, it failed to gather support in Parliament, which is not surprising when you consider the threat it posed to the self-interest of those in power. Equally important, it failed to gather support from the middle-classes. The demands of Chartism were too radical for many of the middle-classes, who were comfortable enough with the status quo. The repeal of the Corn Laws helped improve the economic climate of Britain, and there was less interest in radical reform. As well, the mid-19th century spawned a variety of social-reform groups with special aims, and the Chartist movement lost many of its members to these other groups, as well as to the trades union movement. As a way of improving his lot, the working man turned away, for the time being, from wholesale political change to the more direct struggle for better wages and conditions.

Appendix 5 – Items from the Westmorland Gazette concerning Anthony Barnes' farm sales.

27th August 1864

HIGHLY IMPORTANT AND EXTENSIVE SALE
OF CATTLE, SHEEP, AND HORSES.
Mr. ROBERT KIRKBY
Begs to announce that he has been honoured with instructions
TO SELL BY AUCTION,
At Burneside Hall, near Kendal, on Monday, the 12th day of September, 1864, the Sale to commence punctually at one o'clock,
THE principal part of the very Valuable STOCK OF CATTLE, SHEEP, and HORSES, the property of Mr. **Anthony** Barnes, who is declining farming.
The CATTLE comprise 30 very superior Calving Cows, and 6 prime Fat Cattle.
The SHEEP consist of 200 three-parts bred Lambs, Cross, Lincoln and Leicester; 150 Shearling Gimmers of the Improved breed; 150 Two-Shear Ewes, from Scotch Ewes by first-class Rams; 4 Two-Shear Rams, by Lincoln Rams from Leicester Ewes, and 10 good Ram Lambs.
The HORSES include one superior dark bay Colt, with splendid action, 5 years old, by "Emperor," nearly 16 hands, and perfectly quiet in all gears; one chesnut Filly, 3 years old, by "Minister," dam by "Mummy," suitable for either saddle or harness; one bay Colt, 2 years old, by "Champion," from a well-bred trotting mare, very promising for a Carriage Horse or Hunter; one bay Filly, 2 years old, by "Champion;" also, three other good useful Work Horses.
The above stock being so well-known in the surrounding neighbourhood they need no comment, and in consequence of Mr. Barnes declining farming, the whole will be sold absolutely without reserve.
Burneside Hall is distant two miles from Kendal, and about five minutes walk from the Burneside Station on the Kendal and Windermere Line.
Refreshments at Eleven o'clock. Further particulars at the place of Sale.
Burneside Hall, August 26, 1864.

29th April 1865

Farming Stock for Sale at Burneside Hall.
M. DEROME
Has the pleasure of announcing to Dairy Farmers and the Agricultural Public generally that he has been favoured with instructions from Mr. **Anthony** Barnes (who after twenty-one years' occupancy of Burneside Hall is about retiring from Farming pursuits),
TO SELL BY AUCTION,
At BURNESIDE HALL, near Kendal, at One o'Clock in the Afternoon, on Monday, May 8th, 1865,
THE whole of the famous and well-known SHORT-HORNED DAIRY HERD, comprising FORTY HEAD of Calved, about to Calve, Back-end Calving, and Gelt Cows, all in the best possible and most profitable condition.
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, &c., including Five Carts and Wheels, Hay Shelvings, Ploughs and Harrows, Chaff Cutter, Corn Crusher, Hay and Corn Scythes, Cart and Ploughing Gears, Salving Creel, sundry Tools, and a quantity of Scrap Iron, &c.
Also, a portion of the surplus HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, and part of the Kitchen and Dairy Requisites.
Kendal Auction and Agency Offices, April 26th, 1865.

13th May 1865

THE VALUE OF DAIRY STOCK IN WESTMORLAND.
—The dairy stock of Mr. **Anthony** Barnes, of Burneside Hall, was brought to the hammer by Mr. Derome on Monday last. Thirty-eight cows were keenly contended for and quickly disposed off at prices varying from 15*l.* 15*s.* to 24*l.* 15*s.*; the whole realising about 700*l.* At the close of the sale a gentleman remarked to Mr. Barnes — why you have had as good a sale as if they had all been *pedigree* cattle. "Pedegree!" he replied, "I kna nout aboot pedegree; the'd o ther pedegrees in ther faces heddent tha; that's what I ga be."

