



## ***The Historic County of Westmorland***

***A Case Study on the range, availability and  
usefulness of publications relating to the  
Historic County of Westmorland,  
and on the current provision of support for  
Local Historical Studies, with specific reference  
to the county town of Kendal***

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## **Introduction**

### **Purpose and Scope of the Report**

This case study will determine the range and the extent of scholarly publications and allied resources<sup>1</sup> which have the potential to advance the historical study of a specific geographical unit. The report will identify and outline a selection of the more significant sources available to the modern scholar and will assess their usefulness to contemporary historical analyses of the area. The physical and virtual locations of materials will be identified and the ease of access to the range of resources will be evaluated, as will the fitness of existing provision for historical research at the local level.

The *terminus a quo* of this report lies in the early modern period of historical scholarship in the early sixteenth century and begins with an examination of antiquarian activity within the region. Locally-significant eighteenth and nineteenth century publications will then be identified and contextualised in order that they may be used and interpreted successfully. The report will examine modern historical outputs including the results of both nationally-directed projects, such as the Victoria County History (VCH), and locally-directed projects, such as town and parish histories, and the works of special interest groups. Finally, the report will summarise the range of research themes currently engaging both the formal History Societies and their less formal but equally enthusiastic cousins in community-based groups<sup>2</sup>, and identify areas of research which remain under-represented and therefore ripe for future investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> 'allied resources' include maps and illustrations, for example; bibliographies and finding aids; the holdings of local studies libraries; manuscript and archival documentary evidence held in private collections, archives and record offices; and data gathered and subsequently made available by local history groups and societies

<sup>2</sup> 'communities' of locally-focussed historians may congregate around any number of subject hubs, be that a village, a church, a person of note, a local trade, a tradition etc.

The geographical extent of the case study will be at county level with specific reference to its modern county town. The report will be appended with:

- annotated lists of selected published works;
- a directory of the principal local library services, special collections libraries and archival repositories, including an indication of the primary and secondary resources they hold, and the range of services they offer;
- the details of Historical Societies and local history groups;
- a digest of online sites hosting relevant content and digitised resources

### **The Historic County of Westmorland**

The geographical area selected for investigation is that of the Historic County of Westmorland and the county town of Kendal<sup>3</sup>. Westmorland was an inland county<sup>4</sup> which lay in the north-west of England, bound to the East and to the South-East by Yorkshire, to the South and South-West by Lancashire, to the North-East by County Durham and to the North and North-West by the Historic County of Cumberland (fig. 1, p4).

When the Normans conquered the region in 1092 they created two feudal baronies, the boundaries of both of which are likely to have been established with respect to pre-existing divisions defined by their Anglo-Saxon landholders<sup>5</sup> (Winchester, 1997).

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<sup>3</sup> Sometimes referred to historically as Kirkby Kendal (Youngs, 1991)

<sup>4</sup> Westmorland technically had access to the Irish Sea at Morecambe Bay but the River Kent, which originates in the hills surrounding Kentmere and flows for around twenty miles before reaching the bay, encounters a rock gorge downstream of Kendal effectively rendering the river unnavigable above this point (fig. 1). In spite of this impediment, the Creek of Milnthorpe, at the innermost reach of Morecambe Bay, served as Kendal's port for three centuries, giving Westmorland's merchants and mariners access to the sea for both home and international trade; during the 18<sup>th</sup> century ships set sail from here to the American Colonies, the Baltic States, and the West Indies (Smith, 2012)

<sup>5</sup> North of the Shap Fells, in the upper Eden Valley, the Barony of Westmorland centred on the historic county town of Appleby; to the South of the fells lay the Barony of Kendal, bound on all sides by mountainous terrain and by water (Youngs, 1991). Each barony was subdivided into wards, the Barony of Westmorland comprising the East and the West Wards, and the Barony of Kendal likewise divided into Kendal Ward and Lonsdale Ward (ibid.).





Figure 1. *The Countie Westmorland and Kendale the Cheif Towne Described with the Arms of Such Nobles as have been Earles of Either of Them* Reproduced from Speed's 1672 edition of *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, courtesy of The Roderic Bowen Library and Archives (RBLA) (PHI 00234)

For over a century the two baronies acted as distinct jurisdictions and each had its own sheriff<sup>6</sup>. This bipartite foundation, both physical and administrative, upon which the incorporated County of Westmorland would later be established, is a persistent theme in the history of the county, and one which will be seen to be reflected in its historiography.

The foundation of Westmorland as a single administrative entity dates to around 1226/7 when the Normans united the baronies to form one of the thirty-nine ancient counties of England (Youngs, 1991). However, if the border between the Barony of Westmorland and the Barony of Kendal had originally been prescribed by the undeniable terrain of the Shap Fells, in later centuries it was the contrasting economic fortunes of the north and the south<sup>7</sup>, combined with enduring delineations of diocesan administration<sup>8</sup>, which contrived to maintain two distinct territories within the unified county (Winchester, 1997).

The *Local Government Act 1888* saw the establishment of an elected County Council for Westmorland and a County Hall in Kendal. The County Council subsequently assumed responsibility for the range of administrative and financial duties which had, from the 16th century, been undertaken by the quarter sessions (Cumbria County Council, 2017). This geographically and juristically distinctive territory had functioned as an independent county unit for over seven hundred years when in 1974, under the *Local Government Act 1972*, Westmorland County Council was abolished and merged with its sister<sup>9</sup> county of Cumberland<sup>10</sup> to form the modern County of Cumbria (Youngs, 1991).

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<sup>6</sup> The Barony of Westmorland operated within the Earldom of Carlisle while the Sheriffs of Kendal reported to the Earldom of Lancaster (Winchester, 1997)

<sup>7</sup> By the later Middle Ages Kendal had become the county's economic heartland (*ibid.*)

<sup>8</sup> The northern territory fell within the diocese of Carlisle while, until 1856, the southern came first under the care and control of York, and subsequently that of Chester (*ibid.*)

<sup>9</sup> This notion of Cumberland and Westmorland as sister counties has a long pedigree dating at least as far back as the 17<sup>th</sup> century when William Hole paired the two in his 1622 map of 'Cumberlande, Westmorelande', and the antiquarian Thomas Machell referred to his planned history of Cumberland and Westmorland as 'a large volume of the two sister-countyes'. This concept is another significant factor in the historiography of Westmorland which will be discussed further

<sup>10</sup> Together with parts of Lancashire and parts of the West Riding of Yorkshire

## **A Survey and Critical Evaluation of the Scholarly Resources Relevant to the History of the County of Westmorland, and to the County Town of Kendal, from the Early Modern Period to the Present Day**

### **Antiquarians and Archive Makers of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

The earliest historical description of Westmorland is that of the antiquarian John Leland (c.1503-1552) whose extensive itineraries<sup>11</sup> took him to libraries throughout England and Wales in order to examine the writings of 'auncient writers as welle of other nations, as of this yowr owne province' in order that they 'mighte be brought owte of deadely darkness to lyvely light' (Kendrick, 1950, p47). Leland concerned himself with the lineages of local families, evidence for which he found within Rolls, and with the topography of the land and the nature of the towns, which he described from direct personal observation<sup>12</sup> (app. Ia; p?).

The copious and detailed notes made by Leland were to have an inestimable influence upon the next historical description of Westmorland, contained within Camden's *Britannia* of 1586. For William Camden (1551-1623) Leland was 'the topographical poet' and he frequently cited passages of his poems in his works (Sutton, 2004). In preparing his chorographical description of Britain, Camden not only freely availed himself of the fruits of Leland's historical investigations but emulated his fieldwork methods, making a point of visiting many of the places about which he wrote during a series of tours begun in 1575 (Richardson, 2004).

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<sup>11</sup> Undertaken on behalf of Henry VIII during the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (Kendrick, 1950)

<sup>12</sup> The ongoing value of Leland's work to modern scholars lies both in his attention to detail and in the consistency of his approach to his descriptions, and in the fact that the *Itineraries* predate the Dissolution, the enacting of which resulted in the dispersal or destruction of much of the textual evidence Leland had recorded in the course of his visits to monastic libraries.



Camden supplemented the evidence of his own eyes with interviews with local residents in the pursuit of hitherto unwritten histories (app Ia, p??). Camden also made extensive use of a wide range of written records to support his research, both from within his own library, and in that of his former pupil Sir Robert Cotton, who had by then assembled one of the greatest private collections in England (Richardson, 2004), a fact evidenced in Camden's numerous citations to earlier works<sup>13</sup>.

In *Britannia*, Camden synthesised data from earlier textual accounts with observation and oral history; with the analysis and recording of antiquities, including Roman remains, coinage and inscriptions, for example; with linguistics and philology, including the etymology of place and personal names; and with the then infant science of mapmaking, incorporating English county maps by Saxon and Norden into the various revisions and editions of *Britannia* as they became available (app. Ie; p??). Camden also corresponded regularly with other scholars from a range of disciplines and with locally-placed informants such as schoolmasters and clerics<sup>14</sup> (Richardson, 2004). That *Britannia* continues to be of value to the modern historian is clear from its extensive publishing history and a reprint of the 1695 edition was issued as recently as 1971.

If Leland was the original 'topographical poet' then Michael Drayton (1563–1631) was his natural heir. The *Poly-Olbion* is an exuberant county-by-county expression of the history of Britain which depicts a proud and vibrant nation with a rich and celebrated past.

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<sup>13</sup> Including *The Booke of Notices* and *The Lieger Booke of Fornelle Abbey* (app Ia, p??)

<sup>14</sup> This approach of research-through-networks continued to be a significant theme in the preparing and writing of histories during the 17<sup>th</sup> century



Of Westmerland the Muse now sings,  
And fetching Eden from her Springs,  
Sets her along, and Kendall then  
Surveying, beareth backe agen;  
And climing Skidows loftie Hill,  
By many a River, many a Rill,  
To Cumberland, where in her way,  
Shee Copland calls, and doth display  
Her Beauties, backe to Eden goes,  
Whose Floods, and Fall shee aptly shows.

'Argument' from the Thirtieth Song of the *Poly-Olbion*  
(Drayton, 1622)

The *Poly-Olbion* could easily be construed as overly-patriotic, whimsical or quaint but Drayton endeavoured to anchor a remembrance of enigmatic ancient Britons, such as the Druids, Bards, and King Arthur, to a foundation of the scientific facts (Prescott, 2004). Though much of the content has its origin in myth and legend the poem is nevertheless full of interesting and well-researched historical detail not found in other sources of the time (app. Ia, p??).

Hole's accompanying map of 'Cumberlande, Westmorlande' (cover) with its anthropomorphic representations of sites of interest owes much in terms of its cartography both to the aforementioned Saxton and to the historian and cartographer John Speed (1551/2–1629)(fig. 1, app. Ia, p?? & Ie, p??). From 1608 John Speed began publishing detailed county maps which were later published together in the earliest English atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*.

Speed attempted to accurately represent the boundaries of county territorial divisions and to present a comprehensive set of English town plans supplemented by information about the antiquarian remains, the sites of famous battles, and the arms of princes and nobles (fig. 1, p4). Both text and maps were the result of industrious research and reading which drew upon manuscripts and printed sources of contemporary cartographers including Saxton, Norden and Sir Henry Spelman<sup>15</sup>; manuscripts and maps from the collection of Sir Robert Cotton; records of crown officials in the shires; and field observation<sup>16</sup> (Bendall, 2004).

Leland, Camden, Drayton and Speed were not working within an intellectual vacuum but within a society in which localism was a deeply ingrained characteristic and the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed the development and spread of a national interest in championing (predominantly) English and (especially) county-based local history (Richardson, 2004). Local history was not then considered to be a poor relation to historical studies but the most relevant and important of patriotic pursuits, and members of the Tudor and Stuart gentry counted themselves amongst its most ardent supporters and practitioners (*ibid.*).

Landowners, educators and clerics, in particular, performed a vital supporting role in the development of county history by collecting and/or copying manuscripts, and by forming archives upon which the burgeoning interest in local history would later come to depend. In the case of Westmorland three figures stand out, namely Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676), Thomas Machell (*d.* 1698) and Sir Daniel Fleming (1633-1701).

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<sup>15</sup> Founder member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries (Handley, 2004)

<sup>16</sup> Speed's map of Westmorland were to remain the basis for subsequent maps of the county until the mid-eighteenth century (Curwen, 1917)

Lady Anne Clifford, countess dowager of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, and High Sheriff of Westmorland, was a significant collector of manuscript material relating to her family and to her substantial land and property holdings (Spence, 2004). One could speculate that an early legal challenge to her inheritance, which she won directly through the proof of archival evidence (*ibid.*) may have been her initial spur to collect; whatever her design, the manuscripts which Lady Anne 'procured from all the publick offices [of] everything that could be found relating to any of her ancestors the Veteriponts and Cliffords, Lords of Westmorland [and] engrossed in three large folio volumes, and lodged in her castle at Appleby'<sup>17</sup> (Nicholson & Burn, 1777, pii) would prove to be of tremendous value to later historians.

Thomas Machell was born near Appleby and was the Rector of Kirkby Thore for all of his working life (Winchester, 2004). Machell's work naturally afforded him the opportunity to travel extensively throughout each parish of the barony of Westmorland and he used this propitious circumstance to document and to sketch, through direct observation and from local informants, the county's history and heritage<sup>18</sup>. Machell consulted and made copies of extracts of 'private evidences of several ancient families [...] many of the originals [of which] are now lost' (Nicholson & Burn, 1777, piii). Upon his death, Machell's collected papers were sent to Bishop William Nicholson in Carlisle who deemed them too imperfect for publication (Winchester, 2004) but nevertheless had them bound into six volumes to which Richard Burn would later turn in his search for evidence for his and Joseph Nicholson's<sup>19</sup> *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*. Burn also relied heavily upon the collections and writings of our third figure, Sir Daniel Fleming.

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<sup>17</sup> Held in Kendal Archive (ref. WDHOTH)

<sup>18</sup> Machell also made specific antiquarian visits to the barony of Kendal which lay beyond his diocesan territory (Winchester, 2004)

<sup>19</sup> Nephew of Bishop William Nicholson

Fleming was a noted antiquary and public figure. Born in Lancashire, he later served as a Justice of the Peace, as deputy lieutenant for Westmorland, Lancashire, and Cumberland<sup>20</sup> and as an officer in the Westmorland militia (Phillips, 2004). Fleming's antiquarian pursuits began in the 1660s when he first sent manuscripts and advice to Sir William Dugdale<sup>21</sup>; Fleming later supplied details regarding the county of Westmorland for chapters in Blome's *Britannia* (1673), Ogilby's *Britannia* (1675), and Gibson's 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia* (*ibid.*). Fleming completed his own manuscript outline of 'Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness' in 1671<sup>22</sup>; his writings were supported by documentary evidence and owed a fully acknowledged debt to the work of Camden, while details chronicling contemporary life in Westmorland were informed by Fleming's own observations (app. Ia, p??).

Just as the pioneering works of Leland and Camden had been supported by specialist cartographers, philologists, numismatists and correspondents in the field, Fleming was clearly also part of a wider network of research, and collaboration and cross-pollination were significant features of both his and Machell's work<sup>23</sup>. Machell, in turn, had counted Sir William Dugdale 'his intimate friend' and was able to copy the notes that Dugdale made during his visitations to the county in the years 1664 and 1665; Machell also maintained that it was Dugdale who had first encouraged him to prepare a county history for Westmorland (Winchester, 1997). Machell drew upon his friendship with Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, to 'make many extracts from the records in the Rolls chapel and in the Tower' (Nicholson & Burn, 1777, piii).

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<sup>20</sup> Fleming owned land and property in each county (Winchester, 1997)

<sup>21</sup> An antiquarian and Herald, Dugdale's *Pedigrees* of Cumberland and Westmorland were edited and published c.1891 (app. Ia, p??)

<sup>22</sup> *Description of the County of Westmorland* published 1882 by CWAAS (app. Ia, p??)

<sup>23</sup> Fleming, for example, had in his papers a copy of 'Mr Machel's queries for Westmorland' relating to the topography, inhabitants and history of various parishes and manors 'in order to the completing of Mr Oglebyes *New Britannia*' and 'Copy letters to Mr R Blome re Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*, 1674-1678'; Kendal Archives (ref. WDRY/4/8/3/11 & 6)



Other 17<sup>th</sup> century scholars who wrote about Westmorland within their wider studies include Chamberlayne & Chambrayne (*Magnae Britannia*, 1669), Blome (*Britannia*, 1673) and Miede (*Present State of Great-Britain and Ireland*, 1691) (app. Ia, PP??-??) but it would not be until 1777 that a volume devoted to Westmorland would be published<sup>24</sup>.

### **The First County History in Print**

Nicholson and Burn's *History of Westmorland and Cumberland* was the first (almost) stand-alone account of the county to be published and it was Richard Burn who wrote the volume on Westmorland. Burn (1709–1785) was born in the parish of Kirkby Stephen and was foremost a legal writer and a cleric (Landau, 2004). During his lifetime he was appointed the Vicar of Orton in Westmorland, schoolmaster at Kirkby Stephen, Justice of the Peace for the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle (*ibid.*). Burn's full and wide-ranging account of Westmorland was constructed upon the foundation of the collections amassed by Lady Anne, Machell, Fleming and others, some of which had been secured by Nicholson's uncle William, Bishop of Carlisle (Winchester, 1997). However, beyond this, it was Burn's careful legal mind and deep local knowledge which resulted in a volume which has yet to be rendered obsolete<sup>25</sup>. If there is one weakness it lies in the fact that Burn's 'home' barony of Westmorland is discussed in more detail than that of the barony of Kendal which lay beyond his familial and diocesan sphere of influence. However this is, in part, why his work retains its value to this day, as later writers increasingly ignored the land north of the fells to focus their gazes solely upon the southern barony and, even then, only on that portion which lay within what had come to be identified as the 'Lake District'.

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<sup>24</sup> Albeit as part of a two-volume work (app. Ib, p??)

<sup>25</sup> Burn's work, which had relied so much upon the legacy of his predecessors became, in turn, the basis for later writers who widely referred to and, in some cases, simply reiterated his account.

## **In Search of the Picturesque/Losing Sight of the Goal**

Following on from Burn there was not to be another county history of Westmorland for eighty years<sup>26</sup>. However, throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century many country-wide volumes were published which incorporated a chapter on Westmorland. These included the several revisions of Camden's *Britannia*, Cox's *Magna Britannia* (1731), Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732), Campbell's *Political Survey of Britain* (1774), Grose's *Antiquities of England* (1785) and Cruttwell's *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1801) (app. Ib, pp ??- ??). This last is just one example of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century fashion for publishing *Tours*. As a category of book it could be argued that they had been inspired by the meticulously researched volumes produced by Pennant and Stukely<sup>27</sup> (app Ib, pp?? & ??); they were certainly emboldened by the inescapable rise of the picturesque movement and of Lakeland tourism.

Volumes such as Hutchinson's 1776 *Excursion to the Lakes in Westmoreland and Cumberland* and West's *Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire* (1784) are notable for providing useful and novel material for the modern local historian to retrieve, but the vast majority owe far more to travel journalism than to serious academic endeavour (app. Ib, pp??\_??).

