

Victoria County History of Cumbria

Volunteers' Handbook



Fourth Edition (September 2019)

Copyright Lancaster University and Cumbria County History Trust

Victoria County History of Cumbria Project
Department of History
Bowland College
Lancaster University
Lancaster, LA1 4YT
Email: s.rose2@lancaster.ac.uk

Contents

Welcome	4
Section A: Getting Started	5
Section B: Researching Your Article	9
1. Landscape, Settlement and Buildings	11
2. Landownership	22
3. Economic History	32
4. Social History	48
5. Religious History	61
6. Local Government	77
Section C: Preparing Your Draft Article	83
1. What to aim for	83
2. Submitting your article	86
3. Citing your sources	89
4. Standard abbreviations	94
Section D: Checklist of Essential Sources	99

Welcome

Welcome to this Handbook for volunteers researching and writing parish or township histories for the Victoria County History of Cumbria. We hope that the following pages will act as an essential toolkit to guide you as you undertake your research. The Handbook contains guidance on all aspects of researching and writing the history of a parish or township for the VCH Cumbria project. Much of the advice contained within can be found on the VCH national website in the online guide to 'Writing a Parish History' (<https://www.history.ac.uk/research/victoria-county-history/writing-vch>). We have complemented the national guidance by drawing attention to sources and themes of particular relevance to the history of local communities in Cumbria.

The Handbook is divided into four sections:

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

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

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

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

Good luck with your research!

Section A: Getting Started

1. Before you start:

- A. Discuss your article with the Assistant Editor to make sure that you are clear how the area to be covered by your article is defined for VCH purposes (whether it is a single township or the whole of an ancient parish, for example).
- B. Take a look at the relevant page for the place you are studying on the Cumbria County History Trust website. This will provide a quick overview of its history and ought to identify the institutions (places of worship, schools etc.) within the boundaries of your parish/township.
- C. Please **do not** embark on research without first contacting the Assistant Editor, to make sure that no one else is already working on an article for the same place.

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

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

If you would prefer to work as a member of a group, please contact the Assistant Editor as soon as possible: it will probably take time to set up a group. If working in a group, take a look at the separate briefing paper on 'Working Together: Guidance for Research Groups', available under the 'Resources' page on the project website.

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

3. First steps

- A. Identify your key sources. The first task should be to draw up a list of sources, both published and manuscript. The 'Checklist of Essential Sources' (pp. 99-107) includes most of the core sources that are likely to be available for most places – and you will need to work your way through the indexes to these as your research progresses. However, you also need to be aware of other sources which

relate to your parish/township in particular. Use the databases listed under 'Preliminary Finding Aids' (p.99) to draw up a bibliography specific to the place you are researching. This will include both published work and archives held both locally and elsewhere. You should also search for other published studies on the history of your parish or township, including local histories and articles in scholarly journals – searching the Lancaster University Library Catalogue (<http://onesearch.lancaster.ac.uk/>) by the name of the place in question ought to yield quick results here. The Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (CWAAS) can also be searched via the society website: <http://cumbriapast.com>

- B. Take a walk! Whether or not you know the place you are researching intimately, we suggest that you explore it on foot with a large-scale (1:25,000 or, even better, Six-Inch) map in your hand early in your research. Buildings (particularly the inscriptions they sometimes carry) can be read as historical sources, as can churchyards and other cemeteries. Get a feel of the lie of the land, patterns of land use, the layout of tracks and roads. Where you can, follow the parish/township boundary (are there boundary stones or other markers?). Much can be gained by looking – and knowing the landscape can often be vital in helping to interpret documentary sources.
- C. Plan your line of attack. If you read this Handbook from cover to cover you may end up feeling out-faced! VCH research is demanding, both in its breadth and the depth that is required. As so often in a complex project, the solution lies in breaking the task into manageable portions, so, once you have completed the initial searches, start by focusing on one of the sections of the article. Which one you choose is up to you (though we suggest that you leave the Introduction until the end) – there is something to be said for starting with Landownership, as establishing the outlines of landownership across the centuries will almost certainly help when it comes to other sections, particularly Economic History and Local Government.
- D. Decide how you are going to keep your research notes. We ask you to retain (and eventually to archive) your research notes and other raw materials (such as photocopies of documents) in either hard copy or electronic form, so that there will be a paper (or 'e-paper') trail back to the primary sources from which your

article has been built. The working papers and research notes will remain your private property but we may well need to consult them during the editorial process. Before you start work in earnest, decide on a system – it might be helpful to think in terms of keeping a file (whether physical or electronic) for each section of your article, together with a file for sources which provide evidence for more than one section.

4. Ground rules: research discipline

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

- Honour your commitment to the project. If circumstances prevent you from completing a task you have offered to undertake, please let the Assistant Editor know as early as possible, so that someone else can take the work on.
- Avoid treading on the toes of fellow volunteers: please check with the Assistant Editor before you embark on your research to make sure that the place or topic has not already been assigned to someone else (particularly important if you are working as part of a team).
- Always adhere to good practice when using archive sources. Follow the Search Room rules for users of archives in record offices, remembering that these may vary in detail from one repository to another.
- Before approaching owners of records in private ownership, please check with the Project Director or Assistant Editor, who will be able to advise and to provide a letter of introduction if one is needed. When consulting private archives, do nothing which might in any way damage the reputation of the project or the Trust. The wishes of archive owners in relation to handling and copying of documents should always be respected.

5. Time frame

The VCH has been going for 120 years, so don't feel that you must complete your article by the end of next month! Conversely, try to avoid relaxing into such a slow pace that progress grinds to a halt. Researching and writing for the VCH is painstaking, methodical work and you must give yourself time for checking, pursuing leads and – importantly –

thinking and digesting your material. We suggest that you discuss the time frame in which you'll work on your article when you embark on it and monitor progress at regular intervals. As a guideline, a volunteer putting in, say, a day or two per week should probably expect to complete the draft of an article for a rural parish or township in around a year.

Section B: Researching Your Article

The following notes provide guidance for researching each section of a VCH parish or township history for the VCH Cumbria project. Much of it is taken from the national VCH parish history template: <https://www.history.ac.uk/research/victoria-county-history/writing-vch>

The guidance notes on the pages below complement the national guidelines by drawing attention to specific sources for Cumbria and to distinctive aspects of Cumbrian local history with which you will need to be familiar when you embark on your research.

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

1. Introduction (including boundaries, landscape, communications, population, settlement and built character)
2. Landownership
3. Economic History
4. Social History
5. Religious History
6. Local Government

The guidance in this Handbook is addressed to those researching and writing articles on rural parishes and townships, as these will form the vast majority of the articles in Cumbria.

Articles for towns will be longer and have a somewhat different structure – guidance for volunteers working on the history of urban settlements will be given separately.

Townships and parishes

One distinctive feature of Cumbria's history which affects the arrangement of VCH articles for the county is the frequent lack of coincidence between the boundaries of ancient ecclesiastical parishes and those of the unit of civil administration, the township or 'constablewick'. In Cumbria some ancient ecclesiastical parishes covered vast areas, embracing numerous townships, each of which often functioned as a discrete local community, coinciding with a separate manor or estate.

We are using the civil parishes as they existed around 1900 as the basis for dividing the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland into units for the preparation of articles. Some civil parishes (particularly in the Cumberland lowlands) were the successors to entire ancient parishes; others (especially in Westmorland) represented single townships. As a consequence, some articles for VCH Cumbria will deal with what was historically a single township, while others will deal with the whole of an ancient parish.

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

1. Landscape, Settlement and Buildings

Aims and approach

This chapter previously formed the core of the traditional VCH 'Parish Introduction', but to give it more weight it has now been elevated into a chapter in its own right. The primary purpose remains the same: to give a sense of the general character of the parish with particular regard to its topography, its physical characteristics, the layout and nature of its settlements, and the development of the human landscape. Though focusing on topography, it should aim to provide a clear and coherent framework for the article as a whole, tying in where possible (in the case of buildings, for example) with themes explored in subsequent chapters. As in all chapters, particular attention should be given to changes over time.

The account should be structured thematically under the following sub-headings:

- Description and Location
- Boundaries and Parish Origins
- Landscape
- Communications
- Population
- Settlement
- The Built Character

Note that a map of the parish or township (preferably incorporating some historic landscape reconstruction based on e.g. tithe or early estate maps) forms an integral part of VCH parish histories. As this chapter focuses on topography and landscape the map will form a crucial element, and where possible should be drafted (or at least planned in outline) alongside the writing of the text. An overly detailed description of boundaries, for example, is made unnecessary by their clear delineation on the map.

1. Description and Location

The purpose of this short introduction (one or two paragraphs) is to place the parish in its geographical setting, give some sense of its general character, and highlight any particularly significant or unusual features.

Mention should be made of:

- its location (for instance, on uplands or in a river valley)
- its size at the time of writing or at a particular date (in acres and hectares)

- its proximity (or otherwise) to major settlements or roads
- its predominant social character both now and in the past
- its religious character if especially important (e.g. as a regional focus of Roman Catholic recusancy)
- any particularly significant buildings, industries, individuals, or events.

Besides setting the scene, it should aim to draw the reader in and to flag some of the main themes developed in later chapters. If a parish contained more than one settlement (including significant deserted settlements), then this should be made clear.

In VCH Shorts the introductory paragraph(s) may need to be slightly fuller, in order to place the parish fully in context. For parish histories conceived as part of a Red Book, much of the general context will have already been given in the volume introduction.

The place name may be alluded to here, although depending on its meaning and significance it may be better discussed under boundaries, landscape, or settlement.

To convert acres to hectares: acreage multiplied by 0.4047
Please round the figure up or down to the nearest whole number as appropriate.

2. Boundaries and Parish Origins

The purpose of this section is twofold: (1) to define clearly the area under discussion, and to summarise subsequent boundary changes; (2) where possible, to offer some brief comment on how and when the parish or township first emerged as an independent territorial unit.

Key information under (1) includes:

- The shape and acreage of the area enclosed - did it form a compact block, was it sharply or ambiguously defined (e.g. running through open fields), were there detached areas and if so why?
- The nature of the boundaries: especially whether they follow identifiable natural or manmade features. Some Cumbrian townships were subdivided for certain purposes, e.g. highway maintenance. These should be discussed in detail in the Local Government section but should be mentioned here.
- Boundary changes up to the time of writing (giving modern acreages where these differ substantially from the earlier area). Try to ensure that your material is as up to date as possible, if necessary by approaching the parish or district council for advice over post-1974 boundaries.

Basic information on boundaries and acreage is available from printed Census reports, OS maps (with the accompanying 19th-century 'books of reference'), and the 2001-11 online census. Tithe maps (and sometimes enclosure or estate maps) provide crucial evidence for earlier boundaries. District and parish councils can usually provide information on very recent boundary changes.

In the absence of early maps, perambulations, or charters, evidence may be hard to come by. Research for Religious History and Landownership should, however, help to determine whether the parish's medieval extent was broadly similar to that mapped in the 19th century.

3. Landscape

This section (usually one to two paragraphs) should give a concise overview of the parish's physical geography including geology, soils, relief, and drainage, providing a context for everything which follows. It should complement (but not duplicate) the sections on Settlement (below) and The Agricultural Landscape (see Economic History): the latter is the place for more detailed discussion of the changing 'human' landscape (including open fields, enclosures, common waste, woodland, and parks), but key features should be highlighted here and cross-referenced. Other major modern types of land use (e.g. golf courses, airfields, reservoirs, forestry plantations, wind farms) should also be mentioned.

Relief (including the parish's height above sea level) should be briefly described and characterised, with some brief indication of how this has affected settlement and land use. The presence or absence of surface water should be noted, with cross references where appropriate. Underlying geology should be summarised in relation to landform, land use, and settlement, mentioning any exploitation for building material or for raw material for industry. Take note of both the 'solid' (or bedrock) and 'drift' geology (i.e. superficial deposits such as clay, sand, gravel or peat), but avoid being over-technical.

Sources for Landscape

For geology the key source is the Geological Survey maps of Great Britain, available in printed form and on the British Geological Survey website (www.bgs.ac.uk: go to the 'Geology of Britain viewer', which has a search facility).

Modern soil categorizations can be viewed at www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes (hosted by the National Soil Resources Institute (NSRI) at the University of Cranfield), which should be complemented by the historical information on soils and land use assembled for

Economic History. You can also use the Soil Survey of England & Wales 1:250,000 map, sheet 1 (Northern England) and the accompanying volume, R. A. Jarvis et al, *Soils and their Use in Northern England* (Harpenden: Soil Survey of England & Wales Bulletin No. 10, 1984). For places in Cumberland, some of the topographical descriptions in *Thomas Denton: a Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688* provide a vivid glimpse of soil and farming types as perceived by a 17th-century commentator.

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

4. Communications

The focus should be on how communications linked the parish or township to its neighbours, to larger settlements, and to local and more distant markets. Cartographic evidence (Ordnance Survey maps and the older county maps) is the starting point, supplemented by documentary and (sometimes) archaeological evidence. The main topics (with subheadings depending on the amount of material) are likely to be:

Roads:

- Give a brief description of the main roads through the parish both now and in the past, including any early diversions.
- Fords, bridges, and ferries belong here, since they generally relate to road- rather than to water communications. Where possible date the building and rebuilding of bridges.
- Give the date of and describe the route of any turnpike roads, noting when they were disturnpiked in the later 19th century.
- Provide details of any older, lost roads.
- Mention routes which formed or marked parish boundaries.
- Mention modern roads such as motorways which pass through the parish, even if they do not have direct access.
- Lesser access lanes within the parish should be mentioned in summary form, particularly where they linked settlements or led to shared agricultural resources.

Water transport:

- Give details and any early references to wharfs or locks on rivers or estuaries. Direct evidence of goods imported or exported by water may be best discussed under Economic History – but if so should be alluded to here with a cross reference.
- Where relevant, mention the building of canals through the parish, including any wharfs or basins. Unfulfilled schemes should also be mentioned.
- For coastal settlements, mention any early evidence for anchorages, harbours, or ports (major harbours will be discussed under Economic History).

Railways:

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

Post, carriers, buses, and telecommunications:

- Give summary information on 18th or 19th-century carriers, including destinations and frequency of service. (These are usually listed in Trades Directories.)
- Gives dates of post offices with a brief summary of the services they offered (e.g. money orders, telegraph).
- Brief details may also be given of: regular bus services and how these have changed over time; the date of the earliest telephone service; the date when broadband internet services became available.

5. Population

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

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

It should be noted that pre-Census sources vary in giving numbers of tenants, of taxpayers, of adult males, or of houses, and that many figures are likely to be under-estimates (e.g. through tax evasion or omission of landless inhabitants and servants). These difficulties and disparities should be deftly flagged in the form of words used, and some attempt made to assess whether population was rising, falling, or stagnating, rather than simply parroting raw data. Parish registers may help to identify periods of exceptionally high mortality.

Several sources of historical population data for Cumbria have been collated and made available on the CCHT website: www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/population

6. Settlement

This important VCH section should provide a chronological overview of the development of settlement in the parish from prehistory to the present day, and will usually be subdivided along chronological lines. Where a parish contained several villages or hamlets it is usually best to deal with each one separately, although in areas of dispersed settlement it will clearly not be possible to deal with every farmstead, hamlet, or cluster. The main foci, often located by greens or at road junctions, should nevertheless be mentioned, along with their terminal dates and some indication of their relative size. The influence on settlement of landscape and geology, of changing economic fortunes, and of centralised planning (whether medieval or modern) should be highlighted where

appropriate, with cross references to the relevant sections. So, too, should evidence of the parish's social geography (e.g. concentrations of high- or low-status inhabitants in particular areas), which can be picked up in Social History.

