

***Hubert Hall (1857-1944): Archival Endeavour and  
the Promotion of Historical Enterprise***

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of  
the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in  
Philosophy by Margaret Ruth Procter**

**February 2012**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the career of Hubert Hall (1857–1944). Hall began work at the Public Record Office in 1879, ending his career there as an Assistant Keeper in 1921. At the same time, and until 1939, he was heavily involved with many organizations and institutions, most notably the Royal Historical Society, the London School of Economics and the Royal Commission on Public Records. His numerous activities as a ‘historical worker’ were aimed at the ‘promotion of historical enterprise(s)’. Before 1900 his writing, on historical topics, and his editorial work were carried out primarily independently. After that date much of his published work derived from his teaching work (most successfully from seminar-based collaborations); this included works which addressed archival science and archival management. The shift in the type of work produced can be attributed to the furore, orchestrated by John Horace Round, surrounding his edition of *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, a dispute which had a notorious public airing in the late 1890s, but a longer and more private genesis dating back to the previous decade.

The context for this examination of Hall’s career is the professionalization of history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the period during which he also began and ended his PRO career. The consolidation of the professional infrastructure of history by the early 1920s also signalled the divergence of archival management and academic history as separate disciplines. As a result, archivists in particular lost sight of their professional antecedents, with received opinion now dating the start of British archival thinking to the appearance of Hilary Jenkinson’s *Manual of Archive Administration* in 1922. These antecedents include a rich seam of archival writing (both theoretical and practical) by Hall and his PRO contemporaries (notably Charles Johnson and Charles Crump) and the work of a generation of women historical workers, many of whom have been identified as benefiting from Hall’s teaching, and his support. The ‘disappearance’ of these women from university-based history after the 1930s has been well documented in the literature; it is anticipated that future research would identify their re-emergence in, or their transfer to, the post-World War 2 archival domain.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AHA	American Historical Association
BMD	General Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths
CEIP	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
CKS	Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone
HSC	Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion
IHR	Institute of Historical Research
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts)
KCL	King's College London
JRULM	John Rylands University Library, Manchester
LSE	The London School of Economics and Political Science
NLW	National Library of Wales
PRO	Public Record Office
RCPR	Royal Commission on Public Records
RO	Record Office
RNVR	Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve
RHS	Royal Historical Society
VCH	Victoria County History

### Publications

<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>RBE</i>	<i>Red Book of the Exchequer</i>
<i>THSC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Emeritus Professor Christopher Allmand, Dr John Cantwell, Sue Carr (RHS), Dr Michael Cook, Dr Andy Davies, Professor Michael Hughes, Dr Chris Lewis, Professor Elizabeth Shepherd, and all those mentioned individually in the footnotes.

Caroline Williams, Clare Gibson, Julian Davis.

Bryn Marsh and Eleanor Marsh.

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# INTRODUCTION

*Duco ergo ad vos chartarum custodem et editorem, Hubertum Hall<sup>1</sup>*

## **Why this thesis?**

This thesis grew out of the serendipitous discovery in the University of Liverpool Library of *British Archives*,<sup>2</sup> a book published in 1925 by Hubert Hall, and thus evidence that more individuals had given thought to archival management, its practice and principle, than received wisdom suggested. Generations of archive students<sup>3</sup> have learnt that archival literature began with Hilary Jenkinson and continued with Theodore Schellenberg. For many British and Anglophone archivists, there is no (archival) life before Jenkinson.

Hall's book appeared as part of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) series, the Economic and Social History of the World War. This prestigious commission suggests that his views on archives were considered as valuable as those of Jenkinson, whose *Manual of Archival Administration* appeared in the same series. (Its extended title, including *the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making*, omitted from the second edition, makes its origins clear.) On the bookshelves at least these two archival works have parity; they were commissioned (though not published) at the same time,<sup>4</sup> and both authors were highly experienced officers at the Public Record Office (PRO). However, only Jenkinson's work has survived, to become an iconic founding text and accepted as a groundbreaking statement of archival principles.<sup>5</sup>

The identification of Hall as an author embodying British archival expertise in the early 1920s suggested that received wisdom about the beginnings of British archival theory might benefit from some revision. Having identified Hall as a significant figure, I wanted to explore that landscape through his experience. Looking beyond the accepted narrative provided the opportunity to discover the wealth of archival literature which existed in the

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<sup>1</sup> Oration, Hon. DLitt presentation 4 Dec. 1920, *Cambridge University Reporter*, 7 Dec. 1920, p.386: 'I present to you therefore, Hubert Hall, keeper and editor of records'.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hall, *British Archives and the Sources for the History of the World War* (London, 1925).

<sup>3</sup> Both British and, as P. Wosh, has recently pointed out, North American, Waldo Gifford Leland and *the Origins of the American Archival Profession* (Chicago, 2011), p.368.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. T. Eastwood, 'Jenkinson's Writings on Some Enduring Archival Themes', *American Archivist*, 47 (2004), pp.31-44.



HUBERT HALL, 1857-1944  
(at the age of 62)

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In examining the milieu from which this material emerged I also rediscovered Hall as an exemplar of a world which no longer exists, the world of the 'historical worker'.

### *Hubert Hall*

'The outstanding feature of his great mass of achievement', stated Hall's obituary in *The Times*<sup>6</sup>

. . . was its pioneer quality. When hardly anyone in England had thought of teaching people to read medieval writings he thought of it and did it. While others still saw little of interest in the Public Records beyond the Chancery enrolments he was exploring the port books. When for most people archives were only collections of documents to be valued according as they served or did not serve the known interests of the present, he saw in them parts of one vast body whose unlimited usefulness must be safeguarded for the unknown interests of the future. He blazed the trails which many now follow.

Knowledge of this apparently substantial contribution to the archival world appears, like his writing, to have been lost to archival tradition. I shall also attempt to remedy that here. In using Hall as an exemplar, but also specifically, this thesis will argue that his work and the contribution of his generation to archival practice and theory has, largely, been disregarded and that Jenkinson's continuing pre-eminence has been artificially bolstered by those same factors which were to divide historians and archivists in the 1920s. In 1921, when Hall retired from the PRO, the infrastructure of professional history was only recently fully constructed; his gradual withdrawal from professional work from the late 1920s and early 1930s coincided with the consolidation and separation of historians and archivists as separate disciplines, a process in which he was too late to play a part. That same process of consolidation allowed Jenkinson (some 25 years younger than Hall) to achieve his position as pre-eminent British archival theoretician, his work ultimately being disseminated through a developing network of county record offices, through university-based archival education and the establishment of archival associations.

I will use Hall's career to illustrate the nature of what I call 'archival endeavour' before those changes came about. In what is, in effect, his professional biography, I will examine

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<sup>6</sup> 'Hubert Hall' [obituary], *The Times*, 3 Aug. 1944, p.8.

his 40-year career at the PRO, his published writing, in particular his work on economic history and on archival science, his activities within the Royal Historical Society (RHS) (where he was Literary Director for 50 years) and his highly influential teaching roles. His professional life cannot be understood without knowledge of his personal life (the two are hardly separate) and of his friendships and networks created and maintained over 60 years. Though there were reservations about the lasting scholarly value of some of his work, equally consistent were acknowledgements (both in print and privately) of 'his constant kindness and gentleness, his generous encouragements, and his willingness to help others'.<sup>7</sup> His support for generations of students, and for women's careers in historical work, is particularly distinguished. I will also be charting his literary career in some detail, partly because his writing was so important to him, but also in order to understand, as suggested earlier, what constituted British archival thinking before the 1920s. In the latter respect I shall also be considering the works of Hall's contemporaries (particularly Charles Johnson and Charles Crump) who, like him, made contributions which are barely, if at all, remembered.

Ultimately I seek to re-position Hall as an exemplar of a role now extinct in the over-professionalized academic and scholarly world, that of the historical worker. (The extinction of such a role has meant that even establishing a meaningful title for the thesis has been difficult.) The phrase 'the promotion of historical enterprise' (or enterprises) which I use throughout this thesis was the title he gave in his own *curriculum vitae* to the extensive list of activities he undertook over half a century from the Domesday Commemorations in 1886 to his membership of the Executive Committee for the Bibliography of Modern British History which he relinquished in 1934.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> C[harles] J[ohnson], 'Hubert Hall, 1857–1944', *TRHS*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser. 28 (1946), pp.1–5.

<sup>8</sup> Papers of Hubert Hall, Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone (hereafter CKS), U890 F1.

### *Research Objectives and Contribution to Knowledge*

In light of the preceding rationale for this thesis, its overarching research objective can be summarized as follows:

to assess the extent to which Hubert Hall is, or is representative of, a type of 'historical worker', prefiguring the professional archivists of the mid to late 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose status, being uncategorizable by current standards, has therefore been ignored and whose work, similarly, merits recognition as contributing to what is now commonly held to be Anglophone archival theory.

In providing this assessment I aim to make an original contribution to knowledge in several areas:

1. As a contribution to archival historiography, by
  - placing Hall as an important figure in late nineteenth/early twentieth century historiography through the writing of his 'professional biography';
  - identifying the characteristics of the 'historical worker' and the activities which constituted the promotion of historical enterprise;
  - elucidation of the specific circumstances leading to the separation of archivists and historians as separate disciplines.
  
2. As a contribution towards archival science, by offering the possibility of a re-evaluation of Jenkinson's place within the 'archival academy'. This thesis suggests that Jenkinson's predominance (whether or not it is *per se* merited is not a question I discuss here) has resulted in the loss of awareness of any other contributions to British archival theory. Knowledge of that earlier work should have an impact on modern archival science. For example, if 'Jenkinsonian theory' is not the articulation of a consensus, but an individual's perspective, what are the implications for the so-called 'neo-Jenkinsonians' or the 'post-custodialists' who, variously, at the turn of the twenty-first century, and in the digital environment, have developed new theoretical models with reference to that one individual?

3. As a contribution towards research practice or methodology, by
  - identifying an extensive collection of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century literature bearing on archival science but not previously used in any study of its development;
  - compiling an authoritative bibliography of Hall's published work.

### *Structure of the Thesis*

The thesis is divided into chronological and thematic chapters. They cover (Chapter 1) Hall's family life (including lives of his family members); his professional career and retirement (Chapters 2 and 5); and one significant incident in Hall's life, his editorship of the Red Book of the Exchequer (Chapter 4). The thematic chapters deal with and, additionally, contextualize particular aspects of Hall's activities. Chapter 3 examines his historical writing and especially his use of records, within the context of nineteenth-century historical writing. Chapter 6 considers his pedagogy and its impact, within the context of the development of advanced historical study. Chapter 7 is a review of his archival writing, with an examination of the sources used by him and his direct contemporaries to inform and develop their own contribution to archival science. The brief conclusion will provide a summary and suggest some areas for future research.

### *Methodology*

Any attempt to position a thesis within the academic discipline of archival science, an embryonic discipline with myriad possible approaches and subject areas, immediately problematizes the adoption of a methodology.<sup>9</sup> Because this thesis seeks to explain developments in the archival field over time I have adopted a traditional historical approach based on archival research and the use of primary and secondary sources. In Chapters 3 and 7 the primary sources themselves (including Hall's own work) are the subject of the discussion and the extended literature reviews in those chapters have much in common with critical literary analysis.<sup>10</sup> I have not deliberately adopted any particular

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<sup>9</sup> E. Shepherd, 'An Academic Dilemma. The Tale of Archives and Records Management', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science* [online first] 28 Nov. 2011. DOI: 10.1177/0961000611427067. For an international perspective see A. Gilliland and S. Mckemish, 'Building an Infrastructure for Archival Research', *Archival Science*, 4 (2004), pp. 149–97 (a special issue on the topic).

<sup>10</sup> The emergence and acceptance of 'mixed methods research' within the social sciences is noted. Developed to reconcile quantitative and qualitative methodologies, its existence is a helpful framework for any future discussion of archival science research. See, e.g., R. Johnson and A.

historical perspective or theoretical framework, though I engaged, to a limited extent (and *post hoc* rather than *propter hoc* late in the thesis process) with theoretical discussions of biography or life-writing

A chronology for Hall's life was required for two reasons (at least): to establish a framework for the narrative chapters and to provide a context for – with the intention of being able to provide a more nuanced interpretation of – the development of his professional thinking and writing. A chronology of a life is suggestive of biography, a suggestion which raised questions in turn about the validity, and indeed possibility, of such an undertaking. The post-Freudian, post-postmodern researcher writes in the knowledge that any account is necessarily incomplete both 'factually' and psychologically: the impossibility of identifying and recording the facts, let alone the motivations, of one's own life, immediately demonstrate the impossibility of 'constructing' any other. Nevertheless, the urge to write biography (and the popular appetite for it) has been widespread. British biographical writing has its own life history, with its emergence in recognizably 'modern' form dating from the late seventeenth century.<sup>11</sup> Its development has encompassed its use as memorial or panegyric and as instruction (through exemplars of what it means to lead a 'good' life). Samuel Johnson's contribution was to demonstrate that successful biography was not just constructed around 'great men'; that readers were as (or more) likely empathize with the misfortunes or vices of less admirable individuals. James Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, based on the protagonists' personal intimacy and the biographer's extensive research and first published in 1791, 'was widely regarded through the nineteenth century as the greatest biography ever written'.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast, the nineteenth century itself is considered the nadir of biographical writing, with taste requiring the decorous and wholesome treatment of the subject and the emphasis firmly away from the domestic sphere (or at least any hint of difficulties of impropriety in that area). James Froude's series of searingly honest accounts of the troubled lives and marriage of Thomas and Jane Carlyle (from 1881) caused a public scandal but were also the harbinger of the development, in the twentieth century, of

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Onwuegbuzie, 'Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm whose Time has Come', *Educational Researcher*, 33 (2004), pp. 14–26.

<sup>11</sup> The following section draws loosely on B. Cain, *History and Biography*, specifically Chap.2, 'A History of Biography'.

<sup>12</sup> Cain, *History and Biography*, p.33.

biography as an increasingly psychologically-informed genre. The interdisciplinary mix of psychology, literature and history inevitably resulted in the emergence of the study of biography (and of autobiography) as a discrete academic discipline with increasing sub-specializations;<sup>13</sup> a recent annual bibliography of biography (that is, excluding biographies *per se*) listed 1,400 items appearing in 2010/11.<sup>14</sup> Had this thesis been intended *primarily* as a biography it would clearly have been necessary to frame it explicitly (or implicitly) within one of these sub-genres (or alternatively to reject categorization, explicitly or implicitly).

Nonetheless, even this brief engagement with the discourse of biographical writing quickly highlighted its usefulness: in particular two specific areas quickly emerged as potentially fruitful. The possibilities presented by prosopography seem obvious for discussion of Hall's generation of PRO assistant keepers, and, more particularly for the large number of women historical workers at the beginning of the century. Also apparent are the possibilities presented by biographical writing based not on exceptionalism but, explicitly on exemplification: the subject (in this case Hall) acting as surrogate for a certain defined group.

As it has been constructed, one particular biography, of Eileen Power by Maxine Berg, had a significant influence on the philosophy (insofar as that is evident) of this thesis. Berg's aim, to place Power 'in the intellectual and cultural history of her generation, to analyse her work and the contribution she made, and with this to uncover what I could from fragmentary evidence the details of her personal life<sup>15</sup> became (or I have at least intended it to be) a model for my approach to Hall, and I acknowledge a debt to Berg in this respect. To do so was of course particularly satisfying as Power was a student of Hall's and a professional colleague for some 20 years. On a personal note I add here that the (incidental) reading of biographies provided inspirational examples of the creation of narratives, and the re-creation of past intellectual environments from multiple sources, for example, Amanda Foreman's *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, or, from archival

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<sup>13</sup> E.g., journals such as *Biography*, 1978–, *Auto/biography*, c1993–, *Journal of Medical Biography*, 1993, *Journal of Historical Biography*, 2007–.

<sup>14</sup> P. Wachter and A. Yamashiro, 'Annual Bibliography of Works about Life Writing, 2010–2011', *Biography*, pp.676–816.

<sup>15</sup> M. Berg, *A Woman in History: Eileen Power 1889–1940* (Cambridge and Melbourne, 1996), p.xiv.

fragments, as, for example with Charles Nicholl's *Shakespeare on Silver Street*,<sup>16</sup> both works of scholarship as well as stories. Though it was often tempting to take that approach I have tried to treat the thesis purely as an academic exercise and to avoid the lure of story-telling: 'Historians' narratives can be seductive . . . [they are often] pure extrapolation'.<sup>17</sup>

#### *Archival and Primary Sources: Family and Personal Life*

The only existing biography of Hall is the *ODNB* entry originally written by his PRO colleague and friend Charles Johnson and updated by Geoffrey Martin.<sup>18</sup> Johnson also wrote the 'appreciation' published in the *TRHS*<sup>19</sup> and these and the obituary in *The Times* are similar in tone, though the *TRHS* also provides more personal information, touching on Hall's interests outside his professional milieu. The archival sources corroborated the general outlines of these published accounts and were far more extensive than the six collections recorded in the National Register of Archives. A small number of Hall's personal papers were deposited by his wife at what became the Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, in 1961.<sup>20</sup> These include a 'Biographical Note' compiled expressly by Hall, probably after 1939, 'to assist biographical reference'.<sup>21</sup> PRO44 (not classed as Public Records) at The National Archives (TNA) comprises a miscellaneous collection of Hall's working papers. It includes draft reports relating to the PRO, material relating to the Royal Commission on Public Records (RCPR) which Hall appears to have returned to the PRO at or after his retirement; and some later accruals, notably from papers deposited after his wife's death, by Joan Wake, Winifred Hall's executor. The majority of his papers were probably destroyed in the bomb which hit his house in Kent in July 1944 and which resulted in his death.<sup>22</sup> As all his children predeceased him it seems likely that what was deposited at Kent and what survives at TNA are the only extant 'family' papers.

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<sup>16</sup> A. Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (London, 1999); C. Nicholl, *The Lodger: Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> J. Zinsser, *Emilie Du Châtelet, Daring Genius of the Enlightenment* (London, 2007), p.15.

<sup>18</sup> C. Johnson, 'Hall, Hubert (1857–1944)', rev. G. Martin, *ONBD* (2004).

<sup>19</sup> J[ohnson], 'Hubert Hall'.

<sup>20</sup> Accessioned by Dr [Felix] Hull, 3 Nov. 1961: deposited by Mrs W Hall, Roseglade, Robin Hood Lane, Rochester (e-mail to M. Procter from Michael Carter, CKS, 3 July 2006).

<sup>21</sup> KCS, U890 F1.

<sup>22</sup> Winifred Hall to Mrs Carr Saunders, London School of Economics, Institutional Archives, Hall's Staff File (hereafter LSE Staff File), 3 Sept. 1944.

As the biographical element of the thesis grew I was drawn into genealogical research to collect or verify life events. A number of standard genealogical sources have been used including the General Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths (BMD) and Census records, all accessed through the subscription service ancestry.co.uk . The Census records are not wholly reliable, and there are mistakes in both contemporaneous recording and subsequent transcriptions; the 1871 data is particularly badly transcribed. Unless otherwise specified, information derived from the BMD and Census is not acknowledged in the footnotes. Personal notices in *The Times* (used via the Times Digital Archive) were also used.

Of Hall's three children, his daughter Marjorie is the most visible in the archival sources. After 1916, some of her personal letters have survived in the deposited papers of D. L. Daniels and John Bodfan Anwyn at the National Library of Wales (NLW); more evidence survives in the administrative records of the NLW and the University of Liverpool where she was employed. John and Richard (Jack and Dickie) are both referenced in the correspondence of Winifred and Hall. John's professional activities made him visible in the archives of the Law Society and in Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve records but Richard, whose unspecified disability is a defining feature of his life, is absent even from the 1911 census (though one photograph is extant, see Figure 3).

#### *Archival and Primary Sources: Professional Activities*

As a man with numerous professional commitments and roles, and an extensive network of colleagues and friends, Hall's own correspondence, reports and so on can be found in the archives of those institutions with which he was involved, particularly the PRO and the London School of Economics (LSE). His career can also be charted through the administrative records of those organizations and in the correspondence where he forms the subject rather than being sender or recipient. In the US there is a notable collection of his letters in the papers of the historian Charles M. Andrews at Yale, a long-time personal friend. Some of Hall's correspondence survives in collections of published letters, e.g. of John Franklin Jameson<sup>23</sup> and of F.W. Maitland.<sup>24</sup> *The Times* provided incidental details of

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<sup>23</sup> E. Donnan and L. Stock, *An Historian's World. Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia, 1956).

<sup>24</sup> C. Fifoot, *The Letters of Frederic William Maitland* (London, 1965).

events Hall attended (or at least had planned to attend) as a public person.<sup>25</sup> At some periods so much information was available from various sources that it was possible to reconstruct his activities on a weekly, and sometimes daily, basis (and much was learned, or at least inferred, from the subject matter and timing of his publications).

I found only scattered evidence for the long association with Sidney and Beatrice Webb, referred to in the obituaries. The few letters from Beatrice in CKS U890 were not enough to establish whether that association began in the PRO searchrooms, or because of a common political outlook, or even through the Civil Service examination system. I have assumed that Hall was a Liberal: a current of Liberalism runs through his life (though without ever being overt), evident from his associations with Oscar Browning (Cambridge historian, teacher, RHS member and unsuccessful Liberal parliamentary candidate), Walter Wren (owner and director of Hall's Civil Service crammer and unsuccessful Liberal parliamentary candidate), the Webbs, the LSE, Welsh nationalist interests and so on. The Welsh connection too has been difficult to pin down with any certainty, though again it is evident from the late 1890s to the end of his career.

The list of manuscript sources is highly unlikely to be comprehensive, given Hall's extensive range of correspondents; a few archives known to exist were not consulted because of time or practical constraints (in particular the Oscar Browning papers at King's College Cambridge) With the exception of the Joan Wake collection (355 unlisted boxes) at Northamptonshire RO (unknown to Wake's ONDB biographer), most of the others appear to be of minor interest.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Though not used in this thesis, the guest lists for annual receptions of the British Records Association provide evidence of make-up of the embryonic 'archival community'; see, in *The Times*, 'British Records Association', 13 Nov. 1934, p.17 and 19 Nov. 1935, p.19; 'Piecing History Together', 16 Nov. 1937, p.21.

<sup>26</sup> 170 letters from Hall, 1886-1911, King's College Cambridge archives, OB/1/718-719/A; the Bodleian Library holds miscellaneous letters from Hall in MS. Bryce, MS. Firth and MS Eng (Sidney Lee, H. W. C. Davis, H. A. L. Fisher); NLW, miscellaneous letters in the Papers of Edward Morgan Humphreys, the Edward Edwards MSS, University College Wales Aberystwyth records, 9410B; one letter in Cambridge University Library, Add.7481/H2 M. R. James; London Metropolitan University, Women's Library, Women's Service Bureau Records, Committee for Furthering the Employment of Women Archivists, 2LSW/F/2/06, 1916. In the US, the Library of Congress, Papers of J. Franklin Jameson, Box 91, has one file of Hall's letters (100-150 items), 1893-1925.. The privately-held Temperley Papers were reported to hold correspondence between Hall and Stephen Gaselee, Foreign Office Librarian, material used by T. Otte, in 'A "German Paperchase": The 'Scrap of Paper' Controversy and the Problem of Myth and Memory in International History', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 18 (2007), pp.53-87.

The most important published primary sources are the reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records (1912–1919). The minutes of evidence and the numerous appendices provide a detailed account of the Public Record system in England and Wales and have rightly been described as ‘a fitting memorial to [Hall’s] work’.<sup>27</sup> They are a major, though somewhat under-used, resource for archival historiography and for this thesis provided much information on training and education and on archival processes in particular. The annual reports of the Deputy Keeper of the PRO proved useful for statistical information but otherwise were not as illuminating as might have been expected.

#### *Primary Sources: Hall’s Published Work*

Hall’s published works served as primary sources for much of this thesis. There was no comprehensive bibliography (not excluding his own at CKS U890). His bibliography as it appears in this thesis was compiled from a variety of bibliographic databases, footnoted citations and references in other published works or from mentions in correspondence. Material which was originally published anonymously has been attributed to him either through his own later confirmation or by subsequent references in bibliographic tools (in particular the Wellesley Index for British Periodicals and the indexes of the *Times Literary Supplement*) or in the secondary literature. The online availability of nineteenth century periodicals and newspapers which continued to increase throughout the seven years spent working on this thesis provided invaluable in identifying much of this material; even so, given Hall’s rate of output, it seems likely that the bibliography is incomplete.

The state and status of historical writing, including historical fiction, was investigated to place Hall’s work in its context. Of particular relevance to some of his writing was the debate, already well aired at the end of the nineteenth century, over the complex relationship between ‘history’ and ‘the novel’ (conflated sometimes uneasily in the term ‘historical novel’)<sup>28</sup> For the way in which his writing was judged by his peers, book reviews in the newly-established scholarly journals, particularly the *English Historical Review* (*EHR*) and the *American Historical Review* (*AHR*), and in the well-established periodical press proved useful not just to see the critical reception accorded to Hall, but

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<sup>27</sup> J. Cantwell, *The Public Record Office 1838–1958* (London, 1991), p.386.

<sup>28</sup> J. Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales* (London, 1902), 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (1911); E. Baker, *History in Fiction: A Guide to the Best Romances, Sagas, Novels and Tales* (London, 1907); G. Saintsbury, *Nineteenth Century Literature* (London, 1896).

because of what they could reveal of professional controversies and, on occasions, petty personal squabbles.

Reviews were particularly helpful for my account of the Red Book of the Exchequer (RBE) affair (Chapter 3), a dispute between Hall and John Horace Round over Hall's edition of the manuscript. Both protagonists exchanged arguments in print (some of which were privately printed), and the edition was extensively reviewed. Any account of the affair has to rely heavily on this material and thus Chapter 3 itself acts as an extended literature review in this respect. The easy accessibility of the material has meant, on the other hand, that its previous historiography has relied on, or centred on, this printed material; here I have based descriptions of the earlier part of their relationship on letters from Hall to Round, and from the correspondence between Round and Maxwell Lyte at the PRO, allowing some opportunity for corroboration of claim and counterclaim.<sup>29</sup> These were used too by Round's recent biographer W. Raymond Powell. I have made use of the two published biographical accounts of Round. The first was written in 1930 by William Page, a close friend and colleague of Round, and appearing, of course, while Hall was still active.<sup>30</sup> Page diplomatically described the two men as being 'of such opposite dispositions'.<sup>31</sup> Powell's 2001 biography of Round draws heavily on Round's family papers deposited in the Essex Record Office.<sup>32</sup> I have not considered the subsequent reception of the *RBE* in any detail. Maxwell Lyte considered that given the criticism it received, 'no student of the present generation [was] likely to accept it as an infallible authority'.<sup>33</sup> Although that has remained the default view,<sup>34</sup> there has been no substantive critical re-evaluation. Nevertheless the edition has received some positive comment in modern times: an article written in 1998 commended its discussion of legal glossaries as pioneering for example.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> University of London, Senate House Library, J. H. Round Papers, MS924; TNA PRO 37 Rolls Correspondence; and PRO 1/158 General correspondence.

<sup>30</sup> W. Page, *Family Origins and other Studies by the Late J. Horace Round MA, LL.D.* (London, 1930)

<sup>31</sup> Page, *Family Origins*, p.xxviii. 'I have cut out, and tried to cut down, much in the present volume which might have hurt Hall's feelings', private letter from W. Page to Maxwell Lyte quoted in W. Powell, *John Horace Round. Historian and Gentleman of Essex* (Chelmsford, 2001), p.110.

<sup>32</sup> Powell, *John Horace Round*.

<sup>33</sup> H. Lyte to J. Round, 13 Nov. 1902, TNA PRO 37/16B.

<sup>34</sup> Most recently in the context of Hall's inconsistent dating practice: see J. Moore, 'Redating the *Cartae Baronum*', *Archives*, 36, nos. 123–124 (2011), pp.1–3.

<sup>35</sup> D. Skemer, 'Expositio Vocabulorum: A Medieval English Glossary as Archival Aid', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 19 (1998), pp.63–75.

### *Primary Sources: Influences on British Archival Writing*

Chapter 7 is a literature review in its own right, identifying a body of work which can legitimately be described as archival science. An examination of that work (primarily produced by Hall, Charles Johnson and Charles Crump, and then by Jenkinson) shows it to reference regularly a small corpus of earlier or contemporaneous work. I suggest in Chapter 7 that this corpus, including French and German material, was influential at one remove in the development of British archival theory and the codification of archival practice in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

### *Secondary Literature*

As already suggested, neither historians nor archivists have given much attention to archival historiography. This is also apparent in the US, where the neglect of individuals who prefigure the iconic authors reflects the situation in the UK. Peter Wosh's recent work on Waldo Leland,<sup>36</sup> and Randall Jimerson's on Leland and Jameson<sup>37</sup> respond to the same imperative as my own in identifying the precursors of the canon. Such work is one of several indications within the last decade that the archival community has started to become interested in its own history, witness also the enthusiasm for the International Conference on the History of Archives and Recordkeeping series (I-CHORA) which began in 2003, and its embryonic offshoot UK-CHORA. (I should also note the publication of three articles derived from research for this thesis and which have contributed to it.)<sup>38</sup>

For the British archival scene Elizabeth Shepherd's overview of the development of archival provision in the twentieth century remains the only monograph account to date and provides a useful starting point for many further lines of enquiry.<sup>39</sup> Its principal focus is on the development of the archival profession from the 1920s and 1930s (in effect the period immediately following that addressed in this thesis). Professionalization is a theme

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<sup>36</sup> Wosh, *Waldo Gifford Leland*.

<sup>37</sup> 'American Historians and European Archival Theory: The Collaboration of J. Franklin Jameson and Waldo G. Leland', *Archival Science* (2006), pp.299-312.

<sup>38</sup> M. Procter, 'Consolidation and Separation: British Archives and American Historians at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Archival Science*, 6 (2006), pp.361-79; 'Life before Jenkinson: the Development of British Archival Theory and Thought at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Archives*, 33 (2008), pp.136-57; 'What's an Archivist? Some Nineteenth Century Perspectives', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 31 (2010), pp.15-28.

<sup>39</sup> E. Shepherd, 'Towards Professionalism? Archives and Archivists in England in the 20<sup>th</sup> century', PhD thesis, University College London, 2004; and E. Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in 20<sup>th</sup> Century England* (Aldershot, 2009).

of much of the literature on history and historians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; a solitary article on PRO keepers as archival professionals in the mid to late nineteenth century by historian Phillipa Levine<sup>40</sup> has been often quoted but not much discussed. Though persuasive, I find her argument unsound on a number of points, a view supported, if briefly, by Philip Lambert.<sup>41</sup> The notable exception to the dearth of UK archival history is the outstanding account of the PRO between 1838 and 1958 by John Cantwell.<sup>42</sup> It is impossible to speak too highly of the scholarship and critical synthesis represented by this book; in the case of Hall's role with the RCPR and its consequences, it gives a much fuller account than that appearing in this thesis.

### *The Professionalization of History and the Teaching of History*

The literature on the professionalization of history, on the other hand, is extensive, partly because of the large amount of primary material available for study;<sup>43</sup> the process was, of course, part of a far broader intellectual paradigm shift which has also been widely discussed.<sup>44</sup> Because of Hall's involvement with economic history I have engaged with the specific discussion on the development of that sub-discipline.<sup>45</sup> For university history teaching (itself an indicator of professionalization), there is an extensive literature, both primary and secondary.<sup>46</sup> For the development of the seminar, in particular (required to contextualize Hall's own teaching) there is less material: a good, but high-level overview of

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<sup>40</sup> P. Levine, 'History in the Archives: the Public Record Office and its Staff, 1838–1886', *EHR*, 101 (1986), pp.20–41.