Indeed, by the time John Aikin published *England Delineated* in 1790 he felt obliged to state that the many *Tours* were 'for the most part, works of very low order in literature, abounding with gross faults both of plan and execution' going on to describe their 'tedious descriptions

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<sup>26</sup> Whellan's *History & Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland*

<sup>27</sup> Pennant's journeys to Scotland of 1769 and 1772 passed through Westmorland, as did Stukeley's 'Iter Boreale' (*Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1776). Both wrote from personal observation, from discussions with local inhabitants, and with reference to predecessors such as Camden, and both travelled only through the western fringes of the county (app. Ib, pp?? & ??)

of objects, either absolutely trivial in themselves [...] transmitted, unchanged, from one successive compilation to another; weak and illiberal partialities, with inelegancies and vulgarisms of every kind'<sup>28</sup> (Aikin, 1790; piv).

Derivative, and confined almost exclusively to the western edge of the ward of Kendal<sup>29</sup>, many of the works of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century added little to the canon, save for that of writers like Aikin who only included in his works *later* historical 'matters of importance' which were, he averred, 'better authenticated and of greater consequence to us at present' (Aikin, 1790; pviii).

Two contemporary volumes of which Aikin might not have disapproved were Gough's 1806 edition of Camden's *Britannia*<sup>30</sup> and Hodgson's *Topographical and Historical Description of Westmorland*<sup>31</sup> but he would have to wait until Whellan published his *History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland* in 1855 before he would have been able to read 'a complete and modern history of the two counties' (Whellan, 1855)(app. Ic, p??). He would have to wait a further forty years for the next.

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<sup>28</sup> Aikin's sense of dismay at the lack of academic rigour in the outputs of his contemporaries had in no way been ameliorated by the time of his next publication, also called *England Delineated* (1804). In fact he now had another (related) axe to grind; Aikin's purpose in presenting this volume arose, by his own account, from his despair at the 'little regard' being paid to the preservation of 'the monuments of ancient grandeur displayed throughout Britain' (pi). He drew upon the 'pencil of the Artist and the pen of the Antiquary' and a 'considerable degree of new information [collected] with diligence from the most authentic sources', in order to both record the present state of affairs and, in so doing, to reproach the public for their lack of care ( pii) (app. Ic, p??).

<sup>29</sup> in spite of Gibson's specific exhortation to readers of the 1722 edition of *Britannia* not to ignore the Barony of Westmorland, asserting that it had many interesting and commendable features (Camden & Gibson, 1722, p983)

<sup>30</sup> Which by then had been supplemented the 'latest discoveries' and included contributions from Burn, Pennant, Stukeley, West and Robinson's excellent *Essay Towards a Natural History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 1709 (app. Ib, p??)

<sup>31</sup> 1810. Hodgson, a schoolteacher and amateur antiquarian, was 'the county historian of Northumberland' and was commissioned to write his *Description* (app. Ic, p??)

## Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship

If, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the number of scholarly historical works published on the county of Westmorland had been greatly outnumbered by tourist guides, concerned only with lakes, sublime views and accommodating inns, then its closing decades saw a regrouping and a fresh impetus to record and disseminate a history for the local area. The Cumberland & Westmoreland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (CWAAS) was founded in 1866 to encourage interest in the history and archaeology of the sister counties. The society began publishing material in its foundational year and Volume I of the Society's *Transactions* was published in 1874 (CWAAS, 2017).

Arising from the work of CWASS came Richard Ferguson's 1894 *History of Westmorland* which was, in effect, the first published stand-alone county history for Westmorland. Ferguson was a Carlisle-born antiquary who played a leading role in the foundation of CWAAS and was the founding editor and president of the society's *Transactions* (Carlyle, 2004). Unlike many of the preceding nineteenth century publications Ferguson's volume showed due regard for both baronies and for all four wards<sup>32</sup> (app. Ic, p??).

Four years later, Daniel Scott, also a member of CWAAS, was able to state that by 1899:

Few districts in the United Kingdom have been more thoroughly 'worked' for antiquarian and archæological purposes than have Cumberland and Westmorland. The Antiquarian Society and the numerous Literary and Scientific Societies have, during the last thirty years, been responsible for a great amount of research<sup>33</sup>

(Scott, 1899)

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<sup>32</sup> Subjects include: the early inhabitants; the Roman conquest, its roads, forts, and towns; Norman settlement; Appleby; Kendal; fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; the troubles, the restoration, and the revolution

<sup>33</sup> From the 'preface' to Scott's *Bygone Cumberland and Westmorland*, a delightfully refreshing read which reveals a wealth of fascinating details and is presented in a lively and engaging style – the index lists a truly tempting array of subjects not covered elsewhere (app. Ic, p??)



## The Historical Society and the Victoria County History

The year that saw the publication of Scott's confident assessment of the state of historical studies in Westmorland was the same year in which the Victoria County History (VCH) was launched (Greenslade, 1997). The purpose of the VCH was to research and publish an encyclopaedic record of England's places and people from the earliest times to the present day which would be presented in county by county volumes (*ibid.*). However, in spite of Scott's optimism, while every other county in England now has one or more VCH volumes to its name, Westmorland, uniquely, has none. If the county had been so 'thoroughly worked' by 1899 why, after more than a century, has it thus far failed to produce its own VCH? Certainly attempts were made to produce a volume for the county<sup>34</sup> but no editor was ever appointed and, following a protracted dispute with the publishers of the VCH, that particular endeavour was abandoned (Winchester, 2016a). Yet why were no subsequent efforts made?

The research and publishing activities of CWAAS during the twentieth century encompass a wide range of subjects and areas<sup>35</sup> however, as valuable as the work of the society has been and remains, the scope and geographical focus of these activities have not always been relevant to a comprehensive county history for Westmorland. The first factor influencing the work of the Society was the figure of Richard Ferguson himself who had presided over the Society from 1886 and who, by the 1890s had ensured, by accident or design, that the intellectual heart and power of the Society were based in his home city of Carlisle<sup>36</sup> (Winchester, 2004).

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<sup>34</sup> Chiefly by CWAAS members William Farrer and F. W. Wragg who had produced substantial papers for the Society's *Transactions* between 1911 and 1928 (Winchester 2016a)

<sup>35</sup> See appendices Ic and If for a selection

<sup>36</sup> Though its administrative affairs have always been based in Kendal

A second factor was the dominance of the Society's Archaeological interests over its Antiquarian aims (Winchester, 2016a). Not only did the intellectual spotlight fall upon archaeology but specifically upon Roman archaeology, and although much ground breaking research was completed it inevitably focussed upon Hadrian's Wall and its associated forts and vici in the far north of Cumberland (Breeze *et al.*, 2016).

During the second half of the twentieth century the Society began to examine new areas of interest such as industrial and urban archaeology<sup>37</sup>, and the folklore, buildings, agrarian methods, transport, politics and demography of Cumbria<sup>38</sup> (Winstanley, 2016). Yet, over this same period a 'lack of initiative characterised the Society's relationship with the nascent field of local history [and] the dominance of archaeology tended to mean that local history was left to develop outside the Society' (Winchester, 2016a, p46). Winchester also states that 'from the very beginning, archaeological enquiry lay at the heart of the Society's activities [...] the Society's relationship to the academic study of history has been problematic [and] has much to do with the disdain with which professional historians have viewed 'antiquarianism' for much of the Society's 150 years' (Winchester, 2016b, pp296-7).

### **Local History Groups**

In addition to CWAAS there are a number of active county-based 'special interest' history groups including the Cumbria Family History Society, the Cumbria Industrial History Society and its associated Mining History Society. Community-based groups concerned with the history of their own district of Westmorland, have been established in Appleby-in-Westmorland, Kirkby, Longsleddale, North Lonsdale, Shap, the Upper Eden Valley and in the county town of Kendal (app III).

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<sup>37</sup> Urban excavations have tended to concentrate on Carlisle (Breeze *et al.*, 2016)

<sup>38</sup> One only has to scan the titles of the Society's publications to see that 'Cumberland' and 'Carlisle' appear with far greater frequency than do 'Westmorland' or 'Kendal'. However, volumes on church architecture, Appleby Horse Fair, the Women's Land Army and political dissent in Westmorland; and edited editions of Burton Parish Registers, the estate records of Sir Daniel Fleming and an index to Nicholson and Burn's 1777 *History* have all been published by CWAAS since the turn of this century (see app. Id)

With this healthy and increasing interest and support, county and local history in Westmorland is currently in a strong position to develop new histories and to work towards publication of its own VCH. Indeed, in 2010 CWAAS announced a grant to enable work to begin on a VCH for Cumbria<sup>39</sup> under the auspices of the Cumbria County History Trust (CCHT)<sup>40</sup>. In 2012 the Kendal regional group of CWAAS signalled its independent (but still affiliated) status by a change of name to the Kendal History and Archaeological Society (Winchester, 2016a). The Kendal sub-group now has a high profile president in David Starkey and is in receipt of a generous income, augmented by a growing membership which enables it to award grants in support of history and heritage in the town (*ibid.*).

### **Contemporary Narratives for Kendal**

It may be argued that the books and articles published on Kendal-related topics since the 1980s are a good proxy guide to the research interests engaging contemporary local historians; these fall broadly into two groups. The first comprises historical print editions of archives and records including manuscripts, rolls, charters, cartularies, newspapers, diaries and reprints of older historical works<sup>41</sup>. The second is made up of novel research on subjects as diverse as public health and sanitation; the Lancaster to Kendal Canal; local architects and the vernacular architecture of summer houses; and the various trades and manufactures associated with the town, from the fifteenth century to the present day, which include the wool trade, the making of socks and shoes, the motor trade, Kendal Brown Snuff and Kendal mint cake (app. If, pp??-??).

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<sup>39</sup> For which there will be separate volumes for Cumberland and Westmorland

<sup>40</sup> The purpose of the CCHT is to coordinate and gather resources for the VCH of Cumbria. The project is now researching and writing the histories of all parts of Cumbria, from the prehistoric to the present day, within the framework and standards of the VCH. Overseen by staff at the Department of History at Lancaster University, the project is a collaborative community project which has already involved more than one hundred volunteers in the writing of brief histories ("Jubilee Digests") of every one of the 344 parishes and townships in the modern county of Cumbria (app III)

<sup>41</sup> This category of volume is published primarily by CWAAS, the British Library and by the Curwen Archives Trust (app. III)

What, then, is the nature of current provision for local history studies in the county and its county town?

## **An Assessment of Current Provision for Local History Studies in Westmorland and the County Town of Kendal**

### **Libraries and Archives**

Cumbria Libraries aim to collect for reference at least one copy of each book and pamphlet whose subject relates to the county of Cumbria<sup>42</sup>; Kendal Library has its own Local Studies Library the holdings of which include books, maps, illustrations, records, photographs, newspapers, journals and oral histories relating to the county of Westmorland and which are available for reference six days a week (app II, pp??-??).

Carlisle and Kendal Archive Centres were officially opened in 1962 but archives had been actively collected before that date and archive staff were first appointed in 1944 (CCC, 2017). Cumbria Libraries and Archive Centres have produced catalogues and guides to their collections and provide the use of computers through which a range of online databases may be accessed free of charge; the collections are fully-searchable through the Cumbria Archive Service Catalogue (CASCAT)<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> The collections hold tens of thousands of items dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards including county histories, trade directories and government and local authority publications; subject areas include history, natural history, planning, social and economic conditions, literature, biography, sport and genealogy (app. II). Carlisle Library also has a collection of over 35,000 digitised historic images of the county which can be viewed online on 'Cumbria Image Bank' (app. IV, p??).

<sup>43</sup> While the Kendal Centre holds the majority of archival material relating to Westmorland some papers of significance to the history of Westmorland, including the manuscripts and papers accumulated by William Nicholson and Thomas Machell, are held in Carlisle Archive Centre (app. II, p??)



Although the opening hours for Kendal Archive Centre are restricted to just three days a week and some collections require pre-ordering, the collections are all accessible and include a wide range of archive materials including public records of parish, estate, business, charity and school accounts, and privately collected papers including those of Lady Anne Clifford and Sir Daniel Fleming<sup>44</sup> (app. II, p??).

### **Online Resources**

In addition to the physical resources accessible through archives and libraries there are now a wide range of virtual resources in the form of digitised editions of books and journal articles, directories, census returns, photographs and maps; searchable databases of manorial records, of oral histories, of indexes and bibliographies; a number of websites offering resources, advice and how-to guides to 'doing' local history; and the CCHT website which is now *the* online resources for the Cumbria VCH Project (app. IV).

Local historians are now able to draw upon the contents of online repositories via virtual portals which have democratised and opened up the field of local historical research to anyone with an internet connection. However, the practice of writing the history of Westmorland from a distance is an approach which has a long pedigree and whose beginnings are found in the works of Leland, Drayton and Camden.

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<sup>44</sup> In addition to resources and services for researchers provided by the county council there are a number of other institutions which hold related materials including: The Armitt Museum and Library in Ambleside, a registered charity devoted to preserving the cultural heritage of the Lake District; TNA maintain the 'Cumbrian Manorial Records' register; and University College London Special Collections hold the family and estate papers of the Broughams of Brougham Hall (app II, p??)

## Conclusion

It is a feature of Westmorland's historiography that its researchers have for the most part been outsiders, looking in from beyond the county's borders. From early antiquarian endeavours, through the various phases of historical scholarship to the VCH project of today, writers and commentators on the county have, with the notable exceptions of Fleming, Machell and Burn, been based outside the county of Westmorland<sup>45</sup>. And although many individuals visited the county in person and made good use of local informants, none were themselves 'of the land'. This may go some way to explaining why, though Kendal Ward has been the focus of much historical research over recent decades, the Northern Barony and Lonsdale Ward remain particularly ripe for research, and why there is still no Victoria County History volume for Westmorland.

Responsibility for the disparate fortunes of the histories of Westmorland, its baronies and its wards lies with a number of local conditions, from the natural topography to political, economic and ecclesiastical divisions, to the vagaries of tourism and to the predilections of individual scholars.

However, this case study has shown that, having been somewhat overshadowed by its sister county for more than two centuries, Westmorland is now in a strong position to write its own county and local histories from within its own borders, supported by excellent local and virtual provision.

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<sup>45</sup> For a number of possible reasons: Cumbria did not have its own University until 2007 and the new University of Cumbria does not have a department of History - the current VCH project is based at the University of Lancaster; although the administration of CWAAS has always been located in Kendal its headquarters are in Carlisle and, since the death of Ferguson in 1900, its presidents have, with very few exceptions, been born and served their working lives outside Cumbria (Winstanley, 2016); the scholars who have contributed to the local history of Westmorland since the 1950s have viewed the region from the south and have concentrated on the southern regions of Furness and southern Westmorland (Winchester, 1997)

It has been shown that some of the most valuable historical resources remain those from the period before the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the obsession with the Lakes and the picturesque. For Westmorland, at least, the antiquarian collectors, copiers and writers did not, in spite of claims from 'professional historians' concern themselves only with pedigrees and manor houses (Winstanley, 2016b), but faithfully recorded details of places, features and records which, were it not for their works, would have otherwise been lost for ever<sup>46</sup>.

Modern commentators are increasingly acknowledging the value of antiquarianism and the need for contemporary antiquarians, for

Without the burst of antiquarian activity from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the modern science of archaeology would not have been born; without the continuing antiquarianism – as opposed to historical – endeavour of individuals and society's like the Cumberland and Westmorland, the raw materials for future historians may perish, making the past more difficult to recover (Winchester<sup>47</sup>, 2016b, p298).

And, as William Lambarde wrote in his *Perambulation of Kent*<sup>48</sup>

[...] having for mine own particular found my self thereby to have learned much even in that Shyre wherein I had endeavoured to know most. Neverthelesse, being assured that *the Inwardes of each place may best be knowen by such as reside therein*, I can not but still encourage some one able man in each Shyre to undertake his owne, whereby both many good particularities will come to disco verie every where, and Master Camden him selfe may yet have greater choice wherewith to amplifie and enlarge the whole. (p475; my emphasis)

The time is surely now ripe for the next Machell, Fleming and Burn...

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<sup>46</sup> When, in 1776, Hutchinson looked for the remains of which Camden had written two centuries earlier he wrote that: 'the rapid progress of cultivation in the northern counties threatens the destruction of many of their antique remains; - the plough share has already in many places gone over them and perhaps in another age not even their names will remain to denote their site (app. Ib, p?)

<sup>47</sup> Angus Winchester, Professor of History, University of Lancaster

<sup>48</sup> The first county history to be published, 1576 (Greenslade, 1997)

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Appendix Ia: Selected 16<sup>th</sup> & 17<sup>th</sup> Century Scholarship

<p>Blome, R. (1673). <i>Britannia: or, A geographical description of the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, with the isles and territories thereto belonging. And for the better perfecting of the said work, there is added an alphabetical table of the names, titles, and seats of the nobility and gentry that each county of England and Wales is or lately was, enobled with. Illuatrated with a map of each county of England, besides several general ones.</i> London: Printed by T. Roycroft for the undertaker, R. Blome. (RBLA Ref. PHI 01206)</p>	<p>'Westmoreland' (pp233-8) begins with its location, name, extent and nature and goes on to name the prominent fells, the three roads (none of the best, p233), the rivers, lakes, castles and its governmental divisions (p234). There follows a description of the county by Ward: Lonsdale-ward is given scant attention with only Kirby Lonsdale and Burton briefly mentioned (p234), but Kendale-ward (pp235-6), East-ward (pp236-7) and West-ward (p238) are given fuller descriptions. Kendal and Appleby are particularly well-described, though the inhabitants of the latter may not have appreciated the epithet 'so idle' (p236). Orton fares not much better, it being 'very destitute of wood, insomuch that the people say they have not a stick, or bough to hang a dog on' (p237).</p> <p>Blome's writing comes across as informative, candid and accessible. Blome, however, a publisher and cartographer, was often accused of producing unoriginal works; in 1696, for example, the antiquary and MS collector Bishop William Nicolson branded him the 'boldest Plagiary in the whole pack', accusing him of stealing directly from Camden and Speed for text and maps respectively in the compilation of <i>Britannia</i> (Mendyk, 2004). Such accusations do seem rather harsh, though, as Blome clearly cites other authors in the text (e.g. Camden, p235) and in his 'Preface' to <i>Britannia</i>, Blome openly states that 'I do not own my self the <i>Author</i>, but the <i>Undertaker</i> of this <i>Work</i>, it receiving Birth from divers <i>Manuscripts</i>, from all <i>Books</i> yet extant that have writ of the same <i>Subject</i> [...] and from some <i>hundreds</i> of experienced <i>persons</i> in the several <i>parts</i> of this <i>Kingdom</i> of <i>England</i>, who have freely contributed their assisting hands in the promoting the same [...] it is an <i>Undertaking</i> too great and too difficult to be performed by any one person now living, without the assistance of others'. Indeed, comparison with Camden's 1695 edition (RBLA Ref. PHI 00171) reveal few, if any, similarities in format, in text, or in style</p> <p>No contents page. No index. Map of county (very similar to Speed's). Counties listed alphabetically</p>
<p>Burton, W. (1658). <i>A Commentary on Antoninus, his Itinerary, or Journies of the Romane Empire, so far as it Concerneth Britain: wherein the first foundation of our cities, lawes, and government, according to the Roman policy, are clearly discovered.</i> London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft, and are to be sold by Henry Twyford and T. Twyford. (RBLA Ref. PHI 01384)</p>	<p>Reading of the itinerary requires use of Burton's index to Latin place names e.g. Bravatum, Brovonacis, Brovonacim = Brougham and Vertera = Brough. Burton notes the discoveries at Brougham of 'Roman Coynes here often digged up' indicating the presence of a former 'antient camp or Castra' (p119)</p> <p>William Burton (1609-1657) was foremost a philologist and an excellent critic and antiquary (Boran, 2004). Burton's commentary on the Itinerary of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus emphasises the antiquities of Britain in an attempt to place the origins of British cultural institutions in context of the Roman Empire. Burton cites Camden and Talbot but also had access to manuscripts (p119)</p> <p>Catalogue of authors cited in commentary. Index to places in Latin and English. Chorographical Map</p>