The choice of chronological subdivisions will (as in most sections) be dictated partly by the history of the place in question, and by how much there is to say. The Settlement section should, however, include:

- Introduction and some general opening statements about the overall settlement pattern, and about key changes over time: e.g. whether settlement is dispersed or nucleated; whether there are any deserted or shrunken settlements; whether there has been substantial 19th- or 20th-century growth. This may have already been partially flagged in the introductory paragraph to the parish history.
- Prehistoric to Anglo-Saxon Settlement (which may be further subdivided according to the amount of information, e.g. separating Iron-Age or Roman). The section will be chiefly based on the archaeological data contained in county Historic Environment Records (HERs, most easily searched through www.heritagegateway.org.uk or <https://www.pastscape.org.uk>), the Portable Antiquities Scheme (<https://finds.org.uk>), and published archaeological reports. For some parishes there may be nothing but a few stray finds; where possible, however, the location, date, and character of any early settlement should be summarised and related to later settlement patterns, highlighting any continuities between periods. A distinction should be made throughout between stray finds, landscape features such as barrows, and evidence of actual habitation.
- Medieval and Early Modern Settlement. In an area of nucleated settlement, this should include some discussion of the origin of the village and of its early topography, including the location of the church, the manor house, and any surviving medieval or early modern buildings. Questions to bear in mind include:
 - Does the village layout show evidence of medieval planning (e.g. regular house plots or a market area), or of late medieval shrinkage (e.g. modern settlement isolated from the church)?
 - Is it focused on a green or an important early route or road junction?
 - Do 13th-century peasant bynames mention village features (e.g. a cross, churchyard, road bend, or stream), or suggest fringe settlement (e.g. Richard Abovetown)?

- Did the pattern change during the later Middle Ages, reflecting demographic change and possibly enclosure?

Outlying or dispersed settlement may be traceable through field or farm names, personal bynames, early deeds and manorial surveys, or archaeology. Where a parish or township encompassed a variety of landscapes it may have contained both nucleated and dispersed settlement, a contrast which should be described and explained, and whose implications may be picked up in other sections.

- o Settlement from the 18th to 21st Centuries, chronologically organized and subdivided. This should take account of the wider context: e.g. the impact of enclosure (Parliamentary or otherwise), which may have created new outlying farms; the influence of new roads or turnpikes; general population change; and 19th- and 20th-century decline or (conversely) expansion and gentrification.

Please note:

- Buildings should be mentioned insofar as they provide evidence of settlement, with some indication of their general character (e.g. new cottage rows, areas of new upmarket housing, or areas of 20th-century council housing, with precise dates where possible). New public buildings (e.g. 19th-century schools or chapels) should be alluded to, although the architectural discussion of buildings belongs in the following 'Built Character' section (see below).
- Discussion of 20th-century settlement will be the most appropriate place to mention the arrival of gas, electricity, and piped water, even if the politics of this is picked up separately in Social History or Local Government.
- Key sources include maps (including 18th-century county maps, tithe maps, and OS); standing buildings; census enumerators' books from 1841; and modern planning reports, which are often available in county record offices or online.

Sources for Settlement

The following topics should be included in this section:

Archaeological evidence. For pre-medieval settlement should be summarised but not discussed in great detail. If, for example, there are physical remains of prehistoric field systems or Romano-British 'native' settlements, the location and suggested chronology

of these should be summarised and their relationship to the medieval settlement pattern described. The Historic Environment Record will be a key source here: remember that there are separate HERs for the Lake District National Park and the remainder of the county of Cumbria.

Medieval and early modern settlement pattern. Start with the place-name evidence. The earliest reference to the name of a farm or hamlet provides a *terminus ante quem*, at least, particularly when it is used as a habitative surname, confirming that people lived there – such occurrences are marked ‘p’ in the county place-name surveys. For the earliest reference to particular settlements (and the interpretation of their-names), use the standard works of reference, namely:

- A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton and Bruce Dickens, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, English Place-Name Society Vols XX-XXII (Cambridge, 1950-52) [cite as *PNC*]
- H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, English Place-Name Society Vols XLII-XLIII (Cambridge, 1967) [cite as *PNW*]
- Whaley, *Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Regional Series 1 (Nottingham, 2006) [cite as *Dict. LDPN*]
- **Do not use older place-name studies, nor popular works!**

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

Settlement change 1750-1850. You may have to rely on estate records and title deeds, in the absence of cartographic sources. Remember that the Land Tax schedules (surviving from c.1780 to 1832) can be useful to identify and date the building of villas and other private residences in rural areas. The printed county maps by Thomas Jeffreys (for Westmorland, 1770), Thomas Donald (for Cumberland, 1774) and William Yates (for Lancashire, 1786) are sufficiently detailed to be useful in establishing the pattern of settlement in the later 18th century.

Settlement change from mid-19th century to early-mid-20th century. This can be traced in outline from the tithe plans and successive editions of Six Inch (1:10,560) and, more particularly, Twenty-Five Inch (1:2,500) maps. For the details, other sources, such as title

deeds and the 1910 Valuation records (particularly the 'Field Books' in TNA, IR58) should be consulted.

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

7. Built Environment

This section should provide a broad chronological and thematic overview of the parish's built environment, using individual buildings as illustrative examples. Manor houses, clergy houses, and churches will be more fully described in the relevant chapters (see Landownership and Religious History), but should be alluded to here and cross referenced. In order to set the buildings in context, cross references will probably be needed to Population, Economic History, and Social History.

The section should include:

- A. a general introductory statement of the parish's built character, including:
 - predominant building materials, and how far these were locally sourced;
 - the approximate date range of surviving buildings;
 - their predominant social types (e.g. small rubble cottages, large 18th-century brick farmhouses, 'polite' or architect-designed houses incorporating classical features, standard-design 1950s council houses).
 - Is the built character typical of the area, or does it display unusual characteristics reflecting particular aspects of the place's history?

- B. A general discussion of the parish's most characteristic building types, illustrated with specific examples, and related so far as possible to the parish's wider social and economic history. Though this should have a strong chronological dimension and should aim to identify changes over time, it may be helpful to group some building types thematically: e.g. labourers' accommodation, substantial 17th- and 18th-century houses built for prosperous yeomen or gentry, and farm or industrial buildings.

Besides standing buildings, it may be helpful to draw on evidence of demolished buildings where these are sufficiently well documented or illustrated. The discussion should incorporate documentary sources such as probate inventories and the hearth tax, to form some assessment of the average size, status, and layout of domestic buildings in the past. (This may also be picked up in Social History.)

Particularly significant buildings may be described in slightly more detail, although the section should not be used as a dumping ground for a series of disparate 'potted building histories'. Reference should be made to farm and industrial buildings as well as housing. These may be subsequently picked up in Economic History (e.g. large 18th-century barns as indicators of large-scale crop growing or general prosperity).

Due weight should be given to 20th-century buildings (including modern council housing) and the extent to which these have altered the tone or feel of the place. Where these are of standard design and of little architectural merit, a simple statement to that effect will suffice; some early council housing was designed by well known architects, however, who sometimes adopted a semi-vernacular style in keeping with existing buildings.

Key sources

- Buildings themselves
- Online Listed Buildings descriptions (not always reliable for dating or interiors).
- The Pevsner Buildings of England series
- Building reports in the Historic England archive at Swindon and in some HERs.
- The field books produced by Valuation Offices under the 1910 Finance Act (TNA, IR 58) sometimes contain detailed sketch plans of individual houses and outbuildings, detailing building materials and room use.
- Vernacular Architecture routinely publishes details of dendro-dated buildings.
- Photographs and topographical drawings are an essential source not only for lost buildings but for changes to existing ones.

2. Landownership

Aims and approach

This chapter, formerly described as the ‘Descent of the Manor’ and latterly entitled ‘Manors and Estates’, should provide an overview of the development of patterns of landownership and landholding across the parish from the earliest evidence down to the time of writing. The chapter should begin with an overall picture of landownership in the parish/township. Each major unit of landholding should then be traced in turn, dealing first with the manor(s), followed by other sizable estates. It is perhaps the most closely prescribed and focused of all the chapters in a VCH parish history – and one of the most important, as landownership underpins so many other aspects of local history. The extensive and detailed research that is needed in order to provide the authoritative reconstruction of landholding patterns and the descent of individual estates required for the VCH ought not to be under-estimated. The key principle of VCH research is especially relevant here: the account should be based wherever possible on primary sources. Avoid, unless absolutely necessary, antiquarian works or unreferenced secondary works. Note that the guidance below is intended to apply to a rural, predominately agricultural, parish.

The chapter should be arranged under the following sub-headings:

- Pattern of Landownership
- Manors and Principal Estates
- Other Estates

1. Pattern of Landownership

This opening section introduces the chapter and should:

- Identify how many manors there were in the parish and whether the pattern remained stable.
- Provide an account of the overall structure of landholding in the parish – whether it was dominated by a single manorial lord or a patchwork of smaller manors and estates, for example. Any change to this structure, such as that caused by the Dissolution of a monastic landowner or more gradual changes should be described here.
- Indicate the place of the manor(s) in the feudal hierarchy, noting any affiliation to an honour or barony and evidence of intermediate lordship and its impact on the parish.

Where the history of an estate is identical or similar to that of others in the vicinity, thought should be given to where the primary discussion of the descent is placed. In a Red Book, the fact should be noted in the volume introduction and the descent given in detail only once, on its first appearance. Any variation, or evidence specific to the manor should be noted in the Landownership chapter of the parish concerned. In a VCH 'Short', however, the relationship between landownership in the parish and that in neighbouring parishes should be noted as it provides valuable context in understanding this parish in relation to its neighbours. A summary of the descent should be given.

2. Manors and Principal Estates

This section should treat both genuine manors (i.e. estates showing the legal characteristics of a manor and administrative features such as courts), and significant later accumulations of landed property whether styled a manor or not. After the abolition of manorial tenures in 1925, all landed estates effectively became the latter.

In each case, the account should begin with the earliest reference and with some indication of the manor's or estate's origins, size, importance, and, where possible, location. Where the latter is known, it is worth indicating the size of the manor's holdings within the parish and whether they formed a compact block or were scattered. Where possible, the size of the demesne should be indicated (without going into the history of demesne farming; that will come in the Economic History chapter).

The descent of the lordship or ownership of each manor or estate should be traced from the earliest record (often Domesday Book) to the time of writing. Where the lord of a manor sold his/her demesne and ceased to have a landed presence in the parish/township – in other words, where the nominal lordship came to be divorced from the landed estate – the lordship need only be traced where the lord maintained some personal link with the parish in which his nominal lordship lay, such as the advowson of the parish church. If the demesne remained as a substantial estate after such a sale, it is the descent of the estate which should be pursued here, rather than the lordship, bringing it down to the present day (or until it was broken up).

When preparing accounts of the descent of a manor or estate, note that:

- Even where the descent of lordship/ownership happens to be identical, each estate should be treated individually.
- Descents should be presented chronologically continuing to the present. Ideally, each lord/owner should be named and the date they acquired and relinquished their interest recorded.

- Mechanisms of transfer, i.e., familial descent, sale and purchase, escheat to the Crown, transfer via trustees of feoffees are an important feature of VCH work and should always be included where known.
- Biographical detail of individual lords should be kept to an illustrative minimum. It can be useful to demonstrate the relative importance of the estate under discussion as part of their overall landholdings.
- If, for example, an estate was an outlier to other estates or the business/political or administrative interests and responsibilities of the manorial lord are noteworthy – as for example, seneschal of Aquitaine or a member of parliament – then it is important to give this detail.

Gaps in knowledge should be clearly identified.

Main Features of the Manor

Where evidence exists, this section should include a brief mention of any or all of the following, with more details given under Economic History:

- The capital messuage: the residence (manor house); fishponds; dovecotes; barns; granary; stables and animal sheds
- The demesne: the lord's own land (usually a single unit with arable, pasture and meadow) including the lord's own food grown and profits made from grain and livestock sales.
- Tenure: land let to tenants (copyhold) and tenants/peasants working the land in return for rent and/or labour services
- Physical and jurisdictional rights: namely, markets and fairs, warrens (rabbit warrens and 'free warren'), fisheries and marshes (several and common), commons, mineral rights, parks, woods (several and common), and mills (water and wind)
- Manor Court: Court Leet and Court Baron
- Church: patronage and advowson

Manor houses

Each descent should be rounded off by noting the existence and location of any manor house together with an architectural account of its historic development (where known) and present state (if applicable). Indicate its location and note features associated with the manor house complex, such as court houses, agricultural buildings, dovecotes, and fishponds. What is the earliest reference to the manor house? If the lord was not resident, was the manor house let out? The architectural account should aim to identify the age of the structure (if it survives) and trace its major building phases.

Reputed Manors

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

3. Other Estates

This section should gather the history of lesser accumulations of property, often distinct from the main story of landownership within the parish. The basic principles of the manorial descents outlined above should be applied though less detail may be justified.

Estates which qualify for inclusion in this section could include both those identified from an early date and recent accumulations of landed property. Previous guidelines suggested that 'Other Estates' should be those of 100 acres or more, or which survived for at least three generations. Local circumstances should determine which landholdings to include: in some areas (particularly where enclosure of waste added large acreages to existing farms) estates over 100 acres would include almost every individual 19th-century farm in a parish. A higher acreage would be a better guide in such circumstances. It may also be appropriate to include in this section an account of the rectorial estate and tithes if they had sufficient value and were no longer applied to the upkeep of the incumbent (e.g. where the estate had been granted to a religious house or lay owner).

The size and location of each estate should be given, explaining how it was accumulated, tracing its ownership, and noting the wealth and status of its owners, and whether those owners were resident or at least maintained substantial houses on their holdings. Wherever possible, the account should be brought down to the present day with brief comments on any sale or disposal of major estates in the past hundred years. Each estate should be dealt with under the name of the main house. As with manors or larger estates, the entry should conclude with an account of the principal dwelling with an architectural account of the historic development (where known) and present state (if applicable).

The VCH has traditionally included holdings of corporate bodies such as monasteries or public schools under 'Other Estates', mentioning even small holdings (of more than about three acres) if they were the property of a monastic or collegiate church; a bishopric; a chantry in another parish; the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or one of their colleges; long established endowed schools, hospitals or other charitable foundations. Monastic property held before the Dissolution should be mentioned even if

it was less than three acres. For these institutional estates, give the approximate acreage of the holding, any large variations in its size and the dates at or by which it was acquired and disposed of.

Sources for Landownership

A thumbnail sketch of the manorial descent is provided by the information on the parish/township web pages on the CCHT website (www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk). This is drawn, in large part, from material in 19th-century directories – it ought not, therefore, to be taken as accurate but merely as a pointer towards the further research needed.

