

ART. XIX. – *Cumberland and Westmorland Societies in London, 1734-1914.*  
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THE existence of locally patriotic societies, concerned to affirm their allegiance to a given region or town, is probably a commonplace in the great cities of the world. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that so little attention has been devoted to them. Closer studies of such bodies may teach us a little about the nature of local attachments within the milieu of developing urbanism.

The character of local patriotism has itself been neglected, although, insofar as migration to the great towns is concerned, it has been remarked, perhaps cynically, that patriotism increases in direct proportion to one's distance from a place of origin. Strikingly, the apparent cynicism conceals a measure of truth, and the earliest regionally-patriotic societies in London appear to have been those from distant parts of Britain. There was a Northern Society in London as early as 1680,<sup>1</sup> and a Highland Society in the metropolis during the eighteenth century. The Cumberland Society appeared in London about 1734, and was followed by the Westmorland Society in December 1746. Further research may show that these were, in fact, the earliest of their kind, and when, in the early twentieth century, London accommodated about fifty county societies, those from the Lake Counties were considered to be the oldest in England.<sup>2</sup>

As we shall see, manifestations of local patriotism can take numerous forms, sentimental, charitable, philanthropic, defensive and assertive, all associated with the instinctive or deliberate creations of channels of influence within metropolitan or great city society. Samuel Smiles, after conversation with a number of Cumbrians, decided that the existence of beautiful scenery might have had something to do with the matter, and asked: "How is it that the natives of a mountainous region are more patriotic than those of a champagne country? Perhaps this may arise from their seeing fewer objects to divide their attention, as well as those objects being of a grander character, and more likely to take a permanent hold on their mind . . .".<sup>3</sup>

There is evidence that both of the Lake Counties societies were, initially, socially exclusive and celebratory in a lavish sense, and their political connotations, whilst not entirely absent, were not generally one-sided. (It is natural, however, that one should consider the danger of the latter tendency, in view of the known extent of Lowther influence). The Westmorland Society of 1746 was "open to Gentlemen of the County or possessed of estates therein",<sup>4</sup> and the annual dinner of the following year, in the light of some account entries which have been preserved, is known to have spent heavily on food and drink.<sup>5</sup> A little more light on political connections is thrown by a reference in the *Cumberland Pacquet* (1775) relating to "the Anniversary meeting of the Gentlemen of the County of Cumberland", which met at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, and in this reference no Lowther placeman appears: but the Earl of Egremont, who cannot be thus categorized, and John Christian of Unerigg, who was anything but a Lowtherite, appear among the stewards.<sup>6</sup> In 1777, the Cumberland gathering brought some 140 gentlemen together at the same tavern,<sup>7</sup> and in 1778, we find the Earl of Surrey in the chair at a similar celebration.<sup>8</sup>

Charles Howard, Earl of Surrey and afterwards Duke of Norfolk (and M.P. for Carlisle from 1780 to 1786), managed to combine extreme reform views with consummate borough-mongering, and a drinking capacity, remarkable even in his day and class, with a reputation for having as many concubines as Solomon.<sup>9</sup> We may be certain that his leadership ensured that the assembly looked after its amusements. In 1782, Surrey was still in attendance, but several Tory gentlemen were present, including one of the Lowthers, and Sir Michael le Fleming, later violently anti-Foxite, was in turn counterbalanced by Henry Fletcher, a chairman of the East India Company, and a friend of Fox. He was one of the Cumberland Members of Parliament between 1768 and 1806.<sup>10</sup>

Inevitably, then, these local gatherings or societies brought together men of political influence, and it may be that the activities of the interest groups within parliament were sometimes transcended by the mere fact of territorial allegiance and local association – a consideration which may have some significance for eighteenth century class cohesiveness. At the same time, the organization of an annual dinner can hardly be said to denote the existence of a continuously associating body. At a very early stage, however, the Westmorland Society interested itself in charitable endeavours, and clearly, where these are organized, then a permanent structure of administration and decision exists also. A history of the Society claims that “during the first forty years of the Society’s existence, relief was in many cases granted to worthy and necessitous county-men, and in some cases small sums of money were given to defray the expenses of poor persons wishing to return home”. In 1786, it was resolved at a *monthly* meeting that a sum of £50 in Consols, which had been accumulated by means of half-crown fines, should be appropriated towards establishing a fund “for the maintenance and education of poor children born in London of Westmorland parents”.<sup>11</sup>

This is the first direct reference to the existence of a lower or indigent social group of Westmorland people in the metropolis. That members of the gentry should wish to club together is understandable enough, and it is also evident that they were brought together by a northern or regional consciousness, one which sought virtue in plain, bluff northern manners, celebrated at one of the Cumberland gathering’s London dinners in 1777:<sup>12</sup>

“The sons of refinement reproach us in vain,  
 ’Tis our pride that our language and manners are plain,  
 Old Bess thought them courtly and so they were then  
 ’Ere nonsense and *ton* had made monkies of men.”

So, then, several strands of attitudinizing become visible. Cumbrian gentry are made uncomfortable when their blunt manners are remarked upon, and so they react assertively. Further, they feel that they have plenty of cause for local patriotism; for it is just at this period that the Lake District is being discovered by a new generation of fashionable guidebook writers.<sup>13</sup> This phenomenon, in turn, assisted the growth of a regional awareness on the part of educated people, and, a point not to be missed, on the part of those who performed the educating. The regional literary movement, however, was at this period directed towards the realization of a folk-literature, often presented in dialect verse, and so we shall not be surprised to find recited, at an early nineteenth century Cumberland dinner in London, some verses by Robert Anderson. Anderson was perhaps the leading folk-versifier of the region, and in this stanza, he challenged “book-learned wise gentry” to find a better place in Britain than Cumberland:<sup>14</sup>

“Yer buik-larn’t wise gentry, that seen monie counties,  
 May preach and palaver and brag as they will  
 O’ mountains, lakes, valleys, woods, watter and meadows,  
 But canny auld Cumberlan’ caps them aw still.”

It should not, however, be suggested that the Cumberland or Westmorland societies became, in effect, folklore societies. There was no such transmogrification until the twentieth century, and such folk-customs as established themselves in the London gatherings were limited, spontaneous and unselfconscious, perhaps surprisingly so.

