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Welcome

Welcome to this Handbook for volunteers researching and writing parish or township histories for the Victoria County History of Cumbria. We hope that the following pages will act as an essential toolkit to guide you as you undertake your research. The Handbook contains guidance on all aspects of researching and writing the history of a parish or township for the VCH Cumbria project. Its aim is to supplement the advice provided by the VCH national website in the online guide to 'Writing a Parish History', complementing the national guidance by drawing attention to sources and themes of particular relevance to the history of local communities in Cumbria.

The Handbook is divided into four sections:

Section A lays out some of the points to consider before you embark on research and writing: how you might like to organise your work; what first steps you should take; the ground rules for contributing to the project.

Section B forms the bulk of the Handbook and provides detailed guidance on each of the sections of a VCH parish or township article, to complement that given in the VCH national website.

Section C lays out what we require from you when you come to the stage of drafting your article, including advice on style and approach, how to submit your drafts, and how to cite your sources.

Section D consists of a checklist of the essential sources we expect all contributors to consult for each article they write. We hope that you find the Handbook useful and that it will answer most of your questions. We look forward to working with you as, together, we take the VCH Cumbria project forward.

Good luck with your research!

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Section A: Getting Started

1. Before you start:

- Discuss your article with the Project Director or Assistant Editor to make sure that you are clear how the area to be covered by your article is defined for VCH purposes (whether it is a single township or the whole of an ancient parish, for example).

- Take a look at the relevant page for the place you are studying on the Cumbria County History Trust website by clicking on the map at http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/map This will provide a quick overview of its history and ought to identify the institutions (places of worship, schools etc) within the boundaries of your parish/township.

- **PLEASE DO NOT EMBARK ON RESEARCH WITHOUT FIRST CONTACTING THE ASSISTANT EDITOR, TO MAKE SURE THAT NO ONE ELSE IS ALREADY WORKING ON AN ARTICLE FOR THE SAME PLACE!**

2. How to work: individually or in a group?

Consider how you would feel most comfortable contributing to the project. Would you prefer to work individually, taking full responsibility for the article for a particular parish or township, and gaining the satisfaction of 'ownership' of that article? Or would you prefer to work as part of a group, enabling you to concentrate on those aspects of the research which particularly interest you and gaining support from fellow group members?

If you would prefer to work as a member of a group, please contact the Assistant Editor as soon as possible: it will probably take time to set up a group. If working in a group, take a look at the separate briefing paper on 'Working Together: Guidance for Research Groups' (available on the project website at http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/briefing-papers

However you decide to work, you will be invited to join group meetings for training and support. Once you begin to draft your article, you will receive detailed individual feedback and have the opportunity for one-to-one supervisory meetings.

3. First steps

- *Identify your key sources*. The first task should be to draw up a list of sources, both published and manuscript. The 'Checklist of Essential Sources' (below, pp.78-84) includes most of the core sources that are likely to be available for most places – and you will need to work your way through the indexes to these as your research progresses. However, you also need to be aware of other sources which relate to your parish/township in particular. Use the six databases listed under 'Preliminary Finding Aids' (below, pp. 00-00) to draw up a bibliography specific to the place you are researching. This will include both published work (in *Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*) and archives held

both locally and elsewhere. You should also search for other published studies on the history of your parish or township, including local histories and articles in scholarly journals – searching the Lancaster University Library Catalogue (http://onesearch.lancaster.ac.uk/) by the name of the place in question ought to yield quick results here.

- *Take a walk!* Whether or not you know the place you are researching intimately, we suggest that you explore it *on foot* (or, possibly on a bicycle or on horseback – but not in a car!) with a large-scale (1:25,000 or, even better, Six-Inch) map in your hand early in your research. Buildings (particularly the inscriptions they sometimes carry) can be read as historical sources, as can churchyards and other cemeteries. Get a feel of the lie of the land, patterns of land use, the layout of tracks and roads. Where you can, follow the parish/township boundary (are there boundary stones or other markers?). Much can be gained by looking – and knowing the landscape can often be vital in helping to interpret documentary sources.

- *Plan your line of attack*. If you read this Handbook from cover to cover you may end up feeling out-faced! VCH research is demanding, both in its breadth and the depth that is required. As so often in a complex project, the solution lies in breaking the task into manageable portions, so, once you have completed the initial searches, start by focusing on one of the sections of the article. Which one you choose is up to you (though we suggest that you leave the Introduction until the end) – there is something to be said for starting with Manors and Estates, as establishing the outlines of landownership across the centuries will almost certainly help when it comes to other sections, particularly Economic History and Local Government.

- *Decide how you are going to keep your research notes*. We ask you to retain (and eventually to archive) your research notes and other raw materials (such as photocopies of documents) in either hard copy or electronic form, so that there will be a paper (or 'e-paper') trail back to the primary sources from which your article has been built. The working papers and research notes will remain your private property but the County Editor may well need to consult them during the editorial process. Before you start work in earnest, decide on a system – it might be helpful to think in terms of keeping a file (whether physical or electronic) for each section of your article, together with a file for sources which provide evidence for more than one section.

4. Ground rules: research discipline

Working as part of project involving numerous researchers requires all concerned to be sensitive to the need for communal disciplines, even though much of your time will be spent ploughing a lonely furrow among the archives or at the computer. The following advice is offered in the hope of ensuring the smooth running of the project:

- ***Honour your commitment to the project***. If circumstances prevent you from completing a task you have offered to undertake, please let the Assistant Editor know as early as possible, so that someone else can take the work on.

- ***Avoid treading on the toes of fellow volunteers***: please check with the Director or Assistant Editor before you embark on your research to make sure that the place or topic has not already been assigned to someone else (particularly important if you are working as part of a team).

- ***Always adhere to good practice when using archive sources***. Follow the Search Room rules for users of archives in record offices, remembering that these may vary in detail from one repository to another.

- ***Before approaching owners of records in private ownership, please check with the Director or Assistant Editor***, who will be able to advise and to provide a letter of introduction if one is needed. When consulting private archives, do nothing which might in any way damage the reputation of the project or the Trust. The wishes of archive owners in relation to handling and copying of documents should always be respected.

- ***Only post on the project website material which you have obtained permission to publish.*** In particular, remember that in no circumstances should you post an image of a document taken for VCH research without the owner's consent.

5. Time frame

The VCH has been going for 113 years, so don't feel that you must complete your article by the end of next month! Conversely, try to avoid relaxing into such a slow pace that progress grinds to a halt. Researching and writing for the VCH is painstaking, methodical work and you must give yourself time for checking, pursuing leads and – importantly – thinking and digesting your material. Don't rush! We suggest that you discuss the time frame in which you'll work on your article with the Director when you embark on it and monitor progress at regular intervals. As a guideline, a volunteer putting in, say, a day or two per week should probably expect to complete the draft of an article for a rural parish or township in around a year.

Section B: Researching Your Article

The following notes provide guidance for researching each section of a VCH parish or township history for the VCH Cumbria project. They should be read in conjunction with the general guidelines on 'Writing a Parish History' which are available on the national VCH website:
http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/local-history/writing-parish-history
The guidance notes on the pages below are complementary to the national guidelines, and draw attention to specific sources for Cumbria and to distinctive aspects of Cumbrian local history with which you will need to be familiar when you embark on your research.

A VCH parish or township history follows a set template and the notes below are arranged under each of the standard sections, as follows:

1. Introduction
2. Landownership
3. Economic History
4. Social History
5. Religious History
6. Local Government

The guidance in Section B is addressed to those researching and writing articles on rural parishes and townships, as these will form the vast majority of the articles in Cumbria. Articles for towns will be longer and have a somewhat different structure – guidance for volunteers working on the history of urban settlements will be given separately.

Townships and parishes
One distinctive feature of Cumbria's history which affects the arrangement of VCH articles for the county is the frequent lack of coincidence between the boundaries of ancient ecclesiastical parishes and those of the unit of civil administration, the township or 'constablewick'. In Cumbria some ancient ecclesiastical parishes covered vast areas, embracing numerous townships, each of which often functioned as a discrete local community, coinciding with a separate manor or estate. We are using the civil parishes as they existed around 1900 as the basis for dividing the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland into units for the preparation of articles. Some civil parishes (particularly in the Cumberland lowlands) were the successors to entire ancient parishes; others (especially in Westmorland) represented single townships. As a consequence, some articles for VCH Cumbria will deal with what was historically a single township, while others will deal with the whole of an ancient parish.

If the civil parish you are researching coincides with an ancient ecclesiastical parish, you will find that the national guidelines can be followed throughout. If the civil parish you are researching represents a township which was part of a larger ancient parish, some sections of the guidelines (particularly the Religious History section) will be less applicable. For these larger ancient parishes a separate short article will be needed, covering the history of the parish church and the administrative history of the parish as a whole. Again, separate guidance will be given to individual volunteers.

1. Introduction

The main aim of the introduction is to give a sense of the general character of the parish or township in question, both its physical characteristics and the layout and nature of the human landscape. Together with the section on 'Population and Settlement', it should provide an account of the main features of the history of the parish and its settlements, with a particular emphasis on topography. It should offer a clear and coherent framework for the article as a whole, pulling together the themes explored in detail in subsequent sections. Each of the subsections should be treated chronologically to give a sense of development over time.

Your Introduction should cover the topics prescribed below; in many rural parishes or townships they can probably be grouped under three subheadings, as follows:
- Introductory description, area, boundaries and extent
- Landscape
- Communications.

1. Introductory Description; Area; Boundaries and Extent

The key elements, and the order in which they might be treated, are as follows:

- An **introductory description**, which may be no more than 'a small rural township in the ancient parish of X', and its location (e.g. 'on the edge of the Lake District, five miles west of Penrith').
- A **thumbnail sketch** of the place could be included in this opening paragraph, mentioning prominent natural or manmade features (e.g. 'embracing extensive mosslands on the Solway lowlands'; 'contains the three villages of X, Y and Z'); aspects of the local economy ('a former coal-mining village'); and perhaps major historical sites ('the prominent earthworks of the Roman fort of Old Carlisle lie close to the western edge of the township'). This section should also **locate the parish** in relation to the county town, the county boundaries, and other places of note which may be topographical (The Lake District, for example), or markets (within or external to the county).
- In the past, VCH articles contained information on 'Events' and 'Worthies' associated with each parish. These are no longer included. Exceptionally, an event might be mentioned where it was of national or international importance (e.g. the submission of the northern kings to Athelstan at Dacre in 927), as might a notable individual, where the association represents a major part of the individual's life and the place's history (Wordsworth at Grasmere, would be an obvious example).

- The **principal settlement(s)** should be named and its/their location(s) described. Their shape (whether compact; around a village green; straggling along as road, etc) and character (agricultural hamlet; mining village, for example) should be given.
- **Acreage** of the township/parish and emergence or establishment of its boundaries. Use the Ordnance Survey 1st and 2nd editions of the Six-Inch map (available at www.british-history.ac.uk/map.aspx?pubid=270) to obtain the acreage – note that, as a result of the Divided Parishes Act 1883, detached portions of other parishes/townships were added to the civil parish within which they were physically located, resulting in changes of acreage. Such changes should be noted.
- Describe the **shape** of the area within the boundaries and the **historic boundaries** themselves. Where information is available, the origin of the parish and the emergence or establishment of its boundaries should be discussed. The **place-name**, its meaning and the significance of the name could be discussed here, as the name is often a key piece of early evidence about the 'origin of the parish'. Something along the lines of: 'The name Askham probably derives from Old Norse *askum* ('at the ash trees'), suggesting that ash woodland was a distinguishing feature of the landscape in the Scandinavian period'. For interpretation of the place-name, use the standard works of reference only (see below, under 'Settlement',);
- The **nature of the boundaries** should be described briefly (a detailed description is not needed): did they follow identifiable natural or manmade features (streams; watersheds; roads; field boundaries)?
- **Administrative sub-divisions**: where you are writing the history of the whole of an ancient parish which included several townships, mention these components and give their locations and, if possible, acreages. Some Cumbrian townships were subdivided for certain purposes, e.g. highway maintenance. These will be discussed in detail in the Local Government section but should be mentioned here.
- **Boundary changes** since late 19th century should be described. Changes are usually discussed in the printed census returns and you will need to use later editions of the Six-Inch Ordnance Survey map to chart changes. Try to ensure that your material is as up to date as possible, if necessary by approaching the parish or district council for advice over post-1974 boundaries.

2. Landscape

This subsection should include a discussion of geology, soils, relief, and drainage and give an impression of the 'human' landscape and the impact of man's exploitation, referring to the distribution of farmland, woodland and parks and the extent of common waste before enclosure (or where it survives today). Other major modern types of land use (e.g. golf courses, airfields, reservoirs, forestry plantations, wind farms) should be mentioned.

Underlying geology, both 'solid' (the bedrock) and 'drift' (the overburden of superficial material such as boulder clay, sand, gravel or peat, for example) should be described – not in detail but in relationship to landform and to its exploitation as building material or as raw material for industry. The Geological Survey maps are the key source here.

A Digital version of Britain's geology which volunteers may find useful is now available through the British Geological Survey website. To use it, go into www.bgs.ac.uk, click on 'Discovering Geology' and open the 'Geology of Britain viewer'. This allows the user to zoom in on any part of Britain. By using the zoom facility Information is viewable at scales of 1:625,000 up to 1:50,000 (about 1" to the mile). To obtain detail on geographical location users can switch from 'no transparency' which presents geological detail only to 'full transparency' which shows underlying roads and place names. A geological key is also available which can be activated from the base map at whatever scale you are working.

For soils, use the Soil Survey of England & Wales 1:250,000 map, sheet 1 (Northern England) and the accompanying volume, R. A. Jarvis et al, *Soils and their Use in Northern England* (Harpenden: Soil Survey of England & Wales Bulletin No. 10, 1984). For places in Cumberland, some of the topographical descriptions in Thomas Denton's *Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-8* provide a vivid glimpse of soil and farming types as perceived by a 17th-century commentator.

As with British Geological Survey maps, a digitized version of soils in England and Wales is now available, this time courtesy of the National Soil Resources Institute (NSRI) at the University of Cranfield. The viewer is called 'Soilscapes' and can be viewed at www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/. The Soilscapes viewer can be used by CCHT volunteers to produce summary soils information for specific locations anywhere in Cumbria. As with the BGS digimaps, zoom facilities are available to examine maps at different scales and information is available, for any location, on soil texture, drainage status and fertility. Bear in mind that that this information relates to the time of mapping and that mapping took place in the twentieth century.

For the human landscape, cartographic evidence will be the major source, not only successive editions of Six-Inch Ordnance Survey maps, but also the 18th-century printed maps (for Cumberland: Hodskinson and Donald, 1774; for Westmorland: Jeffery, 1770; for Lancashire: Yates, 1786) and manuscript plans (estate plans, lawsuit plans etc). Remember the value of modern satellite imagery (via Google maps, for example) in allowing you to 'see' the contemporary landscape from above.

4. Communications

The main concern here should be the way in which communications situate the parish/township in relation to the outside world, to larger settlements and to its neighbours. Cartographic evidence (Ordnance Survey maps and the older county maps) will again be the key starting point here. The main topics are likely to be:

Roads
- Include a description of the main roads through the parish, taken from Ordnance Survey maps, and include any early documentary evidence and early diversions.
- Give the date of, and describe the route of any turnpike roads , noting when they were dis-turnpiked in the later nineteenth century.
- Provide any details you may be able to find of older, lost roads..
- Mention routes which formed or marked parish boundaries.
- Mention modern roads such as motorways which pass through the parish, even if they do not have direct access.

Water transport
- Give details and any early references to fords, ferries, bridges and wharfs on rivers or estuaries
- Where possible date the building and rebuilding of bridges
- Where relevant mention the building of canals through the parish and any wharfs or basins on them
- For coastal settlements, mention any early evidence for anchorages, harbours or ports (major harbours will be discussed under Economic History)

Railways
- Give details of railways built through the parish with their dates of opening and closure. The standard atlas of British railways is A Jowett, *Jowett's Railway Atlas of Great Britain and Ireland from pre-Grouping to the present day* (1989).
- Note the presence of stations, including those now demolished, with their dates of operation. A key source here is C.R. Clinker, *Clinker's Register of Closed Passenger Stations and Goods Depots in England, Scotland and Wales 1830-1970* (1971).

Buses, post and telecommunications
- Brief details should be given of regular bus services and how these have changed across time.
- The presence of post offices, dates of arrival of telephone service and of separate broadband internet services should be mentioned.
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2. Population and Settlement

A recent revision of the structure of VCH parish articles has resulted in the material on population and settlement being taken out of the long introductory section and made into a new section, placed between the Introduction and Landholding sections.

The new section examines three topics: the number of people living in the parish/township; the character of the community; and where the inhabitants lived. As in all sections of a VCH article, the aim is to chart change across the centuries. The section should thus have a threefold structure and be divided into sub-sections, as follows:

1. Population

This subsection should provide a chronological account of the number of people living in the parish/township, starting as early as possible and running to the present day. If the place in question was divided into townships or quarters for which separate population figures are available (even if only for certain periods), the distribution of inhabitants between the constituent territories should be mentioned and charted. Population change was, of course, closely related to trends in the local economy: this section should to some extent act an introduction to themes which will be picked up later on, under 'Settlement' and in the 'Economic History' section.

