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The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society and the Victoria County History

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The Victoria County History (VCH) was established in London in 1899 and Cumberland was one of the first counties to start work, initially under the guiding hand of Richard Saul Ferguson. A county committee was formed, and contributors were signed up. Ferguson died in 1900 and was succeeded by Rev James Wilson, who brought two volumes into print, and prepared the material for two more which were never published. This article reconstructs the development of the VCH in Cumberland and Westmorland, and examines the role of CWAAS members and officers in working on the project. The failure to progress beyond volume II in Cumberland, and to publish even one of the two projected Westmorland volumes is explained, mainly from material in the VCH archives. The article provides an appropriate background to the revival of the VCH in Cumbria in 2010, with CWAAS again playing a prominent role.

THE Victoria County History (VCH) was planned in 1899 as a series of county 'sets', and designed as a 'National Survey' of England 'at the commencement of the Twentieth Century' to show 'the condition of the country at the present day, and tracing the domestic history of the English Counties back to the earliest times'. Within each county set, it 'will show what part the county [Cumberland, Westmorland] played in the larger history of the Empire'.¹ Two volumes were published for Cumberland, and the pre-1974 area of Cumbria known as Lancashire north of the Sands was covered in volume VIII of the Lancashire series, published in 1914. A great deal of work which was never to find its way into print was undertaken for both Cumberland and Westmorland. This article looks at the establishment of the VCH in Cumberland and Westmorland, at the links with CWAAS, and at the fraught relations between local contributors and the VCH Central Office in London before the enterprise stalled at the time of the First World War. It provides a background to the revival of the project in Cumbria in 2010.

The idea of a county history written on a national basis was proposed to Arthur Doubleday, a partner in the publishing firm of Archibald Constable & Co., by Sir Laurence Gomme, a leading figure on the London County Council. They envisaged creating an organisation with a central directorate in London which would 'inspire with confidence the county archaeologists and others whose local knowledge would be needed to supplement the work of various experts at headquarters'.² The VCH was planned as a series of county 'sets', consisting of a number of volumes (usually four initially – although only two were thought necessary for Westmorland) covering the history of the county from the beginning (natural history) to the present, and including brief manorial and church histories of each parish. Volumes I and II in each set (volume I for Westmorland) took the form of general essays written by a combination of local and national experts, while volumes III and IV (II for Westmorland) were intended to be parish by parish (or township by township) studies which would be researched and written locally. The general volumes were to be edited jointly by the VCH General

Editor (Doubleday to 1904, William Page 1902-34, jointly with Doubleday 1902-4), and a local editor.

Wherever he could, Doubleday recruited a well-known local historian as county editor, partly to give the project weight, and partly to encourage local authors to work alongside subject specialists who wrote on some topics for several counties. Doubleday recruited Richard Saul Ferguson as local editor, and by doing so he could not have done more to ensure the success of the VCH in Cumbria. Ferguson was the obvious choice having played a leading role in setting up the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society in 1866. He had been its founding editor and, from 1886, its president, and he researched and wrote extensively on the antiquities and history of Cumberland and Westmorland. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1877, and in 1887 he was made Chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle. The first volume of the VCH Cumberland described how for a quarter of a century he held 'the hegemonic place in all matters of local knowledge', while an obituary in *CWI* noted how he was 'the heart and soul of the society'.³

Ferguson's initial tasks were to sign up local specialists to write the general articles in the first two volumes of VCH Cumberland, and to help Doubleday in setting up the county committee. Doubleday took the view that to ensure support for the VCH each county needed to set up a local committee of 'the great landowners and others who were representative of all we needed in each county', as he recalled in 1938. Lords lieutenant were invited to chair their county committees and securing their services was the responsibility of the Duke of Argyll, who also obtained Queen Victoria's permission to use her name in the series. Once the lords lieutenant were on board, the leading peers and landowners were invited to serve on the committees.⁴ In April 1899, Doubleday captured the services of Lord Muncaster, the lord lieutenant, to take the chair of the putative county committee. Muncaster was not exactly enthusiastic, insisting that he was accepting the position only in a 'purely honorary' capacity.⁵

The universal respect in which Chancellor Ferguson (as he was known) was held locally was important not only in attracting contributors, but also in promoting membership of the Cumberland county committee. Doubleday probably envisaged a single committee for both Cumberland and Westmorland given the strong links between the two counties in antiquarian and historical matters, but on 17 June 1899 Ferguson proposed to him that 'you should get your local committees formed for both counties. An independent committee for each with each its own secretary.' Why he advised on these lines is not clear,⁶ but Doubleday accepted his recommendation and the two men then set about compiling rough lists of potential members for the two county committees, and these were finalised early in August 1899. Ferguson noted that he had 'struck out the dead men and those who have [sold] their property and left the county. I have added others, whom I think suitable.'⁷ His recommendations for Cumberland included Canon H. D. Rawnsley, the Mayor of Carlisle, and the Bishop of London. The bishop, Mandell Creighton, was a distinguished historian and a native of Carlisle.⁸

The first list of invitees for the Cumberland committee was completed and letters of

invitation were posted from the VCH Central Office in London on 17 August 1899. Those approached were told that Muncaster had agreed to take the chair, and that Ferguson was to be the local editor. They were also assured that by agreeing to allow their names to go forward ‘no monetary obligation of any kind will be incurred’.⁹ The replies were mainly positive, with several of the respondents mentioning their willingness to be of service to Ferguson. The Earl of Carlisle was cautious, claiming he would need to write to Ferguson to find out ‘in what manner a committee can assist him’. Ferguson clearly convinced him since, after an exchange of letters, he formally agreed to serve.¹⁰ William Standish, whose main home was in Winchester, suggested that ‘as I only reside in Cumberland for three weeks in the year I am afraid I should not be of much assistance’, but he joined the committee anyway.¹¹ J. Proctor Watson volunteered to join even though the offer of a place went to his younger brother who had ‘been away in California for some years and no immediate prospect of return’.¹² John Musgrave of Wasdale Hall withheld his consent until he had found out whether membership of the committee ‘will involve any financial or other responsibility’, and when Doubleday confirmed that ‘members of the Committee will incur no responsibility’, he consented to join.¹³ Hardly surprisingly, CWAAS members loomed large on the committee, which included the President, the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness, four of the eleven vice presidents, and seven of the twelve members of council.¹⁴

Ferguson had suggested setting up separate committees for Cumberland and Westmorland, but no committee was formed for Westmorland. In April 1899 Doubleday invited Lord Hothfield to take the chair. He refused having ‘neither time nor inclination’ – despite being a patron of CWAAS – and when Doubleday consulted Ferguson about the matter, the Chancellor was dismissive: ‘I have no influence whatever with Lord Hothfield. Indeed I do not know him. I do not think that he is any loss. You had better try Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Underley Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale, or Montagu Crackenthorpe, Newbiggin Hall – he is the chairman of Quarter Sessions’.¹⁵ Nothing seems to have come of this.