Regional patriotism was, instead, enabled to express itself in concrete and constructive form, through the assistance of poorer brethren born in the two Lake Counties. The appearance of a pool or group of poorer people in London was partly connected with a deliberate attempt, in Cumberland and Westmorland schools, to prepare potential out-migrants for commercial posts, and, *circa* 1800, John Housman remarked upon, *vis-à-vis* the Lake Counties, the “laudable establishment of a school in almost every village, where the children of the villagers may be taught at a very trifling expense; many of the younger sons are educated for clergymen, excisemen, clerks in counting houses &c.”<sup>15</sup> That many of these trainees went to London is clear enough, and by 1796, Tom Rumney, himself a migrant from the Ullswater area, had written from London to assert that the north of England had “become quite a manufactory for Bankers’ and Merchants’ clerks”.<sup>16</sup>

However, such men did not undertake the lengthy and daunting journey to the metropolis without a network of recommendations and connections to help them at some stage. Likewise, if we ask why the Westmorland Society chose to promote the education of Westmerian children in London, and ultimately, to establish a school there, then part of the answer may lie in the greater mobility that this gave to parents; certainly, this argument was advanced much later in the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The journey was long and expensive; children could not easily be supported at a distance, and poorly-off parents took some time to settle down in the metropolitan area.

At first, however, the Westmorland Society displayed little sense of urgency, and it was not until 1815 that it began to pay for the education of five children of Westmorland parents by election. Indeed, the development of a still small organization was always likely to depend upon fortuitous factors, and in May 1813, the second Earl of Lonsdale, in company with Sir James Graham, associated himself with the campaign for a Westmorland school in London, the Earl having lent his support to this cause at a previous date.<sup>18</sup> But nearly forty years passed by before a specially built institution appeared; its erection was undoubtedly the consequence of powerful middle-class patronage in the Society, and was by no means the sole achievement of any member of the Lowther family. We should bear in mind two factors which were of great if not unexpected significance in the early nineteenth century; the two regional societies experienced a marked accession of wealthy middle-class members, themselves successful in the London arena of business and commerce, and the number of poorer out-migrants to London also increased, thus creating a much large field of activity for charitable endeavour.

The Cumberland body followed a track somewhat different from that of its Westmorland counterpart. After being a dining club, largely convivial, it became known as the Cumberland Benevolent Institution in May 1812, and described its primary aim as being “for the relief of distressed persons who were natives of the county, and their families,

resident in the Metropolis". The definition of the Metropolis, made in April 1813, provides an interesting reference to perceptions of the time – "residing within the limits of twelve miles of London". (In 1875, the relief area, somewhat reduced after a period of setbacks for the Institution, was within "ten miles of St Paul's Cathedral"). The Cumberland Benevolent Institution at first concerned itself with the education and clothing of children, but abandoned this preoccupation in 1836, and instead concentrated on the provision of pensions for elderly Cumbrians in London.<sup>19</sup>

Thus far, we have a picture of two patriotically-biassed bodies, performing charitable work which is of apparent interest largely because such activity was one of the lesser-known groups of influences which supplemented or ameliorated the workings of the Poor Law. A closer examination of the circumstances in which these bodies operated, however, may reveal a number of forces which affected the lives of in-migrants to a great city.

First of all, the two societies were foregathering institutions for comfortably-placed men, members of the major and minor gentry, and then, increasingly, successful or upwardly mobile men, whose very concentration in the city and its business houses was likely to advertise the success ethos. Indeed, the Westmorland Society boasted of a member with a particularly spectacular career to his credit, in William Thompson, the son of a Grayrigg yeoman who was to become Lord Mayor of London in 1828-9, and who was, in addition, the proprietor of the Pen-y-Darran and Tredegar ironworks, a director of the Bank of England, and one whose daughter was enabled to ascend into the aristocracy by marrying the Earl of Bective.<sup>20</sup> Thompson, who represented Westmorland in Parliament before his death in 1854, established a seat and landed estate in that county, and was unusual among self-made men in that he returned to the scenes of his youth. The Cumberland Benevolent Institution had among its members one whose career was no less remarkable than Thompson's, in George Moore, the self-made man whose labours and philanthropy made him a fitting subject for a full-length Samuel Smiles biography. Moore, too, returned to his native county, and left the world in no doubt as to the intensity of his local patriotism. It is to Moore and Smiles, working in collaboration, that we owe a superbly evocative account of the trials of a young man entering the city for the first time.<sup>21</sup>

Moore was a younger son, and his brother was set to inherit the yeoman family property at Mealsgate, Cumberland. He arrived in London at Easter 1825, and significantly, he was enabled to make contact with fellow-Cumbrians within a day or two of arrival, because he knew, for example, that Cumberland men in London were accustomed to holding wrestling matches on Good Friday.<sup>22</sup> These wrestling events were pursued throughout the nineteenth century, and were organized by a Cumberland and Westmorland Wrestling Society, a separate body from those described, one much nearer the attitudes and interests of the humbler migrants. Indeed, Moore took part in the 1825 gathering, held at Chiswick, and won a prize; but, as a passionately religious man, he immediately noticed that the company smelt of beer, betting and general dissolution, and refused to mix with them further. Two cultures existed side by side, and we are left with a huge question; how many of the dissolute, or their children, were aided by the self-made men who came to dominate the two county societies? The groups of migrants were small enough – that is, they were numbered in hundreds rather than thousands –

to be regarded as face-to-face assemblages, and information about some men was clearly passed between employers from the same county.

Moore gives us abundant insights into the ways in which a Cumberland man could gain employment. Indeed, one is led to wonder whether even the energetic Moore could have succeeded in his career without the help of his fellow-countrymen. He could not at first obtain a job in a draper's shop, his immediate and primary ambition, because of his strong Cumberland accent and poorly cut clothes.<sup>23</sup> The effect of incomprehensible speech cannot be underestimated. The impact of almost total loneliness was great, and, as Smiles put it, "He began to realize the solitariness and the solitude of London . . . . To those who are friendless, London is the most solitary place in the world".<sup>24</sup> Nor did the trials of the unluckier migrants disappear, and as late as 1914, an adherent of a relatively new and elaborate organization in London, the Cumberland and Westmorland Association of London, was able to speak of those "who had, in their younger days, the terrible loneliness of knowing no-one in a big city", and who "appreciated the advantages that Associations such as these (brought) to those fresh from the countryside".<sup>25</sup> (By that time, a more democratic and open county society had taken the field).