Stock density was so much less in those days.

Endnotes

- 1 Helen Caldwell, great granddaughter of James Martindale Barnes, personal communications 2009 & 2010. Mrs. Caldwell has done extensive research on the Barnes, Gibson and Crossfield family trees and I am grateful for her generous assistance.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid., and also Rosemary Walker (great granddaughter of Margaret Taylor) – article “Horseback escape to wed at Gretna Green”, Westmorland Gazette 6th December 2012
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Anon. “The late Mr. J.M. Barnes of Levens”, Westmorland Gazette (WG) 17th May 1890.
- 8 Anon. “The late Mr. J.M. Barnes of Levens”, Kendal Mercury & Times (KM&T) 16th May 1890.
- 9 F.W.Garnett, “Westmorland Agriculture 1800 to 1900”, Titus Wilson, Kendal 1912.
- 10 Garnett was quoting from Henry Lonsdale's “Life of William Blamire” in his series on “The Worthies of Cumberland” Vol 1, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1867. Blamire (1790 to 1862) was an improving farmer, sometime High Sheriff & M.P. for Cumberland.
- 11 Garnett was quoting from A.Pringle's “A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Westmorland”, Board of Agriculture (later the Royal Agricultural Society) 1794.
- 12 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 13 F.W.Garnett, op cit.
- 14 Dr. Mark Overton, “Agricultural Revolution? England 1540 -1850”, Recent Findings of Research in Economic & Social History”, Economic History Society, ReFresh - Issue 3, Autumn 1986.
- 15 F.W.Garnett, op cit.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Local newspapers record Anthony Barnes' successes in agricultural shows, winning e.g., best yearling bull at Kendal Agricultural Society [KAS] (WG 16th October 1841); best yearling bull of any breed at Milnthorpe Agricultural Society (WG 23rd October 1841); best yearling heifer at KAS (WG 15th October 1842); best colt or filly foal for road or field at KAS (WG 30th September 1854). We also know that Anthony (senior) competed in other classes such as best crop of turnips at KAS (WG 21st October 1848) & he was on the committee of a local association formed for the renumeration of those who lost cattle by “that most fatal of all Diseases, the PLEURO-PNEUMONIA” (KM 9th August 1848). There are other reports in later years e.g. for best Shorthorn bull at the Crook Agricultural Society (WG 10th October 1863), but I'm not sure if they refer to him or to his son Anthony.
- 18 “Impudent Swindling”, WG 30th March 1863. 2 young men of unknown identity (they weren't caught), got £5 from Mr. Wilson, whose brother was John Jowitt Wilson of Kendal, by claiming to be the sons of Anthony Barnes of Burneside Hall & Thomas Read of Natland, and saying that they had just bought a horse but were £5 short of the price. Their local knowledge of Kendal convinced Wilson that they were genuine. The fraud came to light when Wilson wrote to his brother to expect to be repaid, & the latter went to see both Anthony & Thomas. The circumstances suggest to me that the two culprits were locals.
- 19 Wm. Parson & Wm. White, "History, Directory & Gazetteer of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland", Leeds 1829.
- 20 J.D.Marshall & J.K.Walton, "The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century", Manchester University Press 1981.
- 21 F.W.Garnett, op cit.
- 22 J.D.Marshall & J.K.Walton, op cit.
- 23 Using Ancestry.co.uk's search engine.
- 24 In the 1841 census, the ages of people over 15 years of age were meant to be rounded down to the nearest 5 years, but sometimes the actual age was entered.
- 25 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 26 Written in an account book, covering the period 1st January 1841 to 19th May 1845. See Appendix 3.
- 27 Helen Caldwell, personal communication 2009
- 28 Southey was quoting from Wesley's sermon no. 96 “On Obedience to Parents”.
- 29 Wm. Parson & Wm. White, op cit.
- 30 C.M.L.Bouch & G.P.Jones, "The Lake Counties, 1500 to 1830" Augustus M.Kelly, New York 1968 quoting from L.Tyerman, “Life & times of John Wesley”, London 1875.
- 31 Extracts from the Journal of John Wesley on Vision of Britain website www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_page.jsp?t_id=J_Wesley&c_id=14
- 32 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 33 Joseph Anthony Barnes (James' elder son), "All About Arnside”, 1903
- 34 “Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs”, J.Gore & Son, Liverpool 1829, on