In the absence of Domesday Book data, 13th- or 14th-century rentals or surveys giving numbers of tenants are likely to be the earliest evidence of population for many places in Cumbria. The generally accepted multiplier for converting numbers of households into numbers of people is 4.5 or 4.75. Sources of population data for later periods include the estimates for each parish in the 16th and 17th centuries, which will be found in Andrew B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor & Stuart England* (Liverpool, 1978), pp. 198-201, and Hearth Tax returns and, from 1801, the decennial census returns.

2. Social character

This will be discussed in greater detail in the Social History section. Here, it would be appropriate to provide a thumbnail sketch of the kind of community the township/parish was. Specific themes to consider when trying to summarise the evolving social character of the community include the following. Again, the chronology of change should be established and charted:

- Whether or not there was a resident lord or squire who dominated local affairs

- Suburban and industrial development and the extent to which these led to the creation of socially distinct communities within the parish/township (i.e. the 'social geography' of the parish at the micro-level).

- Immigrant communities and their separation from or integration into the rest of the population.

- The extent to which the parish/township has become a dormitory for nearby urban centres, or a magnet for retired people from elsewhere.

So, a short paragraph should suffice here, fleshing out the main themes. In the following imaginary example, each of the following sentences could be elaborated upon, to provide the overview needed for this section: '*The lords of the manor were non-resident after c.1450. From the 16th to the 19th century, the township was dominated by independent yeomen holding by customary tenantright. The scattered community of small farmers and cottagers was replaced between 1920 and 1990 by a largely wealthy retired population, as ribbon development of housing took place along the main road and farmhouses were sold separately from their land*.'

3. Settlement (including domestic buildings)

Settlement is best approached chronologically and this section should provide a comprehensive introduction to the major themes picked up in other sections of the parish article. Start with local map evidence: the contemporary Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 map ('Explorer' or 'Outdoor Leisure' series), and successive editions of the Six Inch (1:10,560) (available online at http://maps.nls.uk/geo/find/) will take you back to the mid-19th century. Where available, earlier maps (estate and dispute plans, enclosure and tithe maps) should also be used to gain a cartographic overview of the evolution of settlement.

The sub-section may sensibly be subdivided, if the settlement pattern in the parish/township is complex. If it is divided into a number of villages or hamlets, it will be best to deal with each major settlement separately.

Start with some general statements about the overall settlement pattern. Then move on to provide an account of the development of the settlement pattern from the earliest record to the time of writing, giving a chronological treatment of the development of the layout of existing settlements. Again, this is a section which it will make sense to write only after you have established the demographic and economic history of the parish/township – periods of economic expansion and population growth will have generated new settlements, whether these are new farmsteads in the 13th century; rows of industrial workers' cottages in the

19th or dormitory housing in the 20th. The following topics should be included in this section:

- ***Archaeological evidence*** for pre-medieval settlement should be summarised but not discussed in great detail. If, for example, there are physical remains of prehistoric field systems or Romano-British 'native' settlements, the location and suggested chronology of these should be summarised and their relationship to the medieval settlement pattern described. The Historic Environment Record will be a key source here: remember that there are separate HERs for the Lake District National Park and the remainder of the county of Cumbria.
- For the ***medieval and early modern settlement pattern*** start with the place-name evidence. The earliest reference to the name of a farm or hamlet provides a *terminus ante quem*, at least, particularly when it is used as a habitative surname, confirming that people lived there – such occurrences are marked 'p' in the county place-name surveys. For the earliest reference to particular settlements (and the interpretation of their-names), use the standard works of reference, namely:
    - A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton and Bruce Dickens, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, English Place-Name Society Vols XX-XXII (Cambridge, 1950-52) [cite as *PNC*]
    - A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, English Place-Name Society Vols XLII-XLIII (Cambridge, 1967) [cite as *PNW*]
    - D. Whaley, *Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Regional Series 1 (Nottingham, 2006) [cite as *Dict. LDPN*]
    - **Do not use older place-name studies, nor popular works!**

    Other sources for tracing the evolution of settlement from c.1300 to c.1750 include rentals, surveys, parish registers, probate indexes etc.

- For ***settlement change in the century 1750-1850*** you may have to rely on estate records and title deeds, in the absence of cartographic sources. Remember that the Land Tax schedules (surviving from c.1780 to 1832) can be useful to identify and date the building of villas and other private residences in rural areas. The printed county maps by Thomas Jeffreys (for Westmorland, 1770), Thomas Donald (for Cumberland, 1774) and William Yates (for Lancashire, 1786) are sufficiently detailed to be useful in establishing the pattern of settlement in the later 18th century.
- ***Settlement change from mid-19th century to early-mid-20th*** can be traced in outline from the tithe plans and successive editions of Six Inch (1:10,560) and, more particularly, Twenty-Five Inch (1:2,500) maps. For the details, other sources, such as title deeds and the 1910 Valuation records (particularly the 'Field Books' in TNA, IR58) should be consulted.

- *Council housing and private housing estates from the mid-20th century*: these should be dated and described briefly. Local government minutes and planning applications are the key sources (recent planning applications are available online: remember that the Lake District National Park Authority – not the District Council – is the planning authority for places within the national park boundary). The effects of local authority planning decisions on the location and type of 20th-century development and on the conservation of buildings should also be discussed. Improvements to existing dwellings and houses that have changed their use or have been converted to and from multiple occupancy but which retain their original form should be mentioned. Barn conversions (and conversions of other buildings) are a feature of many modern rural communities: there is no need to give a blow-by-blow account, but a statement giving some idea of the scale and chronology of the phenomenon should be included. (Conversions of places of worship and schools etc will be mentioned elsewhere in the article when discussing those institutions.)

Woven into the account should be a discussion of **the built character of a place**, the range of building types and periods of building activity. It should show how the building types reflect economic, social and cultural activity and should describe the general architectural character of the settlement(s) at varying periods. The subsection should provide an overview of the development of the style and amenity of **domestic buildings**, noting particular vernacular building styles. Describe the local building materials and any survivals of early forms (e.g. 'clay dabbins'). Datestones may allow you to say something about phases of rebuilding. The location and date of manor houses, churches and other public buildings (which will be described more fully in later sections) should also be mentioned.

3. Landownership

Aims and approach

The story of landownership should begin with the earliest reference and be followed through to the time of writing. The section should start with an overall picture of landownership in the parish/township. For example, was there one dominant estate or was landownership divided? Each major unit of landholding should then be traced in turn, dealing first with the manor or manors, followed by any other sizable estates. The structure of the section should look something like this:

- introductory paragraph
- Manor of A
- Manor of B [if applicable]
- Other Estates

1. Account of a Manor

The key characteristic which distinguished a manor from other types of landholding was the right of the lord of the manor to hold a manor court, through which he/she exercised jurisdiction over his/her tenants. Manors varied widely in size, but typically consisted of a village and its lands. In the north of England, they often coincided with townships.

Begin the account of each manor with the earliest reference. The account of each manor should then cover three main areas:

a. The place of the manor in the feudal hierarchy. Any affiliation to an honour or barony should be briefly described here, but do not cover the descent of the honour or barony in detail. Cover intermediate (or 'mesne') levels of lordship (i.e. those between an honour/barony and the individual manor under discussion) in so far as they impinged on the history of the estate. For example, if a mesne lord had wardship in the case of a minority, or exercised a superior jurisdiction which could impact on in the business of the local court, these should mentioned but not analysed in any detail.

b. The size and structure of the manorial estate. Did the manor cover the whole of the township/parish? If not, indicate the location of its lands and give some idea of its acreage. Did the lord of the manor have jurisdiction over tenants outside the parish/township in question? The distinguishing feature of manorial lordship was the right to hold manor courts. Manorial administration will be dealt with in detail under the Local Government section, but the existence of a court baron and/or court leet (and when they stopped being held) should be mentioned here.

Land within a manor broadly fell into two types, both of which need to be discussed:

1. **demesne land:** the land farmed directly on behalf of the lord himself. The 'home farm' was known as the 'capital messuage'. Where possible, give an indication of the size of demesne (but don't go into the history of farming of the demesne here; this will come in the Economic History section). You should include references to 'lordly' features on the home farm, such as fishponds and dovecotes, as well as the <u>manor house</u> itself. What is the earliest reference to the manor house? If the lord was not resident, was the manor house let out? Indicate the location of the manor house. How old is the structure if it still survives? Beware of more recent houses renamed the 'Manor House' (as also with Manor Farms). Can you distinguish phases of building?

2. **tenant land**: land granted out to tenants who farmed it on their own behalf, paying rents and services to the lord in return. Tenants were of two broad classes; freeholders and those holding by 'bond' or unfree tenures, the villeins of the middle ages, who came to be known as copyholders or (in northern England) customary tenants, by the 16th century. You should refer to the types of tenure within the manor and any changes to these over time. Did tenants become enfranchised (i.e. bought the freehold interest in their tenancy) at any point?

Lords of manors also possessed a number of physical and jurisdictional rights, which should be mentioned in this section (though most will be covered in more detail in the 'Economic History' section). The aim here is to summarise the range of rights which were attached to (and yielded income to) the manorial lordship, such as:

- Markets and fairs
- Warrens (rabbit warrens and grants of 'free warren')
- Fisheries
- Parks and woods
- Mills (water and wind)
- Mineral rights

c. The descent of ownership of the manor should then be traced through to the present day, from the earliest written record. Ideally, each lord should be named and the date of changes of lord recorded, even if merely in a form such as: '*For almost a century from 1672 the manor passed from father to son through the Smith family from John (d. 1683) to William (d. c.1698), John (d. 1721), John (d. 1746), and William (d. 1769), the last of the male line*'.

It may well be the case that at some point the lord of the manor sold his demesne and ceased to have a landed presence in the parish/township – in other words, that the nominal lordship came to be divorced from the landed estate. If a substantial estate continued to exist after this, it is the descent of the estate which matters rather than the lordship, and its descent should be traced to the present day (or until it was broken up). In such cases, the

lordship need only be traced where the lord maintained some personal link with the parish in which his nominal lordship lay, such as the advowson of the parish church.

Reputed Manors

An accumulation of property, whether freehold, copyhold, or a combination of all of both, might be styled a manor, even though they held no court. It is worth noting such instances in the account of an estate, whether it is listed as a manor or comes under 'Other Estates'.

2. Other Estates

The Landownership section should also include an outline of other major estates, both freehold and those held of the manor by copyhold tenure. They might be estates which can be identified from an early date or recent accumulations of landed property (e.g. by The National Trust or Forestry Commission). What constitutes a 'major estate'? The VCH national guidelines define them as those of 100 acres or more, or which survived for at least three generations. In many Cumbrian townships, particularly after enclosure, where farms typically included substantial acreages of allotments from the former common waste, such a definition is not very helpful, as it would include almost every individual 19th-century farm in a township.   A figure of around 500 acres (or 200 acres before enclosure) is probably a better guide.

You should note the size and location of the estate, trace its ownership, note the wealth and status of its owners, and whether those owners were resident or at least maintained substantial houses on their holdings. Provide a brief survey of any changes, such as the consolidation of estates to form new holdings or their disintegration. Wherever possible, bring these remarks down to the present day with brief comments on any sale or disposal of major estates in the past hundred years. Each estate should be dealt with under the name of the main house. State whether these buildings have survived or not at the time of writing.

Under 'Other Estates' you should include any holdings of corporate bodies such as monasteries or public schools. The VCH national guidelines require us to mention even small estates (of more than about three acres) if they were the property of a monastic or collegiate church; a bishopric; a chantry in another parish; the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or one of their colleges; long established endowed schools, hospitals or other charitable foundations. Monastic property held before the Dissolution should be mentioned even if it was less than three acres. For these institutional estates, give the approximate acreage of the holding, any large variations in its size and the dates at or by which it was acquired and disposed of.

Sources

1. Starting Points

A thumbnail sketch of the manorial descent is provided by the information on landownership included in the 'Jubilee Digests' and posted as the 'front pages' of the parish/township web pages on the VCH Cumbria project website (http://cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/township-list). This is drawn, in large part, from material in 19th-century directories – it ought not, therefore, to be taken as accurate but merely as a pointer towards the further research needed.

Beyond that, where to start will depend in part on the part of Cumbria in which the township/parish you are researching lies. The following sources focus on the medieval (and, to a lesser extent, early-modern) centuries.

For Cumberland, start with:

- *John Denton's History of Cumberland*, ed. A. J. L. Winchester. Surtees Society Vol. 213 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XX (Woodbridge, 2010). [only partial coverage but very useful for the medieval estates of which his accounts survive. Where possible, use the footnotes to go back to the primary sources (*Cal. Inq. p. m.* etc) and cite these rather than Denton himself.]
- *Thomas Denton: a Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688, including descriptions of Westmorland, The Isle of Man and Ireland*, ed. A. J. L. Winchester with M. Wane. Surtees Society Vol. 207 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XVI (Woodbridge, 2003). [again, where possible check his statements in independent sources]

For Westmorland:

- J. F. Curwen, *The Later Records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby*, CWAAS (Kendal, 1932).
- W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale Vols. I and II*, ed. J. F. Curwen; and J. F. Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale Vol. III*, CWAAS Record Series Vols IV-VI (Kendal, 1923-6).

For Lancashire North of the Sands:

- *VCH Lancashire* Vol. VIII

2. Medieval Period

For the medieval period there are also the cartularies of Cumbrian monastic houses, most of which are now available in print:

- Brownbill, J., ed., *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. Vol. II, Parts ii and iii*, Chetham Society new series 76, 78 (1916, 1919) [these sections of the Furness cartulary contain most of the Cumbrian material]
- Burton, J.E. ed., *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, Surtees Society, 208 (2004)

- Grainger, F. & W.G. Collingwood, ed., *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Record Series, 7 (1929)
- Prescott, J. E., ed., *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, (London and Kendal, 1897).
- Todd, J.M. ed., *The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County record Office MS DZ/1)*, Surtees Society, 203; Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Record Series, 11 (1997)
- Wilson, J. ed., *Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, Surtees Society, 126 (1915)

Central government records may provide further details of manorial descent. Indexes to the following classes should be searched systematically:
- Charter, Close and Patent Rolls provide details of royal grants and gifts, sales of land or permission to buy and sell, wardship and marriage.
- Fine Rolls give the deaths of many landholders.
- Inquisitions post mortem give details of what lands were held in each county by tenants of the crown, as well as the date of death, and the name and age of the heir. Sometimes they specify the acreage of land held in demesne, proportions of arable, meadow or pasture, and make reference to features such as mills. The National Archives (TNA) has a useful guide to understanding these inquisitions: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/inquisitions-post-mortem.htm

The original documents at TNA are in Latin. However, there are indexed calendars to these documents, which summarise the contents in English. Calendars can usually be found in local record offices or local studies libraries as well as Lancaster University Library. Many of these sources are also now available on the web and can be searched by place name:
- *Calendar of Fine Rolls, Henry III*: http://www.frh3.org.uk/
- *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1216-1452*: http://www.uiowa.edu/~acadtech/patentrolls/
- *Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, vols 1-12 (1216-1369): https://archive.org/details/texts

NB: The *Calendars of Inquisition Post Mortem* will say if an original extent survives for a particular manor, but will give no further details. In such cases, the original document should be consulted.

3. Nineteenth and twentieth centuries
The following sources should be consulted to work out patterns of landownership in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

- Tithe commutation award: the schedule provides an indication of the pattern of landownership in a township/parish c.1840
- Enclosure award: since the lord of the manor usually owned the wastes of the manor, (s)he will be named in the enclosure act/award.
- 19th-century trade directories, which usually give the names of not only the lord of the manor but the 'principal landowners' as well.
- Valuation Records under the 1910 Finance Act (a.k.a. 'The Lloyd George Domesday'): the 1:2500 OS plans and the 'Domesday Books' (available in CAS) provide details of landownership in 1910. Detailed 'field books', with very full details of each property are held at The National Archives, Kew, IR58.
- The National Farm Survey of 1941 (TNA, MAF 32) includes the names of owners and occupiers of farms. A set of maps for each county, based on Ordnance Survey maps, show the land belonging to each farm (TNA, MAF 73).

4. Private Estate Collections

Title deeds and charters are another importance resource for tracing manorial descent. Numerous collections of title deeds have been deposited with CAS. Many can be found in private estate collections such as the **Lonsdale Collection (D/Lons) at CAS (Carlisle).**
Title deeds are also important for tracing the history of some of the more recent large landed estates, including The National Trust and Forestry Commission. Both have records in CAS which detail the sale and lease of property.

The Manorial Documents Register (MDR) will help you locate manorial records: search by the name of the manor or parish at http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/manor-search. Be aware that some places were subject to overlapping levels of manorial authority, from the immediate local manor to a unit of higher lordship such as a barony. Therefore, it may be necessary to search for records under the names of *both* the manor and the overlordship to have a more complete list of records. For more information about units of overlordship and Cumbrian manorial records, see
http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/

There are numerous collections of Cumbrian manorial and estate records, many, but by no means all, of which are in CAS. Three major collections are:
- **Leconfield Collection available through CAS (Whitehaven), D/Lec:** Lord Egremont's records relating to the honour of Cockermouth and baronies of Allerdale, Egremont and Wigton. The manorial and estate records from the 16th century onwards are grouped into two main sets, those covering the Percy manors and those relating to the Wharton manors.
- **Lonsdale Collection at CAS (Carlisle), D/Lons:** The core of the medieval holdings of the Lowther family was comparatively small but purchases across the 16th and 17th

centuries resulted in numerous manors in Cumberland and Westmorland coming into the family's hands; earlier manorial and estate records were often transferred to the Lowthers with the estates they purchased.