Moore's escape from isolation and poverty can be followed through an interesting route. He was first befriended by a Mr Ray, another Cumberland man with connections with Moore's own home district in the Solway Plain – Smiles added, "Cumberland men are generally ready to help each other in time of need" – and, in settling down to work, Moore surrounded himself with friends of somewhat similar origin, including three Cumberland lads and two Scotsmen. That his circle selected itself in this way is perhaps not surprising, since, according to one of Smiles's informants, Moore was continually praising his native Cumberland – "It was the finest country, with the noblest scenery, and the best, strongest and most vigorous of men".<sup>26</sup> Possibly this was because the Londoners spoke of "the rude barbarians of the north". But whilst all this is perfectly credible, Smiles introduced another piece of information which is of great general interest, and which relates distance and environment to local patriotism or clannishness; an informant was quoted by him as saying that "I uniformly noticed, during my three years' residence in London, that young men from Wales, Scotland and Cumberland pined after their native hills and dales; whereas young men from the Midlands and southern counties of England fell in like a gin-horse to their daily work".<sup>27</sup> We should, then, expect societies made up of men from upland Britain to take precedence over others in London social history, and, so far, the hypothesis appears to be supported, even though the eighteenth century gentry gatherings seem to present a special case. Nevertheless, we should notice that they, too, appeared to press the importance of northern manners.

Moore then went, in 1826, to work for one Fisher, another Cumberland man, who was, however, no sentimentalist – he said to Moore that "he had had many a stupid blockhead from Cumberland, but that (Moore) was the worst of them". Here, again, a wryly amusing reminiscence may carry a little significance, because in any *informal* institutionalization of mutual help and employment among compatriots, exploitation was always possible, because a special kind of obligation accompanied it. Whatever the case, Moore never forgot his fellow-Cumbrians, and, after he had made a fortune as a dealer in lace and other textiles, he consistently supported the Cumberland Benevolent

Institution, and even claimed that his first charitable donation, a guinea, went to that body.

This donation was made out of a small salary. Years later, in 1850, Moore spoke as a senior official of the Cumberland Benevolent Institution – as a trustee as well as a committee member – and made his own policies so clear that they seem to have been set up as a model to be followed: “He had been favoured by Providence to assume a commercial position which enabled him to assist, and generally to succeed, in placing Cumberland youths in favourable situations”. His tactics are illustrated in a letter he wrote to a young man from his home district in 1851. He urged the young man to come to London “by the first cheap train. . . . Mr ———, late of the Wigton Bank, whom I am trying to get a situation for, lives at a boarding house nearby. You can dine with me every day till I get you placed . . . I hope that you will attend a place of worship twice every Sunday”.<sup>28</sup>

It is interesting that Moore would help men who had failed in business, and that his attention was often focused on “once prosperous but now fallen and unfortunate fellow-countrymen”. He provided a model for Smiles, but concentrated his mind on those stories which would not have served Smiles’s purpose. We have no proof that other members of the Institution were as conscientious as Moore in philanthropy, but there is plenty of evidence that there was a strong network of Cumbrian business connections in the City of London and in its environs.

Politics, too, could play a part, and could be related to apparent regional patriotic sentiment; here, however, we must be careful, for other motives undoubtedly lurked in the background. Hence, when Viscount Lowther, Postmaster-General in Peel’s administration, recruited Cumberland men into the Post Office,<sup>29</sup> he doubtless had other objectives in mind than mere benevolence. Nevertheless, the recitation of this claim in Whitehaven, at the time of his death as Earl of Lonsdale, cannot have harmed the family reputation in that town. It also remains true that the Lowther interest in the two London societies remained consistent, and probably disinterested to a degree. It is also clear that certain institutions, like city warehouses and finance houses, or railway or even governmental offices, might draw certain recruits from the modest flow of Lake Counties migrants. There is, however, no evidence that the two London societies operated a consciously organized labour exchange for natives of their respective counties. They were, on the surface, more concerned to put out a somewhat inadequate safety net for some of them.

The groups of immigrants from the two counties were of the order of 4,000 to 5,000 in all between 1851 and 1911.<sup>30</sup> There were just over 1,000 adult Westmerians in the London registration area in 1851 – that is, persons born in the northern county – and the membership of the Westmorland Society alone, in 1874, amounted to 341, the equivalent of roughly one-third of the relevant in-migrant group. However, the London-residing members of the Society were fewer, about 250, and their proportion of the whole is of interest in itself; most of these were well-to-do, and not a few were rich, and a success ratio of, say, one in four is quite remarkable. But this also meant that the societies were socially very top-heavy, and the in-migrant groups relatively so, with a strong representation of City of London business and professional men. (If we spread the demographic net into the counties of Middlesex, Surrey and Kent, then the number of Lake District in-migrants doubles approximately). The close proximity of the business

addresses of the leading members may explain the effectiveness and durability of the societies. George Moore, however, would not have appreciated these complacent historical judgements, and he had to rescue the Benevolent Institution from an unsound state in the early 1870s, having already denounced some very rich and powerful Cumbrian-connected businessmen for failing to subscribe a penny.

As regards common or garden migrants, any details concerning them are thin, and searches through enumeration schedules can be prohibitive. Fortunately, however, we do have a little evidence bearing on the locations of Westmorland-born settlers, and on the possible ways of influence which may have led to their settlement. The source is not an unbiassed one, for it is the subscription list of a book, Cornelius Nicholson's *Annals of Kendal* (2nd ed. of 1861), and, out of several hundred subscribers, 60 lived in London. Nicholson was not only a local antiquary of repute, but was also the chairman of the Great India Railway Company, as well as a promoter of one of the early lines in the Lake District, the Kendal and Windermere.<sup>31</sup> Nicholson appears as a member of the Westmorland Society in 1857, as does an even more notable figure from the world of railways, George Carr Glyn, M.P. for Kendal in the period 1847-68, and, in the later years of his service, chairman of the London and North-Western Railway. What is interesting about the list of subscribers is not so much Carr Glyn's appearance, as the number of persons who lived on or near LNWR property. The parent stem of that company, the London and Birmingham Railway, had acquired extensive Camden Town properties,<sup>32</sup> and the propinquity of several of Nicholson's subscribers, who either shared residences or were neighbours in (e.g.) College Street, Camden Town, or Grafton Road, Kentish Town, is a matter for note. Nearly three-fifths of the London subscribers were at addresses in that general area, but stretching as far afield as Islington, Hornsey and Muswell Hill. Likewise, Carr Glyn's son, G. G. Glyn, was a chairman of the Railway Clearing House, and, although coincidences can mislead the historian, the list included a Captain Thomas Dixon, who gave his address as the Railway Clearing House, London.