Endnotes

- www.historicaldirectories.org.uk
- 35 1831 census from spreadsheet on www.staffs.ac.uk/schools/humanities_and_soc_sciences/census/cen1831.htm
- 36 In darwin-online.org
- 37 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 38 These obituaries (see endnotes 7 & 8) are both anonymous but I assume were written by one of his sons, contain a profile of his botanical work written by George Stabler – it says so in the obit in the Kendal Mercury and Times. If I included an endnote for each reference to one of the obits., the text would have a rash of them, so I will use them sparingly.
- 39 “Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs”, J.Gore & Son, Liverpool 1853, on www.historicaldirectories.org.uk
- 40 Post Office London Directory, 1841. Part 2, on www.historicaldirectories.org.uk
- 41 J.M.Barnes Marriage Certificate. GRO ref. 1845 Jul-Sep, St. George, Southwark, vol. 4, p512
- 42 Map Of London 1868, By Edward Weller, F.R.G.S. - on <http://london1868.com>
- 43 Post Office London Directory, 1841. Part 1, on www.historicaldirectories.org.uk
- 44 Post Office Annual Directory, 1808, on www.historicaldirectories.org.uk
- 45 Cary's New And Accurate Plan of London And Westminster 1795, on <http://archivemaps.com/mapco/london.htm>
- 46 The Stranger's Guide Through The Streets Of London & Westminster 1814, on <http://archivemaps.com/mapco/london.htm>
- 47 Cross's London Guide 1844, on <http://archivemaps.com/mapco/london.htm>
- 48 Thomas Read, born Newington 17th July 1798 (Watts-Read family tree on Ancestry.co.uk). This tree does not include Elizabeth Read (born 9th March 1801), but does claim an Ann Read, born 5th December 1801, as another of the children of James & Hannah. The improbably (but not impossibly) short period between Ann & Elizabeth's birth dates precludes certainty about the offspring of James & Hannah, but that's family history for you.
- 49 Post Office directory, see endnote 44
- 50 The modern city of Whanganui, with a population of c40,000, is located on the South Taranaki Bight in the south west of North Island.
- 51 "The Cyclopedia of New Zealand" (Wellington Provincial District), published in 1897 <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d4-d172-d25.html>
- 52 see www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Population-history-of-london.jsp
- 53 1801 & 1841 census data from spreadsheet on www.staffs.ac.uk/schools/humanities_and_soc_sciences/census/cen1831.htm
- 54 “Tuberculosis/Study and Treatment”, Wikipedia
- 55 Letter from James to George Stabler, 1st August 1871, Robert Walker Papers in the Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, ref.. WDX 950.
- 56 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 57 Unpublished paper “A Brief History of Methodism in Levens” by Stephen Read of Levens Local History Group, 2010. See also Stephen Brunskill, “The Life of Stephen Brunskill of Orton: Sixty Years a Wesleyan Methodist Local Preacher”, Whittaker, London & Kendal, 1837
- 58 Date of purchase was 4th September 1854. from the deeds to the property, kindly loaned to Levens Local History Group by Maria Dobson, November 2011. It is an interesting reflection on the rate of inflation of property values that, when next sold, in 1908, it fetched £625; in 1919, £900; in 1930, £970; in 1972, £18,250; in 1976, £37,000
- 59 for historical RPI calculation see www.measuringworth.com
- 60 Extract from dairy of Joseph Anthony Barnes, Helen Caldwell personal communication 2009
- 61 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 62 Report of Beathwaite Green Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Christmas Festival in WG 30th December 1848, “Although the school has not been in operation more than five or six months, the number of scholars present on this occasion was about sixty, the far greater part of whom are adults.”
- 63 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 64 "Some Westmorland Villages" ed. B.L.Thompson, Titus Wilson, Kendal 1957
- 65 “Letters to an Emigrant Minister” on the Genuki website, <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/EmigLetters.html>
- 66 Joseph Anthony Barnes, op cit. 1903
- 67 I speculate it might be “get bacca” (tobacco).
- 68 Joseph Anthony Barnes, op cit. 1903
- 69 Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, ref. WDFC/MM RG4/1
- 70 This George Gibson, born in Dillicar, Westmorland, about 1769 (Scott12 family tree on Ancestry.co.uk), might have been one of James Barnes' distant relatives. According to the Scott tree, George Gibson was an uncle of Jane Gibson, who was the second wife of Joseph Burton Crosby (& thereby stepmother to James' second wife). The tree suggests that he came to Levens by 1797 (birth year of his first known child) and lived there until his death. He died