Ferguson’s main task was to recruit authors and contributors. In each county set, volume I was predominantly about natural history and environment, together with the early history and archaeology of the county, and volume II took the story forward from Domesday as well as including a number of subjects which were covered for the whole period. VCH *Cumberland* I was eventually to include natural history, early man, pre-Norman remains, the fragmentary Domesday Book entry, Early Pipe Rolls and Testa de Nevill, now better known as the Book of Fees. To write the relevant sections, Ferguson set about preparing a list of contributors to the volumes, which he thought should include:

Geology	J. G. Goodchild, Museum of Science and Arts, Edinburgh
Flora	William Hodgson, Workington
Entomology	Frank Day, Carlisle
Ornithology etc.	Rev H. A. Macpherson, Allonby, Maryport
Marine Invertebrate	D. Anson, Whitehaven
Conchology	Captain Farrar, Bassenthwaite

Ethnology	W. G. Collingwood, Lanehead, Coniston
Effigies	Rev Canon Bower, St Cuthbert's Vicarage, Carlisle
Ecclesiastical History	Rev James Wilson, Dalston
	Rev Canon Rawnsley, Crosthwaite. ¹⁶

Some of the proposed authors declined, and Ferguson added to the list as he found potential new contributors. These included Francis Grainger on Cumberland agriculture. Some slots proved difficult to fill. Ferguson complained that he was struggling 'to find a man for "forestry" but Cumberland "forestry" wont occupy much room'.¹⁷ Ferguson was himself to contribute on earthworks and, potentially, subjects where he could not find specialist contributors. Since all the contractual arrangements were made with the VCH in London, responsibility for actually signing up the authors lay with Doubleday.

With the committee recruited and some, at least, of the authors contracted, there was inevitably a hiatus while contributors researched and wrote their text for Ferguson and the London editors to read and comment on. Before a volume was anywhere near completion, Ferguson died on 3 March 1900 at his house in Carlisle. He left a huge vacuum in local history generally in the north-west, and a smaller but no less important one in the fledgling VCH Cumberland. Rev F. L. H. Millard, vicar of Aspatria, and another member of the committee, wrote to Doubleday on 5 March to convey the bad news and to ask 'if you could kindly send any instructions with regard to the work he has done and the MSS he has on the subject to me, his son-in-law'. He added in a second letter: 'His death will, I am sure, be a loss to your work, for there is no man in Cumberland who had the same many sided knowledge that he possessed'.¹⁸

The repercussions were extensive. Charles Thurnham, the Carlisle bookseller handling advance orders for the Cumberland volumes, wrote in some trepidation to Doubleday in April 1900 asking: 'We have now rather over £400 worth of orders and several of our customers are writing to ask if we can give them any idea when the book is likely to be issued, or how far Chancellor Ferguson had gone on with it before his death and who is going to finish it'.¹⁹ Canon Rawnsley even thought it would spell the end of the project, which would doubtless have saddened him since there were close links between the VCH and the National Trust, of which he was a founder.²⁰

Ferguson died with work in progress and the question immediately arose of who could replace him as VCH Cumberland local editor. Ferguson's brother Charles, who was also on the Cumberland committee, recommended Viscount Morpeth.²¹ But in the end the mantle fell to Canon James Wilson, the vicar of Dalston. Wilson (1856-1923) was born in Ireland and graduated from Trinity College, Dublin. He was ordained in 1879 to the curacy of St Paul's, Carlisle, and became vicar of Dalston in 1888, where he died 35 years later. He joined the CWAAS in 1883, was elected to council in 1892, and became a vice president in 1902. He joined the VCH county committee in August 1899, but he turned down the opportunity to contribute the ecclesiastical history section for which he was proposed by Ferguson. It is not clear why he did this. Wilson was an acclaimed antiquarian, a scholarly parson of a particular Victorian ilk, who was described locally following his death as 'our greatest authority on the ecclesiastical history of the ancient

diocese of Carlisle'.²² It was Wilson who brought the two general volumes planned by Ferguson to publication in 1901 and 1905.²³

We do not know why Wilson turned down Ferguson's initial approach to him, but his interest in the VCH revived with Ferguson's death. He wrote to Doubleday on 10 March 1900 to say that:

I am greatly afraid the death of Chancellor Ferguson may put you to inconvenience and perhaps retard the work. In case you can find an editor inclined to feel the same trust in me, and with whom I could work, I might perhaps reconsider the matter and carry out your original proposal. I should be very sorry if the project fell to the ground.²⁴

Doubleday grasped Wilson's offer with alacrity, and Wilson responded on 15 March:

If you think fit to appoint me editor of the Cumberland volumes of the Victoria History, I will do my best to produce a work worthy of the series. The topographical account of the manors and parishes is closely associated with the ecclesiastical history and should come from the same hand. With the aid of the clergy and local correspondents I could undertake the section also, specially as I have done archaeological work in almost every parish in the county. The municipal and political history would not be very onerous as both departments have been well probed by the late Chancellor Ferguson and the local archaeological society ... I think the vacant subjects left by Chancellor Ferguson might be allotted after some consideration.²⁵

Wilson was not everybody's choice in the manner of Ferguson and he was clearly irascible, upsetting authors and eventually falling out with the VCH itself. Initially, however, all seemed well, and Wilson was in London during May 1900 negotiating a deal with Doubleday. A fee was agreed of 100 guineas for his editorial work on volumes I and II, and 150 guineas each for the two topographical volumes (III and IV), which he was proposing to write himself. The interpretation of these figures was later to become a matter of contention, but at least initially Doubleday must have been relieved to find such a willing replacement for Ferguson.²⁶

It was not long before harmony slithered into discord. Contributors complained that they were not kept informed as to what was going on. Ferguson's successor as editor (1900-25) and later President (1920-32) of CWAAS, William Gershom Collingwood (1854-1932),²⁷ wrote to Doubleday on 2 December 1900 to complain about his treatment:

Chancellor Ferguson put me down for certain items in the Victoria History without consulting me; and gave me no directions or information whatever in connection with the project. I heard no more of it until 3 weeks ago, when I saw in a newspaper that Mr Wilson of Dalston was taking up the work, and that I was to do part of it. I went to see him but could not get much information. Your letter this morning is the first I know of the time by which the article on Anglo-Saxon etc remains is required, and the length of it. I suppose some pay is offered; perhaps you can tell me how much; also, what I could not gather from Mr Wilson, what are your plans for illustrating the article; and what is its exact scope, whether including earthworks, supposed to be pre-Norman and post-Roman, and architecture in similar case, or only sculptured stones and metalwork?²⁸

Ferguson's draft of prehistoric Cumberland was immediately sent to Collingwood, who calmed down and agreed to co-operate although he noted, having edited Ferguson's work, that 'I ... find that a great deal more has been left to me than I expected. I will do the best I can, and I think I can promise the first part of my paper – Sculptured