<sup>41</sup> P. Lambert, 'The Professionalisation of History in Britain', 2008 [online] [www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/professionalisation.html](http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/professionalisation.html) [viewed 27 Jan. 2012].

<sup>42</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*.

<sup>43</sup> D. Goldstein, 'The Organizational Development of the British Historical Profession, 1884–1921', *BIHR*, 55 (1982), pp.180–93. She notes 'the large quantity of existing archival materials' in both individual and institutional collections.

<sup>44</sup> T. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London, 1982), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (2002); R. Jann, *The Art and Science of Victorian History*, (Columbus, Ohio, 1985).

<sup>45</sup> A. Kadish, *The Oxford Economists in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1982); and *Historians, Economists, and Economic History* (London, 1989) Koot, G., *English Historical Economics, 1870–1926: The Rise of Economic History and Neomercantilism*, (Cambridge, 1988).

<sup>46</sup> For primary accounts see W. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History* (Oxford, 1887), especially 'On the Present State of Prospects of Historical Study' (1876); and W. Archbold, ed., *Essays on the Teaching of History* (Cambridge, 1901) For a comprehensive bibliography see R. Soffer, *Discipline and Power: the University, History, and the Making of an English Elite, 1870–1930* (Stanford, 1994); for the United States (which nevertheless informs the British situation) see P. Novick, *That Noble Dream: the "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988) and J. Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (Baltimore and London, 1989), especially Chapters 1 and 2.

the topic in Lambert and Schofield,<sup>47</sup> a detailed and scholarly account of dialectic origins of the German seminar by W. Clark,<sup>48</sup> but no satisfactory secondary account of its specifically British adoption in the period under discussion (as there is for America). There are, instead, a couple of useful primary sources here, particularly Paul Frédéricq's mid-1880s survey of British history teaching<sup>49</sup> and a detailed account of the classic German seminary in its 'thoroughly domesticated' American incarnation by G. Adams which drew on the author's own experience of Hall's classes at LSE.<sup>50</sup> The lack of secondary sources on the British implementation of seminars is problematic; studies of the German and American models emphasize the form as 'essentially masculine'<sup>51</sup> and sometimes organized expressly to exclude women from the academic study of history. Bonnie Smith, providing an accessible synthesis of Clark,<sup>52</sup> also concludes that the seminar 'was a gendered historical activity', where 'belligerent, destructive acts occurred in seminar rooms'. This analysis does not appear to fit the evidence from Hall's (and indeed other LSE) mixed seminars and the evident success of women students in these classes.

The literature shows, as indeed my own evidence indicates, the presence of a substantial number of women in historical roles at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>53</sup> The work of Smith and other writers forms a body of gender-based historiography dealing with professionalization and its impact on these women from the latter part of the mid-nineteenth century. Although, at the beginning of the twenty-first century archival management has long been a predominantly female profession, that historiography has not extended to this area. This emergence of archives as a separate profession has thus

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<sup>47</sup> R. Harrison, A. Jones and P. Lambert, 'The Institutionalisation and Organisation of History', Chap. 1 in P. Lambert and P. Schofield, eds., *Making History: An Introduction to the History and Practices of a Discipline* (Abingdon, 2004).

<sup>48</sup> W. Clark 'On the Dialectical Origins of the Research Seminar', *History of Science*, 27 (1989), pp.111–54.

<sup>49</sup>P. Frédéricq, 'The Study of History in England and Scotland', *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 5<sup>th</sup> ser., (1887).

<sup>50</sup> G. Adams, 'The Historical Seminary', *AHR* 10 (April 1905), pp.521-533.

<sup>51</sup> Harrison, Jones and Lambert, 'Institutionalisation and Organisation of History', p.13.

<sup>52</sup> B. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000); for the historical seminar see pp.105–16.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. B. Smith, 'The Contribution of Women to Modern Historiography in Great Britain, France, and the United States, 1750–1940', *AHR*, 89 (1984), pp.709–32; and 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: The Seminar and Archival Research in the Nineteenth Century', *AHR*, 100 (1995), pp.1150–76; J. Goggin, 'Challenging Sexual Discrimination in the Historical Profession: Women Historians and the American Historical Association, 1890–1940', *AHR*, 97 (1992), pp.769–802. D. Goldstein, 'The Organizational Development of the British Historical Profession, 1884–1921', *BIHR*, 55 (1982), pp.180–93.

had the interesting historiographical side-effect of representing several generations of women as lost to history when they were, 'instead', in archival roles (once, but no longer, classed as part of the historical enterprise) Berg for example, in her account of women economic historians, notes that the fate of many other women engaged in similar historical work is unknown.<sup>54</sup> I have not pursued this aspect of my findings in this thesis, primarily because it clearly forms a significant future research area in its own right.

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<sup>54</sup> M. Berg, 'The First Women Economic Historians', *Economic History Review*, 45 (1992), pp.308–29.

# CHAPTER 1

## FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

*Of his individual and attractive personality much might be written. Many found in the reserved and erudite scholar a humorous and delightful companion and most loyal friend.<sup>55</sup>*

The first part of this Chapter provides an introduction to Hall's background, to his upbringing and to his education, and concludes with his entry into the Public Record Office in 1879. The second part continues with an account of his own family life, in particular his two marriages and, as far as the sources allow, his three children. His first wife and their two children predeceased him and it should be borne in mind that the events of Hall's career as dealt with in the course of this thesis were played out against a background of sometimes painful family events. This chapter also introduces a number of the influences which were to play a major part in Hall's life and career; these reappear in succeeding chapters either within the context of specific events, or as continuous threads throughout his life. They include a deep love of the countryside, aligned with a practical interest in agriculture, an affinity for Wales, an indication of Liberal inclinations, and in his relationship with his daughter, the importance that teaching (and particularly the education of women) held for him. These themes are addressed in more or less detail elsewhere in this thesis.

### *Childhood, Education and Entry to the Public Record Office*

Hubert Hall was born on 27 July 1857 at Hesley Park, near Doncaster but just within the Nottinghamshire border.<sup>56</sup> He was the younger son of Richard Foljambe Hall and Elizabeth Breese, née Orridge, and the youngest of three generations of Halls then living at Hesley Hall; the family was headed by Hubert's grandfather John, and his Italian-born grandmother Felice.<sup>57</sup> By 1864 the youngest generation of Halls comprised Cicely Alice, the eldest, born in 1854,<sup>58</sup> John Foljambe born around 1857 (both Hubert and John are

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<sup>55</sup> 'Hubert Hall' [obituary], *The Times*, 3 Aug. 1944, p.8.

<sup>56</sup> KCS, U890 F1.

<sup>57</sup> The 1851 Census lists Felice as a British subject, born in Milan. She died in 1863.

<sup>58</sup> According to J[ohnson], 'Hubert Hall', p.2, Hall was one of five children but I cannot identify a third sister.

given as aged 3 at the time of the 1861 census), Hubert and Melicent.<sup>59</sup> Melicent, 'younger daughter of Richard Foljambe Hall', married Charles Beazley in December 1889; Cicely may have married an Italian.<sup>60</sup>

Hall's father, brother John and his own son John were all given the middle name 'Foljambe'; the reason for this usage is unknown. Whether there is any relationship between the Halls and the Foljambe family of Osberton (sometime Earls of Liverpool) is doubtful; there is a tenuous link (on the grounds of her surname alone) between one Mary Hall (née Denner) whose family acted as stewards on the Foljambe estate.<sup>61</sup>

Hall's grandfather John farmed at Wiseton, near Bawtry, where (according to Hall's obituary)<sup>62</sup> he was agent for Lord Althorp, 3rd Earl Spencer. Althorp's main interests were in agricultural improvements; he was first President of the Royal Agricultural Society and died at Wiseton Hall, childless, in 1845. While the exact nature of John Hall's relationship with Althorp is unclear, it certainly centred on farming; in the year after Althorp's death John Hall received second prize for 12 year short-horn cow 'bred by the late Earl Spencer and fed on oil-cake, barley and bean-meal, turnips, and hay' at the Smithfield Cattle Show

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<sup>59</sup> The 1881 Census transcription lists a 19-year old daughter 'Imblend', presumably a mis-transcription of Melicent (though Melicent is not listed in e.g. the 1871 census). Melicent's marriage to Charles Percy Beazley, son of Charles N. Beazley, 32 Harcourt Terrace, London SW took place at St Mary Abbott Kensington on 21 Dec. 1889; her father, 'late of Clydesdale Mansions W[est] and of Poole Court, Gloucestershire', *The Times*, 24 Dec. 1889, p.1. Melicent appears in her father's will, 8 Feb. 1897, John and Cicely do not (Norfolk Record Office, BRA 965/4). A Cicely Foljambe Hall was presented at a Queen's drawing room, at Buckingham Palace, by Mrs Percival R Innes on Wednesday 9 May 1888 (*The Standard*, 10 May 1888, p.3.); Melicent Hall was presented by 'Lady Forster' on 16 May 1888 (*Morning Post*, 17 May 1888, p.5). Siblings are absent from Hall's correspondence; there is a 1925 mention of a 'rush to France on family business' but without details in Hall to C. Andrews, 2 Oct. 1925, Charles McLean Andrews Papers (MS38), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library (hereafter cited as Andrews Papers), Box 24, Folder 287) Marjorie Hall referred (18 June 1916) to an aunt in Devon, National Library of Wales (NLW), D. R. Daniel Papers (hereafter Daniel Papers) 1258.

<sup>60</sup> Winifred Hall referred to Hall's 'Neapolitan brother in law Cav. G Cerillo': Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 23 May 1948, Andrews Papers, Box 24, Folder 494.

<sup>61</sup> The name is pronounced 'Foljum' according to Debrett's. Information *re* the Denner stewardship from Dr. Cheryl Bailey, Sheffield Archives, e-mail to Margaret Procter, 17 March 2011 (derived from list of T. Walter Hall papers, MD2692-2696). A Foljambe Hall, son of John Hall (b.1733 ) and Mary Denner (1730-1786), b(ap) 8 Jan. 1762 at Rawmarsh, Yorks, is my earliest identified example of Hall/Foljambe used together. John Hall was born in Rawmarsh ('Romarsh' in the 1851 Census) There appears to have been a family of Yorkshire cousins, possibly including Henry Foljambe Hall (d.1905), FRHS, and editor of *Napoleon's Letters to Josephine, 1796-1821* (London,1901).

<sup>62</sup> [Johnson] 'Hubert Hall', p.2.

in Sheffield in December 1846.<sup>63</sup> When the Wiseton estate came to be sold in 1863 its agricultural reputation was a selling point: Wiseton Hall was ‘well known, by repute, to Agriculturists, as the favourite residence of the late Earl Spencer, who reared his Shorthorned Stock on the Rich Meadows and pastures which form a large proportion of the Estate’.<sup>64</sup> The Halls were successful farmers in their own right: Hall later claimed his grandfather had been ‘one of the pioneers of farming in the days when “Old Bony” was trying to stop our food supplies’<sup>65</sup> and John Hall’s portrait was hung in the offices of the Royal Agricultural Society in Bedford Square.<sup>66</sup> His son inherited his interests: in 1851, when John Hall was farming 200 acres and employed six labourers, Richard was ‘one of the first breeders in the country’ and both father and son regularly judged and entered Royal Agricultural Society and similar shows (and as late as 1870 cows were advertised for sale as being bred from John Hall’s herds).<sup>67</sup>

By 1853 the family had moved to Hesley Hall, a ‘delightful mansion, upon a commanding eminence’;<sup>68</sup> and it must have provided a comfortable environment for the Hall children. In 1861 there were four resident servants – cook, nurse, dressmaker and housemaid. That year’s Census shows Richard (Hall’s father) now recorded as the ‘farmer of 700 acres’, (John Hall, then aged 77 is still the ‘landowner’) a substantial increase in acreage reflected

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<sup>63</sup> ‘Smithfield Club Prize Cattle show’, *The Standard*, 9 Dec. 1846, p.1. A similar prize a year later was for a cow bred by John Hall himself, ‘Agriculture’, *York Herald and General Advertiser*, 7 Aug. 1847, p.2.

<sup>64</sup> ‘The Wiseton Estate’, *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 26 June 1863, p.1.

<sup>65</sup> Hall to C. Andrews, Andrews Papers, Box 42, Folder 457, 28 April 1941. As John Hall was born in 1784 he would have been only in his teens during the Napoleonic Wars.

<sup>66</sup> H. Hall, ‘The Fate of Unwanted Records’, *Quarterly Review*, 270 (1938), p.69.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. ‘Award of Prizes’, *Bristol Mercury*, 16 July 1842, Supplement p.3; Richard Foljambe Hall of Wiseton entered a heifer at the Royal Agricultural Society Show in 1848, *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 15 July 1848; ‘Smithfield Club Cattle Show’, *Standard*, 9 Dec. 1851, p. 1. Important sale of shorthorns’, *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 26 March 1870, p. 4; Richard was a member of Retford Board of Guardians in 1849, *Nottinghamshire Guardian and Midland Advertiser*, 19 April 1849, s.p.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Hesley and Limpool, comprising 617a 1r 35p, form the north-western hamlet of the parish, adjoining Yorkshire, two miles north-west of Bawtry. Hesley Hall ... is the seat and property of John Hall Esq.’, *White’s Directory*, 1853. Transcript online at [www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/NTT/Harworth/White1853.html](http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/NTT/Harworth/White1853.html) (viewed 19 June 2011) Hesley Park is now a designated Doncaster Council ‘Park and Garden of Local Historic Interest’, [www.doncaster.gov.uk/environment\\_and\\_planning/planning/built\\_environment/design\\_and\\_conservation/registered\\_parks\\_and\\_gardens.asp](http://www.doncaster.gov.uk/environment_and_planning/planning/built_environment/design_and_conservation/registered_parks_and_gardens.asp) (viewed 17 Nov. 2011). In 2006 Hesley Hall housed a special needs school, described as a ‘magnificent Victorian mansion house surrounded by one hundred acres of park and farmland’ according to: [www.hesleygroup.co.uk/Locations/Hesley%20Village%20%20College/Facilities/](http://www.hesleygroup.co.uk/Locations/Hesley%20Village%20%20College/Facilities/) [viewed 11 March 2006] though by 2 June 2010 the Victorian building appeared to have demolished and a purpose-built facility ‘Hesley Village’ built on the site.

in the employment of '16 men and 6 boys'. The family was still at Hesley Hall in 1864<sup>69</sup> but by 1871, and John Hall now dead, the family were in The Hall, West Firsby (near Market Rasen), farming 610 acres and employing 20 labourers. Of the children only Cicely, now a 'scholar', remained at home along with a cook, housemaid and two general servants. There were nine other households in the parish, which apart from the Farm Bailiff, comprised (presumably) many of those 20 labourers and their families, altogether numbering 56 individuals.<sup>70</sup> Sometime in the mid to late 1870s Richard Foljambe Hall and his family moved to Poole Court, Yate, in Gloucestershire.<sup>71</sup> (See Fig. 2.) This appears to have marked the end of a direct farming involvement (the 1881 Census shows Richard's income 'derived from land and dividend') but, in any case, by August 1882 he had leased the house, was reported as 'leaving the neighbourhood', and was selling off the contents.<sup>72</sup> Aged around 60, Richard Hall may well have wished to retire but he is also likely to have been caught up in the slump in agricultural land values in the 1870s. The freehold estate (a 'substantial mansion' and 150 acres of land, with the farm let to a tenant') was then put up for sale and sold in November 1885.<sup>73</sup>

When Melicent married in 1889 her father was 'late of Clydesdale Mansions' in London and whether through economic necessity or choice, the family was living together, in a household headed by Hubert and Edith Hall, at least at some point during the 1880s. There remained some (unknown) family links with the West of England: during the First World War, Hall recorded that his younger son Dickie was 'working hard on the land in Gloucestershire'.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> When 'Richard Foljambe Hall of Hesley Hall [parish of Harworth], Nottinghamshire' was party to a mortgage in Somerton, 1 Aug. 1864 (Lincolnshire Archives, Battersby/35)

<sup>70</sup> According to T. Allen, *The History of the County of Lincoln from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* vol 2 (London & Lincoln, 1884), West Firsby was 'only a hamlet. It is also depopulated, containing only 34 inhabitants,' p.35.

<sup>71</sup> Richard Hall does not appear in the Gloucestershire or Worcestershire 'Return of Owners of Land, 1873' [Ancestry UK]. Poole Court now houses Yate Town Council.

<sup>72</sup> *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 12 Aug. 1882, s.p.

<sup>73</sup> *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 8 Aug. and 14 Nov. 1885, s.p.

<sup>74</sup> Hall to D. R. Daniel, Daniel Papers 1257, 26 June 1917.



Fig. 2: Poole Court, Yate, Gloucestershire<sup>75</sup>

Hubert and his brother John attended Windlesham House preparatory school, Brighton, between 1869 and 1871,<sup>76</sup> a school established in 1837 with the specific intention of educating boys for entrance to the Royal Navy as well as for public school entrance. The 1871 Census lists 29 pupils in residence, seven of whom had been born in Calcutta or elsewhere on the sub-continent and suggesting that Hall would have been aware, at least, of the attractions of the Indian Civil Service as a possible career. From Windlesham House he went to Shrewsbury School (one of the seven 'great' schools of the 1868 Public Schools Act), starting there on 23 September 1871. His Housemaster in School House was Henry Whitehead Moss, who was also Headmaster between 1866 and 1908.<sup>77</sup> A contemporary at Shrewsbury was Graham Wallas (1858-1932), who, like Hall, was, to become one of the first lecturers at the newly-founded London School of Economics in 1895 and (again like Hall) a friend and colleague of Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Hubert spent only two years at Shrewsbury, leaving in 1873 as 'a boy with a stronger taste for natural history and country pleasures ... than for mere book-learning'.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> From Yate Town Council website at [www.yatetowncouncil.gov.uk/council-facilities/poole-court-yate/](http://www.yatetowncouncil.gov.uk/council-facilities/poole-court-yate/) [viewed 15 Oct. 2011].

<sup>76</sup> *Windlesham House School Register 1837-1887 and Muster Roll, 1937-1887* (1937). John is recorded as 'Son of R. Hall Esq. of West Firsby, Market Razen.' Information from Brighton History Centre; 'Oldest Preparatory School – Centenary of Windlesham House', *The Times*, 14 July 1937, p.9. The headmaster was Henry Charles Malden MA Cantab.

<sup>77</sup> John Foljambe Hall did not attend Shrewsbury, neither, subsequently, did either of Hubert's two sons. No other information about Hall's time at Shrewsbury survives in the School's archives. Information provide by Dr. Mike Morrogh, Shrewsbury School. E-mails to Margaret Procter, 17 and 19 Aug. 2010.

<sup>78</sup> J[ohnson], 'Hubert Hall', p.2, records him becoming a pupil at Shrewsbury in 1870; this is incorrect as both Windlesham and Shrewsbury records show.

Whether or not this later assessment also implied some reservation about his scholarship, it is certainly the case that references to his love of ‘country pleasures’ surface throughout his life, both in correspondence, in some of his own publications,<sup>79</sup> and elsewhere. Thus an otherwise critical book review in 1890 noted that he was ‘too good a sportsman not to do full justice to the excitement of hawking,<sup>80</sup> while in 1917 *The Graphic* carried photographs of his contribution to the war effort, showing ‘Mr. Hubert Hall mowing, sprinkling and pruning in the garden spaces of the Public Record Office, which he is tending during the war.’<sup>81</sup> Charles Johnson’s obituary concluded by recalling Hall ‘among his apple trees in his garden at Walderslade’.<sup>82</sup>

After leaving Shrewsbury, Hall prepared to sit the Civil Service examinations, firstly (1874-75) being tutored (and presumably lodging with) the Reverend William Fletcher DD (previously Headmaster of Wimborne Grammar School) before attending (between 1874 and 1878), as was common at the time, a specialist London crammer and undertaking (1878-79) a period of ‘Private Reading’.<sup>83</sup> Wren and Gurney (more formally the Collegiate Establishment) was a popular and highly successful crammer in Powis Square, Westbourne Park, founded by Walter Wren and Henry Palin Gurney; it specialized in preparing candidates for the Indian Civil Service.<sup>84</sup> While contemporary opinion was not entirely favourable (‘Wrens is very costly; [it] is not only not an education, but ... such a year's cram with a blackguard lot [of] fellows such as hang around a London crammer's would about prevent [a student] ever getting an education at all’)<sup>85</sup> Hall later took up a part-time post there, lecturing on Constitutional and Economic history between 1884 and 1892 (or 1894).<sup>86</sup> Wren’s political sympathies (and active involvement) were on the

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<sup>79</sup> See, for example, H. Hall, ‘The Case of the Thames Swans’, *Field*, 10 Sept. 1881; ‘Three Worthies: Walton, White and Waterton’, *Time* 8, no.50 (May 1883), pp.570-6; and his work in the 1930s on Walter of Henley and on marshland farming (see Bibliography).

<sup>80</sup> W. Cunningham, ‘Court Life under the Plantagenets’ [review], *EHR* 6 (April 1891), p. 378.

<sup>81</sup> *The Graphic*, 15 Sept. 1917. The illustration is reproduced in A. Lawes, *Chancery Lane 1377-1977: The Strong Box of the Empire* (Kew, 1996), p.57. (Information originally from Aidan Lawes, Academic Publications Manager, TNA, e-mail to Margaret Procter, 4 April 2005.)

<sup>82</sup> J[ohnson], ‘Hubert Hall’, p.5.

<sup>83</sup> CKS, U890 F1.

<sup>84</sup> According to J[ohnson], ‘Hubert Hall’, p.2, Hall was prepared specifically for the ICS though the single Civil Service Examination (for Home, Civil and Colonial) was in place from 1872. For Wren’s as a common rite of passage for candidates, see e.g. A. Kirk-Greene, ‘Not Quite a Gentleman: the Desk Diaries of the Assistant Private Secretary (Appointments) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1899-1915’, *EHR* (2002), p.629.

<sup>85</sup> Letter, 1886, quoted in A. Cock and D. Forsdyke, *Treasure Your Exceptions: The Science and Life of William Bateson* (Berlin, 2008), p.25.

<sup>86</sup> J[ohnson], ‘Hubert Hall’, p.3; the 1894 date appears in Hall’s LSE Staff File, 14 Dec. 1910.

radical wing of the Liberal Party<sup>87</sup> and Hall may have found the atmosphere sympathetic to his own political leanings. Although the Halls do not appear to have been heavily involved in politics, Richard's own sympathies were certainly Liberal: in 1880 he spoke in Chipping Sodbury, then 'regarded as a stronghold of Toryism', at the adoption meeting of the Liberal candidate for West Gloucestershire.<sup>88</sup> In his son's case the attraction of the work at Wrens was more likely to have been the lecturing fees paid: his links with the Liberal establishment, though evident throughout his career, were intellectually rather than politically partisan.

Hall sat the Class 1 Civil Service examinations on 29 April 1879, coming a respectable seventh out of 28 candidates (though the few at the lower end appear not to have been taking the process entirely seriously) with a total of 1388 marks:

148/500	Composition and précis
288/500	History (Hall gained the second highest mark of his cohort)
300/500	Literature (the highest mark of his cohort)
188/750	Greek
232/750	Latin (12 <sup>th</sup> of his cohort)
130/375	French
152/1000	Natural science <sup>89</sup>

There were so few Clerkships in the PRO that it is difficult to say how Hall's academic record compares with his contemporaries but there is some evidence from later decades. Between 1898 and 1910 five candidates subsequently appointed under more or less similar conditions all took a history paper yet, 'only one (who obtained 612 marks out of 1,000) showed much proficiency in it. The others obtained respectively 478, 270, 264 (out of 1,000) and 109 (out of 800)'.<sup>90</sup> What 'proficiency' meant in this context is difficult to

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<sup>87</sup> Wren was an unsuccessful Liberal parliamentary candidate in both 1880, when his successful election was voided because of an agent's bribery, and 1882, but he served on London County Council from its inception in 1888. For Wren see M. Curthoys, 'Wren, Walter (1834–1898)', *ODNB*, Oct. 2006.. This account places him at Gonville and Caius rather than at Christ's College as recorded in Cambridge University Alumni [online] though the degrees/dates mentioned coincide i.e. BA 1859, MA 1862.

<sup>88</sup> *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 24 March 1880, p.2.

<sup>89</sup> Civil Service Commissioners, 24<sup>th</sup> *Report*, 1880. For Regulations see p.25; for specific requirements for the Record Office (an additional test in Latin and French translations) see p.120. For Hall's results see p.172. (As printed, these add up to 1238 so some marks appear to be 'missing'.)

<sup>90</sup> RCPR, *First Report* (1912), Part 1, p.32.

gauge. Typical questions for Hall in 1879 were: 'Give some account of the composition and functions of the Witan, and say what change was produced in it by the Norman Conquest' and 'What do you know of the Act of Settlement? What constitutional clauses were introduced into it?'<sup>91</sup>

Sidney Webb, who sat the Open Competition in the October examinations 1879, gained 2,009 marks (coming second overall)<sup>92</sup> To compare Hall with Webb from an intellectual perspective is perhaps a little unfair on Hall, but the proximity of their entrance to the Civil Service provides a reminder that they were contemporaries, and allows for an introduction to both Webbs, Beatrice and Sidney. Sidney Webb's career intertwines with that of Hall in a number of ways – of which their appointment to the Civil Service is the first. Both men were born in 1859, both were appointed Class 1 Clerks in the same year and it is possible that they met each other preparing for the examinations; they had, to a greater or lesser degree, similar political and research interests. Hall was able to help the Webbs with their research in the PRO; they were able to support his appointment at the LSE in the mid-1890s. Hall's working relationship with both Webbs was well known enough for it to be referred to in most of his obituaries; but dinner invitations extended to Mrs. Hall make clear that they were also friends.<sup>93</sup> Hall was to continue a correspondence at least until Beatrice's death in 1943.<sup>94</sup>

Hall, assigned to the Record Office, began his career there on 24 June 1879.<sup>95</sup> As a Class I Clerk his starting salary was £100 per annum. Whether he had specifically aimed for the PRO is unlikely; certainly there is nothing in his background up to this date to suggest any particular affinity, whether historical or antiquarian, with the type of work involved, although his history paper marks suggest that he was either cramming particularly hard for, or was particularly interested in, 'history'. Certainly Clerkships in the PRO were poorly paid compared with other departments where similar positions on the same grade offered

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<sup>91</sup> Civil Service Commissioners, 24<sup>th</sup> *Report*, 1880, Appendix VII.

<sup>92</sup> Civil Service Commissioners, 24<sup>th</sup> *Report*, p.174.

<sup>93</sup> Sidney Webb to Hall, 9 April 1905, CKS, U890 F4/2.

<sup>94</sup> Hall to Sidney Webb, [4] May 1943, Passfield Papers, LSE Archives, 2/4/N/198, (hereafter cited as LSE Passfield). Beatrice Webb's family home (Standish) was c.20miles from Yate; it is possible that the Halls and the Potters were known to each other.

<sup>95</sup> The Civil Service appointment itself is dated 14 June 1879; Hall entered the PRO 'ten days later', TNA PRO/1/44, fol 276c. The appointment appears in the *London Gazette*, 1 July 1879, p.4214: 'Record Office (England), Hubert Hall to be Clerk'.

a starting salary of £200 or more.<sup>96</sup> Even 30 years after Hall entered the PRO, vacant clerkships there were accepted by candidates ‘with no special predilections [only] when the posts offering better pecuniary prospects have been filled’.<sup>97</sup>

Hall was one of the last Class 1 Clerks to enter the PRO without a university degree: even as early as the mid-1870s the Civil Service Inquiry Commission had characterized entrants at that grade as being ‘drawn from the best class of University men’.<sup>98</sup> The great majority of Hall’s PRO colleagues and professional associates were to be university graduates. He regretted his lack of a university-based education, though as he pointed out some 30 years later, ‘I am sorry that I have no degrees to put down, but that was not my fault in the first place, a defect that I share with my contemporaries in the service.’ His preparation for the Indian and Home Civil Service examination was, he added, ‘under the Old Regulations which precluded a University education’.<sup>99</sup>

With his appointment comes a first glimpse of Hall physically: ‘H[air] Dark brown, dark small whiskers, moustache. C[omplexion] Rather Dark. S[ize] Middle’.<sup>100</sup> This description is borne out by the newspaper engraving showing Hall at the Domesday celebrations seven years later.<sup>101</sup> (Fig. 4, p.47.) He remained a slight figure until his death, his appearance, as contemporaries often noted, belying his capacity for immense hard work.<sup>102</sup>

### *Family Life*

Following his appointment, Hall lived in 2 Staple Inn, a five minute-walk from the PRO, the building being home (in 1881) to a number of professional men in their 20s and 30s: Oliver Fry, a barrister born in Tasmania (and later Editor of *Vanity Fair*), and (somewhat less exotically) Thomas Humphreys, a widowed former corn merchant in his late 30s born

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<sup>96</sup> PRO Treasury vote 1879/80 (printed), 15 March 1879, PRO 1/44. See Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.248–9.

<sup>97</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 1, p.31.

<sup>98</sup> Quoted in P. Levine, ‘History in the Archives: the Public Record Office and its Staff, 1838-1886’, *EHR*, 101 (1986), p.25.

<sup>99</sup> 14 Dec. 1910, LSE Staff File. It was not the case that the regulations *precluded* a university education.

<sup>100</sup> ‘Candidate’s details’, TNA PRO/1/44, fol 276c.

<sup>101</sup> ‘Domesday Book Eight Hundredth Anniversary Celebration: Meeting of the Royal Historical Society at the Record Office’, *Illustrated London News*, 6 Nov. 1886, p.482; also reproduced in E. Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries*, p.163.

<sup>102</sup> J[ohnson], ‘Hubert Hall’, p.5.

in Gravesend. Hall remained a bachelor only for a short period. The circumstances of his courtship are unknown, though Edith Robinson was 10 years older than her groom. The couple married on 27 April 1882 at All Souls Hampstead, Hall's sister Cicely acting as one of the witnesses. Together with her widowed father James (a retired bank clerk – though also 'a gentleman', so presumably a senior bank official) and younger brother (also a bank employee) she had lived at 27 Boundary Road, St John's Wood, Hampstead. They started their married life in 45 Colville Gardens in Kensington,<sup>103</sup> though two years later their daughter was born in nearby Clydesdale Mansions,<sup>104</sup> where Hall's parents and Cicely were (probably) living. As Edith's own mother was dead this may have been a sensible, though temporary, domestic arrangement relating to Edith's confinement.