Many of these settlers, who were by no means all members of the then Westmorland Society, were undoubtedly in the London area somewhat fortuitously; but it is impossible not to think that the local Member of Parliament, rightly seen as a man of great influence, had not helped some deserving persons on their way to a career. For the rest, this hypothesis needs adequately testing, and at least the researcher has some idea where to look in London's vast haystack. Needless to say, Nicholson's moral supporters included numerous luminaries of the Westmorland Society, and apart from Carr Glyn himself, the list displayed the name of John Henry Johnson, a later President (and solicitor, of 45, Lincoln's Inn Fields), and Robert Addison, the then Treasurer.

The railway-associated settlement was, perhaps, a temporary movement only. When we examine a full list of the Westmorland Society members, available for 1874, a rather different and more varied pattern of addresses appears, with an impressively large group, making up nearly twenty per cent of the known London settlers proper, giving locations for example in the area of the City, with business addresses in Leadenhall Street, Mincing Lane or Bishopsgate Street, with an interesting little sub-group in Lincoln's Inn Fields. There were others, besides John Henry Johnson, who could rise above the level of the country solicitor. For the rest, it is not difficult to see why in-migrants of the George Moore stamp could hope to receive help or preference. In 1875, meanwhile, a Mayor of Carlisle, W. N. Hodgson, commented on the number of Cumberland men who were

associated with the City, and on the fact that the Cumberland Benevolent Institution was “deeply interested in (the City’s) commercial welfare”, adding that “at this season of the year (winter) he frequently met them about the streets of the City or the West End”.<sup>33</sup> Very few, only some ten addressees of the Westmorland Society membership, were in the northern railway area, but a great many more members had become diffused about London suburbia, and their addresses make a form of recitation of growing settlement points: Tulse Hill, Putney, Wimbledon, Tooting, Surbiton, Uxbridge, Winchmore Hill and Islington.<sup>34</sup> Roughly half the society membership dwelt in this kind of milieu, but well over a third gave addresses back in Westmorland itself, and, of these, a substantial number were members of the minor gentry. There was much movement, assisted by the railway services, between the Lake Counties and the metropolis, and in 1887 John Scott, a leading member of the Cumberland Benevolent Institution, remarked that “he could remember when it took days to come to London, whereas one could now breakfast in Carlisle and dine in London on the same day”, and in 1881, Percy Wyndham, M.P. for West Cumberland, commented that “the visits of Cumbrians to the Metropolis (were) much more easy than when this Society was established. He had visited the county twice during the past week . . .”.<sup>35</sup>

The fact remains that there was a powerful and seemingly irresistible tendency to settle permanently in the south of England, and that very few wealthy migrants from the Lake Counties followed the example of William Thompson and George Moore by returning in triumph to their native territory. The career of Cornelius Nicholson, who was so deeply immersed in the lore of his home neighbourhood as to produce a standard antiquarian compilation on the town of Kendal, is here highly instructive. He lived in London from 1848, after a long connection with his home county, and gave an address in Muswell Hill when the subscriptions for his book were raised. In 1868, he became a magistrate for Middlesex, in 1869 a Deputy Lieutenant for that county, and, after retirement to Ventnor he was buried in Highgate Cemetery.<sup>36</sup> Carr Glyn, doubtless well aware of settlement tendencies of this kind, told the Westmorland Society in 1865 that “Kendal men were too fond of emigrating (laughter). He had done so himself, and did not consider himself a loser by doing so. It had often been noticed that when a man came from the north to the south, he very seldom went back again . . . (Hears and laughter)”.<sup>37</sup> That there is some truth in this allegation, may be concluded from a set of twenty death certificates of trustees of the same society; of these, fifteen were of persons who died in London or the home counties between 1893 and 1917, and the remainder were, in the main, of local gentry who already had family seats in Westmorland.<sup>38</sup> It should not, of course, be forgotten that there were few estates in the Lake Counties available for easy purchase, and that most of the trustees were not exceptionally rich men. Nevertheless, local patriotism seems to have had its limitations. These “limitations”, of course, call for serious examination, although it is tempting to contrast them with George Moore’s aggressive ebullitions, and human insight – not a useless commodity where historians are concerned – suggests that the southern settlers were wise in not returning home. Many of their friends and neighbours would have died, the scenes of youth would have changed, and the London friends of a large part of a lifetime would have had to be foresaken.

Why, then, did the two London societies continue to operate effectively throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries? One can suggest a number of factors

which may have supported their operation, although there is little direct evidence regarding these factors; only occasionally do spokesmen for the societies hint at deeper motivations. One factor, superficially a very obvious one, lay in the attractiveness and social cachet of the annual dinners mounted by these bodies; they were expensive, fashionable and patronized by eminent people, including all or nearly all of the regional Members of Parliament. In each case, the subscription list, that monument to social prowess and well-doing in Victorian England, was powerfully supported by both resident county notables and by men successful in the City, who could outface even the Earl of Lonsdale. Hence Robert Wilkinson, of Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, one of the trustees of the Westmorland Society, could, with two other trustees (R. P. Wilson, a stockbroker neighbour, and Edward Ewin, a master linen draper) subscribe in excess of £100 each in 1874, thus placing themselves morally in the ascendant over the Earl of Lonsdale, whose recorded figure was a mere £64 13s. Nevertheless, gentry patronage of both societies could be strong, and the Cumberland Benevolent Institution, greatly vitalized by George Moore (who knew how to reach the last particle of conscience in his "victims") received public and practical support from famous names (1875) like Musgrave, Wyndham, Howard, Fletcher, Cavendish and Head, as well as from a list of addresses in the City whereby fashionable or indicative locations were juxtaposed with Cumbrian names like Graham, Routledge, Scott, Howard and Little.<sup>39</sup>