Stones – by the end of January and I will send the metalwork and earthworks as soon as possible after'.²⁹ He read the proofs of his article on earthworks in September 1901, and was delighted to see the volume appear only a few weeks later to favourable reviews, but added: 'May I remind you that I have not yet been paid for my share in this work?'³⁰

Wilson found working with Doubleday difficult because he wanted the General Editor to show him greater respect:

From your recent letters I gather you are willing that I should be an effective and not merely a nominal editor. For the past few months I had what I held to be sufficient reason to think otherwise when I found the 'Early Man' article which I had never seen, submitted to one of the contributors and that submission ostentatiously acknowledged in the notes and when I found 120 Pages of the final volume also unseen by me, printed off without my knowledge. I thought that it was time to stop and smoke a few pipes over the cryptic idiosyncrasies of my General Editor. It is like the tail wagging the dog when Mr Macpherson tells you he objects to the alteration of the spelling of a place-name, as if a scientific writer had any idea of the value of nomenclature in history, or as if the editors who had the form of the whole work before them did not know better than he ... It would be well to remember that I defer to nobody in the matter of local knowledge. If any of the contributors take exception to my suggestions, I recognise in you the final word of appeal whose decision settles everything.³¹

Eventually they found a way of working, and VCH *Cumberland* I appeared in 1901. As with all the first volumes in county sets published before the First World War, it was dominated by natural history. This was introduced by Rev H. A. Macpherson, a well-known local zoologist, who undertook the ornithology section even after he moved to Pitlochry in Perthshire. Other contributors were a mixture of national experts who wrote on all or many counties, and local specialists. The national figures included Richard Lydekker who wrote all the entries for palaeontology, B. B. Woodward on mollusca, F. O. Pickard-Cambridge on arachnida, and T. R. R. Stebbing who, like Lydekker, wrote on all counties, in his case on crustacea. Apart from Macpherson, the other major local contributor on natural history was William Hodgson (who died before the volume came into print) on botany. Following natural history, the volume included Ferguson on early man, a chapter he had drafted before his death, Collingwood on Pre-Norman remains, and Wilson himself on Domesday, the Early Pipe Rolls and the Testa de Nevill of 1212, which became the benchmark from which to discuss the Norman pattern of lordship in the county. Wilson's work remains an essential starting point for anyone interested in the medieval history of Cumberland.³²

Remarkably, VCH *Cumberland* I was among the earliest volumes to appear, despite the hiatus following Ferguson's death, and perhaps reflected Wilson's energy, which he referred to in correspondence with Doubleday in February 1901: 'The truth is I have spent more time over the sections of other persons than I have been able to do with my own. Still I do not complain as long as we can drive our high-spirited team through Temple Bar without a spill'.³³

Even before the printers' ink was dry on volume I, Wilson was hard at work preparing volume II for the press. The second volume in each county set was also made up of a number of general essays, but now on post-Conquest themes, including ecclesiastical history and religious houses, politics, social and economic history, agriculture, forestry,

industries, education and sport. This was the theory: in practice many of the second volumes included whatever was ready and written to length by the time the volume was due to go to the printer. Wilson was not the most pliant of local editors when it came to organising and preparing the contents. Perhaps not surprisingly, he wrote the ecclesiastical history and religious houses sections himself, but he showed little self-discipline in terms of length. William Page, the general editor, complained in August 1904 that the ecclesiastical history section was now 240 pages instead of the 150 pages allowed, which meant the volume was likely to come out at 639 pages, which would be too long. Wilson reluctantly agreed to make the cuts.³⁴

For political history, Wilson signed up R. A. Allison, of Scaleby Hall, JP, DL, a local MP and member of the county committee. When the article arrived Wilson found it not fit for purpose. He sent it on to Page, who complained that, as written, the article went 'far outside the bounds of local history and a great amount of irrelevant matter has crept in. Many of the authorities quoted are unsound and a great deal of material in the PRO has not been consulted ... I am afraid there is no alternative but to recast the whole article omitting all irrelevant matter and adding fresh original material'.³⁵ Wilson agreed to talk to Mr Allison about what to do with his entry, and in the end agreed to revise it for publication under their joint names.³⁶

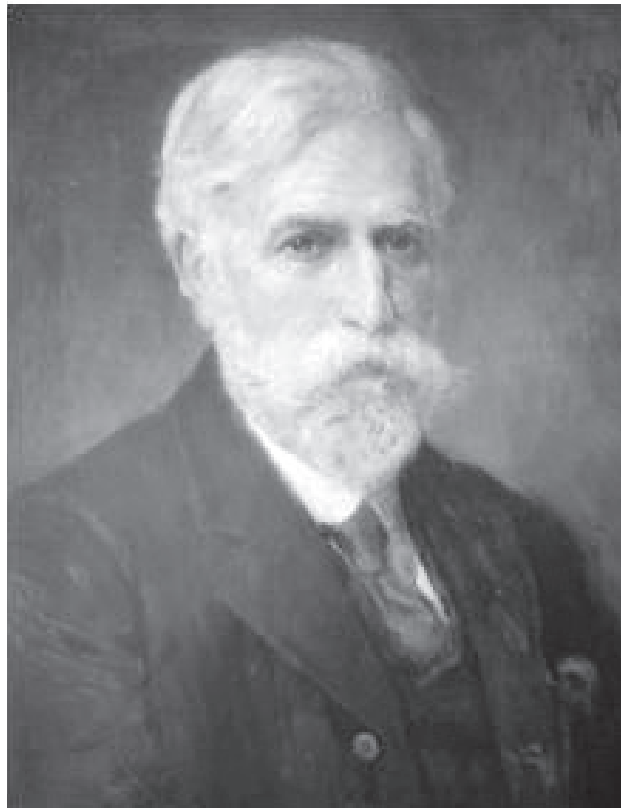


FIG. 1. William Page.

Next, the section on industry started causing difficulties. The chapter on coal mining was written by R. W. Moore, a Whitehaven mining engineer who wanted Wilson to secure for him access to colliery records in possession of the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Leconfield, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, H. P. Senhouse esq, the representatives of the Curwen estate, and the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.³⁷ Wilson asked Doubleday to approach the Dean and Chapter, which promptly denied having any papers.³⁸ But when Moore finished his work in late 1902 the chapter ran to nearly 100,000 words although only 20,000 words had been allowed for in the prospectus. He agreed to edit the material to length.³⁹

Rev H. A. Macpherson thought he had been asked to nominate writers for, and to edit the section on, sport. In February 1901 Wilson reported to Doubleday that the sport section was causing difficulties with Macpherson, to whom he felt it was inappropriate to defer.⁴⁰ Macpherson clearly saw things differently and told Doubleday in April 1901:

I must ask you to have the kindness to relieve me of all responsibility for the Sports of Cumberland. I should have been happy to have seen them; but my *very dear* friend James Wilson is local editor, and he has taken the matter practically out of my hands. I urged on him to get Mr Nicholson to do the sections of wrestling etc., but that he has wholly ignored ... By all means persuade him to provide for the section as he thinks best ... he is the kindest and best fellow in the world, but divided responsibility never answers. I have waited on and on for information about writers which has never come. Please put it to Mr Wilson that I have retired from the field, and that you look to him to carry the matter safely through.⁴¹

When this message was relayed to Wilson, he expressed astonishment at Macpherson's accusations.⁴² Communications had clearly broken down somewhere, because Francis Nicholson did write the section on wrestling, as well as cockfighting and hounds and trails. Nicholson submitted his article on cockfighting in December 1901, and when Doubleday complained that there were no pictures he thought of a way of securing some: 'I have arranged a cockfight for next week to see if I cannot get a picture or two for you'.⁴³ Eventually Macpherson's section on sport was edited by William Steel, who contributed on otter hunting but died before the volume appeared. As for Macpherson, he was not mentioned.