When Marjorie Foljambe was born on 28 August 1885<sup>105</sup> Edith would have been 40.<sup>106</sup> The Halls' second child John Foljambe was born two years later;<sup>107</sup> but Edith herself died on 17 February 1889 at her father's house in Boundary Road.<sup>108</sup> After less than seven years' marriage, Hall was widowed, the father of two small children, and emotionally 'knocked over'.<sup>109</sup> By the following summer he had moved yet again, to 34 Colville Square Mansions: 'house-moving ... is destructive to more things than peace of mind and bankers balances. I have lived through 4 such holocausts', he wrote in June 1890.<sup>110</sup> As the 1891 census shows his parents and sister Cicely resident at 34 Colville Square Mansions it seems likely that the children were being cared for primarily by their grandparents and aunt. When in December 1891 Hall was appointed Resident Officer at the PRO he was required to have an 'official residence' within five minutes walk of the office and from 1892 he had various addresses for this purpose in and around Chancery Lane, including Staple Inn,<sup>111</sup> and 2 Paper Buildings (between at latest 1905 and 1912), all rented out of

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<sup>103</sup> Information from marriage certificate.

<sup>104</sup> 'Middle-class. Well-to-do' according to Charles Booth's 'Maps Descriptive of London Poverty'. 1898-9. Available at London School of Economics, Charles Booth Online Archive, <http://booth.lse.ac.uk/static/a/4.html>

<sup>105</sup> *The Times*, 28 Aug. 1885, p.1.

<sup>106</sup> Of 'full' age on the marriage certificate; 1871 census gave 'age last birthday' as 26.

<sup>107</sup> In the quarter Oct.–Dec. 1887. Birth registered in Hampstead.

<sup>108</sup> Principal Probate Registry, 18 May 1889, TNA, National Probate Calendar. Her personal estate was £70.

<sup>109</sup> Hall to Round, 27 Jan. 1890, MS646/13, University of London Senate House Library (hereafter cited as ULSHL): 'I did not see your letter but expect it appeared at a time when I was rather knocked over'. Letters from Hall to Round, 20 Dec. 1889, 18 Jan. 1890 and 27 Jan. 1890 (ULSHL MS646/9,11,13) are written from 27 Boundary Road.

<sup>110</sup> Hall to Round, n.d. [June 1890], ULSHL MS646/21.

<sup>111</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.338; this is also the address on his 1895 marriage certificate.

the Resident Officer's allowance.<sup>112</sup> None of these was suitable as a family home (and family homes around Chancery Lane would have in any case have been prohibitively expensive) and Hall seems to have maintained a separate London residence for his family at least until his retirement.<sup>113</sup> The final official residence, the Gatehouse, 26 Old Buildings (or the Old Gatehouse), which fronted onto Chancery Lane,<sup>114</sup> was better suited as at least home for a couple, and he and Winfred certainly entertained guests there. It remained his London home beyond his retirement and well into the 1930s until he relinquished his final official post as Literary Director of the RHS in October 1938.<sup>115</sup>

Hall's second marriage, on 5 January 1895 in Holborn Register Office (suggesting a non-conformist background for the bride), was to Jane Winifred Evans. Winifred (as she was always called) was some 14 years younger than Hall and at the age of 23 she inherited step children aged 10 and 8. Winifred's family was rather different from that of Hall's first wife, or, indeed of Hall himself, with a 'trade' background. Born in Blaenau Ffestiniog, Merionethshire, she was (probably) the eldest child of Robert Robert Evans and his wife Catherine. At the time of the 1881 census the family – Winifred, 9, David Jones, 7 and Robert 2 – lived at 238 Bethesda Terrace, Ffestiniog, their father described as a shopkeeper (the house also contained two servants and an apprentice). Another daughter, Kate-Ann was born around 1886. In the 1891 census Robert Robert was listed as a sub-postmaster (and his son David as a letter-carrier); at the time of his elder daughter's marriage on 5 January 1895 he described himself as a building contractor.<sup>116</sup> Winifred remained in touch with her family, particularly her sister, Katherine Ann (Kate-Ann), who, 15 years younger than her sister, was the same age as Marjorie. Kate-Ann was staying

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<sup>112</sup> 2 Paper Buildings on correspondence with LSE in 1905, LSE Staff File; John Hall's address appears as 2 Paper Buildings in the 1911 examinations register, Law Society Archives, LSOC/10; Memorandum on the care of the Public Record Office out of office hours, 4 Dec. 1912, PRO 1/126.

<sup>113</sup> Memorandum by Hall on costs associated with Resident Officer post, 23 March 1915, PRO 1/80.

<sup>114</sup> Hall to Godfrey Davis, 19 March 1938, Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Godfrey Davis Papers, (hereafter cited as Davis Papers) DG Box 36(62): 'I had a lease of the Gatehouse (South) Lincoln's Inn since 1915 as an official residence.' He wrote to Tout from 27 Lincoln's Inn on 19 Dec. 1914: 'We have just got settled down here after two years' wandering, and though we have had to give an exorbitant rent & put a ramshackle old place in repair it will service the rest of my term of office', T. F. Tout Papers, 1/466/19, John Rylands University Library Manchester (hereafter cited as TFT).

<sup>115</sup> Hall to James Tait, 1 Nov. 1936, Tait Papers 1/91, John Rylands University Library Manchester (hereafter cited as TAI): 'I hope when you are in London you will look us up at Lincoln's Inn'.

<sup>116</sup> The only Robert R. Evans in the 1895 *Slater's Directory, North and Mid-Wales* is a 'grocer and draper', p.183.

with the Halls at the time of the 1901 census but she also witnessed Hall's will 40 years later.<sup>117</sup> A nurse in North Wales, she remained unmarried.<sup>118</sup>

This new family connection was undoubtedly the catalyst for Hall's life-long interest in the records of Wales and in Welsh historiography.<sup>119</sup> Over the next 30 years the Welsh connection came regularly into play, as part of his work for the Royal Commission on Public Records or as part of the controversies over 'Welsh records', or with the National Library of Wales (NLW). Of particular importance was his relationship with a man who was one of the witnesses to his marriage with Winifred, Vincent Evans.

E. Vincent Evans (born Evan Evans – he added 'Vincent', his grandfather's name, at a later date) was a significant figure in literary and historical circles. As a 'journalist and promoter of the Welsh national revival' he was responsible for the resurgence of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion as 'an influential literary and social force' and he took a leading role in numerous public and government initiatives. He was Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales and Monmouthshire and was knighted for services to Wales in 1909. In the following year he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Public Records, of which Hall was Secretary, and in 1922 became a Companion of Honour. This later eminence contrasted with his early years. He was brought up in Tynllyn, Trawsfynydd, some five or six miles from Ffestiniog, worked variously as a pupil teacher and shop assistant before moving to London in 1872, first as a solicitor's clerk but finally becoming managing director of the Chancery Lane Safe Deposit and Offices Company.<sup>120</sup> His name, childhood residence and appearance on the Halls' marriage certificate all suggest a link between him and Winifred but I have been unable to trace a definite connection.

The second marriage witness was another major figure within the historical establishment. Benjamin Franklin Stevens, an American who moved to London at the age of 14, spent much of his life searching out and then publishing documents relating to

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<sup>117</sup> Will dated 28 Nov. 1943.

<sup>118</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Adams, 23 May 1948, Andrews Papers, Box 46, Folder 500.

<sup>119</sup> Hall to W. S. Hewins, 23 Aug. 1897, LSE Staff File: 'My address from 4-28 Sept will be Brynmeirion, Festiniog, North Wales whither my welsh wife is leading me a willing captive.'

<sup>120</sup> These two paragraphs draw on H. James, 'Evans, Sir (Evan) Vincent (1851–1934)', B. Roberts, ONDB [online] 2004 [accessed 4 Sept. 2010]; and a description of Evans in R. Jenkins and H. Ramage, *The History of the Honourable Society of Y Cymmrodorion* (London, 1951).

America.<sup>121</sup> He would no doubt have sought Hall's assistance in the PRO searchrooms while preparing his *Facsimiles of MSS in European Archives relating to America 1773-1783*.<sup>122</sup> he was also, more pertinently, a long-serving RHS Council member and Chairman of the Finance Committee. At the time of Hall's second marriage the two men were deeply involved in rescuing the Society's finances and reputation in the aftermath of the suicide of its secretary P. Edward Dove six weeks earlier (these being the 'valuable services ... during a critical period of the Society's existence' which his obituary later highlighted).<sup>123</sup>

Winifred and Hubert's son, born in the summer of 1898, was christened Richard Franklin Evan presumably in honour of both witnesses at his parents' wedding (he was more usually known as Dickie). He was born in Stiffkey, Norfolk, where the Halls regularly rented Stiffkey Old Hall for holidays; Hall's father died in Stiffkey, aged 80, the year before Dickie's birth.<sup>124</sup> Stiffkey was a favourite spot not just for the family, but for entertaining guests;<sup>125</sup> it gave Hall the opportunity show himself 'a keen fisherman and good shot'.<sup>126</sup> After 1921 the majority of Winifred and Dickie's time at least was spent on their 22-acre farm 'Cartref' ('home' in Welsh) near Walderslade in Kent.<sup>127</sup> This was the venture into which Hall invested half of his retirement capital (unwisely as it was to turn out), and though it became his sole residence only towards the very end of his life, he clearly loved the area: 'that "air" that once made men free has kept me alive, I think.'<sup>128</sup> But Stiffkey was special for both Hall and his second wife: when the whole country was riveted by the scandalous affair of the Rector of Stiffkey in the 1930s Hall wrote to a colleague: 'I write this from the famous (or notorious) village of Norfolk which had become rather a sacred

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<sup>121</sup> Introduction to 'Henry Stevens Family Correspondence, 1844-1862', Vermont Historical Society Library: at [www.vermonthistory.org/arccat/findaid/stevens](http://www.vermonthistory.org/arccat/findaid/stevens) (accessed 13 May 2005).

<sup>122</sup> B. Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783. With Descriptions, Editorial Notes, Collations, References and Translations*. Issued only to [200] subscribers at 4, Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross, London, 1889-95.

<sup>123</sup> 'Mr Stevens had resided in this country for more than thirty years, and his unfailing courtesy and generosity will make his loss felt by a wide circle of European students.' 'Report of the Council 1901-1902', *TRHS*, new ser., 17 (1903), p.327.

<sup>124</sup> *Morning Post*, 1 April 1897, p.1. Probate copy of will, Richard Foljambe Hall of Vale House, Stiffkey, proved London 30 Mar. 1897, Norfolk RO, BRA 965/4.

<sup>125</sup> Hall to C. M. Andrews, 25 Oct. 1925, Andrews Papers, Box 24, 25 April 1941.

<sup>126</sup> 'Dr Hubert Hall' [obituary], *The Times*, 3 Aug. 1944, p.8.

<sup>127</sup> Acreage cited in Hall to Andrews, 23 Dec. 1942, Andrews Papers, Box 43, Folder 468.

<sup>128</sup> Hall to Tait, 1 Nov. 1936, TAI 1/91.

memory to us and we resented the desecration of our shrine.<sup>129</sup> It was to Stiffkey that Winifred wished to take her husband a few months before his death.<sup>130</sup>

Following their marriage the couple moved to their 'new official quarters in "the Lane":<sup>131</sup> this was probably Staple Inn. It is unlikely that his two young children were also living here in the middle of the City of London, and indeed the 1901 census (by which time both Hall's parents were dead,<sup>132</sup> and his sister Cicely married) shows the family resident at 29 Doughty Street, WC1, conveniently near to the PRO but in Bloomsbury rather than the City. The Doughty Street house was also home to a cook, housemaid and nurse, all from Norfolk, and the cook from Stiffkey itself.<sup>133</sup> At some point during the following decade this establishment was disbanded, John and Marjorie sharing a flat in Chelsea, at 37 Elm Park Mansions, and Winifred and Hall living in Paper Buildings. Dickie's whereabouts in 1911 (aged 13) are unknown.<sup>134</sup>

#### *Winifred Hall, 187(3)–1966*

Hall's second marriage was to last for just under 50 years and Winifred outlived her husband by a further 20. In comparison with the shadowy (at least in documentary terms) Edith, she was clearly a lively and forceful character. In a formal photograph taken at a RHS dinner in 1913 she is the only guest (there are probably around 150 in the picture) smiling towards the camera; a photograph of the Anglo-American Conference of Historians dinner in July 1926 similarly shows her one of the few guests appearing to enjoy themselves.<sup>135</sup> She was certainly sociable and well-known to many of Hall's colleagues and students. There are frequent references to the couple's joint hospitality and friendships, and Winifred corresponded with the wives of her husband's professional colleagues on her own account, with Evangeline Andrews (wife of Charles M. Andrews)<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Hall to R. S. Haselden, [illegible] July 1932, HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>130</sup> Winifred Hall to D. C. Dickinson, 8 April 1944, LSE Staff File.

<sup>131</sup> i.e. Chancery Lane. Hall to Tout, 4 Sept. 1895, TFT 1/466/9.

<sup>132</sup> Elizabeth Breese Hall died Jan.–March quarter, 1900.

<sup>133</sup> Also visiting on the census night was Allan Nevill (aged 4); Allan Nevill (his father?) witnessed the marriage of Edith and Hall in 1882; Ralph Nevill provided the coloured plates for Hall's *Court Life under the Plantagenets* in 1890; Ralph was Honorary Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries in (at least) 1899. The details of the Nevill-Hall relationship are otherwise unknown.

<sup>134</sup> Dickie is apparently absent from the 1911 census.

<sup>135</sup> Framed photographs dated 1 April 1913 and 22 June 1926 at RHS offices. Winifred's identity is deduced by her seating position relative to Hall.

<sup>136</sup> The final postcard from Winifred is dated 3 June 1953, Andrews Papers, Box 48, Folder 529.

and Joan Haselden, wife of the Huntington Library's Curator of Manuscripts for example. She was receiving news of Bertha Putnam until just before Putnam's death,<sup>137</sup> her association with her husband's former student Joan Wake lasted until her death. There is little evidence that she was directly involved in Hall's research or professional work: their only identified collaboration being a *Times Literary Supplement* article, 'A Georgian Ladies' Club' as late as the 1930s.<sup>138</sup>

During the First World War Winifred was involved in (unspecified) work for the War Pensions Committee and 'on the communal kitchen which interest[ed] her much'.<sup>139</sup> During the Second World War she visited local Kent hospitals on behalf of the Canadian Red Cross, a task entrusted to her by her London Club, the Lyceum, which 'load[ed] her with Canadian newspapers, maple sugar, knitted socks etc, cigarettes and messages of good cheer for poor boys from high latitudes suffering from wounds or sores, but worst of all from loneliness'.<sup>140</sup>

In 1932 she accompanied Hall to California for his working visit to the Huntington Library and clearly made the most of the trip. Hall reported back to the Haseldens that his wife had developed a fondness for 'the American 'stores' and the so-called 'Movies' and she certainly picked up American slang: 'I'm not going flashing it around', she told the Haseldens, 'but Hub, he sure got travelling blood O.K. Does it get your Hub that way? - Girlie, that's rough!! ... Hub he's afraid you'll spill it to some guys as how he's a smart parchment-rooter ...'<sup>141</sup>

During the Second World War and, following Hall's death, into the 1950s, their American contacts provided much welcome assistance, with food and clothing parcels arriving regularly in Kent. These were particularly welcome to Winifred who found life very hard: 'Sometimes I feel it is difficult to stand up to [continuous news of disasters] and would be glad to be released if it were not for my dear boy [Dickie] - he is such a cripple and more

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<sup>137</sup> Reported by Winifred in letter to Evangeline Andrews, 15 Jan. 1949, Andrews Papers, Box 46, Folder 503.

<sup>138</sup> 'A Georgian Ladies' Club', *Times Literary Supplement* no. 1593, 1932, pp. 561-2. The authorship is derived from the TLS Centenary Archive Database; though Winifred does not appear as co-author, she is noted as such by Hall (Hall to Haselden, 7 June 1932, HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>139</sup> Hall to Daniel, 26 June 1917, Daniel Papers, 1257.

<sup>140</sup> Hall to Andrews, 28 April 1941, Andrews Papers, Box 42, Folder 457.

<sup>141</sup> Hall and Winifred Hall to R. and J. Haselden, 20 Feb. 1932, HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

or less an invalid.’<sup>142</sup> Dickie’s chronic, but unspecified medical condition was one of constant worries which Winifred and her husband carried with them throughout their lives.



Fig. 3: Hubert, Winifred and Richard (Dickie) Hall in their garden at ‘Cartref’, Walderslade, Kent, Summer 1938<sup>143</sup>

### *Marjorie Foljambe Hall 1885–1932*

The picture that emerges from Marjorie’s own correspondence is of a self-absorbed and, perhaps, self-dramatising character. From that correspondence, but also corroborated by other sources it is, more positively, clear that she had a close relationship with her father and that they played an important part in each other’s life. Hall’s relationship with his daughter and his concern for her well-being (especially as he watched her erratic career path and uncertain health) must have been a major factor in the interest and support he showed throughout his life for women as historical workers. The majority of his students, particularly in his seminars, were women, he promoted women’s scholarship as Literary Director of RHS and by his championing of them for research posts, and he actively supported the employment of women archivists (Chapter 6).

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<sup>142</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 22 March and 25 Jan. 1951, Andrews Papers, Box 47, Folders 516 and 515.

<sup>143</sup> Photograph enclosed with letter from Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 19 Feb. 1939, Andrews Papers, Box 40, Folder 436.

Marjorie suffered recurrent and serious mental health problems which led, ultimately, to her early death. It does not seem too far-fetched to see these problems as the result of a series of events which began with the loss of her mother at the age of three and a half. Along with her brother John, Marjorie appears to have been brought up by her grandparents, probably in the extended family's establishments of Colville Square and Doughty Street. Though the circumstances were comfortable, and she clearly had a close relationship with her father, his second marriage in 1895 (by which Marjorie acquired a step-mother nearer to her in age than was Winifred to her husband), his absence as PRO Resident Officer, the death of her grandfather Richard in 1897 and of her grandmother in 1900, made for a troubled childhood and adolescence. Aged 29 at the outbreak of the Great War, she also saw losses among a generation of young men who had been her father's colleagues and students, losses which, in common with her generation of women, made even a late marriage unlikely.

There is no information about her schooling but in her early twenties she had begun to work with her father: 'My girl is now a student of my own in Library work & bibliography including Palaeography', he reported in 1906.<sup>144</sup> It is not clear whether this referred to a formal enrolment in LSE classes, though she certainly attended them in 1914.<sup>145</sup> Nor, in fact, is it clear whether she received a formal qualification, although in 1916 she was preparing to sit librarianship examinations:

if I am fortunate enough to scrape through (which is doubtful!) I shall try to get some post in a library before next winter. . . . It is a very stiff course and a London University certificate would be an asset, – if I pass.<sup>146</sup>

She occasionally assisted her father in his own work: for example preparing the final report of the Royal Commission on Public Records,<sup>147</sup> work which Hall had undertaken to continue without payment after the Commission's activities were suspended during the

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<sup>144</sup> Hall to Harold D. Hazeltine, [1906], Harvard Law Library, Hazeltine Papers, (hereafter cited as Hazeltine Papers), 2-21. From 1906/7 LSE offered a Certificate in Medieval History, 'to students who for two years attend Mr. Hall's course on the Equipment of the Historical Student and also pass an examination on Palaeography and Diplomatic'.

<sup>145</sup> Hall to Miss Mactaggart, 2 Jan. 1914, LSE Staff File.

<sup>146</sup> Marjorie Hall to D. R. Daniel, 18 June 1916, Daniel Papers, 1258. There is no record of any affiliation with London University; however, records do not survive from this period.

<sup>147</sup> Marjorie Hall to D. R. Daniel, 18 June 1916, Daniel Papers, 1258.

War. There is no acknowledgment of assistance in any of Hall's published work, acknowledgement which he scrupulously gave to members of his seminar classes.

Domestically she had been living independently from her early 20s, possibly starting out in the Chelsea flat shared with John.<sup>148</sup> War work took her to the Censors Office where '[s]he really did quite well ... but never recovered fully from the [measles] contracted there'. In May 1917 she took up a position at Edinburgh University Library, 'a more congenial post & shorter hours', reported her father.<sup>149</sup> The Edinburgh post, as part of the Library's cataloguing staff, came through Hall's extensive network of contacts. Marjorie was invited to apply for the post by the University Librarian, acting on the recommendation of the Professor of History, Hume Brown, who was aware from Hall that Marjorie was looking for a post. Marjorie forwarded her application and the Library Committee was 'of the opinion that her qualifications were exceptionally good':

It appeared from these documents that Miss Hall had done a considerable amount of work at the Record Office and for the Royal Historical Society, and that she had gone through a course of Library training, palaeography etc.

Marjorie was appointed with an initial three-month trial, a monthly salary of £7.0.0. (plus a £10.0.0 annual War bonus). However the arrangement was short-lived; work on the printing of the Library Catalogue was suspended in May 1918 and with it Marjorie's position.<sup>150</sup>

There was a short period of employment in Newcastle<sup>151</sup> but by September 1919 Marjorie had obtained a post as Records Assistant at the National Library of Wales (NLW) and began work there on 1 January 1920. With John Ballinger as Librarian, the appointment

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<sup>148</sup> Hall to Haselden, 15 Nov. 1931, Haselden Papers: [Marjorie] had been 'on her own' for 20 years. In 1916 she was at 37 Church Rd, Willesden [NW10], Winifred Hall to D.R. Daniel, 18 June 1916, Daniel Papers, 1258.

<sup>149</sup> Hall to D. R. Daniel, 26 June 1917, Daniel Papers, 1257.

<sup>150</sup> Edinburgh University Library, Library Committee Minutes, 23 May 1917 and 6 March 1918. Information from Grant E. L. Buttars, Deputy University Archivist, Edinburgh University Library, e-mails to Margaret Procter, 2 and 3 May 2011. It is unclear whether any of these 'qualifications' were formal ones.

<sup>151</sup> Marjorie Hall to J. Ballinger, 21 Aug. 1919, correspondence 'H', National Library of Wales Institutional Archives (hereafter NLWIA), E31: a reference to 'Mrs Anderton (who is a personal friend as well as my Chief)'.

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was no doubt made on the back of Hall's Welsh network (and he had been working closely with Ballinger in the last couple of years of the war participating in a number of Library summer schools in Aberystwyth).<sup>152</sup> Marjorie's was one of a number of appointments made to fill staff vacancies caused by the War;<sup>153</sup> John Bodfan Anwyl<sup>154</sup> was appointed at the same time as a cataloguer.

Marjorie remained at the NLW until she resigned in 1923 'having been ... chiefly engaged in scheduling deeds in the Peniarth, Puleston and other collections, ranging from the 13<sup>th</sup> century down to recent times, and in preparing a calendar of the Wynn papers and documents.'<sup>155</sup> The open reference issued to her at this time noted that her resignation had been prompted by her plan 'to take up social work in connection with her Church'.<sup>156</sup> This was one version of events: in fact Marjorie had resigned because she had decided to enter a convent.

Marjorie's view of the religious life can be glimpsed through a correspondence with her NLW colleague Bodfan Anwyl. Bodfan Anwyl had left his cataloguing post in 1921 to become Organizing Secretary for the Welsh Dictionary project of the University of Wales, though he remained in the Library.<sup>157</sup> There is, at least on Marjorie's part (we do not have his side of the correspondence), a slightly flirtatious tone – of which he was probably unaware, or perhaps only too aware: one of Marjorie's letters, referring to a misunderstanding, begins, 'I am afraid I am bad at taking teasing, or at understanding

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<sup>152</sup> There are two letters from Hall to Dr Ballinger, Nov. 1915, Dec. 1918, on RHS and RCPR matters in the NLW Archives.

<sup>153</sup> D. Jenkins, *A Refuge in Peace and War. The National Library of Wales to 1952* (Aberystwyth, 2002), p.210. Marjorie Hall to Ballinger, five letters relating to her appointment, Aug.-Dec. 1919, NLWIA, E31. 'The Council minutes dated 9 September 1919 report that she had been interviewed and appointed, and the minutes of 16 October 1919 confirm that she was to commence her duties on 1 January 1920 [as a Record Assistant]:' information supplied by Michael Pearson, NLW, in e-mail to Margaret Procter, 9 June 2006.

<sup>154</sup> John Bodfan Anwyl, 1875-1949. A Congregational minister from 1899. Resigned due to deafness in 1904 becoming a missionary at Glamorgan Mission to the Deaf and Dumb in Pontypridd. He also edited bi-lingual dictionaries. After a period working in the National Library of Wales, 1919-1921, he was appointed Secretary of the University of Wales Board of Celtic Studies Welsh Dictionary, 1921-1935. Information from the finding aid to his papers at NLW and Jenkins, *National Library of Wales to 1952*.

<sup>155</sup> The Wynn calendar was published as *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1515-1690; in the National Library of Wales and Elsewhere* (Aberystwyth, 1926).

<sup>156</sup> TS copy of open reference for Marjorie Hall, 11 April 1924, NLWIA, E108.

<sup>157</sup> Dictionary, 1921-1935. (Information taken from the finding aid to his papers at NLW.) [Jenkins, *National Library of Wales*, pp. 210-11.

when it is teasing'.<sup>158</sup> Her description of an earlier misunderstanding is suggestive of her own view of herself and of her position, and is written in a tone typical of much of this correspondence:

I wonder if you know that you nearly offended me frightfully the other evening? The other two ladies were absolutely astonished to see that you actually thought of going off and leaving me to find my way home, at that late hour along lonely country roads! Such a Thing has never happened to me before and I should have taken serious offence if I had not remembered that you did not deliberately mean to infringe the book of etiquette. ...

You must of course, remember that I am a woman of the world and accustomed to having heaps of men friends, both to take me about & to come and see me, and who have regarded it a privilege to have my friendship. I have always felt you were a lonely man, and gave you my friendship (for we have many interests in common), but I did not think you were the kind of man to value it so lightly – I was therefore all the more surprised and hurt.<sup>159</sup>

She subsequently wrote to Anwyl:

I hope you did not think I was presuming too much on our friendship by asking your help, only I have felt like a ship tossed on to the rocks and consequently unhappy – I would be sorry if we stopped being friends.<sup>160</sup>

It is possible that the 'help' referred to related to her spiritual position (though as a Congregationalist, Anwyl may not have been the ideal source of information about becoming a nun). But after going on retreat early in January 1923 she had convinced herself of her vocation:

[God] showed me a very wonderful way one evening as I knelt before the Blessed Sacrament in the dim light of the beautiful convent chapel. I cannot speak of it, but I know that I had to offer myself to enter Religion.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Marjorie Hall to Anwyl, n.d. [early Nov. 1923], Anwyl Papers, 1/484.

<sup>159</sup> Marjorie Hall to Anwyl, 11 Mar. 1921, Anwyl Papers, 1/478.

<sup>160</sup> Marjorie Hall to Anwyl, n.d. [?1921 or 1922], Anwyl Papers, 1/479.

<sup>161</sup> Marjorie Hall to Anwyl, 7 Feb. [1923], Anwyl Papers, 1/481.

Marjorie's intention to enter a convent was disrupted by the continuing illness of her brother John at the beginning of 1923 (fortunately she had not already tendered her resignation); but by August she was again on course, though with some changes to her plans:

[I] am not, after all, going to Roehampton! When it came to the point I felt I was making a mistake to go into an Order which worked among the rich (however worthy the cause) when all my sympathies were with the poor and those who have never had a chance in life. After long talks with the priest I am accepted for a community of Sisters – Dominican Sisters – who do similar work to the sisters of Charity.

Her family took a dim view of these plans; in the same letter she wrote, 'The worst part was the struggle at home – they apparently never took me seriously & that was why they took it so quietly before. My brother was the most bitter.'<sup>162</sup> Although there was a trip to Lourdes later in the year,<sup>163</sup> it seems unlikely that Marjorie ever set foot inside a convent at all (at least not as a postulant). In September 1924 she joined the University of Liverpool as Sub-Librarian for the Faculty of Medicine, initially for six months.<sup>164</sup> After so much instability in her life, Hall was immensely proud of his daughter's new position, one gained, according to Winifred, despite 'so many handicaps of physique & temperament'.<sup>165</sup>

Marjorie now had a steady, professional job, a regular salary (£225 in January 1928)<sup>166</sup> and she held the post for more than five years.<sup>167</sup> She was keeping up her research interests too; she was elected a Fellow of the RHS on 10 December 1925<sup>168</sup> with two articles published in *Y Cymmrodor* in 1927 and 1929, presumably the result of her time at

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<sup>162</sup> Marjorie Hall to Anwyl, 20 Aug. 1923, Anwyl Papers, 1/482. The convent/order is difficult to identify: the Society of Sacred Heart provided (girls') education; the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Roehampton ran a girls' teacher training college. Poor Servants of the Mother of God (founded by Anglican convert to Catholicism Frances Taylor) was established in 1869; it had a house in Roehampton from 1876 ([www.poorservants.com](http://www.poorservants.com)). The Sisters of Charity do not appear to have had a house in Roehampton ([www.religioussistersofcharity.org/locations.htm](http://www.religioussistersofcharity.org/locations.htm)).

<sup>163</sup> There are no further letters to Anwyl after November 1923.

<sup>164</sup> Library Committee Minutes, 8 Oct. 1924, University of Liverpool, Special Collections and Archives (hereafter ULSCA).

<sup>165</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 17 Jan. 1932, Andrews Papers, Box 31, Folder 357.

<sup>166</sup> Library Committee Minutes, 2 March 1928, ULSCA.

<sup>167</sup> Faculty of Medicine Library meeting minutes, Nov. 1929, ULSCA, A197/A3/3/2.

<sup>168</sup> 10 Dec. 1925, Card index of members, RHS Archives.

NLW.<sup>169</sup> But at the end of 1929 Marjorie suffered a breakdown, gave up her post in Liverpool – and, as Hall pointed out – her pension, and (presumably) returned to the family home. From Winifred’s perspective, ‘[s]he had got to a difficult age when she was very sensitive & worried herself about things imaginary’.<sup>170</sup> She seemed to make a slow recovery, undertaking occasional work for the VCH for example, to the extent that in May 1931 Hall was helping her ‘to clear up odd jobs in hand (for V.C.H etc) in order to be free to go to Northampton as assistant county archivist (to Miss Joan Wake)’.<sup>171</sup> This would have been a great opportunity for Marjorie but in October 1931, and on the eve of her father and step-mother’s planned visit to the Huntington Library in California, she suffered a further breakdown. She must have recovered sufficiently for Hall to feel comfortable about finally leaving for the US at the end of 1931 but she was very unwell. Winifred was not entirely sympathetic:

I am so very sorry for Hubert as it hits him badly financially as well. Marjorie had been playing ducks & drakes with her money without even consulting her Father & she is practically penniless. This comes at the worst time possible for us, and I am afraid we must realise on our little property (which was a provision for Dick!!)<sup>172</sup>

On this occasion Marjorie failed to improve; she died on 5 August 1932. Hall wrote to a friend that she died from pneumonia.<sup>173</sup> This may have been the immediate cause but the place of death was the City of London Mental Hospital in Dartford.<sup>174</sup> Her father took her death badly,

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<sup>169</sup> Marjorie Hall to Sir Vincent Evans, 4 Sept. 1928, NLW, Archives of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion ASC1/12 (hereafter Cymmrodorion Archives) The articles (neither is named in the letter) are: ‘The Wynn Papers (1515–1690) A Resumé and an Appreciation’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 38 (1927), pp.86–135 and ‘A Scottish Surgeon in Wales in the Seventeenth Century’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 40 (1929), pp.188-206.

<sup>170</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 17 Jan. 1932, Andrews Papers, Box 31, Folder 357.

<sup>171</sup> Hall to C. Andrews, 20 May 1931, Andrews Papers, Box 30, Folder 349. At the same time Hall was worried about John’s health which was ‘far from good’.