Endnotes

- on 20th October 1838, aged 69 (see Westmorland Gazette 27th Oct. 1838). However, the Addison family records (see Addison_2010B tree on Ancestry.co.uk) state that the Local Preacher George Gibson had been born in Beathwaite Green. Both trees claim the same parents and siblings so I think that there is merely a difference of opinion about where George was born. (see Addison_2010B tree on Ancestry.co.uk). The Addison tree records all George's siblings, older and younger as being born in the Grayrigg area & only him in Levens.
- 71 T. Percy Bryer "A History of Methodism in Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale & Sedbergh", self published? Kendal, 1987
- 72 See British History Online, Journal of the House of Lords vol. 63, pp29-35
- 73 from a table reproduced in "A History of Methodism in Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale and Sedbergh" by T.Percy Bryer, Kendal 1987)
- 74 A part of the site which formed Rivers show orchard has been restored by volunteers and continues as a "Community Orchard" in which many heritage fruit tree varieties are cultivated. Its continued existence is in doubt as the lease ran out in April 2010; this and the rest of the information regarding the Rivers' business is taken from the website of The Rivers Nursery Orchard, <http://www.riversnurseryorchard.org.uk/Index.aspx>
- 75 Letter in WG, 6th August 1848. Henry Rishton had a long established plumbing and glazing business in Stricklandgate, Kendal, and had a line in horticultural products. He produced an "improved vinery frame" (see The Mechanics Magazine Vol XLIX Jul 1st to Dec 30th 1848).
- 76 Preston Guardian, 6th February 1858. See also Westmorland Gazette 24th January 1857 for earlier citation.
- 77 www.poultrymad.co.uk
- 78 David Smail, great grandson of Margaret Taylor (née Barnes), personal communication 13th December 2012. Marriage certificate, GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1856, Kendal, vol. 10B, p 721
- 79 See "Potato Famine" - Wikipedia
- 80 Report of meeting in the Oddfellows Hall, Kendal on 26th November. KM&T 29th November 1845.
- 81 Bordeaux mixture, a compound of copper sulphate and lime, developed as a remedy for downy mildew on vines by the Frenchman, Alexis Millardet, was found to be able to control the disease.
- 82 BBC Northern Ireland, "A Short History of Ireland" BBC website, www.bbc.co.uk/northernireland/ashorthistory/archive/intro182.shtml
- 83 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 84 Ian D.Hodkinson & Allan Steward, "The Three-Legged Society", Centre for North-West Regional Studies, Lancaster University, 2012
- 85 Pub. Allen Lane, 1976
- 86 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 87 Thomas Lawson, 1630 to 1691, was a Quaker minister and also the most noted northern botanist of his day. He provided the botanical information for Westmorland in a seventeenth edition of Camden's "Britannia", which was the first comprehensive topographical, geographical and historical study of Britain to be printed
- 88 A large garden – size estimated at approx. ¾ acre from the 1914 edition of the Ordnance Survey 1/2500 map.
- 89 Hodkinson, op cit.
- 90 Anon. WG 9th September 1865.
- 91 WG, 8th December 1866. Paper entitled "On the inducements to study natural history etc.", read at the Windermere Penny Readings on 5th December.
- 92 J.M.Barnes obit. WG, see endnote 7.
- 93 F. W. Stansfield, "Pioneers of the Fern Cult", British Fern Gazette, Volume 1, December 1909. Frederic Wilson Stansfield (1854 to 1937 – born in Todmorden, West Yorks., the son of Thomas Stansfield, a nurseryman who specialised in ferns) was a well-known fern man living in the South of England when he was co-opted as the first President of the British Pteridological Society in 1891. His grandfather was Abraham Stansfield, who had founded the nursery.
- 94 Charles Thomas Druery (1843 – 1917). Fellow of the Linnean Society 1885, awarded Veitch Memorial Medal of the Royal Horticultural Society 1897. President of the BPS 1898 – 1901. Responsible for the BPS starting its journal in 1909 and writer of most of its content. Author of highly popular books about ferns, he is chiefly remembered for the magisterial "British Ferns and their Varieties", London, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1911.
- 95 The Gardener's Magazine, 11th September 1897.
- 96 J.M.Barnes obit. WG, see endnote 7.
- 97 British Fern Gazette references:- 1914, BFG Vol. 2 No. 19, March, the fern variety was *Asp. Trich. Ramosum*; Cranfield's article was in Vol. 2 No. 21 Sept. 1917, BFG Vol. 3 No. 37 June; 1918, BFG Vol. 3 No. 35, March, The plant that suffered the knife cutting disaster was an allegedly unique tripennate, *Blechnum sp. Paradoxum* (Jones); 1926, Vol. 5 No. 7 Dec. The other fernists with whom Stansfield bracketed James were, William Foster, Charles Jackson, John Wills, J. J. Smithies & William Foster. In an earlier article in BFG Vol.3 No. 33 Sept. 1917, he had written an obituary of C. T. Drury in which he wrote of Drury having suffered a disadvantage, being a town dweller, such that "...his successes as a hunter were consequently not to be compared with those of Padley, Moly, Wills,