- **Howard of Naworth Collection at CAS (Carlisle), DHN:** includes large volumes of manorial and estate records for Gilsland barony, a major overlordship comprising over twenty member manors. This extensive archive also includes material relating to certain Cumberland manors lying outside the barony. A copy of the 4-volume catalogue of the collection is available at CAS (Carlisle).

Remember that the records of local firms of solicitors and estate agents, who often acted as stewards and land agents for lords of Cumbrian manors, can also be very useful.

5. Other Printed Sources

Owing to the overlap between the history of an estate and the history of the families that owned it, printed pedigrees can prove useful. All peerage and baronetage families should be checked in *Complete Peerage* or *Complete Baronetage*. The articles in these books are preferred to Burke and Debrett, although Burke, in particular, often gives more detail about recent generations. For untitled gentry families Burke's *Landed Gentry* is the best source. *Burke's Family Index* (Burke's Peerage, 1976) is a consolidated index to all the pedigrees in all the company's publications.

Printed auction catalogues are another source of information for the history of estates in the modern era. As well as throwing light on how the estate was managed in its final years, these catalogues usually include a note on the vendor's title and the basis for the sale. Collections of catalogues can be found in local studies libraries and record offices.

6. Researching Manorial Features

For the *manor house* and other houses at the heart of landed estates, start with:

- M. Hyde and N. Pevsner, *Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*. The Buildings of England (London, 2010).
- Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Westmorland* (London, 1936); Now fully on-line on British History Online: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=1297
- J. F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands*, CWAAS Extra Series XIII (Kendal, 1913).
- *CW1*, *CW2*, *CW3*: these contain numerous, often well-researched, articles on castles and manor houses.
- guidebooks (use only as a starting point: you should aim to check for independent evidence of statements they contain).

The following provides a useful guide to sources about individual buildings:

- Denis R Perriam and John Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria: an illustrated gazetteer and research guide*, CWAAS Extra Series XXIX, 1998.

For details about other manorial features, such as woods, mills, parks, tenure and labour services, or the manor court, you will need to consult manorial records belonging to that particular manor.

There are several types of document which detail the key components of a manor and its administration. They include:

- *Extents* - surveys that list the component elements of a manor and their monetary value. These include the capital messuage, the demesne, meadow, pasture and woodland, mills, fisheries and warrens, money from free and unfree holdings, labour services of villain tenants and the monetary equivalent, and court revenues.
- *Custumals* – a survey or rental which includes details of the rents, services and customs by which tenants held their land (including any labour services). Some give ages, many give marginal notes of when tenancies began, new leases or copies were made and added lives, dates of deaths, previous tenants etc.
- *Surveys* - written descriptions of the manor. Occasionally accompanied by a map, but these seldom survive. A full manorial survey will give details not only of each holding and cottage on the manor, but also of the tenants. *Terriers* are surveys arranged topographically, field by field.
- *Accounts* - detailed records of the individual elements of the manor, how they were managed and what they yielded through the agricultural year. They date from the early 13th century but are most commonly found from the 1270s.
- Court Records - including court rolls, court books and verdict sheets for both courts baron and courts leet. The main business of the manor court was to act as a land registry for holdings on the manor, to uphold the lord's privileges and resolve neighbourly disputes. They are particularly useful for the Landownership section in that they contain the name the lord of the manor; notification of the deaths of tenants; the swearing of fealty by heirs to freeholds; the admission to and surrender of copyholds, ie. taking or giving up a tenancy.

Note that the manor court need only be briefly mentioned in this section and should dealt with more thoroughly under 'Local Government'. Therefore, it will be more important to look at surviving court records when working on that section as well. Up to one-third of places described as manors have no surviving records. More records survive from the period after 1500 than before. Until 1733 manorial records were written in formulaic Latin, although the 'meat' of many court records are in English from the sixteenth century onwards.

4. Economic History

Aims and approach

This section is concerned with how the people of a parish or township made their living from medieval times onwards. Every village and town had its own economy and this economy is related to surrounding markets and to communications networks.

You should open the section with an overview that portrays the balance over the centuries between primary (agriculture, fisheries, mining, quarrying), secondary (manufacturing) and tertiary (services) activity in your parish.

Your account should be structured thematically, and should cover the following topics:

1. Agriculture (and Fishing and Forestry, if appropriate)
2. Mining and Quarrying
3. Manufacturing Industry
4. Service Industries and other businesses
5. Economic History since 1945

There will be something to say about Agriculture for all rural parishes/townships and you should aim to include material on Economic History since 1945 whatever the nature of the community. How much material, if any, you include under the remaining headings will obviously depend on the particular history of the place in question.

The following notes are arranged under the five headings listed above and include guidance on approach and content, as well as key sources for each section.

Starting Points

The 'Jubilee Digest' for the place you are researching (accessible online at http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/places-township-list) will provide a brief overview, based on the following key sources, which you should use as a starting point:

- **Ordnance Survey Six-Inch maps and 1:2,500 plans.** Where economic activity affects the landscape – a forestry plantation, mill, mine, quarry or factory, for example – large-scale OS maps and plans enable you to pinpoint it on the ground. Comparing a succession of editions of the 6"/1:10,000 maps should allow you to chart such features from the mid-19th century to the present day.
- **Directories.** Trade directories often mention such activity as mining, as well as listing businesses. Again, consulting successive directories, from Parson & White (1829) to

Kelly's Directories of the early 20th century, will provide an overview of economic activity at local level in the modern era.

- **Census Returns.** Check the population statistics on the project website (click on the appropriate ward under 'Census for Cumberland and Westmorland 1801-2001' at http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/cumbria-wide-resources to see whether there are any comments on the reasons for population increase or decrease (new mines opening, for example). See also below ('Census Enumerators' Books').

- **Seventeenth-century antiquaries**. For earlier periods, the writings of some of the antiquaries can be useful. In particular, Thomas Denton (*Perambulation of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1687*-8) provides a considerable amount of evidence for economic activity in the later 17th century. Sir Daniel Fleming's 'Description of Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness' (1671) and Thomas Machell's account of southern Westmorland in 1692 (printed as *Antiquary on Horseback*, ed. Jane M Ewbank (1963)) are also worth consulting. For a later period, John Housman's 'Notes' at the foot of the page in William Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* (1794) also provide some local economic information.

Two obvious sources of evidence for local economic history may simply require too much time-consuming analysis for the purposes of a VCH parish/township article, though you might consider whether they could be sampled or whether you might be able to make use of analyses carried out by other local historians:

- **Census Enumerators' Books.** The occupational data recorded from 1841 (heads of household only; comprehensively from 1851) to 1911 provides a very fine-grained picture of economic activity, including (under the name of the proprietor) details of the numbers of men employed on farms and in other businesses. For a modest-sized township or parish, extracting the latter data would not be too time-consuming. Remember also that for parts of north Westmorland only a census of 1787 survives, which provides comparable data: published as *Vital Statistics: the Westmorland 'Census' of 1787*, ed. Loraine Ashcroft (1992).

- **Probate inventories**. A vital source for reconstructing local economies in the period c.1550 to c.1750. For farming, they often provide details of crops grown and livestock kept, and valuations of tools, raw materials or stock in trade can provide evidence of crafts and manufacturing. Full analysis of all inventories across this period would be very time-consuming, even for a small rural community. Sampling might be possible (all inventories over a couple of 10-year periods?) or selected inventories might be examined. For places in Carlisle diocese details of occupations are given in *Index to Wills proved in the Consistory Court of Carlisle 1661-1750*, ed. Susan Dench (1998), which also contains a place index.

1. Agriculture, Fishing and Forestry

These, along with mining and quarrying (which should form a separate section of the chapter), are classed as 'primary production', that is, the direct exploitation of resources from land and water. In most rural parishes/townships these aspects of economic history predominated until comparatively recent times, so this section of the chapter is likely to be the longest.

Farming

We suggest that you divide the treatment of agriculture into three sub-sections, taking a broadly chronological approach to each:

1. The physical framework. By this, we mean the building blocks of land use within the parish/township and how the balance between them has changed over time. The physical framework includes the location and extent of: arable land (both open fields and enclosed fields, depending on period); grassland used as hay meadows; enclosed permanent pasture; common waste. Please include the following in your account if possible:

- Location and extent of each land use category (open fields, meadows, common pastures, etc) and, if possible, an assessment of the relative proportion of arable, waste and woodland in the Middle Ages
- Boundaries of open fields, names of fields and evidence of amalgamation or subdivision.
- Areas of early enclosed fields, often originating in medieval assarting (reclamation) from the waste.
- Evidence of the existence of an 'outfield' (a section of the common grazings enclosed for cultivation).
- Evidence for the management of commons, including pasture rights and other common rights (such as 'turbary' – the right to dig peat and turf; and 'estovers' – the right to gather vegetation such as bracken, heather and rushes).
- Enclosure, both piecemeal 'agreement' enclosure through time and Parliamentary enclosure post-1750. Remember that it is important to distinguish between enclosure of open fields and meadows (often occurring in piecemeal fashion in the period c.1550-c.1750 in Cumbria) and enclosure of common wastes (the 'moor' or 'fell' belonging to the township)
- The impact of enclosure on farming structure and occupancy: were new farms established on newly-enclosed lands?

2. Agrarian institutions. These include how the land was held (forms of tenure; rents and services, etc) and how farms were run (By a farm manager or by an owner? As family farms

or employing labourers?). It is not necessary to record the history of individual families or of individual farms; what is required is an overview for the parish/township as a whole. Please include the following aspects in your account if possible:

- The tenurial structure of the manor or manors in the Middle Ages, in particular the balance between the demesne and tenant holdings, and between free and unfree tenures.
- The evolution of tenure through time, including the survival of copyhold tenures (including, in Cumbria, customary tenantright) into the 19th century. Where applicable, the types of lease found in the parish at different periods should be noted.
- The proportion of owner-occupied farms (in Cumbria 'owner-occupier' includes those who farm land they hold from the lord of the manor by customary tenantright) and how this changed
- Medieval labour services and other 'boon works', where recorded.
- Farm sizes, where known, and how these changed over time; any evidence of cottage holdings.
- Numbers employed in agriculture at different periods, although they will generally be available only for the 19th century.
- Wage rates and terms of employment for farm servants and agricultural labourers, where known, also any evidence of agricultural disputes.

3. Outputs: crops and livestock production. The aim here is to chart the types of husbandry carried out in the parish/township: was the focus on crop production, dairying or sheep farming, for example? And how did this change across the centuries? The main topics should include:

- Land use, particularly the types of crops grown, animals kept and agricultural specialisation. It is often helpful to tabulate material found in the 1801 crop returns, the tithe files, and in the agricultural returns from 1866. Did enclosure result in significant changes in land use?
- Farming systems, husbandry practices and rotations over time, where known. Is there evidence of 'infield-outfield' arrangements, whereby parts of the common were enclosed for cultivation, either on a temporary basis or resulting in an 'outfield' cultivated on a 'long ley' rotation (a few years' cropping followed by several years as pasture)?
- Any forms of specialised cultivation such as market gardening or fruit growing should be noted separately.

Key Sources

- Manorial and estate records (surveys, estate plans, manor court records, estate accounts, etc, from 13th century to 20th)

- Probate inventories can be used to obtain data on crops and livestock. Early inventories (pre-1640) are often provide more detail on specific crops and types of animal than later ones (which generally only give an overall valuation for 'corn' sheep' etc).

- The 1801 Crop returns (TNA, HO 67) can be found on www.VisionofBritain.org.uk or at www.ahds.ac.uk Returns do not survive for every parish: coverage is fairly extensive for Cumberland and Lancashire but returns survive for only two parishes (Brougham and Morland) in Wesmorland.

- Tithe plans (Cumbria Archive Service, DRC 8): for patterns of occupation and land use c.1840; also field-name evidence of past land use patterns.

- The Tithe Files (TNA, IR 18) sometimes contain considerable detail about farming at the level of the individual parish.

- Tithe disputes can shed valuable light on agricultural production: they will be found in the Consistory Court Records of Carlisle or Chester diocese, with appeals ('transmitted causes') being forwarded to the Prerogative Court of York. For an index to the latter, see W. J. Shiels, *Ecclesiastical Cause Papers at York: files transmitted on appeal 1500-1883* (Borthwick Texts & Calendars, 1983).

- Enclosure awards: CAS, QRE/1 (for Cumberland) and WQ/RI (for Westmorland)

- Land Tax returns provide data on patterns of owner-occupation. For Cumberland (CAS (Carlisle), Q/RP/1) they survive for the period c.1750-1829, though few years are complete; fewer survive for Westmorland (CAS (Kendal), WQ/R/LT) but there is a full set for 1742 for East Ward (WQ/SR/148).

- Agricultural statistics: parish summaries, 1866 to late 20th century (TNA, MAF 68)

- 1910 Valuation Office records ('Lloyd George Domesday'). The 'Domesday Books', which are held in Cumbria Archive Centres, provide details of land holdings and businesses in 1910. The 'Field Books' (TNA, IR 58) provide much more detail on the use of buildings, etc.

- National Farm Survey, 1941-3 (TNA, MAF 32)

- Snapshots of 20th-century land use patterns are provided by the maps of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, carried out in the late 1930s and published at One-Inch (1:63.360) scale, and the Second Land Utilisation Survey, carried out in the 1960s and published at 1:25,000 scale.

- Common land database: searchable database, giving acreage of each common and number of rights registered under the Commons Registration Act 1965, at: http://common-land.com/

Fishing and Forestry

The exploitation of resources from woodland and waters is traditionally classed as 'primary production', along with farming and mining and quarrying. If fishing and woodland/forestry have been part of the economy of a parish/township, they should be dealt with as a separate sub-section following Agriculture.

Fishing. In coastal communities look for evidence of the exploitation of sea food from the medieval period: shellfish, 'fishgarths' (inter-tidal fish traps), ownership of fishing boats. By the 18th century, some coastal communities were engaged in larger scale sea fisheries (such as the herring fishery) and fish-curing. In inland parishes/townships remember the importance of river and lake fisheries, not only the well-known salmon fisheries on the major rivers and estuaries but 'eel arks' (where migrating eels were trapped) and other small-scale fisheries.

Woodland and Forestry. The extent of woodland and how it has changed across time will have been described in the Introduction (under Landscape and Settlement); in this section the aim should be to chart its history as part of the economic land use of the parish/township. You should draw a distinction between '*ancient' (i.e. semi-natural deciduous) woodland*, used for charcoal manufacture and swill basket-making, for example, and *forestry plantations*, usually coniferous, which have been deliberately planted for timber production. You should seek to establish the ownership of woodland, who exploited it and how (by lease or by custom, for example?), what woodland products were obtained and sold – in the case of 'ancient' woodland, you should try to chart the changing patterns of use from the medieval period to the present. For forestry plantations, try to establish ownership, date of planting, the species planted and the intended market, and the numbers employed in forestry.

Key Sources

- Manorial and estate records, as both woodland and fisheries were lordly monopolies. Where woodland and forestry plantations were managed by large landed estates (including The National Trust), modern estate records are a key source.
- Cartographic sources (successive editions of Ordnance Survey Six-Inch (1:10,560) and Twenty-five Inch (1:2,500) maps; tithe plans; estate plans, etc) can be used to chart the changing extent of woodland and to identify fish traps etc.
- Records of the Forestry Commission Censuses of Woodlands, 1924-87 are preserved at TNA, classes F22 (reports and data) and F30 (microfilms of Six-Inch OS maps)

2. Mining and Quarrying

The extractive industries form part of the economic history of very many parishes and townships in Cumbria, even in areas not normally considered to have been 'industrial'. This section should attempt to establish what minerals were extracted (from stone, sand and gravel to coal, metal ores and more localized resources such as gypsum and diatomite) and when. It should be arranged by the type of mineral being exploited and should, at the very least, provide the broad chronology of each (earliest reference to a mine/quarry in the parish; final demise of the extractive industry in question). Ideally, the history of each major mine or quarry should be traced, particularly those operating on a large scale during the 19th and/or 20th centuries. Large-scale mining and quarrying businesses should be treated in the same way as larger industrial operations (see 'Manufacturing Industry' below). Processing of extracted materials which took place at or close to the mine/quarry (such as stone crushing or lime burning) should be dealt with in this section but use of the mineral as a raw material (e.g. lead smelting; iron making; monumental masonry) should come in the 'Manufacturing Industry' section.