<sup>172</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 16 Feb. 1932, Andrews Papers, Box 31, Folder 358.

<sup>173</sup> Hall to Haselden, 18 Aug. 1932, HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>174</sup> Probate, London, 17 Sept. 1932 to John Foljambe Hall, Solicitor. Effects £377.10s.1d., TNA, National Probate Calendar.

we have been depressed and much occupied as the result of my daughter's sudden death ... She was one of my earliest & best students and a valued collaborator so I have felt the tragedy all the more keenly.<sup>175</sup>

*John (Jack) Foljambe Hall (1887-1938) and Richard (Dickie) Franklin Evan Hall (1898-1966)*

There was just over 10 years between the birth of Hall's two sons by his first and second wives. Unlike Marjorie, both have remained, from the perspective of this study, largely elusive; though, like her, they both suffered, in different ways, from chronic health problems. Neither boy attended Hall's old school Shrewsbury,<sup>176</sup> but John Foljambe<sup>177</sup> matriculated at London University sometime after 1906<sup>178</sup> qualifying LLB in 1910.<sup>179</sup> He took intermediate law exams in June 1908 and his final law exams in March 1911, being articled during this period to the solicitors William Smee, on The Strand.<sup>180</sup> In March 1917 he was commissioned as a temporary lieutenant in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve serving in Archangel during the initial period of the British intervention there; from June 1918 he served at Rosyth.<sup>181</sup> Following his demobilisation he was appointed as a Law Clerk in the Ministry of Health<sup>182</sup> but within a couple of years, and possibly because of his experiences in North Russia, his health broke down. He almost died in 1923 when 'for 48 hours his life was despaired of'<sup>183</sup> and indeed, for the three years between 1921 and 1924

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<sup>175</sup> Hall to Haselden, 18 Aug. 1932, HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>176</sup> Information provide by Dr Mike Morrogh, Shrewsbury School. E-mails to Margaret Procter, 17 and 19 Aug. 2010.

<sup>177</sup> Born October-December quarter, 1887.

<sup>178</sup> Hall to Hazeltine [1906], Hazeltine Papers, 2-21: 'My boy is going through his exams as a solicitor having lately passed the London Matric.'

<sup>179</sup> University of London, 'Graduates 1836-1929' at [www.shl.lon.ac.uk/specialcollections/archives/studentrecords.shtml](http://www.shl.lon.ac.uk/specialcollections/archives/studentrecords.shtml) [viewed 22 Feb. 2011].

<sup>180</sup> Intermediate examination results and final examination results, Law Society Archives LSOC/ 9 and /10.

<sup>181</sup> Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve (RNVR) Service Records: officers, TNA ADM337/123, fol.234: 'T[emporar]y Lieutenant served in the RNVR in the final two years of the Great War; first (22 March 1917) as President for staff of P[rincipal]N[aval] T[ransport] O[ffice]. Archangel, as a 3<sup>rd</sup> grade Trans[port] Officer and from 10 June 1918 as President for Staff of N.T.O. Rosyth at the same rank and finally, from 5 December 1918, [illegible] as 2<sup>nd</sup> Grade T.O. under the Ministry of Shipping – 17.6.19. Demobilised from 1 July 1918. He is listed in the University of London War List (as Lt. RNVR) at [www.shl.lon.ac.uk/specialcollections/archives/militaryservice.shtml](http://www.shl.lon.ac.uk/specialcollections/archives/militaryservice.shtml) [viewed 22 Feb. 2011].

<sup>182</sup> *Edinburgh Gazette*, 10 Oct. 1919, p.3390.

<sup>183</sup> Marjorie Hall to Anwyl, 7 Feb. [?1923], Anwyl Papers 1/481. John was 'in his old nursing home at Windsor' regaining his strength for an operation at Guy's Hospital.

'he was more away at nursing homes than at work'.<sup>184</sup> Even though his job was kept open (and he probably returned to it some time early in 1925), this period must have contributed to the Hall's financial difficulties. Whatever his condition, he was well enough to consider marriage: his engagement to Anita Joan Corben was announced in June 1924 though was broken off (a further announcement in 1926 heralded her marriage to one Arthur Thomas). John subsequently married Nora Jacques ('a sweet girl' according to Winifred),<sup>185</sup> at the end of July 1936; but died less than two years later, on 30 April 1938. Hubert's only grandson John Foljambe Hall was born on 25 December 1938; and in 2011 was living in Calgary, Alberta, Canada.<sup>186</sup>

While John's health problems appeared to have stemmed from his wartime service, Dickie had a congenital defect, being 'lame from birth' and '[not] fit for anything, but a little farm work (poultry etc)'.<sup>187</sup> His mother referred to him as 'a cripple' and the circumstances of his upbringing are unclear. On the other hand Hall's own description of Dickie as 'lame (since birth)'<sup>188</sup> was less dramatic and he was certainly not incapacitated — by the 1920s he seems to have been running the Hall's Kentish farm on a routine basis. In 1939 Winifred thought him 'much stronger than he used to be'<sup>189</sup> and Hall wrote to Charles Andrews in 1941 that though the whole family was exhausted by 'Digging for Victory', Dickie was certainly holding his own.<sup>190</sup> When Cartref was bombed, the farm business, such as it was, seems to have come to an end and he and his mother moved into a smaller house, 'Roseglade', in the same area. He later had a (probably voluntary) 'Hospital Service' job, driving patients in the family car (which Winifred had managed to keep on); and he often took his mother with him on these occasions. Roseglade was at least owned outright, perhaps as a result of the sale of their land, but at the same time Winifred's tiny annuity of £250 (though presumably also perhaps a widow's pension) was hardly sufficient to

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<sup>184</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Adams, 19 Nov. 1924, Andrews Papers, Box 23, Folder 277. She also noted that his Civil Service position was kept open for him during this time.

<sup>185</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Adams, 19 Feb. 1939, Andrews Papers, Box 40, Folder 436.

<sup>186</sup> Dates of engagements, weddings and death from *The Times*, 12 June 1924, p.5; 14 Oct. 1926, p.15; 11 July 1936, p.17; 2 May 1938, p.1. Nora later emigrated to Canada marrying Walter Idiens in British Columbia (*The Times*, 7 June 1941); her obituary (2003) appeared in *The Comox Valley Record* [online] <http://web.bcnewsgroup.com> [viewed 19 Feb. 2011]. Further information from Rosanne Richards, daughter of Nora and Walter and half-sister of John Foljambe Hall Idiens), e-mail to Margaret Procter, 20 Feb. 2011.

<sup>187</sup> Hall to C. Andrews, 28 April 1941 and 20 May 1931, Andrews Papers, Box 42, Folder 457 and Box 30, Folder 349.

<sup>188</sup> Hall to C. Andrews, 28 April 1941, Andrews Papers, Box 42, Folder 457.

<sup>189</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Adams, 19 Feb. 1939, Andrews Papers, Box 40, Folder 436.

<sup>190</sup> Hall to C. Andrews, 28 April 1941, Andrews Papers, Box 42, Folder 457.

keep two people. Dickie's future after her death was a constant concern to his mother, 'the few hundreds put away for him [were] dwindling with the cost of living'; his income after her death would only be £50 a year.<sup>191</sup> In the event, Dickie predeceased his mother in 1966;<sup>192</sup> she died the following summer at the age of 95.

### *Conclusion*

The next Chapter provides an account of the first 25 years or so of Hall's professional career from his appointment at the Public Record Office in 1879 to the start of the twentieth century. These events, along with his later activities which are discussed in subsequent chapters, should always be considered in the context of his family life which has been described here. The death of Edith coincided with the beginning of his collaboration with John Horace Round; his marriage to Winifred with the scandal which engulfed the Royal Historical Society; the death of his father with the publication of the Red Book of the Exchequer; the death of his daughter with the aftermath of his final trip to the United States, and so on. The ill-health of all his children, at various times and often chronic, was a steady drain on his income; his retirement in 1921 was badly timed from an economic perspective and his decision to invest in land looks like a nostalgic throwback to his grandfather's successful farming business in the mid-nineteenth century rather than a sensible economic decision. By the 1930s the Halls were living under financial conditions which contrasted poorly not just with Hall's childhood, but with his and Winifred's early married life in Doughty Street. Hall kept on working after his retirement not just because he enjoyed the work (or felt a strong sense of duty in its execution), but because he needed to supplement his pension to support his family.

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<sup>191</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Adams, 15 June 1951, Andrews Papers, Box 47, Folder 518.

<sup>192</sup> Dickie died between July and Sept. 1966, Winifred on 9 July 1967. Joan Wake referred to Dickie dying six months before his mother (J. Wake to H.C. Johnson, 7 Sept. 1967, TNA PRO 57/1855) suggesting that his death was towards the end of the quarter.

## CHAPTER 2

### A WORKING LIFE: 1879 TO THE START OF THE 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

*Among the clerks the most distinguished was Hubert Hall*<sup>193</sup>

#### *Introduction*

This chapter will examine the start of Hall's professional career, a career which he described as 'the promotion of historical enterprises'.<sup>194</sup> Specifically it will address (chronologically) the first 25 years of his employment at the PRO, the kind of work he undertook there and his views of how the PRO should operate, and his professional and personal relationships with colleagues. It will suggest some of the factors which shaped his views on national archival policy more generally. The chapter then moves on to discuss the earlier part of his association with the Royal Historical Society (which lasted over 50 years), an association which paralleled his PRO career; indeed rather than being parallel activities the two are closely intertwined. It will also briefly refer to some of the activities which were to enhance his reputation as an economic historian and as a supporter of scholarship. Thus although this chapter addresses the routine of Hall's working life and his long-term institutional affiliations it also introduces events which were, or would come to assume, particular significance (for example his involvement in the 1886 Domesday Commemorations and his relationship with J. H. Round). A second chronological chapter (Chapter 5) will take some of these topics forward to the late 1930s, but his literary work (and especially the controversy surrounding his edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer* which falls chronologically within the period under discussion here) and his teaching career, which began in the 1890s, form the subject of separate chapters.

#### *The Public Record Office*

Six months after Hall joined the PRO he completed his probationary period satisfactorily<sup>195</sup> and received a first increment of £10 'by reason of his regular attendance, diligent performance of duties, and general good conduct'. On the anniversary of his appointment

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<sup>193</sup> C. Johnson, 'The Public Record Office', in J. Davies, *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (London, 1957), pp.180–81.

<sup>194</sup> CKS, U890, F1.

<sup>195</sup> Office Memorandum signed by William Hardy, 2 Jan. 1880, PRO 1/44.

(June 1880) his annual salary increased to £110<sup>196</sup> and by 1882 had risen to £150 which must have been very welcome given his marriage in April that year.<sup>197</sup> PRO salaries were notoriously poor compared with other parts of the Civil Service, and many staff supplemented their income through additional work (of a literary or historical nature) outside the Office. Compounded by poor promotion prospects, salary levels were a subject of constant complaint among the junior staff.<sup>198</sup>

New recruits had few, if any, existing specialist skills for dealing with the records. In the year of Hall's appointment the Deputy Keeper, William Hardy, described how new recruits were introduced to their duties by immersion in the business of the Copying Department,

. . . where they are primarily engaged in making for the Public, copies of documents in English, Latin, ancient Norman-French, and other languages, written in all kinds of hand-writing from the Norman Conquest ... After sufficient experience in deciphering Records of all periods, it becomes the duty of the junior clerks to assist the senior clerks and Assistant Keepers in making calendars and indexes, and to take part in the general business of the office.<sup>199</sup>

An idea of what that general business involved – whether official (i.e. on behalf of government departments) or 'literary' (i.e. involving external researchers) is found in the annual reports. Thus in 1879 a total of 50,567 'membranes and leaves' were produced for searchers, almost half of which also had to be stamped before production as a security measure; over 1,000 applications were made by government departments for searches, and nearly 13,000 'books and papers' were stamped before onward transmission to government departments (the War Office, Foreign Office and Admiralty being responsible for the bulk of these transactions). At the same time transfers were being made into the

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<sup>196</sup>Office memorandum signed by William Hardy, 26 June 1880, PRO 1/44. The salary increase was a routine annual event.

<sup>197</sup>'Scrap Book' containing details of service of members of PRO staff, 1838-1938, PRO 8/55, fol.133.

<sup>198</sup> See e.g. Report from Edward Salisbury, 14 Jan. 1887, PRO 1/140: 'As things are at present in the Office a very moderate competence is not to be reached till after 20 years service as a junior clerk.'

<sup>199</sup> W. Hardy to G. T. Jenkins, copy of 'a sketch of the entire establishment of the Public Record Office of England, with the number and duties of the several Officers' in response to a request from the Master of the Rolls, 19 March 1879, PRO 1/44. For an extended discussion of the training of new PRO officers, see Chapter 6.

Office: a total of 138 rolls, 6,967 volumes and 2,123 'bundles, parcels, portfolios, etc'.<sup>200</sup> These figures increased steadily during the following decade: by 1885 there were 64,346 productions for example.<sup>201</sup>

Staff were engaged on the compilation of inventories (in 1879 of the records of the Audit Office, of various Chancery series, of Palatinate of Durham, Queen's Remembrancer and Duchy of Lancaster records – all these mentioned as continuing rather than completed work) Calendars, catalogues and indexes were also produced, the majority of which were, ultimately, printed to allow wider consultation – though at this point they appeared as part of the Deputy Keeper's annual reports and not as a separate series of publications.<sup>202</sup> Freelance editors (and, occasionally, editors drawn from the PRO's staff) were working on calendars of state papers for publication; volumes in the Chronicles and Memorials (i.e. the Rolls) series were still being produced and 'photozincography' of 'national manuscripts etc' carried on at the Ordnance Survey Office in Southampton. Officers continued to help with the work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission which was based in the Office. Physical conditions were poor – the searchrooms were 'unlit and draughty' without artificial light until 1889 (although it was installed in staff offices in 1882) Staff and searchers were united in complaining about their working environment. Those in the Government Searchroom (where Hall worked for much of the 1880s and 1890s) also had to contend with 'the unpleasant smell of horses' manure from the nearby premises of the London Parcels Delivery company, and the boisterous language of the boys employed there'.<sup>203</sup>

Over and above the routine functions, much of the policy work of the office in the 1870s and 1880s was taken up with devising workable procedures for the destruction of departmental records, an eventuality provided for by the 1877 Public Records Act (the 1838 Act dealt with custody and preservation, but did not allow for the possibility of destruction) Developing the procedures for (and resourcing of) this process continued until the Rules for Disposal were finally authorized by a series of Orders in Council in 1882

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<sup>200</sup> Deputy Keeper, *41<sup>st</sup> Annual Report* [for 1879], 1880, pp.vi–viii.

<sup>201</sup> Deputy Keeper, *47<sup>th</sup> Annual Report* [for 1885], 1886, p.vii.

<sup>202</sup> Deputy Keeper, *41<sup>st</sup> Annual Report* [for 1879], 1880, pp.viii–x (e.g. Appendix 1 included a 670-page calendar of Exchequer depositions).

<sup>203</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.299 and 339. Conditions for searchers are described in A. Stamp, 'The Public Record Office and the Historical Student – a Retrospect', *TRHS*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., 9 (1928), pp.17–37.

and 1883. Schedules of records (whether within departments or already in the custody of the PRO) proposed for destruction were to be laid before Parliament for public consultation; the Inspecting Officers were also to rule on whether any of the series (or, indeed, samples for information) should be retained for permanent preservation. Defining what classes of records could be destroyed meant that records could be destroyed within the creating department rather than being first transferred to the PRO and then destroyed, as tended to happen.<sup>204</sup> Three Inspecting Officers, one a barrister, comprised the small committee responsible for reviewing government records (occasionally referred to as the Weeding Committee).<sup>205</sup> Hall was to join this committee in 1905. The appointment would deepen his knowledge of departmental records (and the politics of their management), an expertise put to good use during his Secretaryship of the Royal Commission in the 1910s. At the same time it was knowledge which contributed to an increasingly difficult relationship with his long-time chief Henry Maxwell Lyte with whom he worked for some 35 years.

#### *Hall and Henry Maxwell Lyte*

For the first few years of his career, Hall worked under Sir William Hardy (who had succeeded his brother, Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, only a year before Hall's appointment in 1878). Sir William resigned in January 1886 and was succeeded by the 37-year old Henry Maxwell Lyte, an inspector of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and a regular visitor to the searchroom but otherwise an unknown quantity. The external appointment was seen as a reflection on the competency of the existing Assistant Keepers, all of whom had joined the record service before Lyte was born.<sup>206</sup> His leadership qualities (qualities notably lacking under the two previous Deputy Keepers), coupled with the retirement of the last of the pre-1838 keepers, resulted in more opportunities for the younger officers, including Hall, but also longer-serving officers such as C. Trice Martin, L. O. Pike and Walford Selby to extend and promote historical enterprises, especially the study of English

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<sup>204</sup> Draft proposals to Departments for dealing with records before their transfer to the PRO, 27 Sept. 1879, PRO 1/44.

<sup>205</sup> While the powers of the committee were in principle extensive, departments still tended to go their own way in terms of destruction of records. In the 1890s there was a complaint from the Treasury that the Officers were '...naturally somewhat timid' and that 'a stronger Committee might now be appointed to lay down some lines for extensive weeding.' The same complaint was still being made in the 1920s (see Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.337 and 394)

<sup>206</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.305–06.

medieval history.<sup>207</sup> Hall would certainly have welcomed this. He had already sought to make his mark as a medieval scholar and, as early as 1882, had felt confident enough to disagree in print with William Stubbs; a disagreement which involved too an exchange of letters (on ‘The Great Case of the Impositions’) with John Horace Round in the pages of *The Antiquary* between 1881 and 1883.<sup>208</sup>

The differences of opinion between Hall and Lyte have been well documented and were instrumental in the evolution of Hall’s career,<sup>209</sup> but they developed over a long period. His relationship with Lyte was initially very positive. Almost immediately on the new Deputy Keeper’s arrival – and, he later claimed, with the recommendation of Bishop Stubbs<sup>210</sup> – Hall made a first proposal to the new Deputy Keeper for an edition of *Dialogus de Scaccario*, a text in which he was to retain an avid interest for several decades.<sup>211</sup> It was, too, the happy conjunction of the new managerial régime with the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Domesday which proved a pivotal moment in Hall’s career. The commemorative events were to prove highly successful, their success confirming the rapid development in the late 1880s not just of historical scholarship itself, but of the professional structures which were emerging to support it. Hall was anxious to contribute on both fronts and he would continue to make major contributions to both scholarship and the consolidation of the historical establishment over the next 40 years. However his well-received participation in the 1886 Commemorations encouraged him, in the former area, to enter avenues of medieval research which he might have been better advised *not* to have entered.

#### *Domesday Commemorations 1886 and Early Encounters with J. H. Round*

Domesday Book had acquired its iconic status as early as the late middle ages; by the nineteenth century it variously represented the survival of Anglo-Saxon self-government

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<sup>207</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.305.

<sup>208</sup> H. Hall, ‘The Great Case of the Impositions, Part 1’, *Antiquary*, 6 (Aug 1882); for the challenge to Stubbs, see pp.63–65. For Parts 2 and 3, and for Round’s responses see the bibliography. Hall was also later taken to task in *The Times* for his criticism of Stubbs: ‘The Customs Revenue In England’, *The Times*, 21 Sept. 1885, p.3.

<sup>209</sup> In particular Hall’s edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer* and the aftermath of the *First Report* (1912) of the RCPR. See Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, passim.

<sup>210</sup> H. Hall, ‘Mr. C G. Crump’ [obituary], *The Times*, 16 Dec. 1935, p.16.

<sup>211</sup> Hall to Lyte, 25 Feb. 1886, PRO 37/16A. The letter notes that he had already been working on variant manuscripts in the British Museum. Hall later retracted the proposal given that no new editions in the Rolls Series were being commissioned (PRO 37/16A, 6 June 1888).

beyond the Norman Conquest or alternatively evidence of the growth of feudalism.<sup>212</sup> Photozincographic copying had made the text widely available in the early 1860s; its subsequent rebinding, completed in 1869, was designed to 'show it to be a historical relic of which all patriotic Englishmen could be proud'.<sup>213</sup> Domesday was *the* English national record *par excellence* and the happy timing of its 800th anniversary allowed the embryonic historical establishment to flex its growing historical muscle on the international stage. As *The Times* commented:

. . . the passing pleasure derived from an interesting exhibition and the few papers read in elucidation of the sights seen would be a poor outcome of the celebration. We shall hope that it will provide a date from which will begin new interest in the study of this precious record. What would German scholarship have done had the Fatherland possessed such a treasure?<sup>214</sup>

The Commemorations were organized primarily by the RHS (of which Hall was already an active member).<sup>215</sup> The eminent organizing committee included the legal historian Frederic Maitland, Frederick Pollock, J.H. Round and Lyte. Events ran between Monday 25 and Friday 29 October and included the opening ceremony and exhibition at the PRO, further talks and lectures, and the promise of a Domesday bibliography and collection of studies.<sup>216</sup> It may have been Hall's close links with both RHS and PRO which made him the choice for the main address at the opening ceremony (Selby would have been another obvious candidate), but he did have scholarly credentials with publications already on aspects of the Exchequer records.<sup>217</sup> The opening itself as a festive affair:

There was a very large gathering of friends and supporters ... including Lord Aberdare, the president of the Royal Historical Society; Mr John Evans, F.R.S., president of the Society of Antiquaries; Professor Pollock ... etc. The large

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<sup>212</sup> This history is charted in E. Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries* (London, 1986).

<sup>213</sup> Hallam, *Domesday*, p. 157.

<sup>214</sup> *The Times*, 28 Oct. 1886, p.9. In addition a 1,200-word leader surveyed the contemporary approach to history writing in England.

<sup>215</sup> Hall was nominated for fellowship at the Council meeting on 13 Dec. 1883 and elected on 10 Jan. 1884. He was elected an Auditor on 17 Dec. 1885 (and re-elected June 1886), Council Minutes, RHS Archives.

<sup>216</sup> Hallam, *Domesday*, p.162.

<sup>217</sup> E.g. 'The Exchequer Chess-game', *Antiquary* 9 (1884), pp.206–12; and *A History of the Custom-Revenue in England; From the Earliest Times to the Year 1827* (London, 1885).

octagonal Search Room was filled by the company, among whom were many ladies, and the galleries were opened in order to accommodate the overflow.<sup>218</sup>

A half-page illustration in the *Illustrated London News* showed 'Mr. Hubert Hall reading a Paper, in the Literary Search-Room, Record Office' flanked, on a gallery, by Lyte and the Master of the Rolls, Lord Esher while a group of gentlemen and ladies look on, some on the gallery and some watching from below.<sup>219</sup> Among the audience was J. H. Round; 'Did you recognise yourself in the "Illustrated"?', Hall asked him shortly after the event.<sup>220</sup>

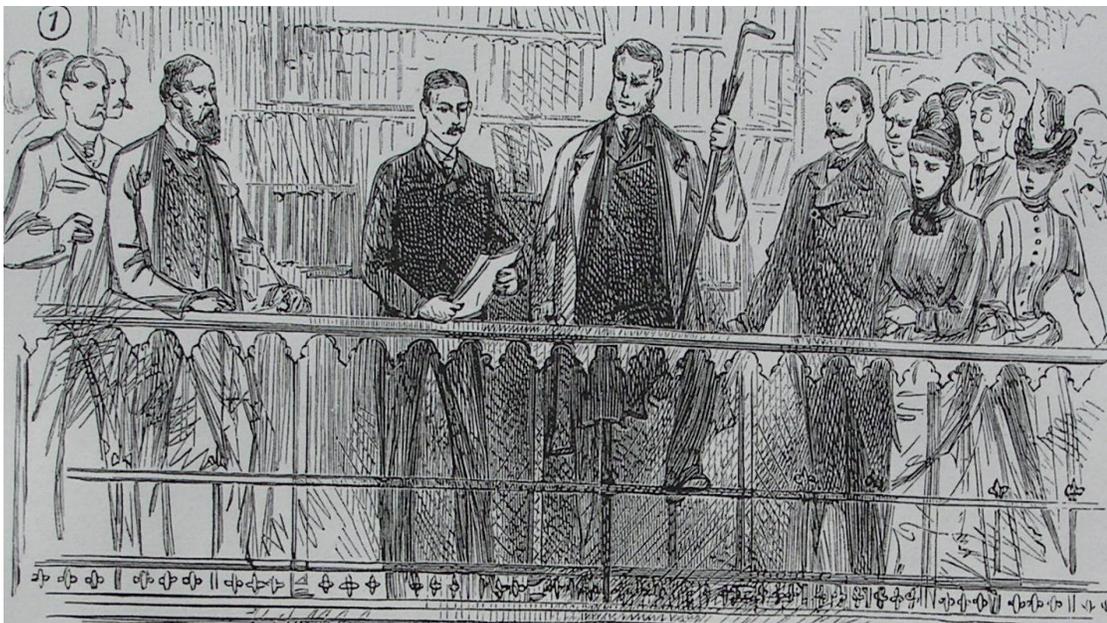


Fig. 4. 'Mr. Hubert Hall reading a Paper, in the Literary Search-Room, Record Office' *Illustrated London News*, 6 Nov. 1886, p.482 (part only of larger picture)

Hall's paper, 'The Official Custody of Domesday Book', was subsequently published in the second volume of the promised *Domesday Studies*.<sup>221</sup> An addendum suggests that this was more or less the version which had been read out at the opening ceremony. If so, at around 6,000 words, his audience would have been required to stand and listen for over

<sup>218</sup> *Times*, 'The Domesday Celebration', 26 Oct. 1886, p.7.

<sup>219</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 6 Nov. 1886, pp.481-82. The article describes the illustrations in detail.

<sup>220</sup> Hall to Round, 12 Nov. 1886, ULSHL MS 646/1.

<sup>221</sup> H. Hall, 'The official custody of Domesday Book,' in P. Edward Dove, *Domesday Studies*, vol. 2 (London, 1891), pp.517-37.

an hour; frequent references over the next 40 years to his dreadful lecturing style (as opposed to teaching ability) suggest that this may well have been one of the first of many painful experiences for his friends and colleagues. The paper (which he later referred to as ‘my wretched old hack essay’)<sup>222</sup> is a prosaic account of the likely locations of Domesday as documented, or inferred from references, in other records series but its conclusion is florid: ‘What sovereigns of old turned its pages lovingly, what Barons of the Exchequer referred dexterously to cited passages of its contents ...’ etc. In this respect it resembled the style of his ‘historical fiction’, *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, which was – presumably – being written contemporaneously.<sup>223</sup> The paper also contained an early reference to one of his life-long preoccupations, an engagement with, and promotion of, American students and scholars. He noted the small number of English visitors to Domesday, at least ‘until this Commemoration-day,’ contrasting ‘the preponderance of American or Teutonic visitors over native antiquaries’.<sup>224</sup> The Domesday paper also brought him into regular contact with J. H. Round.

As we have seen above, the two men had already had a typical (for Round) exchange of views in *The Antiquary*. In 1886 they began (or continued) a personal correspondence (as opposed to one carried out in the periodical press), possibly provoked by a favourable notice by Round of Hall’s article on ‘The Crown Lands’.<sup>225</sup> Round was already a noted Domesday expert<sup>226</sup> who had contributed to the Commemorations<sup>227</sup> and it was inevitable that their correspondence would be renewed on such a topic of mutual interest. Their exchanges, first private and then public prefigure, albeit on a small scale, the course of the

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<sup>222</sup> Hall to Round n.d.[July 1890], ULSHL MS646/21.

<sup>223</sup> H. Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1886).

<sup>224</sup> Hall, ‘Official Custody of Domesday Book’, p.537.

<sup>225</sup> J. Round ‘Crown Lands’, *Antiquary* 13 (Feb. 1886), pp.85–86 in response to Hubert Hall, *Antiquary* 13 (Feb 1886), pp.1–6. Round may have supported Hall because the latter’s view ‘afford[ed] ... no sanction to that set forth by Mr. Freeman’.

<sup>226</sup> V. Galbraith regarded Round (and Maitland) as scholars of ‘near-genius’ in this respect: ‘the meaning of the great Survey cannot be approached, much less mastered, without some preliminary study of *Domesday Book, and Beyond* (1897) [by Maitland] and [Round’s] *Feudal England* (1895)’, V. Galbraith, *Domesday Book. Its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford, 1974), p.i.

<sup>227</sup> Round had prepared a number of papers for Commemoration but was able to deliver only one in full. On the first occasion he ‘had to content himself with merely stating the heads of his expected paper on the Domesday hide, a subject of controversy to which he appeared to have given considerable research ....’ On the final day he delivered a paper on the ‘Finance of Domesday’ (a criticism of Freeman’s position on Colchester in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century): ‘The Domesday Commemoration’, *Athenaeum*, 6 Nov. 1886, pp.602–03.

Red Book of the Exchequer episode a decade later. 'I shall look forward with pleasure to your communication in the "Academy"', Hall told Round,

. . . I had already prepared a short paper on the Early Custody of the book for the "Athenaeum" . . . I wanted to ventilate the question [i.e. his chronology of the custody of Domesday Book] as well as to correct myself in public . . . This theory is ingenious I think: is it sound in your opinion? I should like to make it all out before my paper is printed.<sup>228</sup>

Round appears to have replied immediately, probably a couple of days after his own *Academy* article appeared on 13 November.<sup>229</sup> As usual Hall's further reply was courteous, but he was unwilling to revise his own theory:

I was greatly impressed with your paper on the "Early Custody of D." but not convinced though I should willingly have been, as I prefer personally the Winchester theory. The other view came upon me as a sort of inspiration disquieting me long before I gave in to it & now I feel pledged to it in abandonment of my previous one. ... I am looking forward anxiously to your opinion of my new theory as stated in the Athenaeum<sup>230</sup> where it will appear if they can find room for it...

I did not see my way to answering your paper in the Academy<sup>231</sup> because I should have nothing to say except that I had got an opposing theory on probation. I wish though you could "go for" my theory if it appears, as it is plausible enough but wants testing at several points.<sup>232</sup>

Hall's faith in his own views may have been bolstered by another letter from Round (14 November) which commended the 'extreme originality' of *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, 'I

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<sup>228</sup> Hall to Round, 12 Nov. 1886, ULSHL MS646/1.

<sup>229</sup> J. Round, 'The Early Custody of Domesday,' *Academy*, 13 Nov. 1886, p.328.

<sup>230</sup> H. Hall, 'The Early Custody of Domesday Book', *Athenaeum*, 27 Nov. 1886, pp.706-07.

<sup>231</sup> Round, 'Early Custody of Domesday', *Academy*, p.328.