Endnotes

- Barnes, Whitwell etc.”.
- 98 See “Fern Hybridists & Fern Hybridising – 1 – The work of Edward Joseph Lowe (1825 – 1900)”, by John D. Lovis, in BFG Vol. 9 Part 8, footnote on p302. The other fernists were J. E. Mapplebeck, J. Moly & Stansfield the elder (Abraham presumably).
- 99 Elizabeth Alderson recorded as being born in Heversham, probably the same person as her 1841 namesake, a child of six in the household of Betty, or Betsy, Alderson a 38 year-old (widow of Thomas Alderson?) with 6 children. All these children were recorded as having been born in Westmorland, but not Betty herself, who came from Carnforth.
- 100 1861 census
- 101 James Barnes/Mary Ann Crosby marriage certificate, GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1863, Kendal, vol. 10B, p 996
- 102 St. John's church Levens was not licensed for marriages until 1868.
- 103 There was a William Bond, aged 69, in the 1861 census, living at Leasgill (Heversham) recorded as a tailor and draper, possibly he was a friend of James'. A William Bond was the local Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths from at least 1859 until at least 1879 – as evidenced by Barnes family death certificates.
- 104 Joseph Crosby's parentage according to the “Shirk Family Tree 2009 “ on Ancestry.co.uk (no longer visible when rechecked on 1/2/2011), but is evidenced by the Joseph Crosby/Jane Gibson marriage cert.
- 105 Joseph Crosby Marriage Certificate. GRO ref. 1843 Oct-Dec, Ulverston, vol. 25, p 233
- 106 Beetham Parish registers, Cumbria Record Office, Kendal ref. WPR43
- 107 Mary Ann not identifiable in Birth Index, probably born just too early, date from Familysearch.org, GRO refs. as follows:- Frances Hannah, birth, Jan-Mar 1840, Kendal vol. 25, p 461 - Isabella Rachel, birth, Oct-Dec 1841, Kendal vol.25, p 481, death, Jul-Sep 1843, Kendal vol. 15 , p 275.- Fanny, death, Jul-Sep 1843, Kendal vol. 25, p 275
- 108 Joseph Crosby Marriage Certificate, see endnote 105.
- 109 Robert Walker Papers, see endnote 55.
- 110 GRO refs. as follows:- Joseph Anthony, birth certificate, Apr-Jun 1864, Kendal vol. 10B, p 645 – Margaret Frances birth certificate, Apr-Jun 1865, Kendal vol. 10B, p 661 – James Martindale, birth, Jan-Mar 1869, Kendal vol. 10B, p 665 - Annie Jane, birth, Jul-Sep 1874, Kendal vol. 10B, p 712
- 111 Frances Margaret death certificate, GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1879, Kendal, vol. 10B, p 383
- 112 Helen Caldwell, personal communication 2009
- 113 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.
- 114 Robert Walker Papers, see endnote 55.
- 115 Ibid
- 116 Note - before the advent of the electron microscope, science relied on the optical, compound microscope, but until 1829 when the English amateur optician John Joseph Lister published his research, this device could not combine high magnification and high definition. Until then, the much simpler Coddington lens, giving magnification of up to about 20x, was more use.
- 117 John Bland Wood F.R.C.S of Broughton near Manchester, a prominent bryologist, 1813 to 1890.
- 118 William Wilson, b1799, d1871, was a leading British bryologist, a lawyer, he inherited enough money to forsake law practice in Warrington and spent most of his time on botany.
- 119 Westmorland Mercury and Times, 10th April 1914.
- 120 J.M.Barnes obit KM&T, see endnote 8.
- 121 Obituary of Joseph Anthony Martindale, Journal Of Botany – British & Foreign, Vol. 52, September 1914
- 122 Helen Caldwell, personal communication 2009.
- 123 John Burgess - "History of Cumbrian Methodism", Titus Wilson, Kendal 1980.
- 124 London Metropolitan Archives references CLA/040/03/192 to CLA/040/03/225
- 125 William Read, aged 69, possible death index GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1878, Marylebone. Vol 1a. P385.
- 126 Catherine Read, aged 72, possible death index GRO ref. Jul-Sep 1921, Kendal, Vol 10b, p709.
- 127 Edited by M.R.D.Seaward and S.M.D.FitzGerald, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew 1996.
- 128 Ian D. Hodkinson & Allan Steward op cit. See endnote 84.
- 129 Letter from J.A.Martindale to G.Stabler dated 28th November 1871, Robert Walker Papers, see endnote 55.
- 130 Quoted in Peter D.A.Boyd - The Victorian Fern Cult in South-west Britain. In in Ide, J.M., Jermy, A.C. and Paul, A.M. (eds.), Fern Horticulture: Past, Present and Future Perspectives, Andover, England 1992. (Proceedings of the British Pteridological Society Centenary Symposium held in 1991).
- 131 Published by J.Garnett, Windermere 1865.
- 132 In the first edition Linton also named the collectors who had supplied specimens or records of the local observation of nearly 160 varieties of fern. Barnes had provided over half of them. And there were one or two from Stabler & Martindale as well.