<p>Camden, W &amp; Holland, P. (1610*). <i>Britain: or A Chorographicall Description of the most Flourishing Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands Adioyning, out of the Depth of Antiquitie; Beavtified with Mappes of the severall Shires of England. Written firft in Latine by William Camden Clarenceaux K. of A. Translated newly into Englifh by Philémon Holland, Doctour in Phylick: Finally, revised, amended, and enlarged with fundry additions by the said author.</i> Londini: impensis Gerorgii Bishop &amp; Ioannis Norton.  *1<sup>st</sup> Latin edition published 1586  (RBLA ref. ODS 00251)</p>	<p>First version of <i>Britannia</i> in English. Map of 'Westmorlandiæ' by Saxton includes a scale and shows rivers, lakes, mountains and woodland (btw pp758 &amp; 759). Towns, castles, parkland and major houses are also indicated. Roads not marked but bridges/river crossings are included. The southern district is discussed in more detail than the north of the county</p> <p>The location, pre- and post-Roman history, the naming of the county and its notable features are supplemented by information on its topography and its towns; its noble families, their seats and their lineages; Roman remains; agricultural practises; the number of parishes, and the ecclesiastical establishments (pp759-763)</p> <p>Although Richardson (2004) states that Camden's route aimed to follow the course of Roman roads, the narrative indicates that he navigated by reference to waterways. Clearly writing from first-hand experience and including personal impressions, Camden also makes reference to earlier written sources including <i>Chronicles</i> (p759), <i>The Booke of Notices</i> (p761) and <i>The Lieger Booke of Fornesse Abbey</i> (p759). Camden also sought information from local residents such as the master of Appleby school, Reginald Bainbridge, 'a right learned man [...] who of his courtesie hath exemplified for me many antique inscriptions' (p761).</p> <p>No contents page. Indexed. Illustrated with maps and Roman inscriptions</p>
<p>Camden, W. (1635). <i>Annales: or, the History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queen of England.</i> Third edition translated by R. N. Gent. London: Printed for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his shop in Aldersgate street, at the signe of the Talbot.  (RBLA Ref. PHI 01624)</p>	<p>Camden's history of the reign of ER was first published in English in 1625. Camden had access to private papers, to 'Rolls, Memorials, and Records' from the queen's own archives, to Cotton's library and to members of her court (Herendeen, 2004). While references to Westmorland are sparse, the information on the loyalties, or otherwise, of the 'Catholick Earles of Westmerland' are illuminating; in 1584, for example, 'Charles Nevill, that traitorous rebell against his Prince and Countrey the last Earle of Westmerland of this house' ended his life 'obscurely in miserable exile' (p270)</p> <p>No contents page. No index. Marginal notes. No illustrations</p>
<p>Chamberlayne, E. &amp; Chambrayne, J. (1723*). <i>Magnae Britanniae Notitia, or, The present state of Great Britain: with divers remarks upon the antient state thereof. The sixth and twentieth edition of the south part call'd England, and fifth of the north part call'd Scotland, with improvements, and more correct and larger additions in the list of the officers, &amp;c., than in any former impression, together with the Prince's household, never before printed.</i> London: Printed for B. and S. Tooke, Daniel Midwinter, Jacob Tonson, E. Valentine, and T. Wotton.  *1<sup>st</sup> published 1669  (RBLA ref. YM 93)</p>	<p>Consists of the original work <i>Angliae Notitia: or, The present state of England</i>, by Edward Chamberlayne pt.I followed by the continuation by his son, John Chambrayne pt.II.</p> <p>Westmorland: In the Diocese of Chefter and Carlisle, 110 Miles in Circumference, contains about 510,000 Acres, and 6,501 Houfes. The Air is fharp, the Soil not very good, mountainous and moory. The North Parts are beft. Rivers, Eden, Can, Eamon [Eamont], Lon [Lune]. Its chief Commodities and Manufacture is Cloth. Here's 26 Parifhes, and 8 Towns; the chief are Kendal, 202 Miles from London, a rich, populous Town, has a Free-School well endow'd, and drives a great Trade in Woollen-Cloth, Cottons, Druggets, Serges, Hats and Stockings. Kirby-Lonfdal is a large Town, has a fair Church, Stone Bridge, and a good Trade for Cloth. Appleby has a Free-School and Hofpital. Chief Seats, Pendragon Caftle, Earl of Thanet's: Lowther Hall, Lord Lonfdale's; Beltham Caftle, Earl of Derby's; Appleby Caftle, Earl of Thanet's. (Book I, p21)</p> <p>Also describes the divisions of the Bifhoprics (Book I, p4) and lists the various offices of state held by members of the Westmorland nobility (Book III)</p> <p>Contents page. No index. No illustrations</p>



<p>Charles, I, King of England (1642). <i>The humble petition and representation of the gentry, ministers, and others of the counties of Cumberland and Westmerland, to His Sacred Maiestie: with His Maiesties answer thereunto, York, 5<sup>o</sup> Julii, 1642.</i> York: printed by Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: and by the assignes of John Bill. (RBLA Ref. Tract 130)</p>	<p>It has been suggested by Colman (2001) that the military orientation of the Cumberland and Westmorland army's senior officer corps during the early months of the first English Civil War was directed largely towards the protection of county interests, rather than to military obligations in support of King Charles I</p> <p>This tract annexed with the names of 4,774 'knights, gentlemen and others' of the counties, is a petition to the King assuring the 'loyal and dutiful affections' of his subjects. Stuck between the Scots and the parliamentarians, the undersigned conceived themselves 'tyed in a more singular and strait obligation than the most of your other subjects' while regretting their having been 'too remisse' in the performance of their duty (p2). In reply, the King declared himself 'very well pleased' (p4)</p> <p>Significant at the national level, and of local historical interest</p>
<p>Drayton. M. (1622). <i>Poly-Olbion, or A Chorographicall Description of All the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, Forest, and other Parts of this Renowned Isle of Great Britain, Divided into Two Bookes.</i> London: Printed for John Marriott, John Grismand, and Thomas Dewe.</p> <p>Available at:  <a href="http://poly-olbion.exeter.ac.uk/the-text/full-text/song-30/">http://poly-olbion.exeter.ac.uk/the-text/full-text/song-30/</a></p>	<p>Michael Drayton's epic poem the <i>Poly-Olbion</i> is an exuberant expression of the history of Britain which depicts a proud and vibrant nation with a rich and celebrated past</p> <p>Drayton endeavoured to present correct scientific information anchored to the remembrance of the elusive ancient Britons such as Druids, Bards, and King Arthur; though much of the content is indeed based upon myth and legend, the poem is full of interesting and well-researched historical detail not found in other sources of the time (Prescott, 2004)</p> <p>Westmorland is the subject of the thirtieth and final 'song' of the second part of the poem, published in 1622. The focus of the song is the topography, particularly the mountains and the rivers, which are described as they flow through the various valleys, accompanied variously by mountain, woodland, forest, and Northerne Nymphs on their journeys down to the lakes and sea. Drayton also refers to animals of the county, to its mining and to cloth manufacture, and to its forts and henges</p>
<p>Fleming, D. (1882*). <i>Description of the County of Westmoreland, by Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, A.D. 1671.</i> Edited by G. F. Duckett for CWAAS Tract Series 1.</p> <p>*Compiled on behalf of CWAAS from the original MS of 1671</p> <p>Online version at:  <a href="https://archive.org/details/tractseries00unkngoog">https://archive.org/details/tractseries00unkngoog</a></p>	<p>Sir Daniel Fleming (1633-1701) was a noted antiquary and public figure. Fleming corresponded and contributed to the works of other noted figures of his day, as well producing his own works including his own family history and biography. Fleming was a great collector of MSS relating to: Cumberland and Westmorland; the pedigrees of local families; inquisitions <i>post mortem</i> and court decrees; and copies of extracts from 'the records at London' and the Bodleian (Nicolson &amp; Burn, 1777)</p> <p>Fleming's MS is wide-ranging and he covers topography, political divisions, towns, lineages, castles, antiquities, industries, fish and fishing. Fleming also references specific individuals including the nobility and the clergy, local lawyers, doctors and schoolmasters, and gives special mention to benefactors, of whom there seem to have been many, particularly in support of education (p10)</p> <p>One of the main sources credited by Burn in the writing of his history of Westmorland. The MS 'Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Furness' is held at Carlisle Archives (DSEN14/3/1/1) and Fleming's collected papers are at Kendal Archives (WDRY)</p>

<p>Gilpin, R. (1656). <i>The agreement of the associated ministers &amp; churches of the counties of Cumberland, and Westmerland: with something for explication and exhortation annexed</i>. London: Printed by T. L. for Simon Waterson, &amp; are sold at the sign of the Globe in Pauls Church-yard, and by Richard Scot, bookseller in Carlisle. (RBLA ref. Tract 84)</p>	<p>Gilpin, a nonconformist minister and physician, considered Westmorland to be particularly spiritually lacking, writing here that 'These Counties of Cumberland and Westmerland have been hitherto as a Proverb and a by-word in respect of ignorance and prophaneness' (p59). Gilpin was instrumental in organising local clergy and their congregations into an association (Westaway, 2004) which, following the Civil War and the Restoration, was a pivotal act in the trend toward religious integration</p> <p>Significant at the national level, and of local historical interest</p>
<p>Leland, J. (1744-45*). <i>The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary</i>. Oxford: Printed at the Theater for J. Fletcher and J. Pote.</p> <p>*Written between 1535 and 1543 (RBLA ref. BUR 1810)</p>	<p>Leland spent six years in travelling throughout England seeking out the places he had read about in ancient histories and chronicles, and those books and MSS in which those histories had been written. By his own account he travelled so widely that:</p> <p>'there is almost neyther cape nor baye, haven, creke or pere, ryver or confluence of ryvers, breches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountaynes, valleys, mores, hethes, forestes, woodes, cyties, burges, castels, pryncypall manor places, monasteryes and colleges, but I have seane them and noted in so doynge a whole worlde of thynges verye memorable' (Bale, 1549; sig. D.iiiiv)</p> <p>That Leland had access to original MSS on his travels is evidenced by references in his text: Volume I: Evidence found within Rolls (variously 'Rol', 'Rolle' and 'Roullé') of the lineage and issue of: Jane [Joan], Daughter to John of Gaunte and Catarine Swineford by Rafe Neville, [1<sup>st</sup>] Erle of Weftmerland... namely: Richard Neville, Erle of Saresbyri; William Lord of Fauconbridge; Thomas Lorde Latimer; Edward Lord of Burgeyni; Robert Bishop of Durham; Cecile Duches of Yorke; Joan Beaufort and Ralph Neville had fourteen in total (pp80-1)</p> <p>Leland provides eyewitness descriptions of the places he visits: Volume V: Topography – veri Hilly and marvelous Rokky; greate Parke and a goodly Place; Soile leffe stony and more fruteful of Corne, as fum Whete, much Ootes and Barle, or Bigge; divers fair Wooddes. Leland also includes details of the names of natural features – Byth Water; Staunton Bekke; Ken River; descriptions of places – Warton is a preati street for a village; Bytham; Kendale is countid as Baronry, wherof Master Parris Parke is Poffeffor; and also notes the distances between places</p> <p>Contents page. Indexed (though inaccurately). No illustrations</p>
<p>Miege, G. (1718*). <i>The present state of Great-Britain and Ireland: in three parts...containing an accurate and impartial account of these great and famous islands, of their several counties and their inhabitants...</i> 4<sup>th</sup> edition, corrected. London: Printed by J.H. for the executors of J. Nicholson, by A. Bell, R. Smith, and J. Round. (RBLA ref. ODS 01407). *1<sup>st</sup> published 1691</p>	<p>Miege covers a wide range of topics, from Norman Kings to the English numbering system, religion, festivals and feasting days. The Westmoreland entry describes its location, size, nature, nobility and its rivers and lakes (p83). The towns of Appleby, Kendal and Kirby-Lonsdale are each briefly described including historical facts, town trades, castles, churches and schools including, in Kendal for example, a 'fair publick school, whence a certain Number of Scholars are sent from time to time to <i>Queen's College</i> Oxford' (p84). The church in Kendal is described as 'more like a Cathedral than Parochial-Church' (p12). Supplemented by statistical tables of various aspects of life in Great Britain and Ireland. Westmorland, for example, returned four MPs (p327) and had one charity school, in Kendal, which taught sixteen boys and ten girls (p490)</p> <p>A lexicographer, grammarian, social observer and translator, Miege travelled widely and wrote from experience but was also accused by contemporaries of plagiarism (Larminie, 2004)</p> <p>Contents page. No index. Various tables arranged alphabetically by county. Fold-out maps</p>

<p>Saint-George, R., Dugdale, W. &amp; Foster, J. (Ed.). [1891?]. <i>Pedigrees Recorded at the Heralds' Visitations of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland: made by Richard St. George, Norry, King of Arms in 1615, and by William Dugdale, Norry, King of Arms in 1666</i>. Carlisle: Chas. Thurman and sons and Kendal: T. Wilson</p> <p>Online version at:  <a href="https://archive.org/details/pedigreesrecorde00sainrich">https://archive.org/details/pedigreesrecorde00sainrich</a></p>	<p>Contains the Visitation Pedigrees of Cumberland and Westmorland recorded by Saint-George and Dugdale. Collected edited by Joseph Foster in his 'labours in this field of genealogical research', he describes this resulting volume (of which only 150 copies were printed) as 'a boon upon genealogists' (Preface). Foster goes on to explain that 'the ostensible object is [...] to place this hitherto unavailable information in the hands of genealogists in the most useful form possible for rapid reference. Such at least has been my own object. To this end I maintain: 1. That all the Visitations of a county should, where practicable, be printed under one alphabet, and of course in one volume, so as completely to supersede the bulky and expensive county history; 2. that Indices of Pedigrees and Arms should be accompanied by an Index of Matches in preference to the customary Index of mere names; and 3. that the Pedigrees should appear in type which will allow of an arrangement which is instantaneously intelligible (p191-2)</p> <p>The pedigrees are presented in alphabetical order and the date of the visitation recorded</p> <p>Meticulously indexed and cross-referenced</p>
<p>Speed, J. (1627). <i>The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine: Presenting an Exact Geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles Adioyning: with the Shires, Hundreds, Cities and Shire-Townes, within ye Kingdome of England, Divided and Described</i>. Imprinted at London: And are to be sold by George Humble at the Whit horse in Popes-head Alley. (Plates engraved by Jodocus Hondius). (RBLA Ref. PHI 00234 )</p>	<p>Speed's hand-coloured map is entitled 'The Countie Westmorland and Kendale the Chief Towne Described: with the Armes of such Nobles as have bene Earles of either of them'. Arranged around the edges are: a scale of miles; an annotated town plan of Kendal[e] with its coat of arms; the coats of arms of Raphe Nevill, John D of Bedford, John D of Somerset and John de Foix; historical account of the raids by Malcolm, King of the Scots, and of his later marriage to Margaret, only heir of the Saxon monarch</p> <p>The map of the town shows its layout, names the gates, bridges and roads, and demonstrates the existence and position of the halls, the church, school, mill, castle, market, 'Rotten Rowe' and the 'Battail place'. The map of the county shows its extent, and names and illustrates: its settlements; its rivers and lakes; its forests, fells and parkland; and selected sites of antiquity. No roads are indicated. The maps in the <i>Theatre</i> became the basis for subsequent folio atlases until the mid-eighteenth century (Curwen, 1918)</p> <p>This is the earliest English atlas, in which the historian and cartographer John Speed produced not only the first detailed county maps, consistently attempting to show the boundaries of territorial divisions, but also the first truly comprehensive set of English town plans supplemented by information about antiquarian remains, the sites of famous battles, and the arms of princes and nobles. Both text and maps were the result of industrious research and reading which drew upon MS and printed sources of contemporary topographers including Saxton, William Smith, John Norden and Sir Henry Spelman; MS and maps from the collection of Sir Robert Cotton; records of crown officials in the shires; and field observation (Bendall, 2004)</p>

Appendix Ib: Selected 18<sup>th</sup> Century Scholarship

<p>Aikin, J. (1790). <i>England Delineated Or, A Geographical Description of Every County in England and Wales with a concise account of its most important products, natural and artificial, for the use of young persons</i>. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. with additions and corrections London: Printed by T. Bensley for J. Johnson.</p> <p>Available online at:  <a href="https://archive.org/details/englanddelinat00aikigooq">https://archive.org/details/englanddelinat00aikigooq</a></p>	<p>Aikin's 'principal object', as outlined in the title and the preface, was to 'make my young countrymen better acquainted that they are usually found to be with their native land' (piii). Aikin makes no bones about the fact the many 'Tours' being published in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century were 'for the most part, works of very low order in literature, abounding with gross faults both of plan and execution' and goes on to describe their 'tedious descriptions of objects, either absolutely trivial in themselves [...] transmitted, unchanged, from one successive compilation to another; weak and illiberal partialities, with inelegancies and vulgarisms of every kind (piv). The creation of 'an accurate and comprehensive account' would, according to Aikin, require 'the long-continued labours, not of one man only, but of several persons associated, who should be perfectly qualified for the different departments (pv). Aikin applied for 'written information to persons residing in various parts of the country' for the latest developments in commerce, cultivations and manufactures (pvii). Aikin largely ignores antiquities, nobility, pleasure grounds etc. and has only included <i>later</i> historical 'matters of importance', they being 'better authenticated and of greater consequence to us at present' (pviii). Aikin admits a huge debt to Thomas Pennant; to his works and to his friendship (px)</p> <p>The entry for Westmorland (pp70-74) focusses on the natural environment, both the solid and watery landscapes and their flora and fauna. Appleby is mentioned in passing but Kendal receives most attention, its woollen manufacture and trade in particular (p74)</p> <p>Contents page. No Index. No Illustrations but sketch map (btwn pp70-1) showing towns, fells, rivers and lakes</p>
<p>Camden, W. &amp; Gibson, E. (1722). <i>Britannia: or A chorographical description of Great Britain and Ireland, together with the adjacent islands. The 2nd edition, revised, digested, and published, with large additions, by Edmund Gibson</i>. London: Printed for James Knapton etc. (RBLA ref. ODS 00049)</p>	<p>In addition to the content of earlier editions the description of the northern territory is enhanced with the specific exhortation not to ignore the area. More detail on a greater number of settlements, Roman remains and natural features such as waterfalls. Expansion of historical notes such as the awarding of charters, evidenced by 'records' gained by 'inquisitions in the Town-cheft' (p990). Drawings of artefacts including coins (p992) and jewellery (p997/8); Roman inscriptions are reproduced not just as type but rendered as to life (p995). Detailed section on the species, location and finder, of rare plants found in Westmoreland – clearly based upon fieldwork (pp999-1002). The new data is included <i>within</i> Camden's text. (The Gough ed. 1806 keeps original and novel data apart)</p> <p>Updated map by Robert Morden with more detail and roads included</p>
<p>Campbell, J. (1774). <i>A Political survey of Britain: Being a Series of Reflections on the Situation, Lands, Inhabitants, Revenues, Colonies, and Commerce of this Island</i>. London: Printed for the author; and sold by Richardson and Urquhart, J. Wilkie, T. Cadell, P. Elmsley, and T. Becket, and others In two volumes (RBLA Ref. PHI 01333)</p>	<p>A meticulously referenced survey which draws upon Camden, Speed, Leyland and (T.) Robinson, and which contains a prodigious amount of information on the economic life, trade, industry, transport, and agriculture of the country which has not been encountered (as yet) in other publications. However, the accuracy of much his information has been deemed questionable and many of his arguments considered ill-founded (Espinasse &amp; Mercer, 2004)</p> <p>Volume I: References to the climate (p64), salt springs (p76), mineral springs, including the healing waters of Witherslack Spaw, esp. good for ulcers and worms (p85); the lakes and rivers and their various fishes and fishing methods (pp130, 144 &amp; 170); the landscape, the air, the agriculture, mineral wealth and manufactures; and the health and nature of its inhabitants i.e. ingenious, sober, frugal, hardy, robust and indefatigable (p171)</p> <p>No contents page. Slim index. No illustrations</p>