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

Starting Points

For Cumberland, start with:

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

For Westmorland:

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

For Lancashire North of the Sands:

- *VCH Lancashire* Vol. VIII

Medieval Period

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

- *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. Vol. II, Parts ii and iii*, ed. J. Brownbill, Chetham Society new series 76, 78 (1916, 1919) [these sections of the Furness cartulary contain most of the Cumbrian material]
- *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. J.E. Burton, Surtees Society 208 (2004)
- *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, ed. F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood (ed.), CW2 7 (1929)
- *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J.E. Prescott (London and Kendal, 1897).
- *The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County record Office MS DZ/1)*, ed. J.M. Todd. Surtees Society Vol. 203 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XI (1997)
- *Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson, Surtees Society 126 (1915)

Central government records may provide further details of manorial descent. Indexes to the following classes should be searched systematically:

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

The original documents at TNA are in Latin. However, there are indexed calendars to these documents, which summarise the contents in English. Published calendars can usually be found in local record offices or local studies libraries as well as Lancaster

University Library. Many of these sources are also now available on the web and can be searched by place name:

- *Calendar of Fine Rolls, Henry III:*
<https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/calendar.html> and
<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000313420>
- *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1216-1452:*
<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009029274>
- *Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem,*
<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/inquis-post-mortem>

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

19th and 20th centuries

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

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

Private Estate Collections

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

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

There are numerous collections of Cumbrian manorial and estate records, many, but by no means all, of which are in CAS. Three major collections are:

- **Leconfield Collection available through CAS (Whitehaven), D/Lec:** Lord Egremont's records relating to the honour of Cockermouth and baronies of Allerdale, Egremont and Wigton. The manorial and estate records from the 16th century onwards are grouped into two main sets, those covering the Percy manors and those relating to the Wharton manors.
- **Lonsdale Collection at CAS (Carlisle), D/Lons:** The core of the medieval holdings of the Lowther family was comparatively small but purchases across the 16th and 17th centuries resulted in numerous manors in Cumberland and Westmorland coming into the family's hands; earlier manorial and estate records were often transferred to the Lowthers with the estates they purchased.
- **Howard of Naworth Collection at CAS (Carlisle), DHN:** includes large volumes of manorial and estate records for Gilsland barony, a major overlordship comprising over twenty member manors. This extensive archive also includes material relating to certain Cumberland manors lying outside the barony. A copy of the 4-volume catalogue of the collection is available at CAS (Carlisle).

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

Other Printed Sources

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

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

Researching Manorial Features

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Economic History

Aims and approach

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

You should open the chapter with an overview that portrays the balance over the centuries between primary production (farming, but also fisheries and forestry), industrial activity (including crafts, mining and quarrying, and manufacturing), and services, indicating how this balance has changed over time.

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

1. Farming
2. Fishing and Forestry (if relevant)
3. Industry
4. Services

In many small rural parishes it will be appropriate to combine (3) and (4), examining industry, crafts, trades, and retail (probably all very limited) within a broadly chronological framework.

There will be something to say about agriculture for all rural parishes; how much material, if any, you include under the remaining headings will obviously depend on the particular history of the place in question. In all cases you should aim to trace economic activity in the parish from the earliest record to the time of writing, as far as the evidence allows.

Remember to examine the economic transformation which has affected most communities during the second half of the 20th century, as the service sector has come to dominate the economy. In rural areas, alongside the decline in agricultural employment, home and workplace have come to be separated as increasing numbers of professional people live in the countryside while working elsewhere.

In Cumbria, key themes include:

- The transformation of the economy of former mining and industrial communities since the 1960s (high levels of structural unemployment, replacement industries; Sellafield and the 'energy coast').
- The growth of tourism and the visitor economy, especially, but by no means only, in the Lake District.

- New forms of exploitation of the uplands, including forestry, wind farms, grouse shooting etc.
- The growth of rural 'craft' industries, not only handicrafts (potteries, wood turners, toy makers etc.), but also other small-scale manufacturing (such as water bottling).

The nature of their employment is as much part of the local economy as was the work of farmers and farm labourers at an earlier period. Different communities have experienced very different trajectories of change across recent decades, which should be drawn out if possible in your account. For example, many communities close to old market towns have enjoyed growing prosperity, as high-tech manufacturing companies and the service sector prefer to locate close to attractive countryside near towns with good communications, services, and schools.

By contrast, the economy of former mining and industrial communities has been transformed since the 1960s, often with persistent high levels of structural unemployment, but also with growing employment of women as the principal breadwinner in a family. Some aspects of these changes are also highly relevant to Social History, and how the two chapters relate may require some thought.

General Sources & Starting Points

- **Ordnance Survey maps.** Where economic activity affects the landscape – a forestry plantation, mill, mine, quarry or factory, for example – large-scale OS maps and plans enable you to pinpoint it on the ground. Comparing a succession of editions of the 6 inch/1:10,000 maps should allow you to chart such features from the mid-19th century to the present day.
- **Directories.** Trade directories often mention such activity as mining, as well as listing businesses. Again, consulting successive directories, from Parson & White (1829) to Kelly's Directories of the early 20th century, will provide an overview of economic activity at local level in the modern era. Some trade directories are available online: <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4>
- **Census Returns.** Check the population statistics on the project website (click on the appropriate ward under 'Census for Cumberland and Westmorland 1801-2001' at <https://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/population> to see whether there are any comments on the reasons for population increase or decrease (new mines opening, for example). See also below ('Census Enumerators' Books').

- **Seventeenth-century antiquaries.** For earlier periods, the writings of some of the antiquaries can be useful. In particular, Thomas Denton (*Perambulation of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1687-8*) provides a considerable amount of evidence for economic activity in the later 17th century. Sir Daniel Fleming's 'Description of Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness' (1671) and Thomas Machell's account of southern Westmorland in 1692 (printed as *Antiquary on Horseback*, ed. Jane M. Ewbank (1963)) are also worth consulting. For a later period, John Housman's 'Notes' at the foot of the page in William Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* (1794) also provide some local economic information.
- **Local authority reports.** It is worth checking in the local library catalogues for any unpublished local authority planning reports on particular areas, which often include an analysis of employment at the time they were written, sometimes with data at parish level. They may be published only in A4 loose bound copies, but should not be ignored.
- **Village profiles.** The village profile articles published over many years in county glossy magazines (*Cumbria; Cumbria Life; Lakes & Cumbria Today; Lancashire & North West Magazine*) are a neglected source for recent economic history.
- **Google** (www.google.co.uk). Useful for modern businesses and leisure, cultural and conservation activities (e.g. sports clubs, village halls, nature reserves). Some villages have their own community websites.

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

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

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

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

- Where do most people who live in your parish today work?
- How have employment patterns changed since the Second World War?
- How many working farms are there in your parish?
- Has this number fallen since 1945?
- Are the farms now mostly owner-occupied? If so, were they previously part of a larger landed estate and have been sold off (if so, by which estate and when)? If not, who owns the land?
- Are there any employers in your parish itself apart from farms and shops?
- How many shops are there in the parish?
- Has this number fallen since the 1950s?
- Do you still have a Post Office?
- How have bus services to your parish changed over the last fifty years? (dates of closure for local railway stations can be checked from a standard reference book; buses are harder to find out about)?

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

1. Farming

The account of farming will form the bulk of the Economic History chapter of many parish histories. It should provide a broadly chronological survey from the earliest record (often Domesday Book) to the time of writing, prefaced by a succinct description of the farming landscape of the parish, as follows.

i) The Agricultural Landscape

By this, we mean the physical framework of land use within the parish and how the balance between the different elements – arable land; grassland (both hay meadows and enclosed permanent pasture), woodland and common waste – has changed over time. This section should aim to describe the location and extent of each land use category and identify key periods of change (as a result of enclosure, for example), the aim being to provide a spatial and temporal framework for the chronological account of farming which follows. The section should include, if possible,

- an assessment of the relative proportion of arable, waste and woodland in the Middle Ages and later, incorporating Domesday evidence if available.
- the extent of open fields, their boundaries, names of fields and evidence of amalgamation or subdivision. The VCH uses the term ‘open fields’ to mean fields which were farmed in common and subject to some form of common rights or management. It is recognised that few open fields as such existed in some parts of the country, at least after the medieval period.
- the extent of early enclosed fields, sometimes originating in medieval assarting (reclamation) from the waste, or effected by lords and other major landholders (e.g. for late medieval sheep farming).
- the location and extent of any medieval seigniorial park and the date of disparking, if relevant. (This too may have subsequently become enclosed farmland.)
- areas of common waste: their extent and character (e.g. heathland, moorland or wetland – marsh, fen, or peat moss) and use. The common rights exercised over them should be noted: pasture rights (what types of livestock grazed there?); rights of turbary (the right to dig peat and turf) and estovers (the right to take timber and wood or to gather vegetation such as bracken, heather and rushes). Were they open to all inhabitants or only some?
- the date of enclosure, both piecemeal enclosure by ‘agreement’ and Parliamentary enclosure post-1750. Remember that it is important to distinguish

between enclosure of open fields and meadows and enclosure of common wastes (they did not necessarily take place at the same time).

- the extent of reclamation of former waste and its conversion to agricultural use.
- (if relevant) any major 're-writing' of the farming landscape by an improving landlord.

To convert acres to hectares: acreage multiplied by 0.4047

Please round the figure up or down to the nearest whole number as appropriate.

ii) Chronological account of farming

Except in exceptionally small or poorly documented parishes, this section will probably be divided into subsections, the precise chronological divisions being dictated by locally significant changes. The Dissolution would be an obvious break-point in the history of a monastic estate; enclosure in the later 18th or 19th century, or the break-up of a large estate in the early 20th, would provide other natural divisions. However it is divided, the account should aim to cover the history of farming in the parish from the medieval period to the time of writing.

Within each subsection you should aim to cover both institutional and farming aspects:

- Institutional aspects include how the land was held (forms of tenure; rents and services, etc) and how farms were run (By a farm manager or by an owner? As family farms or employing labourers?). The extent of demesnes; the size of tenant farms; and the proportion of owner-occupied farms are all relevant here. It is not normally necessary to record the history of individual farms, although particularly important or long-lived ones should be identified where possible, especially if they were derived from former demesne land or still exist. What is required for each period, however, is an overview for the parish as a whole.
- Farming aspects include the crops grown and livestock raised. The aim here is to chart the types of husbandry carried out in the parish: was the focus on crop production, dairying or sheep farming, for example? Innovations should be noted, including evidence for regionally specific features (the floating of water meadows; the adoption of long ley rotations and outfield cultivation, for example), as should specialisations (such as market gardening, fruit growing or poultry keeping).

Medieval period

The length and structure of this section will largely be determined by the survival of archive sources. Where they survive, estate records (accounts, extents, manor court records) will yield much more evidence of demesne farming than of farming on tenant land, so most accounts of medieval farming will be skewed towards the working of the demesnes.

The tenurial structure of the manor or manors in the Middle Ages should be traced, in particular the balance between the demesne and tenant holdings, and between free and unfree tenures. Generalized valuations of tenants' rents in successive inquisitions post mortem (IPMs) or manorial extents should be used – with caution – as evidence of changing estate income.

The working of the demesnes, including the nature of crop and livestock production, should be described, as should the evidence for labour services and other 'boon works', where recorded.

The date by which direct demesne farming ended; the leasing of demesne land; and the commutation of labour services into money payments are all important markers of the shift in the power and approach of landlords in the 14th and 15th centuries. The nature of local agriculture in the centuries 1350-1550 (notably putting land down to pasture; the rise of sheep and wool production) should be traced where possible.

Post-medieval period

The structure and detail of this subsection will be determined partly by the structure of landownership in the parish, in particular the balance between land retained in hand by an estate owner, tenanted land, and owner-occupied farms. In most cases it will be subdivided chronologically (e.g. 1550-1800; Since 1800).

Where a landed estate was wholly or largely confined to a single parish and is sufficiently well documented, it is worth discussing its overall performance, including changes in gross and net income, fluctuations in arrears, expenditure on repairs and renewals (including new building), acquisitions and disposals of land, and the proportion of the estate kept in hand. Most accounts of estate farming will end with the break-up of the estate, most commonly in the early 20th century, but remember that the account of farming should be brought forward to the time of writing.

In parishes where most farms were owner-occupied or belonged to estates whose muniments have not survived, it may not be possible to examine farming and land management in detail. However, it should be possible to discuss broad themes, including whether the farms were mainly arable or mainly pastoral; what crops were grown; the

impact of the major fluctuations in the agrarian economy since the Middle Ages; and (related to this) the periods in which most renewal of buildings took place (cross referenced with 'The Built Character' in Landscape, Settlement, and Buildings).

The account of post-medieval farming (whether treated as one period or divided into more than one chronological section) should aim to address the following topics, as far the evidence allows:

- the evolution of tenures, including the survival of copyhold tenures into the 19th and 20th centuries. Where applicable, the types of lease found in the parish at different periods should be noted.
- the related development of the local farm pattern: e.g. the emergence or otherwise of substantial yeoman farmers in the 16th and 17th centuries (and sometimes earlier); creation of larger commercial farms (sometimes related to enclosure); survival or otherwise of smallholdings.
- numbers employed in agriculture at different periods, although they will generally be available only for the 19th century. The decline in agricultural employment since 1945 and the consolidation of farms into larger units should be traced, where possible.
- wage rates and terms of employment for farm servants and agricultural labourers, where known, also any evidence of agricultural disputes (Captain Swing in the 1830s, agricultural unions in the 1870s, for example) and efforts to improve the condition of the poor (allotments, for example).
- husbandry and land use, particularly the types of crops grown, animals kept, and agricultural specialisation. For the late 16th and 17th centuries this information is often most readily available in wills and probate inventories. For later periods it is often helpful to summarise material found in the 1801 crop returns, the tithe files, and in the MAF agricultural returns from 1866 (in TNA), highlighting changes over time. How far, for example, did enclosure or the agricultural depression of the 1870s onwards result in significant changes in land use?
- land use change since 1945, including farm diversification, the impact of agri-environmental schemes ('set aside' etc) and the rapid increase in the use of land for energy generation (solar farms and wind farms) since the 1990s.

Sources for Farming

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

- Probate inventories can be used to obtain data on crops and livestock. Early inventories (pre-1640) are often provide more detail on specific crops and types of animal than later ones (which generally only give an overall valuation for ‘corn’ sheep’ etc).
- The 1801 Crop returns (TNA, HO 67). Returns do not survive for every parish: coverage is fairly extensive for Cumberland and Lancashire but returns survive for only two parishes (Brougham and Morland) in Westmorland. The Assistant Editor can supply copies.
- Tithe plans (Cumbria Archive Service, DRC 8): for patterns of occupation and land use c.1840; also field-name evidence of past land use patterns.
- The Tithe Files (TNA, IR 18) sometimes contain considerable detail about farming at the level of the individual parish.
- Tithe disputes can shed valuable light on agricultural production: they will be found in the Consistory Court Records of Carlisle or Chester diocese, with appeals (‘transmitted causes’) being forwarded to the Prerogative Court of York. For an index to the latter, see W. J. Shiels, *Ecclesiastical Cause Papers at York: files transmitted on appeal 1500-1883* (Borthwick Texts & Calendars, 1983).
- Enclosure awards: CAS, QRE/1 (for Cumberland) and WQ/RI (for Westmorland)
- Land Tax returns provide data on patterns of owner-occupation. For Cumberland (CAS (Carlisle), Q/RP/1) they survive for the period c.1750-1829, though few years are complete; fewer survive for Westmorland (CAS (Kendal), WQ/R/LT) but there is a full set for 1742 for East Ward (WQ/SR/148).
- Agricultural statistics: parish summaries, 1866 to late 20th century (TNA, MAF 68)
- 1910 Valuation Office records (‘Lloyd George Domesday’). The ‘Domesday Books’, which are held in Cumbria Archive Centres, provide details of land holdings and businesses in 1910. The ‘Field Books’ (TNA, IR 58) provide much more detail on the use of buildings, etc.
- National Farm Survey, 1941-3 (TNA, MAF 32)
- Snapshots of 20th-century land use patterns are provided by the maps of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, carried out in the late 1930s and published at One-Inch (1:63,360) scale, and the Second Land Utilisation Survey, carried out in the 1960s and published at 1:25,000 scale.