All this lengthening had to be compensated by an omission. The proposed social and economic history chapter was not written in time, and was postponed for volume III.⁴⁴ Francis Grainger of Carlisle, a member of the Cumberland committee, wrote an article on agriculture, but then found it did not make the cut for volume II. On 26 October 1905 he complained to William Page that:

it is many years now since the late Chancellor Ferguson asked me to undertake the article on Agriculture fixing the remuneration at £1 per 1000 words. I think it scarcely fair that this publication should be deferred from year to year. It was to be published in volume I, then in volume II and all that I am told now is that it may appear some years hence. I think I am certainly entitled to payment of say £20 on account and when you go through the MSS which I hope you will be able to do shortly ... Mr Wilson rejected the introduction as being not specially applicable to the county yet if it is suggested that no introduction is needed it may be necessary to deal more fully with modern agriculture and I have obtained some material for the purpose.⁴⁵

Page now got around to reading his work, which he asked him to redraft:

What we really want for this article is a general view of the conditions of agriculture from the year 1800 dealing with it rather from the technical side. The earlier part of the history of agriculture, the enclosure and so on, comes within the scope of the Social and Economic history and other articles. The points to be kept in mind are: the districts into which the county may be divided for agricultural purposes, having regard to the nature of the soil, to the crops and the course of cropping pursued, the peculiarities of farm implements and breeds of cattle etc. References should be made to scientific farming and experimental work.

Grainger was asked to remove all references to agriculture pre-1800. He re-wrote the article and resubmitted it in October 1906.⁴⁶ It was never published. George Abraham suffered a similar fate. He wrote a history of mountaineering for the section on sport, which produced friction with the Central Office over content and payment. It was eventually dropped on the grounds of lack of relevance outside Cumberland. The population tables which usually appeared in the second volume of a county set, were also left out.⁴⁷

Also omitted was material prepared by Professor Francis Haverfield on Roman Cumberland. Haverfield wrote on Roman antiquities for many counties including Derbyshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, Somerset, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, but his notes for Cumberland were held over from volume I to go into volume II, and in the end were not used at all. This seems to have been because

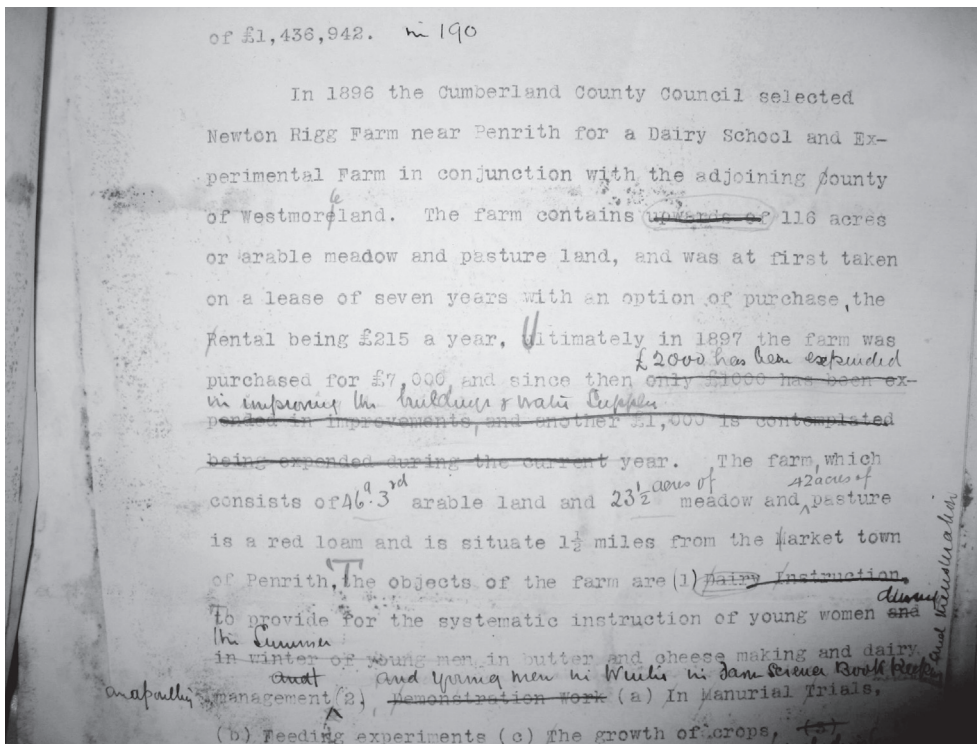


FIG. 2. Page of Grainger's unpublished article.

the VCH was considering a single volume on Roman remains in the six northern counties which never appeared. Haverfield's findings for Cumberland can be read in *Transactions*.⁴⁸

VCH *Cumberland II* finally appeared in 1905, although not without contention in relation to the names on the front cover. When volume I appeared in 1901 Wilson was not named on the title page as the editor. In fact, and most unusually, no editorial name was given. Wilson recalled in 1905 that 'the omission of my name from the title page of vol I is an old sore that I need not re-open. I gave it the benefit of the doubt and set it down as an oversight.' When the proofs of the preliminaries for volume II arrived, and he again found his name missing, he was less inclined to be so forgiving:

There can be no oversight in vol. II for my name was properly placed in the first proof and erased in the second. You must not regard me as a pedant, for I only claim the indulgence which is my right according to the prospectus of the Victoria History of Cumberland and which has been extended to the editors of other counties I could name. The omission in the first volume has been interpreted by my friends as a slight to which you cannot expect me to assent. In these circumstances I desire you to restore my name to the title-page as on the first proof and as indicated on the revised proof enclosed.⁴⁹

William Page, who had become sole general editor in 1904, was less inclined than Doubleday to share the title page of any VCH volume with another (local) editor. Wilson had a good case – due acknowledgement was made to Wilson and Page's name did not appear.