<p>Cary, J. (1787). <i>Cary's New and Correct English Atlas: being a new set of county maps from actual surveys. Exhibiting all the direct &amp; principal cross roads, cities, towns, and most considerable villages, parks, rivers, navigable canals &amp;c. Preceded by a general map of South Britain. Shewing the connexion of one map with another. Also a general description of each county. And directions for the junction of roads from one county to another.</i> London: Printed for John Cary, engraver &amp; map seller, as the Act directs. (RBLA ref. HPHI 129)</p>	<p>Detailed county map showing settlements, roads and natural features. The accompanying text briefly describes the county's history, location and size; religious and political status; chief towns and rivers; agricultural and industrial products; and the bridges, waterfalls and 'chalibeat-waters' (<i>sic</i>. i.e. springs of natural mineral water). The entry also names the significant lakes, woodlands and hills and notes the presence of Roman remains. Cary lists the principal gentlemen's seats, names the locations from which one could attain 'the most extensive views', states that the air 'is sweet and pleasant' and notes that the county 'supplies 240 men to the militia' (pages are not numbered but entries are arranged alphabetically by county)</p> <p>The map is clearly presented and detailed. The text presents only a thumbnail sketch but is nevertheless informative. Cary's introduction emphasises the completeness and accuracy of the information though he admits that the orthography of the maps may not be as good as he would wish for 'owing to the difference of pronunciation from the locality of situation and which experience only can obviate' (p1)</p> <p>Contents page. Tables listing principal routes; market towns, market days, distances from London; postal rates</p>
<p>Clarke, J. (1799). <i>Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire: Together with an Account, Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive, of the Adjacent Country to which is added, a Sketch of the Border Laws and Customs.</i> 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Printed for the author, and sold by him at Penrith, Cumberland.</p> <p>Available online at: <a href="https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=71wdtFelOaQC&amp;pg=PA146&amp;lpg=PA146&amp;dq=Survey+of+the+Lakes+of+Cumberland,+Westmorland,+and+Lancashire.&amp;source=bl&amp;ots=nZR-WkXMad&amp;sig=DX6vgFKuG_cm7NASlxT0tiiXQoU&amp;hl=en&amp;sa=X&amp;ved=0ahUEwjQit2HtobUAhXLA8AKHbgxAhQQ6AEITjAJ#v=onepage&amp;q&amp;f=false">https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=71wdtFelOaQC&amp;pg=PA146&amp;lpg=PA146&amp;dq=Survey+of+the+Lakes+of+Cumberland,+Westmorland,+and+Lancashire.&amp;source=bl&amp;ots=nZR-WkXMad&amp;sig=DX6vgFKuG_cm7NASlxT0tiiXQoU&amp;hl=en&amp;sa=X&amp;ved=0ahUEwjQit2HtobUAhXLA8AKHbgxAhQQ6AEITjAJ#v=onepage&amp;q&amp;f=false</a></p>	<p>James Clarke was, according to the title page, a land surveyor. His rather unfocussed discourse on historical events and their possible stimuli is followed by chapters on the Lakeland counties. Clarke goes on at some length describing the winds peculiar to the area, namely the Bottom-Wind, Bosom-Wind and the Helm Wind (ppxxxviii-xlii)</p> <p>Chapter I is concerned with Westmorland and refers to: Harts-born Tree—Countess's Pillar—Brougham Castle—the Hospital—View of Carleton Hall—Brougham Hall—Lowther Bridge—Clifton—Ancient customary service at Clifton—the Battle of Clifton Moor—the Village of Lowther—the Lowther Family—Arthur's Round Table—General Sketch of Westmoreland—Mayburgh</p> <p>This rambling route takes the reader from one site of hearsay and legend to another, allowing Clarke to expound his often fanciful theories on their authenticity and their origins (pp3-11). The Neolithic earthwork henge of King Arthur's Round Table, for example, is presented as a jousting arena for the exercise of arms and chivalry (p8) while the Neolithic henge at Mayburgh is proposed by Clarke to have been a 'gymnasium where the wrestlers, the racers, and others not of the degree of knights, performed their exercises' (p10)</p> <p>Much is made by Clarke of the 'admirable carpet-manufactory' at Lowther Hall, 'carried on for the sole use and pleasure of the family' (p7) and for which there are a 'very considerable bleaching-ground, several fulling-mills and silk and woollen dyers of sufficient abilities to produce all of those beautiful tints which are employed in the Earl of Lonsdale's splendid Carpet-Manufactory, whose excellence is universally known' (p11)</p> <p>Contents page. No index. No illustrations of Westmorland. The 'survey of Westmorland' is limited to a small area to the north west of the county and its main aim seems to have been to ingratiate the writer with the local nobility</p>



<p>Cox, T. (1731). <i>Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua &amp; Nova: Or, A new survey of Great Britain, Wherein, to the Topographical Account given by Mr Camden, and the late Editors of his 'Britannia', is added a more large History, not only of the Cities, Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes mentioned by them, but also of many other Places of Note and Antiquities since discovered. Compiled and composed by an impartial hand.</i> London: Printed by E. and R. Nutt.</p> <p>In six volumes. (RBLA ref. PHI 02613)</p>	<p>Volume VI: Westmorland pp1-46. The author's intent is made evident in the sub-title of the volume which acknowledges a clear debt to the work of Camden <i>et al.</i> A brief historical, geographical and statistical overview is followed by descriptions of the towns, villages and notable estates, arranged in alphabetical order. Includes brief mentions of even the smallest of settlements usually omitted from such publications, the details of which variously include the names and lineages of the owners of local seats; churches, schools and houses of note; natural features; antiquities; and local stories and superstitions. Where the author is unsure of a detail he is not dogmatic but acknowledges the lack and 'leaves it to bolder and more experienced Antiquaries to spell out the meaning' (p12). Ambleside, Appleby, Burgh, Burton, Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale and Orton are afforded longer entries and both divisions of the county are given comparable attention. There follows a series of descriptions covering the topics of 'Gentlemen of Note' (p33), natural history (pp34-37), ecclesiastical history, monasteries and martyrs (pp37-8), charity schools, and 'Divines of Eminency' (p39)</p> <p>Fold-out map of Westmorland showing settlements, roads, rivers, lakes and hills. Small illustrations of antiquarian finds, after Camden and coat of arms of 'Apulby' (p46)</p> <p>Concludes with a table of the county listing the towns and their wards, deaneries and their valuation according to the King's Books (pp40-5) and a chart showing the distances between the main settlements (p46)</p> <p>No contents page (arranged alphabetically by County). No index</p>
<p>Cruttwell, C. (1801). <i>A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain: Divided into Journeys. Interspersed with Useful Observations.</i> London: Printed for G. &amp; J. Robinson etc. in six volumes (RBLA ref. PHI 03062)</p>	<p>Volume I: Brief introduction to the county of 'Westmoreland' (ppclxxx-clxxxii). Reiterates much of what has been published elsewhere. A statistical and historical overview is followed by descriptions of rivers, lakes and scenery and mentions of mining and cloth production. Ends with antiquities including Roman 'military ways' and 'pyramids near Shap' and a list of the notable churches and castles. Both the northern and southern baronies are given equally meagre coverage</p> <p>Volume IV: The 'Journey from London to Carlisle' takes a route through the western reaches of Westmorland starting from Burton (with its 'obelisk sacred to liberty' p127) before passing through Kendal (description of the town, the woollen industry and the now seven town companies including 'merciers, tanners, glovers, sheermen, cordwainers, taylors and pewterers', and the 'hospital for lepers' p127) and Shap (Shap Priory, p128) to Brougham (Roman Brovacum) close to the border with Cumberland (p128-9)</p> <p>Cruttwell was a well-regarded compiler of religious works and gazetteers (Carter, 2004) and although much here is not novel, many contemporary details are, such as the 'obelisk' erected in 1788. Cruttwell may have seen such things for himself but he also 'appealed to the public at large, pleading in his own behalf, that he has taken great pains to investigate the truth; and that for those towns and places which he has not visited himself, he consulted the most approved authorities' (Vol I, piv). Cruttwell accepted letters from individuals informing him of places not previously described and he reproduces these often highly descriptive letters verbatim (e.g. p125)</p> <p>Contents page. Indexed. No illustrations</p>
<p>The Gentleman's Magazine Guide to the location of digitised copies available at: <a href="http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=gentlemans">http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=gentlemans</a></p>	<p>Founded in 1731 by Edward Cave the magazine, which ran until 1922, was a monthly digest of news and commentary including original content and extracts from other publications on a wide range of topics topic in which the educated public might be interested, from commodity prices to Latin poetry (Barker, 2004). Examples of relevant articles include: 'Descriptions and drawings of two broken altars at Kirkbythore' (1738, p417); 'Accounts of the Movements and Operations of the Armies in the Rebellion' (1746, p62); 'Description of Kirkby Stephen' (1754, p230); and 'Account of Maidenway and Castle' by Mr. Pegge (1755, p272)</p>



<p>Gilpin, W. (1788). <i>Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, On Several Parts of England: Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland</i>. Second edition. London: Printed for R. Blamire. (RBLA ref. PHI 02609)</p>	<p>Written from personal observation from diaries 'thrown together' for personal consumption but then reworked some fifteen years later. Chiefly dealing with picturesque scenery which, at Gilpin's own admission, involved removing 'offensive objects' from the views he sought to illustrate (vol. I, pxiv) the volume is intended as an 'amusement' rather than a strictly factual tome (Vol I. pxxi)</p> <p>The descriptions follow the route of Gilpin's travels and describe the countryside from Kendal, 'situated in a wild, unpleasant country' to Ambleside where the scenery 'is still undetermined' (Vol. I, p85). The 'magnificent' scenery of Bowness and Windermere is described in far more detail, as are details of the town; Gilpin also recounts the history of the house upon the island, and the fortunes of its 'Oliverian' owner, Robin the Devil, during the English Civil War, and attributes the tale to Dr Burn's <i>History of Westmorland</i> (Vol. I, pp142-150). From Bowness to Ambleside (Vol. I, pp151-163) Gilpin describes the mountains and the waters (rather amusing but not picturesque p153) and the fish, for example, almost entirely from the perspective of a painter (a parcel of char [...] makes a pleasant harmony of colouring p160). Furness Abbey, Rydal and Grasmere are described, as are the 'amphitheatres' and Dunmail-Raise on the border with Cumberland (p175)</p> <p>In volume II the chapter covering Appleby Castle is mostly taken up with a history of Lady Ann Clifford, taken from a MS of her life, written Mr Sedgwick, her secretary (pp 151-168). The subsequent pages describe the journey to Brough and the remains of its castle (pp169-72)</p> <p>Illustrations of lakes, mountains and cascades which are more impressions of the 'ideal' than of specific scenes</p> <p>Contents page. No index. List of plates. As the title suggests the focus is on 'Lakeland' to the west of the county but in volume II the journey returns via Appleby</p>
<p>Goadby, R. (1776). <i>A new display of the beauties of England, or, A description of the most elegant or magnificent public edifices, royal palaces, noblemen's and gentlemen's seats, and other curiosities, natural or artificial</i>. Vol II, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Printed for R. Goadby, and sold by J. Towers, and by R. Baldwin. (RBLA ref. PHI 03523)</p>	<p>A compilation of information (as described by its title) supplemented by illustrations of picturesque scenes including Broadwater Lake (btwn pp 190-1) and Winander Mere [sic] (btwn pp 192-3)</p> <p>Portions of the text seem very familiar and clearly much of the topographical/historical/industrial etc. detail has been taken directly from earlier accounts, though these are not referenced. Information is particularly detailed for the rivers of the county and there are musings on the meanings of various place names (pp191-2). Fairly detailed descriptions are included for the market towns of Appleby (p192) and Kendal (p193) and briefer mentions of Ambleside, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kirkby Stephen, Burton, Orton and Brough (pp192-3). The section on 'Remarkable Villages, Curiosities and Antiquities' also reiterates information presented in earlier sources but does include details not encountered elsewhere in the popular accounts, such as the 'petrifying spring, called the <i>Dripping-Well</i>' at Bentham Park, near Burton (p194)</p> <p>No contents page but arranged alphabetically by County. Well-indexed by name of county, town and attraction. Full-page copper-plate engravings (22 cm). Tendency to concentrate on the southern ward</p>

<p>Grose, F. (1785). <i>The Antiquities of England and Wales</i>. 2nd. ed. corrected and enlarged. London: Printed for S. Hooper. (RBLA ref. PHI 02089)</p>	<p>Volume VI: Westmorland pp21-8. Brief geographical and historical context; statistical outline of size, inhabitants, wards etc.; the eight market towns, MPs, and militia; the rivers, lakes, fells and waterfalls; the agricultural and manufacturing products; Roman, Saxon, Danish and British encampments; Roman military roads and a list of antiquities in the county (btwn pp21-22). Etching of Brough Castle (1775) and description of same (p21). Etching of Brougham castle (1775) and detailed history of its inhabitants (pp23-7). Etching (1773) and description of 'Heppe, or Shap Monastery' (pp27-8)</p> <p>Grose was an antiquarian who toured extensively in order to make sketches and gather information for his publications, but he also sought information by correspondence (Farrant, 2004). Grose also refers to previously published books and cites Leyland, Dugdale and Speed, and Brown Willis's <i>History of Abbies</i> (p28). In some cases whole extracts are reproduced, with full acknowledgement, including passages from Gibson's edition of Camden's <i>Britannia</i> (pp21-2), however, Grose does correct/update these earlier accounts where new evidence has come to light; see his history of Brough Castle, for example (p22)</p> <p>Contents Page. No Index. Illustrated. County map showing settlements, lakes, rivers hills and forests (p21)</p>
<p>Horsley, J. (1732). <i>Britannia Romana: or, The Roman antiquities of Britain: in three books</i>. London: Printed for John Osborn and Thomas Longman at the Ship in Pater-Noster Row. (RBLA ref. F942.012HOR)</p>	<p>A natural philosopher and antiquarian, Horsley's academic rigour and attention to detail saw that travelled widely to gather his information on Roman remains in Britain, writing that the first 'book' had cost him:</p> <p>much labour and time in my study, to draw out an history of transactions, through so many ages, and at such a distance from our own times ... Several thousand miles were travelled on this account, to visit antient monuments ... I omitted no care nor pains, that was necessary to copy these with the greatest exactness, which was the principal design of the work (pi)</p> <p>Horsley's work is cited by Pennant (1790), by Gough, in Camden (1806), and by Hodgson (1806)</p> <p>Contents page. Fully indexed using both Latin and Modern place names. Illustrated with inscriptions and artefacts</p>
<p>Hutchinson, W. (1776). <i>An Excursion to the Lakes in Westmoreland and Cumberland; with a Tour through Part of the Northern Counties, in the Years 1773 and 1774</i>. London: Printed for J. Wilkie [...] and W. Charnley, in Newcastle. (RBLA ref. ODS 00996)</p>	<p>Hutchinson sought to see first-hand the 'delightful scenes in this island. The monuments of antiquity, dispersed over this country [which are] many and curious, some of them arose in the remotest ages, and point out to us the revolutions and history of our own kingdom: a degree of knowledge of the first importance to Englishmen' (pp1-2)</p> <p>Hutchinson furthermore saw with his own eyes that: 'the rapid progress of cultivation in the northern counties threatens the destruction of many of their antique remains;- the plough share has already in many places gone over them and perhaps in another age not even their names will remain to denote their site. - To preserve their memory to after times, to point out therefore, and describe their strength, form, and magnitude, I humbly presume, are no insignificant pursuits in the traveller, who thereby consigns to posterity the evidence of those circumstances in history, which will be momentous to all ages' (p2). Indeed, following at times in Camden's footsteps, he remarks that some of the 'remains of ancient Roman grandeur' described by his exemplar are now no longer to be found</p>

	<p>Unlike Camden, whose description followed water courses, Hutchinson's route traces roadways. His descriptions include towns and castles; noble families and their lineages; roadways and bridges; (pre)historic features and artefacts such as stone circles, roman remains and stained glass windows; mills and agricultural practices; the fish in the lakes; and the minerals, including the local 'black lead' (pp161-2). That Hutchinson saw these things with his own eyes is evident, as his delight in the picturesque nature of the area and the beauty of its female natives (p178)</p> <p>Hutchinson interviewed locals for intelligence of the area including 'a gentleman, Mr Penney, of Penney-bridge, who was conversant with every curiosity on this country' (p181) and refers in the text to earlier writings including Camden's <i>Britannia</i> (pp19, 22, 23, 34, 42...), Colling's <i>Peerage</i> (p36), Grose's <i>Antiquities of England and Wales</i> (p47) and Pennant's <i>Tour in Scotland</i></p> <p>Itinerary to Rear. Illustrated with 'druidical' monuments, Roman altars, inscriptions, coins and pottery but not specifically relating to Westmorland. Parity is accorded to the northern and southern districts</p>
<p>Lonsdale, John Lowther 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount (1804*). <i>Memoir of the reign of James II</i>. York: T. Wilson and R. Spence</p> <p>*Written in 1688</p> <p>Available at:  <a href="https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=MEwOAAAAQAAJ&amp;printsec=frontcover&amp;dq=inauthor:%22John+Lowther+(1st+visct.+Lonsdale.)%22&amp;hl=en&amp;sa=X&amp;ved=0ahUKEwix1ZjCwszUAhXMKcAKHRo7DxYQ6AEIJjAA#v=onepage&amp;q&amp;f=false">https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=MEwOAAAAQAAJ&amp;printsec=frontcover&amp;dq=inauthor:%22John+Lowther+(1st+visct.+Lonsdale.)%22&amp;hl=en&amp;sa=X&amp;ved=0ahUKEwix1ZjCwszUAhXMKcAKHRo7DxYQ6AEIJjAA#v=onepage&amp;q&amp;f=false</a></p>	<p>Sir John Lowther was a local landowner and politician and contemporary of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal. He was first returned to parliament for Westmorland in 1677, at the age of twenty-one and, save for a four month hiatus, was re-elected to every parliament until his elevation to the House of Lords in 1696 (Beckett, 2004).</p> <p>Sir John was initially politically rather disengaged but, in 1685, he opposed James II in parliament for the first time and in 1688 he took the lead in securing Cumberland and Westmorland for William of Orange. Hailed as a hero for securing the border region for William, during the reign of William and Mary, Lowther variously held the positions of vice-chamberlain, privy councillor, lord lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland, first lord of the Treasury and leader of the House of Commons (<i>ibid.</i>)</p> <p>The Lowther family records are now kept at Carlisle Archive Office and the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount's correspondence with Sir Daniel Fleming is held at Kendal Archive Office (see appendix II)</p>
<p>Nicolson, J. &amp; Burn, R. (1777). <i>The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland</i>. II Vols. London: Printed for W. Strahan &amp; T. Cadell, in The Strand.</p> <p>Available at:  <a href="https://archive.org/details/historyandantiqu00burngoog">https://archive.org/details/historyandantiqu00burngoog</a></p>	<p>Vol I, <i>Westmorland</i>, was completed by Burn and Vol II, <i>Cumberland</i>, was compiled by Joseph Nicholson, nephew of William Nicholson, collector, antiquarian and Bishop of Carlisle (Winchester, 1997)</p> <p>Nicholson and Burn drew heavily upon previously unpublished works of 'inquisitive and learned men' including the collections of the Westmorland squire and keen antiquary Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal (1633-1701); the MSS collection of Anne, Countess Dowager of Pembroke; and on materials collected variously by Bishop William Nicholson, by the reverend Thomas Machell (1647-98), by Sir Thomas Carleton, and by James Bird of Brougham (Vol I, ppi-ii). To these sources they added 'the original Chartularies of the several religious houses' (Vol I, piv). All of this material was 'collected, digested, and offered to the public view' (Vol I, pi). Burn also cites (and in some cases contests) earlier accounts, including those of Archbishop Usher, Camden and Horsley</p> <p>Burn's account (to which many later writers acknowledge their debt) begins with a 'general' history of Westmorland (pp1-28) which refers (amongst a great deal of things) to its naming and its extent; its landscapes and soils; its rivers lakes and fishes; its minerals (directly quoted from Robinson); its weather and unusual meteorological phenomena (e.g. the Helm-Wind (p7)); its roman roads and eight turnpike roads; its feudal structure; and the particularly good health, character and literacy of its inhabitants owing, according to Burn, to the presence of schools in almost every village (p9)</p>