Key Sources

- OS maps and plans; directories (see above)
- National sources, particularly systematic lists of collieries (post-1854), naming owners and after 1881 supplying other information. These were published annually, first by the Geological Survey and later by the Home Office Mines Inspectorate, which continue until after 1947. . A good introduction to sources held at The National Archives can be found at http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/mines-and-mining.htm
- Records of mining and quarrying companies, which may have been deposited in local record offices (check CASCAT)
- Manorial and estate records (since mineral rights were usually vested in the lord of the manor)
- Thomas Denton's *Perambulation of Cumberland, 1687-8* (ed. Winchester with Wane, Surtees Soc. Vol. 207, 2003) is a useful source for mining and quarrying in the 17th century.
- Two secondary sources, which provide a wealth of information on individual mines are:
  - John Postlethwaite, *Mines and Mining in the Lake District* (1913)
  - Oliver Wood, *West Cumberland Coal 1600-1982/3* (1988)

3. Manufacturing Industry

This section should deal with the making of saleable things, which embraces a wide range of economic activity, from processing of foodstuffs (milling, brewing, meat packaging, for example) through the traditional heavy industries (iron and steel, textiles) to modern 'light' industry and power generation. For some parishes there may be little more to be said about manufacturing than can be found in evidence for early modern cottage industry (spinning, handloom weaving, basket making, for example) or short-lived activities recorded in 19th century trade directories. The order in which different industrial activities are discussed will vary from place to place, but in general the manufacture of *producer goods* (iron and steel, engineering, tanning etc.) should come before the production of *consumer goods* (textiles, hosiery etc.) or industries that date only from recent times (electrical and electronic engineering, plastics etc.).

Mills. The history of milling will often be the only type of manufacturing to be discussed in rural parishes. All references to both water- and windmills should be collected, as should any mention of horse-mills in the medieval period. In Cumbria many rural communities also had fulling mills in the medieval period. Remember that water-mill sites could change use across the centuries, switching between corn milling and fulling, for example, or being converted into saw mills. The history of each mill site should be traced chronoloigcally.

Crafts. All but the smallest rural parishes had a fairly standard range of village craftsmen, certainly in the post-medieval period. There is normally no need to refer to individual blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters and the like, unless one of the businesses was of special interest, for example where a smithy evolved into a foundry or engineering works.

Larger-scale industrial activity. In parishes with distinctive industrial activity, each industry should be considered in turn, drawing together references in chronological order. Sometimes this will involve discussing a series of individual entrepreneurs or single businesses; elsewhere an industry may be represented by several firms. In either case, an attempt should be made to trace the origins, growth and (where appropriate) decline of a particular activity. This should include:

- the origins of those involved and their sources of capital
- the organisation of the business (sole proprietorship, partnership or limited company)
- its products, markets and number of employees.

Please also discuss, where appropriate, the transition from domestic to factory production or from the use of water-power to steam-power, or other technological changes appropriate to a particular industry.

In the case of limited companies, it would be appropriate to comment on the circumstances in which the company was founded'; the ownership of shares (were they held by members of one or two families or marketed more widely?); and when such companies ceased to be locally owned and became part of larger groups with headquarters elsewhere.

Key Sources

The standard general sources listed at the beginning of these guidance notes (maps; trade and local directories; census enumeration returns) should provide the starting point. Local newspapers (advertisements, as well as reports) are another important source for the 19th and 20th centuries. Once you have the names of companies or businesses active in your parish/township, it is worth checking CASCAT for any company records which might have been deposited and the catalogue of the local studies library for any press cuttings etc. about the firm in question.

For limited companies, check The National Archives website at: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/business-history.htm At TNA, Class BT 31, files of dissolved companies from Companies House, are among the most useful sources. If the company has been active in the last 20 years, go to the Companies House database itself (www.companies-house.gov.uk).

For the centuries before 1800 remember to check the following:

- Manorial and estate records – particularly for mills, since these were in origin manorial monopolies
- Travellers' diaries, particularly from the 18th century, e.g.
  - K. Morgan (ed.), *An American Quaker in the British Isles: the travel journals of Jabez Maude Fisher, 1775-1779* (British Academy, 1992)
  - *R.R. Angerstein's Illustrated Travel Diary, 1753-1755: Industry in England* (ed. T and P Berg, 2001)

4. Service Industries and other businesses

The service sector ('tertiary production') is now overwhelmingly the most important branch of the economy in all but a few parts of the United Kingdom. In some parishes there may be little to say other than can be found in 19th- and 20th-century trade directories, as the service sector in the past was mainly concerned with the distribution and sale of agricultural and manufactured goods. However, most parishes/townships in Cumbria contain more recent businesses which are part of the 'visitor economy'; these should be included here.

Retailing. It is desirable, though not always easy, to establish what shops existed in a rural community from how early a date, what other retail traders (perhaps itinerant) served the community, and where such people obtained their goods. Please mention the Post Office, pubs and any service activity specific to the parish of special interest. Much of the information will come from trade directories.

Markets and fairs. If there was a market or fair in the parish/township (and they were found in rural communities as well as in towns), the vitality of the market/fair at different periods should be assessed (rather than merely narrate the chronology of grants). What goods were traded? What distance did buyers and sellers travel to attend the market/fair?

Transport services. Road carrying services (always far more important than passenger traffic on roads until quite recent times) should be mentioned, as should the main traffic flows on canals and railways. Roads themselves were not large employers but the inns that formed staging posts along main routes were, and innkeepers were often involved in other businesses connected with road transport. Their modern equivalents, filling stations and motels, should also be mentioned.

Railways were major employers in many parts of the country, rural as well as urban, between the mid-19th and the mid-20th centuries. Even small country stations had a staff large enough to make an impact on a rural community, and in industrial areas served by several competitive lines, with extensive goods yards as well as passenger stations, the railways were generally among the most important (and most secure, if poorly paid) sources of employment. Their impact was heightened in places with engine sheds and workshops, not to mention independently owned but closely related activities such as the manufacture, repair and hire of railway wagons.

'Visitor economy'. This part of the service sector includes hotels and guest houses, Bed & Breakfast establishments, camping and caravan sites, visitor attractions (open farms; visitor centres, etc), and specialist outlets (cycling and outdoor pursuits, for example). Dates and circumstances of establishment and numbers employed should be sought for major businesses. Individual guest houses and B&B establishments do not need to be mentioned; the aim should be to provide an overview of the origins, growth and importance of that sector of the local economy.

Key Sources

- Trade directories – probably the key source for this section. Remember to include 20th-century directories as well as the better-known Victorian ones.
- London Gazette (and also Belfast and Edinburgh Gazettes): these official newspapers are useful for business history, recording bankruptcies, dissolution of partnerships etc. Fully searchable scans, available online at www.gazettes-online.co.uk

- Gazetteer of Markets/Fairs: list of markets and fairs, with brief historical background; well researched. Cite as Samantha Letters, Gazetteer of Markets & Fairs in England and Wales to 1516 (+ last updated date). See: http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html

5. Economic History since 1945

Dramatic changes affected all communities during the second half of the 20th century, as the service sector has come to dominate the economy. In rural areas, alongside the decline in agricultural employment (and employment closely connected with farming), home and workplace have come to be separated (often by a considerable distance) as increasing numbers of professional people have chosen to live in the countryside while working elsewhere. The nature of their employment, overwhelmingly in the service sector, is as much part of the local economy as was the work of farmers and farm labourers at an earlier period.

In Cumbria, key themes include:

- the transformation of the economy of former mining and industrial communities since the 1960s (high levels of structural unemployment, replacement industries; Sellafield and the 'energy coast')
- the growth of tourism and the visitor economy, especially, but by no means only, in the Lake District.
- new forms of exploitation of the uplands, including forestry, wind farms, grouse shooting etc
- the growth of rural 'craft' industries, not only handicrafts (potteries, wood turners, toy makers etc), but also other small-scale manufacturing (such as water bottling)

Key Sources

Oral testimony. The best approach may well be to start with oral testimony. Ask yourself or ask older neighbours and longstanding residents:

- Where do most people who live in your parish today work?
- How have employment patterns changed since the Second World War?
- How many working farms are there in your parish?
- Has this number fallen since 1945?

- Are the farms now mostly owner-occupied? If so, were they previously part of a larger landed estate and have been sold off (if so, by which estate and when)? If not, who owns the land?
- Are there any employers in your parish itself apart from farms and shops?
- How many shops are there in the parish?
- Has this number fallen since the 1950s?
- Do you still have a Post Office?
- How have bus services to your parish changed over the last fifty years? (dates of closure for local railway stations can be checked from a standard reference book; buses are harder to find out about)?

If you assemble the answers to these questions you should have enough to write a couple of paragraphs on the economic history of the parish since 1945, i.e. after the last Kelly's Directory was published.

Documentary sources:

- *Local authority reports*. It is worth checking in the local library catalogues for any unpublished local authority planning reports on particular areas, which often include an analysis of employment at the time they were written, sometimes with data at parish level. They may be published only in A4 loose bound copies, but should not be ignored.
- *Community and parish plans* (will also be useful for Social History section): for overview of occupations etc in early 21st century. These were prepared for over 70 parishes in Cumbria: for a list, see http://www.cumbriaaction.org.uk/images/uploads/Parish_Plans_Gazette_October_2004.pdf. Those for Carlisle District are available in full at: http://www.carlisle.gov.uk/business/rural_communities/community_and_parish_plans.aspx
- *Village profiles*. The village profile articles published over many years in county glossy magazines (*Cumbria; Cumbria Life; Lakes & Cumbria Today; Lancashire & North West Magazine*) are a neglected source for recent economic history.
- *Google* (www.google.co.uk) Useful for modern businesses and leisure, cultural and conservation activities (e.g. sports clubs, village halls, nature reserves). Some villages have their own community websites.

5. Social History

Aims and approach

The 'Social History' section of a parish or township history aims both to trace the origins and development of institutions which brought members of the local community together (schools, charities, the village hall, the local W.I., for example), and to provide an overview of the character of the community and how it has changed across time. While much of the evidence and many of the institutions are likely to date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is important not to forget that you should also be seeking to say what you can about the social character of the community at earlier periods. The account should be structured thematically, and the 'Social History' chapter should contain the following sub-headings:

- Social structure and character
- Community activities
- Education
- Welfare

The following notes are arranged under those four topics. As well as the guidance below, you should read the background papers which are to be found in the national VCH Guidance Notes (at http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/local-history/writing-parish-history/social-history). These cover the following topics:

- Community organisations since 1945
- Education 1870-1944 Act
- Education post-1944
- Charities and Poor Relief: early history
- Charities and Poor Relief: 19th and 20th century developments.

1. Social structure and character

The aim of this section is to encapsulate the socio-economic character of the place and how this has changed across the centuries. Even for the smallest parish or township, it should be possible to say something about the character of the community as well as its social structure.

Topics which are worth discussing for rural communities for all periods include:

- The character of the parish/township – was there a single village or more than one settlement? If the latter, how did they link together? If the settlement pattern was one of dispersed farms and hamlets, was there a focal point for community activities?
- The presence or absence of a resident lord of the manor or major landowner, and, in the case of an absentee owner, which families provided social leadership in the community.
- The impact of the pattern of landholding on the character of the community: was there a large 'home farm', run by a landed estate or was the community one of small family farms? What was the social character of those who provided labour on the farms: were they landless labourers or live-in farm servants?
- Was there a sharp divide between the status of owner-occupiers and tenant farmers? Or between farmers and landless labourers, or did the classes merge into one another?
- Was there a distinct class of tradesmen and craftsmen not employed on the land?
- How great was the proportion of the population deemed to be 'poor', or at least excused from paying tax?

For each of these questions you should ask how these variables changed over time. The social structure and character of many communities changed markedly in the 19th century (with the coming of the railways and growth of rural industry, for example) and/or the 20th (with the break-up of landed estates and the influx of the urban middle class into great swathes of rural England from the 1950s onwards).

Sources

You will undoubtedly gather material relevant to the above questions during your research for other sections of your article (particularly Landownership and Economic History). The following sources should prove particularly useful:

- Estate records. Rentals and surveys may provide information about the number of cottagers (or other inhabitants without landed holdings) in relation to the farming section of the community, as well as an indication of the balance between large and small farms. Where the lord of the manor was non-resident, you should try to identify who in the community acted as his agent and represented lordly power.
- Taxation records. The fragmentary Poll Tax returns which survive for the barony of Westmorland for 1379 include some occupational data (Carolyn C. Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: Part 2, Lincolnshire-Westmorland* (OUP for British Academy, 2001)). The Hearth Tax returns include, from 1664, a list of householders exempted from payment because they were comparatively poor, which provides an indication of the socio-economic composition of the community in the later 17th

century. The Cumberland returns are rather fragmentary but those for Westmorland are full and have been published: Colin Phillips, Catherine Ferguson and Andrew Wareham (eds), *Westmorland Hearth Tax Michaelmas 1670 & Surveys 1674-5*. British Record Society Hearth Tax Series Vol. VI and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XIX (London: British Record Society, 2008 [*recte* 2010]).

- Census records. In an ideal world the census enumerators' books for each census, 1841-1911 inclusive, could be used to ascertain social character by analysing: occupational structure; locals versus migrants (using the place of birth data); numbers of servants; etc. Unless this information has already been captured (perhaps by a local history society), you will probably not have time to carry out a full analysis. For parts of north Westmorland only, remember the 'census' taken in 1787: Loraine Ashcroft (ed.), *Vital Statistics: the Westmorland 'Census' of 1787* (Curwen Archives Trust, 1992).

Cumbrian rural communities exhibited some distinctive characteristics, setting them apart from communities in other parts of England (and perhaps making some of the standard themes in social history less relevant). To help you approach this section in the Cumbrian context, you may find it useful to consult (as contextual reading) some of the published secondary studies charting social structure and social change in individual Cumbrian communities; for example:

J.D. Marshall   'Agrarian wealth and social structure in pre-industrial Cumbria', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. 33 (1980), 503-21.

J. V. Beckett   'The decline of the small landowner in 18th and 19th century England: some regional considerations', *Agric. Hist. Review*, 30, (1982), 97-111

J. V. Beckett   'Absentee landownership in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: the case of Cumbria', *Northern History*, XIX (1983)

N. Gregson   'Tawney revisited: custom and the emergence of capitalist class relations in north-east Cumbria, 1600-1830', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 42 (1989), 18-42

A. J. L. Winchester   'Wordsworth's "Pure Commonwealth"? Yeoman dynasties in the English Lake District, c.1450-1750', *Armitt Library Journal* 1 (1998), 86-113.

Jonathan Healey   'Agrarian Social Structure in the Central Lake District, *c*. 1574-1830: The Fall of the "Mountain Republic"?', *Northern History*, 44 (2) (2007), 73-91.

A. H. Duxbury   'The decline of the Cumbrian yeoman: Ravenstonedale: a case study', *CW2*, 94, (1994) 201-213

D. Uttley   'The decline of the Cumbrian yeoman: fact or fiction?' *CW3* 7 (2007), 121-33 and 'The decline of the Cumbrian "yeoman" revisited', *CW3* 8 (2008), 127-46.

I. D. Whyte   'The customary tenants of Watermillock c.1760-c.1840: continuity and change in a Lake District township', *CW3* 9 (2009), 161-74

2. Community activities

The main focus here is on local organisations and institutions and the role they played in the life of the community. Most of the material is likely to relate to the nineteenth and (particularly) twentieth centuries but you should also include any evidence for communal activities in earlier times (such as horse racing or rushbearing festivals, for example). To set social activities into the wider historical context of the parish/township, you should ask when and why community activities were established and also when and why they declined or ceased.

Distinctively Cumbrian community activities for which an eye should be kept open include rushbearing rituals; fox hunting; hound trailing; cock fighting; shepherds' 'merry neets'; communal funeral and wedding customs (e.g. the 'bidden' wedding); wrestling; horse racing on common land; rugby league; social activities associated with livestock fairs.

The staple fare of this section should include brief accounts of the following:

- **Friendly societies.** These were often among the earliest modern community organisations, established in the second half of the 18th century. They were joined in 19th-century towns by a wide range of voluntary organisations, some charitable, some educational and some purely social.
- **Social activities of religious organisations.** Both the Church of England and nonconformist congregations expanded their work in the later 19th century into social |(or quasi-scocial) activities, such as temperance gatherings or setting up clothing charities. They provided social meeting places, especially for young people, often through uniformed organisations (scouts, guides etc.), as well as sporting activities. In many rural communities, the church and/or chapel provided virtually all the settings for spare-time activities.
- **The Women's Institute.** The WI came into existence during the First World War, and after 1918 was often central to the life of a village. By contrast, men's organisations such as Rotary and the Round Table have remained largely urban, as have the Freemasons.

- **Village halls.** Although some parishes had 'institutes' before the First World War, pressure for village halls arose mainly after 1918. Halls could not be provided by parish councils at that time and were usually established and managed by a separate voluntary committee, as were playing fields. In recent times the two have sometimes merged with the building of a community centre in one corner of a playing field, providing changing rooms and facilities for indoor sports as well as meeting rooms. Bodies responsible for halls, playing fields and community centres have sometimes obtained charitable status.

- **Inns and alehouses**. Inns capable of providing accommodation (where this can be established) should be included, but it is not necessary to mention every alehouse or beer shop. In market towns the names and dates of only the principal inns should be mentioned. Where an inn was the venue for meetings of a friendly society or a later societies and clubs, sporting or otherwise, this should be mentioned.