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

2. Fishing and Forestry

This section might not be relevant for all townships.

The exploitation of resources from woodland and waters is traditionally classed as 'primary production', along with farming. If fishing and woodland/forestry were a significant part of the economy of a parish, they should be dealt with as separate sections following Farming; although if the amount of woodland (and the amount of information available) are both minimal, this may be worked into the preceding account.

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

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

Sources for Fishing and Forestry

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

3. Industry

This section should deal with the extractive industries (mining; quarrying; gravel pits etc.) and the making of saleable things, which embraces a wide range of economic activity, from shoemaking or processing of foodstuffs (milling, brewing, meat packaging, for example) through the traditional heavy industries (iron and steel, textiles) to modern 'light' industry (printing, for example). For most parishes there may be little more to be said than can be found in probate evidence for early modern cottage industry (spinning, handloom weaving, basket making, for example) or short-lived activities recorded in 19th-century trade directories. The order in which different industrial activities are discussed will vary from place to place. The approach should be broadly chronological, but in general extractive industries and the manufacture of producer goods (iron and steel, engineering, tanning etc.) should come before the production of consumer goods (textiles, hosiery etc.) or industries that date only from recent times (electrical and electronic engineering, plastics etc.). The Standard Industrial Classification, used by the Government for the collection of a variety of economic statistics, is helpful in describing the structure of industry (and other sectors of the economy) in a systematic way: see the archive of classifications from the Office of National Statistics for details.

Mills

The history of milling will often be the only type of manufacturing to be discussed in rural parishes. All references to both water- and windmills should be collected, as should any mention of horse-mills in the medieval period. In some areas many rural communities also had fulling mills in the medieval period. Remember that water-mill sites could change use across the centuries, switching between corn milling and fulling,

for example, or being converted into saw mills. The history of each mill site should be traced chronologically.

Crafts

All but the smallest rural parishes had a fairly standard range of village craftsmen, certainly in the post-medieval period. Though their existence should be noted, there is normally no need to refer to individual blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, shoemakers and the like, unless one of the businesses was of special interest (for example where a smithy evolved into a foundry or engineering works), or where the same family pursued the trade through successive generations. Where a parish lay in a district containing a distinctive craft that was ubiquitous within that area (such as textiles or hosiery, for example), with little variation in chronology or scale between adjoining villages, this should be mentioned but only discussed in detail where the parish was notable as a centre of the craft in question. The growth of rural 'craft' industries since the later 20th century should also be noted - not only handicrafts (potteries, wood turners, toy makers etc), but also other small-scale manufacturing businesses.

Mining and Quarrying

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

Larger-scale industrial activity

In parishes with distinctive industrial activity, each industry should be considered in turn, drawing together references in chronological order. Sometimes this will involve discussing a series of individual entrepreneurs or single businesses; elsewhere an industry may be represented by several firms. In either case, an attempt should be made

to trace the origins, growth and (where appropriate) decline of a particular activity. If possible, please include quantitative material, try to establish some key data. These should include:

- the origins of those involved and their sources and quantity of capital
- the organisation of the business (sole proprietorship, partnership or limited company)
- the number of employees
- its products, markets and the value of sales
- the wealth of the principals at death.

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

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

Sources for Industry

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

For limited companies, check The National Archives website at:

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/companies-and-businesses/ and www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/business-history-records-held-by-other-archives/ At TNA, Class [BT 31, files of dissolved companies from Companies House](#), are among the most useful sources. If the company has been active in the last 20 years, go to the Companies House database itself: www.companies-house.gov.uk.

For the centuries before 1800 remember to check the following:

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

For mining: John Postlethwaite, *Mines and Mining in the Lake District* (1913) and Oliver Wood, *West Cumberland Coal 1600-1982/3* (1988).

4. Services

The service sector is now overwhelmingly the most important branch of the economy in all but a few parts of the United Kingdom. In some parishes there may be little to say other than can be found in 19th- and 20th-century trade directories, as the service sector in the past was mainly concerned with the distribution and sale of agricultural and manufactured goods. However, many rural parishes contain more recent businesses, many of which are part of the 'visitor economy'; these should be included here. Look out for continuities in areas of work, e.g. blacksmiths turning to bicycle and then motor vehicle repair.

Retailing

It is desirable, though not always easy, to establish what shops existed in a rural community from how early a date, what other retail traders (perhaps itinerant) served the community, and where such people obtained their goods. Please mention the post office, pubs and any service activity of special interest specific to the parish. (NB that as the post office will have already been discussed in Communications, and pubs will be discussed more fully in Social History, only a brief allusion should normally be given here, with a cross reference.) Much of the information will come from trade directories.

In parishes where there was only minimal craft activity and retail, the two may be discussed consecutively with no need for a separate subheading.

Markets and fairs

If there was a market or fair in the parish (they were found in rural communities as well as in towns), the vitality of the market/fair at different periods should be assessed (rather than merely narrating the chronology of grants). What goods were traded? What distance did buyers and sellers travel to attend the market/fair? When closure or removal of a fair or market was proposed, who supported and who opposed the change (note any social class divisions)?

Transport services

Road carrying services (always far more important than passenger traffic on roads until quite recent times) should be mentioned, as should the main traffic flows on canals and railways. Roads themselves were not large employers but the inns that formed staging posts along main routes were, and innkeepers were often involved in other businesses connected with road transport (such as providing accommodation for horses). Their modern equivalents, filling stations and motels, should also be mentioned. Canal companies employed a few people in each parish in which there was a public wharf.

Railways were major employers in many parts of the country, rural as well as urban, between the mid-19th and the mid-20th centuries. Even small country stations had a staff large enough to make an impact on a rural community, and in industrial areas served by several competing lines, with extensive goods yards as well as passenger stations, the railways were generally among the most important sources of employment.

'Visitor economy'

This part of the service sector includes hotels and guest houses, Bed & Breakfast establishments, camping and caravan sites, visitor attractions (open farms; visitor centres, heritage sites, etc), and specialist outlets (cycling and outdoor pursuits, for example). Dates and circumstances of establishment and numbers employed should be sought for major businesses. Individual guest houses and B&B establishments do not need to be mentioned; the aim should be to provide an overview of the origins, growth and importance of that sector of the local economy. Where tourism has affected the social character of a place some aspects of this will be highly relevant to Social History, and the relationship between the two chapters will need to be carefully considered.

Sources for Services

- Trade directories – probably the key source for this section. Remember to include 20th-century directories as well as the better-known Victorian ones.

- London Gazette (and also Belfast and Edinburgh Gazettes): these official newspapers are useful for business history, recording bankruptcies, dissolution of partnerships etc. Fully searchable scans, available online at www.gazettes-online.co.uk
- Gazetteer of Markets/Fairs: list of markets and fairs, with brief historical background; well researched. Cite as Samantha Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*
<<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>>: [county name] (last updated date).

4. Social History

Aims and approach

The 'Social History' chapter of a parish history aims both to provide an overview of the social character of the community and how it has changed across time, and to trace the origins and development of institutions which brought members of the local community together (schools, charities, the village hall, the local WI, for example). While much of the evidence and many of the institutions are likely to date from the 19th and 20th centuries, it is important not to forget that you should also be seeking to say what you can about earlier periods. The account should be structured thematically, and the 'Social History' chapter should contain the following sub-headings:

1. Social Character
2. Communal Life
3. Education
4. Social Welfare

In some circumstances it may be appropriate to integrate the first two headings into a single section named 'Social Character and the Life of the Community', as the two strands are often so closely interwoven.

1. Social Character

The aim here is to encapsulate the socio-economic character of the parish and how this has changed across the centuries. Even for the smallest parish, it should be possible to say something about the character of the community as well as its social structure. In larger parishes, the section should be divided into chronological periods: most commonly medieval, 16th to 18th centuries, and 19th century onwards. This is a chance to draw together significant strands from all the other chapters and to try to distil the social character of a place, including social relations, local politics, social/geographical identity, and how and why these things may have changed over time.

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

- The character of the parish as a community – was there a single village or more than one settlement? If the latter, how did they link together? If the settlement pattern was one of dispersed farms and hamlets, was there a focal point for community activities? Can you discern anything about how residents perceived their community – what was their 'mental map' of the parish and how did it change?

- The social geography of the parish: is there any evidence of segregation by class, religion or ethnicity?
- The presence or absence of a resident lord of the manor or major landowner, and, in the case of an absentee owner, which families provided social leadership in the community.
- The impact of the pattern of landholding on the character of the community: was there a large 'home farm' run by a landed estate, or was the community one of small family farms? What was the social character of those who provided labour on the farms: were they landless labourers or live-in farm servants?
- The proportion of the population deemed to be 'poor', or at least excused from paying tax.
- Whether there was a sharp social divide between different socio-economic groups (for example in the status of owner-occupiers compared with tenant farmers, or between farmers and labourers), or whether the classes merged into one another. Is there evidence of class conflict, reflected e.g. through anti-enclosure agitation or agricultural trade unionism?
- Whether tradesmen and craftsmen not employed on the land formed a distinct class.

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

Sources for Social Character

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

- Estate records. Rentals and surveys may provide information about the number of cottagers (or other inhabitants without landed holdings) in relation to the farming section of the community, as well as an indication of the balance between large and small farms. Where the lord of the manor was non-resident, you should try to identify who in the community acted as his agent and represented lordly power.

- Taxation records. The fragmentary Poll Tax returns which survive for the barony of Westmorland for 1379 include some occupational data (Carolyn C. Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: Part 2, Lincolnshire-Westmorland* (OUP for British Academy, 2001)). The Hearth Tax returns include, from 1664, a list of householders exempted from payment because they were comparatively poor, which provides an indication of the socio-economic composition of the community in the later 17th century. The Cumberland returns are rather fragmentary but those for Westmorland are full and have been published: Colin Phillips, Catherine Ferguson and Andrew Wareham (eds), *Westmorland Hearth Tax Michaelmas 1670 & Surveys 1674-5*. British Record Society Hearth Tax Series Vol. VI and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XIX (London: British Record Society, 2008 [recte 2010]).
- Census records. In an ideal world the census enumerators' books for each census, 1841-1911 inclusive, could be used to ascertain social character by analysing: occupational structure; locals versus migrants (using the place of birth data); numbers of servants; etc. Unless this information has already been captured (perhaps by a local history society), you will probably not have time to carry out a full analysis. For parts of north Westmorland only, remember the 'census' taken in 1787: Loraine Ashcroft (ed.), *Vital Statistics: the Westmorland 'Census' of 1787* (Curwen Archives Trust, 1992).

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

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

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

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

N. Gregson, 'Tawney revisited: custom and the emergence of capitalist class relations in

- north-east Cumbria, 1600-1830', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. 42 (1989), 18-42
- A. J. L. Winchester, 'Wordsworth's "Pure Commonwealth"? Yeoman dynasties in the English Lake District, c.1450-1750', *Armitt Library Journal* 1 (1998), 86-113.
- Jonathan Healey, 'Agrarian Social Structure in the Central Lake District, c. 1574-1830: The Fall of the "Mountain Republic"?', *Northern History* 44 (2) (2007), 73-91.
- A. H. Duxbury, 'The decline of the Cumbrian yeoman: Ravenstonedale: a case study', *CW2* 94, (1994), 201-213
- D. Uttley, 'The decline of the Cumbrian yeoman: fact or fiction?' *CW3* 7 (2007), 121-33 and 'The decline of the Cumbrian "yeoman" revisited', *CW3* 8 (2008), 127-46.
- I. D. Whyte, 'The customary tenants of Watermillock c.1760-c.1840: continuity and change in a Lake District township', *CW3* 9 (2009), 161-74

2. Communal Life

The main focus here is on local organisations and institutions and the role they played in the life of the community. Most of the material is likely to relate to the 19th and (particularly) 20th centuries, but you should also include evidence for communal activities in earlier times (such as local customs, games and folklore, wakes, seasonal rituals). To set social activities into the wider historical context of the parish, you should ask when and why community activities were established, who took the lead in promoting them, and when and why they declined or ceased.

The structure based on voluntary and religious organisations that grew up between about 1870 and 1914 survived largely unaltered until after the Second World War. Although the Second World War disrupted both amateur and professional sport, it may have breathed new life into other organisations, especially the WI, as everyone not in the Forces was encouraged to take up some form of voluntary work, and attendance at churches and chapels revived.

The deeply held feeling in 1945 that everyone had a part to play in building a better society led to a considerable growth of voluntary activity in the following years. Some of this was organised by the National Council for Social Service, which through its county committees particularly encouraged amateur drama and the establishment of local history societies. Many women enrolled in the Women's Voluntary Service (Women's Royal Voluntary Service from 1966). Other community activities were focused on particular events, notably VE Day and the Coronation of 1953.

Amateur sport revived as men returned from the war, both in rural villages and in urban and mining areas, where the tradition of the works team continued to flourish in an age of heavy industry dominated by large, paternalistic companies. Saturday night at a company sports and social club, or miners' welfare club, remained a familiar feature of working-class life.

Since the 1960s the pattern of community activity has changed. Far fewer people now work for large companies; in particular an entire way of life has imploded with the virtual end of deep coalmining. Almost all women of working age now work outside the home, thus removing much of the support on which a host of organisations traditionally relied.

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

Friendly societies

These were often among the earliest modern community organisations, established in the second half of the 18th century. They were joined in the 19th century by a wider range of voluntary organisations, some charitable, some educational and some purely social.

Social activities of religious organisations

Both the Church of England and nonconformist congregations expanded their work in the later 19th century into social (or quasi-social) activities, such as temperance gatherings or setting up clothing charities. They provided social meeting places, especially for young people, often through uniformed organisations (scouts, guides etc.), as well as sporting activities. In many rural communities, the church and/or chapel provided virtually all the settings for spare-time activities.

Village institutes and reading rooms and the Women's Institute

Reading rooms or institutes were founded in many villages in the later 19th or earlier 20th centuries, to provide 'improving' reading and leisure facilities (a billiard room, for example), especially for young working men. The WI came into existence during the First World War, and after 1918 was often central to the life of a village.

Village halls and community centres

Although some parishes had institutes before the First World War, pressure for village halls arose mainly after 1918, some being conceived of as war memorials. Halls could not be provided by parish councils at that time and were usually established and managed by a separate voluntary committee, many of which later obtained charitable status.

Inns and alehouses

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

Amateur sport

Amateur sport became organised in its modern form in the later 19th century and was seen as a socially integrative activity. By the mid-20th century many communities had football, tennis and cricket clubs. In towns and larger villages, some were linked to a particular church or employer, others were open to all. In rural villages, the squire and parson might take the lead, especially in cricket, which was played by a wider range of classes than association or rugby football.

Recreation grounds

Open air 'country sports' such as horse races, fox-hunting, hare-coursing and shooting should be mentioned. In larger settlements and towns the range of community activities will be much wider, including theatres, concert halls, music halls, cinemas, museums and local newspapers. Note that a public park or golf course which had private origins may also be mentioned under 'Landownership', and a disused churchyard that has been turned into a recreational open space under 'Religious History'.

Sources for Communal Life

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

- Trade directories: these usually include mention of a range of societies and clubs.
- Ordnance Survey maps: successive editions of the Six-Inch and 1:2500 maps show the physical manifestations of several of the sorts of activities which should be covered in this section: inns; theatres; reading rooms; temperance halls; golf courses; public parks etc.
- Manor court records can be surprisingly useful for earlier periods, including references to local customs, such as fox-hunting.