	<p>The subsequent chapters provide historical and contemporary details of life in the various settlements; beginning with the Barons, Parish and Town of Kendal, Burn proceeds to provide lively accounts of all of the parishes in the southern Barony (Gresmere, Windermere, Heversham, Betham, Burton and Kirkby Lonsdale) before presenting the Barony of Westmorland and all of its parishes (Appleby, Dufton, Marton, Newbiggin, Kirkby Thore, Brougham, Barton, Clifton, Askham, Lowther, Morland, Cliburn, Bampton, Shap, Orton, Crosby Ravensworth, Asby, Ormside, Ravenstondale, Crosby Garret, Kirkby Stephen, Brough, Musgrave and Warcop). The result is a work in which the whole of Westmorland is treated both thoroughly and equably</p> <p>No contents page. Index and glossary in volume II. No illustrations. Sources are clearly-referenced throughout</p>
<p>Palmer, J. (1810*). <i>A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire, And Cumberland by Jos. Budworth, Esq.</i> 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: J. Nichols. (RBLA ref. NSC 0788) *1<sup>st</sup> edition 1795</p>	<p>A whimsical description of a pedestrian journey taken in 1792 by Joseph Budworth (later Palmer). 1<sup>st</sup> edition contained many inaccuracies and a great number of unsold copies were subsequently suppressed by the author. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition sought to rectify the errors, thanks in no small part to the assistance of the Vicar of Shap, 'a man of eminent abilities' (pxiii). The improvements were acknowledged in a review of the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition in: <i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i>, Vol. 79, February 1796, (pp132-135) which noted that 'our lively correspondent has had the discretion to lop off the excrescences' (p132)</p> <p>The author makes no apology for concentrating his descriptive eye upon the natural beauty of the district and on its 'cottagers' rather than on 'fine houses, fine paintings [or] great people' (pxiv). Wedding scenes, salmon leaps, dances, drinks and rustics fill the pages between descriptions of lakes, waterfalls, towns, industries and trades. No detail is too insignificant, from the name of the innkeeper to the type of fish in the lakes and the Patterdale 'custom relative to straggled sheep' (p101)</p> <p>Contents page. No index. No illustrations. Restricted to southern Westmorland</p>
<p>Paterson, D. (1811). <i>A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in England and Wales, and part of the Roads of Scotland: the whole greatly augmented and improved by the assistance of Francis Freeling.</i> 15<sup>th</sup> ed. London: printed for the proprietor. (RBLA ref. ODS 960)</p>	<p>First published in 1766 and running into eighteen editions. A compendium of facts and statistics enlivened by personal impression. Trained as a land and military surveyor, Paterson's main contribution was to improve the information on roads (Baigent, 2004). Contents include: an index to roads; the circuits of the judges (within the Northern circuit, the Westmoreland Assizes were held in Appleby in the Summer, p66); table of charges for post-horses; an index of Country seats includes the name of the Seat and it's Possessor; and appendixes containing a table of the heights of all the principal hills and 'other remarkable eminences' (piv); a table of the counties with number of parishes, towns, population, number of boroughs and members of parliament; a list of post towns and postal routes, times of Mail coaches, number of houses and inhabitants of each town based upon the 1801 census; and a list of packet boats</p> <p>Entries on the roads indicate distances between places but include incidental information such as how passable the roads are by carriage, for example (p345). The entry for the road from Carlisle to Keswick informs the reader that Keswick 'is noted for its Black-lead Mines. Near this town, on Pocklington's Island, in Derwent Water, is a druid's Temple, discovered in 1779. See page 200' (p347). This method of meticulous cross-referencing takes the reader from source to source revealing both factual and subjective information which indicates personal experience of the places and scenery described. Details of the towns, country seats, industries, histories, inns, antiquities, lineages, mountains, woodlands and waters and the types of fish therein are all included. The names of features, particularly roads and passes is particularly detailed</p> <p>Contents page. Fully and accurately indexed and cross-referenced. Fold-out <i>Map of the Lakes in Cumberland Westmoreland and Lancashire</i> indicating towns, waters, roads and hills of Westmorland from Shap northwards</p>

<p>Pennant, T. (1790). <i>A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides</i>. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. London: Printed for Benjamin White. (RBLA ref. PHI 02319)</p>	<p>Pennant's journeys to Scotland of 1769 and 1772 passed through Westmorland:</p> <p>Volume I: Westmorland (pp277-283) is restricted to the western fringe of the county. Includes sites of antiquity including detailed description and illustrations of Mayborough [Mayburgh] Henge and Arthur's Round Table (p277); Shap and its Priory (plate xxxviii); and Kendal with its church, castle, and its 'great Woollen Manufacture' (p280-2)</p> <p>Volume II: Westmorland (pp39-42) is again restricted to the western fringe of the county. Greater emphasis on the scenery and the fauna including, fish and fishing traditions (p39), birds and mammals (p40-1) and even the physicality of the local inhabitants (p41). Visits Ambleside and its Roman Camp, Rydal-Hall (p41) and Dunmail Wrays Stones [Dunmail Raise] (p42)</p> <p>Pennant was a naturalist who travelled extensively and wrote from personal observation (Withers, 2004). The accounts of his journeys include remarkable details of the natural environment, its agricultural practices and economy, and the customs of the inhabitants. Pennant travelled on horseback, keeping a daily journal and accompanied by Moses Griffith who made copious sketches on the way (<i>ibid.</i>). Historical details run throughout the volumes and where he cites details from earlier publications they are well-referenced, e.g. Stukeley's <i>Map of Roman Britain</i> (1757) and a number of works by Horsey (Vol. I, p393)</p> <p>List of plates. Appendix outlining Itinerary. Index to places, people and topics. Illustrated throughout with picturesque views, records of antiquities, ecclesiastical buildings, and local flora and fauna</p>
<p>Robinson, T. (1709). <i>Essay towards a Natural History of Westmorland and Cumberland</i>. London: Printed by J. L. for W. Freeman.</p> <p>See: <a href="http://lhdigital.lindahall.org/cdm/ref/collection/earththeory/id/52044">http://lhdigital.lindahall.org/cdm/ref/collection/earththeory/id/52044</a></p>	<p>The Reverend Thomas Robinson, rector of Ousby and natural philosopher is cited and quoted regularly in other works including Burn, who described Robinson as 'a connoisseur' of mineralogy (Nicholson and Burn, 1777, p3). Robinson's essay is essentially a structural and mineralogical survey, framed within a religious understanding of creation. Although more strictly a work of natural history than a county history, it does describe in great detail the mineral resources of the county upon which not insignificant industrial activities were founded</p> <p>Contents page. No index. No illustrations</p>
<p>Skrine, H. (1795). <i>Three Successive Tours in the North of England, and Great Part of Scotland: Interspersed with Descriptions of the Scenes they Presented, and Occasional Observations on the State of Society, and the Manners and Customs of the People</i>. London: Printed by W. Bulmer. (RBLA Ref. PHI 01356)</p>	<p>Personal account of three tours: to the North of England; to the Lakes of Cumberland Westmorland and Lancashire (1787); and to Scotland. Not originally intended for publication (p3). Not an artist, Skrine described himself as 'only qualified to substitute cold description to the happier effects of drawing, and the imagery of real landscape', but in his 'observations on the state of society, and the manners which prevail in the remoter parts of this island, the Author has found less difficulty [...and...] has been studious to be impartial and unprejudiced' (p6). Skrine gives due thanks to the 'information' and 'entertainment' gleaned from the <i>Lakeland Tours</i> by Gray and West and 'above all' to 'Mr Pennant's very accurate and valuable work' (p7)</p> <p>Skrine's chapter summaries of the route through Westmorland (pp9-21): Chap. I: Burton—striking approach to Kendale—Leven's Park—Falls of the Kent—beautiful Descent from Orest Head to Windermere Lake, and Low Wook House on its Banks (p1). Chap II: Lake of Windermere—Bowness—Great Island—Ambleside—Rydal Hall and Cascades—Rydal Water—Grasmere—Dunmail Raise (p14)</p> <p>Skrine's narrative is highly evocative and engaging without being melodramatic; includes detailed descriptions of the various landscape features; the private houses, their owners and their gardens; the towns and their inhabitants, and of the patterns of their daily lives. Writing for a general audience rather than the specialist topographer or antiquarian, Skrine was a shrewd observer who provided well-written commentary on the state of the country through which he journeyed (Grout, 2004)</p> <p>No contents page. No index. No illustrations. Entirely focussed of the western side of the county</p>

<p>Stukeley, W. (1776). <i>Itinerarium Curiosum; or, An account of the antiquities, and remarkable curiosities in nature or art, observed in travels through Great Britain. Centuria II.</i> 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. with large additions. London: Printed for Baker and Leigh.</p> <p>Available at:  <a href="https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/012314476">https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/012314476</a></p>	<p>Stukeley was natural philosopher and an antiquary who was a founder member of the Society of Antiquaries when it was re-established in January 1718 (Haycock, 2004). A great traveller, it was Stukeley's annual perambulations around the English counties which resulted in the publication of his <i>Itinerarium curiosum</i>. Stukeley wrote from personal observation, from discussions with locals, and with reference to predecessors such as Camden (p39)</p> <p>On his 'Iter Boreale' Stukeley enters Westmorland by the River Can and observes the salmon leap on route to Kendal where 'all the house and out-houses are built of Roman stone' from the old Roman city located a mile to the south of Kendal, and where he saw a Roman altar to Bacchus (p39). According to the owner, Mr Gale, many ancient artefacts had been discovered by his father but they were all now dispersed. There follow details on Kendal, its springs and strata, its particular carts, its woollen manufacture and of Catherine Parr, who was born in its castle (pp39-42). Stukeley travels on to Shap where he describes in great detail the avenue of stones, and barrows and cairns (p42), providing an illustration of an arrangement of stones thought to have been a circus for racing chariots</p> <p>No contents page. Index. Illustrated throughout with archaeological sites and artefacts</p>
<p>West, T. (1784). <i>A Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire.</i> 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, revised throughout and greatly enlarged. London: Printed for B. Law; Richardson and Urquhart. Kendal: Printed for W. Pennington. (RBLA ref. PHI 03498)</p>	<p>West had been educated on the continent and travelled widely in Europe before settling in Ulverston. The tour focusses on the lakes (those in Westmorland include Windermere, Rydal and Grasmere) and the towns (Ambleside, Shap, Kendal and Burton in Kendal). It was written following numerous personal research trips supplemented by 'consulting the most esteemed writers on the subject (as Dr Brown, Messrs. Gray, Young, Pennant &amp;c.)' (pvi), all uses of which are clearly referenced. West is buried in Kendal Church (pvii)</p> <p>Very much a tourist guide with a conversational tone, the author's intent was that it be 'authentic in the principal articles of local information' (pvii). Includes extremely detailed information on how to reach and recognise picturesque views; the names of particular features and descriptions of the natural environment; the agriculture and manufactures; houses and the names of their occupants; churches and inns; and even notes details such as that the butcher's shambles in Kendal are 'the neatest and most convenient of any in the north of England' (p172). West also relates tales of local superstitions, ghosts and curiosities not encountered in other narratives (e.g. the skulls of Calgarth Mansion pp64-5). Most useful to historical research, West notes where the contemporary is at variance with the descriptions of earlier accounts: a spot described by Young and Pennant, for example, had been re-designed beyond all recognition by its present owner, to the great chagrin of West (p59) and, of Ambleside, West states that 'nothing at present is found of all that <i>Camden</i> mentions of this place. So swift is time in destroying the last remains of ancient magnificence!' (p76).</p> <p>Contents page. No index. Fold-out map highlighting the lakes, towns and roads</p> <p>One full-page engraving (22cm) of Grasmere dated June 1780; the 'principal endeavour of the artist' having been to select the view 'most satisfactory to give such subjects as may fix in the memory of those who have visited the lakes the scenes they have viewed, and also afford a general idea of the appearance of the country, to others who may not' (px). The book presents a tour through the Lake District and its relevance to Westmorland is inevitably almost exclusively to Kendal Ward</p>



Appendix Ic: Selected 19<sup>th</sup> Century Scholarship

<p>Aikin, J. (1804). <i>England Delineated</i>. London: Printed for Lackington, Allen &amp; Co. Two volumes in one (RBLA ref. PHI 02416)</p> <p>(n.b. This is <i>not</i> the same publication as Aikin's <i>England Delineated</i> of 1790)</p>	<p>Aikin's purpose in presenting this book seems to arise from his despair at the 'little regard' then being paid to the preservation of 'the monuments of ancient grandeur displayed throughout Britain' ('Advertisement' pi). He draws upon the 'pencil of the Artist and the pen of the Antiquary' together with 'no very considerable degree of new information [collected] with diligence from the most authentic sources', in order to both record the present state of affairs and, in so doing, to reproach the public for their lack of care (pii)</p> <p>Vol II: Kendal Castle. Location of, and historical background to the Norman castle and its notable inhabitants. Brief outline of Kendal as having originated as a Roman station (p59) and mentions of 'British' burial sites. Description of the town (most flourishing place in the north of England, p59, in spite of its remoteness, p60) and the church (one of the largest in the north of England, p59). The information on the Free School, charters, guilds, manufactures etc. similar to that in Cruttwell's <i>Tour</i>, for example, itself largely a reiteration of earlier information. Notes dates of Fairs and markets (p60). Plate of view of the Castle opposite p59</p> <p>Contents page. No Index. Illustrated throughout. Kendal the only Westmorland location included</p>
<p>British Museum King's Library (1829). <i>Catalogue of maps, prints, drawings, forming the geographical and topographical collection attached to the library of His late Majesty King George III</i>. London: British Museum</p>	<p>Lists items held by the King's Library including maps; plans and views of towns, including Kendal; and a selection of views of lakes, gentlemen's seats, villages, castles, waterfalls and forests (pplxv-vi)</p>
<p>Camden, W. &amp; Gough, R. (1806). <i>Britannia: or, a chorographical description of the flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the islands adjacent, from the earliest antiquity</i>. London: printed for John Stockdale by J. Nichols. (RBLA ref. ODS 00014, vol. iii)</p>	<p>Edited and translated by Gough from the 1607 Latin edition and enlarged 'by the latest discoveries'. Revised map (1805) includes more roads than previous editions, has finer topographic detail and names the major fells</p> <p>Camden's 1607 text is presented <i>separately</i> from the 'latest discoveries' so one can see exactly who has contributed what, and when. These latest discoveries are extensive but do not arise from Gough's personal observations; the information derives from a wide range of publications which are accurately referenced and include, amongst others, Burn's <i>History of Westmorland</i>, Leland's <i>Itinerary</i>, Pennant's <i>Itinerary</i>, Robinson's <i>Natural History of Cumberland and Westmorland</i>, Stukeley's <i>Itinerarium Curiosum</i> and West's <i>Guide to the Lakes</i>. Gough also cites the 'Gale MS', an 'MS paper in my possession signed H. T.', personal letters and articles published in <i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i></p>
<p>Cooke, C. (1890). <i>The Tourist's and Traveller's Companion to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire: including a description of the surrounding scenery</i>. London: Sherwood, Jones, and Co.</p>	<p>Charles Cooke, publisher, refined the art of serial publication and his stock-in-trade were a series of pocket editions (Bonnell, 2004). Very much a handy tourist guide, the <i>Companion</i> is laid out in a series of 'excursions'. Excursion IV, for example, links Ambleside to Keswick via Rydal Water and Dunmail Rise. Cooke is keen to point out the best inns at which to stay and where to find the best views. Historical and otherwise interesting data are also imparted and Cooke is (fairly) clear from which writers he has collated his materials (e.g. Dr Burn, Mr Gray (the poet), and 'the writer of <i>A Fortnight's Ramble</i>' (i.e. Joseph Palmer) (p42)</p> <p>No contents page. Well-indexed. No illustrations. Map of Lake District. Focus on the western part of the county</p>
<p>Ferguson, R. S. (1894). <i>A History of Westmorland</i>. London: Elliot Stock</p> <p>Online version at:</p>	<p>Ferguson was a Carlisle-born antiquary who, in 1866 played a leading role in the foundation of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society and was the founding editor and president of the society's <i>Transactions</i> (Carlyle, 2004). Subjects include: the early inhabitants; the Roman conquest, its roads, forts, and towns; Norman settlement; Appleby; Kendal; fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; the troubles, the restoration, and the revolution; lowther v. musgrave</p>