- **Amateur sport.** Amateur sport became organised in its modern form in the later 19th century and by 1914 most towns had a network of football and cricket clubs, some linked to a particular works or church, others open to all. Both games were also popular in mining villages, with clubs often heavily subsidised by employers and seen as socially integrative bodies. In rural villages, the squire and parson might take a similar view, especially of cricket, which was played by a wider range of classes than association or rugby football.

- **Recreational space.** This could extend from allotments and potato patches to golf courses, public parks and large recreation grounds. (Note that a public park or golf course which had private origins may be mentioned under 'manors and other estates', and a disused churchyard that has been turned into a recreational open space may be treated under 'church' or nonconformity.) Open air 'country sports', such as horse races, fox-hunting, hare-coursing and shooting should be mentioned.

In towns the range of community activities will be much wider, including theatres, concert halls, music halls, cinemas, museums and local newspapers.

Sources

You will undoubtedly encounter evidence for a range of social and cultural activities in sources used principally for other sections (e.g. references to clubs and societies in the records of churches or factories; rushbearings or village wakes mentioned in churchwardens' accounts). Key sources include:

- Trade directories: these usually include mention of a range of societies and clubs
- Ordnance Survey maps: successive editions of the Six-Inch and 1:2500 maps show the physical manifestations of several of the sorts of activities which should be

covered in this section: inns; theatres; reading rooms; temperance halls; golf courses; public parks etc.

- Manor court records can be surprisingly useful for earlier periods, including references to local customs, such as fox-hunting.
- Parish magazines (from the later nineteenth century) often contain information on rural community clubs and associations such as nurses associations and bands of hope etc. Local Methodist magazines can also be useful.
- Since some community activities, notably village and community halls, were run by local charities, their records are sometimes found among the records of charities: see the online guide to records of Charities held in Cumbria Archive Centres at: http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Nonofficial/charity.asp
- The official guides that rural district councils used to publish, which often mentioned clubs and organisations in each parish, can be a useful source.
- Oral evidence may well be valuable here. Some local history societies have recorded the memories of elderly folk over the past 20 years or so; long-term residents who are still alive may be able to shed light on communal activities not recorded elsewhere. The officers of local societies may have records detailing the foundation and development of their organisations.

3. Education

Your account should be a history of education in your parish/township, rather than simply an account of the school(s): the histories of individual schools should be given in a relatively summary form. Places with no school of their own nonetheless educated their children: how was this achieved? If the local school closed, where did children go for schooling? In modern times most children from rural communities have attended secondary schools outside their own parish.

When it comes to public educational provision ('state' schools and their predecessors), the text will usually divide naturally into sections defined by the major legislation of 1870, 1902 and 1944. However, you ought also to include private schools and to try to capture the less formal end of educational provision, such as 'dame schools'. Remember also to include evidence for adult education, particularly where there was a long established lifelong learning or continuing education institution. (Note that the VCH originally intended that the history of ancient endowed grammar and independent schools would be covered in a separate county-wide article, but these should now be included under the parish/township in which they were located.)

Key topics to include are:

- the dates, location and establishment of schools, including any pre-1870 references to school teachers and schools, even if these schools cannot be located on the ground.
- the funding or endowment of the school, including names of donors of the sites
- the character of the school buildings and any changes in accommodation
- an indication of the size and type of school including average attendance, if known
- the transfer of authority from voluntary societies to Local Education Authority School Boards etc.
- brief information about teachers and curriculum, especially pre-1870
- the date and circumstances of discontinuance and any reduction in the status of schools (to infant status, for example)
- the existence of Sunday Schools, but only prior to 1870 when they were likely to have played a more general role in education than subsequently.
- for schools that are still open, the article should include a sentence giving the numbers of pupils and staff at the time of writing. The simplest ways to get this information is to consult the most recent inspection report via the OFSTED website or to phone or e-mail the school secretary.

For useful background to the topic, see the notes on 'Education 1870-1944 Act' and 'Education post-1944' in the VCH national guidelines and the background paper on 'Education in Cumbria before 1944' on the Cumbria County History Trust website (click on 'Sources & Resources' and then 'Background Papers').

Sources

The best starting points will be directories (you could start with *Bulmer's History and Directory of Cumberland* (1901) and *Directory of Westmorland* (1906)) and the 1818 Parliamentary survey of schools (Sarah Rose can supply copies). These should enable you to draw up a list of pre-20th century schools in your parish/township.

The location of schools can be gleaned from Ordnance Survey 1st edition Six- or Twenty-Five-Inch maps; the architectural history of some schools buildings is summarised in Hyde & Pevnser, *Cumbria* (Buildings of England series, 2010).

Since most early schools were connected to a parish church or chapel of ease (and schoolmasters were required to be licensed by the bishop), the visitation surveys should be consulted next, namely:

- William Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile: with the Terriers Delivered to Me at My Primary Visitation* (CWAAS, 1877) [for parishes in Carlisle diocese pre-1856]
- *The Cumbria Parishes 1714-1725 from Bishop Gastrell's Notitia, with additions by Bishop Porteous 1778-1779*, ed. L.A.S. Butler, CWAAS Record Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1998) [for parishes in Chester diocese pre-1856]
- *The Diocese of Carlisle, 1814-1855: Chancellor Walter Fletcher's 'Diocesan Book' with additional material from Bishop Percy's parish notebooks*, ed. Jane Platt (Surtees Society Vol. 219/CWAAS Record Series Vol. XXII, 2015) [for parishes in Carlisle diocese pre-1856]

For many schools, your main source is likely to be the records of the school itself, most of which are now deposited in Cumbria Archive Centres. Enter the name of the school into CASCAT or use the following **online guides** which link to detailed descriptions of the records:

- for records of individual schools (which include such sources as managers' minutes, log books and admissions registers):
  http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/schools.asp
- for records of School Boards, 1870-1902:
  http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/sb.asp

Evidence of private schools should be sought in trade directories and in census enumerators' books, 1851–1911, which should be checked for boarding schools, to see what sort of children attended the school.

Local studies libraries may contain ephemeral publications (centenary history booklets, programmes from school openings, runs of school magazines etc) which may provide evidence not available in more formal records.

Published data and records in national repositories include:

- The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK): Reports from 1704; those for 1705-32 contain lists of the English Charity Schools in which the society was interested. Information for 1724 as reprinted in M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement* (1938)
- Charity Commission reports 1819-40, 32 volumes. Index volume at House of Commons 1840(279), xix, part 2. Arranged by counties, places and titles of charities. They provide evidence of the existence of charity schools.
- the Church of England Record Office may contain material on Church schools. Its holdings can be located via their website, and ordered in advance to be seen at Lambeth Palace Library: http://www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/
- British and Foreign Schools Society Reports.

- National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church – annual reports.
- Catholic Record Society – for information on Roman Catholic charity schools and parish schools in the modern period.
- The National Archives: Ministry of Education records (ED). These are very extensive; the most useful classes are probably those for schools which received annual grants (available from 1846), namely:
  o ED 7: Preliminary statements 1846-1924. When applying for a grant a school had to supply information about its income, expenditure, accommodation, staffing, fees and number of pupils.
  o ED 21: School files 1857-1945, which should survive for every school which received a grant. These files include the 'preliminary statements' after 1924 and contain correspondence about premises, trusts, inspection and school organisation.

4. Welfare (or 'Charities and Poor Relief')

The focus here is on all aspects of welfare, including poor relief, charities, medical services and institutions such as orphanages, hospitals and nursing homes. Charities for the relief of the poor should be mentioned here; other charities will be mentioned in their appropriate place (e.g. under Education or Community Activities, for example). The description of charities should focus on endowed charities providing alms, doles, apprenticeships etc. for the poor. The balance between what to include here and what to reserve for the discussion of poor relief in the Local Government will require some thought. As a broad rule, we suggest that you focus here on the experience of the poor, in terms of the sort of relief they received, and reserve discussion of the administration of the Poor Laws for the Local Government section.

For useful background to the topic, see the notes on 'Charities and Poor Relief: early history' and 'Charities and Poor Relief: 19th and 20th-century developments' in the VCH national guidelines and the background paper on 'The Poor Law in Cumbria' on the Cumbria County History Trust website (click on 'Sources & Resources' and then 'Background Papers').

Sources

- A good starting-point is the Reports of the Charity Commissioners compiled in the late 1820s, which describe the state of benefactions and their endowments at the time.

- For Cumbria, remember the online guide to records of charities held in Cumbria Archive Centres at:
  http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Nonofficial/charity.asp
- For poor relief, the accounts of the parish or township overseer(s) of the poor will be the key source before 1834, where they survive (usually among parish records). After 1834 information will be found in the records of the Poor Law Union, not in the parochial records
- Wills of the founders of charities should be sought where details of an endowment are not available from other sources: remember to search for wills proved in the Prerogative Courts of York (held at Borthwick Institute) and Canterbury (at The National Archives, PROB 11) as well as in the diocesan probate courts.
- Check the Charity Commission website (www.charity-commission.gov.uk) for details of all current charities. This site is useful on local charities registered with the Commission. To find defunct charities as well as those that are still extant, tick the box labelled 'Include charities removed from the register', before clicking the 'run search' button on the 'Search by Name and Keyword' page.

6. Religious History

The treatment of local religious history in modern VCH parish articles is rather different from those published in earlier volumes. It is worth quoting the preamble to the guidance prepared by VCH Central Office a few years ago:

> The intention of these new guidelines is to make it possible to offer an ***intelligible, broadly chronological, and interpretative analysis*** of religious activity within the parish, giving ***especial attention to crucial periods of change or transition***. It is intended to be ***an integrated account***; authors should analyse the interaction of varying religious groupings within the parish and to bring out their impact on parish life in general. This broad account of religious life as a whole is to be ***followed by institutional appendices*** that will ensure that the VCH continues to offer authoritative reference material.

The phrases we have highlighted are the key characteristics for which to aim.

The national guidance suggests that the section should be structured as follows, and divided into four sub-sections:

1. Origins of the Parish Church
2. Religious Life (which should be divided chronologically, as outlined below)
3. Non-Christian Religions
4. Institutional Appendices (factual material on individual places of worship)

In practice, a simpler, two-fold structure will suffice for most places in Cumbria. The 'Origins of the Parish Church' section is conceived of as an account of the very early history of a medieval parish church. Where the place in question did not have a medieval parish church, the account can move straight into the 'Religious Life' sub-section, as this will need to cover the religious life of the township before it had its own place of worship and the circumstances surrounding the establishment of a chapel of ease or a later parish church can be woven into the chronological account. Since only a handful of places in Cumbria possess(ed) non-Christian places of worship, Subsection 3 will not be needed in the majority of articles. In practice, therefore, the 'Religious History' section of most articles for VCH Cumbria will be divided into two or three:

1. Origins of the Parish Church (only for places which possessed a medieval parish church)
2. Religious Life
3. Institutional Appendix

The following notes give guidance on each of these in turn.

General sources for the Religious History section

Starting points are provided by:

- *CW1, CW2, CW3*: these contain numerous articles on individual places of worship, many of which are well-researched and provide useful data.

- Church guidebooks can be useful as a starting point – but remember that you should aim to check for independent evidence of the statements they contain.

- 19th-century trade directories (e.g. Mannix & Whellan, *Dir. Cumb* (1847); Bulmer, *Dir. Cumb.* (1901)), which often summarise the institutional history of the Anglican church and list of places of worship of other denominations: www.historicaldirectories.org

The key archival sources for this section will depend in large part on whether your township/parish lay before 1856 in the Diocese of Carlisle (northern Cumbria, north of the Derwent – Dunmail Raise – Stainmore line) or in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, which formed part of the Diocese of Chester from 1541 (southern Cumbria, south of that boundary) – the sources for each area are noted below.

1. Origins of the Parish Church

This subsection should provide an account of the earliest evidence for the existence of a church – whether documentary or archaeological/ architectural. If there is evidence (architectural or, not infrequently in Cumbria, in the form of pre-Norman sculptural remains) that the church originated before the Conquest or in the 11th or 12th century, even though the first occurrence in the written record is not until the 13th century, then it is important to draw attention to the physical evidence in this opening subsection. The siting of the parish church in relation to the settlement(s) should also be discussed. The dedication, if known, and the earliest reference to it should also be mentioned here.

The subsection should also offer a brief account of the extent of the ancient parish and the status of the living, i.e. whether it was a rectory or vicarage, whether it had been granted away to a monastery and was served by its nominees (appropriation). Did the church have any dependent chapelries or chapels of ease? Were there any ancient burial rights over a wider area, or dues payable to it from neighbouring churches, which could be evidence of superior, 'mother church' status? Daughter churches or chapels to which separate parishes were later assigned should be mentioned.

In addition to the general sources listed above, the best starting point for this sub-section is likely to be C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties* (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1948) contains lists detailing evidence for the dates of foundation of churches and chapels,

which often allow one to short-circuit the standard sources (*Taxatio* and *Valor Ecclesiasticus)*, though *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers* ought to be checked:

- *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, auctoritate Papae Nicholas IV circa 1291*, ed. T. Astle and J. Caley (RC, 1802) See: www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio

- *Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Henrici VIII*, ed. J Caley and J Hunter, 6 vols. (RC, 1810-34). Latin only, in record-type.

- *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W H Bliss and others, 14 vols. (HMSO, 1893-1960). Now fully on-line on British History Online: www.british-history.ac.uk/catalogue.aspx?type=3&gid=150

You should also check R. N. Bailey and R. J. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 2: Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands* (Oxford, 1988). This is the standard work on pre-Norman sculpture, which is often the earliest evidence for religious activity at parish church sites in Cumbria.

For **church dedications**:

- T.H.B. Graham and W.G. Collingwood, 'Patron saints of the diocese of Carlisle', *CW2* 25 (1925), 1-27

2. Religious Life

This is likely to be the longest part of the Religious History section of your article and should provide an integrated, chronological survey from medieval times to the present day. The account for a township without an Anglican church will obviously be much briefer than that for a parish with an ancient parish church and one or more nonconformist places of worship. Having said that, even an out-township without a place of worship of its own will have had a religious life. For such places (or, in others, for the periods before a chapel of ease was built) you should try to investigate this. It may be that there is little more to be said than to indicate where the inhabitants went to be baptised, married and buried. Parish registers should provide the answer, and remember that instructions about place of burial in wills can also be informative.

The section should aim to paint a picture of the character of religious life in the community and how it changed across time. The role played by local clergy should be described and the section should also include material on the character of worship, how church buildings were changed as styles of worship changed, church music and choirs, for example. For the centuries after the Reformation the subsection should also seek to convey some sense of the interrelationship of the Established Church with any nonconformist or recusant

communities within the parish. Where appropriate the surviving fabric, the monuments, stained glass, and fittings should be used to illustrate religious life.

Depending on the size and complexity of your parish/township, it may be necessary to further divide this into chronological sub-sections. The following scheme is suggested in Central Office guidance as 'a possible model for a medium-sized rural parish. It is **not** intended to be rigidly prescriptive or exclusive'. The sub-section could be divided into five chronological sections:

The Middle Ages. If you are dealing with a medieval parish church (or a parochial chapel which originated before the Reformation) questions to ask include: Were the incumbents resident, did they hold the parish in plurality? What, if anything, is known about their status, education, social contacts etc.? Was there a parsonage? Were there any cults associated with the parish? (Local saints could often be celebrated not only through the liturgy but by fairs or special customs held in association with the feast day.) Were there any guilds or chantries located in the church? What were their religious activities?

Where the article deals with a township which did not have its own place of worship in the middle ages, the main question to ask is whether there is any evidence of the relationship with the parish church.

From the Reformation to the Interregnum. If your account is dealing with a medieval parish church, the effects of Dissolution should be addressed, particularly the transfer of an appropriated living to a lay impropriator or the consequences of the dissolution of a chantry or a guild. Did the living change in status – e.g did it acquire a new parsonage house or a close association with new lords of the manor? Is there any evidence of doctrinal and liturgical changes? (e.g. fittings, vestments and plate retained for the use of the parish or removed and sold off. Especially significant are the removal of stone altars, roods etc. in the mid 16th century; any further iconoclasm (destruction of stained glass, images etc) thereafter; Laudian innovations in the earlier 17th century, if any). Is there any evidence for a Puritan outlook (Lectureships are relevant here) or for dissent or recusancy before c.1650? Where there is evidence, particular stress should be laid on clerical-lay relations in this and the succeeding section.

Is there any evidence of lay people's belief? Involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace may be relevant here (though remember that in Cumbria secular factors – particularly landlords raising entry fines – were important). The wording of religious preambles to wills may indicate Puritan outlook. Where your article deals with a chapelry or a township with a chapel of ease, the origins of the chapel may well lie in this period.

The Interregnum. Topics to be discussed here include:

- Changes in personnel - whether the local clergy conformed or were ejected. Did the church become Independent in its pattern of worship? The key sources is B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911).
- Is there any evidence of dissenting groups (eg. Quakers) in the parish?
- How was the building treated and used (some chapels of ease were used by nonconformist groups at this time)? Fonts and any surviving images, glass, etc may have been removed from parish churches. Were local ceremonies, feasts and customs suppressed?