<sup>232</sup> Hall to Round, 15 Nov. 1886, ULSHL MS 646/3. The letter concludes, in a sentiment unlikely ever to have been heard from Round, "Truly we know nothing of these things!"

see that . . . you do not spare the easy-going second-hand writers'.<sup>233</sup> However, on the subject of Domesday Round was unable not to have the final word; his two-part critique of Hall appeared in the *Antiquary* in June and July 1887.<sup>234</sup> It was published, he said, because he understood 'that the theory [Hall] advanced in the *Athenaeum* was intended to provoke discussion and elicit the criticism of students'. On that basis, Round proposed, he said, 'as no one else ha[d] come forward, to offer some observations on the question'. The extent to which his critique was merely a generous response to an implicit invitation is debatable. Hall did not admit defeat on the issue, but his final published word on the location of the Exchequer was conciliatory: 'according to the estimable practice of the "compendious Mr. Madox" in similar cases: "I leave every man to his freedom of judging therein as he shall see cause."' <sup>235</sup>

The appearance of this article in February 1889 coincided with the death of Edith Hall on 17 February. Although Round responded in print,<sup>236</sup> Hall did not, understandably, acknowledge this until the following January<sup>237</sup> and by that time the two men were deeply engaged in their new project, the editing of the Red Book of the Exchequer. We might note here another event which took place in 1889 and which was to become central to Hall's scholarly career, the transfer to the PRO from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of the Winchester pipe rolls, the extensive series of early medieval manorial accounts for the diocesan estates.<sup>238</sup>

#### *Work in the Government Searchroom*

On a day-to-day basis the Office was continuing to undergo substantial changes to process and to its organizational culture.<sup>239</sup> Cantwell has described in some detail the reforms and improvements put in train by Lyte from the very start of his tenure and the speed with

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<sup>233</sup> Round to Hall, 14 Nov. 1886, CKS, U890/F5/1.

<sup>234</sup> J. Round, 'The Early Custody of Domesday Book', *Antiquary* 15 (June 1887), pp.246-49 and *Antiquary* 16 (July 1887), pp. 8-12.

<sup>235</sup> H. Hall, 'The Site of the Ancient Exchequer', *Archaeological Review* 2, (Feb. 1889), p.390.

<sup>236</sup> J. Round, 'The Norman exchequer', *Archaeological Review* 4, (Aug. 1889), pp.78-79. This critique was pure Round: 'Now, on referring to this passage [used by Hall] ... we find that it proves the exact opposite', and (on the issue of the position of the Royal Treasury at the end of the twelfth century), 'I will say no more at present other than that the evidence adduced by me ... remains unshaken and indeed unassailed.'

<sup>237</sup> Hall to Round, 27 Jan. 1890, ULSHL MS646/13.

<sup>238</sup> R. Britnell, *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge, 2003), p.3.

<sup>239</sup> Cantwell (*Public Record Office*, p.302) quotes the rhyme in circulation about William Hardy's régime as Deputy Keeper when the PRO 'In good Sir William's golden days .../Did nothing in particular/And did it very well'.

which he was able to assert his authority on the Office.<sup>240</sup> At the end of 1886 the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments began an enquiry aimed at greater efficiency and cost savings. Office staff were invited to make their own suggestions: Lyte 'may well have been surprised at the frankness and variety of their replies'.<sup>241</sup> Hall's suggestions for improvement centred, perhaps inevitably, on poor promotion prospects (the complaint was made by many of the other Junior Clerks), but they also paint an illuminating picture of the Office at this time:

Certain recognised indulgences might be gently discouraged pro communi salute e.g. such as are believed to give rise to (surely) needless scandal at the expense of the Service: namely, prolonged conversation (which wastes at a moderate computation 1/3 of the time of half the Office), habitual reading of the newspapers; letter writing; amateur cookery; and all other attempts to convert the Office into a private club.<sup>242</sup>

The extension of the Civil Service day from six to seven hours in 1892 was probably one of the reasons why Hall resigned from his old crammer Wren's in 1894, where he had lectured on Constitutional and Economic History for the previous decade.<sup>243</sup> The loss in earnings was partly compensated for by his promotion to Senior Clerk in January 1892, resulting from his appointment as Resident Officer which had brought with it in any case an allowance of £150.<sup>244</sup> While the Resident Officer post retained some aspects of its earlier caretaker role (and the Treasury continued to call the post 'Resident Caretaker' well into the 1920s) – repository security, and awareness of fire hazards, structural defects and the water, heating and lighting systems, it had become increasingly complicated. As described by Hall in 1912 the Resident Officer was responsible for

... a vast block of connected Repositories and Offices, on four levels, in full occupation and use. The maintenance of the new Record Office gives employment to artisans and porters working overtime, early and late. The building is traversed by a net-work of water-pipes, vacuum tubes and electric

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<sup>240</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, Chapter 11, 'Lyte at Rolls House, 1886–1895'.

<sup>241</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.314.

<sup>242</sup> Hall to Lyte, [Jan. 1887] PRO 1/140; also quoted by Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.305.

<sup>243</sup> J[ohnson], 'Hubert Hall,' p.3; teaching career details, 14 Dec. 1910, LSE Staff File.

<sup>244</sup> PRO 8/55 fol.133.

wires: large furnaces and boilers are in use at several points with hydraulic mains and engines; coals and combustibles must be stored on a large scale, for nearly 50 open fires are lighted everyday.<sup>245</sup>

The Resident Officer was required to live within five minutes' walk of the office; to respond to Police Patrols out of hours; to liaise with London County Council Fire Brigade and the Office of Works, and to attend to any urgent government business on public holidays and weekends. He also had to pay for any security cover during his own absences out of the £150 allowance. It would have provided him with the opportunity to become very familiar with the building itself. One can only imagine the circumstances which led to his discovery 'that a large number of the strong-room doors could be opened by unscrewing the ventilators with a worn sixpenny bit and thus enabling the inside latch to be drawn back',<sup>246</sup> but it was a good story and one which passed into Office mythology.<sup>247</sup>

Whatever the drawbacks, the post gave Hall free access to the Office, for as long as he wanted between 5pm and 10am the following morning and on Sundays, providing unlimited opportunities for own research.<sup>248</sup> These 'extra-mural' interests lay in the medieval Exchequer records, an interest originally encouraged by Walford Selby, who had founded the Pipe Roll Society in 1883 to publish the exchequer pipe rolls (and 'to whom I am indebted for whatever knowledge of Records I have been able to acquire outside the routine of my official duties', said Hall).<sup>249</sup> The medieval records were not the focus of his day-to-day work; this was in the Government (or Departmental) Search Room where his duties were directed to government departments themselves, providing information from their transferred records, dealing with regular accruals and returning records on request.

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<sup>245</sup> Memorandum [by Hall] on the care of the PRO out of office hours, 4 Dec 1912, PRO 1/126. The Resident Officer's work was less than glamorous, see e.g. Hall to the PRO Secretary on the state of the lavatories, and the risk of infection until an automatic flushing system was introduced, PRO 44/2: 'The smell in the Hall of the Repository is at times sickening', [1890s].

<sup>246</sup> PRO 1/126, fol. 2.

<sup>247</sup> Copy letter, Master of the Rolls to Treasury, 5 Nov 1921, PRO1/80, when it was part of the evidence submitted in support of the retention of the Resident Officer role.

<sup>248</sup> 'Official duties which obliged him to be present in the office at all hours and to familiarize himself with records of all classes supplied both stimulus and opportunity during the next 35 years for a succession of notes, articles, and books ranging from the twelfth to the nineteenth century', *The Times* [obituary], 3 Aug. 1944.

<sup>249</sup> Hall to Lyte 11 Dec. 1889, PRO 37/16a.

We have already seen that this work increased throughout the later years of the nineteenth century. Several of Hall's reports survive, providing an insight into the kind of work undertaken to improve both physical and intellectual systems and processes; these included:

- the transfer and listing of recent War Office pay lists, 1887<sup>250</sup>
- the arrangement and classification of Admiralty logs and journals, 1887<sup>251</sup>
- the rearrangement of departmental records within the PRO, [1890]<sup>252</sup>
- the redistribution of duties to facilitate listing of departmental records, 1892<sup>253</sup>
- storage arrangements in the PRO and elsewhere, 1895<sup>254</sup>
- lessons to be learned from a fire incident, 1899<sup>255</sup>
- problems with the Treasury Solicitor's department, 1899<sup>256</sup>

Whether or not the survival of these specific reports is serendipitous, they do provide an insight into the daily work of the Office and to Hall's concerns in particular. From that perspective the most important of these reports deals with the rearrangement of Departmental records (endorsed, in a later hand, 1890) The arrangement of the departmental records was a perennial problem and one which was to be highlighted in the *First Report* of the RCPR.

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<sup>250</sup> Report advising on the transfer of War Office pay lists for 1877-1884 and suggesting the establishment of a clerical department under Hall's direction to expedite the production of lists of all holdings, Jan. 1887, PRO 4/9/8.

<sup>251</sup> Report 'on the nature, arrangement and classification of the Admiralty logs and journals in the Public Record Office and Royal Victoria Yard, Deptford', 11 Jan. 1887, PRO 4/9/16.

<sup>252</sup> Report on the proposed rearrangement of storage of departmental records, with plan of proposed allocation of strongrooms in the east wing and north tower of the repository and plan of the present allocation of strongrooms in the repository, Judges Chambers, 4 and 5 Rolls Yard, and 7, 14, 16, 17 and 20 Chancery Lane [1890], PRO 4/9/17. There is a draft of the report, Jan. 1888, in PRO 44/2.

<sup>253</sup> Hall to Lyte, proposing alteration of duties within the Office to allow for the most rapid completion of departmental lists, with full reports on the Admiralty list, the Treasury list and the War Office list, and brief reports on the lists of the Home Office, Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Lord Chamberlain, Paymaster General, Charity Commissioners, High Court of Admiralty and the Audit Office, 16 Jan. 1892, PRO 4/9/20.

<sup>254</sup> Report on the present location of departmental records in the repository and at Somerset House, and proposals for re-packing in the new building and other parts of the Office, 30 Nov. 1895, PRO 4/9/22.

<sup>255</sup> On the danger to the Office from fires breaking out in Fetter Lane, 1 May 1899, PRO 4/9/25.

<sup>256</sup> On the difficult relationship between the Office and the Treasury Solicitor's Department over the Treasury Solicitor's papers, 2 April 1899, PRO 4/9/26.

Finding records was problematic: each request for a record, claimed Hall: ‘instead of being an almost mechanical operation, requires the most careful attention of trained experts. In fact in most cases each production is a search.’ His report provides a graphic account (literally as it includes plans of the Office showing the location of the records) and a list of the many problems associated with these records: records were in different parts of the building; classes were split, ‘(in some cases) in as many as four different places’; they were inaccessible in relation to the place of production; their physical condition was ‘deplorable’; and in the main, they were ‘imperfectly identified, described, listed and numbered’. His recommendations prioritized the listing of all the records as a precursor to disposal of duplicate records and the physical re-arrangement of records to more logical locations.<sup>257</sup>

The Government Searchroom was open to the public, at least to those holding permits allowing the examination of documents not routinely open;<sup>258</sup> thus liaising and negotiating between departments and these literary searchers (who had to submit what they had copied from closed documents for inspection before being allowed to take their notes away from the Office) was a large part of the daily work. It could be complicated. Departments closed their records to different dates: in 1886 these ranged from December 1799 for Admiralty records to June 1837 for War Office records; departments could recall their own records at any time – but not those of other departments without special permission; after 1892 literary searchers had to notify the Office in advance of the subject of their enquiry; foreigners had to apply for access through their Embassy, and so on.

As head of the Government Searchroom, Hall quickly gained a reputation both for his knowledge of departmental records and for the quality of his assistance to searchers. At the same time, as an intermediary, he was required to judge the sensitivity of ‘closed’ records – and the motives of researchers in seeking access to them.<sup>259</sup> An example (which also throws an interesting light on Hall as a historian and his understanding of the relationship between historians and their material) related to research by American historians into the British Government’s support for the revolutionary movements against Spanish colonial rule in South America, and, in particular, into the relationship between

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<sup>257</sup> PRO 4/9/17.

<sup>258</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.299.

<sup>259</sup> See e.g. Memoranda from Hall relating to such ‘objectionable’ material, late 1890s–1902, PRO 44/2. The generalities of this account are based on Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.328–33, 344.

the revolutionary leader Francesco de Miranda and William Pitt at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. '[T]he subject is deeply interesting,' he wrote in an internal memorandum justifying a closure decision,

but it is also somewhat perilous (as it seems to me) and I cannot quite see where it is leading ... it would be possible by manipulating the manuscript evidence to give a sinister aspect to these negotiations.<sup>260</sup>

He concluded by pointing out that access to a document described as 'Merry's letter' (W. Merry was an official at the War Office) had already been disallowed three times on his recommendation. A year later Hall himself published an article on Miranda and Pitt: it is unclear whether he committed what would now be seen as a cardinal sin by a professional archivist of using for his own research material which he had been responsible for withholding from researchers!<sup>261</sup>

In other circumstances Hall was prepared to stand up for searchers; writing about an unspecified incident relating to Foreign Office records, he said,

To deliberately give permission to copy for purposes of publication documents generally prohibited and then to with-hold the sanction thus given is scarcely fair to our readers or to ourselves ... I shall simply refer [the searcher] to the Foreign Office, whose instructions we merely carry out without responsibility for them, though the credit of these restrictions is generally assigned to this Department.<sup>262</sup>

Many notable collaborations began in the Government Searchroom: with Sidney and Beatrice Webb as they began their work on English local government in the late 1880s for example, and, as described below, with American scholars in particular. <sup>263</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Memorandum, 15 May 1901, PRO44/2.

<sup>261</sup> H. Hall, 'Pitt and General Miranda', *Athenaeum* 19 April 1902, pp.498-99. I have been unable to identify 'Merry's letter'; it is not referred to in the *Athenaeum* article.

<sup>262</sup> Memorandum, PRO 44/2.

<sup>263</sup> At the same time he was able to help younger colleagues e.g. he was credited with encouraging Charles Crump (who joined the PRO in 1888) to contribute to Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, thus, it was later claimed, initiating 'recognition of the importance of public records as throwing light on the machinery of government in the past', 'Mr. C.G. Crump' [obituary], *The Times*,

A number of more informal notes also survive documenting more mundane problems: the return of his own ticket because it had an abbreviated reference even though 'at least two men on the [repository] floor [knew] perfectly well what was meant'<sup>264</sup> or (a problem familiar to all archivists) of having to supervise the strange behaviour of researchers and keeping the peace in the searchroom. Miss McEntire, although an Oxford graduate and ex-principal of a lady's college at Durham, spoke 'loudly and defiantly', moved seats repeatedly without permission, 'mutter[ed] excitedly & continuously whilst at work and dash[ed] things about. Perhaps the practice of imbibing frequently and freely from a flask is a question of taste' wrote Hall to the Office Secretary, 'but it occasioned no little scandal & disquiet to the other Readers and was a possible source of danger to the documents'.<sup>265</sup>

### *American Connections*

Though responsible for monitoring users and usage, the picture of Hall as 'gatekeeper' is not one which many of his contemporaries would have recognized. On the contrary, his reputation for 'generous and untiring helpfulness' was consolidated in the Government Searchroom: in particular he developed close professional relationships and personal friendships with American scholars who found him 'an invaluable friend, whose kindness has seemed to have no limits'.<sup>266</sup> The 1890s saw the American contribution to and interest in English medieval historical scholarship at its height; there was a perception that American scholars, and even casual visitors from the United States, understood the value of the national records far more than their British counterparts. American scholars displayed a 'particular genius'<sup>267</sup> for using the records, while the PRO itself (or at least its Museum with Domesday Book and copies of the Magna Carta) was 'included in every American's itinerary while "doing" England'. The average Briton, on the other hand, walked past the Record Office oblivious to its function.<sup>268</sup> It was in the final decade of the

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13 Dec, 1935, p.16. Hall amended this version of event in a subsequent letter, (H. Hall, 'Mr. C. G. Crump', *The Times*, 16 Dec. 1935), downplaying his role.

<sup>264</sup> From Hall to ?PRO Secretary n.d; PRO 44/2.

<sup>265</sup> Hall to PRO Secretary, 4-5 Jan 1901, PRO 44/2. The Secretary made a conciliatory response: 'Keeping open house as we do, we must expect some objectionable visitors sometimes'.

<sup>266</sup> Testimonial presented to Hall in 1909 (after 30 years services at the PRO) by 48 American historians. Quoted in Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.119, n.107.

<sup>267</sup> Review, by Hall, of the *Annual Report* of the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution, Washington, in *Athenaeum*, 16 April, 1910, p.460; quoted in Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.129, n.147.

<sup>268</sup> Newspaper clipping, 'A fair American looking at Domesday Book', PRO 8/61, fol.5.

century that Hall met many researchers who were to remain life-long friends: figures such as Frances Davenport, Galliard T. Lapsley, and Roger B. Merriman were all regular visitors to the PRO.<sup>269</sup> Charles Andrews began his research there in 1893 as a medievalist and returned frequently to England thereafter as a colonial historian, often with his wife Evangeline.<sup>270</sup> Andrews' early work encouraged Hall's existing interest in the potential for economic history of medieval pipe rolls, a research interest which he was to maintain well into his retirement from the PRO.<sup>271</sup> Other long-term correspondents and colleagues included Charles Gross, whose 1896 *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls* for the Selden Society was based on extensive work in the PRO,<sup>272</sup> while in the same year John Franklin Jameson, later to become Director of the Department of Historical Research at the Carnegie Institute, visited England as head of the newly-formed Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association (AHA).<sup>273</sup>

#### *Hall, the Royal Historical Society and other Historical Bodies*

Though he spent 40 years at the PRO, Hall's most enduring affiliation was with the Royal Historical Society. His death, wrote his colleague and friend Charles Johnson,

deprived the Royal Historical Society of one of its most beloved members, one, too who had perhaps the largest share in shaping its history ... It is difficult to speak sufficiently highly of his services to the society. He found it little, if anything, more than a society of dilettanti, and left it what it is to-day, a powerful influence for the encouragement of research and for the maintenance of that living interest which is that backbone of sound historical teaching.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Stamp, 'Retrospect', pp.28–29. Frances Davenport joined the staff of the Carnegie Institute, Department of Historical Research in 1905 and subsequently edited several publications relating to European records; Galliard Thomas Lapsley retired as Reader in Constitutional History at Cambridge in 1937; Roger Bigelow Merriman was Professor of History, Harvard, and was to write Hall's obituary in the *AHR*.

<sup>270</sup> A. Eizenstadt, *Charles McLean Andrews* (New York, 1956), p.63.

<sup>271</sup> Hall to Andrews, 8 Nov. 1924, Andrews Papers, Box 23, Folder 277.

<sup>272</sup> C. Gross, *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls, A.D. 1265–1413* (London, 1896). Gross was a direct contemporary of Hall's (both were born in 1857), but he died in 1909; his *The Sources and Literature of English History From the Earliest Times to About 1485* (London, 1900) was hugely influential on a generation of scholars (see Chapter 7).

<sup>273</sup> Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.66, n.156. See Procter, 'Consolidation and Separation' for a more general view of Anglo-American archival relationships in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; this also includes further information about Hall.

<sup>274</sup> J[ohnson], 'Hubert Hall', p.1.

Hall was elected as fellow of the RHS on 10 January 1884<sup>275</sup> and was an active member of the Society from the outset. In December 1885 was elected Auditor, his first official position within the Society (he was re-elected to the same position the following June); he was a member of the Domesday Commemorations Committee before being elected onto the Council itself in May 1887.<sup>276</sup> In 1887 too he joined the Selden Society and was elected to the Society of Antiquaries.<sup>277</sup> Hall published extensively in *The Antiquary* during the 1880s, but it was the Selden Society which became another constant in his life – he was to produce his final major work for the Society as late as 1932.<sup>278</sup> The Selden Society was newly established, ‘to encourage the study and advance the knowledge of the History of English Law’; in fact it built on the success of the Domesday Commemorations which had revealed the widespread interest in ‘record studies’. The barrister P. Edward Dove, ‘a man with a genius for “promoting” societies’ (he was already Secretary of the RHS) was the driving force, although it was Hall who composed its initial prospectus which attracted 85 subscribing members. Hall became Honorary Auditor here, too, retaining that position until 1937.<sup>279</sup>

Hall’s membership of the Selden Society brought him into continuing contact with Frederic Maitland (with whom the Society is most closely identified). Maitland, who was soon to gain his lasting reputation as pre-eminent legal and constitutional historian, was to prove a good friend to Hall; like many of his contemporaries he appreciated Hall’s perseverance, diligence and willingness to support colleagues; Hall, he said, was ‘a man who never scamps work besides being ... the most unselfish man I have ever known.’<sup>280</sup> In common too with some of their mutual friends he also recognized Hall’s ‘fluffy mind’, and knew that unselfishness was largely irrelevant in the world of historical scholarship. It was this recognition, coupled with affection for Hall as a man, which made him one of the many

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<sup>275</sup> Nominated 13 Dec. 1883; elected 10 Jan. 1884 (proposers are not recorded); elected auditor 17 Dec. 1885, Council Minute Books, RHS Archives.

<sup>276</sup> 19 May 1887, RHS Council Minutes, *vice* Lord Acton who was elected a Vice-President.

<sup>277</sup> Hall ‘appears not to have been very actively involved’ in the Society of Antiquaries; he served on its Council for one year only in 1906. Information from Adrian James, Society of Antiquaries, e-mail to Margaret Procter, 31 May 2006. For Hall’s publications in the *Antiquary* see the Bibliography.

<sup>278</sup> H. Hall, *Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant. Vol. 2, Central Courts, A.D. 1239–1433; Vol. 3, Supplementary Central Courts, A.D. 1251–1779* (London, 1930, 1932)

<sup>279</sup> Selden Society, *A Centenary Guide to the Publications of the Selden Society* (London, 1987), pp.3–6.

<sup>280</sup> Fifoot, *Letters of Frederick William Maitland*, p.181.

historians who felt uneasy about giving Hall unequivocal support during the *Red Book of the Exchequer* controversy at the end of the 1890s. In the meantime, however, it was Maitland who drew Hall's attention to the value of the Winchester rolls, then recently transferred to the PRO.<sup>281</sup> Though of peripheral interest to Maitland, Hall's later work on the Winchester Rolls was to add to his reputation as a pioneer of economic history research.

Hall's untiring work for the RHS, especially in the 1880s and 1890s has been generally acknowledged as an 'important step in the Society's advance to respectability'.<sup>282</sup> This was more than just academic respectability (although this was his lasting legacy). The 1880s saw the Society emerging from a tumultuous period which had included the (enforced) resignation of its founder, Dr Charles Rogers, the recovery of its financial soundness and membership numbers; and the change from a membership largely comprising antiquarians and autodidacts (with *Transactions* of a similar character) to one with more professional aspirations and abilities. By the mid-1880s Council included men such as William Cunningham, Lord Acton and Oscar Browning all with evident credibility as historians,<sup>283</sup> and a further round of administrative changes in the early 1890s consolidated the transition from dilettantism: Finance and Library Committees were established and then, early in 1891, the decision to appoint a Director, 'who, as a "professional historian", was to be responsible for the Society's publications and for the papers read.'<sup>284</sup> Although the decision to appoint Hall to this post was not unanimous, the casting vote of the chairman Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff ratified his initial appointment, and its no doubt welcome annual stipend of £50, for two years; Hall remained Literary Director until 1939.<sup>285</sup> The Literary Director was to take over the publication-related duties of the Secretary; whether Dove, then the Secretary, voted against Hall on this occasion is unknown, though Hall later referred to him as 'fighting a

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<sup>281</sup> Britnell, *Winchester Pipe Rolls*, p.3; LSE Seminar, comp., 'A List of the Rent Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester (Ecclesiastical Commission) in the Public Record Office', *Economica*, 10 (Feb 1924), p.52.

<sup>282</sup> J. Burrow, 'Victorian Historians and the Royal Historical Society', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 39 (1989), p.130; more generally on the professionalization of the RHS among other learned societies see Goldstein, 'Organizational Development of the British Historical Profession,' pp.184–86.

<sup>283</sup> R. Humphries, *The Royal Historical Society, 1868–1968* (London, 1969), pp.12–19.

<sup>284</sup> Humphries, *Royal Historical Society*, pp.23–24. Council Minutes, 18 Dec. 1890, 19 March 1891, RHS Archives.

<sup>285</sup> Humphries, *Royal Historical Society*, p.21. Hall was proposed by Oscar Browning and B.F. Stevens (Browning, as Chairman of Council had originally suggested the establishment of the post)

losing game against the reformers on the Council'.<sup>286</sup> Overall, however, the new arrangements seem to have worked well; Hall threw himself with his usual enthusiasm into the work, and was always willing to step in where needed.<sup>287</sup>

The Society's otherwise inexorable progress towards historical respectability was dramatically halted one Wednesday in late November 1894 when Dove shot himself in the head in his chambers in Lincoln's Inn,<sup>288</sup> following the disappearance of Society funds (and specifically money from the subscription fund established for the Edward Gibbon Centenary Commemoration). The Selden Society was also badly affected. Whether the loss was the result of embezzlement<sup>289</sup> or 'a disastrous muddle'<sup>290</sup> is unclear, but Hall was a key player in resolving the ensuing financial crisis.<sup>291</sup> The affair did not fortunately, cause lasting damage, either financial or reputational, to either Society. Thirty years later Hall provided his recollections of that 'strenuous time' for another life-long friend and collaborator Thomas Frederick Tout,

[Dove] shot himself to avoid facing the Selden Audit, and perhaps the Gibbon Comm[ission]n audit also. Our funds were safe because the Treasurer was one of our vigilance Cttee; but the Selden lost about £1500 (if I remember) and we had to make good the Gibbon & Domesday Comm[itte]e liabilities, as Dove had collected the subs[criptio]ns. We also lost a lot of books, and some of our archives were recovered, with difficulty, from the sale-rooms; and his clerk blackmailed us for moral & intellectual damages.<sup>292</sup>

Hall's workload increased when the RHS merged with the venerable, but financially-straitened Camden Society, in 1897. As Literary Director he took on the responsibility of

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<sup>286</sup> Hall to Tout, 2 Feb. 1926, TFT1/466/26.

<sup>287</sup> E.g. Council minutes, 16 April 1891, RHS Archives: 'Mr H. Hall also stated that, not having been able to obtain another paper, he proposed to read a paper of his own at the evening meeting.' (The paper was 'The English Staple at Calais', RHS *Annual Report*, 1890/1.)

<sup>288</sup> 'The Suicide of a Barrister', *The Times*, 24 Nov. 1894, p.9. The death took place on 21 November.

<sup>289</sup> Humphries, *Royal Historical Society*, p.25.

<sup>290</sup> Selden Society, *Publications of the Selden Society*, p.7.

<sup>291</sup> Hall was co-secretary of the Gibbon Committee with Dove 'but [Dove] put his name first so sub[scription]s all came to him. Hinc illae lacrymae.' Hall to Tout, 2 Feb. 1926, TFT1/466/26. Hall recalled the liabilities of the Selden Society as amounting to £1,500; *Publications of the Selden Society*, p.7, states £1,000.

<sup>292</sup> Hall to Tout, 2 Feb. 1926, TFT1/466/26. Tout joined the RHS in 1891 having just taken up the chair of medieval and modern history at Owen's College, later the University of Manchester. He was to be a long-term colleague and friend of Hall's and they corresponded until his death in 1929.

producing two Camden volumes annually as well as *Transactions*. While it was a challenge to maintain a supply of publishable papers for *Transactions* – as ever, those who delivered papers were not always as eager to write them up for publication – the Camden Society, founded in 1838 to publish editions of ‘Early Historical and Literary Remains’ was rarely short of projects, even if the speed of their production, once agreed, could be painfully slow.<sup>293</sup> (Hall’s own *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer* had been the first volume of the ‘Camden Library’ series in 1892.) The merger of the two societies brought Hall increased possibilities for publishing the work not just of his professional colleagues but also – and perhaps to him more importantly – that of the growing number of students who consulted him informally in the PRO searchrooms or who, from 1895, attended his classes at the LSE (and many did both). With his dual roles at the PRO and at the RHS he was in a strong position to promote historical enterprise in general and, in particular, to consolidate the links between those who used archives and those with responsibility for their custody and management.

#### *The RHS – an Archival Perspective*

With no archival profession (indeed very few individuals calling themselves archivists, a phenomenon which will be discussed further in Chapter 7), the RHS was the natural home for those historical workers from whose ranks, in the 1920s and 1930s, archivists would emerge as discrete profession.<sup>294</sup> Similarly the RHS could provide a forum for discussions of archives and of archival management beyond the confines of the PRO. *Transactions* brought the attention of British historians to foreign archives. Publications were reviewed which dealt with such matters as ‘the archives or record offices of the feudal kings of China’, or of ‘the archives of the Latin east’ or of the Imperial court of Austria or the Prussian Royal archives, or the archives at Simancas or the secret Archives of the Vatican. The archival work of dominion governments in Canada and Australia was praised; while students of European history were reassured that, ‘it [was] satisfactory to learn that ... improved accommodation has been provided for students at the Vatican.’ Nearer to home attention was drawn to the wide variety of finding aids being produced by the PRO,

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<sup>293</sup> C. Johnson, ‘The Camden Society,’ *TRHS*, 4th ser., 22 (1940), pp.23–38. Also reproduced in Humphries, *Royal Historical Society*, Appendix 1.

<sup>294</sup> See Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists*, Chapter 5, ‘From Scholarly Preoccupations towards Professionalism: Historical and Scholarly Associations, 1880–1945’.

destined 'to prove invaluable to inexperienced searchers'.<sup>295</sup> In 1895, for example, Transactions reported that

calendars, chronicles, lists, indexes, and reports [are all] welcome landmarks in the wilderness of musty parchments – landmarks without which few students could pursue original researches with any profit . . . thousands upon thousands of ancient deeds and royal letters have been arranged and the contents of each minutely described.<sup>296</sup>

However, the most pressing concern in terms of managing the archives was the lack of formal training in their interpretation. Hall, along with many of his RHS colleagues, knew that researchers required specialist training in order to understand the sources fully. This was not a particularly idiosyncratic idea in the 1890s but how to achieve it was more problematic. Conscious of its responsibilities towards archives and archival provision in the new world of document-based history, the RHS provided a forum within which to consider some solutions. Declarations of the need for formal training in palaeography, diplomatic and related archival skills recur regularly throughout the 1890s; this was for the 'advanced' training of historians (what we would now call postgraduate research training) but it was recognized that similar skills (and more) were required for those historical workers concerned primarily with the management of archives. In a paper read to the RHS in June 1897 F. York Powell, by then Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, made the point that a particular kind of training was needed for archivists, 'the men who are to deal with the material on which are founded all the histories that professors and schoolmasters teach from'; this was different from the 'routine' historical training made available to history students. Powell was particularly devoted to the idea of a British *École des Chartes* and suggested that a national version should be able to turn out 'certificated archivists' with posts guaranteed for their employment.<sup>297</sup> It was under Adolphus Ward's presidency a couple of years later, that the RHS took its first practical steps, in 1900, towards providing Advanced Historical Training, an initiative with which Hall was closely associated (in fact inextricably involved).

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<sup>295</sup> 'The Progress of Historical Research during the Session 1889-91', *TRHS*, new ser., 5 (1891), pp. 263–65.

<sup>296</sup> 'The Progress of Historical Research', *TRHS*, new ser., 9 (1895), pp.271–86.

<sup>297</sup> F. York Powell 'The *École des Chartes* and English Records', *TRHS*, n.s., 11 (1897) pp.34–37.

### *Conclusion*

Hall's professional life in the final two decades of the nineteenth century was full and productive and the 1890s in particular consolidated his reputation for the promotion of historical enterprise by facilitating the work of historians and students not only within the Government Searchroom but through the exercise of his many roles beyond the PRO. His reputation, and influence also grew through his work for the Royal Historical Society and the start of his long association with the London School of Economics (by 1900 he had been teaching palaeography, historical sources, and related topics there for four years). In addition his second marriage in January 1895 was to prove a long and happy one and in that year his position at the centre of the historical establishment appeared both comfortable and secure.