<a href="https://archive.org/details/ahistorywestmor00ferggoog">https://archive.org/details/ahistorywestmor00ferggoog</a>	Contents page. Ferguson includes a classified list of books relating to the county
Frowde, H. (1895). <i>Lakeland and Iceland</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press	A glossary of words in the dialect of Cumberland, Westmorland and North Lancashire, which seem allied to or identical with the Icelandic or Norse, together with cognate place-names and surnames, and a supplement of words used in shepherding, folklore and antiquities
Hodgson, J. (1810). <i>A Topographical and Historical Description of Westmorland, containing an account of its towns, castles, antiquities, [etc.], accompanied with biographical notices of eminent and learned men to whom this county has given birth</i> . London, printed for Sherwood, Neely and Jones  Online version at: <a href="https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009712499">https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009712499</a>	Hodgson (born in Westmorland) was a schoolteacher and amateur antiquary; known as the county historian of Northumberland, Hodgson was commissioned to write the account of Westmorland for Brayley and Britton's <i>Beauties of England and Wales</i> , a task for which he explored the county widely (Creighton, 2004)  An extremely detailed and well-referenced (incl. Clarke's <i>Survey</i> , Gough, Burn, Mr Dalton, Cowper's <i>Task Book</i> , Mr Pringle, Pliny and 'the Bishop of Llandaff') overview of the <i>whole</i> of the county. Hodgson considers particulars such as the 'last appearance of snow on the mountains' (an average date over five years in the 1790s was 16 <sup>th</sup> May), the design and construction of the traditional barns of the area and the crops grown - even down to the specific varieties of oat favoured in the district (pp7-10); styles of vernacular furniture and clothing (p45); traditional foods (p47), and customs such as <i>throwing the stocking</i> (p50). The settlements are described in detail. Though full of historical and contemporary facts, it is a very human account  Hodgson includes 'A list of book's that have been published in illustration of the topography & c. of Westmorland' and a list of local people to whom he was indebted for information (pp239-245)  No contents page. Well-indexed. Illustration of Brougham Castle. Fold-out county map
McCulloch, J. R. (1839). <i>A Statistical Account of the British Empire: Exhibiting its Extent, Physical Capacities, Population, Industry, and Civil and Religious Institutions</i> . 2nd ed., corrected throughout and enlarged. Printed under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London: C. Knight  (RBLA ref. NSC 0208; Vol. I)	C. 300 word description of the County of Westmorland under the broader heading 'Section 12. Statistical Notices of the Different English Counties'. Provides information on: acreage (487,000 acres, of which only 180,000 are set down as arable, meadow and pasture, p158); a physical description of its combination of upland and valley geography; its climate, soils and agricultural practices, average land rents (the lowest of any county in England, p159); its geological resources (slate, lead and coal, p159); its principal rivers and lakes; its administrative divisions and political districts; the principle manufacturing output of Kendal (coarse woollen goods called 'cottons'; the population numbers for the county (55,041) and its principle towns (Kendal, 10,015 and Appleby, 2,723, p159); the amount expended for the relief of the poor (£18,019 in 1836), the annual value of real property (£229,582 in 1815) and the profits of trade and professions (£52,575 in 1815, p159). All of which data may be compared to other counties in England, Wales and Scotland for the same period  Westmorland is paralleled with its sister county of Cumberland and the reader is invited to read the entry on that county, to better understand those aspects of Westmorland not covered by its own  'Section 3. Mountains and Moorlands' describes the upland features of the county and states that 'the varied forms of these mountains, ornamented in parts with wood, and the picturesque beauties of the numerous lakes scattered amongst them, form a <i>tout ensemble</i> of very attractive scenery. They are seen to the greatest advantage on the road from Kirby Lonsdale, by Kendal, to Shap' (p9)  Contents page. Indexed. No illustrations

<p>Middiman, S. (1813). <i>Select views of Great Britain, with Descriptions</i>. London: John and Josiah Boydell</p> <p>(RBLA ref. HPHI 076)</p>	<p>The opening 'Advertisement' claims the book to be 'among the first of those which may be said to have created a Taste for the sublime Scenery of Great Britain' (p1). Illustrations of Ambleside (plates XVII &amp; XXII); Cascade at Rydall (plate XVIII); and views of Windermere (plates I, XXI &amp; XXIX). The drawings often include people and animals from which one may infer styles of dress, modes of transport, occupation, agricultural practises and even breeds of livestock such as the typical longhorn. The accompanying text is rather flowery but does include factual details as to the names of natural features (which illustrate changes in spelling conventions), the geology, details of antiquarian and Roman remains, industrial activity, distances between places of interest, the names of the owners of illustrated properties and minutiae such as the existence of a small cannon at Low-wood Inn on the shore of 'Winandermere Lake [...] kept to entertain curious travellers with the remarkable reverberations of sound that succeed its reports in these singular regions' (plate XXI)</p> <p>Includes a number of views intended to exhibit 'the finest picturesque features of the country [...] from drawings of the first artists, and engraved by the hand of Middiman' (p1)</p> <p>Index of place names and list of subjects, where situated and by whom painted. Western fringe of county only</p>
<p>Nightingale, J. (1816). <i>English Topography: Or a Series of Historical and Statistical Descriptions of the Several Counties of England and Wales, Accompanied by a Map of each County</i>. London: Printed for Baldwin, Craddock and Joy</p> <p>(RBLA ref. PHI 00253)</p>	<p>County information is presented under the headings: 'Name and Early History'; Situation, Boundaries, Extent, Division and Population'; Climate, Water, Soil and Natural Productions'; Members of Parliament'; Eminent Persons, Titles etc.'; Landed Proprietors, Seats, etc.'; Manufactures etc.'; 'Recent Acts, etc.'. The entry ends with a list of the towns, the number of houses and inhabitants in each, their market days, and their fairs, including the types of produce traded, which included horned cattle, linen, horses, pedlary and flax, for example. Nightingale's list of 'Eminent Persons' is, he claims, an innovation, the information having never before been collected (p2). The county is treated equably across the wards</p> <p>Nightingale's maps were made from 'original surveys' and the historical, statistical and topographical 'sketches' which accompany each map were 'new in their extent and arrangement' ('Preface', p1). Nightingale goes on to assert that as the 'compiler' of the volume, he 'assiduously availed himself of every publication and authentic document within his reach [and] the MS account of every county [was] sent to one or more intelligent person or persons resident on the spot, by which much original matter has been elicited, and the descriptions of others been greatly corrected and amended' (p1). Nightingale's aim was to 'serve the British Tourist as well as to amuse and instruct in the closet' (p2)</p> <p>No contents page. No index. The counties are presented in alphabetical order, each preceded by a county map</p>
<p>Scott, D. (1899). <i>Bygone Cumberland and Westmorland</i>. London: William Andrews &amp; Co.</p> <p>Online version at:  <a href="http://www.gutenberg.org/files/37891/37891-h/37891-h.htm">http://www.gutenberg.org/files/37891/37891-h/37891-h.htm</a></p>	<p>A historical review of the two counties, Scott explains in his preface that he 'examined old registers and other documents without being then aware that some of their contents had already been published'. He also 'endeavoured to acknowledge each source—not only as a token of my own obligation, but as a means of directing others wishing further information on the various points' and this he does do. Cumberland and Westmorland are given equal billing</p> <p>Scott's chapter headings include: 'Watch and Ward', 'Fighting Bishops and Fortified Churches', 'Manorial Laws and Curiosities of Tenures', 'Old-Time Punishments', 'Some Legends and Superstitions', 'Some Old Trading Laws and Customs', 'Sports and Festivities', 'On the Road', 'Old Customs' and 'Old School Customs'. This approach to the history reveals a wealth of fascinating details and is presented in a lively and engaging style - the list of topics in the index contains a tempting delight of subjects...</p> <p>Contents page. Indexed. Illustrated with photographs and drawings</p>

<p>Walford, T. (c. 1818). <i>The scientific Tourist through England, Wales &amp; Scotland: by which the traveller is directed to the principal objects of antiquity, art, science &amp; the picturesque including the minerals, fossils, rare plants, and other subjects of natural history, arranged by counties; to which is added an introduction to the study of antiquities, and the elements of statistics, geology, mineralogy and botany</i>. London: Printed for J. Booth</p> <p>Online version at:  <a href="https://archive.org/details/scientifictouris02walfiala">https://archive.org/details/scientifictouris02walfiala</a></p>	<p>Volume II: Location and terrain of the county, principal activities and land use, antiquities, details of even rather small settlements, information on a range of rock types and fossils, and a list of rare plants (as seen in the later editions of Camden's <i>Britannia</i>). Walford treats all parts of the county with equal consideration</p> <p>Perhaps because of Walford's scientific bent, the information which he presents appears to be quite different to that published elsewhere. Here, for example, is the first mention of the moors and fells being used to breed 'great quantities of geese for distant markets' and 'prodigious numbers of grouse, which cause an influx of sportsmen in the shooting season', a fact (so far) not discussed elsewhere</p> <p>However, the information on Helslack Mosses is not so novel. Walford states that they are 'remarkable for ants' and 'in August, when they take wing, a thousand sea mews may be seen catching them, which the country people call the pismire fleet'. This may well be an interesting phenomenon but it is one previously stated, virtually word for word in Nicolson &amp; Burn's <i>History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland</i> (1777), in George Alexander Cooke's <i>Modern British Traveller</i> (1802), in Oulton's <i>Traveller's Guide</i> (1805), in Hodgson's <i>Topographical and Historical Description of Westmorland</i> (1810) and in Britton's <i>Beauties of England and Wales</i> (1814), though not by Fleming, so he is not the source</p> <p>Contents page. Index to towns and places. No illustrations. No pagination</p>
<p>A Westmorland Yeoman (1820). <i>An Address to the Yeomanry of Westmorland</i>. London: Elizabeth Soulbey  (RBLA Ref. Tract 563)</p>	<p>Anonymous Tract written by 'A Westmorland Yeoman'.</p> <p>A political treatise describing the poverty and destitution of the people of the county, set against the actions of their elected Members of Parliament. The case made against Lord Lowther 'and all his clan' is damning and the author calls for the freeholders of the county to withhold their votes from Lord Lowther and his brother at the next election (p19). (The Westmorland constituency elected two MPs and the (Conservative) Lowther family dominated local politics from the 1660s to the 1870s). The article refers to a wide range of subjects including the slave trade, the Salt Tax, Game Laws and the Search for Arms Bill; a highly illuminating, if clearly partisan text which, it would seem, had absolutely no impact upon the outcome of the next election</p> <p>Significant at the national level, and of local historical interest</p>
<p>Whellan, W. (1960). <i>The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, Comprising their Ancient and Modern History, A General View of their Physical Character, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures, Agricultural Condition, Statistics</i>. Pontefract: W. Whellan</p> <p>Online version at:  <a href="https://archive.org/details/historytopograph00whel">https://archive.org/details/historytopograph00whel</a></p>	<p>According to the preface, Whellan's aim was 'to supply to the people of Cumberland and Westmoreland a complete and modern history of the two Counties. The only histories of Cumberland and Westmoreland which enjoyed any degree of reputation are those of Nicolson and Burn, and Hutchinson - a reputation by no means undeserved: but they are now old books; a long chapter of the manorial history has passed over since they were published; many things are changed, and many are changing; hence the want of a New History of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the present attempt to supply that want'. Whellan claimed the use of Burn's work, MSS in the British Museum, Parliamentary documents, and 'other authentic sources' and 'always solicited from their Subscribers, who were constantly on the spot, the favour of a correction of errors'</p> <p>Contents include: 'History and antiquities of Cumberland and Westmoreland' by Thomas Wright (pp1-22); 'The geology of Cumberland and Westmoreland, with particular reference to the district of the English lakes' by J. G. Cumming (pp23-38); and 'Survey of the Lake district' by Harriet Martineau (pp39-56)</p> <p>No contents page. Index of Places and Families. No illustrations</p>
<p>Wilkinson, J. (1810). <i>Select views in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire</i>. London: Published for the Rev. Joseph Wilkinson by R. Ackerman  (RBLA Ref. PHI 00194)</p>	<p>Plates 9-16 (of 48) include Westmorland subjects. The etchings of a talented amateur rather than of professional painter, the scenes depicted by Wilkinson include mountains, lakes and isolated buildings typical of Lakeland architecture. Wilkinson's focus is very much upon the western edge of the county</p> <p>Contents page. No index. Illustrated throughout. No text</p>

## Appendix Id: Selected Modern Scholarship

Baggs, L. (Ed.) (1992). <i>Vital Statistics: the Westmoreland 'census' of 1787</i> . Kendal: Curwen Archive Texts	In December 1787 the Westmorland Court of Quarter Sessions commissioned a population survey of the county. Parish constables were ordered to send in returns listing the names and occupations of the members of every household in their area. This publication presents of thousands of names (fully indexed) surviving from this unique 'census', mainly covering North Westmorland
Ashcroft, L. (Ed.) & Hillman, A. (Trans.) (1994). <i>The Rake's Diary: the Journal of George Hilton</i> . Kendal: Curwen Archives Trust	George Hilton (1673-1725) of Beetham Hall, Westmorland, was a gentleman by birth, a Roman Catholic in faith and a peripheral Jacobite figure who participated in the 1715 rebellion at Preston. His journal points to behaviour worthy of a more scandalous reputation. His entries, covering the period 1700-1705 and 1722-1723, relate of wild drinking sessions, repeated (and often disastrous) bouts of gambling, and his encounters with loose women. The journal also presents a fascinating picture of his social networking with the gentry of South Westmorland and his quest for spiritual fervour and moral probity. Includes pedigrees, transcript of his will and brief biographies of his associates. Fully indexed
Ashcroft, L (Ed.) for Cumbria Archive Service (2014). <i>Cumbrian Ancestors</i> . Kendal: Curwen Archive Texts	Introduction to the Cumbrian records that are the most use for genealogy. Chapters on Cumbrian parish and diocesan records, wills, records of Roman Catholics and Non-Conformists, Cumberland and Westmorland Quarter Sessions records, Poor Law Unions. With bibliography and useful addresses. Information on holdings and coverage of church records, wills etc. by each Cumbria Archive Centre and other relevant archives, libraries and websites
Bates, M. & Bonney, A (Ed.) (2001). <i>Snagging Turnips and Scaling Muck: the Women's Land Army in Westmoreland</i> . Kendal: Helm Press	When the author, Martha Bates moved to Milnthorpe, south of Kendal, she noted that an unusually high number of ex-Land Army girls were living in and around the settlement. There had in fact been a specially built Land Army Hostel in the village and Bates relates the stories of some of the girls who joined the Women's Land Army in Westmorland during WWII and lived and worked in the hostel or on local farms
Boumphrey, R. S., Hudleston, C. R. & Hughes, J. (1975). <i>An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale</i> . CWAAS Extra Series Vol 21	A detailed directory of the leading local families. Arranged alphabetically and illustrated with black and white photographs and drawings  n.b C. R. Hudleston's papers are held at Durham University Special Collections Library (GB 033 HUD)
Butler, L. (2011). <i>The Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne for Cumbria (1833-1872)</i> . CWAAS Extra Series Vol 36	Architectural descriptions of fifty churches in Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness inspected by Glynne (1807-1874) one of the greatest church enthusiasts of his time. The descriptions are particularly valuable in that they provide extremely accurate records of the fabric and fittings before their removal during later restorations, or total demolition. Accompanied by contemporary watercolours, drawings and photographs
Connell, A. (2015). <i>Appleby Gypsy Horse Fair: Mythology, Origins, Evolution and Evaluation</i> . CWAAS Extra Series Vol 44	An examination of the origins and authenticity of the fair, including the claim that it originated under the aegis of a charter of James II in 1685. The 19 <sup>th</sup> century evolution of the fair is illustrated as it shifted from a cattle and sheep drovers' fair to an occasion dominated by horse sales, and the increasing identification of Appleby Fair with Gypsy/Travellers, for whom it has acquired a spiritual resonance






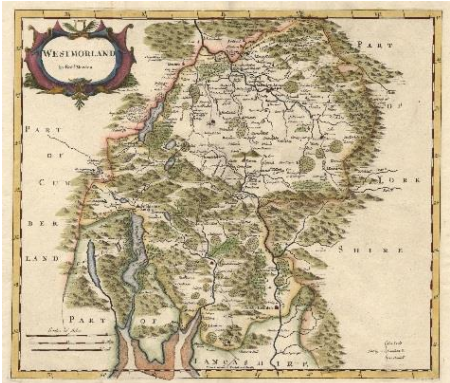
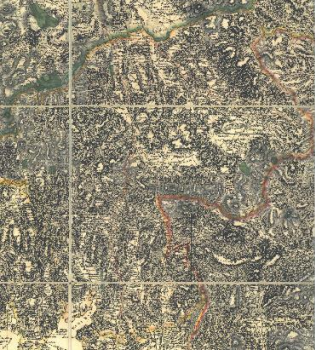
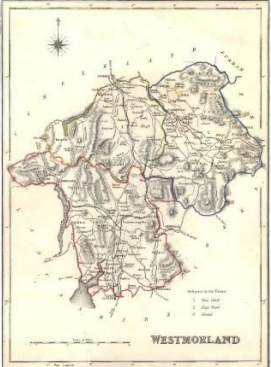
Gaskins, P. (Ed.) (2004). <i>The Parish Registers of St. James, Burton-in-Kendal 1653-1837</i> . CWAAS Record Series Vol 18	This complete transcription and edition of the Burton parish registers records all surviving entries of baptisms, marriages and burials from 1653 up to 1837 which have been checked against the bishop's transcripts. First complete list of vicars and churchwardens of the parish; source material of the later 17 <sup>th</sup> , 18 <sup>th</sup> and early 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries for the south of the county of benefit to family historians and genealogists, and to the study of social and economic conditions, and demographic trends
Hornyold-Strickland, H. (2011). <i>Index to Nicolson and Burn`s History and Antiquities of the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland</i> . CWAAS Extra Series Vol 17	A reprint of the index to Nicolson & Burns' 1777 county history
Jackson, M. J. (1990). <i>Castles of Cumbria</i> . Carlisle: Caryl Press	A gazetteer of the castles of Cumbria, with good histories and fair illustrations, however, most of the Tower Houses or Bastle Houses are not included
Marr, J. E. (2012) <i>Westmorland</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Originally published in 1909 as part of the <i>Cambridge County Geographies</i> series which provided a set of concise guides to British regions. Aimed at the general reader, they combine a comprehensive approach to physical and human geography in which history is not neglected; Chapter 11, for example, is entitled 'People – Race. Language. Settlements. Population' and Marr explores agriculture, industry, architecture, communications and antiquities. The text is interspersed with illustrative figures and photographs
Pevsner, N. (1967). <i>Cumberland and Westmorland</i> . Harmondsworth: Penguin	Pevsner described himself as a 'general practitioner' among art historians, as distinct from the more specialist 'consultants', but his work brilliantly unites the study of art, architecture, and design; relates all three to social context; and covers an impressively long time-span (Harrison, 2004). Pevsner provides a detailed introduction to the styles of architecture in the two counties which is supplemented by contributions from experts on the nature of the local geology/availability of natural building materials; the prehistory of the area; and its Roman remains. Pevsner includes sites and artefacts from standing stones and Celtic crosses to mid-20 <sup>th</sup> century churches, and everything in between Arranged alphabetically by place-name and illustrated by photographic plates
Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) (1936). <i>An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland</i> . London: His Majesty's Stationery Office	The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England survey, covering the whole of the historic county of Westmorland, including the towns of Kendal and Appleby. The historic county, now the southern part of Cumbria, ranged from Clifton in the north, Stainmore in the east, Kirkby Lonsdale in the south, to Grasmere in the west. See: <a href="http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/westm">http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/westm</a>
Shepherd, M. E. (2011). <i>Across the Oceans: emigration from Cumberland and Westmorland before 1914</i> . Carlisle: Bookcase	Based upon research using newspapers, letters and memoirs, archival documents, government papers, census returns and responses to queries by email, letter and phone from all over the world. The author has created a database of c.4000 known emigrants (which represent only a small proportion of the unknown thousands) who left Westmorland and Cumberland prior to 1914. Some came home, some were sojourners whose period overseas was limited, some prospered and some met with failure, if not disaster