1660-1840s. If you are dealing with a parish church or a parochial chapel, this section should open with some account of the transition from the Interregnum to the reestablished Church. Did the clergy conform or were they ejected? Again, the key source here is Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662.* If they were ejected did they remain active in the parish and set up (in effect) a nonconforming congregation? If there was a change did it represent the restoration of a former incumbent or a new man? If he was new what was his background? - i.e. had he suffered for Anglican beliefs or conformed during the Interregnum? Again, if there is evidence there may be something to say about changes to the fabric reflecting the teaching and worship of the new regime.

The section could then continue with an extended look at the Established church across the 'long 18th century'. By this date there is usually information on how even the humblest chapels of ease were served: the key sources are the published visitations records (see below: Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts*; Butler, *The Cumbrian Parishes*; Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle 1814-55*). These and other visitation records provide detail about clergy, services, attendances and the general condition of church life at this time. Particular attention should be paid to evidence for the presence of Nonconformist groups and how these grew or declined. If applicable, the formal establishment and licensing of nonconformist congregations should be considered, together with their early history and relationship (if known) with the parish church. Any early evidence of Roman Catholicism, recorded for example in bishops' or archdeacons' visitation records, should be noted here.

1840s-Time of Writing. This suggested date-range includes in its early years the evangelical revival, the rise of the Oxford Movement, the formal establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy and parochial system and the major fractions within Methodism. In many parishes the period also saw the founding of missions. It will conclude with the profound changes which have affected religious life since the 1950s (declining attendances; growing secularism; introduction of female clergy; 'traditional' versus 'liberal' theology and styles of worship). This section should offer a brief overview of developments at the parish church -

including types of service, the nature of alterations to the fabric, numbers of communicants and wealth and status of incumbents. It can conclude with modern liturgical reform (introduction of central altars, re-ordering of pews etc). There should also be some assessment of the rise and decline of nonconformity in the period– new chapels built in the parish, any changes in affiliation, amalgamations, closures etc.

Sources for the 'Religious Life' sub-section.

i. Starting points:

The key sources to obtain an overview are the snapshots provided by 18th- and 19th-century episcopal visitation records:

For the *pre-1856 diocese of Carlisle*:

- William Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile: with the Terriers Delivered to Me at My Primary Visitation*, (Carlisle, 1877). This contains Bishop Nicolson's notes on the parishes in his diocese, made at his primary visitation in 1703.
- *The Diocese of Carlisle, 1814-1855. Chancellor Walter Fletcher's 'Diocesan Book', with addiitonal material from Bishop Percy's parish notebooks*, ed. Jane Platt. Surtees Society Vol. 219/CWAAS Record Series Vol. XXII (Woodbridge, 2015). This excellent edition also contains a very full biographical index of clergy in the diocese in the late18th and early 19th century.

For those *parishes in the diocese of Chester until 1856*:

- *The Cumbria Parishes 1714-1725 from Bishop Gastrell's Notitia, with additions by Bishop Porteous 1778-1779*, ed. L.A.S. Butler, CWAAS Record Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1998)

1851 Religious Census (PRO, HO129) provides a snapshot of all denominations in the mid-19th century. It includes returns from all places of worship, giving numbers attending services on 30 March 1851 (a wet day!), details of the building and when it was erected, number of sittings etc. Records are arranged by Registration District:

- Cumberland: HO129/564 (Alston) to 572 (Bootle)
- Westmorland: HO129/573 (East Ward) to 575 (Kendal)

Note that returns are missing for some parishes.

Each of the following classes of record should also be consulted:

ii. Parish records – the contents of the 'parish chest', most of which are now deposited under the terms of the Parochial Records Measure of 1975 with Cumbria Archive Service, where they have the reference PR (WPR at Kendal and YPR at Whitehaven). Many extend back to the 18th century; some as far back as the 16th. Key documents which contain evidence for the religious life of the parish community include churchwardens' accounts, vestry minutes, registers of services and church inventories. Remember also that *parish magazines* (where they have survived) can yield vivid information on the religious life of a parish from the Victorian period.

iii. Diocesan records – the records generated by the system of ecclesiastical administration, specifically:

- *Bishops' registers* contain ordinations and appointment of clergy among many other matters. Those for Carlisle diocese from 1292 to 1972 are in Carlisle Archive Centre, reference DRC 1. The surviving medieval registers have been published by the Canterbury and York Society (CYS) as follows (copies are available in Carlisle Library):
    - *John Halton 1292-1324* ed. W N Thompson (CYS vols 12, 13, 1913)
    - *John Kirkby 1332-52 and John Ross 1325-32* ed. R L Storey (CYS vols 79 and 81, 1993-5)
    - *Gilbert Welton 1353-62* ed. R L Storey (CYS vol 88, 1999)
    - *Thomas Appleby 1363-95* ed. R L Storey (CYS vol 96, 2006)
- *Parish bundles.* For parishes and chapelries formerly in Chester diocese collections of documents concerning clergy appointments etc are preserved in parish bundles transferred to Cumbria Archive Service, reference DRC 10.

- *Diocesan visitation records*. The records generated by the visitation process, whereby the church authorities enquired into the state of church fabric, clergy and lay morals, can shed valuable light on the religious life of a parish. As well as the three published volumes listed above, archival material includes:

- For parishes in Carlisle diocese: CAS (Carlisle), DRC 5/22 et seq. Visitation call books, 1731 to modern times; DRC 5/128-131. Churchwardens' presentments, 1690, 1696-1717, 1734, 1737.
- For parishes formerly in Chester Diocese: Lancashire Record Office, Preston, ARR/15: visitation records, 'Compert books' etc., from 1665. Cheshire Record Office, EDA 6; EDV 7: articles of enquiry 18th and 19th centuries, recording incumbents' answers to enquiries about services, patronage, nonconformists etc. Images of the returns in Cheshire R.O. for 1778/9 and 1821 are available in the VCH Cumbria project office.

- The archbishop of York also carried out visitations. Records of these 'metropolitan visitations' survive in the Borthwick Institute, York, for Carlisle diocese in 1693/4 and for Chester diocese for several visitations between 1571 and 1694.

- *Ecclesiastical court books*. Cases ('causes') brought before the church courts included disputes about tithes, clergy discipline etc, which are relevant to this section of a VCH article. The early eighteenth-century court books for Carlisle diocese are discussed in Mary Kinnear, 'The Correction Court in the Diocese of Carlisle, 1704-1756', *Church History*, 59 (1990), pp 191-206.
    - For the diocese of Carlisle: Consistory court records (1571-1990s) are held at CAS (Carlisle), DRC 3 and DRC 5
    - For the diocese of Chester: Consistory court books in Cheshire Record Office, EDC 1
    - Cases which went on appeal to the archbishop's court are in the Borthwick Institute, York, and are listed in W.J. Shiels, *Ecclesiastical Cause Papers at York: files transmitted on appeal 1500-1993* (Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 1983).

iv. Clergy records. Establishing the names of as many of the clergy who served the parish or chapelry as possible is a necessary first step. Once you have done so, try to discover something of their career and biographical details. Were they young men or old? Local or not? University-educated? What was their religious outlook? Did they go on to higher office? Biographical sources for Church of England clergy include:

- For the period between 1540 and 1835, the Clergy of the Church of England Database: http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk.
- For Carlisle diocese in late 18th and early 19th century, the biographical index in Platt, *The Diocese of Carlisle, 1814-1855*
- For the period since 1855 use Crockford's *Clerical Directory*, parts of which are available online at http://www.crockford.org.uk.

Remember also to check the registers of alumni of the ancient universities:

- *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part 1, to 1751, Part 2, 1752-1900, comp. J. Venn and J. A. Venn (Cambridge, 1927-1954)

- *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1500-1714; 1715-1886, ed. J. Foster (Oxford, 1888-92)

v. Nonconformist records

For general guidance on the records of non-Anglican denominations, see Michael Mullett, *Sources for the History of English Nonconformity 1660-1830* (British Records Association, Archives and the User No. 8, 1991).

The 1851 Religious Census and/or 19th-century trade directories should enable you to establish which nonconformist groups had places of worship in the township or parish you are researching. Other essential sources are:

- B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911). This not only lists Puritan ministers who lost their livings at the Restoration but also much detail of the incumbents of each parish in the two counties in the 17th century.

- Nonconformist meeting house certificates from 1689, when nonconformist places of worship were required to be registered with Quarter Sessions or with the diocesan authorities.

For *Quakers*, start with:

- David M. Butler, *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain*, 2 vols (London, 1999) [The standard work, which (for Cumbria) updates and should be used in preference to his Quaker Meeting Houses of the Lake Counties (London, 1978)].

- *The First Publishers of Truth*, ed. Norman Penney (London, 1907). [Prints the text of return requested by London Yearly Meeting in 1720 about the origins of each Quaker meeting].

For *Roman Catholics* see:

- Registers of papist estates: useful for establishing Roman Catholic families [CAS, QRR/12/21]

- 'Compert Books' and churchwardens' presentments include lists of 'Papists' in the later 17th century.

- *Protestation Returns* of 1641-2, which include the names of Recusants who refused to take the oath of protestation. The Westmorland Protestation Returns are available in print: *Westmorland Protestation Returns 1641-2*, ed. M.A. Faraday, CWAAS Tract Series vol. XVII, 1971. Copies of the original Cumberland Protestation Returns are available through the VCH Cumbria project office.

The administrative records of many nonconformist denominations have been deposited with Cumbria Archive Service. The excellent CAS online Guide to Ecclesiastical Records

takes you straight to the records of different denominations:

3. Non-Christian Religions.

Their religious life and contribution to the parish (e.g. the construction of places of worship) should be discussed here. Any relations with Christian churches should be noted.

4. Institutional Appendices

This section is intended to provide brief, factual information about each place of worship in the parish/township under consideration.

Parish churches and parochial chapels

For such places of worship the account should contain (a) a summary of the institutional history (descent of the advowson, the income of the living, its tithes, property etc.) and (b) an account of the building's history.

The ***institutional history*** should deal with the ownership of the advowson, and the property of the church and rectory. If the advowson passed with the manor, this can be dealt with via a cross reference to the descent of the manor. You should note any instances when the lord of the manor did not exercise patronage (remember that the advowson might be held by a grantee for one turn/vacancy or for a term of years); when/if the patronage was divorced from ownership of the manor and the descent of the patronage to the present, if known. The lands and tithes attached to the living, and the value of the living at particular dates should be summarised. Any unions of benefices, notably in the 20th century, should be noted (the background to them and their consequences will have been discussed under 'Religious Life'). Medieval chapels of ease that did not survive the Reformation are usually best noted briefly at the end of the institutional history of the parish church.

The account of ***building history*** should summarise the chronological development of the building from documentary and physical evidence, identifying the main building phases. The style of architecture should be described in summary and architects named where known. Is the building typical of other local churches or particular to that parish or patron? Furnishings and fittings should be covered here and major reordering of the interior noted (briefly, as their relation to changing liturgical practice will have been covered under

'Religious Life'). The shape, size and any extension of the churchyard should be mentioned here.

Questions you should consider include:

- Can different building periods be dated by changes in the fabric, building materials or styles?
- How does the arrangement of the church reflect what went on inside it, who paid for it or parts of it and who was buried in it?
- Have notable architectural contributions been made at particular periods?
- How far has the work of restorers changed the style and character of the building?
- Can the contribution of particular architects be related to other examples of their work?

Sources

For **patronage, income and endowment**

Property belonging to a living will be listed in *glebe terriers*, late 17th to early 19th centuries, preserved in parochial or diocesan archives.

Where a living was appropriated to a religious house, details will usually be found in the cartulary of the monastic house in question. Those in print for Cumbrian houses are:

- *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. Vol. II, Parts ii and iii*, ed. J. Brownbill, Chetham Society new series Vols. LXXVI and LXXVIII (1916, 1919) [these sections of the Furness cartulary contain most of the Cumbrian material]

- *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. J.E. Burton, Surtees Society CCVIII (2004)

- *The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County record Office MS DZ/1)*, ed. J.M. Todd, Surtees Society, CCIII; CWAAS Record Series XI (1997)

- *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood, CWAAS Record Series VII (1929)

- *Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson, Surtees Society CXXVI (1915)

- *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J.E. Prescott (London and Kendal, 1897).

For other Cumbrian houses, check the material in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the abbies and other monasteries....in England and Wales*, ed. J. Caley et al., 6 vols (London, 1846)

For the **church building**:

- M. Hyde and N. Pevsner, *Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness. The Buildings of England* (London, 2010).
- Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Westmorland* (London, 1936). Now fully on-line on British History Online: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=1297
- Visitation records (particularly those listed above, p. 8)
- *The Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne in Cumbria 1833-1872*, ed. L.A.S. Butler, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. XXXVI (Kendal, 2011)

Other places of worship

For each building, you should provide details of its date of opening, its affiliation(s), an indication of numbers (membership or attendance) and how that changed across time, and, if relevant, its date of closing. The building should be described briefly (noting whether it is like other buildings built by the same denominations or is particular to the area), major alterations should be noted, and you should state whether it is still standing. In the case of places of worship which have closed, their later use should also be mentioned.

7. Local Government

The purpose of this section of the parish article is to show how the parish or township was run, by looking at the institutions and officers responsible for governing its affairs. This means that it should cover all aspects of civil governance, from the manor courts of the medieval and early modern centuries, through the parish or township 'vestry' meetings which dealt with poor relief, highways etc from the seventeenth century, to the modern civil parish council. The section does not require a detailed account of how the institutions of parish government developed over time. However, attention should be made on any periods of intensive governance, and likewise, periods of exceptional lawlessness and laxity. The fullness of the account will depend a lot on how well the work of local officers has been documented – in many cases (particularly when it comes to township 'vestry' meetings) the records simply won't have survived. Therefore, it is worth providing a statement about survival of local administrative records.

Your account should be structured thematically, which will mean that it is broadly chronological, running from manorial government in the medieval and early modern period, through parish/chapelry/township government in the medieval and early modern period, through parish/chapelry/township government in 16th-19th centuries, to modern local government.

There should therefore be three sub-sections:

1. Manorial government
2. Parish and/or township government
3. Post-1894 arrangements in relation to Rural and Urban Districts

1. Manorial government

You will have established the manorial structure of the parish/township in the 'Landownership' section; the focus of this section will be on the manor courts and the role they played in managing the community's affairs. You should comment on the following:

a) their powers; was the local manor court only a court baron or was it also a court leet?
b) location and frequency/regularity of sittings
c) business transacted
d) officers appointed

These questions should also be answered if courts were held for a 'reputed' manor. If the township/parish was not a manor in its own right, how far did the tenants have to travel to pay their dues and suit of court? Remember that in several parts of Cumbria large, overarching manorial courts dealt with business from townships across a wide area, as described below. You should also indicate if and when enfranchisement takes place.

Court rolls are the most likely source to provide you with the information that you need for this section. Only about four per cent of manors have records from before 1500, while about half have records for c.1700-c.1900.

In order to identify surviving records, you should consult the online Manorial Documents Register (MDR), which covers all manorial documents, wherever they are held, including those which remain in private hands. The whole of Cumbria is covered, though the database is arranged by historic counties. The MDR will be found at http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/manor-search

You may also find the Cumbrian Manorial Records website (a resource constructed during the preparation of the MDR for Cumbria in 2005-06) useful. It contains examples of many different classes of manorial records and guidance on their interpretation. It is at http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/cumbria/index.htm

Two glosses:
- o Courts of superior lordships. Much of Cumbria consisted of large compact units of overlordship (e.g. baronies of Kendal, Copeland, Greystoke and Gilsland; the seigniory of Millom, lordship of Furness, honour of Cockermouth), which retained some jurisdiction over places within their boundaries. These superior jurisdictions are described in the Cumbrian Manorial Records website at http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/cumbria/index.htm For the purposes of your article, evidence of the continuing involvement of such superior courts (e.g. 'turnsmen' from the township attending the superior court; the court hearing cases and receiving presentments from or making orders concerning the township) should be noted.
- o 'Twenty-four men'. Several Cumbrian parishes/manors possessed governing bodies known as the 'twenty-four' (sometimes the 'eighteen'). Though they bear similarities with 'select vestries', self-perpetuating oligarchies running parish affairs, which are found in many other parts of England, in Cumbria they often seem to have been manorial in origin. If you encounter such a body in your parish/township, try to establish whether they are part of manorial or parochial jurisdiction. The following article should be helpful: Thompson, B L, 'The Windermere "Four and Twenty"', Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, new series 54 (1954), 151-64

Further reading: There have been several studies of manorial administration in Cumbria which will provide useful context:

- Dilley, Robert S, 'The Cumberland court leet and use of the common lands', *Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, new series 67 (1967), 125-51.

- Holdsworth, Philip, 'Manorial administration in Westmorland 1589-1693', *Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, 3rd series, 5 (2005), 137-64.
- Straughton, Eleanor A*. Common Grazing in the Northern English Uplands, 1800-1965*, Edwin Mellen Press, 2008 [relevant for the decline of manorial administration and what replaced it]
- Winchester, Angus J L, *The Harvest of the Hills: rural life in northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700*, Edinburgh University Press, 2000 [especially Chapter 2, 'Law, Custom and Good Neighbourhood'].

2. Parish/township government

It is in this section that the differences between northern English local administration and the southern English parochial norm (assumed in the Guidance Notes) are most marked. Before embarking on this section, please read the following article, which tries to lay out the main features of regional variation:

Angus J L Winchester, 'Parish, township and tithing: landscapes of local administration in England before the nineteenth century', *The Local Historian*, 27 (1) (1997), pp. 3-17.