At this juncture Wilson was hopeful that volume III, the first of the topographical volumes, would appear in 1907 or early 1908 and a fourth and final volume two to three years after that.⁵⁰ The topographical volumes included, for each parish, descriptions of the manorial descent, the church and advowson, and the charities. Wilson was sent the standard guidelines on how to compile them,⁵¹ and despite much of his energy being taken up with volume II he made some progress on the topographical entries:

visiting parishes, castles, churches, halls and other places of interest, working from various centres and often spending a fortnight at a time in one district. In addition I have examined as many private collections of MS to which I can obtain permission of access. I have had to employ a record agent to do what I required at the Public Record Office. Besides, as there is no public library near me of value to my special pursuit, I have been obliged to procure books suitable for topographical history.⁵²

As a result of all this effort, he was concerned that the remuneration was not going to be sufficient. In 1900 he had agreed with the VCH a fee of 150 guineas each for volumes III and IV, but on 13 September 1905 he told Page that he was about to come to London to work in the PRO (Public Record Office) and to talk about the topography 'but I cannot move till I get a subsidy from you. The last volume has drained my exchequer more than I dare tell you'.⁵³ He followed up with a letter asking, sarcastically, whether he should be paying Messrs. Constable for the privilege of working for the VCH.⁵⁴ Page, who was undoubtedly more businesslike in his attitude to contributors than Doubleday had been, simply responded that Wilson had been paid everything he was owed to date.⁵⁵ Subsequently he offered to refer the matter to an arbitrator given that Wilson appeared to have been under 'a very regrettable misunderstanding' as to the sums due to him.⁵⁶

Wilson eventually relented,⁵⁷ and Page set out for him the terms and conditions for the two topographical volumes:

I shall be glad if you will undertake to compile the topographical accounts of the parishes in the county of Cumberland, upon the lines indicated in the *Guide to the Victoria County History*, giving authorities as far as it is possible for all statements. The whole (excluding the architectural descriptions, which will be supplied to you) not to exceed 550 pages, or roughly 500,000 words, allowance to be made in this for illustrations appearing in the text ... It would be convenient if the MS was delivered by Hundreds as completed, but in any case I should like to have enough MS to fill 300 pages including the architectural descriptions (the length of which will depend upon the district you select to begin upon) by 1 June 1907 (for volume III), remainder by 1 June 1909 (for vol IV). The total amount of remuneration to be 300 guineas to be paid, 150 guineas on the publication of volume III and 150 guineas on the publication of volume IV. The whole work to be done to the satisfaction of the General Editor.⁵⁸

Wilson agreed to these terms, telling Page that 'I am writing the topography of Cumberland to the best of my ability and I will finish it in as short a time as my health and opportunities permit'.⁵⁹

Wilson, being a difficult man to please, quickly started to pick holes in the scheme. Page reminded him that this was not acceptable:

I think you will see that it is quite impossible in a scheme like the Victoria County History to deviate from the lines which have been laid down for the compilation of topography. It is essential that the work throughout should be uniform. I think therefore that you will quite understand that I cannot make any alteration in the terms which I suggested to you.⁶⁰

The root of the problem appears to have been the architectural descriptions, and how these would be compiled and integrated into his text. The method adopted by the VCH was set out by Page in an effort to reassure Wilson:

The individual and detailed accounts of the ecclesiastical and domestic architecture in each parish ... we are doing this in a special way, dealing with each building by its plan, showing the development of the building in detail. The architecture giving a general survey of the ecclesiastical and domestic architecture of the county, will not deal with the descriptive accounts of individual buildings, but with the introduction and development of different styles, the influence of material upon design and detail, and generally the special characteristics of the architecture of the county ... the organisation of it is in the hands of Mr Peers, whose name is probably well known to you. I feel sure that you would be very much pleased with the way in which he would deal with the architecture of the county.⁶¹

Wilson took this to mean that 'I shall not be required to say anything about the fabric of churches, halls or castles – in fact nothing about buildings of any description ... my references will be firmly historical'.

The VCH Central Office also supplied Wilson with references. One of William Page's reforms in 1904 was to employ a small army of young people, many of them women, to work through the lists and indexes of the PRO and British Museum and to write down index references to places. Each source was itemised on a slip of paper, and the slips were sorted into counties and then bound together or stored in envelopes and parcels. Page offered Wilson all the Cumberland material, 'such as abstracts from the Feet of Fines, Inquisitions post mortem, and various other classes of records at the

Public Record Office'. He added that 'if at any time there are different points which you would require to have looked up at the Record Office, I will do my best to have this done'.⁶²The whole collection for Cumberland was boxed up at the end of 1905 and sent to Wilson for his use. It is now in Carlisle Library.⁶³

This emphasis on using the original sources was integral to the VCH project, partly because they were increasingly available to the public through the PRO and BM, but also to avoid simply recycling the mistakes which could be found in the older county histories such as Nicolson and Burn and Hutchinson. 'Local editors', the VCH guide commented, 'must keep before them the fact that in order to compile the [topographical history] on historical principles it is absolutely essential that none but original sources of information be used'. Wilson's task in this respect was being helped by providing him with the relevant references and with the offer to check some of them in the PRO. He was able also to call on approved antiquarian sources. One of Chancellor Ferguson's first moves was to persuade Lord Lonsdale to lend him the Thomas Denton MSS which was then at Whitehaven. Ferguson immediately sent it to the VCH Central Office to be transcribed for use on the Cumberland project, insisting that it should be kept in a fire proof safe each night it was away from Whitehaven. Ferguson's executors then struggled to recover the original.⁶⁴

For a while Wilson worked away, but it was not long before he started to question the timetable, suggesting that June 1907 was too soon to complete volume III: 'My anxiety arises from a knowledge of the vast mass of unprinted evidence that has to be explored'. He proposed for volume III to cover the baronies of Copeland and Allendale, 'or in modern nomenclature the wards of Allerdale above and Allerdale below Derwent, with a few parishes from Cumberland Ward in order to make an equal division of the county'.⁶⁵ Page agreed to accept half the topography for volume III by 1 June 1907 and the rest by the end of the year, in order to fit into the publishing schedule. Volume III would then come out in the first six months of 1908.⁶⁶

Wilson continued to run late and had still not submitted volume III when in late 1908 the VCH ran into financial difficulties and stopped publishing. It was not back on its feet until 1910, when a financial agreement was arranged for work to continue in ten counties. This did not include Cumberland, probably because the county was unable to raise any financial support for ongoing work. A correspondent of the *Carlisle Journal* complained in 1913 that it was 'high time that the remaining volumes were without more delay placed by the publishers in the hands of every subscriber'.⁶⁷ No response was forthcoming.

What had happened to the Cumberland topography? Wilson died on 25 March 1923 at Dalston vicarage. In an obituary notice in *CWAAS Transactions*, the writer noted that 'with him we lose a most learned and scholarly exponent of the medieval antiquities of Cumberland and our greatest authority on the ecclesiastical history of the ancient diocese of Carlisle'. The notice added that 'the MS of the remainder [of the VCH] exist, we understand, in readiness for publication, and it is greatly to be hoped that so valuable a work may not be lost to students of Cumbrian topography'.⁶⁸ It was a vain hope. In the 1950s, the story was known locally that 'a considerable collection

of material for the detailed History of the Parishes made by the late Canon Wilson including original documents, was destroyed after his death, which will be almost impossible to replace'.⁶⁹ The Carlisle Librarian, Tom Gray, offered a sad postscript on this information which rings true, given the financial issues which had occurred back in 1905. The material was prepared for publication but 'Dr Wilson told his wife not to part with the MS unless he received the sum which had been agreed upon between himself and the VCH people as payment for the work. As there appeared to be no possibility of this, Dr Wilson's work was destroyed. So far as I know, he himself destroyed his own notes before his death.' He had not destroyed the PRO notes and slips, which were deposited in the Jackson Library, as it then was,⁷⁰ but his topographical histories for every Cumberland parish had gone up in smoke.