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

3. Education

Your account should be a history of education in your parish, rather than simply an account of the school(s): the histories of individual schools should be given in a relatively summary form. Places with no school of their own nonetheless educated their children: how was this achieved? If the local school closed, where did children go for schooling? In modern times most children from rural communities have attended secondary schools outside their own parish. Note that the VCH originally intended that the history of ancient endowed grammar and independent schools would be covered in a separate county-wide article; these should now be included under the parish in which they were located.

When it comes to public educational provision ('state' schools and their predecessors), the text will usually divide naturally into sections defined by the major legislation of 1870, 1902 and 1944. However, you ought also to include private schools and to try to capture the less formal end of educational provision, such as 'dame schools'. Remember also to include evidence for adult education, particularly where there was a long established lifelong learning or continuing education institution (though these topics may already have been covered when discussing reading rooms and village halls in the previous section).

Your account should attempt to dig beneath the surface of finance and school buildings, to allude to the 'political' questions surrounding education, such as who controlled access and the syllabus and which sections of society attended which schools and for how long. Questions of politics, religion, status and privilege will rarely be absent from an account of local educational history.

Key topics to include are:

Pre-1870

- the dates, location and establishment of schools, including any pre-1870 references to school teachers and schools, even if these schools cannot be located on the ground.
- the funding or endowment of the school, including names of donors of the sites.
- the character of the school buildings and any changes in accommodation.
- an indication of the size and type of school including average attendance, if known.
- brief information about teachers and curriculum before 1870.
- the existence of Sunday Schools, but only prior to 1870 when they were likely to have played a more general role in education than subsequently.
- the transfer of authority from voluntary societies to Local Education Authority School Boards etc.

1870 to present day

- the building of new schools by School Boards and county education authorities, particularly the provision of senior/secondary schools and of new schools on housing estates.
- the rebuilding and/or reorganisation of existing school provision since the later 19th century, including the date and circumstances of discontinuance and any reduction in the status of schools (to infant status, for example).
- the transition to comprehensive secondary schooling from the 1960s.
- for schools that are still open, the article should include a sentence giving the numbers of pupils and staff at the time of writing. The simplest ways to get this information is to consult the most recent inspection report via the OFSTED website or to contact the school secretary.

The history of schooling is often a story of the 19th and 20th centuries. Most rural parishes had a school of some sort by 1870, usually National (i.e. Church of England) schools administered by the incumbent. The nonconformists also set up a large number of day schools, as well as Sunday schools, in the first three-quarters of the 19th century,

often (but not always) known as British schools. Even quite small villages had dame schools and larger places had more ambitious private schools, particularly for girls. Many workhouses also ran their own schools until after 1870.

Sources for Education

The best starting points will be:

- Trade directories
- House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, including the *Digest of Returns to the Select Committee on Education of the Poor in 1818* (Parliamentary Papers 1819 (224), ix (1)) and the *Education Enquiry Abstract for 1833* (Parliamentary Papers 1835 (62)). As these are subscription-only sources, the Assistant Editor can supply copies.

These should enable you to draw up a list of pre-20th century schools in your parish/township.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Published data and records in national repositories include:

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

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

4. Social Welfare

The focus here is on all aspects of welfare, including poor relief, charities, medical services, and institutions such as orphanages, hospitals and nursing homes. Charities for the relief of the poor should be discussed here; other charities should be mentioned in their appropriate place (e.g. under 'Education' or 'Communal Life'). As in other sections, a broadly chronological approach should be taken, charting the developments from late-medieval and early modern charitable provision, through poor relief provided by the parish and Poor Law Unions, to modern social welfare provided by central government and the National Health Service. As with Education, local private provision should also be noted.

Topics to be treated in this section include:

Charities for the poor. The description of charities should focus on endowed charities providing alms, doles, apprenticeships etc. for the poor. Details of charities associated with the church or education or village halls, playing fields etc. should be discussed in full under those headings. From as early as the 16th century, charities for the poor merely supplemented statutory provisions and, by the 18th century if not before, expenditure funded by the poor rate greatly overshadowed charitable giving. The account of individual charities should be brought up to the time of writing where possible, charting any remodelling by the Charity Commission since the 19th century. After the establishment of the National Health Service some of the objects for which charities were originally established were rendered largely or wholly redundant. How did charities adapt to this further change in state provision? What role did they retain after c.1950? All charities should be mentioned, but details of those associated with either the church or education should be discussed in full under those headings.

Almshouses. The date and circumstances of foundation, the number of houses and the scale of endowment should be noted, as should any evidence for the management of the almshouses since endowment. The character of the building(s) should be described briefly. Again, the account should be brought forward to the time of writing or the date of closure.

Poor relief. Under both the Old and New Poor Laws, including outdoor relief, the provision of cottages and the building of poor houses and workhouses. The balance between what to include here and what to reserve for the 'Local Government' chapter will require some thought. As a broad rule, you should focus here on the experience of the poor, in terms of the sort of relief they received, and reserve discussion of the administration of the Poor Laws for the 'Local Government' chapter. Fluctuations in the amounts spent on poor relief (as summarised in Parliamentary Reports and in local overseers' accounts) may also require discussion in Economic History or Social Character, insofar as they relate to economic prosperity, employment, and levels of poverty.

Medical services. Early evidence for resident physicians and surgeons or parish nursing associations should be noted; from the mid-20th century only local provision (a GP surgery or health centre) need be mentioned. If the parish contained a hospital or nursing home, the date and circumstances of its establishment, its size and function, and an outline of its later history (including any change in function) should be given.

Sources for Social Welfare

- A good starting-point is the Reports of the Charity Commissioners compiled from the late 1820s, which describe the state of benefactions and their endowments at the time. The Assistant Editor can supply copies.
- For Cumbria, remember the online guide to records of charities held in Cumbria Archive Centres at:
http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Nonofficial/charity.asp
- For poor relief, the accounts of the parish or township overseer(s) of the poor will be the key source before 1834, where they survive (usually among parish records). After 1834 information will be found in the records of the Poor Law Union, not in the parochial records.
- Reports to the Parliamentary Poor Law Commission should be consulted. The Assistant Editor can supply copies.

- Wills of the founders of charities should be sought where details of an endowment are not available from other sources: remember to search for wills proved in the Prerogative Courts of York (held at Borthwick Institute) and Canterbury (at The National Archives, PROB 11) as well as in the diocesan probate courts.
- Check the Charity Commission website (www.gov.uk/government/organisations/charity-commission) for details of all current charities. This site is useful on local charities registered with the Commission. To find defunct charities as well as those that are still extant, tick the box labelled 'Include charities removed from the register', before clicking the 'run search' button on the 'Search by Name and Keyword' page.

5. Religious History

Aims and Approach

The intention is to offer an interpretative and broadly chronological account of religious activity within the parish, paying particular attention to crucial periods of change or transition. In most places the parish church (or a subservient chapel) will provide the main narrative thread from the Middle Ages to the present day, although from the Reformation religious Nonconformity (whether Catholic or Protestant) may be equally important, and will sometimes require its own subheadings. The chapter is nevertheless intended as an integrated account, and consideration should be given to the interaction of religious groupings within the parish. The chapter concludes with an architectural account of the church building; however, physical changes which reflected aspects of religious life (e.g. the creation of a chantry chapel, significant new church fittings, donations by parishioners, or re-orderings of the interior) should be mentioned in the preceding chronological subsections where appropriate.

If the parish contained a religious house, then its impact on local religious life and its relationship with the parish church (if a separate one existed) will require special treatment. Even so, providing that it was of only moderate size and importance this should fit reasonably well within the following structure, possibly with some additional bespoke subheadings. Other aspects of its local impact (site and buildings, landownership, economic and social impact) will already have been dealt with in preceding chapters.

The Religious History chapter should be divided into the following sections, each (except for the opening introductory paragraph) with their own subheading:

1. Introduction
2. Church Origins and Parochial Organization
 - 2a. Advowson and Church Endowment
 - 2b. Clergy Houses
3. Religious Life [subdivided chronologically]
4. Church Architecture

1. Introduction

This should highlight the main features of the parish's religious history, e.g.:

- Was the church independent from the Middle Ages, and if so was it a rectory or vicarage? Were there any outlying chapels within the parish?
- Was the church well or poorly endowed, and what sort of incumbents did it consequently attract? Were they generally resident or not at different periods?
- What has been the relative importance of Catholic or Protestant Nonconformity at various dates? Were any chapels or meeting houses established, and do they still exist?
- What is the current status of the parish church? Is it still independent or is it now part of a larger group minister or united benefice? Has it been entirely rebuilt at any stage? (If not, the existence of a medieval church restored in the 19th century can usually be assumed.)
- Any other key features - e.g. the presence a medieval hermitage or hospital, or of a particularly important chantry chapel.

General sources & starting points

- *CW1, CW2, CW3*: these contain numerous articles on individual places of worship, many of which are well-researched and provide useful data.
- Church guidebooks can be useful as a starting point – but remember that you should aim to check for independent evidence of the statements they contain.
- 19th-century trade directories (e.g. Mannix & Whellan, *Dir. Cumb* (1847); Bulmer, *Dir. Cumb.* (1901)), which often summarise the institutional history of the Anglican church and list of places of worship of other denominations:
<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4>

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

2. Church Origins and Parochial Organization

The opening paragraphs should deal with church's origins and status, including:

- The earliest evidence for its existence (which may be documentary or architectural, e.g. a surviving 11th- or 12th-century window).
- Any indications of the likely founder - e.g. a lord of the manor whose successors held the advowson (bearing in mind that some churches may have been community rather than lordly foundations, at least in part)
- Its parochial status when first recorded, and any changes thereafter - was it fully independent (with its own rector, endowment, and advowson), or was it a subservient chapel? How early did it have baptismal and burial rights (the date of the font may be the earliest evidence for the former), and did it have authority to dispense all the sacraments?
- If a rectory, has it remained so, or was it appropriated to a religious house or other institution? If so give dates and details, including the date of any vicarage ordination. (Details of the ordination itself will be given below under Endowment.) Alternatively, was it served informally by members of a religious house or by stipendiary chaplains (who may be very poorly documented)?
- What is the earliest known dedication, and has this changed?
- What changes have been made to its status in recent times - e.g. has it been merged with other parishes or benefices during the 19th, 20th, or 21st centuries? Give its formal status at the time of writing (e.g. 'since 2007 part of a team ministry with the churches of, served by a vicar living at ...').
- Where a church began as a chapel, achieving full independence possibly as late as the 19th century, its changing status should be described, including information on its range of parochial functions, how it was served, and whether it had any independent endowment or advowson. In a Red Book, the chapel's mother church will probably be dealt with in full under the relevant parish, to which cross-reference should be made. In a freestanding VCH Short, it may be necessary to include rather more information on the mother church and its relation to the chapel.

Medieval chapels of ease which did not survive the Reformation should be noted briefly, and may also be picked up in Religious Life. Private manorial chapels should be reserved

for Religious Life, and will usually also be mentioned in the description of the manor house under 'Landownership'.

2a. Advowson and Church Endowment

This subsection of 'Church Origins and Parochial Organization' deals with (a) the ownership and exercise of the advowson, and (b) the church's endowment and income, including glebe and tithes.

Advowson

If the advowson passed with the manor, this can be dealt with summarily with a cross reference to Landownership. Where the advowson descended separately, its ownership to the present day should be traced here. If the story is especially complex, 'Advowson' may require its own separate subheading. In either case, mention should be made of:

- instances of Crown presentation or collation by the bishop (stating whether this was through 'lapse' or for some other reason)
- grants of 'turns' for one or two presentations only
- leases of the advowson
- ownership by recusant Catholics, who were theoretically not allowed to present

Church Endowment [and Vicarage]

This section should summarise the church's total income from the Middle Ages to the early 20th century (with some indication of whether this was above or below the average for the area), together with a brief chronological account of its glebe, tithes, and any other income. Diversion of tithes to other bodies should be briefly noted, along with any known changes to the glebe. Changes as a result of enclosure or tithe commutation should be mentioned.

Where the rectory estate was appropriated and a vicarage ordained, details should also be given of the vicar's income from the ordination to the 20th century, including which tithes or offerings he received, and whether he had any glebe.

If the appropriated rectory estate (including the tithes) remained separate thereafter, passing to a lay impropiator from the Reformation, then its subsequent history will be better treated as an 'Estate' under Landownership, since it no longer benefited the church or its incumbent. Cross references will be needed to allow readers to follow the story through.

2b. Clergy Houses

These formed an integral part of the church's endowment and should be included here, usually with their own subheading (Rectory House or Vicarage House as appropriate). Information should include the first mention of a clergy house; indications of its size and status (e.g. from glebe terriers, visitations, hearth tax, wills); and a brief architectural account of the surviving building. Try to relate what is said to the parish's wider religious history, e.g. periods of residence or non-residence, the relative wealth and social status of particular incumbents (or their curates), and the relative wealth or poverty of the benefice as a whole. In most cases the house will have been sold during the 20th century, in which case the date should be given and something said about any replacement (usually a nondescript modern house).

Sources for Origins, Organisation and Endowment

In addition to the general sources listed above, the best starting point for this subsection is likely to be C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties* (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1948) contains lists detailing evidence for the dates of foundation of churches and chapels, which often allow one to short-circuit the standard sources (*Taxatio* and *Valor Ecclesiasticus*), though *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers* ought to be checked:

- *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, auctoritate Papae Nicholas IV circa 1291*, ed. T. Astle and J. Caley (RC, 1802) See: www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio
- *Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Henrici VIII*, ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter, 6 vols. (RC, 1810-34). In Latin and Ancient parishes only. Assistant Editor can supply images.
- *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W H Bliss and others, 14 vols. (HMSO, 1893-1960). Now fully on-line on British History Online: www.british-history.ac.uk/catalogue.aspx?type=3&gid=150

You should also check R. N. Bailey and R. J. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 2: Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands* (Oxford, 1988). Available online: <http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/catvol2.php>. This is the standard work on pre-Norman sculpture, which is often the earliest evidence for religious activity at parish church sites in Cumbria.

For **church dedications**:

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

For **patronage, income and endowment**:

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

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

- *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. Vol. II, Parts ii and iii*, ed. J. Brownbill, Chetham Society, new series, Vols. LXXVI and LXXVIII (1916, 1919) [these sections of the Furness cartulary contain most of the Cumbrian material]
- *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. J.E. Burton, Surtees Society, CCVIII (2004)
- *The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County record Office MS DZ/1)*, ed. J.M. Todd. Surtees Society Vol. 203 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XI (1997)
- *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood. CWAAS Record Series Vol. VII (1929)
- *Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson, Surtees Society, CXXVI (1915)
- *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J.E. Prescott (London and Kendal, 1897).

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

3. Religious Life

This section is primarily concerned with local clergy and their pastoral relations with their parishioners; manifestations of popular or community religion; and the impact, scale, and organization of religious Nonconformity, both Catholic and Protestant. It will usually be divided into at least two chronological subsections (pre- and post-Reformation), and often more; alternatively, if there is relatively little to say it may remain a single section. Where appropriate the evidence of the church building (including significant additions, church fittings, or internal layout) should be worked in to illustrate aspects of religious life or lay involvement.

Broad topics include:

- parish clergy (longevity, pluralism, fame, notoriety, qualifications or lack of them); also the role of chaplains or curates if incumbents were non-resident
- clerical-lay relations in all periods
- patron saints; chantries; side chapels
- the impact of the Reformation (e.g. removal of church furnishings, dissolution of chantry chapels, ejection of married clergy under Mary, the response of 'ordinary' parishioners as sometimes reflected in wills)
- impact of religious and political turmoil in the mid 17th century
- changes in worship and liturgy (sometimes to be 'read' from the church fabric)
- the rise of Nonconformity
- building of new churches/chapels.