Smalley, R. (2013). <i>Agitate! Educate! Organise! Political Dissent in Westmorland from 1880-1930</i> . CWAAS Extra Series Vol 38	Westmorland is often represented as a bastion of unchallenged paternalism where social and political control was in the hands of great landowners and wealthy businessmen. This study exposes the inaccuracy of that stereotype and reveals the strength of Westmorland's dissent and its involvement with national protest movements between 1880 and 1930
Smalley, R. (2015). <i>Patronage, Power and Politics in Appleby in the era of Lady Anne Clifford 1649-1689</i> . CWAAS Tract Series Vol 25	An account of politics in the Westmorland parliamentary constituency of Appleby between the restoration of King Charles II in 1660 and the deposition of his successor King James II in 1688-9. Based on locally-held primary sources, this book offers vivid insights into the political, social, economic and religious life of one of Cumbria's most historic towns
Summerson, H., Trueman, M. & Harrison, S. (1998). <i>Brougham Castle, Cumbria</i> . CWAAS Research Series Vol 8	The centre of one of the most important baronies in the north of England, Brougham Castle served both to protect and dominate its founder's lordship in Westmorland, and to strengthen the defences of England's border with Scotland (see appendix II for details of related archives)
Tyson, B. (Ed.) (2001). <i>The Estate and Household Accounts of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, Westmorland, 1688-1701</i> . CWAAS Record Series Vol 13	This volume presents a complete edition of the text of the second account book for his estate and household which covers the last period of Sir Daniel Fleming's life from June 1688 up to just before his death on 25 March 1701. It presents a detailed and fascinating insight into the social and economic background of 17 <sup>th</sup> century Westmorland
Williamson, G. C. (1922). <i>Lady Anne Clifford</i> . Kendal: T. Wilson <a href="https://archive.org/details/cu31924027999014">https://archive.org/details/cu31924027999014</a>	<i>Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke &amp; Montgomery, 1590-1676. Her life, letters and work, extracted from all the original documents available, many of which are here printed for the first time</i>  A detailed account of one of the significant collectors of MSS in Westmorland in the Early Modern period Contents page. Fully indexed. Illustrated
Winstanley, M (Ed.) (2016). <i>Revealing Cumbria's Past: 150 Years of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i> . CWAAS Extra Series Vol 45	Chapter 1 charts the history of the Society within the context of changes in how the past has been studied over the years since its foundation. Chapter 2 explores the contribution of the Society to an understanding of Cumbria's past as an important publisher of Transactions and books. Includes summary biographies of its Presidents, a complete list of publications, and a short history of the Society's Library

## Appendix Ie: Selected Cartographic Evidence, arranged chronologically

	<p>Christopher Saxton's 1607 map of <i>Westmorlandiae</i></p> <p>The 1607 (5th and final Latin) edition of Camden's <i>Britannia</i> included, for the first time, a full set of English county maps, based on the surveys of Christopher Saxton and John Norden, and engraved by William Kip and William Hole. This copy from the 1610 English edition (RBLA ref. ODS 00251)</p> <p>Includes: title cartouche 'WESTMORLANDIAE/Comitatus qui olim/Spectavit ad/BRIGANTAS'; scale line; rivers and lakes; mountains, relief and hillocks; woods, trees, forests and parks; and settlements</p> <p>Copies in the Armitt Museum and Library, Carlisle Library and Kendal Library</p>
	<p>John Speed's 1611 map <i>The Countie Westmorland and Kendale the Cheif Towne Described with the Arms of Such Nobles as have been Earles of Either of Them</i></p> <p>Plates engraved by Jodocus Hondius. This copy published in Speed's 1672 edition of <i>The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine</i> (RBLA Ref. PHI 00234)</p> <p>Includes: coat of arms and heraldic border; descriptive text and compass; scale line with dividers (about 2.5 miles to 1 inch); rivers and lakes; mountains, relief and hillocks; woods and parks; and settlements. Inset map of Kendal is a bird's eye view, at a larger scale, with a gazetteer of places. Absence of any roads, not even the Roman road over High Street or the road over Shap</p> <p>Copy in the Armitt Museum and Library</p>
	<p>Detail from William Hole's county map of <i>Cumberlande, Westmorlande</i> of 1622</p> <p>Used to illustrate Michael Drayton's 15,000-line poem the <i>Poly-Olbion</i>, Hole represents settlements, rivers and places associated with stories in the poem anthropomorphically. The Poly-Olbion takes the reader on a journey through the counties of early modern England and Wales and Drayton's expansive poetic descriptions present details of the landscape and historical fragments, alongside traditions, legends, myths and customs (UoC, 2014)</p> <p>Hole is indebted to his predecessors, including Saxton and Speed, but aims less for factual accuracy than for an engagement with the spirit of Drayton's poem</p>

	<p>Robert Morden's 1695 map of <i>Westmorland</i></p> <p>First published in 1695 in Camden's <i>Britannia</i>, revised and with additions by Edmund Gibson, this hand coloured engraving is from the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition c.1722 (RBLA ref. ODS 00049)</p> <p>Includes: scroll cartouche; scale lines; rivers and lakes; mountains, relief and hillocks; woods, trees, forests and parks; settlements; and roads.</p> <p>The roads chosen for inclusion seem somewhat haphazard; there is no road marked between Kendal and Ambleside, for example</p>
	<p>Aaron Arrowsmith's 1815 Map of Westmorland</p> <p><i>Map of England and Wales: The Result of Fifteen Years Labour. Dedicated by Permission to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent by H. R. Highness' Dutiful Servant and Hydrographer, A. Arrowsmith.</i> London: A. Arrowsmith</p> <p>An early large-scale map produced at a scale of 1 inch to 3 English statute miles. The detail is fine, such that each road, town and village is distinctly and accurately presented. The relief is shown by hachures and by spot heights</p> <p>This image is a detail from sheet number 5 which covers areas of Cumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, Yorkshire and Lancashire. The maps are hand coloured on a linen backing (RBLA ref. ODS 000477)</p>
	<p>Robert Creighton's 1848 map of <i>Westmorland</i></p> <p>Neatly engraved with later hand colour by J. &amp; C. Walker for Lewis's <i>Topographical Dictionary of England</i> which contains detailed topographical accounts of places, parishes and counties in England. Published in four volumes with an accompanying volume of maps</p> <p>Includes longitude, latitude and scale of miles; rivers and lakes; mountains, relief and hillocks; woods, trees, forests and parks; settlements; roads and railways</p> <p>Curiously there are only three wards (East, West and Kendal)</p> <p>Copy available online at: <a href="http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-dict/england">http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-dict/england</a></p>

## Appendix If: Selected Resources for Kendal

Ashcroft, L. (Ed.) (2001). <i>The Diary of a Kendal Midwife 1669 – 1675, Elizabeth Thompson</i> . Kendal: Curwen Archive Texts	The diary of Elizabeth Thompson, midwife of Kendal, is of enormous value to family historians as it covers a period (1669-1675) when the parish records are missing. Her meticulous entries list the children she delivered day by day. Each entry names the child, the father, the area/house of the family and even the time of the birth. With index of persons and places
Ashcroft, L. (Ed.) (2006). <i>Cleaning Up Kendal: A Century of Sanitary History</i> . Kendal: Curwen Archive Texts	A social history of the state of Kendal's public health during the 19 <sup>th</sup> century presented through three surveys including: A topographical pathology of Kendal and its Neighbourhood, by Dr Thomas Proudfoot, 1822; Report by George Thomas Clark to the General Board of Health on a preliminary inquiry into the sewerage, drainage and supply of water, and the sanitary conditions of the inhabitants of the Borough of Kendal, 1849; and Report by Dr David Page on the sanitary condition of Kendal, 1875
Butler, D. M. (1982). <i>Summer Houses of Kendal</i> . Kendal: Abbot Hall Art Gallery	Illustrations from old maps and pencil sketches of a class of structure particular to the area
Butler, L. A. S. (Ed.) (1998). <i>The Cumbrian Parishes 1714-1725 from Bishop Gastrell's Notitia</i> . CWAAS Record Series volume 12	Francis Gastrell was Bishop of Chester from 1714-1725 and his notebook (Notitia) of his diocese is a mine of information about parishes, townships, schools and charities and a full list of clergy is included for each parish. The volume gives a vivid picture of the deanery of Kendal during the reign of George I
Crabtree, B. & Bonney, A. (Ed.) (2000). <i>An Old Westmorland Garage: The Story Behind Crabtree's of Kendal</i> . Kendal: Helm Press	A biography of the man and the family behind over a hundred years of social history in Kendal, together with the first motor cars and motor cycles in the town
Dunderdale, J.W., & Bonney, A. (Ed.) (2003). <i>Kendal Brown: The History of Kendal's Tobacco and Snuff Industry</i> . Kendal: Helm Press	Kendal has been renowned for its snuff for more than 200 years, especially for 'Kendal Brown'; tobacco was landed at Whitehaven and brought by pack horse over the fells. The snuff manufacturing pioneer Thomas Harrison gained experience of the industry in Glasgow before returning to Kendal with the snuff formula and machinery in 1792. The main firms in the town have been Samuel Gawith & Co., Illingworths and Gawith, Hoggarth & Co., and the book tells of the families concerned in them, the various blends of tobaccos and snuffs, and details of production
Farrer, W. & Curwen, J. F. (1998/9). <i>Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale, Volumes I &amp; II</i> . CWAAS Record Series volumes 4 & 5	The volumes are divided into chapters on the parishes and townships which made up the Barony of Kendale, with illustrative extracts of documents relating to each community from the twelfth century to the late seventeenth century. The documents include items from privately held estate archives such as those at Levens Hall and Sizergh Castle, those calendared in monastic cartularies, manorial rentals, state documents such as Patent Rolls, Close Rolls, Inquisitions Post Mortem, Feet of Fines and lists of those paying the Hearth Tax in 1669. The volumes hold relevance for historians of local and of family history, from medieval to early modern times



Ferguson, R. F. (2001). <i>The Boke of Recorde of Kirkbie Kendall</i> . CWAAS Extra Series volume 7	Of particular relevance to those researching the history of Kendal, its early modern social and administrative history, and those with an interest in genealogy, this book reproduces the most significant portions of the MSS volume the Boke of Recorde. The volume contains copies of the three royal charters of 1575, 1637 and 1684 relating to the Corporation of Kendal. Various inventories are presented including lists of: c. 1500 Kendal householders for 1576; the officials of the Corporation up to the mid-17th century; the Mayors of Kendal up to 1710; and freemen and apprentices of the companies/guilds of Kendal enrolled between 1571 and 1645. Other entries reflect the contemporary importance to Kendal of the wool trade, and details of other local traders including Chapmen, Merchants, Salters, Shearmen, Fullers, Dyers, Websters, Mercers and Drapers, Tailors, Embroiderers, Tanners, Girdlers, Curriers, Armorers, Hardwaremen, Butchers, Smiths, Clothmakers, Innkeepers, and Scriveners
Ffinch, M. (1983). <i>Portrait of Kendal and the Kent Valley</i> . London: Robert Hale	A 20 <sup>th</sup> century tour which guides the reader through the area, following the River Kent from Kentmere to Morecambe Bay, with a strong focus on the town of Kendal
Holloway, N. (2012). <i>Kendal Through Time</i> . Stroud: Amberley Publishing	Illustrated history of Kendal which describes the town's origins from Norman times when it was known as Kirk byre Kendale (church town in Kent dale). The story of the town includes information on the local industries including Kendal Brown Snuff, Kendal Socks, K Shoes and Kendal Mint Cake
Howorth, B. (2017). <i>Kendal History Tour</i> . Stroud: Amberley Publishing	A contemporary historical tour around Kendal's famous landmarks including Abbot Hall and Kendal Parish Church
Humphreys, J. (2005). <i>"It were like this, me lass!": Kendalians tell us about life in Kendal from the 1900s</i> . Kendal: Helm Press	An account of what life in Kendal was actually like for ordinary people, from schooldays, living, working, playing and socialising in 'the old grey town'. With contributions from Kendal Oral History Group, Kendal Oral History Group Staff, Curwen Archives Trust, and Curwen Archives Trust Staff
Marsh, G. (2003). <i>Kendal Past &amp; Present</i> . Stroud: The History Press	A photographic record of Kendal's long and varied history through photographs, many hitherto unpublished, which compares the older images with modern views taken of the same scene today
Nicholson, C. (1861). <i>The Annals of Kendal</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Whitaker & co.	A historical and descriptive account of Kendal and the neighbourhood, with biographical sketches of many eminent persons connected with the town. Includes a town map, a general history, ecclesiastical history, histories of significant town buildings, the corporation of the town and associated legislation, schools, manufactures, and climate. Well-indexed. Includes a long list of predominantly local subscribers. In his preface Nicholson wrote that he trusted that the work would 'do no dishonour to the town, which abides in my affections, and demands from me every effort and consideration'
Nicholson, C. (2011). <i>History and incidents connected with the grants of the three Royal Charters of Incorporation of the Borough of Kendal</i> . London: British Library	A British Library Historical Print Edition of a work by local gentleman Cornelius Nicholson (see above) dated 1875

Nicholson D. & Axon, E. (1915). <i>The older nonconformity in Kendal: a history of the Unitarian Chapel in the Market Place</i> . Kendal: Titus Wilson	A history of the older nonconformity in Kendal so far as it relates to the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters, the Nonconformist Academies and the Unitarian Baptists. It does not deal with the Friends, the oldest nonconformists in the town, nor with the Trinitarian Nonconformist Churches established after the middle of the 18 <sup>th</sup> century. Includes transcripts of the registers and notices
Routledge, J. & Farmer, J. H. (2011). <i>Local Chronology</i> . London: British Library	A British Library Historical Print Edition of extracts from the <i>Kendal Mercury</i> and the <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> since their establishment
Satchell, J. (2001). <i>Kendal's Canal: History, Industry and People</i> . Kendal: Kendal Civic Society	An illustrated guide to the Kendal section of the Lancaster to Kendal canal
Taylor, A. & Martin, J. (Ed.) (2004). <i>The Websters of Kendal: A North-Western Architectural Dynasty</i> . CWAAS Record Series volume 17	A comprehensive study of this regional dynasty of architects, through three generations, whose origins were as a firm of stonemasons. The family were responsible for the design and construction of public buildings, churches, banks, smaller houses and mansions, as well as structures such as bridges, throughout the local and wider region
Whitwell, J & Alderman, J. F. (2011). <i>The Old House of Kendal</i> . London: British Library	A British Library Reprint, the full title of which is <i>The Old House of Kendal or, the Local perambulator. Principally compiled from notes supplied by Mr. Alderman John Fisher. Being a paper read to the members of the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution. Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from the Kendal newspapers of September 8 and 15, 1866</i>
Wilson, E. M. (1980). <i>Much Cry of Kendal Wool: An Anthology (1420-1720)</i> . Kendal: Curwen Archives Trust	An anthology of original records relating to the Kendal wool trade c. 1420-1720, compiled from local and national sources, both historical and literary. With an extensive introduction on the sources and on the Kendal wool trade and Kendal wool men in London and the provinces



## Appendix II: Libraries, Archives and Record Offices

**Libraries:** Cumbria Libraries aim to collect for reference at least one copy of each book and pamphlet whose subject relates to the county of Cumbria. The collections hold tens of thousands of items from as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The main collections include; County histories (compiled from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards); trade directories (late 18<sup>th</sup> century to 1960s); and government and local authority publications. Subject areas include history, natural history, planning, social and economic conditions, literature, biography, sport and genealogy. Cumbria Library Service obtains material on microform, where the originals are not available locally, are too fragile for use or are not published in printed form. Major categories of material in microform include the enumerator's returns for the whole of the area now called Cumbria, for the 1841 to 1901 censuses inclusive; the International Genealogical Index (I.G.I.; and the Saint Catherine's House Index to the Civil Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths in England and Wales from 1837 onwards. Cumbria Local Studies Libraries hold early engraved maps of the county from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards and the main local studies libraries hold the relevant maps for their areas including Ordnance Survey maps from the 1850s, and geological, land use and town centre maps. Carlisle Library has a collection of over 25,000 images depicting town life, rural scenes and the Lake District; over 35,000 digitised historic images can be found on 'Cumbria Image Bank'

<p>Kendal Library</p> <p>Stricklandgate Kendal Cumbria LA9 4PY</p> <p>Opening hours: Monday: 09.30 – 19.00 Tuesday: 09.30 – 17.00 Wednesday: 09.30 – 19.00 Thursday: 09.30 – 17.00 (Restricted access to Local Studies Collection) Friday: 09.30 – 17.00 Saturday: 09.30 – 15.30 Sunday: No access to Local Studies Collection</p> <p>Material in the collections is for reference only but lending copies of some titles are available through the County's lending libraries</p>	<p>Births, Deaths and Marriages, England and Wales Registrar General's Indexes from 1837 – 2003 (microfiche) Ancestry/ Findmypast – access through Cumbria Libraries public computers</p> <p>Census returns 1841 – 1901 Westmorland on fiche 1981 – 1911 via Ancestry/ Findmypast</p> <p>International genealogical index (IGI) 1992 edition for England, Wales and Scotland on microfiche – access to Familysearch through Cumbria Libraries public computers</p> <p>Parish Registers Small number of transcripts and published sources - access to some registers through Cumbria Libraries public computers</p> <p>Directories County and regional directories from 1829 – 1938. Kendal and neighbourhood directories for 1953, 1963, 1965, 1974</p> <p>Unpublished indexes A large proportion of the books are not included in the online catalogue but are listed in an unpublished catalogue within the library Card index for ephemeral files and photographs</p>
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	<p><b>Maps</b> Large selection of Ordnance Survey maps from 1<sup>st</sup> edition, including county series 6" and 25" to 1 mile through to modern day on various scales. Small collection of pre-OS county maps dating back to early 18<sup>th</sup> century in addition to geological, land use and town centre maps</p> <p><b>Photographs</b> A large collection of photographs from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the modern day. Notable collections include the Geoffrey Berry Photograph Archive; works of Moses Bowness and Joseph Hardman; postcards and personal scrapbooks</p> <p><b>Illustrations</b> Kendal Library has a substantial illustrations collection covering Kendal and Westmorland</p> <p><b>Newspapers</b> Newspapers have been published in Cumbria since 1731. Because of the fragility of the originals the newspaper coverage is made available on microfilm Ambleside Herald 1880 – 1887 Cumberland Pacquet 1774 – 1915 Grange Visitor 1875 - 1891 Kendal and County News 1888 - 1899 Kendal Herald 1864 - 1866 Kendal Mercury 1834 - 1917 Kendal Weekly Courant 1731-32 Lakes Herald 1880 – 1916 Newcastle Courant 1711 – 1800 Westmorland Advertiser and Kendal Chronicle 1811 - 1834 Westmorland Gazette 1818 to date</p> <p><b>Journals</b> Large collection of journals and newsletters published by local societies and interest groups</p> <p><b>Ephemeral collection</b> Several thousand items such as handbills, posters, pamphlets, annual reports, newspaper cuttings, and other printed material</p> <p><b>Oral History</b> Kendal Oral History Group has an extensive archive comprising interviews with over two hundred local people. Copies of their recordings are deposited within Kendal Library along with printed transcripts and an index is available as a PDF</p>
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Archives and Records: Cumbria Archive Service has Archive Centres in Barrow, Carlisle, Kendal and Whitehaven. The service holds parish registers, other church records, wills, electoral registers, maps and plans, poor law records, title deeds, and photographs. The service provides places in its centres for consultation of archives in person; an education service for local schools, colleges, students and teachers; information and advice on the preservation and conservation of archives; facilities for official organisations, churches, businesses and members of the public to donate or deposit archives for safe-keeping; and exhibitions and talks on the work of the Archive Service and archives. The archive centres also offer volunteer opportunities.

Cumbria Archive Service has produced catalogues and guides covering: official records, public records, church records, non-official records, family history indexes, and WWI indexes. The centres offer a range of copying/digitisation services, simple document searches free-of-charge, and longer searches according to the appropriate service fee. The service co-publishes volumes in support of local history research.