What, meantime, had happened to Westmorland after the failure to persuade Lord Hothfield to take the chair of a county committee? A local committee was not formed, and no local editor was appointed. However, a number of authors researched and prepared articles for publication, under the guidance of VCH Central Office. Only two volumes were planned for the county, one of general essays similar to the two Cumberland volumes, and one of topographical entries. Volume I was to include geology, natural history, including the usual range of palaeontology, zoology and botany, an introduction to and the text of Domesday, religious houses, social and economic history, industries, agriculture and sport. Volume II was to be the topographical entries.

Progress on volume I was certainly considerable. Some, at least, of these essays were prepared. Professor J. E. Marr wrote the geology section, and Richard Lydekker made his usual contribution on palaeontology. Joseph Martindale of Staveley was contracted to write on botany. Martindale submitted his 34,000 word manuscript in the summer of 1903. In September he enquired as to what had happened to the proofs. Page sent somewhat convoluted apologies, but the material was never published, and he was paid only £8 10s. of the £35 14s. owed to him.⁷¹ T. B. B. Stebbing wrote on crustaceans, and W. Denison Roebuck of Leeds wrote 18,000 words on entomology. He obviously felt neglected because in 1908 he reminded Page that he was still working on Westmorland entomology. Page simply asked him to send in the MSS without offering any commitment.⁷² Roebuck's essay made proof stage but he was still owed £12 12s. after the First World War.⁷³

John Watson of Kendal wrote on fishes, reptiles, mammals and birds. He sent several sections to Page in 1908 and wrote again in August 1909 asking for payment for his work. He pressed Page further early in 1910 only to be told that 'the work on the Victoria County History is wholly in abeyance', and that nothing was even being typeset let alone published. Watson was incensed and threatened to put the matter into the hands of his solicitor. He was owed £10 10s., and added that 'for many years I have been a contributor to most of the leading magazines and Reviews, and the fees I receive are from three to five times greater'. Page referred him to A & C Constables' accountant, and he was probably paid.⁷⁴ Most of the natural history section was completed.⁷⁵

A section on earthworks was completed, although not by H. S. Cowper of Hawkshead

who was approached by Page in 1907 to be the author, but excused himself from undertaking the work.⁷⁶

The Domesday survey was undertaken by William Farrer of Witherslack (1861-1924) who, like Wilson, was a vice president of CWAAS. When Farrer died in 1924 his executor found 'over 1000 sheets of foolscap paper with the late Dr Farrer's notes and gleanings in preparation for a History of Westmorland.' These included transcripts of Domesday Book, pipe rolls, early charters, court rolls, rentals and surveys. Farrer is better known, however, for his work with John Brownbill in producing the eight volumes of the VCH Lancashire series, and was responsible for collecting the material published in J. F. Curwen's *Records of Kendale*.⁷⁷

Little seems to have been achieved on ecclesiastical history, or religious houses, although a chapter was prepared on the Carmelite Friars of Appleby. Similarly there is no evidence of any work being completed on education.

The social and economic history, for both Cumberland and Westmorland, together with the industries section for Westmorland was entrusted to Christine Burrows, history tutor at St Hilda's College, Oxford, and Nora MacMunn, who had already written the social and economic history for VCH *Essex* II. They ran so late that Page held over the social and economic history of Cumberland chapter from volume II, where it should have appeared, to volume III. In July 1906 the two ladies travelled to Carlisle to undertake research work. They met Wilson 'who was most kind, and at length have got access to the Machell MSS, one of the keys to the archives having been lost'. Subsequently Miss Burrows left the work to her colleague because she was overwhelmed by 'the manifold duties of Vice-Principalship' of St Hilda's College.⁷⁸ Miss MacMunn also found the going too hard. She wrote 10,000 words on Cumberland, which was never published and for which she was not paid in full, but nothing on Westmorland. The appropriate chapter for Westmorland was prepared by Miss S. Moffatt, who wrote 17,600 words and was paid £15 of the £18 9s. 6d. she was owed for the work.⁷⁹

Frank W. Garnett of Windermere was steadily compiling material on the history of agriculture in the county. He finally submitted the 8,500 word MSS in September 1908 only to be told by Page that 'I have unfortunately been compelled to keep back the volume for Westmorland so that there will be, I fear, a little delay in sending you proofs of your article'. By early 1909, by which time the VCH had more or less closed down, Garnett was anxious to be paid. Page offered him copies of the two published Cumberland volumes.⁸⁰ Garnett approached Page again in 1911 for information only to be told that 'the Victoria County History of Westmorland is in abeyance for the present and I cannot therefore give you any approximate date of publication'.⁸¹ When by the end of 1912 Garnett concluded that his work was most unlikely to appear in print in any foreseeable future he asked for settlement of his financial claim noting that the books were only part of the settlement. Page arranged for a cheque to be sent.⁸²

Other sections written but never published included essays on the political history of Westmorland since 1300 by Mrs M. W. Middleton (who also wrote on Northumberland,

similarly unpublished), and on industries (11,800) by S. H. Scott, whose work was designed to complement Miss Moffatt on social and economic history. Material on mining was prepared in VCH Central Office by C. H. Vellacott, William Page's assistant. F. Bonnett wrote the sport section, a total of 18,556 words on a combination of angling, foxhunting, harriers, racing, wrestling, athletics, staghounds and yachting.⁸³

When Sir Gerald Strickland of Sizergh wrote to Page from Government House, Sydney, Australia, in November 1915 asking for news of the VCH in Westmorland, Page noted that the war had interrupted progress, but he added that 'the greater part of the first volume of the history of Westmorland is ready for the printers and a portion of it is in type; a large collection of material for the second volume has also been collected'.⁸⁴ In terms of the first volume this was probably correct, but for the topography in volume II it is not easy to interpret his meaning. It may have referred to nothing more than the PRO slips collected for the 34 parishes during the general scouring of the PRO 1904-6, and not even sorted out into individual townships. No local editor was ever appointed for Westmorland, although F. W. Ragg, at that time on the VCH Central Office staff, spent two summers at Lowther Castle reading manuscript sources for the VCH in Cumberland and Westmorland.⁸⁵