More detailed themes to consider include:

Middle Ages to Reformation:

- Incumbents' status, education, social contacts, and residence. If absent, is there any evidence of local chaplains?
- Evidence of lay involvement? - e.g. through additions to the church building (nave remodelling, side aisles or chapels, wall paintings, towers and bells); bequests to lights, bells, or church fabric; early evidence of churchwardens (procuratores); private chapels
- Evidence of religious cults? – as revealed by shrines, altar dedications, and (in the later Middle Ages) images and lights?
- Evidence of Lollardy or proto-Protestantism?

Reformation to Interregnum:

- Turnover of incumbents - were any deprived, and are any known as Catholic or Protestant sympathisers?
- Suppression of chantries, removal of church fittings or vestments
- Religious attitudes as revealed in the preambles to wills (which may, however, reflect the views of the scribe or incumbent as much as the testator). Did bequests to the church continue, and if so in what form?
- Any evidence for doctrinal or liturgical change?
- Evidence for recusancy (e.g. recusant fines, Catholic invocations in wills)?
- Evidence for incipient Puritanism - e.g. establishment of Lectureships?

- The church: any physical evidence of iconoclasm or Laudianism?

The Interregnum:

- Changes in personnel - whether the local clergy conformed or were ejected
- Evidence of Dissenting groups (e.g. Quakers)?
- Church building: any evidence that fonts or surviving images or glass were removed?
- Were any local ceremonies, feasts, and customs suppressed?

1660–1840s

The change (if any) from the arrangements of the Interregnum to those under the re-established Church. Did the clergy conform or were they ejected; and if ejected, did they remain active in the area and establish Nonconformist congregations? What was the background of the new incumbents installed after 1660, and had they conformed or suffered during the Interregnum? Was the former incumbent restored in 1660?

Any changes to the fabric reflecting the teaching and worship of the new regime?

The standard of service provided by the Established Church into the 18th century (usually recorded in detail through 18th-century visitation returns): resident or non-resident, provision of curates and whether adequately paid, numbers of services, celebration of sacrament etc. Evidence for relations between clergy and parishioners.

Nonconformity. NB: Depending on how much there is to say, this may be extracted as a separate subsection. If so, the varying strength of Nonconformity at different dates should still be briefly alluded to in the account of Anglican religious life, with cross references. However it is arranged, the account should discuss evidence for:

- the strength of the various denominations from the 1660s on, including whether any meeting houses were established;
- social background of adherents if known;
- the rise of 'New Dissent' (e.g. Wesleyan Methodists) from the 18th century;
- the attitude and response (if any) of the Anglican clergy.

Roman Catholicism: may similarly be given a separate section where its influence on the parish as a whole was sufficiently pervasive, and particularly if there was a Roman Catholic chapel. In most cases, however, information on local Catholics will be better woven into the general narrative.

1840s to time of writing

Very often the mid 19th century saw the arrival of dynamic Anglican incumbents who took religious affairs in hand after long periods of neglect, transforming the religious (and sometimes the social) life of the parish. If so, this may provide a convenient date for a new chronological subsection in a given parish. More general themes to bear in mind include:

- Regularity and type of service: e.g. was worship primarily Eucharistic? Were incumbents influenced by the Evangelical Revival or the Oxford Movement, and were there any related alterations to the church building or its furnishings? Mission churches and 'tin tabernacles' should be woven into the general narrative.
- Fluctuations in the size of congregations (usually recorded in visitation returns), and particular problems identified by incumbents.
- The decline of organized religion during the 20th century, concluding with how the church is currently served, how well attended, and the 'tone' of current worship.

In terms of **Nonconformity**, you should trace the emergence of any new denominations during the 19th century (including any new meeting houses, even if only temporary licenses for worship in private houses), and their subsequent fortunes to the time of writing. As well as tracing particular groups, give some idea of the overall strength of Nonconformity at different dates (e.g. as recorded in the 1851 ecclesiastical census), and of the Anglican Church's response, which is usually evident from 19th-century visitation returns.

Where possible, something should be said of the social background of Nonconformists and their relations with the Established Church, a theme which may also be relevant in Social History. Names of ministers and details of Sunday schools should be mentioned only briefly, unless a particular minister was resident and had a particularly strong impact.

For most rural parishes, information on meeting houses and chapels (dates of opening and closure, building costs, donations of sites, and brief architectural descriptions) can be woven into the general account.

As for the earlier period, Nonconformity can form a separate subsection if it would overburden the general narrative. If the story is particularly complex, separate paragraphs or subsections may be needed on the different denominations, although in most cases that will not be necessary.

Remember that religious affiliation often influenced the socio-economic and political outlook of church members (and vice versa). The 'church', whether Anglican or nonconformist, was the people who made up the congregation, and an attempt should be made to assess how their faith was expressed in community life. The fruits of such expressions of faith should be mentioned here, but will probably have been discussed more fully in the Social History chapter.

In places where non-Christian religions have become a significant presence during the 20th century, these should be dealt with here as part of the general discussion of 20th-century religious life, particularly if there is a separate place of worship. In most rural parishes it will not be necessary to have a separate section, although something should be said about such groups' relations with the parish's Christian churches and with the wider community.

Sources for Religious Life

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

For the ***pre-1856 diocese of Carlisle***:

- William Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle: with the Terriers Delivered to Me at My Primary Visitation*, (Carlisle, 1877). This contains Bishop Nicolson's notes on the parishes in his diocese, made at his primary visitation in 1703.
- *The Diocese of Carlisle, 1814-1855. Chancellor Walter Fletcher's 'Diocesan Book', with additional material from Bishop Percy's parish notebooks*, ed. Jane Platt. Surtees Society Vol. 219 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XXII (Woodbridge, 2015). This excellent edition also contains a very full biographical index of clergy in the diocese in the late 18th and early 19th century.

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

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

The 1851 Religious Census (PRO, HO129) provides a snapshot of all denominations in the mid-19th century. It includes returns from all places of worship, giving numbers

attending services on 30 March 1851 (a wet day!), details of the building and when it was erected, number of sittings etc. Records are arranged by Registration District:

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

Note that returns are missing for some parishes.

These records have been digitized by TNA and are free to download. Alternatively, they are available in print: *The Religious Census of Cumbria, 1851: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*, ed. Alan Munden (Surtees Society & CWAAS Vol. 223, 2019)

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

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

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

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

- *Parish bundles.* For parishes and chapelries formerly in Chester diocese collections of documents concerning clergy appointments etc are preserved in parish bundles transferred to Cumbria Archive Service, reference DRC 10.
- *Diocesan visitation records.* The records generated by the visitation process, whereby the church authorities enquired into the state of church fabric, clergy and lay morals, can shed valuable light on the religious life of a parish. As well as the three published volumes listed above, archival material includes:
 - For parishes in Carlisle diocese: CAS (Carlisle), DRC 5/22 et seq. Visitation call books, 1731 to modern times; DRC 5/128-131. Churchwardens' presentments, 1690, 1696-1717, 1734, 1737.
 - For parishes formerly in Chester Diocese: Lancashire Record Office, Preston, ARR/15: visitation records, 'Compert books' etc., from 1665. Cheshire Record Office, EDA 6; EDV 7: articles of enquiry 18th and 19th centuries, recording incumbents' answers to enquiries about services, patronage, nonconformists etc. Images of the returns in Cheshire R.O. for 1778/9 and 1821 are available in the VCH Cumbria project office.
 - The archbishop of York also carried out visitations. Records of these 'metropolitan visitations' survive in the Borthwick Institute, York, for Carlisle diocese in 1693/4 and for Chester diocese for several visitations between 1571 and 1694.
- *Ecclesiastical court books.* Cases ('causes') brought before the church courts included disputes about tithes, clergy discipline etc, which are relevant to this section of a VCH article. The early eighteenth-century court books for Carlisle diocese are discussed in Mary Kinnear, 'The Correction Court in the Diocese of Carlisle, 1704-1756', *Church History*, 59 (1990), pp 191-206.
 - For the diocese of Carlisle: Consistory court records (1571-1990s) are held at CAS (Carlisle), DRC 3 and DRC 5
 - For the diocese of Chester: Consistory court books in Cheshire Record Office, EDC 1
 - Cases which went on appeal to the archbishop's court are in the Borthwick Institute, York, and are listed in W.J. Shiels, *Ecclesiastical Cause Papers at York: files transmitted on appeal 1500-1993* (Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 1983).

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

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

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

- *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part 1, to 1751, Part 2, 1752-1900, comp. J. Venn and J. A. Venn (Cambridge, 1927-1954)
- *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1500-1714; 1715-1886, ed. J. Foster (Oxford, 1888-92)

iv. Nonconformist records

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

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

- B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911). This not only lists Puritan ministers who lost their livings at the Restoration but also much detail of the incumbents of each parish in the two counties in the 17th century.
- Nonconformist meeting house certificates from 1689, when nonconformist places of worship were required to be registered with Quarter Sessions or with the diocesan authorities.

For *Quakers*, start with:

- David M. Butler, *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain*, 2 vols (London, 1999) [The standard work, which (for Cumbria) updates and should be used in preference to his *Quaker Meeting Houses of the Lake Counties* (London, 1978)].
- *The First Publishers of Truth*, ed. Norman Penney (London, 1907). [Prints the text of return requested by London Yearly Meeting in 1720 about the origins of each Quaker meeting].

For *Roman Catholics* see:

- Registers of papist estates: useful for establishing Roman Catholic families [CAS, QRR/12/21]
- ‘Compert Books’ and churchwardens’ presentments include lists of ‘Papists’ in the later 17th century.
- *Protestation Returns* of 1641-2, which include the names of Recusants who refused to take the oath of protestation. The Westmorland Protestation Returns are available in print: *Westmorland Protestation Returns 1641-2*, ed. M.A. Faraday (CWAAS Tract Series XVII, 1971). Copies of the original Cumberland Protestation Returns are available through the VCH Cumbria project office.

The administrative records of many nonconformist denominations have been deposited with Cumbria Archive Service. The excellent CAS online Guide to Ecclesiastical Records takes you straight to the records of different denominations:

www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/ecclesiastical.asp

4. Church Architecture

This section comprises a broadly chronological account of the parish church’s architectural development from the earliest surviving fabric through to the present day. It should begin with a brief overview of the church as it now exists, saying something about its size and status, the dates of its main phases, the main building materials, and its component parts. Other published or unpublished descriptions of the church should be cited in a footnote.

The subsequent account should begin with the earliest dateable fabric (which may not be in situ), followed by a chronological description of the building’s evolution. This will include (e.g.) addition of aisles, transepts, side-chapels, towers, or clerestoreys; rebuilding or extension of the chancel; refenestrations; and the survival of such features

as piscinae or aumbries (indicating the position of altars). Documentary evidence (e.g. wills or re-dedications) should be brought in as appropriate, and any evidence of patronage (e.g. of side or chantry chapels) should be mentioned, with cross references to Religious Life. Some indication should be made of the quality of the work, and whether it reflects similar work in neighbouring churches: sometimes the same masons worked on groups of churches (as may be indicated by masons' marks), or features of a particularly significant local church may have been copied across the area. Features such as wall paintings or medieval stained glass may require mention in Religious Life, but should be included here from an architectural and artistic perspective

Major structural alterations between the 15th and 19th centuries may have been few, but known changes (either documented or shown by illustrations) should be mentioned, along with any evidence of neglect. Fittings such as 17th-century pulpits should be mentioned even if already alluded to under Religious Life. Victorian restorations are usually well documented, and the main features should be summarised, giving the names of architects and builders where known. Details of associated fundraising will normally fit better in Religious Life (with cross references), as will internal re-orderings which reflect changing religious preferences. New fittings such as pews, choir stalls, carved reredoses, and stained glass should nevertheless be mentioned here, where possible with the names of the craftsmen or workshops. Major 20th- and 21st-century changes should be summarised, including major renovations. Extension of churchyards and erection of lychgates (sometimes as war memorials) should be mentioned briefly.

Church monuments and brasses may be better mentioned under Religious Life or Social History, although something might be said here of their over-all number, date, and quality. Those of particular size or merit can be briefly described in their chronological context (e.g. an elaborate tomb chest or brass may form an integral part of the architecture of a chantry chapel). Church plate should only be mentioned (if at all) under Religious Life or Social History.

If the church has been completely rebuilt, the description of the existing building should be preceded by a reference to its predecessor(s). Drawings and documentary references will sometimes allow these to be reconstructed in some detail; if not, it should be made clear that nothing is known. Where a parish contains a second church (either a chapel or a district church), then the architectural description should follow that of the main parish church.

Other Religious Buildings

In most rural parishes, Nonconformist chapels can be briefly described in the Nonconformist paragraphs of Religious Life. In the few cases where a chapel or non-Christian place of worship is of exceptional size or quality, it may be appended to this

section after the parish church. In that case the section would be renamed 'Religious Buildings', with subheadings for 'The Parish Church' and for the chapel in question.

Sources for Church Architecture

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

6. Local Government

Aims and approach

The purpose of this chapter is to show how the parish was run, by looking at the institutions and officers responsible for governing its affairs. This means that it should cover all aspects of civil governance, from the manor courts of the medieval and early modern centuries, through the parish 'vestry' meetings which dealt with poor relief, highways etc. from the 17th century, to the modern civil parish council.

The section does not require a detailed account of how the institutions of parish government developed over time. However, attention should be drawn to any unusual practices within the parish and comment should also be made on any periods of intensive governance and, likewise, periods of exceptional lawlessness and laxity.

The colour and liveliness of the account will depend on the extent to which the work of a succession of office-holders is documented over the centuries – in some cases the records simply won't have survived. Therefore, it is worth providing a statement about survival of local administrative records.

Local Politics

The Local Government chapter is one place to consider political tensions in the local community - unless these have already been discussed under Social History, in which case a cross reference should be included here. Political tensions will normally be most usefully discussed in the context of the institution in whose records they occur – for instance, tensions between medieval lords and tenants should be dealt with under medieval manorial government; tensions between a Tory landlord/chairman of the parish council and a lone Liberal councillor should be dealt with in the section on the parish council, and so forth. Note that discussion of local politics should focus on the operation of local and national politics within the parish and not the actions of individuals from the parish in national politics. Local party politics will not often be discernible until the creation of parish councils but there may nevertheless be interesting evidence of political activity before the 20th century.

The guidelines that follow assume that you are researching a rural parish. The chapter is likely to be considerably longer for an urban parish and may include a wider range of institutions. Urban records may also allow for a greater depth of analysis, particularly in relation to recapturing local politics. Even small urban communities are likely to have evidence of much more sophisticated political activity within them, and local politics will

need more extensive treatment. When dealing with an urban community that is also a parliamentary borough, a history of the constituency and its politics should be included.