Next, there was a crystal-clear practical and continuous commitment in the case of each society: a welfare obligation could be seen to be discharged, and to be reported upon fully at each annual general meeting, which was, in turn, reported in regional newspapers, and, in the case of the Cumberland body, in the *London City Press* as well. The Westmorland Society, then, caused a school for Westmorland children to be built in Norwood Lane, Tulse Hill, in 1852-3 (see Appendix). On 17th January 1854, boys were first received into the building, and, in 1859, girls were also admitted, a provision that seems to indicate very clearly that the convenience of families was considered in conjunction with education for its own sake, or education as a key to social mobility. Before that time, children had been educated in other schools at the Society's expense, and between 1815 and 1922, some 420 children of Westmorland parentage were educated and clothed or otherwise provided for in this way.<sup>40</sup> Children were elected at annual meetings, and they were chosen with this stated motive in mind: "Numerous families . . . have been relieved in a way most consolatory to their feelings by giving their offspring the means of future success. The parents are also brought under the notice of their more successful countrymen; whilst the meetings of the Society foster the feelings of goodwill and friendship which ought to exist amongst all coming from the same county".<sup>41</sup> The practical side of this welfare work was described by the President of the society in 1891: "How sad . . . To find parents struggling with a large family, and with many difficulties to encounter. It is just at that time that they need most help, to be able to give their children a suitable and adequate education".<sup>42</sup> There was, however, little sign that post-school surveillance was consistently pursued, although there was talk of this as late as the 1920s, when the Westmorland School was closed down and sold (1920-24), and other educational provisions were made instead.<sup>43</sup> Some former pupils' careers were, however, duly recorded, and the school produced a Mayor of Ipswich, a Mayor of Leominster, a chief engineer on the Madras Railways, a *Puisne* Judgeship in the Straits Settlement, and a Science Professorship in the Cape Colony.<sup>44</sup> The out-migration of

former Cumbrian-connected people to the outposts of Empire is typical; meanwhile, it should be stressed that the school was a boarding school, and was to that extent remarkable in that it gave a basic rather than a socially aspirant education. (It was originally intended that children should be sent out of the school "with good moral, industrial and sound religious principles implanted in their minds . . . if some of them were to seek their fortunes in the colonies, they might become amongst the best customers of many of those who in their earlier days had been their benefactors").<sup>45</sup>

The Cumberland Benevolent Institution placed out a safety net for unfortunate persons who had fallen on to hard times at the latter end of the life-cycle, through the provision of small pensions of up to 30s. a month. By May 1881, a sum of £25,500 had been spent on 200 aged individuals of Cumberland origin, between that time and 1827.<sup>46</sup> It should, of course, be borne in mind that the benefactions of the Institution were wider at the earlier date. Some of the pensioners were downwardly mobile Cumbrians – a point of some little importance in 1880, when this revelation was made. Others were "representatives of all kinds of trades . . . They had bootmakers, tailors, and at one time . . . a man who had kept a very large shop in Regent Street, but was now dead, his widow, however, being among those assisted. Another of their pensioners was a brewer".<sup>47</sup> The recipients, in order to qualify for help, had to be natives of Cumberland "and their widows, residing within 10 miles of St Paul's Cathedral".

Those who did the assisting have left copious records; what of a possibly more authentic culture registered by humbler migrants? During the development of the two charitable societies, the Cumberland and Westmorland Wrestling Society, which contributed its tens, twenties and thirties of guineas to both annually, was holding regular gatherings in London. In 1869, for example, its main annual sporting event was held at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, with 59 wrestling competitors, all with Cumberland addresses, taking part. The event as a whole – it had steeplechasing round the arena, pole leaping and hurdling – had the character of a typical Good Friday sporting meeting in its home territory. It was an event of this kind that George Moore had encountered in 1825, and according to the report, the meetings had taken place "over nearly a century".<sup>48</sup> Certainly, money came regularly to the charitable societies from this source, but the cultural divide was recognized in an advertisement: "The Nobility and gentry are respectfully invited to witness these popular sports".<sup>49</sup>

The mid-century dinners of the two societies reflect little in the way of a regional culture in their proceedings; even the songs which were used to punctuate the many toasts and speeches were of the stock drawing room kind ("Come o'er the brook Bessie", or "Hark, the lark at heaven's gate sings", or "Hark 'tis the Indian drum" (enthusiastically received)). One looks in vain for dialect recitations, which became popular in penny readings further north. Nevertheless, an upsurge of interest in regional tradition eventually broke the surface, even if it was laundered immediately on doing so. One indicator of this tendency came in the Benevolent Institution's ball of 1875, of which it was reported that "One noticeable feature, at the conclusion, was the dancing of the celebrated 'reels', better known and appreciated in the north".<sup>50</sup> By that time, the Institution's annual gathering had already sung Cumbria's regional anthem, the words for which were written in 1829 by John Woodcock Graves, and which was not printed for over 30 years, but which began to reach public notice in the 1860s. In January 1869 the Cumberland Benevolent Institution's dance in Carlisle found one version of

“John Peel” performed, and, in the same year, it was performed at the Institution’s ball in London.<sup>51</sup> Copies of the song were sold to the dancers, and it entered drawing rooms.

It did so, of course, in a highly packaged and unspontaneous manner, and it is instructive to note the setting in which it was presented in the London annual dinner arrangements of 1875. It appeared in a programme of some ten items of song, one of which was “John Peel”, with paid vocalists under the direction of Marcellus Higgs. Peel hunted side by side with madrigals, a Mendelssohn duet, and a song by Arthur Sullivan. In the following year, however, we learn that “the whole company (joined) in the chorus”.<sup>52</sup>

Peel took more than half a century to become a well-established folk-figure. It is also striking that the London charitable societies showed themselves little disposed to sing genuine and hearty folk-songs of an established kind, and a real interest in local lore came somewhat later, with the development of a new kind of county society in the great cities, and, at home, the creation of a more powerful antiquarian and local historical tradition. The London philanthropists were too far from their roots to be anything but spectators in this evolutionary process. Meanwhile, the genuinely valuable functions of the older societies remained, and were recognized as such.