Perhaps the key point is that, while a cluster of administrative responsibilities – highway maintenance; relief of the poor; tax collection and peace-keeping (i.e. the constable's role) – fell to the parish in southern counties, these were often divided between parish, chapelry and township in the North. It is therefore important to distinguish between different administrative roles:

- o *Constables* were, strictly-speaking, township, not parish, officers. A complexity in Cumbria is that it is sometimes necessary to draw a distinction between 'township' and 'constablewick', since territories which were termed townships were sometimes grouped together under one constable.
- o Poor law administration. The 1662 Act of Settlement and Removal allowed townships to maintain their poor independently, so separate overseers are sometimes found for each of the townships within an ancient parish. Note, however, that a good number of middle-sized multi-township parishes in Cumberland continued to maintain their poor as single units, with the result that the ancient parish, rather than the township, is more often the ancestor of the modern civil parish in Cumberland than in Westmorland, where townships generally operated independently for Poor Law purposes.
- o Highways maintenance. In the North, this was generally undertaken at township (or manorial) level and sometimes even at sub-township level.

The key sources for this section of the article are the annual accounts of parish/township officers, the overseer(s) of the poor, the constable and the surveyor of highways. If they

survive, these are most likely to be found among the records of ancient ecclesiastical parishes or inherited by the modern civil parish and found in their records. The detailed lists of these collections are available online through the excellent online Guides on the CAS website:

For ecclesiastical parish records, see:
http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Ecclesiastical/parish.asp

For civil parish records, see:
http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/pcs.asp

Note, however, that the township did not have a communal repository equivalent to a 'parish chest' and that occasionally township records survive among private papers. CASCAT is therefore an important finding aid for sources for this section.

3. Post-1894 arrangements in relation to Rural and Urban Districts

This section is likely to be brief. The local government unit into which a parish/township was placed after 1894 can most readily be ascertained by consulting either Bulmer's Directory (Cumberland 1901; Westmorland 1906) or Frederic A Youngs Jnr, Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England Volume II; Northern England (Royal Historical Society, 1991).

Civil parish councils continue to exercise jurisdiction to this day. Something should be said here about when the PC was established and where they meet. Their records (particularly minute books) should also be used to comment on council membership and the date a parish plan was compiled. It is important not to confuse the parish council with the Parocial Church Council (PCC), which is only responsible for the upkeep of the church.

It may be more appropriate to detail the activities of the parish council, such as the building of a village hall, in the Social History section. However, any aspects relating to 'political life' (allotments, elections, planning objections etc.) are relevant here.

Section C: Preparing Your Draft Article

1. WHAT TO AIM FOR

1. Principles
VCH articles are intended to be definitive works of reference, so it is important always to uphold the core principles which underpin VCH writing:

Accuracy. Always aim for the greatest degree of precision and accuracy possible: the article will only become definitive if these aims are met. This means being constantly vigilant when making notes and drafting your text (it is only too easy to transcribe '1857' as '1875'!).

Check everything. Accuracy also means ensuring that your interpretations are correct and checking all assumptions (are you certain that the 'Thomas Smith' mentioned in one source is the same 'Thomas Smith' you have encountered in another? When a source refers to 'Ambridge school', are you sure you are correct in assuming that it is referring to the National School in the village which you know about from other sources?). If you encounter discrepancies between the information in two different sources, do all you can to resolve them and to get to the truth.

Going back to primary sources. The VCH prides itself on going back to original sources and not relying on secondary works. By all means use published local histories as a starting point but don't take anything on trust and look up the sources on which the author relied. You will almost certainly be consulting a wider range of sources than most published local histories do.

Consistency. In order to ensure consistency between articles, it is important that each is built on a comparable level of research. To that end, the VCH has traditionally used a checklist of sources, all of which are consulted. The Checklist of Sources for the VCH Cumbria project is given below (pp. 62-69): *you will be asked to confirm that you have checked all the sources listed there for information about the place you are researching.*

Citing your sources. Remember that you should cite the source of *all* factual statements. This should be done using footnotes and following the conventions outlined in 'Citing Your Sources' (below pp. 51-56). It is therefore vital that, when making notes, you take care to record the exact source of the information (including page number if a printed source or full record office reference if a manuscript).

2. Length
The projected length of your article will be discussed with

you as you embark on your research and writing. Brevity is the touchstone – for many rural townships in Cumbria, around 5,000 words should be needed to cover all the topics required by the VCH.

3. Content and Style

The arrangement and content of your article should follow the guidelines laid out in the national VCH online Guidance Notes to 'Writing a Parish History' (http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/local-history/writing-parish-history), supplemented by the Cumbria-specific advice given (pp. 11-44). Be sure to cover all the required topics under each section of your article.

Style is more subjective, but the touchstones of what is required for a VCH article are precision, succinctness and clarity. Please note the following general points:

- **Write in the past tense**, avoiding terms such as 'now' or 'at the present time'. You are writing a history of the place in question from the earliest record to the time of writing, with the intention that your article will remain a definitive source for many years to come. So, do not write 'the manor house is now a care home for the elderly'; instead write 'in 2012 the manor house was a care home for the elderly'.

- **Don't mention sources in the text**. There is no need to say 'Mannix and Whelan's directory of 1847 lists John Smith as owner of the quarry', since the directory will be cited in your footnote. 'John Smith owned the quarry in 1847' conveys the necessary information in far fewer words.

- **Avoid value judgements.** A discriminating description of a building or landscape can add life and interest to the article but avoid including personal value judgements. It might be tempting to describe the manor house as having 'a breathtakingly beautiful Georgian façade ' or a council estate as being 'drab', but such phrases should be avoided. Likewise, avoid passing judgement on individuals. A man should only be described as 'a mean, tight-fisted landlord' if you can substantiate that perception in a source cited in a footnote. It would be better to make it clear that such a judgement was the view of those who know him, rather than your own assessment (you could say that he was 'regarded by some contemporaries as being grasping and avaricious', for example, as long as you have evidence to substantiate this).

- **Synthesise.** A VCH parish or township history is largely factual but should, ideally, be more than a string of facts. The aim should be to understand (and convey in as few words as possible) the historical processes behind the facts. So, 'Thomas Bloggs founded Ambridge National School in 1846; it was enlarged in 1863' gives the bare facts but begs several questions. Who was Bloggs? Why did he found the school?

Why was it enlarged when it was? How much better it would be to attempt to link the bald facts to other aspects of the parish's history: 'Thomas Bloggs, the curate at St John's church who was concerned by the lack of educational provision for the children of coal-mining families, founded Ambridge National School in 1846; it was enlarged in 1863 to accommodate the increase in population after the sinking of the Albert and Edward pits'.

- **Make every word count.** Write as concisely as possible, as you will need to squeeze a lot of factual information into a tight word limit. 'VCH style' can seem frustratingly spare and clinical and doesn't give the author much freedom to express themselves! But this is necessary in a work of reference – remember that you are writing something akin to an encyclopaedia entry.

4. Footnotes

Your footnotes are there to enable your readers to go straight to the sources on which you have drawn. Fine footnotes are an art form! The aim is to provide full and precise information as succinctly as possible and the VCH has developed very effective ways of achieving this. Follow the conventions given in the 'Citing Your Sources' section (below, pp. 51-56) to the letter. Remember that, if you have used archive material in private hands, you should give a full and accurate attribution (providing the same degree of specificity as you would for an archive in a record office, for example) and include an acknowledgement of thanks.

2. SUBMITTING YOUR ARTICLE

The following guidelines should be followed when preparing your draft article for submission to the Project Director and/or Assistant Editor.

Presentation

- Draft articles should be word processed as Word files, double-spaced using Times New Roman or Arial font in size 12 font.

- Please use the automatic footnoting facility and present your notes as footnotes rather than endnotes. While drafts are being prepared footnotes should be numbered consecutively from 1 for each section of the township history. Use footnotes to cite references only, with brief explanations as necessary. They should not carry extended comment or a subordinate argument separate from the text.

- Please follow to the letter the prescribed conventions for laying out footnotes and abbreviations as given pp. 51-61

- Margins should be set to 'normal' (Word 2007), or 2.54cm top, bottom, left and right.

- The title and section headings should be written in block capitals.

Submitting Your Draft

- Please submit one section of the township history at a time, so that it can be read and commented on by the Project Director and/or Assistant Editor.

- At the top of each draft section should be the name of the township

- /parish, your name (the author) and the date the draft was submitted, as well as the section heading (e.g. Landownership).

- Make sure that the draft is double-spaced before submitting as this makes it easier to read it. Keep to single-spacing for footnotes.

- Drafts should be submitted as an email attachment so that the Project Director and/or Assistant Editor can provide feedback using the Word comments facility.

- Please submit maps and illustrations as separate files; do not embed them in the text.

Feedback

We aim to provide you with feedback on your draft within a comparatively short time – but please be aware that it may take us several weeks to undertake the detailed reading and consideration required.

- Comments will be made on your draft using the Comment facility on Word. So, please be prepared for your draft to be returned covered with lots of electronic 'red ink'!
- We'll be looking at how well your draft fulfils the requirements laid out in the VCH national Guidance Notes and in this Handbook, so you can expect to receive comments on
    - the quality and quantity of the research you have undertaken
    - how well you have interpreted the evidence you have found
    - points requiring further research and/or clarification
    - citation of evidence in footnotes
- We aim to discuss our comments on your draft with you in person, as well as through email/telephone contact.

Revision of drafts

In the nature of the project, the completion of a first draft is merely the start of a long journey towards publication. Draft articles will be submitted to the Director or Volunteer Coordinator, who will edit them and, in many cases, return them to the author(s) for further revision: volunteers should thus expect that changes, sometimes involving additional research, will be required before their article is accepted. The Director and Volunteer Coordinator reserve the right to make changes to drafts submitted to them as part of the project.

Once completed to the required standard, articles will be posted online on the VCH Cumbria project website (http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/) and may subsequently also be placed on the Cumbria pages of the national VCH website. It is likely to be several years before completed articles are edited by VCH headquarters and published in either printed or electronic form: further revision will almost certainly be required at that stage. This may be undertaken by someone other than the original author(s) of the article.

Authorship

Full acknowledgement of authorship will be given when an article is published, whether online or in print. In cases where an author has drawn together materials researched and/or analysed by other volunteers, acknowledgement of the role of other members of the research team will also be given.

Copyright

Once a draft has been accepted for posting on the VCH Cumbria project website, the author(s) will be asked to sign a statement transferring copyright to the Cumbria County History Trust. When a draft article is subsequently posted on the VCH national website, copyright will be transferred to the University of London, which owns the Victoria County History. Note that assigning copyright applies only to the article itself – it in no way prevents a volunteer from using the research on which the article is based in any way they like.

3. CITING YOUR SOURCES

The footnotes are an integral and vitally important part of a VCH article, enabling the reader to pursue the history of the place by delving further into the sources you have consulted. Crafting your footnotes successfully is thus a key part of writing for the VCH – and you should expect it to take time to master the skill! The following notes provide guidance for writing footnotes when submitting drafts for the project. ***Please read these notes carefully and follow the instructions to the letter.*** *Correct citation of sources is an important part of the discipline of writing for the VCH.*

The VCH uses the footnoting system common in Humanities subjects, in which a footnote number in the text refers to a note giving details of the reference. Standard abbreviations are used for many of the sources which are frequently cited in VCH articles: these are given pp.57-61. **You should use the standard abbreviation where appropriate: the following guidance should be followed for sources not covered by the list of abbreviations.**

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

- The broad rule is: repository name (or abbreviation, e.g. 'TNA', 'CAS', 'BL') followed by reference number (Examples a and c, below) or description, if the repository's form of reference is insufficient to lead the reader to the exact piece of paper or parchment you are citing (Example b).
- If the manuscript is a volume, you should give the page or folio number on which the information you cite is to be found (Example a). If unpaginated, an alternative identification should be given (e.g. date of entry) (Example d).
- For archives held in private hands, give a description of the document, followed by the name of the person or institution in whose hands it is and the year in which you consulted it (Example e).
- Material in sound, image or film archives should be cited using the same conventions as for manuscript material.
- Neither quotation marks nor underlined titles are used.

Here are some examples:

a	CAS (Carlisle), D/Lons/W8/12/1, p. 235.
b	CAS (Whitehaven), D/Lec, box 300, Brown's survey 1758, Wasdale Head.
c	TNA, ADM74/2/16.
d	Keswick Museum 4692, 12 Oct. 1688
e	Eskdale Commoners' Association Minute Book 1967-1980, 8 May 1968 (courtesy of Eskdale Commoners' Association, 2008).

2. PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Abbreviations are used for many of the frequently cited printed sources (trade directories, Thomas Denton's *Perambulation of Cumberland*, the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* etc) - see the list of standard abbreviations pp. 57-61.

Where an abbreviation is not given in that list, full details should begiven, as follows:
- Title of volume
- Editor
- Series and volume number (if appropriate)
- Place and date of publication
- Page number (or, if documents are numbered, as in *Calendar of Inquisitions*, document number).

Examples of sources on the list of standard abbreviations:
> *Denton's History*, 101.
> *Cal. Inq. p.m*. VII, no. 279.

Citing sources not on the list:
> Antiquary on Horseback, ed. J.M. Ewbank (CWAAS Extra Series XIX, Kendal, 1963), 99.
> An American Quaker in the British Isles: the travel journals of Jabez Maude Fisher, 1775-1779, ed. K. Morgan (Oxford: British Academy, 1992), 293.

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3. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

- Title (in italics)
- Date; page number
- Only the main title of the paper need be given. Omit `A' or `The' except for The Times.
- If an article is authored, give author, title and pages.

> *Westmorland Gazette*, 7 Sept. 1984, p. 4.
> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1751, opp. p. 51.

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4. WEB SITES

- If you have obtained information from a website, you must cite the site and web page precisely in your footnote. Only cite a website when the information is not available elsewhere; in particular do not cite a website for digitised images of a printed source (e.g. trade directories; newspapers). In these circumstances, cite the source which has been digitised.

- Be precise; vague references to 'the web' will not suffice. The full citation is necessary, followed by the date on which you accessed the site. http://www.pastpresented.ukart.com/beach/index.htm (Accessed 25 July 2012)

5. BOOKS

The first citation of a book should include the following information:

- Author (with initials preceding surname)
- Full Title (in italics, use a colon to separate main title and any subtitle)
- Name of the series in which the book appears (if any) and volume number in that series
- Place of publication and year of publication in parentheses
- Page number(s) on which the material cited can be found. Note that the VCH does not
- preface the page number(s) with 'p.' or 'pp.'
- Where there is more than one edition of a book, you should cite the reference from the
- edition you have used, irrespective of the original publication date

S. Denyer, *Traditional Buildings and Life in the Lake District* (London, 1991), 6.
R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136*, CWAAS Tract Series XXI (Kendal, 2006), 21.

6. CHAPTERS IN EDITED COLLECTIONS

The first citation should include:

- Author's name (as above)
- Title of chapter in single quotation marks
- The word 'in' followed by the names of the editor(s), title and publication details of the book (as above)

- First and last page numbers of the chapter cited or page number(s) of a specific reference.

> R.W. Brunskill, 'Vernacular Building Traditions in the Lake District' in J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte, *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1985), 135-160.

7. ARTICLES IN JOURNALS
- Author's name (as above)
- Title of article, in single quotation marks
- Title of journal (in italics) omitting 'A' or 'The'
- Volume number, in lower case roman or arabic numerals
- Year of publication
- First and last page numbers of the article or page number(s) of a specific reference
- **NB Do not italicise the title of the article - only the journal.**

> N. Gregson, 'Tawney revisited: custom and the emergence of capitalist class relations in north-east Cumbria, 1600-1830', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 42 (1989), 18-42.
> R. G. David, 'The slate quarrying industry in Westmorland: Troutbeck, Kentmere and Longsleddale', *CW2*, lxxxvii (1987), 215-235.

8. DISSERTATIONS AND THESES
- Author
- Title of thesis/dissertation in single quotation marks
- Title of degree, university and date
- Page references (if necessary)

> G.L. Murfin, 'Popular Leisure in Cumbria, 1870-1939', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 1987.

9. PERSONAL OR LOCAL KNOWLEDGE
- Some information on the recent history of a place will come from your own personal knowledge or from talking to neighbours. If it is possible to corroborate such information from a written source, this should be done and the source cited. If this is

not possible (e.g. 'Lady Agnes was remembered as a domineering figure who rode through the village in the 1930s on a fine black mare'), you should use the form 'Local inf.' followed by the date. If your informant is happy to be named (be sure to check; do not assume this), you could use the form 'Inf. from Mrs S. Jackson, Penrith, 2011'.