Structure and scope

The account should be structured thematically, which will mean that it is broadly chronological, running from manorial government in the medieval and early modern period, through parish government in 16th-19th centuries, to modern local government. It will normally divide into three sections:

- Manorial government
- Township government
- Post-1894 arrangements in relation to Rural and Urban Districts

1. Manorial government

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

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

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

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

In order to identify surviving records, you should consult the online Manorial Documents Register (MDR), which covers all manorial documents, wherever they are held, including those which remain in private hands. The whole of Cumbria is covered, though the

database is arranged by historic counties. The MDR will be found at <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/manor-search>

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

Two glosses:

- ❖ Courts of superior lordships. Much of Cumbria consisted of large compact units of overlordship (e.g. baronies of Kendal, Copeland, Greystoke and Gilsland; the seigniorship of Millom, lordship of Furness, honour of Cockermouth), which retained some jurisdiction over places within their boundaries. These superior jurisdictions are described in the Cumbrian Manorial Records website at <http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/cumbria/index.htm>. For the purposes of your article, evidence of the continuing involvement of such superior courts (e.g. 'turnsmen' from the township attending the superior court; the court hearing cases and receiving presentments from or making orders concerning the township) should be noted.
- ❖ 'Twenty-four men'. Several Cumbrian parishes/manors possessed governing bodies known as the 'twenty-four' (sometimes the 'eighteen'). Though they bear similarities with 'select vestries', self-perpetuating oligarchies running parish affairs, which are found in many other parts of England, in Cumbria they often seem to have been manorial in origin. If you encounter such a body in your parish/township, try to establish whether they are part of manorial or parochial jurisdiction. The following article should be helpful: B.L. Thompson, 'The Windermere "Four and Twenty"', *CW* 2 54 (1954), 151-64

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

- R.S. Dilley, 'The Cumberland court leet and use of the common lands', *CW* 2 67 (1967), 125-51.
- P. Holdsworth, 'Manorial administration in Westmorland 1589-1693', *CW* 3 5 (2005), 137-64.

- E.A. Straughton, *Common Grazing in the Northern English Uplands, 1800-1965*, Edwin Mellen Press, 2008 [relevant for the decline of manorial administration and what replaced it]
- A.J.L. Winchester, *The Harvest of the Hills: rural life in northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700*, Edinburgh University Press, 2000 [especially Chapter 2, 'Law, Custom and Good Neighbourhood'].

2. Parish/township government

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

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

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

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

- Highways maintenance. In the North, this was generally undertaken at township (or manorial) level and sometimes even at sub-township level.

Constables within townships were known as 'petty constables', who were overseen by a High Constable who was elected for each ward. For a discussion of their roles, see M.A. Logie, 'Benjamin Browne of Troutbeck, High Constable of Kendal Ward 1711-32', *CW2* 71 (1971), 75-89.

The key sources for this section of the article are the annual accounts of parish/township officers, the overseer(s) of the poor, the constable and the surveyor of highways. If they survive, these are most likely to be found among the records of ancient ecclesiastical parishes or inherited by the modern civil parish and found in their records. The detailed lists of these collections are available online through the excellent online Guides on the CAS website:

For ecclesiastical parish records, see:

http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Ecclesiastical/parish.asp

For civil parish records, see:

http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/pcs.asp

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

Where a Red Book is in prospect, it is likely that some aspects of local government will be discussed in the Introduction to the volume, in order to avoid duplication in the treatment of overlapping jurisdictions such as poor law unions and post-1894 local government units. Where this is the case, the Introduction should explain the administrative pattern in the district covered by the volume, highlighting in particular whether more than one poor law union and local government unit was involved. In these circumstances, the Local Government chapter of a parish article should concentrate on the impact of such wider local government units on the parish in question, rather than the history of the district as a whole. In a VCH Short, more may need to be said about local government at the district level, particularly if the district unit had its seat in the parish under study.

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

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

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

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

Section C: Preparing Your Draft Article

1. WHAT TO AIM FOR

1. Principles

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

- ❖ Accuracy. Always aim for the greatest degree of precision and accuracy possible: the article will only become definitive if these aims are met. This means being constantly vigilant when making notes and drafting your text (it is only too easy to transcribe '1857' as '1875'!).
- ❖ Check everything. Accuracy also means ensuring that your interpretations are correct and checking all assumptions (are you certain that the 'Thomas Smith' mentioned in one source is the same 'Thomas Smith' you have encountered in another? When a source refers to 'Ambridge school', are you sure you are correct in assuming that it is referring to the National School in the village which you know about from other sources?). If you encounter discrepancies between the information in two different sources, do all you can to resolve them and to get to the truth.
- ❖ Going back to primary sources. The VCH prides itself on going back to original sources and not relying on secondary works. By all means use published local histories as a starting point but don't take anything on trust and look up the sources on which the author relied. You will almost certainly be consulting a wider range of sources than most published local histories do.
- ❖ Consistency. In order to ensure consistency between articles, it is important that each is built on a comparable level of research. To that end, the VCH has traditionally used a checklist of sources, all of which are consulted. The Checklist of Sources for the VCH Cumbria project is given below (pp. 99-107): you will be asked to confirm that you have checked all the sources listed there for information about the place you are researching.
- ❖ Citing your sources. Remember that you should cite the source of all factual statements. This should be done using footnotes and following the conventions outlined in 'Citing Your Sources' (pp. 89-93). It is therefore vital

that, when making notes, you take care to record the exact source of the information (including page number if a printed source or full record office reference if a manuscript).

2. Length

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

3. Content and Style

The arrangement and content of your article should follow the national VCH template as contained within this Handbook or under ‘Writing a Parish History’ on the VCH national website (<http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/local-history/writing-parish-history>). Be sure to cover all the required topics under each section of your article.

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

- Write in the past tense, avoiding terms such as ‘now’ or ‘at the present time’. You are writing a history of the place in question from the earliest record to the time of writing, with the intention that your article will remain a definitive source for many years to come. So, do not write ‘the manor house is now a care home for the elderly’; instead write ‘in 2012 the manor house was a care home for the elderly’.
- Don’t mention sources in the text. There is no need to say ‘Mannix and Whelan’s directory of 1847 lists John Smith as owner of the quarry’, since the directory will be cited in your footnote. ‘John Smith owned the quarry in 1847’ conveys the necessary information in far fewer words.
- Avoid value judgements. A discriminating description of a building or landscape can add life and interest to the article but avoid including personal value judgements. It might be tempting to describe the manor house as having ‘a breathtakingly beautiful Georgian façade’ or a council estate as being ‘drab’, but such phrases should be avoided. Likewise, avoid passing judgement on individuals. A man should only be described as ‘a mean, tight-fisted landlord’ if you can substantiate that perception in a source cited in a footnote. It would be better to make it clear that such a judgement was the view of those who know

him, rather than your own assessment (you could say that he was 'regarded by some contemporaries as being grasping and avaricious', for example, as long as you have evidence to substantiate this).

- Synthesise. A VCH parish or township history is largely factual but should, ideally, be more than a string of facts. The aim should be to understand (and convey in as few words as possible) the historical processes behind the facts. So, 'Thomas Bloggs founded Ambridge National School in 1846; it was enlarged in 1863' gives the bare facts but begs several questions. Who was Bloggs? Why did he found the school? Why was it enlarged when it was? How much better it would be to attempt to link the bald facts to other aspects of the parish's history: 'Thomas Bloggs, the curate at St John's church who was concerned by the lack of educational provision for the children of coal-mining families, founded Ambridge National School in 1846; it was enlarged in 1863 to accommodate the increase in population after the sinking of the Albert and Edward pits'.
- Make every word count. Write as concisely as possible, as you will need to squeeze a lot of factual information into a tight word limit. 'VCH style' can seem frustratingly spare and clinical and doesn't give the author much freedom to express themselves! But this is necessary in a work of reference – remember that you are writing something akin to an encyclopaedia entry.

4. Footnotes

Your footnotes are there to enable your readers to go straight to the sources on which you have drawn. Fine footnotes are an art form! The aim is to provide full and precise information as succinctly as possible and the VCH has developed very effective ways of achieving this. Follow the conventions given in the 'Citing Your Sources' section (pp. 89-93) to the letter. Remember that, if you have used archive material in private hands, you should give a full and accurate attribution (providing the same degree of specificity as you would for an archive in a record office, for example) and include an acknowledgement of thanks.

2. SUBMITTING YOUR ARTICLE

The following guidelines should be followed when preparing your draft article for submission to the Assistant Editor.

Presentation

- Draft articles should be word processed as Word files, double-spaced using Times New Roman or Arial font in size 12 font.
- Please use the automatic footnoting facility and present your notes as footnotes rather than endnotes. While drafts are being prepared footnotes should be numbered consecutively from 1 for each section of the township history. Use footnotes to cite references only, with brief explanations as necessary. They should not carry extended comment or a subordinate argument separate from the text.
- Please follow to the letter the prescribed conventions for laying out footnotes and abbreviations as given pp. 94-98.
- Margins should be set to 'normal' (Word 2007), or 2.54 cm top, bottom, left and right.
- The title and section headings should be written in block capitals.

Submitting Your Draft

- Please submit one section of the township history at a time, so that it can be read and commented on by the Project Director and/or Assistant Editor.
- At the top of each draft section should be the name of the township/parish, your name (the author) and the date the draft was submitted, as well as the section heading (e.g. Landownership).
- Make sure that the draft is double-spaced before submitting as this makes it easier to read it. Keep to single-spacing for footnotes.
- Drafts should be submitted as an email attachment so that the Project Director and/or Assistant Editor can provide feedback using the Word comments facility.
- Please submit maps and illustrations as separate files; do not embed them in the text.

Feedback

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

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

Revision of drafts

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

Once completed to the required standard, articles will be posted online on the VCH Cumbria project website (www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/). It is likely to be several years before completed articles are edited by VCH headquarters and published in either printed or electronic form: further revision will almost certainly be required at that stage.

This may be undertaken by someone other than the original author(s) of the article.

Authorship

Full acknowledgement of authorship will be given when an article is published, whether online or in print. In cases where an author has drawn together materials researched

and/or analysed by other volunteers, acknowledgement of the role of other members of the research team will also be given.

Copyright

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

3. CITING YOUR SOURCES

The footnotes are an integral and vitally important part of a VCH article, enabling the reader to pursue the history of the place by delving further into the sources you have consulted.

Crafting your footnotes successfully is thus a key part of writing for the VCH – and you should expect it to take time to master the skill! The following notes provide guidance for writing footnotes when submitting drafts for the project. Please read these notes carefully and follow the instructions to the letter. Correct citation of sources is an important part of the discipline of writing for the VCH.

The VCH uses the footnoting system common in Humanities subjects, in which a footnote number in the text refers to a note giving details of the reference. Standard abbreviations are used for many of the sources which are frequently cited in VCH articles: these are given pp. 94-98. You should use the standard abbreviation where appropriate: the following guidance should be followed for sources not covered by the list of abbreviations.

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

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

Here are some examples:

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

Abbreviations are used for many of the frequently cited printed sources (trade directories, Thomas Denton's Perambulation of Cumberland, the Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem etc) - see the list of standard abbreviations pp. 94-98.

Where an abbreviation is not given in that list, full details should be given, as follows:

- Title of volume
- Editor
- Series and volume number (if appropriate)
- Place and date of publication
- Page number (or, if documents are numbered, as in Calendar of Inquisitions, document number).

Examples of sources on the list of standard abbreviations:

Denton's History, 101.

Cal. Inq. p.m. VII, no. 279.

Citing sources not on the list:

Antiquary on Horseback, ed. J.M. Ewbank (CWAAS Extra Series XIX, Kendal, 1963), 99.

An American Quaker in the British Isles: the travel journals of Jabez Maude Fisher, 1775-1779, ed. K. Morgan (Oxford: British Academy, 1992), 293.

3. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

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

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

4. WEB SITES

- If you have obtained information from a website, you must cite the site and web page precisely in your footnote. Only cite a website when the information is not available elsewhere; in particular do not cite a website for digitised images of a printed source (e.g. trade directories; newspapers). In these circumstances, cite the source which has been digitised.
- Be precise; vague references to 'the web' will not suffice. The full citation is necessary, followed by the date on which you accessed the site. E.g.
www.pastpresented.ukart.com/beach/index.htm (Accessed 25 July 2018)

5. BOOKS

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

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

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

6. CHAPTERS IN EDITED COLLECTIONS

The first citation should include:

- Author's name (as above)
- Title of chapter in single quotation marks
- The word 'in' followed by the names of the editor(s), title and publication details of the book (as above)
- First and last page numbers of the chapter cited or page number(s) of a specific reference.

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

7. ARTICLES IN JOURNALS

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

N. Gregson, 'Tawney revisited: custom and the emergence of capitalist class relations in north-east Cumbria, 1600-1830', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. 42 (1989), 18-42.

R. G. David, 'The slate quarrying industry in Westmorland: Troutbeck, Kentmere and Longsleddale', *CW2* 87 (1987), 215-235.

8. DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

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

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

9. PERSONAL OR LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

Some information on the recent history of a place will come from your own personal knowledge or from talking to neighbours. If it is possible to corroborate such information from a written source, this should be done and the source cited. If this is not possible (e.g. 'Lady Agnes was remembered as a domineering figure who rode through the village in the 1930s on a fine black mare'), you should use the form 'Local inf.' followed by the date. If your informant is happy to be named (be sure to check; do not assume this), you could use the form 'Inf. from Mrs S. Jackson, Penrith, 2011'.

10. SECOND AND SUBSEQUENT CITATIONS

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

First reference:

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

Second and subsequent references:

14. Winchester, *Landscape*, 41-3

4. STANDARD ABBREVIATIONS

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

CAS	Cumbria Archive Service. The name of the appropriate Archive Centre should be given in parentheses: e.g. CAS (Kendal)
CDS	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London</i> , ed. J. Bain, 4 vols [1108-1509] (London, 1881-8).
Census	Census Report (printed)
CFH	C. Roy Hudleston and R.S. Boumphrey, <i>Cumberland Families and Heraldry</i> , CWAAS Extra Series XXIII (Kendal, 1978).
Complete Peerage	<i>G. E. C[okayne], The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom: extant, extinct and dormant</i> , revised edition. 14 vols (Vols 1-13: London, 1910-1959; Vol. 14: Stroud, 1998).
Curwen, Castles	J. F. Curwen, <i>The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands</i> , CWAAS Extra Series XIII (Kendal, 1913).
CW1	<i>Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society</i> , old series (1866-1900).
CW2	<i>Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society</i> , new series (1901-2000).
CW3	<i>Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society</i> , third series (2001-).
CWAAS	Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society.
Denton's History	<i>John Denton's History of Cumberland</i> , ed. A.J.L. Winchester. Surtees Society Vol. 213 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XX (Woodbridge, 2010).
Denton, Perambulation	<i>Thomas Denton: a Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688, including descriptions of Westmorland, The Isle of Man and Ireland</i> , ed. A.J.L. Winchester with M. Wane. Surtees Society Vol. 207 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XVI (Woodbridge, 2003).
Dict. LDPN	D. Whaley, <i>Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names</i> , English Place-Name Society Regional Series 1 (Nottingham, 2006).