In tandem with the institutional activities described in this Chapter, Hall had also been making pioneering forays into historical writing (some very briefly referenced above) and, in particular, works of economic history based on his research on Exchequer and revenue records. The next two Chapters are primarily concerned with this aspect of his work. Chapter 3 discusses his writing in the context of the shift from literary to scientific history writing, with its focus on the centrality of the document, in the late nineteenth century, and demonstrates how its pioneering nature, at least in some respects, led to his initial appointment at the LSE and to his subsequent appointments under the aegis of the Advanced Historical Teaching Fund. Chapter 4 concentrates on the least successful of his literary endeavours, the publication of an edition of the Red Book of the Exchequer and the bitter public dispute with John Horace Round which surrounded it. The resolution of the dispute soured the last years of the decade for him, but, as we shall see, it provoked him to reshape his career, turning his energies to teaching and promoting the work of his students rather than pursuing scholarly activity on his own account.

## CHAPTER 3

### USING THE RECORDS: WRITING AND TEACHING HISTORY (1870s TO THE EARLY 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY)

#### *Introduction*

Hall published extensively in the final two decades of the nineteenth century – some 70 books and articles in the periodical press and the newer scholarly journals – though the one work with which his name remains most closely linked was his edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, the history of which is discussed separately in Chapter 4. As that Chapter will explain, its critical reception led him to concentrate on different areas of work, thus the body of material published in the *first* 20 years of his career can appropriately be considered together.

This Chapter, then, discusses the critical response to some of his early work, assesses its continuing value and considers the extent to which it was representative, or indeed, unrepresentative, of its time. The specificity of the period is important: the work discussed here appeared during the decades contemporaneously recognized as a transition period between the ascendancy of the ‘literary historian’ and that of the professional, document-focused historian. The following discussion therefore considers the late nineteenth-century understanding of history writing in order to judge Hall’s work by the standards of the time. The Chapter concludes by noting that it was, specifically, his economic history writing and pioneering research methods which were instrumental in his appointment at the LSE, an appointment which, along with his position at the RHS, led in turn to his involvement with the Advanced Historical Teaching Scheme and his successful teaching career.

#### *Writing History*

For much of the nineteenth century, history writing was ‘a branch of literature, with strong similarities to drama’.<sup>298</sup> Literary writers of history were not scientific in the Roundian sense, they did not *de facto* acknowledge the supremacy of the archival source – though at the same time did not necessarily dismiss it out of hand. More often they were

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<sup>298</sup> Heyck, *Transformation of Intellectual Life*, p.130.

merely uninterested (because they saw little relevance) in the minutiae (or drudgery) required by research based on documentary criticism. Of prime importance was the overall truthfulness of the whole account and what readers could learn from that account: many, like Lord Macaulay, considered 'facts' to be 'the mere dross of history. It is', he continued, 'from the abstract truth which interpenetrates them, and lies latent among them, like gold in the ore, that the mass derives its whole value.'<sup>299</sup> It was 'the mass' which served to instruct the reader. This is not to suggest that accuracy itself was not valued, but rather that the interpretation of the whole was by far more important than any constituent fact. James Anthony Froude has often been used as an exemplar of the failure of this approach. Towards the end of the century, Charles Seignobos and Charles Langlois, widely read and admired by archivists and historians, coined the often-repeated term 'Froude's Disease' to describe a cavalier attitude to statements of fact and the likelihood of a resultant failure in critical scholarship.<sup>300</sup> George Saintsbury, also writing in the mid-1890s, claimed that Froude 'displayed an attention to accuracy which his warmest admirers must allow to be sadly, and which enemies asserted to be scandalously insufficient ... there is probably no historian of anything like his calibre in the whole history of literature who is so dangerous to trust for mere matters of fact, who gives such bad books of reference, who is so little to be read with implicit confidence in detail.'<sup>301</sup> A failure to attend to 'accuracy' did not, in itself, mean that Froude disregarded the records; he was aware of their value, but also fully aware of the shortcomings of over-reliance on their evidence. While 'History itself depends on exact knowledge, on the same minute, impartial, discriminating observation and analysis of particulars which is equally the basis of science';<sup>302</sup> it was also the case that any two writers interpret facts differently.<sup>303</sup> In any case the criticism of Froude's failure to use sources correctly is unfair:<sup>304</sup> the heavily-criticized (although very popular) 12-volume *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to*

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<sup>299</sup> Quoted by Heyck, *Transformation of Intellectual Life*, p.126.

<sup>300</sup> Seignobos and Langlois, *Study of History*, pp.125–26.

<sup>301</sup> Saintsbury, *Nineteenth Century Literature*. pp. 249-250. Saintsbury, literary critic and historian, was appointed Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh in 1895.

<sup>302</sup> J. Froude, 'Scientific Method Applied to History: An Address to the Devonshire Association for the Encouragement of Science and Literature', *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (London, 1883), p.566.

<sup>303</sup> 'Mr Froude on the Science of History', *Morning Post*, 8 Feb. 1864, p.2: 'Mr Froude more than once adduced as an illustration a child's box of letters, from which selections may be made to form words that may signify anything, and in like manner historians may deal with facts.'

<sup>304</sup> A. Pollard's later assessment is more balanced: 'Posterity has always been uncertain whether to count him as a man of letters or as a professional historian, but he attained great distinction in both roles.' 'Froude, James Anthony (1818–1894)', rev. W. Thomas, *ODNB*, 2004.

*the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*<sup>305</sup> used sources extensively (if erratically), including records series never before used.<sup>306</sup>

Froude's style, on the other hand, was widely admired. Commentators praised 'his command of the historic grasp, his share of the historic sense [that is] the power of seizing, and so of portraying, a historic character, incident, or period as if it were alive'.<sup>307</sup> Literary quality or ability came to be set in opposition to scholarly ability, a tension which dated back to the mid-century. Henry Buckle's 'highly synthetic, schematic and aggressively scientific' *History of Civilization in England*, published in 1857 just a year before the first volume in Froude's *History of England*, challenged the view of history writing as a literary endeavour.<sup>308</sup> Buckle, building on the thinking of John Stuart Mill and Auguste Comte, challenged historians to adopt the research methods of the natural sciences to the past in order to identify general or abstract universal laws which could be applied to future events. This application of the methodology of natural scientific method to the practice of history was not the only interpretation of scientific methodology available and the Buckle path was not the route followed by a majority of English historians. Instead, under the influence of German practice, scientific (or professional) history in England followed the specialization route: the accumulation of masses of facts, which, when taken to extremes, became an end in itself. Pragmatically this was an approach made easier because of the opening up of the records, the publication of State Papers, the production of Lists and Indexes of records from which facts could be gleaned. The very availability of the documents at the period when a scientific approach was being adopted meant that the writing of history became inextricably coupled with this type of documentary scholarship. The primacy of the documentary approach was not always beneficial; as the literary critic and historian Saintsbury noted, 'the increasing burden of the documents to be consulted is more and more crushing, and more and more likely to induce any one but a mere drudge either to relinquish the task in despair, or to perform it with a constant fear before his eyes'.<sup>309</sup> Scholarship (in whatever subject) was primarily concerned with the *discovery* of new information; its expression in literary form was a separate process. The challenge

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<sup>305</sup> J. Froude *History of England: from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada* 12 vols (London, 1858–1870).

<sup>306</sup> A. Pollard, 'Froude, James Anthony (1818–1894)', rev. W. Thomas, *ODNB*, 2004.

<sup>307</sup> Saintsbury, *Nineteenth Century literature*, pp.250–51.

<sup>308</sup> This follows Heyck, Chapter 3, 'The Impact of Science: the Case of History'.

<sup>309</sup> Saintsbury, *Nineteenth Century Literature*, p.454.

for historians in the decades of transition was, then, to combine documentary and literary techniques – the one to provide accuracy, the other to provide a historical sense, of bringing history alive.

Charles Seignobos and Charles Langlois in their widely-admired *Introduction to the Study of History* (a central text for all historical workers) acknowledged the difficulty of this combination in advocating a division of labour. While there was no dispute with the view that the writing of history must be based firmly on the analysis, or criticism, of documentary sources, nonetheless the different states in which such material was to be found necessitated a variety of approaches.

In the first [case] the sources have already been emended and classified; in the second the preliminary work on the sources, which has been only practically done, or not at all, offers no great difficulty; in the third the sources are in a very bad state, and require a great deal of labour to fit them for use.<sup>310</sup>

In the third case the historian faces a dilemma: either he must abandon the study ('having no taste for the mechanical operations which he knows to be necessary, but which ... would absorb the whole of his energy') or he should carry out the work – but 'without concealing from himself that in all probability he will never have time to utilize the materials he has verified, and that he will therefore be working for those who will come after him'. If he takes the second option then he becomes, *de facto*, a critical scholar. Such a division of labour has the same beneficial effects as it does, for example, in the stoneyard where 'there is no point in the architect being at the same time a workman, nor have all the workmen the same functions'. In the field of history there are similar divisions: 'it would be easy to name some who are specialists in descriptive catalogues and indexes (archivists, librarians, and the like), others who are more particularly "critics" (purifiers, restorers, and editors of texts), and others who are pre-eminently compilers of *regesta*.'<sup>311</sup> Importantly Seignobos and Langlois explicitly believed that '*criticus non fit, sed nascitur*': every individual had a vocation for a specific type of historical work, and should 'embrace the special work which suits him best'.<sup>312</sup> This was not a new idea; in a paper to the RHS

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<sup>310</sup> Seignobos and Langlois, *Study of History*, p.116.

<sup>311</sup> Seignobos and Langlois, *Study of History*, p.119.

<sup>312</sup> Seignobos and Langlois, *Study of History*, p.121.

given in 1886 A. R. Ropes characterized history writing as comprising three stages, research – which had to combine both accuracy and industry; combination (that is bringing analysis and insight to the material); and style. Each stage could be completed as a separate process, thus, potentially, introducing a division of labour. There must be, he said, ‘men with sense enough to know what they can do well and what ill, [who can] stick to their best kind of work’.<sup>313</sup> Good history writing was a collaborative endeavour and was surely better, he concluded, ‘to produce one great history together than a dry monograph, a baseless theory, and a brilliant romance apart.’<sup>314</sup>

Hall’s work with his students (discussed in Chapter 6) embodied much of this philosophy; his contemporaries recognized his ability to identify the particular strengths of colleagues and students, directing them towards the type of work in which they could best excel, and encouraging collaboration; historical enterprise should be a joint enterprise, with each playing to his strengths. Hall may well have recalled with some relief the views of Seignobos and Langlois about the virtues of specialization when his own editorial competency was publicly challenged.

### *The Historical Novel at the End of the Nineteenth Century*

By the start of the period under review (1870s–1900) the historical novel already had a recognizable, if not particularly long, pedigree, with Walter Scott often cited as the first historical novelist of real merit. However, the relationship between ‘history’ and ‘the novel’ – as conflated in the term ‘historical novel’ – was a complex one as mid-nineteenth-century critics (faced with contemporary fiction of unsurpassed quality in the works of Dickens, George Elliot and Trollope) were well aware. Hall experimented with the historical novel form as a way of presenting historical fact; the following section gives a brief overview of the state of the historical novel at this time, the antecedents which influenced Hall, and the extent to which the form could, and did, reconcile literary aspirations with documentary scholarship and factual accuracy.

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<sup>313</sup> A. Ropes, ‘Co-operative History’, *TRHS*, new ser., 3 (1886), pp.397, 403. See also Chapter 7 of this thesis for further discussion of the historical worker.

<sup>314</sup> Ropes, ‘Co-operative History’, pp.405.

Before Scott, authors had, 'whatever the ostensible "*temp.* of tale," quietly assumed the thoughts, the speech, the matters, even to a great extent the dress and details of [their] own day.'<sup>315</sup> This was perhaps a parallel with history writing itself, where historical fact was of less importance than were the lessons to be learned from that history; accuracy was not a criterion of good history. Scott wanted to make the past 'real': he attempted to produce characters who thought, spoke and acted as they would have done had they existed at the time the novel was set. Despite his historical sensitivity, Scott was not universally praised by literary critics; neither did his approach to history find favour with the emerging scientific historians. Stubbs at least conceded that the *intention* of the writer was a crucial factor: 'I would almost rather that boys were attracted by the reading of *Ivanhoe* and the *Talisman*, books which do not pretend to be true, and are full of strange misrepresentations of manners and thought, than by a serious history composed with a view to the picturesque'.<sup>316</sup>

Other authors who followed Scott's model succeeded to a greater or lesser extent, and while the popularity of the form itself varied throughout the century, it certainly never disappeared, with some authors retaining popularity with readers, if not literary critics, for decades. Saintsbury pointed to Harrison Ainsworth and G. P. R. James:

Both, especially between 1830 and 1850, achieved considerably popularity with the general public; and they kept it much longer (if indeed they have yet lost it) with schoolboys ... James wrote better than Ainsworth: his historical knowledge was of a much wider and more accurate kind ... But the sameness of his situation (it became a stock joke to speak of the 'two horsemen' who so often appeared in his opening scenes), the exceedingly conventional character of his handling, and the theatrical feebleness of his dialogue, were always reprehended ...<sup>317</sup>

In the later nineteenth century, some historians also wrote fiction: Froude's *Two Chiefs of Dunboy* (1889) was based on material he had already used for his history of Ireland.<sup>318</sup> In fact from the mid-1880s – when events such as the Domesday Commemorations were

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<sup>315</sup> Saintsbury, *Nineteenth Century Literature*, p.137.

<sup>316</sup> Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, p.53.

<sup>317</sup> Saintsbury, *Nineteenth Century Literature*, p.139.

<sup>318</sup> Baker, *History in Fiction*, p.121.

bringing records to the attention of the literary public – there was a resurgence of the historical novel.<sup>319</sup> By the final decade of the century the popularity and publication of historical novels, as parents sought instructional reading for their children,<sup>320</sup> had increased to such an extent that guides to the genre were required. Such guides sought to reassure their readers about the value of historical fiction, and were careful to pinpoint its similarities with, and differences from, history writing. In his *Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales*, first published in 1902, Jonathan Nield defended authors of early historical novels who necessarily relied on history as written by their contemporaries, pointing out that

the real Science of History – the sifting of evidence, and the discovery and unravelling of ancient documents – may be described as an essentially *modern* attainment, so it would be unreasonable to blame our older historians for errors which it was largely, if not wholly, beyond their power to overcome.<sup>321</sup>

Ernest Baker, compiler of a similar list and echoing the debate about the relative merits of literary and document-based history writing, claimed that, '[h]istorical fiction is not history, but it is often better than history'. However, even in fiction '... the romancers have become infected with the new conscientiousness [i.e. historical accuracy], oft-times to the detriment of literature'.<sup>322</sup> As with history writing, literary merit and historical credibility together in the novel were a rare combination. Nield claimed that 'a Novel is rendered Historical by the introduction of dates, personages, or events, to which identification can readily be given',<sup>323</sup> but this was a requirement for factual accuracy of a basic kind; there was no agreement about the extent to which the *detail* of incidents should be drawn from (and therefore 'checkable' in) archival sources. And if the novelist did, specifically, draw on the archives, was it also necessary to make information about the sources explicit? Frances Palgrave, already by then an established medievalist and about to become the first Deputy Keeper, published his own historical novel in 1837, *Truths and Fictions of the*

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<sup>319</sup> Saintsbury, *Nineteenth Century Literature*, p.156.

<sup>320</sup> A. Church, 'The Historical Novel', *Atalanta* (April 1893). Should a novel lack historical accuracy, 'there are plenty of experts ... ready to point out the fact', p.521.

<sup>321</sup> Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales* (1902), p.2. The *Guide* had reached its 4<sup>th</sup> edition by 1911.

<sup>322</sup> Baker, *History in Fiction*, pp.viii-ix.

<sup>323</sup> Nield, *Guide to the Best Historical Novels*, p.3.

*Middle Ages; or, The Merchant and the Friar*.<sup>324</sup> The introduction — in which he addressed his patron and, indeed, considered the relationship between (historical) Truth and (historical) Fiction — reflected on the wisdom of including explicit references:

‘The work,’ said I, ‘is either a true history or a fiction. If it be a true history, notes will unnecessarily increase its bulk: for it really contains nothing but what is entirely intelligible to the ordinary reader, or which he can find explained in other books of common occurrence . . . On the other hand, if you were to consider the book as a work of fiction, then explanatory notes are ten times worse. Explanation at once extinguishes all illusion.’<sup>325</sup>

In fact Palgrave included most of his sources in the introduction, primarily by telling the reader exactly what had been omitted from the body of the text. The approach confused certain reviewers: ‘The antiquarian portion of the work contains some things which are worthy of preservation, but really “truth and fiction” are so intimately blended that it is difficult to separate the former so as to make it useful for historical purposes.’<sup>326</sup> *The Merchant and the Friar* records the meeting of the eponymous heroes (and unlikely duo) Marco Polo and Roger Bacon at Abingdon Abbey and their subsequent journey together. During this time they witness a ‘shire gemote’, engage in various activities in the City of London and visit Westminster and Oxford. Each episode provides the opportunity for a discussion of the constitutional and administrative arrangements in operation. This same model was used by Hall in one of his most popular books, *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, and perhaps most famously (and certainly in a nice example of intellectual genealogy) in the publication in 1924 of *Medieval People* by Eileen Power, Hall’s student, colleague and long-time friend.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> F. Palgrave, *Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages; or, The Merchant and the Friar* (London, 1837) According to Baker, *History in Fiction*, p.23, ‘A learned work by an eminent historian of the Middle Ages’.

<sup>325</sup> Palgrave, *Merchant and the Friar*, p.x. He continues: ‘I ought to blush, out of downright modesty, but I can’t, try as much as I may, on informing you, that the portions of the monk’s lucubrations relating to our parliamentary and legal constitution, receive most ample illustrations from the several collections of original records and other ancient documents which I have edited.’

<sup>326</sup> ‘Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages. The Merchant and the Friar’ [review], *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1837, p.512.

<sup>327</sup> E. Power, *Medieval People* (London, 1924). One of Power’s characters is Marco Polo.

### *Hall's Historical Writing*

The following section examines some of Hall's most significant historical writing in publications whose significance is judged variously by their reception, reviews, number of editions and their originality. It concentrates on his monographs but also looks at some of his work in periodicals and journals. It seeks to demonstrate that although Hall was not a particularly gifted stylist (as he was often at pains to point out), his knowledge of the wide range of records available in the PRO and of the need to promote scholarship did give him some credibility as a historian, if not as a literary figure.

When *Society in the Elizabethan Age* appeared in 1886 Hall was 'a well known and most capable official of the Public Record Office [who had] already won his spurs as an author.'<sup>328</sup> Certainly Swan Sonnenschein had felt confident enough in his work to offer him an advance of £20.<sup>329</sup> Advertised as dealing with 'the social life of the period in town and country, as well as court ... [it was] completed by an appendix containing some sensational letters and statistics'.<sup>330</sup> In his introduction, Hall claimed,

I have attempted to place before the reader some familiar names in new characters, with the aid of a mass of information, desultory I must confess, but perhaps curious, as it is certainly new.<sup>331</sup>

Each of the book's ten chapters centres on a different Elizabethan prototype – the landlord, the steward and the tenant 'in the country'; the burgess, the merchant and the host 'in town'; and the courtier, the churchman, the official and the lawyer 'at the court'. At the same time, though a type, each figure is also 'real', or at least can be based on documentary evidence. The sources used are included as appendices (there are no footnotes) and there are around 130 pages of appendices to 146 pages of text. They comprise extracts (and extended transcripts) from records held mainly in the PRO (though the location is not stated explicitly). So, for example, the appendix to Chapter III, 'The Tenant', includes extracts from (in Hall's terminology): Customs of Borrowdale, Cumberland 1583 (Duchy of Lancs. Surveys, 25 Eliz); customs of the Manor of Rodley,

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<sup>328</sup> 'Society in the Elizabethan Age' [review], *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, new ser., 1 (Jan. 1887), p.59.

<sup>329</sup> Swan Sonnenschein to Hall, 18 Dec. 1885, PRO 44/1.

<sup>330</sup> 'Notes and news' [forthcoming publications], *Academy*, 5 June 1886, p.396.

<sup>331</sup> Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, p.iii.

1591 (Duchy of Lancs. Surveys, 33 Eliz); and Grazing versus tillage, 1590 (Duchy of Lancs. Surveys, 32 Eliz);<sup>332</sup> two inventories from Chancery Proceedings, misc: Eliz;<sup>333</sup> and one unattributed inventory 'of the lands and goods of Thomas Calke of Paston, Norfolk, William Calke of the same, and Henry Calke of Bacten, Norfolk being bond-men or villeins regardant to Her Majesty's manor of Gimmingham ... 26 Sept 4 Eliz'.<sup>334</sup> The longest Appendix (almost 100 pages) gives transcripts from the papers of the Darrell family of Littlecote<sup>335</sup> and specifically those of, or concerning, William Darrell (d.1589) who achieved notoriety (a notoriety perpetuated in the nineteenth century by Sir Walter Scott) as 'Wild Darrell'.<sup>336</sup> The historical Darrell (that is, derived from the evidence in the Darrell papers) became Hall's prototype for 'The Landlord' and 'the Courtier' and his exploits (at least in the Elizabethan courts) provided an underpinning rationale to the sequence of the chapters. (In fact the existence of the papers was probably the rationale for the entire book: as early as 1881 Hall had announced his intention to 'soon be in a position to entirely re-write this example of family history'.)<sup>337</sup>

Hall told his readers that although he had 'followed [his] personal inclinations in the historical colouring of [the] materials', by using the records themselves he had 'redeemed the character of Wild Darrell from the most part of the odium which has unwittingly attached to it'.<sup>338</sup> Despite the 'historical colouring' neither Hall nor his readers considered that the book was a historical novel. It was widely, and generally favourably, reviewed as

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<sup>332</sup> Duchy of Lancaster records were transferred to the PRO only in 1868 from the Duchy's London offices. The first two items are identifiable as either TNA PRO DL 44/333 Enquiry as to tenant rights within the Manor of Borrowdale, Cumberland, 25 Eliz I; *or* (but less likely) PRO DL 44/342 Verdict of a jury with regard to the custom of tenant rights in the Manor of Borrowdale, Cumberland, 25 Eliz I; and PRO DL 44/482A Custom roll of the Manor of Rodley, Gloucestershire, 33 Eliz I; I was unable to identify the third document.

<sup>333</sup> Transcribed by Hall. Not traceable in online TNA Catalogue [14 July 2010].

<sup>334</sup> Transcribed by Hall. Gimmingham was a Duchy of Lancaster manor. The specific document is not traceable in online TNA Catalogue [14 July 2010].

<sup>335</sup> Now TNA SP46 State Papers Domestic Supplementary: Darrell Papers i.e. SP46/44 of William Darrell and Lady Alice Darrell, of Littlecote, Wiltshire, 1536–1589 (212 fols); SP46/45 of Sir Edward Darrell and William Darrell (316 fols) 1453–1589; SP46/46 Lawsuit of William Darrell v. William Hyde (4 items), [c.1574–75]. These are described at item level (date and identity of cataloguer unknown) making direct identification possible: e.g. the transcripts by Hall of four letters, 3–28 March 1583 between Darrell and Sir John Popham (pp.262–65, under the heading 'Business and Law Letters') are of SP 46/44/fols 82–85.

<sup>336</sup> The historical Darrell was party to a notorious divorce case and extended ownership disputes; the less historical Darrell was said to have murdered his mistress's baby. Sir Walter Scott's poem 'Rokeby' perpetuated this version of events.

<sup>337</sup> H. Hall, 'Shakespeare's Stratford', *Antiquary*, 4 (Sept. 1881), p.132.

<sup>338</sup> *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, p.v.

the successful popular presentation of scholarship. Thus the *Reliquary* argued that, 'the reader will rise from its perusal with a truer notion, vividly stamped upon the mind, of the Elizabethan age than could have been gained by the perusal of any other half-dozen volumes, including the memorable work of Mr. Froude',<sup>339</sup> while the *Quarterly Review* saw the book as an example of the 'recent advances in ... the increased application of the historical method. ... [where] the records left behind by past waves of the human sea are industriously collected, and from them it is sought to reconstruct bygone times';<sup>340</sup> *Time* judged it the most important historical work of the month, if not, indeed of the season, and commended the 'valuable' appendices: 'it is a most important addition to modern historical literature, and we imagine will be widely read and appreciated'.<sup>341</sup>

Not all commentators were impressed by the amount of material transcribed, and, not unreasonably, criticized Hall for his excessive use of verbatim passages at the expense of synthesis or analysis:

His information we may admit to be new, and even curious; but it is thrown together without much skill, and narratives which are, as we gather, intended to be complete and continuous, if not exhaustive, have a very maimed and disjointed appearance. The difficulty of picturing to ourselves the characters he endeavours to sketch is increased by the obscurity of the meaning of many of his sentences; and to crown all, the reader must rely chiefly on his own 'previous knowledge' to distinguish between historical fact and the author's 'colouring' ....<sup>342</sup>

Thus in terms of the criteria for good history writing discussed above – good scholarship, analytic or narrative competency and imagination – Hall fell short; and the criticisms made of his work were those made, to a greater or lesser extent throughout his career,

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<sup>339</sup> 'Society in the Elizabethan Age' [review], *Reliquary*, 1 (1887), p.59.

<sup>340</sup> 'The Growth of English Industry and Commerce' [review of Society in the Elizabethan Age]', *Quarterly Review*, July 1890, pp. 270–71.

<sup>341</sup> 'Society in the Elizabethan Age' [review], *Time*, 15 (Dec. 1886), pp.750–51.

<sup>342</sup> 'Politics, Sociology, Voyages, and Travels' [reviews], *Westminster Review*, Jan. 1887, pp.223–24. *Reliquary*, 'Society in the Elizabethan Age', p.59, though otherwise favourable, recommended shortening the appendix and bolstering the characterization.

particularly those of obscuring meaning (which also blighted some of his official work)<sup>343</sup> Compared with the model suggested by Ropes, while Hall certainly achieved stage one 'Accuracy and industry' (particularly the industry part), combination (the analysis and insight) and style are largely missing.

Nevertheless some reviewers identified the value of the work for the nascent discipline of economic history: Hall, said one, had shown himself 'a complete master of the complex economic history of the time'.<sup>344</sup> The *Quarterly Review* thought Hall's realistic view of financial dealing in Elizabethan England representative of 'the best recent investigation into the earlier history of those forms of industry, commerce and society, which must have the greatest interest for Englishmen, whether as patriots or as students'.<sup>345</sup> Though Hall lacked the necessary attributes of a good history writer, he had at least begun to gain credit for his economic history work more generally.

Whatever criticisms were made of *Society in the Elizabethan Age* it had gone into three editions by the time that Hall's *Court Life under the Plantagenets* appeared in 1890.<sup>346</sup> Stylistically the two books have much in common, though Hall described *Court Life* explicitly as a 'historical novel'.<sup>347</sup> The opening certainly suggests a schoolboy reading of G. P. R. James; in the introductory chapter a small group of travellers, weary after a long journey, pause to survey the landscape, allowing the author to describe both them and their surroundings: 'Halting upon the summit of a slight eminence, the travellers anxiously scanned the road in front of them ... "Behold, this is Quinbury, if I mistake not," exclaimed the Churchman ...'<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> See, e.g., Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.358, on Hall's 'bewildering and overlong statement of conclusions' in his report [1908] on access to departmental records.

<sup>344</sup> C. Herford, 'Society in the Elizabethan Age' [review], *Academy*, 8 Jan. 1887, pp.20–22. Charles Herford was appointed to a chair at Aberystwyth in 1887. See A. Shelston, 'Herford, Charles Harold (1853–1931)', *ODNB*, Sept. 2004.

<sup>345</sup> 'Growth of English Industry and Commerce', p.271. The book is coupled with W. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages*.

<sup>346</sup> It reached its 5<sup>th</sup> edition in 1902.

<sup>347</sup> According to Baker, *History in Fiction* (1914 ed.), p.16: 'A narrative in the style of Palgrave's *The Merchant and the Friar*: full of authentic information of the period, based on original documents in H.M. Record Office.'

<sup>348</sup> H. Hall, *Court Life under the Plantagenets* (London, 1890), p.1.

Like *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, *Court Life* uses 'real' individuals to represent different aspects of life in the late twelfth century. In other respects Hall's account of his methodology perhaps takes the Rankean imperative a little too literally:

I have attempted in this book nothing less than the delineation of living characters and the description of existing institutions at a given period of a typical reign. Every personage acted and spoke almost precisely as represented in this narrative, and every event took place at the exact time and in the exact manner described here, as far as a conscientious process, unsparing of research, has enabled me to discover the historical truth.<sup>349</sup>

His publishers were not minded to curb Hall's practice of including lengthy quotations or translations of documents as part of the narrative: Chapters 8 and 9 are set at the Receipt and the Exchequer relied heavily on Madox's *Dialogus de Scaccario*, while Chapter 13, 'St Albans – a martyrology', recited the legend of St Godric 'almost in the words of the contemporary historian, with a view to preserving as much as possible the inimitable *naiveté* of the original narrative'.<sup>350</sup> While this might have been laudable as an exhibition of scholarship, it was less so from the point of view of the reader, especially given the claim that *Court Life* was a work of historical fiction; reviewers were scathing about his explicit adoption of the form:<sup>351</sup>

No one can certainly abuse Mr Hall's present book for being a novel of any kind, historical or otherwise, and it may fairly be doubted whether the reader who is unable or unwilling to view archaeology 'in any other form' than through the medium of the historical novel, will very much thank Mr. Hall for the very thin coating of Sandford and Merton narrative [i.e. didactic] which does duty for this article. It is unquestionable that to the serious student the form of the present work is simply annoying ... Mr. Hall's descriptive powers are not sufficiently great to counterbalance the disadvantages of the method

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<sup>349</sup> Hall, *Court Life*, p.v.

<sup>350</sup> Hall, *Court Life*, p.271.

<sup>351</sup> The publisher drew on more favourable reviews: 'Really a delightful book. Pleasantly written and handsomely illustrated' (*Journal of Education*); 'A surprisingly successful reproduction of life in the reign of Henry of Anjou' (*Scotsman*); and 'Mr. Hall has a keen eye for the human interest in history' (*Saturday Review*), all quoted in *The Times*, 2 April 1890, p.12.

he has adopted, and the quasi-archaic language used conveys an impression of pedantry without being exactly impressive otherwise.<sup>352</sup>

Overall it is fair to conclude that, as did the *EHR*, that ‘as a novel, which may interest the general reader, it must be pronounced as a failure.’ As ‘history’, critics were (a little) kinder, although the same *EHR* reviewer also regretted the lack of ‘detailed references which would have rendered the book of great value to the student.’<sup>353</sup> This particular criticism has some validity – it is certainly the case that there are no footnotes – but the volume concluded with extensive explanations of the records and sources used for each chapter (and sometimes with additional transcriptions).<sup>354</sup> These were presented very discursively (rather in the manner of a literature review), but specific items can be identified<sup>355</sup> and there is certainly no doubt about Hall’s intention to make his sources, and therefore his historical credibility, explicit. In contrast with the eventual five editions of *Society in the Elizabethan Age, Court Life* appeared in only one further edition, in 1901, suggesting that, in this case, the public were in general agreement with the critics.