Yet, there was a subtle change in the sentiments of benevolence that motivated them, and the second half of the century saw – even when George Moore was still alive – a distinct movement away from the Smiles ethos. Moore himself regarded his wealth as a trust, gained by good luck and hard work intermixed; he saw himself as “favoured by Providence”. A contemporary of Moore, John Scott, who seems to have entered London almost in the same year, remarked in 1876 that “if young Cumbrians came up (to London) with intelligence, industry and, most of all, integrity, they would attain to a competence even if they did not ‘make their fortunes’ ”; three years later, however, he qualified this, by stressing that he had seen many migrants succeed, yet others, “after a life of unceasing labour, had fallen by the way”.<sup>53</sup> The immediate circumstances of the Depression years may have influenced this statement, of course.

By 1889, when the German Reichstag placed the matter of social insurance firmly on the map, the debate had opened out considerably, and the Benevolent Institution was addressed by another Lord Mayor of London who was of Lake Counties nurture, and who was also an advanced Liberal, highly receptive to the notion of state-organized welfare. Alderman Sir James Whitehead, who commenced his business life as a draper’s assistant in Kendal, and who crowned his London mayoralty of 1888-9 by his intervention in the Great Dock Strike at the side of Cardinal Manning,<sup>54</sup> had an unusually lively awareness of the constraints surrounding self-help. Some men, he argued, “did not get into the groove for which they were fitted . . . Through accident they were not placed in the positions that their talents qualified them to fill. Some men . . . had not the physical strength to enable them to hold their own in the competition of this great metropolis . . . There was a very narrow margin between success and failure in life. It was very difficult to know at what point success or failure began . . . if he had not had good physical strength, he himself might have had to come to an Institution like this”.<sup>55</sup> (Cheers followed).

It should not be imagined that Whitehead was merely making a political point. In the following year, the Hon. J. W. Lowther produced a muted echo of the same argument: “We have not yet got National Insurance, nor is the value and necessity of thrift taught

in our schools, and until that was done it did not lie in our mouths . . . To hurt the feelings of a brother by uttering the monosyllable 'thrift' (cheers) . . . It was said in the struggle for life that there was at least an opportunity for everyone . . . But many failed to seize it, and they failed through no fault of their own . . .".<sup>56</sup> In 1893, there was again a humanitarian stress from the chairman, Montagu Crackanthorpe: "To fall out of work was not always the fault of the individual man or woman", it was argued, and a system of national insurance was again mentioned. In 1898, the Carlisle M.P., Miles McInnes, a Liberal, was much more downright: "It was not in want of character, or ability, or financial resources, that some men went down while others rose to the top . . .".<sup>57</sup> Since the Cumberland Benevolent Institution was avowedly a non-party political – it was, like its sister society, a meeting point for the back-benchers of a region – these comments, from Liberals and Conservatives, reproduce or filter prevailing and generalized changes in opinion. Doors to the welfare state were opening, and the experience of charitable societies was not necessarily a reactionary force. Perhaps too many individual members had friends who had fallen on evil times.

Although the societies continued to operate well into the twentieth century, the state welfare that they seemed to welcome also spelt out their demise. The Westmorland Society was suffering from weakened support from county gentry by 1900,<sup>58</sup> and the sheer number of in-migrants from the Lake Counties created problems; as early as 1887, John Scott of the Benevolent Institution claimed that "it was now very difficult to find out where Cumbrians were in London".<sup>59</sup> The work of tracing persons who might need relief was part of the regular activity of both societies, and the spread of London itself, and the wide areas surveyed, only compounded the problem. But other and intriguing factors enter the story soon after the turn of the century. Persons from Cumberland and Westmorland (and the two counties had long regarded themselves as spiritually related) were settling in the large towns of England, and the cities of the world, and there were signs that the London example was being followed, but that charitable activity alone – or the expensive, socially exclusive dining that accompanied it – was not inherently satisfying. These newer attitudes undoubtedly reflected a much greater social and occupational variety on the part of the migrants, and a less class-divided composition of the migrant groups themselves.

But there are also signs that a more self-conscious and literary regional culture was beginning to exert an effect; the sublime beauties of the Lake District, attractive to hundreds of thousands of tourists, were being cultivated and sold as never before, and, inevitably, this phenomenon nourished a deep pride as well as the fellowship that had found expression previously. George Moore might have been considered an eccentric – his contemporaries did not worry themselves with self-conscious manifestations of regional culture, over and beyond the beguiling wrestling of the region, and the gentry and the merchants of the Lake Counties may not have been widely read men. General education, by 1900, was more widely spread, and untold thousands of persons had been forced to recite Wordsworth, often at their peril.

The Cumberland and Westmorland Association of London, formed in 1904, was the natural outcome of the newer cultural pressures. It should be stressed that it was to become only one of many county societies in the metropolis, and even counties that lacked a Wordsworth seemed to find a residue of local patriotism. The new body, which had a rich and varied social programme, did not abandon the older societies of Lake

Counties settlers; on the contrary, it raised money for them. It was concerned to fight the loneliness of the migrant, and its Ladies' Committee did "excellent work in befriending and entertaining privately young women from the two counties, and the influence it is able to bestow upon young girls coming fresh to the metropolis is most beneficial".<sup>60</sup> Its "long programme" of social events was made even longer, in order that it could fight London counter-attractions – indeed, it became too long. Dances, now held very frequently, followed whist drives and outings and concerts, and golf and rifle-shooting competitions, and even lectures by Canon Rawnsley, one of the chief publicists for the Lake District and a founder of the National Trust. Under such pressure, it is not surprising to find that eighty members made a railway visit to the Lake District one Easter.<sup>61</sup>