10. SECOND AND SUBSEQUENT CITATIONS

The simplest way of referring to a published work already cited in a previous footnote is to use the abbreviated author/title method. You give the reference in full (as detailed above) the first time. Then give the author's surname, a brief title, and the relevant page number(s) in subsequent references within your chapter. Do not use the form op. cit'

First reference:

4.   A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), 83.

Second and subsequent references:

14.   Winchester, *Landscape*, 41-3

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4. STANDARD ABBREVIATIONS

Alum. Cantab.	J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis to 1751* (1920) and *Alumni Cantabrigiensis II: 1751-1900* (1940)
Alum. Oxon.	J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis 1500-1714* (1891-2) and *Alumni Oxoniensis 1714-1886* (1888)
AWL	R.S. Boumphrey, C.Roy Hudleston and J. Hughes, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale*, Kendal: Lake District Museum Trust and CWAAS Extra Series XXI, 1975.
BL	British Library
Book of Fees	*Liber Feodorum. The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, reformed from the earliest MSS by the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Part I (AD 1198-1242)* (London, 1920)
Bulmer, *Dir. Cumb.*	*Bulmer's History and Directory of Cumberland*
Bulmer, *Dir. Westmd*	*Bulmer's Directory of Westmorland*
Butler, *Cumbria Parishes*	*The Cumbria Parishes 1714-1725 from Bishop Gastrell's Notitia, with additions by Bishop Porteous 1778-1779*, ed. L. A. S. Butler. CWAAS Record Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1998).
Cal. Charter R	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 6 vols [Hen. III to Hen. VIII] (London, 1903-27).
Cal. Close	*Calendar of Close Rolls,* 47 vols [Ed. I to Hen. VII] (London, 1892-1963).
Cal. Inq. p.m.	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous documents,* 20 vols [Hen. III to Hen. V] (London, 1904-1995).
Cal. Pat.	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 72 vols [Hen. III to Eliz. I] (London, 1891-1982).
Cal. SP Dom.	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*. 12 vols [Edw. VI to Jas. I] (London, 1856-72).
Camden, *Brit.*	W. Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographicall Description of ... England, Scotland and Ireland*, trans. P. Holland (London, 1610).
CAS	Cumbria Archive Service. The name of the appropriate Archive Centre should be given in parentheses: e.g. CAS (Kendal)
CDS	*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, ed. J. Bain, 4 vols [1108-1509] (London, 1881-8).
Census	Census Report (printed)
CFH	C. Roy Hudleston and R.S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry*, CWAAS Extra Series XXIII (Kendal, 1978).

Complete Peerage	G. E. C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom: extant, extinct and dormant*, revised edition. 14 vols (Vols 1-13: London, 1910-1959; Vol. 14: Stroud, 1998).
Curwen, *Castles*	J. F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands*, CWAAS Extra Series XIII (Kendal, 1913).
CW1	*Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, old series (1866-1900).
CW2	*Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, new series (1901-2000).
CW3	*Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, third series (2001-).
CWAAS	Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society.
Denton's History	*John Denton's History of Cumberland*, ed. A. J. L. Winchester. Surtees Society Vol. 213 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XX (Woodbridge, 2010).
Denton, *Perambulation*	*Thomas Denton: a Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688, including descriptions of Westmorland, The Isle of Man and Ireland*, ed. A. J. L. Winchester with M. Wane. Surtees Society Vol. 207 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XVI (Woodbridge, 2003).
Dict. LDPN	D. Whaley, *Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Regional Series 1 (Nottingham, 2006).
DUL	Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections.
EEA 30: Carlisle	*English Episcopal Acta 30: Carlisle 1133-1292*, ed. D. M. Smith (Oxford, 2005).
FF Cumb.	F. H. M. Parker, 'A calendar of the Feet of Fines for Cumberland, from their commencement to the accession of Henry VII', *CW2*, 7 (1907), pp. 215-61.
Glynne's Notes	*The Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne for Cumbria (1833-1872)*, ed. Lawrence Butler. CWAAS Extra Series XXXVI (Kendal, 2011).
HER	Historic Environment Record
Holm Cultram	*The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, ed. F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood. CWAAS Record Series Vol. VII (Kendal, 1929).
Hutchinson	William Hutchinson, *History of the County of Cumberland and some places adjacent*, 2 vols (Carlisle, 1794).

Hyde & Pevsner, *Cumbria*	M. Hyde and N. Pevsner, *Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*. The Buildings of England (London, 2010).
Kelly, *Dir. Cumb.*	*Kelly's Directory of Cumberland*
L. & P. Hen. VIII	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere in England*, 23 vols in 38 (London, 1862-1932).
Lanercost Cart.	*The Lanercost Cartulary*, ed. J. M. Todd. Surtees Society Vol. 203 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XI (Gateshead, 1997).
Later Recs N. Westm.	J. F. Curwen, *The Later Records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby*, CWAAS (Kendal, 1932).
Mannix & Whellan, *Dir. Cumb.*	Mannix & Whellan's *Directory of Cumberland* (1847)
Monasticon	W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the abbies and other monasteries … in England and Wales,* ed. J. Caley *et al.*, 6 vols (London, 1846).
N&B	Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols. (London, 1777; facsimile reprint with introduction by B.C. Jones, Wakefield, 1976).
Nicolson, *Misc. Acct.*	William Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle*, ed. R. S. Ferguson (Carlisle, 1877)
Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662*	B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
ON	Old Norse
OS	Ordnance Survey
Parson & White, *Dir. C. & W.*	. W. Parson & W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland with that part of the Lake District in Lancashire* (Leeds, 1829)
Plac. Abbrev.	*Placitorum Abbreviatio, Richard I – Edward II*, ed. G. Rose and W. Illingworth (London, 1811).
PNC	A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton and Bruce Dickens, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, English Place-Name Society Vols XX-XXII (Cambridge, 1950-52).
PNW	A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, English Place-Name Society Vols XLII-XLIII (Cambridge, 1967).

RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
Rec. Kend.	W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale Vols. I and II*, ed. J. F. Curwen; and J. F. Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale Vol. III*, CWAAS Record Series Vols IV-VI (Kendal, 1923-6).
Reg. St Bees	*The Register of the Priory of St Bees*, ed. James Wilson. Surtees Society Vol. 126 (Durham, 1915).
Reg. Wetheral	*The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J. E. Prescott (London and Kendal, 1897).
Rot. Chart.	*Calendarium rotulorum chartarum et inquisitionum ad quod damnum*, ed. J. Caley (London, 1803).
Rot. Litt. Claus.	*Rotuli litterarum clausurum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. T.D. Hardy, 2 vols (London, 1833-44).
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
VCH Cumb.	*The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland*, ed. James Wilson (London, 1901-5; reprinted 1968).

Section D: Checklist of Essential Sources

All the following should be searched for evidence relating to the parish/township under study. Remember that by no means all of these sources will yield information about a particular place – even 'standard' sources, such as Tithe Plans, were not produced for all parishes – and that other sources, not specifically mentioned below, may well prove vital to unlock the history of your chosen parish or township.

1. Preliminary finding aids

The initial task should be to construct a bibliography of sources additional to those listed in subsequent sections of this checklist. Search by the name of the parish/township you are studying (Note, though, that it will sometimes also be necessary to search under the name of settlements within the parish/township, where the name of a significant settlement is not the same as that of the administrative unit, e.g. Burneside, which is part of Strickland Ketel township).

TNA Catalogue	http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/
CASCAT	http://www.archiveweb.cumbria.gov.uk/CalmView/default.aspx
Manorial Documents Register	http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr/
Transactions of CWAAS	Available from 1870 up until the last ten years via the Archaeological Data Service (ADS): http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/cumberland/query.cfm
Historic Environment Records	The Heritage Gateway website (http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/gateway/) provides searchable access to (inter alia) Lake District National Park Historic Environment Record and the National Monuments Record (which can also be searched by place at http://www.pastscape.org.uk/mapsearch.aspx)
British History Online	http://www.british-history.ac.uk/ - search using 'Text Search' facility.
Charity Commission	https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/charity-commission - search using 'Search for a Charity' facility.

2. Maps, Plans and Surveys

Ordnance Survey Six-Inch (1:10,560) maps	Check all available editions from c1860 to modern times

18th-century county maps:	Thomas Donald, *Historic Map of Cumberland, 1774* (CWAAS Record Series XV, 2002); Thomas Jeffery, *Historic Map of Westmorland, 1770* (CWAAS Record Series XIV, 2001)
Tithe plans and apportionments	CAS, DRC/8
Enclosure awards	Cumberland: CAS, QRE/1; Westmorland: CAS, WQ/R1
Geological Survey maps	One-Inch maps, both Solid and (particularly) Drift; British Geological Survey website www.bgs.ac.uk; Soilscapes website www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/
Inland Revenue 1910 'Domesday Book' and plans	Cumberland: CAS,TIR/4; Westmorland: WTDV/2
National Farm Survey	TNA, MAF 32

3. Contemporary Descriptions

Leland	*The Itinerary of John Leland,* ed. L. Toulmin Smith (London, 1964)
Camden	William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographicall Description of ... England, Scotland and Ireland*, trans. P. Holland (London, 1610).
Fleming	Sir Daniel Fleming's 'Description of Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness' (1671) in E. Hughes (ed), *Fleming-Senhouse Papers* (1961), pp. 3-64
Thomas Denton	*Thomas Denton: a Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688, including descriptions of Westmorland, The Isle of Man and Ireland*, ed. A. J. L. Winchester with M. Wane. Surtees Society Vol. 207 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XVI (Woodbridge, 2003)
Thomas Machell's account of south Westmorland, 1692	*Antiquary on Horseback*, ed. Jane M. Ewbank (1963)
Celia Fiennes	C. Morris (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-c.1712* (1982)
Daniel Defoe	Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-6; Penguin edition, 1971)
Hutchinson (Housman's Notes)	'Notes' at the foot of the page in William Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* (1794)
Housman	John Housman, *Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Carlisle, 1800),
Travellers' accounts	Accounts of Lake District tourists since later 18th cent. Including:

	An American Quaker in the British Isles: the travel journals of Jabez Maude Fisher, 1775-1779, ed. K. Morgan (British Academy, 1992) *R.R. Angerstein's Illustrated Travel Diary, 1753-1755: Industry in England,* ed. T and P Berg (2001)
Lysons, Magna Britannia, Vol. 4 (Cumberland)	Available on British History Online
Trade Directories (from Parson & White, 1829 to mid-20th cent)	Many of 19th-cent directories are available at www.historicaldirectories.org
Cumbrian Regional Plan	P. Abercrombie and S A Kelly, *Cumbrian Regional Planning Scheme* (1932)

4. Administrative Records

4.1 Central government

PRO Calendars	The indexes to the following calendars should be searched:
	     Rotuli Chartarum 1199-1216 [available on Google Books]
	     Calendar of Charter Rolls, 6 vols
	     Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem [26 vols covering 1236-1447]; vols 1-12 available online https://archive.org/
	     Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII, 3 vols
	     Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions [8 vols, covering 1219-1485]
	     Calendar of Patent Rolls (searchable online for period 1216-1452: http://www.uiowa.edu/~acadtech/patentrolls/
	     Calendar of Fine Rolls (searchable online for reign of Henry III: http://www.frh3.org.uk/

Protestation returns	Cumberland: Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/82 (photocopies available) Westmorland: M. A. Faraday (ed.), *The Westmorland Protestation Returns 1641/*2, CWAAS Tract Series XVII (Kendal, 1971).
Census	Enumerators' books, 1841-1911
Religious Census, 1851	TNA, HO129. Available online at: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/digital-microfilm.asp
Taxation	Search the 'E179' database for taxation records in TNA, which include Lay Subsidies, Poll Tax and Hearth Tax: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/e179/ Some taxation records for Cumbria are in print, as follows: J. P. Steel, *Cumberland Lay Subsidy* (Kendal, 1912)

	C. C. Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381; part 2, Lincolnshire-Westmorland* (British Academy, 2001) [partial survival for barony of Westmorland only] C Phillips, C Ferguson & A Wareham (eds), *Westmorland Hearth Tax Michaelmas 1670 and Surveys 1674-5* (British Record Society and CWAAS, 2010)
Land Tax	Cumberland: CAS, Q/RP/1; Westmorland: CAS, WQ/RLT

4.2 Local government. Many of the catalogues of holdings in CAS can be accessed online through the guides on CAS website, as detailed below:

Parish administration	For detailed lists of records held by CAS see http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Ecclesiastical/parish.asp (for ecclesiastical parishes) and http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/pcs.asp (for parish councils since 1894)
Urban Districts, Municipal Boroughs, etc	For detailed lists of records held by CAS check the following http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official.asp Consult the lists under each of the relevant headings.
Quarter Sessions	The catalogues of Quarter sessions records can be accessed through: http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/public/qs.asp
Schools	For detailed lists of records of individual schools see http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/schools.asp and for School Board records, see http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/sb.asp
Common Land Registers	Held by Commons Registration Officer, Cumbria County Council. Summary data available on searchable online database at: http://common-land.com/
Administrative Units	Frederic A. Youngs, *Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England*, vol. 2, Northern England (1991)

4.3 Religious administration

Episcopal *Acta*, Carlisle	*English Episcopal Acta 30: Carlisle 1133-1292,* ed. D. M. Smith (Oxford, 2005).
Papal taxation, 1291	*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, auctoritate Papae Nicholas IV circa 1291*, ed. T. Astle and J. Caley (RC, 1802): www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio

Papal letters	*Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W H Bliss and others, 14 vols. (HMSO, 1893-1960). Now fully on-line at: www.british-history.ac.uk/catalogue.aspx?type=3&gid=150
Diocesan administration	The catalogues of diocesan records held by CAS can be accessed through http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Ecclesiastical/diocesan.asp
Bishops' registers	Carlisle diocese, 1292-1972: CAS, DRC 1.
	Medieval registers in print: *John Halton 1292-1324* ed. W N Thompson (CYS vols 12, 13, 1913) *John Kirkby 1332-52 and John Ross 1325-32* ed. R L Storey (CYS vols 79 and 81, 1993-5) *Gilbert Welton 1353-62* ed. R L Storey (CYS vol 88, 1999) *Thomas Appleby 1363-95* ed. R L Storey (CYS vol 96, 2006)
Visitation records (Carlisle diocese)	• CAS, DRC 5 • William Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile: with the Terriers Delivered to Me at My Primary Visitation* (1877) • J. Platt (ed.), *The Diocese of Carlisle, 1814-1855* (Surtees Society & CWAAS, 2015)
Visitation records (Chester diocese)	• Lancs Archives, ARR/15; Cheshire Record Office, EDA 6; EDV 7 • *The Cumbria Parishes 1714-1725 from Bishop Gastrell's Notitia, with additions by Bishop Porteous 1778-1779*, ed. L.A.S. Butler, CWAAS Record Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1998)
Metropolitan Visitations	Borthwick Institute, York: Carlisle diocese 1693/4; Chester diocese 1571-1694
Nonconformist admin records	Lists of records for each denomination held by CAS can be accessed through: http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/ecclesiastical.asp

4.4 Landholding Records (see also Maps, Plans and Surveys, above)

Book of Fees (or *Testa de Nevill*)	*The Book of Fees* ed C. G. Crump and others, (3 vols, London, 1920-1931)

| Feet of fines | F. H. M. Parker, 'A calendar of the Feet of Fines for Cumberland, from their commencement to the accession of Henry VII', *CW2*, 7 (1907), pp. 215-61. |

5. Other essential printed sources

M Hyde & N Pevsner, *Cumbria* (Buildings of England series, 2010)
John Denton's History of Cumberland, ed. A. J. L. Winchester. Surtees Society Vol. 213 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XX (Woodbridge, 2010)
C. Roy Hudleston and R.S. Boumphrey*, Cumberland Families and Heraldry*, CWAAS Extra Series XXIII (Kendal, 1978)*.*
R.S. Boumphrey, C.Roy Hudleston and J. Hughes, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale*, Kendal: Lake District Museum Trust and CWAAS Extra Series XXI, 1975.
B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911)
David M. Butler, *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain*, 2 vols (London, 1999)
The Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne in Cumbria 1833-1872, ed. L.A.S. Butler, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. XXXVI (Kendal, 2011)
Vital Statistics: the Westmorland 'Census' of 1787, ed. Loraine Ashcroft (1992)
D R Perriam & J Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria* (CWAAS Extra Series XXIX, 1998)
A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton and Bruce Dickens, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, English Place-Name Society Vols XX-XXII (Cambridge, 1950-52).
A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, English Place-Name Society Vols XLII-XLIII (Cambridge, 1967).
D. Whaley, *Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Regional Series 1 (Nottingham, 2006).
Susan Denyer, *Traditional Buildings and Life in the Lake District* (in association with the National Trust: London, 1991)
John Postlethwaite, *Mines and Mining in the Lake District* (1913)
Oliver Wood, *West Cumberland Coal 1600-1982/3* (1988)

6. Other online sources

Community and parish plans	for a list, see http://www.cumbriaaction.org.uk/images/uploads/Parish_Plans_Gazette_October_2004.pdf. Those for Carlisle District are available in full at: http://www.carlisle.gov.uk/business/rural_communities/community_and_parish_plans.aspx
Church of England clergy database	http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk

Commons Commissioners' adjudications	Alphabetical list at http://www.acraew.org.uk/index.php?page=cumbria
Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs	Samantha Letters, Gazetteer of Markets & Fairs in England and Wales to 1516. See: http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html

And finally, two sources which must not be forgotten!

Google	A place-name search can yield a wealth of leads!
Local knowledge	Talking to people who have lived in the place under study for some time can both provide essential information about changes within living memory and also uncover local archive sources which remain in private hands.