#### *The Periodical and Journal Press: History and Economic History Writing to c1900*

The natural outlet for any individual with literary talent, or pretensions, in the late nineteenth century was, as it had been for a century, the periodical press. In the final decades of the century the eclecticism of individual titles was giving way more quickly, as professionalization took hold on society in an increasing number of areas, to specialist journals for discrete professional groups or interests. Certainly, in Hall’s own case, it is possible to see the shift from generalist to specialist publication though he remained a frequent contributor to the heavyweight *Quarterly* and *Contemporary Reviews* into the

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<sup>352</sup> ‘Court Life under the Plantagenets’, [review] *Time*, May 1890, pp.556–57. Thomas Day’s *The History of Sandford and Merton* was re-published frequently between the 1780s and the 1890s. ‘A host of interpolated stories, providing introductions to ancient history, astronomy, biology, science, exploration, and geography, enable facts and figures to be absorbed relatively painlessly ... The book, however sententious, would play a crucial role in moulding the ethos of nineteenth-century England.’ P. Rowland, ‘Day, Thomas (1748–1789)’, *ODNB*, Sept. 2004.

<sup>353</sup> W. Cunningham, ‘Court Life under the Plantagenets’, *EHR*, 6 (April 1891), p.378.

<sup>354</sup> ‘The documents given in the Appendix supply a complete verification of all material points’, *Illustrated London News*, 11 Oct. 1890, p.466.

<sup>355</sup> As an example, the description of the manor, and manor farm, of Anstey (in chapter 1) draws on ‘Morant “Essex”’ (the full title, i.e. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex, compiled from the Best and Most Ancient Historians* (London, 1768), is not given). The accounts are based on ‘the ministers’ accounts for the see of Winchester’; with a specific reference: ‘the muniments of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, No. 159, 270’. An individual account is referenced, again specifically, as ‘Treasury of Receipt, Ancient Miscellanea 20/5[5]’ (the final figure obscured by a printing error).

1930s (though this was probably not unrelated to the fact that authors in the periodical press, unlike those in scholarly journals, were paid for their work).<sup>356</sup> An examination of the Bibliography of Hall's works at the end of this thesis will indicate the wide range of subjects on which he published. His earliest article, based on records then recently transferred to the PRO, appeared just a year after his appointment there.<sup>357</sup> More appeared in 1881: 'The Case of the Thames Swans' in *The Field*,<sup>358</sup> 'Peace Preservation – Past and Present' in *Time*<sup>359</sup> and 'Shakespeare's Stratford' in *Antiquary*.<sup>360</sup> The two last-named suggest Hall's desire to engage with two of the most important research interests of the late nineteenth century: the former (almost inevitably) traced the ancestry of the police system and the militia back to a common 'Saxon' ancestor, while the latter fed into the vogue for Shakespeare studies.

*Antiquary* was launched in 1880 to provide a forum for 'The more intelligent study of History ... as shown in the establishment of societies for promoting it'. Though suggesting specialization, its scope ranged from Old Abbeys, Alchemy and Autographs, to Seals and English and Foreign Topography; in line with its remit Hall published more than 20 articles or letters in *Antiquary* in the 1880s on topics ranging from 'Public Rights in the Thames'<sup>361</sup> to 'The Exchequer Chess-Game'.<sup>362</sup>

The lasting value of this work is limited, though in methodological terms it invariably emphasized reliance on the archival material (referenced to a greater or lesser degree)<sup>363</sup> From the 1890s the number of miscellaneous historical studies decreased, to be replaced

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<sup>356</sup> George Prothero, president of the RHS between 1901 and 1905, was Editor of the *Quarterly Review* between 1899 and 1921.

<sup>357</sup> H. Hall, 'Early Army Accounts', *Antiquary*, 2 (Aug 1880), pp.41–46.

<sup>358</sup> H. Hall, 'The Case of the Thames Swans', *The Field*, 1881 [exact date and pages references not found].

<sup>359</sup> 'Peace Preservation – Past and Present', *Time*, 4 March 1881, pp.672–76. *Time* promised its readers 'high class' contributions from 'Novelists, Travellers, Social Essayists, and Writers of Jeux d'Esprit.' Oscar Wilde was a recent contributor. A similar desire to return all activity to its 'Saxon' roots is present in Hall's 'The Early Medicus' which begins with a discussion of 'leechdom', 'starcraft' and 'wortcunning'. *Merry England*, April 1884, pp.416–26.

<sup>360</sup> Hall, 'Shakespeare's Stratford'.

<sup>361</sup> *Antiquary*, 8 (1883), pp.57–61 and pp.112–16.

<sup>362</sup> *Antiquary*, 9 (1884), pp.206–12.

<sup>363</sup> 'Peace Preservation' gave a passing mention to the 1285 Statute of Winchester but was otherwise untroubled by scholarly apparatus. H. Hall, 'Monmouth as a Shire Marcher', *Antiquary*, 4 (Sept. 1881) contained traceable, if inconsistent, references to, e.g., (p.92) Pl[ac]ita cor[am] Rege, Mich.T.9 Ed. III; (p.93) to Mich. T. 32 Hen III and (p.94) to 2 Hen. IV, cap.27.

with publications dealing with specific documents,<sup>364</sup> or record types, and ultimately with diplomatics and with archival management. It was his interest in the *subject* of economic history (whatever the form in which he presented his research) which was to remain constant throughout his career. It was his work in this area which proved to have the most long-lasting impact, though most particularly in terms of the inspiration it provided for generations of his students.

### *Hall's Economic History Writing*

By the mid-1890s Hall had acquired a reputation as an economic historian, a specialization which was on the verge of becoming a mainstream academic discipline. He continued to publish on economic history until the late 1930s although after the turn of the century his work was most often published in collaborative works with his students and research colleagues (a process discussed in Chapter 6). His output overall in this area, of both periodical and monograph publications, was extensive, beginning (1882) with the articles on 'The Great Case of the Impositions', a seventeenth-century legal case discussed in the context of its medieval and Tudor precedents. Here, early on in his career, Hall took the opportunity to emphasize the importance of going back to the original records rather than relying on published sources.<sup>365</sup> In 1883 there were articles on 'An old commercial treaty'<sup>366</sup> and 'the English Staple'<sup>367</sup> and a year later, in the Pipe Rolls Society series, the *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls*.<sup>368</sup> This *Introduction* was one of three works widely acknowledged as one of Hall's most significant historical works, along with *History of the Custom-Revenue in England* (published in 1884–85)<sup>369</sup> and *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer* (1891). Together it is these three books on which Hall's reputation as an economic historian was founded; the lasting impact of his work is most evident in his pioneering research, notably the recognition of the value of previously ignored record series.

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<sup>364</sup> For example: H. Hall, 'Some Elizabethan Penances in the Diocese of Ely', *TRHS*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 1 (1907), pp.263–77; and similar pieces on specific charters.

<sup>365</sup> Hall, 'The Great Case of the Impositions, Part 1'. As noted in Chapter 3 the article also showed a precocious willingness to challenge an interpretation by Stubbs, and provoked a disagreement with Round.

<sup>366</sup> *Antiquary*, 7 (April 1883), pp.145-48.

<sup>367</sup> H. Hall, 'The English Staple', *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1883, pp.255-75.

<sup>368</sup> H. Hall, *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls* (London, 1884).

<sup>369</sup> H. Hall, *A History of the Custom-Revenue in England from the Earliest Times to the Year 1827*, vol. 1, *Constitutional History*, vol. 2, *Fiscal History* (London, 1884–85).

'History is a jade who periodically renews her vigour by marrying oncoming youths', wrote N.S.B. Gras, three decades later, about the emergence of economic history as a separate discipline. Dating 'the full manhood' of the discipline to the years 1879–1888 Gras claimed that one of the five seminal English works to have appeared during that decade was Hall's *History of the Custom-Revenue*.<sup>370</sup> This is an astonishing assessment of Hall from the first Professor of Business History at Harvard. For Gras, as for Hall's contemporaries, including Lyte, the book's importance lay in its pioneering use of the records as much as (or more than) its conclusions:

Too many English economic historians know their great national archives only by repute, preferring, like Freeman, the comforts of a private library . . . Dr. Hubert Hall, however, redeems the whole group, for he, an economic historian of the medieval period, has unrivalled knowledge of the archive, central and local, of the whole British nation.<sup>371</sup>

The two-volume *Custom-Revenue* 'compiled exclusively from original authorities' as the title page declared, argued that the study of the topic had hitherto been based on too restricted a number of sources (including an over-reliance on Thomas Madox's 1702 *Formulare Anglicanum* and 1711 *Histories and Antiquities of the Exchequer* with its edition of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*) and that a vast amount of untapped material was available for researchers to exploit. As was typical of Hall's work, some of this was transcribed into the extensive appendices which comprise over a third of the 327 pages in volume one and over a quarter of volume two. Reviewers as well as the publisher considered this a selling point: they appreciated the novelty of 'minuteness of research, and patience in the investigation of original documents',<sup>372</sup> though in commending Hall's 'indefatigable industry', and remarking that '[t]he mass of rolls through which he waded in the

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<sup>370</sup> N. Gras, 'The Rise and Development of Economic History', *Economic History Review* 1, no. 1 (1927), p.20. In fact Gras disagreed with Hall's conclusions; see 'The Origin of the national customs-revenue of England', *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 27, no. 1 (Nov. 1912), p.110.

<sup>371</sup> Gras, 'Rise and development of economic history', pp.22–23. Lyte drew attention to *History of the Customs Revenue* in his presidential address to the Historical Section of the Royal Archaeological Institute in July 1893: 'Opening Address of the Historical Section at the London Meeting', *Archaeological Journal* 50 (1893), p.356.

<sup>372</sup> S. Leonard, 'The Customs-Revenue' [review], *Antiquary* 16 (Dec. 1887), p. 259. 'Hall's "History of the Custom-Revenue in England"', *Reliquary* 25 (April 1885), p.250: 'the work is fully comprehensible and leaves literally nothing to be desired'.

performance of his task must have been enormous',<sup>373</sup> the *Westminster Review* was perhaps also alerting prospective readers to the book's style. In a thoughtful assessment *The Academy* took Hall to task for being too ready to criticize the mistakes of previous editors and authors,<sup>374</sup> but overall there was critical agreement that the 'rescue' and use of the neglected public records was important and Hall's approach represented the best practice in historical scholarship.

Hall's *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls*<sup>375</sup> was the third of the Pipe Roll Society's publications, an explanation of the workings of the Exchequer as expounded in the 'Dialogus de Scaccario'. If he did not succeed in providing any new information, said a contemporary reviewer, he did at least manage to convey it 'in agreeable narrative form, and in the mother tongue'. His 'quaint' style would 'commend itself to those – and there are in the present day not a few – who dote upon everything that savours of antiquity'.<sup>376</sup>

The final book in the trio under discussion here, *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer*, was a less technical exposition of Exchequer matters, again drawing on the *Dialogus* and (implicitly) on Madox in order to make his learning 'intelligible to other equally learned readers' – albeit 'from an antiquary's point of view'.<sup>377</sup> It positions the Exchequer as an institution which had contributed 'in an almost immeasurable degree towards the making of England'.<sup>378</sup> Stylistically, Hall could not resist the *zeitgeist* of medievalism and the mannered style of the explicitly antiquarian approach suggested by the title was certainly not anathema to the potential readership. *The Times* considered that the publishers had 'struck oil' if Hall's was representative of future volumes in the Camden Library series.<sup>379</sup> Of the more scholarly journals the *English Historical Review* offered merely a description; though its conclusion highlighted an error in the explanation

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<sup>373</sup> ['The Custom-Revenue, review'], *Westminster Review*, April 1885, p.569.

<sup>374</sup> C. Elton, 'A History of the Custom-Revenue in England from the Earliest Times to the Year 1827 [review]', *Academy*, 7 March 1885, p.161.

<sup>375</sup> *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls* (London, 1884).

<sup>376</sup> 'Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. 3, Introduction to the study of the pipe rolls' [review], *Reliquary*, 26 (July 1885), p.53. The 'mother-tongue' is likely to be a reference to Felix Liebermann, *Einleitung in den Dialogus de Scaccario* (Göttingen, 1875).

<sup>377</sup> G. Warner, 'Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer' [review], *EHR* 7 (Oct, 1892), p.754. Warner gained 1<sup>st</sup> class in the historical tripos at Cambridge in 1887 and became a fellow at Jesus in 1891. In 1892 he had just become Assistant Master at Harrow, later publishing the influential school textbook *Landmarks of English Industrial History*.

<sup>378</sup> Hall, *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer*, p. xii.

<sup>379</sup> [Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer, review], *The Times*, 4 June 1892, p.6.

of the calculations of the Exchequer accounting process, another small indication of similar criticisms to come.<sup>380</sup>

Stylistically, the work, whether of history or of economic history, discussed here, though consciously and explicitly incorporating and referencing archival material (and recognized as progressive for that reason), was nonetheless also written very much in the literary tradition. Hall's later work – such as that on the Winchester Rolls, mentioned briefly above, was to be less discursive, providing the building blocks for research rather than being historical writing *per se*. Nonetheless his early works of economic history ensured that Hall had the appropriate credentials for taking on his teaching role at the LSE and they provided the basis for his work with his advanced students. This chapter will therefore conclude with a brief account of Hall's initial appointment at the LSE and his involvement with the lectureships established by the Advanced Historical Teaching Fund.

### *Hall at the LSE*

The LSE offered its first classes in October 1895; Hall's own classes in Palaeography and Diplomatic, and in the 'Equipment of the Historical Student' – that is, the study of medieval documents – were offered (probably) from January 1896 and marked the start of a 30-year association with the School. While the LSE might now appear to be a strange environment from which to offer teaching in palaeography, diplomatics and archival sources, they were there to facilitate the School's own 'special aim ... the study and investigation of the concrete facts of industrial life and the actual workings of economic and political relations as they exist, or have existed ...'.<sup>381</sup> In addition, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and the Director William Hewins made a specific point of engaging teaching staff 'who would have an approach to the pressing problems of the day quite different from that of the professors of the older universities, whose point of view seemed to them narrow, abstract and individualistic'.<sup>382</sup> Hall's classes were delivered within this context of the desire to provide, through original research, solid empirical *evidence* to carry forward programmes of social improvement and reform. The identification of such evidence required the rigorous research methods which had begun to be associated with the work

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<sup>380</sup> Warner, 'Antiquities and Curiosities' [review], p.756.

<sup>381</sup> LSE prospectus; quoted in Koot, *English Historical Economics, 1890-1926* (Cambridge, 1987), p.171.

<sup>382</sup> F.A.H, 'The London School of Economics 1895-1945', *Economica*, new. ser.,13 (Feb. 1946), p.5.

of the Webbs; at the same time 'economic history' had started to be recognized as an area worth investigation in its own right rather than as an adjunct to the study of political economy. The view that some medieval, or early modern institutions made a positive contribution to national economic growth argued for their historical study;<sup>383</sup> Beatrice Webb suggested that the LSE's first Director, William Hewins, had an 'instinctive sympathy with medievalism'.<sup>384</sup>

As we have already seen Hall had, by this time, a reputation as a scholar of the medieval exchequer with a number of generally well-received publications on fiscal matters to his credit, teaching experience (at Wren's) and a growing network of American and British postgraduate contacts. His own account of his early LSE classes<sup>385</sup> suggests that it was the assistance already given to the Webbs and Hewins in their own research which led to his appointment. William Cunningham, a fellow RHS Council member, and Chairman of Council at Girton College, Cambridge, whose work on English economic history 'laid the foundation of the discipline as an academic field of study',<sup>386</sup> was another of the first recruits at the LSE. Cunningham was also a particularly close friend of Hall's;<sup>387</sup> both men shared a commitment to forwarding women's participation in research and Hall's teaching at LSE was to contribute to the intellectual environment in which women's success in economic history research, in particular, was fostered in the first decades of the century.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>383</sup> Koot, *Historical Economics*, passim. Gras, 'Rise and Development of Economic History', ascribed the emergence of economic history (as opposed to economic theory, or commercial history) to (1) the influence of constitutional historians – whose work on institutions demonstrated the economic as well as the political importance of those institutions; (2) the impact of Karl Marx's work in emphasizing the importance of economics to 'other kinds of history'; (3) more pragmatically, the fact that documents were being published in great numbers and their necessary study was therefore easier.

<sup>384</sup> Koot, *Historical Economics*, p.170. For more on Hewins and the Webbs see Koot, *Historical Economics*, Chap.8.

<sup>385</sup> The types of courses taught by Hall are listed in detail in: H. Hall, 'Account of the Classes in Mediaeval History at the London School of Economics', in M. Moore, *Two Select Bibliographies of Medieval Historical Study: with a Preface by Hubert Hall and a Description of the Mediaeval Historical Classes at the London School of Economics* (1912; repr., New York, n.d.), p.14.

<sup>386</sup> Koot, *Historical Economics*, p.135.

<sup>387</sup> A. Cunningham, *William Cunningham Teacher and Priest* (London, 1950), p.59: 'Through his work on economic history Cunningham made two friends whose personal characters he admired more than those of anyone else he had known intimately ... [one being Arnold Toynbee] From Mr. Hubert Hall, at the Record Office, Cunningham received constant and ungrudging help which was extended with equal generosity to all who needed assistance in their work. In common with many others he owed Mr. Hall a debt he could never repay.'

<sup>388</sup> M. Berg, 'Eileen Power and Women's History', *Gender & History*, 6 (Aug. 1994), pp.265–274; M. Berg, 'The First Women Economic Historians', *Economic History Review*, new ser., 45 (May 1992), pp. 314–15.

*'Advanced Historical Study'*

Hall's initial appointment in 1896 seems to have been a one-off arrangement which would be dependent on the popularity of his classes. He received £20 a term (out of which his teaching costs had to be paid)<sup>389</sup> But he was immediately enthusiastic about the possibilities and potential of the work. (See Chapter 6.) The following year he offered a course of lectures at Cambridge on Palaeography and Diplomatics as part of the recently remodelled Historical Tripos,<sup>390</sup> a further responsibility which extended his working week until Saturday evening. Though the circumstances of this appointment are unknown, it was likely to be through his RHS connections given that his Cambridge-based RHS colleagues – including Acton, Maitland, Oscar Browning and Cunningham – also offered lectures in the same session. The appointment was not subsequently renewed.<sup>391</sup>

After 1900 the incorporation of LSE into the University of London gave Hall the opportunity to offer his classes to a wider number of potential students at a time when a number of initiatives to promote advanced historical study (which, as we saw in chapter 2, was an existing concern within the RHS at least) were taking place. The appointment of a Treasury Committee in 1899 to look into the condition of local records raised some hopes that the LSE would benefit from a formalization of specialist training for archivists. In the event, although the Committee (which included Lyte) acknowledged that proper management and exploitation of local records required specialist staff, they made no recommendations, in 1902, for funding, or institutionalizing, such activity, recommending rather that provision for 'instruction and training in palaeography and kindred subjects' be provided in the universities.<sup>392</sup>

Implementation of even this limited recommendation was in any case forestalled by (or perhaps resulted from) the RHS's decision to promote a scheme for 'Advanced Historical Teaching'.<sup>393</sup> A first report on the subject was circulated by its Council early in 1900,<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Hall to W. Hewins, 12 Nov. 1897, LSE Staff File.

<sup>390</sup> For the debate preceding the reform of the Historical Tripos (especially as it affected economics and political science) see Kadish, *Historians, Economists and Economic History*, chap. 6.

<sup>391</sup> A printed copy of the lecture programme is in PRO 44/1. The lectures were delivered under the aegis of the Special Board for History and Archaeology and took place at 5pm on Saturdays.

<sup>392</sup> Local Records Committee, *Report*, p.43.

<sup>393</sup> With the exception of the establishment, in 1908, by Jesse Alfred Twemlow of the School of Local History and Records at the University of Liverpool.

<sup>394</sup> Council minutes, 17 May 1900, RHS Archives. See also Humphreys, *Royal Historical Society*, pp.28-30.

the ultimate aim being the establishment of a School of Advanced Historical Studies, an equivalent of the *École des Hautes Études* or the *École des Chartes*. This being approved in principle, an Advanced Historical Teaching (AHT) subcommittee, chaired by Prothero, was appointed to construct a practical scheme; Hall became Honorary Secretary while Hewins, Director of the LSE, was a sub-committee member.<sup>395</sup> This was a project close to Hall's heart; not only did it propose 'the means for forwarding the work of Advanced Historical Students residing in or visiting London by offering them instruction and help in the prosecution of their studies on broad and scholarly lines, with special reference to the critical use of historical authorities',<sup>396</sup> but it also held out the promise of exciting personal possibilities for the future development of his existing role at the LSE.

While the proposal had been well-received in principle, this approval did not translate into financial support. Even the amalgamation of the AHT Fund with the Creighton Memorial Committee (the Bishop of London having died in 1900) failed to raise enough to endow a chair as had been intended. The sub-committee decided instead to endow (part-time and temporary) lectureships (and an annual Creighton Lecture) and in July 1901 mandated Hall, rather incestuously one would have thought, to negotiate the terms of this with Hewins at the LSE. The plans were to establish a lectureship in the Study of Historical Sources (to include palaeography and diplomatic) with an annual stipend of not less than £100, for a period of at least three years; secondly, to attach the lectureship to the LSE and hold classes there; thirdly to require the Lecturer also to act as a Director of Advanced Historical Studies.

Hall and Hewins began a series of negotiations: the role of Director of Studies had to be clarified, the position of the new courses within the LSE programme made clear, and the understanding the new post was to supplement, and not replace, existing provision, made explicit. The post was to provide 'fuller instruction as to the Sources available for Historical Research and the methods of studying them', possibly, it was suggested, by providing distinct courses of lectures in each of three subjects of Palaeography Diplomatics & Historical Methodology'.<sup>397</sup> In the event, even the appeal for funds sufficient

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<sup>395</sup> Other members were: Rt. Hon. James Bryce MP, Dr Adolphus W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse, Sidney Webb, Chair of Governors, LSE, Henry Tedder (RHS Hon. Secretary and Treasurer), and the Secretary and Librarian of the Athenaeum.

<sup>396</sup> [School of Advanced Historical Studies] Subcommittee, minutes, 26 Feb.1901, RHS Archives.

<sup>397</sup> Hall to Hewins, 12 July 1901, with copy of the resolutions of the AHT Executive Committee, 25

to endow a temporary Lectureship in Historical Sources was unsuccessful;<sup>398</sup> enough was raised only (in effect) to increase existing LSE provision, that being provided, largely, by Hall. Unsurprisingly, there was a general assumption that he would be the beneficiary of the new arrangements, though the assumption was not always a welcome one. Reginald Poole, then university lecturer in diplomatic at Oxford and editor of the *EHR*, was particularly well-qualified to comment on the suitability of candidates for the new post; and he was frustrated that the appointment appeared to be a foregone conclusion,

About the proposed lectureship I am doubtful. [he wrote to RHS President George Prothero]. Everyone tells me that it is intended for Hubert Hall. Now Hall is a man for whom I have personally a great respect. I recognise his devotion, his energy and his self-denial. I am sure that he is as valuable as secretary to the Royal Historical Society as he is as a guide in the Public Record Office. But everything that he has published proves not only that he is no scholar but that he does not understand what scholarship means. If he tries to explain a thing, he breaks down and loses himself in platitudes. He does not know when he contradicts himself. And the worst of it is that he is such a kind and goodhearted fellow that nobody likes to say this.

I should not have entered upon this subject had not this impression as to the filling of the proposed lectureship not been so general and so definite. I hope however that it may be wrong. Otherwise it would have been far better that the lecturership were never established.<sup>399</sup>

The letter is annotated with Prothero's response: 'Can he suggest a better man. . . . Hall's appt. to lect- p nt- settld. Tho' pro-ble.'

Oblivious to this luke-warm response, or resignation, to his candidature (not to mention Poole's accurate description of his lecturing style), Hall, wearing his AHT Fund hat was tying up the contractual arrangements with the LSE. The final heads of agreement, which Hall and Hewins had been discussing for at least six months, related to the appointment of

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June 1901, LSE Staff File.

<sup>398</sup> Hall to Hewins, 8 Feb. 1902, LSE Staff File.

<sup>399</sup> Poole to Prothero, 26 Jan 1902, Prothero Papers, PP2/III.4.

a management committee and the financing of the lectureship, but also specified that all arrangements relating to discipline and teaching were to be in the hands of the LSE, that the Lecturer was to be a member of staff of the LSE; and lectures were to harmonize with the existing Palaeography and Diplomatic courses.<sup>400</sup>

All that was required, Hall told Hewins (at around the same time as Poole was making his last-ditch effort to prevent Hall's appointment) was for the Fund:

(1) to make final arrangements with you & hand over the cash for 1902 (2) To appoint a lecturer. This might easily be settled in the time indicated if you have no particular formalities on your side.<sup>401</sup>

By the beginning of February Hall had cast off any remaining pretensions to detachment for the lectureship; he told Hewins that he could have a course up and running by April if given the post<sup>402</sup> and by June had received the letter 'intimating the conditions of [his] appointment as 'Professor of Sources of Early Economic History'.<sup>403</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Hall's teaching career was to continue until 1929 (and his association with his students for a further decade); he later said that 'the best work of my life has been done in connexion with medieval postgraduate teaching in Economic History',<sup>404</sup> and he was certainly in the right place at the right time to make the most of his appointment. The growth of economic history as a discipline and the progressive approach of the LSE itself made teaching both exciting and pleasurable. His access to the PRO (outside office hours too as Resident Officer), provided his students with unparalleled opportunities to study the source materials fundamental to the new, archivally-based scholarship, and they were keen to seize the opportunity. Winfred recalled her husband's early days at the LSE as a

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<sup>400</sup> Hall to Hewins n.d. [Jan. 1902], LSE Staff File.

<sup>401</sup> Hall to Hewins [ ] Jan. 1902, LSE Staff File.

<sup>402</sup> Hall to Hewins, 8 Feb. 1902.

<sup>403</sup> Hall to Hewins, 3 June 1902, LSE Staff File.

<sup>404</sup> Hall to W. Beveridge, 29 June 1921, LSE Staff File.

golden era: '[t]he happy camaradie and enthusiasm in research work & my husbands surprise at the growth each term of his own class'.<sup>405</sup>

What his teaching looked like, his views on education and training for historical workers of all types (including archivists), and his impact on his students are discussed thematically in Chapter 6. The next chapter returns to an area in which he was far less successful.

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<sup>405</sup> Winifred Hall to Mrs. Carr Saunders, 3 Sept. 1944, LSE Staff File.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE RED BOOK AFFAIR

*It was in fact virtually impossible to live in the same world as Round without causing him in the end to take offence: to him, the taking of offence was the elixir of life.*<sup>406</sup>

This Chapter examines one of the key incidents in Hall's life, the ferocious dispute with John Horace Round over Hall's edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer*.<sup>407</sup> The affair has long been notorious — among medievalists in particular — for a number of reasons. First, both men were influential figures within a small and still maturing historical community. Second, the arguments over 'facts', and the interpretation of those facts, required the onlooker to consider the strengths and weaknesses of scientific history whose methods were still not universally accepted within that relatively new (and therefore occasionally insecure) community. Third, and also relating to evolving professional standards, the episode became notorious less for the accuracy of the accusations levelled at Hall, and more because of the manner in which they were made. While some of Round's claims were certainly correct, contemporaries agreed that the public spectacle of the dispute displayed collective historical enterprise in an unedifying light. It was generally agreed that ill-feeling and unrest could have been prevented had Round behaved in a more 'professional' (indeed more gentlemanly) manner. From a more practical perspective (another which has affected the historiography), the dispute retained its notoriety just because so much of it was conducted in print: as both Hall and Round attacked and defended their positions with increasing bitterness, both their contemporaries and posterity were left with detailed, if conflicting, accounts of their differences.

Because of the availability of this documentation, the private background of the affair has received less attention, and the focus has tended to be on Round.<sup>408</sup> This Chapter attempts to redress the balance, treating Hall as a protagonist rather than a cipher (or as an archetypical Roundian victim). It will chart the relationship between the two men before

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<sup>406</sup> G. Elton, *F. W. Maitland* (London, 1985), p.38.

<sup>407</sup> In this thesis the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (italics) indicates the published edition, otherwise the manuscript is meant.

<sup>408</sup> Though Powell, *Round*, uses the Round-Lyte correspondence in PRO 1/158.

1896 in some detail (a narrative which even at the time Hall thought was ‘one of those stories which fortunately can never be written’);<sup>409</sup> in doing so it seeks to increase understanding of why and how the dispute came about and to allow for an assessment of the validity of the charges made in print by both men. The Chapter does *not* seek to assess the veracity of the historical judgments made by the two men themselves, although some general conclusions are reached.

The Chapter will show that the affair had a devastating impact on Hall, both personally and professionally, and that in the early 1900s the focus of his work shifted as a result. At the same time it also shows the level of personal support he had from a wide network of friends and colleagues. The existence of this supportive network, prepared to overlook the substance of Round’s accusations, may also suggest why the historiography of the affair has been inadequate; as late as 1960, in his presidential address to the RHS, M. D. Knowles was still reluctant to refer to it, ‘if only because Hubert Hall was for many years the well-loved Literary Director of [the] Society’.<sup>410</sup>

We have seen in Chapter 2 that Hall and Round were in contact almost immediately Hall joined the PRO in 1879: an exchange of views over ‘the Great Case of the Impositions’, mutual interest in Domesday and participation in the Domesday Commemorations themselves in 1886. The men were of the same generation, though Round’s historical ‘training’ followed the pattern which was becoming increasingly the norm.<sup>411</sup> Round graduated from Balliol with a first in modern history in 1878 (where his contemporaries included Tout, Firth, Poole, Richard Lodge and Sidney Lee). While he certainly knew Poole well at Balliol<sup>412</sup> and was tutored by York Powell, he may not, at least as a student, have had as much direct contact with William Stubbs as is sometimes assumed.<sup>413</sup> Round, with independent means, did not need to take a university post which was, along with a degree, increasingly becoming the mark of an historian.<sup>414</sup> His life-long passion was for genealogy, in the pursuit of which he developed, early on, an expertise in feudalism which necessitated research into and familiarity with early medieval records and particularly

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<sup>409</sup> Hall to James Tait, 5 May 1897, TAI 1/91.

<sup>410</sup> M. Knowles, ‘Great Historical Enterprises IV. The Rolls Series’, *TRHS*, 5th ser., 11 (1961), p.155.

<sup>411</sup> Biographical detail based on King, ‘Round’, *ODNB*. Round was born in 1854.

<sup>412</sup> Powell, *Round*, p.34.

<sup>413</sup> Powell, *Round*, pp.38–39.

<sup>414</sup> Though Powell, *Round*, p.75, suggests that it was, at the same time, the lack of ‘the authority of an academic position’ which led him to take extreme steps to get across his views.