Even more spectacular was an elaborate system of linkages with Lake Counties towns, thirty of which had correspondents to the Association by 1914, and a list of affiliated associations in other British towns and throughout the world. There was a Cumberland and Westmorland Association for Birmingham and the Midlands, and respectively Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Tyneside and Wigan, with overseas groups in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Melbourne. One of these groups, that in Glasgow, did not merely reflect or project local patriotism, but saw its function as that of inculcating it in a younger generation. The Glaswegian Cumbrians dutifully sang "John Peel" and collected 200 Lake District children together for a function.<sup>62</sup> Mr Maughan, the secretary of the London Association in 1914, saw equal value in expressions of patriotism and in concern for welfare, and wished to see the institution of a Wordsworth Day which societies could celebrate across the world. Underneath some of the ambitious vision-making was a serious interest in a native countryside and the land of one's kin and kind, and the London organization was building a library made up partly of county antiquarian society volumes from Cumberland and Westmorland.<sup>63</sup>

But notwithstanding this many-sided activity, the locally patriotic were in fact spread rather thinly. If, for example, we count in the approximate membership of the older charitable societies with that of the London Association (approximately 500 in 1914), and compare the total with the number of Cumberland and Westmorland-born settlers in London in 1911 (4,286), and further, if we make allowance for younger persons or children, one-half to two-thirds of the settlers were not members of any Lake Counties organization. Perhaps there was still something of a class divide, even though the fee for membership of the Association was only 5s. *per annum* for an individual, and the addresses of the Association members show an even more pronounced slant towards middle-class London suburbia; Twickenham, Woking, Caterham, Buckhurst Hill, Finchley, Brockley, Farnborough, Hampstead, Westbourne Park, Hounslow, Cricklewood, Harlesden, Forest Gate and Alexandra Park are all mentioned. It could well be that they found their neighbours so inclined to hide behind laurel bushes that they were only too glad to seek company elsewhere; but the clear fact remains that others were managing to come to terms with their metropolitan environment (or were, perhaps swept away in its anonymity) without feeling any need for the assertion of a regional identity.

This "admission" does not alter the very evident fact that regional allegiances could be a very real factor in the lives of in-migrants, reinforced by the human need for a sense of belonging, business expediency, a sense of social responsibility, guilt or conscience,

ties through friendship or marriage, and the strains of life in Georgian, Victorian or Edwardian London. These, perhaps, are the dominant factors; matters like the pursuit of a self-conscious regional culture may appear only as froth on the surface. It will, however, be noticed that these deeper forces do not easily explain the rapid spread of regionally self-conscious societies in the cities of Britain and the world. Fashion remains one of the most perplexing problems facing the historian, and his explanations are too often mere tautologies.

## Appendix

### The Westmorland School in London

We are fortunate in having, at the Cumbria County Record Office at Kendal, a small collection of documents relating to the Westmorland Society, or, more properly, the Westmorland School in London (WD SO/91/1-33, deposited by Mr S. G. Hale through Miss S. Colwell). Inevitably, these shed far less light on the London county societies than the more general sources quoted in this article, but they do carry considerable intrinsic interest, and contain some illuminating details. The fuller story of the Westmorland School would, of necessity, have to be obtained from county newspapers; for example, the idea of a London school for Westmorland children was a long-standing one, and is encountered as early as 1813 (see the *Westmorland Advertiser and Kendal Chronicle*, 15 May 1813). These original documents relate to the school as opened in 1854, occupying a site between Tulse Hill and Herne Hill stations, on what was originally known as Norwood Lane, which became Norwood Road in the late Victorian period. The site was, *circa* 1924, sold by the Westmorland Society trustees, and was taken over about 1930 by the Westmoreland Garage Ltd., the school itself having closed as a consequence of the Fisher Education Act of 1918, with its extension of free education. Nevertheless, the school performed good service for some seventy years.

A surviving engraving of the school, in the 1922 historical pamphlet issued by the Westmorland Society (see n. 2 of this article), shows it to have been a substantial Gothic-style building, and a plan dated 1892, in the Record Office at Kendal, shows that it had a frontage of some 60 feet, and 24 rooms and storage spaces. The school was residential, and had boys' dormitories with six and eight beds respectively, with additional bedroom accommodation for seven girls. Girls were admitted to the school in 1859. In 1868, the school was insured for £2,000 by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co., and in 1871, a further insurance policy, for £2,700, is interesting in that it refers to the "Master's and Mistress's Dwelling Room"; and it was the custom of the Society to appoint suitably qualified married couples – by no means all of them of northern origin – for the education and supervision of the twenty or so children.

The education of the children was specified as follows (1881); "to include instruction in English Grammar, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic and such other subjects as shall be reasonably required from time to time". A later description, in the 1922 *History* of the Society, claimed that the education in the school was "thoroughly practical in its character", embracing a "sound commercial training for all the children", which would chime in with the tendency of humble Westmerians to perform clerical work in the great cities. The girls received "a thorough training in all household work".

The children whose parents sought places for them at the school were elected each year, out of a list of nine or ten aspirants, by a ballot performed by the Society. There was an astonishing disparity, on occasions, between the votes accorded to the successful and the unsuccessful candidates, and the Chairman of the Society, in 1875, commented meaningfully on “their being so frequently called upon to elect children of the same families” (*Westmorland Gazette*, 24 April 1875). This unfortunate tendency may be explained not so much by blatant canvassing, as by the inclination of our Victorian forbears to distinguish between the “deserving” and the “undeserving” poor in a manner that would be rejected by modern social welfare.

### Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> *H.M.C., Fleming*, p. 174.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. *The History, Bye-Laws and Constitution of the Westmorland Society* (1922), Westmorland Library (Kendal Public Library), 1307.6 (00365), p. 5, states that the Lake Counties societies were the “oldest among the fifty county societies which are such popular institutions in London today”. For early societies elsewhere, cf. P. J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800* (Oxford, 1982), p. 105. There was a Scots Society in Norwich in 1775, a Salopian Society in Manchester in 1785, and a Norwich Society (a Whig Club) in 1808.
- <sup>3</sup> Samuel Smiles, *George Moore, Merchant and Philanthropist* (2nd ed., 1879), pp. 29-30.
- <sup>4</sup> *History of the Society* (1922), cited, p. 6.
- <sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.
- <sup>6</sup> *Cumberland Pacquet*, 6 March 1775.
- <sup>7</sup> *Cumberland Pacquet*, 29 March 1777.
- <sup>8</sup> *Cumberland Pacquet*, 5 May 1778.
- <sup>9</sup> R. S. Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland Members of Parliament* (London, 1871), pp.386-7.
- <sup>10</sup> *Cumberland Pacquet*, 23 March 1782.
- <sup>11</sup> *History* . . . (1922), p. 8, and published reports, *passim*, in regional newspaper press.
- <sup>12</sup> E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century: Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1965), p. 27. Hughes was quite wrong in attributing this to “the first Cumberland dinner” held in London, although the date, 1777, is no doubt sound enough.
- <sup>13</sup> Examples of the literature of the time are: Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes* (1st ed., 1778); William Gilpin, *Observations Relative to Picturesque Beauty . . . particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland* (2 vols., 1786); and an estimate of the impact of such works is furnished by Norman Nicholson, *The Lakers* (London, 1955).
- <sup>14</sup> T. Sanderson, ed., *The Poetical Works of Robert Anderson* (2 vols., Carlisle, 1820), introduction. For the folk-verse movement in general, C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties, 1500-1830* (Manchester, 1961), pp. 212-14.
- <sup>15</sup> J. Housman, *Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire etc.* (Carlisle, 1800), p. 105.
- <sup>16</sup> A. W. Rumney, *Tom Rumney of Melfell, 1764-1835* (Kendal, 1936), p. 29.
- <sup>17</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 9 May 1891.
- <sup>18</sup> *Westmorland Advertiser and Kendal Chronicle* (given below as *Kendal Chronicle*, 15 May 1813).
- <sup>19</sup> *Report of the Cumberland Benevolent Institution* (1850), p. 5, in collection of cuttings and other material at the Tullie House Library, Carlisle, L.81.
- <sup>20</sup> Vide A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London* (London, 1908-13), Vol. 2, p. 143; Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.s*, p. 443.
- <sup>21</sup> Smiles, *George Moore*, pp. 25-8.
- <sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 25.
- <sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 27.
- <sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 28.
- <sup>25</sup> *Whitehaven News*, 12 February 1914.
- <sup>26</sup> Smiles, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- <sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

- <sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 59, 66.
- <sup>29</sup> *Whitehaven News*, 7 March 1872.
- <sup>30</sup> *Census of 1891*, Ages, Occupations etc., Vol. III, p. 482. For the purpose of these calculations, registration London is treated as one; if, however, we extend into Kent, Surrey and Middlesex, the numbers of settlers from Cumberland and Westmorland are scarcely more than doubled. The *Census of 1851* (Occupations, Vol. I, p. 31) gives a total of 4,173 such in-migrants in London.
- <sup>31</sup> *Vide* Cornelia Nicholson, *A Well Spent Life: a Memoir of Cornelius Nicholson* (Kendal, 1890); obituary in *Westmorland Gazette*, 13 July 1889.
- <sup>32</sup> For Carr Glyn, Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, I, 389; II, 188; D. S. Tate, "The Kendal Elite – their Cohesiveness and Challenges" (M.A. Dissertation, Univ. of Lancaster, 1976), p. 9; for the properties, J. R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London, 1869), pp. 246-8. Grafton Road – see *infra* – was on land bought by the London and Birmingham Railway from Lord Southampton; Kellett, 246.
- <sup>33</sup> *Whitehaven Herald*, 22 May 1875. For Westmorland Society members, *Constitution, Bye-laws etc. of the Westmorland Society* (1874), Westmorland and Kendal Library, local collection, 370.6.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>35</sup> *Carlisle Patriot*, 27 May 1881, 13 May 1887.
- <sup>36</sup> Cornelia Nicholson, *passim*; *Westmorland Gazette*, 13 July 1899.
- <sup>37</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 10 May 1856.
- <sup>38</sup> Collection of MS items relating to the Westmorland Society, Cumbria Record Office (Kendal office), SO/91/31.
- <sup>39</sup> *Whitehaven Herald*, 22 May 1875.
- <sup>40</sup> *History etc. of the Westmorland Society* (1922), p. 9.
- <sup>41</sup> *1874 Report of the Society* (see n. 33 above), p. 10.
- <sup>42</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 9 May 1891.
- <sup>43</sup> *History, Bye-laws and Constitution of the Westmorland Society* (1922), pp. 10-11.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>45</sup> William Nicholson in *Westmorland Gazette*, 14 May 1853.
- <sup>46</sup> Collection of brochures and programmes in the Tullie House collection of the Cumberland Benevolent Institution; this statement was often repeated. Cf. statement for May, 1881, *loc. cit.*
- <sup>47</sup> *City Press*, 15 May 1880, from cuttings in the same collection.
- <sup>48</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 30 March 1869.
- <sup>49</sup> The same newspaper, advertisement of 12 March 1869.
- <sup>50</sup> *City Press*, 25 January 1875.
- <sup>51</sup> W. R. Mitchell, *The John Peel Story* (1968), pp. 49-52.
- <sup>52</sup> Dinner programme in Tullie House collection, M.1137; *Whitehaven News*, 11 May 1876.
- <sup>53</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 12 May 1876; *City Press*, 24 May 1879.
- <sup>54</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, 27 October 1917, for Whitehead's life story and obituary. The origins of the "welfare state" lie in Germany; Bismarck used it to keep social order and control, a fact sometimes ignored by present day politicians.
- <sup>55</sup> *City Press*, 25 May 1889.
- <sup>56</sup> *Carlisle Express*, 14 June 1890. (This newspaper was published 1861-1913).
- <sup>57</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 17 May 1893; *Carlisle Patriot*, 17 June 1898.
- <sup>58</sup> *Kendal Mercury and Times*, 5 May 1899.
- <sup>59</sup> *Carlisle Patriot*, 13 May 1887.
- <sup>60</sup> *10th Annual Report of the Cumberland and Westmorland Association of London* (1914-15), p. 16 (at the Westmorland Library (Kendal Public Library)), /o60.
- <sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17 and *passim*.
- <sup>62</sup> *Whitehaven News*, 12 February 1914, 9 April 1914.
- <sup>63</sup> *10th Annual Report*, cited, p. 12. The *Transactions* of this Society were then collected by the newer London body, as were other volumes on the Lake Counties. The older associations, which continued to function until around the First World War, had shown very little scholarly interest of this kind. The more socially-inclined Cumberland and Westmorland societies have continued to foregather in numerous towns until recent times, when they suffered severe damage – so a secretary of one of them told me – from the ease of motorway communication.