The failure to progress further with the VCH in Cumberland and Westmorland has been a source of concern for many years. In 1950 John Wilson of Bassenthwaite, wrote to the Institute of Historical Research asking what had happened to the two topographical volumes mentioned in a prospectus issued in 1907. He was told by A. Taylor Milne, the IHR secretary-librarian, on 15 September 1950 that only I and II had been published and that the completion of Cumberland would 'depend on the formation of a local committee to raise the necessary funds: a procedure which has been adopted since the war by six counties'.⁸⁶ Nothing further seems to have happened until 1953 when Mary Fair (incorrectly labelled Mr) wrote to *The Times* to say that only two volumes of the VCH Cumberland came out and that nearly 50 years ago and now need revision. 'Cumberland is thus in the unenviable position of having no modern history of the county ... a most serious handicap to those who need to make serious study of Cumberland's history. I believe a large amount of material for the completion of the four remaining volumes was collected: if this is so, can no use of it be made, thus providing those who need it with material for the history of the county, at present lacking?'⁸⁷

An attempt was made to revive the VCH in Cumberland in 1961, and not surprisingly at that time involved Roy Hudleston. He wrote in April 1961 to R. B. Pugh, the General Editor to say that at a meeting of the CWAAS Council the previous Saturday the question had arisen of whether any steps could be taken to proceed with the VCH Cumberland, 'and after some discussion it was agreed that Mr T. Gray, Archivist to Cumberland County Council, Mr Kenneth Smith, Librarian at Tullie House, Carlisle, and myself should make some preliminary enquiries. As I am sure you know materials for the VCH Cumberland are stored in a box at Tullie House, and as far as I know no one has looked at the contents since the late Canon Wilson's time. I shall be grateful for any information you can give my colleagues and myself so that we can report to the next Council meeting in July'.⁸⁸



FIG. 3. VCH Westmorland slips at Egham in 2010.

Pugh was not optimistic, telling Hudleston that the only hope of resuming work was 'if some local body, presumably the Cumberland County Council, could find the money for the permanent employment of a local editor and his assistant. We have had much experience of this form of cooperation with Local Authorities since 1948 and the results have sometimes been good'.⁸⁹ The two men met on 11 August 1961 when Hudleston agreed to talk to his cousin, who was chairman of the Cumberland County Records Committee.⁹⁰ A further attempt was made to restart work in 1998-9, and the VCH was relaunched in Cumbria in 2010 with the CWAAS in a leading role.

The VCH in Cumberland was one of the earliest counties to be in set up in full working order, and one of the first to have a volume in print. Subsequently, progress was maintained until 1906 when the second volume appeared. Work in the north-west continued after that. Essays for a Westmorland general volume were commissioned and in some cases written. James Wilson, despite numerous protests, and much annoyance with VCH Central Office, completed the two volumes of Cumberland topography, only to burn the entries rather than give them to the VCH without payment for his efforts. Despite much discussion subsequently, the VCH in Cumbria has made no published progress since 1906, unless we count *Transactions* articles and other materials intended for the VCH which were subsequently published elsewhere. The result, to quote once again from Mary Fair, writing in 1953, is that:

The Victoria Histories of other Counties take such a major place that it must remain a grave slur upon Cumberland scholarship (not upon those responsible for the Histories), that the County is today completely lacking in its own History. I am of Cumberland since the time of Edward the Confessor and I feel this slur upon us very deeply as well as the handicap of useful work.⁹¹

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Notes and References

- ¹ CRO (C), D/Lons./L12/4/2/5 Provisional Prospectus for Cumberland, 1900. I should like to thank Dr Angus Winchester and an anonymous referee for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper.
- ² VCH Archives, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, University of London (hereafter VCH), H. A. Doubleday memorandum, 7 May 1938
- ³ VCH *Cumberland* I, xx; *ODNB*; *The Times*, 5 March 1900; 'In Memoriam', *CW1*, xvi (1899-1900), vii-xx
- ⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵ VCH A8 Lord Muncaster to H. A. Doubleday, 22, 26 April 1899
- ⁶ VCH A6 R. S. Ferguson to Doubleday, 17 June 1899
- ⁷ VCH A6 Ferguson to Doubleday, 8 August 1899
- ⁸ VCH A6 Ferguson to Doubleday, 13 August 1899
- ⁹ VCH A6 Doubleday to Canon Gray, 20 December 1900
- ¹⁰ VCH A6 Earl of Carlisle to Doubleday, 18, 21 August 1899
- ¹¹ VCH A6 W. P. Standish to Doubleday, Marwell Hall, Winchester, 11 September 1899
- ¹² VCH A6 J. Proctor Watson to Doubleday, 21 August 1899
- ¹³ VCH A6 John Musgrave to Doubleday, 19, 28 August 1899
- ¹⁴ This information is gathered by comparing the County Committee list published in VCH *Cumberland*, I, xiii, with the information given in *CW2*, i (1901). Unfortunately the minute books for the CWAAS Council for the years 1884-1907 are missing: *CWAAS* Newsletter, 64 (Summer 2010), 14. They might have shed light on the views taken by Council towards the VCH.
- ¹⁵ VCH A18 Lord Hothfield to Doubleday, 21 April 1899; Ferguson to Doubleday, 3 May 1899
- ¹⁶ VCH A6 undated memo by Ferguson
- ¹⁷ VCH A6 Ferguson to Doubleday, 2 November 1899
- ¹⁸ VCH A6 F. L. H. Millard to Doubleday, 5, 10 March 1900
- ¹⁹ VCH A6 Charles Thurnham & Sons, to Doubleday, 6 April 1900
- ²⁰ VCH A6 H. D. Rawnsley to Doubleday, 17 December 1900
- ²¹ VCH A6 Charles Ferguson to Doubleday, 14 March 1900
- ²² 'In Memoriam', *CW2*, xxiii (1923), 301-2
- ²³ For more background see the essay by Angus Winchester in C. R. J. Currie and C. P. Lewis, *A Guide to English County Histories* (Stroud, 1994), especially p. 102
- ²⁴ VCH A57 Canon James Wilson to Doubleday, 18 August 1899, 10 March 1900
- ²⁵ VCH A57 Wilson to Doubleday, 15 March 1900
- ²⁶ VCH A57 Wilson to Doubleday, 24 March, 18 May, 7 September, 5, 16 October 1900
- ²⁷ *ODNB*, 39918, by James S Dearden; Matthew Townend, *The Vikings and Victorian Lakeland: the Norse Medievalism of W. G. Collingwood* (CWAAS Extra Series, 34, 2009)
- ²⁸ VCH A6 W. G. Collingwood to Doubleday, 2 December 1900
- ²⁹ VCH A6 Collingwood to Doubleday, 7, 13 December 1900
- ³⁰ VCH A6 Collingwood to Doubleday, 20 September 1901, 5 January 1902
- ³¹ VCH A57 Wilson to Doubleday, 14 September 1901
- ³² VCH *Cumberland*, II (1905). The Domesday book entry is p. 336
- ³³ VCH A57 Wilson to Doubleday, 23 February 1901
- ³⁴ VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 11 August 1904; Wilson to Page, 23 September 1904
- ³⁵ VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 20 November 1902
- ³⁶ VCH A57 Wilson to Page, 26 November 1902; A6 correspondence between Page and Wilson, 1903-5
- ³⁷ VCH A6 R. W. Moore to Wilson 2 March 1901