Endnotes

- 133 Kineton Parkes, "William James Linton, a Biographical Sketch", 1891. Copy of article viewed at <http://www.gerald-massey.org.uk/linton/>, from which I have extracted most of the information about Linton.
- 134 Brantwood was not the luxurious house we now know. Ruskin added 12 rooms to what he wrote was a "damp and mouldy cottage" when he bought it.
- 135 Kineton Parkes, *Ibid.*
- 136 Kathryn Hughes, "Kiss and Make Up", *New Statesman*; February 24, 2003
- 137 WG 10th April 1858, 11th April 1863. The Quarter Sessions were held 4 times a year & were courts presided over by JPs. and heard cases which could not be summarily tried by JPs. They were the intermediate level of justice between the Assizes (which dealt with serious crime inc. offences subject to capital punishment) and the Magistrates or Police Courts. Before County Councils were established (Local Govt. Act 1888) they also had a range of administrative functions e.g. supervision of the Poor Law and the police.
- 138 WG 14th December 1861. This institution was one of the serial incarnations of the Kendal Natural History Society.
- 139 KM 6th December 1862. Records that his collection accounted for £3 of the £22 10s that was given in Beathwaite Green for the relief of "distress in the cotton districts". The civil war in the USA had interrupted the supply of raw cotton to the Britain, thus almost closing down the cotton industry
- 140 In 1851, he joined a lengthy list of the county's established great and good, and the more ordinary, putting his name to a petition to the High Sheriff of Westmorland opposing one of the major events in the gradual rehabilitation of organised Roman Catholicism in Britain. The petitioners resented the "unprecedented aggression" of the Bishop of Rome (Pius IX) to "intrude into this Country a Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and Bishops of certain other English districts..." (Westmorland Gazette 4th January 1851). One or two other recognisable Levens names appear on the list, William Stephens of Levens Parsonage, James Spicer the Relieving Officer and William Hiscock the schoolmaster.
- 141 Robert Walker Papers, see endnote 55.
- 142 Joseph A. Barnes' diary records the ailment as Erysipelas (Helen Caldwell personal communication 2009), which is an acute streptococcus bacterial infection of the dermis, resulting in inflammation and characteristically extending into underlying fat tissue of the facial areas, typically around the eyes, ears, and cheeks: untreatable before the invention of anti-biotics.
- 143 James Martindale Barnes death certificate, GRO ref. Apr-Jun 1890, Kendal, vol. 10B, p 464
- 144 The 1914 edition of the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map still shows the garden at the size it was in James' time, with an orchard in the middle.
- 145 R.Kaye, "The Story of the Reginald Kaye Fern collection" - in *The History of British Pteridology 1891 – 1991* ed. J.M.Camus, British Pteridological Society, London 1991