<p>Kendal Archive Centre Kendal County Offices Kendal Cumbria LA9 4RQ</p> <p>Opening hours: Wednesday-Friday: 9.30-17.00 Some collections require advance ordering</p> <p>The Archive Centre is closed to the public on all other days</p> <p>A County Archive Research Network (CARN) archive reader's ticket is required; these can be issued on initial visit to one of the Archive Centres. Free of charge &amp; valid for four years</p>	<p>Records relating to the Historic County of Westmorland include: Church of England Parishes, Nonconformist Churches, Local Authorities, Civil Parishes, Statutory Bodies, Official records, Businesses and Industries, Families and Landed Estates, Solicitors, Societies and Organisations, Schools, Charities. Significant collections include the archive of Thomas H. Mawson, landscape architect of Lancaster and Windermere, late 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676) of Appleby Castle records including selected accounts, papers, correspondence and her collected MSS in the <i>Great Books of Record</i> (WDCAT/16) and <i>Book of Heraldry</i>; Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall papers, late 17<sup>th</sup> century (WDRY)</p> <p>Other materials include: International Genealogical Index (I.G.I.); Census returns for Westmorland, 1841-1901; Census index for Westmorland 1881; Ordnance Survey maps of Westmorland; Probate records (Deaneries of Kendal and Furness, and Carlisle Consistory Court 1536-1860); Trade Directories</p> <p>Many of these records are available on microfilm/fiche</p> <p>The centre also offers: Two public access computers which allow access to a limited selection of useful websites including the Cumbria Archive Service Catalogue (CASCAT), Ancestry and Find My Past; photocopying facilities; publications for sale; and a research service</p>
<p>Carlisle Archive Centre Lady Gillford`s House Petteril Bank Road Carlisle CA1 3AJ</p> <p>Opening hours: Wednesday-Friday: 9.30-17.00</p>	<p>Although the Kendal office holds the majority of archival material relating to Westmorland, the archive of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle is held in Carlisle office. This collection contains the records collected by William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle and uncle of Joseph Nicholson, co-author with Richard Burn of <i>The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland</i> (1777)</p> <p>Of particular significance are the six bound volumes of manuscripts and papers* accumulated by the antiquarian Thomas Machell in preparation for his own planned, but never realised, county history of his home county (DCHA/11/4); The Fleming Family Papers, including Sir Daniel Fleming's 1671 'Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Furness' (D SEN 14/3/1/1); and the 'Collections for <i>The History and Antiquities of the County of Westmorland</i> by John Hill of Castle Bank, Appleby (d. 1861)' (DCHA/11/11)</p> <p>*A fully calendared list of contents for each volume is available at Cumbria Archives Centre Carlisle</p>

## Data compiled from Cumbria County Council online information pages

<p>Armitt Museum and Library Rydal Rd Ambleside LA22 9BL</p> <p>Opening hours: Tuesday-Saturday 10am-5pm</p>	<p>The Armitt Museum and Library opened in 1912 and is a museum/library/gallery devoted to preserving and sharing the cultural heritage of the Lake District</p> <p>The collections comprise books, documents, maps and images which illuminate the area's social history, industry and culture, providing a research resource for students, academics, artists and genealogists</p> <p>The Local History collection includes a large number of guidebooks from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century onwards, and the Fell and Rock Climbing Club's books on climbing and mountaineering. The collections include items relating to life and work of local writers and artists such as Beatrix Potter and John Ruskin; the Beggars Entry Book for Ambleside; documents relating to the Poor Law, landholding and property records; and an 18<sup>th</sup> century visitors' book for the Salutation Hotel. The photographic collection holds a vast number of locally significant images, prominent amongst which are the c. 17,800 glass photographic plates, largely portraits, representing the life's work of the Brunskill brothers</p> <p>The Library is currently working to make a catalogue of the collections available online. The special collections may be consulted by appointment and the books on open-access shelves may be browsed without appointment</p>
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Data compiled from Armitt Museum and Library online information pages: [http://armitt.com/armitt\\_website/](http://armitt.com/armitt_website/)

<p>University College London Special Collections Library Services University College London Gower Street London WC1E 6BT</p> <p>Material may be consulted by appointment only. The UCL Reading Room is located at the TNA and is open on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 09:00 to 19:00, and on Wednesdays and Fridays from 09:00 to 17:00</p>	<p>The Brougham Estate is medieval in origin and although the first Broughams of Brougham became extinct in 1608, the Brougham Hall estate was reunited under one owner, James Bird, c. 1676. Burn refers to James Bird's 'collection in alphabetical order of matters relating to several townships or manors in Westmorland [including] some inquisitions and other evidences which had not fallen under Mr Machel's inspection' which was 'preserved from oblivion' by Sir Daniel Fleming (Nicholson &amp; Burn, 1777, piv)</p> <p>This collection includes family and estate papers of the Broughams of Brougham Hall, Westmorland, dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to 1932 comprising material relating to the family and their properties, and material of local interest to the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland</p> <p>Various handlists and indexes are available at UCL Special Collections, but much of the material is only 'roughly sorted' and some parts of the collection remain uncatalogued (GB 0103 BROUGHAM)</p>
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Data compiled from UCL Special Collections website: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/special-collections>

## Appendix III: Historical Societies and Local History Groups

Cumberland & Westmoreland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (CWAAS)	<p>CWAAS was founded in 1866 to encourage interest in the history and archaeology of the Historic Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. The Society published material from 1866 onwards and Volume I of the Society's <i>Transactions</i> was published in 1874. The <i>Transactions</i> present the scholarly work of members, and others, on aspects of the heritage of Cumberland and Westmorland. Four Regional Groups (part of CWAAS, but running their own affairs) were set up in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century which were centred around Carlisle, Penrith, Kendal and Egremont; these are now affiliated groups</p> <p>The Society's modern charitable purpose is the advancement of education and culture in the fields of the arts, heritage and science, together with the promotion and coordination of the study of archaeology, history, genealogy, customs and traditions, with special reference to the County of Cumbria</p> <p>The society funds historical and archaeological research with grants to volunteer groups, schools, museums and academic/professional researchers; operates a website with accessible heritage information; supports local historical societies in studying the historical environment; holds study days, lectures and visits; and publishes the <i>Transactions</i>, books and other publications</p> <p>See: <i>Cumbria Past</i> website at: <a href="http://cumbriapast.com/cgi-bin/ms/main.pl?action=home">http://cumbriapast.com/cgi-bin/ms/main.pl?action=home</a> (Accessed between 22/02/2017 &amp; 12/06/2017)</p>
Cumbria County History Trust (CCHT)	<p>CCHT was launched in May 2010 to coordinate and gather resources for the Victoria County History (VCH) of Cumbria. In 2010 Westmorland was then unique in that not a single VCH town or village history had been published for the county; the project is now researching and writing the histories of all parts of Cumbria, from the prehistoric to the present day, within the framework and standards of the VCH. Overseen by staff at the Department of History at Lancaster University, the project is a collaborative community project which has already involved more than one hundred volunteers in the writing of brief histories ("Jubilee Digests") of every one of the 344 parishes and townships in the modern county of Cumbria</p> <p>The main funder of CCHT since its inception has been CWAAS</p> <p>See CCHT website at: <a href="http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/">http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/</a> (Accessed between 22/02/2017 &amp; 12/06/2017)</p>
The Cumbria Family History Society	<p>The Cumbria Family History Society was founded to help its members carry out genealogy researches within the bounds of the old counties of Cumberland and Westmorland and parts of Lancashire and North Yorkshire</p> <p>The publishing programme covers a range of Cumbrian Genealogy topics including the 1851 census, Memorial Inscriptions, Carlisle Marriage Bonds, Probate and Burial Indexes, Place names, Strays, and transcripts of Parish Registers. Regular weekend and one day conferences are held in Cumbria and the society produces a quarterly Newsletter</p> <p>See: <a href="http://cumbriafhs.com/cgi-bin/cumbria/main.pl?action=home">http://cumbriafhs.com/cgi-bin/cumbria/main.pl?action=home</a> (Accessed between 22/02/2017 &amp; 12/06/2017)</p>

Cumbria Industrial History Society and The Cumbria Amenity Trust Mining History Society	<p>Cumbria Industrial History Society (CIHS) was formed in 1985 by members of the CWAAS with a particular interest in industrial history. The regular programme includes meetings, field trips, often to sites normally closed to the public, an annual conference and production of a regular bulletin. The Society is actively involved in the recording and conservation of important sites. Copies of the society's series of occasional papers, 'The Cumbrian Industrialist' is available for reference at Kendal Library and Kendal Archives</p> <p>A sister organisation to CIHS, The Cumbria Amenity Trust Mining History Society (CATMHS) was formed in 1979. Mining history is closely tied to the history of industry, transport and sociology; CATMHS is 'active' in this area and has undertaken original research and exploration, mostly in Cumbria but also in other areas of Britain including Wales and Cornwall. The society publishes a regular newsletter; an occasional journal, 'The Mine Explorer', containing original research and reports on exploration, surveying and conservation projects; books and trail leaflets. The Armitage Museum in Ambleside holds some CATMHS Archive Material</p> <p>See: <a href="http://www.cumbria-industries.org.uk/cumbria-industrial-history-society/">http://www.cumbria-industries.org.uk/cumbria-industrial-history-society/</a> and: <a href="http://www.catmhs.org.uk/">http://www.catmhs.org.uk/</a> (Accessed between 22/02/2017 &amp; 12/06/2017)</p>
Cumbria Local History Federation	<p>The Cumbria Local History Federation (CLHF) has a membership of Cumbrian local history societies, related groups and individuals and seeks to support its members by providing an interchange of information on activities and events. The Federation provides a forum for liaison, a means of cooperation and a capacity for county-wide activities; produces a regular events diary of talks, activities and educational courses; distributes a regular bulletin containing news and information; maintains a list of speakers available for local history talks in Cumbria; compiles a directory of members, with their activities and publications; and organises an Annual Convention for local history</p> <p>See: <a href="http://www.cumbrialocalhistory.org.uk/">http://www.cumbrialocalhistory.org.uk/</a> defunct? (Accessed between 22/02/2017 &amp; 12/06/2017)</p>
Community Groups	<p>A number of community groups have been established to research the local history of some of the towns and districts within Westmorland, including Appleby-in-Westmorland, Kirkby, Longsleddale, North Lonsdale, Shap, and the Upper Eden Valley</p>
Curwen Archives Trust	<p>The Curwen Archives Trust is a charitable organisation established by the will of the late Captain Donald Rigg Curwen of Arncliffe (d. 1968). The terms of Captain Curwen's will provided for his residuary estate to be given on trust to what was then Westmorland County Council. The council were to invest the capital sum and to use the income arising to supplement and advance the work of the archives service in the county. The remit of the Trust is limited to activities relating to the former county of Westmorland and must support 'activities for the public benefit, additional to the work which the Archives Service would normally carry out, and which the Council would normally defray out of its income from rates'. Examples of the types of activities include: research into or concerned with records relating to Westmorland; the provision of lectures, talks, demonstrations, exhibitions and similar activities concerned with such records; and the publication of books and papers relating to aspects of history or culture of the area</p> <p>See: <a href="https://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/services/archivesgrants.asp">https://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/services/archivesgrants.asp</a></p>



## Appendix IV: Online/Digital Resources

<p>Ambleside Oral History Archive  <a href="http://www.aohg.org.uk/">www.aohg.org.uk/</a></p>	<p>Searchable database of all transcripts</p> <p>Ambleside Oral History Group began recording in 1976 and has an archive of over 450 interviews capturing memories from the 1880's onward. Topics include: bell ringing, blacksmiths, bobbin mills, choirs, childhood and education, domestic service, farming and country life, health and doctors, hiring fairs, hound trails, hunting, local industry and commerce, Mountain Rescue, Observer Corps, quarrying, rock climbing, transport, sport and recreation, World Wars I &amp; II</p>
<p>Clergy of the Church of England Database</p> <p>Accessed 23/05/2017 at:</p> <p><a href="http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/reference/diocesan-resources/a-z-list-of-dioceses/carlisle-diocese-resources/carlisle-bibliography/">http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/reference/diocesan-resources/a-z-list-of-dioceses/carlisle-diocese-resources/carlisle-bibliography/</a></p>	<p>The Carlisle Diocese Bibliography Webpage lists publications relevant to the diocese many published by CWAAS</p> <p>Bouch, C. M. L. (1947). 'The muniments of the diocese of Carlisle', CWAAS Transactions, ns, 46, pp174–90</p> <p>Bouch, C. M. L. (1948). <i>Prelates and People of the Lake Counties. A History of the Diocese of Carlisle 1133–1933</i>. Kendal: Titus Wilson</p> <p>Bouch, C. M. L. (1950). 'The Visitation Articles of Bishop Robinson, 1612', CWAAS Transactions, ns, 49, pp148–55</p> <p>Brain, T. J. (1994). 'Richard Watson: Westmoreland 'statesman'?', CWAAS Transactions, 94, pp171–200</p> <p>Burgess, J. (1984). <i>The Lake Counties and Christianity. The Religious History of Cumbria 1780–1920</i>. Carlisle: private print</p> <p>Butler, L. A. S., ed. (1998). 'The Cumbria Parishes 1714–1725 from Bishop Gastrell's Notitia with Additions by Bishop Porteus 1778–1779'. Kendal: CWAAS, 12</p> <p>Clark, M. A. (1996). 'Reformation in the Far North: Cumbria and the Church, 1500–1571', in: <i>Northern History</i>, 32, pp75–89</p> <p>Clark, M. A. (2001). 'Contrasting Clerics: Two Tudor Bishops of Carlisle', CWAAS Transactions, 3.1, pp69–77</p> <p>Ferguson, R. S. (1889). <i>Carlisle</i>. London: SPCK Diocesan Histories</p> <p>James, F. G. (1956). <i>North Country Bishop. A Biography of William Nicholson</i>. London: Yale Historical Publications</p> <p>Mawson, D. J. W. (1988). 'Dr Hugh Todd's Account of the Diocese of Carlisle' in CWAAS Transactions, 88, pp206–24</p> <p>Platt, J. (2015), <i>The Diocese of Carlisle, 1814–1855: Chancellor Walter Fletcher's 'Diocesan Book', with additional material from Bishop Percy's Parish Notebooks</i>. Woodbridge: Boydell, for Surtees Society and CWAAS</p>
<p>Cumbria County History Trust (CCHT)  <a href="http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/">http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/</a></p>	<p>A growing online resource for the history of Cumbria which supports the VCH Cumbria Project.</p> <p>The 'Background Papers' section of the website provides information and articles on a growing range of historical themes including, for example, 'Superior Lordship: The Barony of Kendal', 'Early Large-Scale maps from Cumbria: Edward VI to James I', and 'Westmorland Hospitals'. The 'Gallery' contains thousands of photos and scans of old maps and prints which are available for download</p>
<p>Cumbria image bank  <a href="http://www.cumbriaimagebank.org.uk/">http://www.cumbriaimagebank.org.uk/</a></p>	<p>A collection of digital images created using original material from Cumbria County Council Libraries and Archives Service and images sent in by members of the public. Contains 32,000 images, dating back to the mid-eighteenth century, covering the whole of Cumbria</p>
<p>Cumbrian Manorial Records  <a href="http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/index.htm">http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/index.htm</a></p>	<p>An online searchable Manorial Documents Register for the historic counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands. Maintained by TNA</p> <p>The Cumbrian Manorial Records website aims to provide practical guidance to users of manorial records</p>

Eden Links <a href="http://www.edenlinks.co.uk/EDENLINKS.HTM">http://www.edenlinks.co.uk/EDENLINKS.HTM</a>	A website for genealogists researching in the Vale of Eden. Contains a history of each parish in Westmorland; trade directory information; photographs; a Transcriptions Index including Hearth Tax, Window Tax, Constables Census; a miscellany of information about the Bell, Atkinson, and Carruthers families of Cumberland; Land Tax returns from c 1666; and extracts from sources for History and Family information
GENUKI <a href="http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/WES/">http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/WES/</a>	A virtual reference library of genealogical information which provides county-specific information on archives & libraries, cemeteries, census returns, church records, civil registration, description & travel, directories & gazetteers, genealogy, towns & parishes, inventories, land & property, manors, maps, personal names, newspapers, occupations, poor houses, poor law etc., population, probate records, societies and taxation
Hearth Tax Online <a href="http://hearthtax.org.uk/communities/westmorland/index.html">http://hearthtax.org.uk/communities/westmorland/index.html</a>	Centre for Hearth Tax Research, Roehampton University, the project holds data for householders in late 17 <sup>th</sup> century England based upon the Hearth Tax returns. Includes Transcripts of documents, exemption certificates, statistical maps, statistical analysis, and historical analysis
Historic Environment Record <a href="https://historicengland.org.uk/">https://historicengland.org.uk/</a>	Searchable version of the HER. The interactive map allows for searches at a particular location; 'Current Layers' facility can produce distribution maps by period; and 'Search Tools' can be used to look for particular site types
Manorial Documents Register <a href="http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archive/s-sector/finding-records-in-discovery-and-other-databases/manorial-documents-register/">http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archive/s-sector/finding-records-in-discovery-and-other-databases/manorial-documents-register/</a>	An index to English and Welsh manorial records, providing brief descriptions of documents and details of their locations in public and private hands. Manorial records include court rolls, surveys, maps, terriers and all other documents relating to the boundaries, franchises, wastes, customs or courts of a manor
National Register of Archives <a href="http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/">www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/</a>	Guide to major holdings of family, business, and associational papers
Portcullis <a href="http://www.portcullis.parliament.uk">http://www.portcullis.parliament.uk</a>	Online gateway to the Parliamentary Archives. Includes Acts for improving and enclosure of commons, and for maintaining roads, for example, and the <i>Protestation Returns</i> , the closest record to a census from 1642
University of Leicester Special Collections <a href="http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16445coll4">http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16445coll4</a>	A searchable collection of digitised historical trade directories covering England and Wales from the 1760s to the 1910s including Kelly's Directories, Post Office Directories, Bulmer's <i>History &amp; Directory of Westmorland</i> , Pigot and Co.'s <i>National Commercial Directory</i>
UK Genealogy Archives <a href="http://ukga.org/england/Westmorland/index.html#36">http://ukga.org/england/Westmorland/index.html#36</a>	Information relating to Archives and Libraries, Civil Registration, List of Registration Districts in Westmorland from 1837 to 1974, Directories & Gazetteers, Historical Geography, A listing of the Wards and parishes and Maps, and a digitised copy of the <i>Comprehensive Gazetteer of England and Wales, 1894-5</i>
VCH Cumbria <a href="http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/sites/default/files/Handbook_Second_Edition.pdf">http://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/sites/default/files/Handbook_Second_Edition.pdf</a>	Victoria County History (Cumbria) Project (2 <sup>nd</sup> edition). A guide produced by Lancaster University and Cumbria County History Trust to assist volunteers in researching and writing parish or township histories for the VCH Cumbria
VCH Westmorland <a href="https://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/counties/westmorland">https://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/counties/westmorland</a>	VCH Cumbria is a collaborative community/university project created in 2010 to research and write the histories of all parts of Cumbria, and to make historical information generally available, within the framework and standards of the Victoria County History of England. As it is prepared, material will be published on the VCH web site by the County Editor but no volumes have been published for Westmoreland to date
A Vision of Britain Through Time <a href="http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/">http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/</a>	Historical maps, statistical trends and historical descriptions, census reports and travel writings
Window Tax <a href="http://edenlinks.rootsweb.ancestry.com/1gp/RECORDS/WIN_TAX_SW.HTM">http://edenlinks.rootsweb.ancestry.com/1gp/RECORDS/WIN_TAX_SW.HTM</a>	The Window Tax South Westmorland of 1777. Searchable by name and by place