DUL	Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections.
<i>EEA 30: Carlisle</i>	<i>English Episcopal Acta 30: Carlisle 1133-1292</i> , ed. D. M. Smith (Oxford, 2005).
<i>Educ. Enq. Abstract</i>	<i>Education Enquiry Abstract for 1833</i> (Parliamentary Papers 1835 (62)).
<i>Educ. Of Poor Digest</i>	<i>Digest of Returns to the Select Committee on Education of the Poor in 1818</i> (Parliamentary Papers 1819 (224), ix (1))
FF Cumb.	F.H.M. Parker, 'A calendar of the Feet of Fines for Cumberland, from their commencement to the accession of Henry VII', <i>CW2 7</i> (1907), pp. 215-61.
<i>Glynne's Notes</i>	<i>The Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne for Cumbria (1833-1872)</i> , ed. Lawrence Butler. CWAAS Extra Series XXXVI (Kendal, 2011).
HER	Historic Environment Record
<i>Holm Cultram</i>	<i>The Register and Records of Holm Cultram</i> , ed. F. Grainger and W.G. Collingwood. CWAAS Record Series Vol. VII (Kendal, 1929).
Hutchinson	William Hutchinson, <i>History of the County of Cumberland and some places adjacent</i> , 2 vols (Carlisle, 1794).
Hyde & Pevsner, <i>Cumbria</i>	M. Hyde and N. Pevsner, <i>Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness</i> . The Buildings of England (London, 2010).
Kelly, <i>Dir. Cumb.</i>	<i>Kelly's Directory of Cumberland</i>
<i>L. & P. Hen. VIII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere in England</i> , 23 vols in 38 (London, 1862-1932).
<i>Lanercost Cart.</i>	<i>The Lanercost Cartulary</i> , ed. J.M. Todd. Surtees Society Vol. 203 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XI (Gateshead, 1997).
<i>Later Recs N. Westm.</i>	J.F. Curwen, <i>The Later Records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby</i> , CWAAS (Kendal, 1932).
Mannix & Whellan, <i>Dir. Cumb.</i>	Mannix & Whellan's <i>Directory of Cumberland</i> (1847)

<i>Monasticon</i>	W. Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the abbies and other monasteries ... in England and Wales</i> , ed. J. Caley <i>et al.</i> , 6 vols (London, 1846).
N&B	Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, <i>The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland</i> , 2 vols. (London, 1777; facsimile reprint with introduction by B.C. Jones, Wakefield, 1976).
Nicolson, <i>Misc. Acct.</i>	William Nicolson, <i>Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle</i> , ed. R.S. Ferguson (Carlisle, 1877)
Nightingale, <i>Ejected of 1662</i>	B. Nightingale, <i>The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland</i> , 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911).
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
OE	Old English
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
ON	Old Norse
OS	Ordnance Survey
Parson & White, <i>Dir. C. & W.</i>	W. Parson & W. White, <i>History, Gazetteer and Directory of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland with that part of the Lake District in Lancashire</i> (Leeds, 1829)
<i>Plac. Abbrev.</i>	<i>Placitorum Abbreviatio, Richard I – Edward II</i> , ed. G. Rose and W. Illingworth (London, 1811).
PNC	A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton and Bruce Dickens, <i>The Place-Names of Cumberland</i> , English Place-Name Society Vols XX-XXII (Cambridge, 1950-52).
PNW	A.H. Smith, <i>The Place-Names of Westmorland</i> , English Place-Name Society Vols XLII-XLIII (Cambridge, 1967).
<i>Poor Law Com. 1st Rep.</i>	<i>First Report of the Poor Law Commission</i> (Parliamentary Papers 1835 (44), Appendix (B.1), Answers to the Rural Queries)
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
<i>Rec. Kend.</i>	W. Farrer, <i>Records relating to the Barony of Kendale Vols. I and II</i> , ed. J.F. Curwen; and J.F. Curwen, <i>Records relating to</i>

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

Section D: Checklist of Essential Sources

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

1. Preliminary finding aids

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

- TNA Catalogue ‘Discovery’: <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>
- CASCAT: <http://archiveweb.cumbria.gov.uk/calmview/>
- Manorial Documents Register:
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/manor-search>
- Transactions of CWAAS: Available from 1870 up until the last ten years via the CWAAS website: <https://cumbriapast.com> – see under ‘Transactions Search’.
- Historic Environment Records: www.heritagegateway.org.uk/gateway/. The Heritage Gateway website provides searchable access to (inter alia) Lake District National Park Historic Environment Record and the National Monuments Record, which can also be searched by place at www.pastscape.org.uk/mapsearch.aspx
- British History Online: www.british-history.ac.uk/ - use ‘Text Search’ facility.
- Charity Commission: www.gov.uk/government/organisations/charity-commission - use ‘Search for a Charity’ facility.
- Cumbrian papers on the British Library Newspaper Archive:
www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/archive-newspapers-cumbria - searching is free but to view originals you need a subscription

- Index to Wills proved in the Consistory Court of Carlisle 1661-1750*, ed. Susan Dench (1998) - for Carlisle Diocese only.
- Lambeth Palace Library: www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/

2. Maps, Plans and Surveys

- Ordnance Survey Six-Inch (1:10,560) maps. Check all available editions from c.1860 to modern times: <http://maps.nls.uk/openlayers.cfm?id=39>
- 18th-century county maps: Thomas Donald, *Historic Map of Cumberland, 1774* (CWAAS Record Series Vol. XV, 2002); Thomas Jeffery, *Historic Map of Westmorland, 1770* (CWAAS Record Series Vol. XIV, 2001).
- Tithe plans and apportionments: CAS, DRC/8; Tithe Files (TNA, IR 18)
- Enclosure awards: Cumberland: CAS, QRE/1; Westmorland: CAS, WQ/R1
- Geological Survey maps: one-Inch maps, both Solid and (particularly) Drift; British Geological Survey website (www.bgs.ac.uk); Soilscales website (www.landis.org.uk/soilscales/).
- Inland Revenue 1910 'Domesday Book' and plans: Cumberland: CAS, TIR/4; Westmorland: CAS, WTDV/2
- National Farm Survey: TNA, MAF 32

3. Contemporary Descriptions

- The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (London, 1964)
- William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographical Description of ... England, Scotland and Ireland*, trans. P. Holland (London, 1610)
- Thomas Denton: a Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688, including descriptions of Westmorland, The Isle of Man and Ireland*, ed. A.J.L. Winchester with M. Wane. Surtees Society Vol. 207 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XVI (Woodbridge, 2003)
- Sir Daniel Fleming's 'Description of Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness' (1671) in E. Hughes (ed), *Fleming-Senhouse Papers* (1961), pp. 3-64
- Antiquary on Horseback*, ed. Jane M. Ewbank (1963)
- The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-c.1712*, ed. C. Morris (1982)

- Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-6; Penguin edition, 1971)
- 'Notes' at the foot of the page in William Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* (1794)
- John Housman, *Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Carlisle, 1800)
- Accounts of Lake District tourists since later 18th century including *An American Quaker in the British Isles: the travel journals of Jabez Maude Fisher, 1775-1779*, ed. K. Morgan (British Academy, 1992) and *R.R. Angerstein's Illustrated Travel Diary, 1753-1755: Industry in England*, ed. T. & P. Berg (2001)
- Trade Directories (from Parson & White, 1829 to mid-20th cent): many available online - see <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4>
- Cumbrian Regional Plan: P. Abercrombie and S.A. Kelly, *Cumbrian Regional Planning Scheme* (1932)

4. Administrative Records

4.1 Central government

PRO Calendars:

The indexes to the following calendars should be searched. Most are freely available online via archive.org, hathitrust.org, or British History Online (*= subscription only). For direct weblinks see www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/sources/rolls.shtml. Many volumes can also be consulted at Lancaster University Library (class mark MU5).

- Calendar of Border Papers* [2 vols, 1560-1603]
- Calendar of Close Rolls* [1272-1509]
- Calendar of Charter Rolls* [6 vols, 1226-1506]
- Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* [5 vols, 1108-1516]
- Calendar of Fine Rolls* [22 vols, 1272-1509]
- Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* [26 vols, 1236-1447]
- Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII* [3 vols]
- Calendar of Liberate Rolls [1226-72]*
- Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions* [8 vols, 1219-1485]
- Calendar of Patent Rolls*
- **Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding*

- *Cal of State Papers, Domestic 1677–85, 1696–1704
- Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*

Common Law Records:

- [The Anglo-American Legal Tradition](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT.html) (<http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT.html>). This project website contains 6 million images of medieval and early-modern English legal records held at the National Archives, covering the period 1217-1800. Unfortunately, the majority of images are not indexed so it is not easy to use.
- Modern indexes to some plea rolls (CP 40) of the 14th-16th centuries (http://aalt.law.uh.edu/Indices/CP40Indices/CP40_Indices.html) Lists of parties, sorted by first plaintiff, first defendant and county; in progress.
- Curia Regis Rolls* [20 vols, 1196-1250]

Censuses:

- Protestation returns: Cumberland: Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/82 (photocopies available); Westmorland: M. A. Faraday (ed.), *The Westmorland Protestation Returns 1641/2*, CWAAS Tract Series XVII (Kendal, 1971).
- Census: Enumerators' books, 1841-1911
- Religious Census, 1851: TNA, HO129. Available online at: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/digital-microfilm.asp and in print: *The Religious Census of Cumbria, 1851: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*, ed. Alan Munden (Surtees Society & CWAAS Vol. 223, 2019)

Please also consult the guidance note 'Sources for the Population of Cumbria' under the 'Resources' and 'About County' tabs on the CCHT website.

Taxation:

- Search the 'E179' database for taxation records in TNA, which include Lay Subsidies, Poll Tax and Hearth Tax: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/e179/
- Land Tax: Cumberland: CAS, Q/RP/1; Westmorland: CAS, WQ/RLT
- J. P. Steel, *Cumberland Lay Subsidy* (Kendal, 1912)
- C. C. Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381; part 2, Lincolnshire-Westmorland* (British Academy, 2001) [partial survival for barony of Westmorland only]
- C. Phillips, C. Ferguson & A. Wareham (eds), *Westmorland Hearth Tax Michaelmas 1670 & Surveys 1674-5* (British Record Society and CWAAS, 2010)

- Vital Statistics: the Westmorland 'Census' of 1787*, ed. Loraine Ashcroft (1992)

House of Commons Parliamentary Papers:

- Abstract of Returns to Orders of the House of Commons Relative to Assessments for Relief of the Poor* (printed by order of the House of Commons, 1804)
- Abstract of Returns to Orders of the House of Commons Relative to Assessments for Relief of the Poor* (Parliamentary Papers 1820 (294), xii)
- Digest of Returns to the Select Committee on Education of the Poor in 1818* (Parliamentary Papers 1819 (224))
- Education Enquiry Abstract for 1833* (Parliamentary Papers 1835 (62))
- First Report of the Poor Law Commission* (Parliamentary Papers 1835 (44), Appendix (B.1), Answers to the Rural Queries)

4.2 Local government

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

- Parish administration: For detailed lists of records held by CAS see www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Ecclesiastical/parish.asp (for ecclesiastical parishes) and www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/pcs.asp (for parish councils since 1894)
- Urban Districts, Municipal Boroughs, etc.: For detailed lists of records held by CAS check the following www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official.asp. Consult the lists under each of the relevant headings.
- Quarter Sessions: The catalogues of Quarter sessions records can be accessed through: www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/public/gs.asp
- Schools: For detailed lists of records of individual schools see www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/schools.asp and for School Board records, see www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/official/sb.asp
- Common Land Registers: Held by Commons Registration Officer, Cumbria County

Council. Summary data available on searchable online database at:

<http://common-land.com/>

- Administrative Units: Frederic A. Youngs, *Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England*, vol. 2, Northern England (1991)

4.3 Religious administration

- English Episcopal Acta 30: Carlisle 1133-1292*, ed. D.M. Smith (Oxford, 2005).
- Papal taxation, 1291: *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, auctoritate Papae Nicholas IV circa 1291*, ed. T. Astle and J. Caley (RC, 1802), available at www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio
- Papal Registers: *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W.H. Bliss and others, 14 vols. (HMSO, 1893-1960). Now fully online: www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-papal-registers--brit-ie
- Archbishop's Registers online: <https://archbishopsregisters.york.ac.uk> - provides free access to over 20,000 images of Registers produced by the Archbishops of York, 1225-1650
- Diocesan administration: For catalogues of diocesan records held by CAS see www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/Ecclesiastical/diocesan.asp
- Bishops' registers Carlisle diocese, 1292-1972: CAS, DRC 1.

Medieval registers in print:

- John Halton 1292-1324* ed. W.N. Thompson (CYS vols 12, 13, 1913)
- John Kirkby 1332-52 & John Ross 1325-32*, ed. R.L. Storey (CYS vols 79 & 81, 1993-5)
- Gilbert Welton 1353-62*, ed. R.L. Storey (CYS vol 88, 1999)
- Thomas Appleby 1363-95*, ed. R.L. Storey (CYS vol 96, 2006)

Visitation records for Carlisle diocese:

- CAS, DRC 5
- William Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile: with the Terriers Delivered to Me at My Primary Visitation* (1877)
- J. Platt (ed.), *The Diocese of Carlisle, 1814-1855* (Surtees Society & CWAAS, 2015)

Visitation records for Chester diocese:

- Lancashire Archives, ARR/15; Cheshire Record Office, EDA 6; EDV 7

- The Cumbria Parishes 1714-1725 from Bishop Gastrell's Notitia, with additions by Bishop Porteous 1778-1779*, ed. L.A.S. Butler. CWAAS Record Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1998)
- Metropolitan Visitations Borthwick Institute, York: Carlisle diocese 1693/4; Chester diocese 1571-1694
- Nonconformist admin records: for lists of records for each denomination held by CAS see www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/Online_catalogues/ecclesiastical.asp

4.4 Landholding records (see also Maps, Plans and Surveys, and Central Government records above)

- The Book of Fees*, ed. C.G. Crump and others, (3 vols, London, 1920-1931)
- F.H.M. Parker, 'A calendar of the Feet of Fines for Cumberland, from their commencement to the accession of Henry VII', *CW2 7* (1907), pp. 215-61.
- Catalogue of Ancient Deeds [6 vols; www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/ancient-deeds]
- W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, Vols. I and II, ed. J.F. Curwen; and J. F. Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, Vol. III, CWAAS Rec. Ser. Vols IV-VI (Kendal, 1923-6)
- Land Tax returns; for Cumberland, CAS Q/RP/1 and for Westmorland CAS, WQ/R/LT
- Valuation Records under the 1910 Finance Act (a.k.a. 'The Lloyd George Domesday'): see CAS Carlisle, TIR/4 for Cumberland; CAS Kendal, WDTV for Westmorland; CAS Barrow, BTIR for Furness area. For detailed 'field books', see TNA, IR58.

Monastic Cartularies in print:

- The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey*, ed. T. Brooke and W. Farrer (Chetham Society, New Series 56, 1905)
- The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. Vol. II, Parts ii and iii*, ed. J. Brownbill (Chetham Society new series Vols. LXXVI and LXXVIII, 1916 & 1919) [these sections of the Furness cartulary contain most of the Cumbrian material]
- The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. J.E. Burton (Surtees Society 208, 2004)
- The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County record Office MS DZ/1)*, ed. J.M. Todd (Surtees Society Vol. 203 and CWAAS Record Series Vol. XI, 1997)
- The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood (CWAAS Record Series Vol. VII, 1929)
- Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson (Surtees Society Vol. 126, 1915)

- The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J.E. Prescott (London and Kendal, 1897).
- W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the abbies and other monasteries....in England and Wales*, ed. J. Caley et al., 6 vols (London, 1846)

5. Other essential printed sources

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

6. Other online sources

- Parish / village websites for community activities and events.
- Church of England clergy database: <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>
- Commons Commissioners' adjudications: alphabetical list at <http://www.acraew.org.uk/index.php?page=cumbria>
- Samantha Letters, Gazetteer of Markets & Fairs in England and Wales to 1516. See: <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>
- R. N. Bailey and R. J. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 2: Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands* (Oxford, 1988): <http://www.ascopus.ac.uk/catvol2.php>
- London Gazette. Fully searchable scans, available online at www.gazettes-online.co.uk
- Companies House database www.companies-house.gov.uk.
- Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Westmorland* (London, 1936); available via British History Online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=1297>

And finally, two sources which must not be forgotten!

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