- 146 From an article "Birth of the British Pteridological Society" by Mr. R. Whiteside in the *British Fern Gazette* Volume VII, July 1949. Whiteside, then aged 82 was the last surviving founder member of the British Pteridological Society & had been prevailed upon to write up his recollections of the early fern men. George Whitwell lived at Serpentine Cottage, Kendal and described himself in the 1891 census as "Superintendent of Serpentine Walks". Whiteside reckoned him as "...the centre where all Ferns of collectors found a home, and his plants were magnificent".
- 147 Levens Boys' School logbook, entry for 15th October 1875. At the time of writing (Feb. 2011), the logbook is in the possession of Levens Local History Group.
- 148 In the report of the 1885 Heversham Grammar School annual prize-giving, distinctions achieved by former pupils were mentioned, amongst them "J.A. Barnes, BA Degree of the London University (Second Division)". *Lancaster Gazette*, 1st August 1885.
- 149 See "Joseph Anthony Martindale - 19th July 1837 to 3rd April 1914" biographical notes.
- 150 He had evidently been doing guided tours on the Continent since at least 1903 (see *Kendal Mercury & Times* 18th September 1903 – 'Westmorland Folk in Switzerland'), and according to his journal found it a congenial occupation – (entries for 1910, 1911 & 1912, kindly provided by his great niece Helen Caldwell).
- 151 At the time of writing (Jan. 2013) the Infants' School register 1872-1907 & Girls' School register 1876 – 1908 are in the possession of Levens Local History Group.
- 152 Levens Boys' School logbook, entry for 4th July 1877. The girls went to the Boys' School for the drawing exam.
- 153 Information kindly supplied by Ms C.McDonough of the Senate House Library of the University of London (personal communication). See http://archives.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/resources/general_register_part_3.pdf and <http://archives.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/resources/graduates.pdf>
The report of the Heversham Grammar School annual prize-giving for 1888 quotes from the examiner's report that Barnes J.M.'s 6th form mathematics papers "were exceedingly good", in spite of his studies being interfered with by having to concentrate on "the B.A. Examination for the University of London". *Lancaster Gazette* 4th August 1888.
- 154 Other than the census data, much of the information about JMB the younger's life was provided by Helen Caldwell in a series of personal communications 2009 to 2011.

Endnotes

- 155 He was for a while in 1910/11 a committee member of the British Pteridological Society. British Fern Gazette Vol. 1, no. 5, September 1910.
- 156 British Fern Gazette, Vol. 4, No. 6, Jun-sep 1920, p82. Also, see 1891 & 1901 census', Miss Salkeld was a spinster schoolmistress, b Appleby c1835, living in Leasgill. She had a Levens connection; a sister, Emma, had married a William MacDonald who was gamekeeper for a few years at Levens Hall (1881 census). One of their children was born in Levens in c1878. By 1881 they had become Hotel Keepers at the Greyhound in Shap.
- 157 Mary Ann Barnes death, GRO ref. Oct-Dec 1923, Kendal vol. 10b, p 780