- ³⁸ VCH A6 Chapter Clerk to Doubleday, 27 March 1901
- ³⁹ VCH A57 Wilson to Doubleday, 12 December 1902; Carlisle Library, VCH Box, R. W. Moore to James Wilson, 1 November 1902
- ⁴⁰ VCH A57 Wilson to Doubleday, 23 February, 29 March 1901
- ⁴¹ VCH A6 H. A. Macpherson to Doubleday, 9 April 1901
- ⁴² VCH A57 Wilson to Doubleday, 11 April 1901
- ⁴³ VCH A6 Francis Nicholson to Doubleday, 9, 31 December 1901
- ⁴⁴ Discussed further below in relation to Westmorland
- ⁴⁵ VCH A6 F. Grainger to Page, 26 October 1905
- ⁴⁶ VCH A6 Page to Grainger, 20 June, 8 October 1906; Grainger to Page, 25 June, 6 October 1906
- ⁴⁷ VCH A6 correspondence of Doubleday and Abraham, 1902-3
- ⁴⁸ H. H. E. Craster, 'Francis Haverfield', *English Historical Review*, **35** (1920), 63-70. Haverfield's work was published in *Transactions* between 1894 (*CW1* xiii) and 1902 (*CW2*, iii)
- ⁴⁹ VCH A57 Wilson to William Page, 10 June 1905; CRO (C) D/Lons./L12/4/2/5, Provisional Prospectus for Cumberland, 1900, stating clearly that the editor is James Wilson M.A.
- ⁵⁰ VCH A6 E. Hauxwell Dodgson to Page, 20 October 1911; Page to Hauxwell Dodgson, 22 October 1911
- ⁵¹ Carlisle Library, VCH box. Various different sets of instructions are in the box, including H. A. Doubleday and W. Page, *A Guide to the Victoria History of the Counties of England* (1903)
- ⁵² VCH A57 Wilson to Page, 22 November 1905
- ⁵³ VCH A57 Wilson to Page, 15 September 1905
- ⁵⁴ VCH A57 Wilson to Page 14 October 1905
- ⁵⁵ VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 24 October 1905
- ⁵⁶ VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 9 November 1905; Page to Wilson, 15 November 1905
- ⁵⁷ VCH A57 Wilson to Page, 13 November 1905
- ⁵⁸ VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 15 November 1905
- ⁵⁹ VCH A57 Wilson to Page, 16 November 1905
- ⁶⁰ VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 23 November 1905
- ⁶¹ VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 1 December 1905
- ⁶² VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 5 December 1905
- ⁶³ Carlisle Library, VCH box
- ⁶⁴ Mary Wane and Angus Winchester, eds., *Thomas Denton: a perambulation of Cumberland, 1687-8* (Surtees Society, 2003); VCH A6 Ferguson to Doubleday, 5, 28, 30 Nov, 10 December 1899; Rev F. L. H. Millard to Doubleday, n.d. but after 3 March 1900, 15 March 1900
- ⁶⁵ VCH A57 Wilson to Page, 4 December 1905
- ⁶⁶ VCH A57 Page to Wilson, 5 December 1905
- ⁶⁷ Quoted by Dennis Perriam, in *Cumberland News*, 20 March 1998
- ⁶⁸ *CW2*, xxiii (1923), 301-2
- ⁶⁹ VCH R61 Mary Fair to R. B. Pugh, 9 December 1953, following her letter in *The Times*, 16 November 1953
- ⁷⁰ VCH R 61 T. Gray to Miss Armstrong, 7 January 1953 (in fact, 1954), Peter Tillott to Kenneth Smith, 19 January 1954; Kenneth Smith to Tillott, 24 March 1954; Pugh to Mary Fair, 7 December 1953. The collection was deposited in Tullie House following Wilson's death.
- ⁷¹ VCH A18 J. Martindale to Page, 8 September 1903; Page to Martindale, 10 September 1903. Galley proofs were produced for this essay and there is a copy in Kendal Library
- ⁷² VCH A18 W. Denison Roebuck to Page, 15 January 1908; Page to Denison Roebuck, 16 January 1908
- ⁷³ VCH A58 'Memorandum for Mr Meredith'
- ⁷⁴ VCH A18 John Watson to Page, 19 August 1909, 16, 18 February 1910; Page to Watson, 17, 21 February 1910
- ⁷⁵ At one time the VCH archive held manuscript and proof copies of essays on insects, arachnidan, crustaceans, fishes, extinct animals, non-marine mollusc, reptiles, Botany, Geology and palaeontology. In 1965 the material was given to the natural history section of the British Museum and could not be found in 2010.
- ⁷⁶ VCH A6 Page to H. S. Cowper 17 April 1907, and Cowper to Page, 20 April 1907
- ⁷⁷ VCH A18 Page to J. W. Atkinson, 9, 28 August 1933; Atkinson to Page, 4, 26 August 1933; *CW2*, xxiv (1924), 383; James Tait, 'William Farrer', *English Historical Review*, **40**, (1925), 67-70. The papers are due to be transferred from the VCH archive to Kendal Record Office in 2011.

- ⁷⁸ VCH A57 Christine M. E. Burrows to Page, 1, 8, 11 February, 15 July 1906, 11 June 1907
- ⁷⁹ VCH A58 'Memorandum for Mr Meredith'
- ⁸⁰ VCH A18 Garnett to Page, 1 January, 17 September 1908, 25 April 1909; Page to Garnett, 2 January, 21 September 1908, 27 April 1909
- ⁸¹ VCH A18 Garnett to Page, 6 August 1911; Page to Garnett, 8 August 1911
- ⁸² VCH A18 Garnett to Page, 23 November, 2 December 1912; Page to Garnett, 26 November, 19 December 1912. Garnett published his work in book form: F.W. Garnett, *Westmorland Agriculture* (1912)
- ⁸³ The essays were contained in parcels 1203 and 1204 among the VCH archives held at Egham, but neither could be located despite careful searches in 2008 and again in 2010.
- ⁸⁴ VCH A18 Sir Gerald Strickland to Page, 28 November 1915; Page to Strickland, 7 January, 3 May 1916
- ⁸⁵ VCH A 56 Doubleday to F.W. Ragg, 18 December 1903
- ⁸⁶ VCH R 61 Wilson to Institute of Historical Research, 13 September 1950, and A. Taylor Milne to Wilson, 15 September 1950
- ⁸⁷ VCH R61 cutting, 16 November 1953
- ⁸⁸ VCH R61 C. Roy Hudleston, Hatfield College, Durham, to Pugh, 19 April 1961
- ⁸⁹ VCH R61 Pugh to Hudleston, 25 April 1961; Hudleston to Pugh, 26 April 1961
- ⁹⁰ VCH R61 note in the file in Pugh's hand dated 11 August 1961
- ⁹¹ VCH R61 Mary Fair to Pugh, 9 December 1953