Domesday. He was a prolific writer, even if, at the end of his career, he was generally considered to have left his potential unfulfilled with much of his work comprising 'miscellanies in which brilliant aperçus and solid learning were interspersed with triviality'.<sup>415</sup>

Round's 'solid learning' was a result of sustained study of the records, but this dedication was severely hampered by an almost pathological need to identify and expose mistakes and inconsistencies in the works of less assiduous authors.<sup>416</sup> He believed that the rigour with which the search for historical 'truth' was made within the documentary evidence was the measure of the extent of the regard in which a fellow historian should be held.<sup>417</sup> His relentless pursuit of the 'truth' was inseparable (as his contemporaries realized) from his remarkable ability to bear a grudge until (and indeed, even if) he had been acknowledged to be correct. Possessed of a papal view of his own infallibility he was, at the same time, unable to accept criticism, and he gained an early reputation for maintaining controversies which were often of his own invention. His friend and post-mortem memorialist William Page linked this to his chronic health problems: 'the numerous and lengthy controversies upon which he entered ... were not so exhausting to him as they might have proved to others, they even acted as a tonic and were looked upon as a pastime'.<sup>418</sup> Thus frequent assaults on E. A. Freeman over the latter's work on the continuity of (Germanic) political institutions post-1066 continued even after Freeman's death in 1892 (with Freeman's supporters equally willing to continue the battle by proxy and thus, like Charles Oman, becoming targets on their own account). But this approach was destructive; in terms of classical tragedy it was Round's 'tragic flaw'.

#### *The Proposal for an Edition of the Red Book of the Exchequer*

The Red Book of the Exchequer<sup>419</sup> had long been recognized as a major source for understanding the origins and processes of the medieval Exchequer. It is, in effect, a reference compilation of nearly 300 separate records and texts including 'Charters,

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<sup>415</sup> C. Fifoot, *Frederic William Maitland A Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p.125 ff, who judges only *Geoffrey of Mandeville* to be 'sustained history'.

<sup>416</sup> Page, *Family Origins*, pp.xxi-xxii, lists seven such (excluding Freeman) in the 1880s alone.

<sup>417</sup> J. Round, 'The Early Custody of Domesday Book', *Antiquary* 15 (June 1887), p.247: 'I shall first, according to my usual practice, proceed to clear the ground, that is, to eliminate the spurious evidence, and shall then deal with the slender residuum, and endeavour to deduce from it the truth.'

<sup>418</sup> Page, *Family Origins*, p.xxi.

<sup>419</sup> Current reference is TNA E 164/2.

Statutes of the Realm, *Placita*, or other public acts, with private Deeds and Ordinances, Correspondence, Chronicles or Annuals, religious, physical or legal Treatises, Topographies, Genealogies or Successions, Surveys and Account, precedents and Facetiae'.<sup>420</sup> It was originally drawn up to assist with the reassessment of feudal dues, with information taken or copied (as Round later summarized it) from 'returns and records relating mainly to knight-service, and employed for the assessment of that feudal taxation which had virtually replaced the "geld"'.<sup>421</sup> Of particular importance (both in general and in the context of this episode) were the *Cartae Baronum* (returns made to the crown by the barons about the extent to which they had sub-infeudated their own fiefs, probably sometime towards the end of 1165),<sup>422</sup> twelfth-century pipe rolls containing *inter alia* records of scutages levied, and the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, which had been in print, edited by Thomas Madox, since 1711.<sup>423</sup> The early-to-mid thirteenth-century compilation had been made by Alexander Swereford, a senior Exchequer clerk who, 600 years after his death, was destined to become party in a curious triangular relationship with Hall and Round and thus achieve an unlikely posthumous notoriety. Swereford was a native of Oxfordshire, born, probably, in the late 1170s. By 1200 he was clerk to William of Ely, Treasurer to King John, and remained an Exchequer clerk until around 1220. He carried out various diplomatic duties (and acquired a significant number of properties and clerical appointments in the process) before being admitted as a baron of the Exchequer in 1234. He spent his remaining 12 years in this position, where 'he took an active role in the auditing of accounts and the compiling of memoranda and records, continuing the work which he had begun as an Exchequer clerk'.<sup>424</sup>

The proposal for an edition of the Red Book was originally made in March 1885 by Walford Selby, the Senior Clerk in charge of the Literary Search Room. Deputy Keeper

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<sup>420</sup> H. Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, vol. 1 (London, 1896), p. iv. Individual items are separately listed in the Table of Contents, lxx-cxlviii.

<sup>421</sup> J. Round, 'The Red Book of the Exchequer', *The Genealogist*, new ser., 14, Oct/Dec. 1897, p.1.

<sup>422</sup> The exact dating remains conjectural. See Moore, 'Redating the *Cartae Baronum*', pp.1-13.

<sup>423</sup> Thomas Madox, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer ... together with a correct copy of the ancient dialogue concerning the Exchequer* (1711). For an account of the history of the editions of the *Dialogus* see E. Amt and S. Church, eds. and trans., *Dialogus de Scaccario. Constitutio Domus Regis* (Oxford, 1983), pp.xii-xiii.

<sup>424</sup> In using 'Swereford' (rather than Swerford) I follow Hall's usage. More recent historiography prefers 'Swerford', specifically Nicholas Vincent, 'New Light on Master Alexander of Swerford (d.1246): the Career and Connections of an Oxfordshire Civil Servant', *Oxoniensa* 61 (1996), pp.297-310. This paragraph is drawn primarily from Vincent's summary of Hall's 'Preface', in *RBE* vol. 1, pp.297-300 which Vincent (while giving new information about Swereford's family). recognizes as generally accurate.

Hardy in turn recommended Selby to the Treasury for the work, noting ‘the zeal and tried ability of Mr Selby, who will of course devote to its completion only the time at his disposal out of office hours’.<sup>425</sup> Permission for the edition to go ahead as part of the Rolls Series was given in mid-April.<sup>426</sup>

The Rolls Series, as it was generally known in preference to its original, longer title ‘Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages’, was, in effect, a continuation of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*,<sup>427</sup> a series supported by Sir John (later Baron) Romilly, who as Master of the Rolls had persuaded the Treasury to fund the project by making the case ‘that Great Britain lagged behind other nations in making its historical treasures known to the world’. Editorial work on the selected ‘treasures’ was carried out by experienced ‘literary gentlemen’ (in other words individuals such as Round) assisted, where necessary, by PRO officers who received additional payments for work done.<sup>428</sup> With the Treasury making up to £3,000 available in some years, it is easy to see why the work was attractive. William Stubbs alone received £6,600 for editorial work (over 19 volumes up to 1889);<sup>429</sup> but even lesser editors found the work a ‘steady, unexacting and secure’ source of income over prolonged periods of time.<sup>430</sup> It was hardly surprising that senior PRO staff were keen to take on this extra work though not all could resist the temptation to engage in it during working hours.<sup>431</sup> The quality of editorial appointments, and thus of the editions, was variable.<sup>432</sup> Although volumes appeared between 1858 and 1911, the number of volumes issued fell dramatically after 1888: while 210 were published in the first 30 years, only 20 appeared subsequently and only one was commissioned after 1886.<sup>433</sup> Its patchy success rate has been variously ascribed to the inappropriateness of the PRO managing the work at all, to the employment of editors with no connection with the PRO, and, in its final years, to the lack of any individual able to

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<sup>425</sup> Draft letter *re* status of Rolls series publications, 18 March 1885, PRO1/50.

<sup>426</sup> Draft letter acknowledging receipt of letter from Treasury in general agreement with proposal of 18 March, 17 April 1885, PRO1/50.

<sup>427</sup> H. Petrie and J. Sharpe, *Monumenta Historica Britannica or Materials for the History of Britain, from the Earliest Period, Vol 1. Extending to the Norman Conquest* (London, 1848)

<sup>428</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.172–74.

<sup>429</sup> Knowles, ‘Great Historical Enterprises’, pp.157–59. J. Campbell, ‘Stubbs, William (1825–1901)’, *ODNB*, 2004.

<sup>430</sup> Knowles, ‘Great Historical Enterprises’, p.158.

<sup>431</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.315.

<sup>432</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.209 and *passim*.

<sup>433</sup> M. Knowles, ‘Great Historical Enterprises’, p.155. According to Hall, ‘quite a crowd of applicants were in the field’ for the Red Book editorship, Hall to Round, 12 Dec. 1889, Round Papers MS646/7.

provide coherent leadership. The cumulative cost of the project was tremendous: over £100,000 by the turn of the twentieth century, with editors' payments accounting for much of this sum.

Selby, then just 40, was highly regarded, and industrious in the promotion of historical enterprise. He had a particular interest in genealogy and had become friendly with Round who had begun to visit the PRO in the early 1880s. Selby was instrumental in the establishment of the Pipe Roll Society (where Round joined him as auditor) and was editor of *The Genealogist* (for which Round was a leading contributor); it was probably as much through Selby as through Round's presence in the searchrooms that Hall and Round became friendly.<sup>434</sup> Selby would have been a good editorial choice; 'he was known for his courtesy and a minute knowledge of the records under his charge'<sup>435</sup> and had been working on the Red Book for several years.<sup>436</sup> Completely unexpectedly he died, from typhoid, on 3 August 1889 – a condition which some suggested had been caused by insanitary conditions within the PRO,<sup>437</sup> leaving the Editorship vacant. Hall's later statement: 'I was selected to complete the work on account of my interest in Exchequer antiquities, and Mr. Round was appointed my co-editor in the interests of the genealogical portion of the MS'.<sup>438</sup> does, however, suggest a more straightforward reassignment of the editorship than was, in fact, the case.

#### *Securing the Editorship of the Red Book*

Though Hall's expertise in Exchequer matters was recognized at the Office this did not mean automatic appointment to the editorship. There was always a reluctance to appoint PRO staff to Treasury-funded editorships, and Lyte was in any case anxious to bring the Rolls Series to a conclusion in order to concentrate on other publication projects. It was

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<sup>434</sup> Powell, *Round*, p.104, notes that Selby and Round referred to Hall as 'De Aula' in their own correspondence.

<sup>435</sup> A. Pollard, 'Selby, Walford Dakin (1845–1889)', rev. G. Martin, *ODNB* (2004).

<sup>436</sup> See e.g. 'The Red Book of the Exchequer', *Athenaeum*, 10 Nov. 1888, p.627. The forthcoming appearance of the edition was reported almost as soon as the Treasury decision to fund it was made ('Literary Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 23 May 1885, p.664).

<sup>437</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.320. Round wrote to Lyte, 9 Sept. 1885, drawing his attention to the allegation in *Scottish Leader* 'that had "proper attention been paid by the Keeper of the Records" (meaning, I presume yourself) to the late Mr Selby's complaints of its insanitary conditions, his valuable life might have been spared. I think it is only right that so gross a charge should be brought to your notice.' PRO 1/158/674.

<sup>438</sup> H. Hall, *The Red Book of the Exchequer. A Reply to Mr. J. H. Round* (London, 1898), p.4.

Round who was quicker off the mark to forestall the abandonment of the project. Just a fortnight after Selby's death he wrote to Lyte,

I was much interested in Mr. Selby's projected edition of the Red Book, which we used often to discuss. ... it is much to be hoped that such material as he has prepared will not be lost.<sup>439</sup>

and in October he explicitly requested the Editorship;<sup>440</sup> Lyte appears to have agreed to this in early November.<sup>441</sup> At the same time Round, knowing that his own health might cause him to relinquish the work sooner rather than later,<sup>442</sup> and aware that Hall was manoeuvring for the Editorship within the Office, seems to have encouraged his pretensions to the editorship at the same time. Hall, on the other hand appeared unaware of the discussions taking place between the Deputy Keeper and Round when, in December 1889, he provided Round with the rationale for his own application:

. . . The position is this, "that as [the Red Book] was got for the office it oughtn't to go outside" and I think there is a general wish that I should go in for it. I did not quite like to at first, but having heard that quite a crowd of applicants were in the field & all our men were waiting for me, I sent in my application yesterday [i.e. 11 Dec. 1889<sup>443</sup>] on the following grounds.

- (1) That I had dabbled in early Exchequer matters for many years.
- (2) That I was to some extent first in the field as to the L[iber].R[ubeus]. with my Dialogus scheme.
- (3) That Selby had been influenced (as I am firmly convinced) by consideration for me when he omitted to include large part of the early codex in his proposal in spite of my repeated offers to withdraw in favour of his edition of the whole.

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<sup>439</sup> Round to Lyte, 14 Aug. 1889, PRO 1/158.

<sup>440</sup> Round to Lyte, 11 Oct. 1889, PRO 37/16A.

<sup>441</sup> PRO Secretary to Round, 29 Oct. 1889, invitation to meet Lyte the following week, PRO 37/16A.

<sup>442</sup> Round to Lyte, 24 Nov. 1889, PRO 1/158. Round referred to (unspecified, but probably health-related) 'difficulties about my undertaking the Red Book ... I do not wish to press my application at all, and have no doubt that it might be better done by someone else.'

<sup>443</sup> Hall's formal application, 11 Dec. 1889, is at PRO 37/16A. Its contents are substantively those at points 1-5.

(4) That I considered it essential for a satisfactory edition of the L[iber].R[ubeus]. to include the whole of this historical portion if only to substantiate the value of the whole Codex by enabling collation to be made with independent MSS.

(5) That I had a firm belief that Selby would eventually have included the other parts and at any rate that a new Editor would at once be struck with the incongruity of the plan and having 2 vols at his disposal (which he couldn't possibly fill with the Cartae alone) would extend the plan to make a good job of it which means including Dialogus & and so treading on my corns in a frightful manner.

I added however that though I believed none of my colleagues wished to stand in my way there was a gentleman outside the office (meaning you) whose claims were stronger than mine and with any application of his I declined to compete "however gladly I would collaborate with him in a work in which we were both so much interested and which was so near the heart of one common friend, Mr Selby".

I hope you won't mind my having done this for which my reasons were, first my not knowing whether you would care to do it, secondly whether you would apply, & thirdly whether (mirab. dictu) you would be accepted on account of the supposed prior claim of this office & a strong feeling about Editors reading their own MSS.

But as I meant in any case to try & get you on to it either alone & in collaboration with someone I thought I should like that some one to be me. Only if you don't think so if you have the least inclination to go in for it your self you will have my best support & not my opposition as no possible considerations could induce me to compete with your undeniable claim. Only others won't be so honest so you had best act quickly if you think of it at all, which I sincerely hope you will. ...

So you see here is a fine sitting of eggs which will have to get hatched somehow without much warmth I fear of anyone else's approbation ...<sup>444</sup>

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<sup>444</sup> Hall to Round, 12 Dec. 1889, Round Papers MS646/9.

I have quoted from this letter at length partly because it encapsulates the situation from Hall's perspective, but also because it is so suggestive both of his relationship with Round and his own approach to work – always enthusiastic, but also slightly disingenuous. Hall was torn between his personal interest (or 'dabbling'), those 'many happy leisure hours spent amongst the Exchequer records',<sup>445</sup> and his recognition that Round's credentials for the work were superior to his own (certainly their previous correspondence suggested his real admiration for Round's work). However, his modesty, a quality frequently remarked upon, was never wholly outweighed by his desire to be associated with one of the most significant records of the medieval Exchequer; equally his protestation that the editorship should be kept in-house in honour of Selby rings a little hollow.<sup>446</sup>

Lyte was in a difficult position: Round, the competent editor, was ambivalent about the project, and Hall, though with plausible credentials, was a member of staff and had not previously undertaken this type of work. At the same time it was clear that Selby had completed a large amount of preparatory work and, given that the Treasury had agreed to the edition, its publication was expected. The purchase of Selby's material, mainly transcripts, from the executors (though it remained in the physical custody of Lyte) would incur additional costs, but would enable the work to be finished without undue delay. Hall formally applied for the editorship on 11 December 1889,<sup>447</sup> the conspiratorial tone of a letter to Round on 20 December again suggesting that he remained unaware of any discussions on the subject between Round and the Deputy Keeper:

I had heard in the interval since writing to you last [i.e. on 12 December] a good deal about what was going on and of course that you had practically applied for the L.R. ... I also find my idea is correct vizt that there is an objection against each of us singly but these supposed difficulties were wholly removed by our joining.<sup>448</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> Hall, *Court Life*, p. iii. Hall's translation of 'Constitutio Domus Regis' was an appendix in *Court Life*, pp.242–49.

<sup>446</sup> There was at least one other external application for the editorship: H.G. Hewlett to Lyte, 14 Oct. 1889, TNA PRO 37/16A. This application was rejected, 23 Oct. 1889.

<sup>447</sup> Hall to Lyte, PRO 37/16A.

<sup>448</sup> Hall to Round, 20 Dec. 1889, ULSHL MS646/9.

In mid-January 1890 Selby's executors were informed that the Deputy Keeper was about to conclude arrangements 'under which he anticipates that the work left incomplete by Selby, will be satisfactorily completed',<sup>449</sup> and Lyte requested a formal request for a joint-editorship from the two men, 'a pure formality', Hall assured Round.<sup>450</sup> In deciding to continue with the edition, Lyte was, naturally, assuming its completion on the basis of Selby's original selection of its content over two volumes, the basis on which the Treasury had agreed to funding (though he appreciated the need for some additional collation work).<sup>451</sup> However, Hall wanted to include documents which Selby had planned to omit, notably the *Dialogus de Scaccario* and the *Constitutio Regis Domus*, omissions which, Hall felt, would unnecessarily limit its scholarly value.<sup>452</sup> It is quite clear that once the editorship had been agreed Hall intended to press ahead with his own scheme, whatever the original plan:

what I feel as a sort of instinct [he wrote to Round] is that we should leave the work ½ done if we left out the Leges, Constit & Dialogus, whereas with these included there would be a horse apiece for us to ride – and a clear course!<sup>453</sup>

By May 1890, Lyte had agreed, in principle, to a revised selection of documents, being reassured by Hall that there would be no difficulty in making 'a really representative edition of the Red Book within the limits of two vols.'<sup>454</sup> It was only in late June that Hall and Round were authorized to purchase Selby's papers (at a cost of £42.10.00)<sup>455</sup> and then the work could commence in earnest. Even at this stage it is not difficult to conclude that the likelihood of a successful outcome was limited. The combination of Selby's death, Lyte's managerial problems over the editorship, Hall's intention to adhere only loosely to the agreed terms of reference, and Round's own ill-health (and some evident ambivalence) made for an unpromising set of circumstances. As Lyte so presciently commented later that year: 'The Red Book seems to be doomed to misfortune!'<sup>456</sup>

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<sup>449</sup> Cartwright (PRO Secretary) to W. O. Hewlett, 4 Jan. 1890, PRO 37/16B.

<sup>450</sup> Hall to Round, 18 Jan. 1890, ULSHL MS646/11.

<sup>451</sup> Cartwright to Hewlett, 4 Jan. 1890, PRO 37/16B.

<sup>452</sup> Hall to Lyte, 10 Mar. 1890, 11 Mar. 1890, 9 May 1890, PRO 37/35.

<sup>453</sup> Hall to Round, 18 Jan. 1890, ULSHL MS646/11.

<sup>454</sup> Hall to Lyte, 9 May 1890, PRO 37/35.

<sup>455</sup> Hall to Round, 23 June 1890, ULSHL MS646/23.

<sup>456</sup> Lyte to Hall 8 Aug. 1890, PRO37/16B.

The acquisition of Selby's notes also threw up unexpected editorial problems; the presence of a transcript of Thomas Hearne's eighteenth-century edition of the 'Liber Niger'<sup>457</sup> suggested to Round that Selby had been taking unwarranted shortcuts in his preparations: Selby 'had corrected Hearne's text from the original 'Liber Niger', and had then transcribed the text, so corrected, intending to use this as this "text" for press, relegating the Red Book variants to footnotes.'<sup>458</sup> In other words Selby had intended to use an arguably unreliable published text based on the so-called Black Book (Liber Niger), as the basis for his edition of the Red Book. This use of Hearne's published text would also return to haunt Hall in due course.

### *Editing the Red Book*

Despite these discoveries, Selby's extensive transcripts became the basis for the first two volumes of the edition<sup>459</sup> and given the amount of preparatory work apparently completed, the publication process seemed straightforward. Hall and Round were indeed making rapid progress; copy was already been sent to the printers by the end of June.<sup>460</sup> Round was working through the *Cartae* ('a laborious but very interesting undertaking')<sup>461</sup> while Hall was adopting a production-line approach: 'My hasty passage through the scutages' he reported happily 'resembles the passage of a reaping machine or Corporation roller'. By the end of the month he was talking about the early possibility of the whole of Volume 1 being delivered to the printers.<sup>462</sup> Such progress would have undoubtedly suited Round, himself a phenomenally hard worker; by July he was returning the annotated proofs to Hall. Round's comments and amendments were sometimes, from Hall's perspective, sometimes too extensive (and debatable) to incorporate easily; he was reluctant to include Round's 'contentious annotations' relating to scutages and to

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<sup>457</sup> Thomas Hearne, ed., *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1728).

<sup>458</sup> Round to Lyte, 4 June 1890, PRO 1/158.

<sup>459</sup> Hall, *Reply to Mr. J.H.Round*, p.9: 'In Mr. Selby's scheme for the edition ... the publication of the Feodary only was contemplated ... I added to this the unpublished and practically unknown Exchequer Collections'.

<sup>460</sup> Hall to Round, n.d. [June 1890], ULSHL MS646/20.

<sup>461</sup> Round to Lyte, 23 June 1890, PRO37/16B.

<sup>462</sup> Hall to Round, 30 June 1890, ULSHL MS646/29.

Swereford's interpretation of the scutages<sup>463</sup> merely as footnotes, as this would not allow justice to be done to Round's argument. Better, he claimed, to include an extended discussion in the introduction: 'Don't bother about it now ... we will let it stand over till preface-time ...' when '2 pages of Preface will be well bestowed.'<sup>464</sup>

As Round's annotations were 'contentious', in the sense that Hall disagreed with them, a less charitable interpretation of his suggestion would be that he had no intention of incorporating them.<sup>465</sup> He was, at least, trying to be conciliatory (he considered himself a 'junior partner' in their joint enterprise),<sup>466</sup> but this did not extend to adopting Round's suggestions without argument. While concessions were made to Round's expertise on scutage, 'I did not really know you had gone into the matter so much ...',<sup>467</sup> and on a reading of 'unius militis'<sup>468</sup> he was not as ready to give ground on the reliability of Swereford:

As for our differing – well we must agree to differ sometimes ... only we must differ to agree again before we go to press, and that I regard with a very light heart in my case foreseeing that I shall have to recant with a good grace when you apply the "torch of reason" to Swereford's pyre – only, first, I think I shall shake your resolution just a little.<sup>469</sup>

These two subjects of contention – scutage and Swereford – were destined to generate substantially more than the two pages of 'well-bestowed' discussion Hall suggested they merited.

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<sup>463</sup> *Red Book* 'De primo scutagio regis Henrici secundi' vol. 1, 1–12. 'Nomina quidem illorum qui cartas tunc tempore non miserunt reperies inferius in rotulo regni sui xviii<sup>o</sup>, sub titulo illo *De hiis qui cartas non miserunt*' (p.5).

<sup>464</sup> Hall to Round, 24 July 1890, ULSHL MS646/31: 'The whole thing is so important and interesting that it is a pity to crowd it into a few notes that must necessarily seem bald. 2 pages of Preface will be well bestowed.'

<sup>465</sup> Hall to Round, 24 July 1890, ULSHL MS646/31.

<sup>466</sup> Hall to Round, 18 Jan. 1890, ULSHL MS646/11.

<sup>467</sup> Hall to Round, 7 June 1890, ULSHL MS646/16.

<sup>468</sup> 'I may as well make a clear breast of the "unius militis" You see I looked at the variants hastily ... so I was wrong. I forgot to tell you of it.' Hall to Round, 23 June 1890, MS646/25.

<sup>469</sup> Hall to Round, 7 June 1890, ULSHL MS646/16. Round wrote to Lyte on 23 June that Swereford's factual statements were 'so frequently and grievously erroneous, that I shall [have] to correct them one by one, tho' they have been hitherto too highly accepted', PRO 37/16B.

Progress made during summer 1891 was particularly swift given that Hall's work had to be done out of official office hours.<sup>470</sup> Round too had other research and writing projects in hand, one of which was to become particularly important to the dispute: a series of articles for the *English Historical Review* on the evolution of knight service (or scutage), which, as he pointedly told Lyte, was 'the fruit of long original research first undertaken at the request of the late Mr. Walford Selby when he was approaching the L[iber] R[ubeus] for publication'.<sup>471</sup> But there were other problems on the horizon; in particular increasing printers' costs. With Lyte keeping a close eye on the amount and costs of pages sent for typesetting,<sup>472</sup> Hall had to conspire with his colleague Cartwright, the PRO Secretary, to pass as much to the printers as quickly possible.<sup>473</sup>

Speedy progress was about to be halted by Round's withdrawal from the editorship, though given his well-documented chronic health problems, this was not surprising. Without specifying when he was leaving England (for warmer parts of the world more conducive to his good health), Round reassured Lyte that the two editors had formulated a plan to allow his continuing involvement: although he would no longer have any formal role in the work he nonetheless undertook to 'render Mr Hall every assistance'. Thus, he said 'the work shall not suffer in any way by the official withdrawal of my connexion with it'.<sup>474</sup>

While sympathetic to Round, Lyte was unable – because of his imminent departure for summer holidays – to agree formally to the plan; yet taking no action left the *de facto* editorship solely in Hall's hands. He told Hall

I will go into the question with you when I return to London at the beginning of next month. In the meantime you can continue to revise such slips as the printers may send, but I must ask you not to pass any sheets for press.<sup>475</sup>

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<sup>470</sup> Hall to Round, 18 June 1890, ULSHL MS646/18: 'I shall have a long Sat. aft. at the [scu]tages this week besides a bittock [sic] every morning .... After this week I shall be able to get 2 hours per diem at the book so that we ought to make great progress before Winter.'

<sup>471</sup> Round to Lyte, 7 July 1891, PRO 1/158/688.

<sup>472</sup> Hall to Round, n.d. [July 1890], ULSHL MS646/20.

<sup>473</sup> Hall to Round, 30 June 1890, ULSHL MS646/29.

<sup>474</sup> Round to Lyte, 5 Aug. 1890, PRO37/16B.

<sup>475</sup> Lyte to Hall, 8 Aug. 1890, PRO37/16B.

Hall's conciliatory response made clear his 'perfect readiness to continue the work alone' – and, reading between the lines, his definite intention to do so:

After my previous experiences and anxieties the appointment of a new Editor would be a greater trial than I could bear, nor would it be of any material service to me.

The work is now too far advanced and the strain too great to permit any further readjustment even if Mr Round's withdrawal were instantly effective.<sup>476</sup>

Less reading between the lines is necessary for his letter to Round written the following day; indeed it was decidedly conspiratorial:

I had a most mysterious letter from Lyte [wrote Hall on 12 August, by which time Round had already left London]. I think he has "an idea" so I have hastened to extinguish it by a manful appeal to "let us alone".

If he tries to plant anyone on us we will lead his steps amid slippery places where contractions will spring up & choke him (off) .... Cartwright has dropped a hint that if things come to the worst we ought to dissemble and, by withdrawing your resignation till just before Vol I is ready keep a new editor out.<sup>477</sup>

Even if Hall had been instructed not to pass proofs for press, he was still determined to have as many as possible ready for that stage: 'It will be the chief obstacle to any tricks they may be up to find so much of the work already completed by us.'<sup>478</sup>

Lyte probably hoped that Round would reconsider his resignation; and he may have asked Hall to try to persuade Round too (possibly with the suggestion that Hall's sole editorship was not an acceptable substitute). If Hall did put this to Round, he received short shrift in

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<sup>476</sup> Lyte to Hall, 11 Aug. 1890, PRO3716B.

<sup>477</sup> Hall to Round, 12 Aug. 1890, ULSHL MS646/35.

<sup>478</sup> Hall to Round, 14 Aug. 1890, ULSHL MS646/37.

return.<sup>479</sup> Hall had to justify his sole editorship to Lyte, pointing out that he was qualified for the work, that volume 1 was partly in the press; that his description of the MSS was 'absolutely exhaustive'; that he had in writing Round's 'repeated wish to withdraw' on hearing of Hall's own application. Finally, as he pointed out, he was 'the legal possessor of all the editorial matter collected by the late Mr. Selby', which vital material, it was implied; he would not be prepared to pass over to anyone else. He concluded

I feel that you would be unwilling to subject me to the disappointment and humiliation of an implied disqualification for the work by means of its cessation or the appointment of a [sic] another editor ... after so much labour has been expended upon the work and such very considerable progress made towards its completion a young and vigorous Editor has the best chance of dispelling the fatality that seems to attach to the Book and of bringing it to a speedy conclusion.<sup>480</sup>

What weight Lyte gave to any of these arguments is unclear; but he did sanction Hall as sole editor and was happy enough to sign off a first payment of £75 'on account' to Hall on 8 November (a further £175 being paid between then and 24 March 1891).<sup>481</sup> This suggests that a considerable amount of work had been already passed for typesetting (if not actually passed for press).

Round left England in late October<sup>482</sup> for a tour of the Far East that was to take him to India, Burma and as far as the Chinese frontier.<sup>483</sup> The collaboration had to continue by post, with Round becoming (as Hall christened him) 'the genius loci – a spiritualized Editor'.<sup>484</sup> The nature of any collaboration over the winter months is unclear; there is no extant correspondence until the following March (1891) when Round, in Cairo, advised Lyte of the receipt of some 400 pages of proof sheets from Hall, and implied that the original (and preferred) arrangement had been for him to see the proofs as they came out rather than *en bloc*. In terms of processing these, Round told Lyte that he had 'compiled a list of Errata et Corrigenda but I think I had better reserve it till my return as so far as

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<sup>479</sup> Hall to Lyte, 3 Sept. 1890, PRO 37/35: 'I find that I am absolutely precluded from making another appeal by his final and decisive letter to me on the subject'..

<sup>480</sup> Hall to Lyte, 3 Sept. 1890, PRO 37/35.

<sup>481</sup> Payments to Rolls editors, 1857–c1900, fol. 199, PRO 37/18.

<sup>482</sup> Round to Lyte, 15 Oct. 1890, PRO37/16B.

<sup>483</sup> Page, *Family Origins*, p.xxv.

<sup>484</sup> Hall to Round, n.d. [Aug 1890], ULSHL MS646/34.

erroneous readings are concerned some of them may be, and doubtless are, due to the original scribe'.<sup>485</sup> He added – a comment which was to become important evidence in the later dispute – that he had 'urged [Hall], before leaving, to let me co-operate in the Index, in which, I think, I might be useful and which I could have revised here'.<sup>486</sup> It can hardly have been possible for Round to make a thorough assessment of the proofs; according to William Page, 'as [Round] afterwards said, he felt no obligation to correct anything beyond what he suspected'.<sup>487</sup>

#### *An Interlude – the EHR 'Knight Service' Articles, 1891*

Round's three articles on knight service were published between July 1891 and January 1892<sup>488</sup> and later appeared, very slightly amended, in his book *Feudal England* (in 1895). They acquired substantive significance for the RBE dispute because Round criticized the accuracy of the conclusions which Swereford had drawn about quotas of military service due from the barons, conclusions which had been based on his own (thirteenth-century) examination of the *Cartae Baronum*. For Round, the data in the *Cartae* provided evidence for his wider investigation into the evolution of knight service itself; Swereford's own conclusions, documented in the RBE, were therefore of great interest for that research. But those conclusions, said Round, were inaccurate: Swereford's methods of interrogating the material were 'defective'; he lacked the 'requisite accuracy'; and his judgment was skewed because he was seeking (unlike Round), not 'abstract historical truth, but practical information bearing on the existing rights of the crown';<sup>489</sup> that Swereford was (self-evidently) just doing his job rather than seeking 'historical truth' laid him open to criticism in any case. Round's argument for Swereford's unreliability centred on the latter's account of the 'Great Scutage' (or 'Scutage of Toulouse'): 'If [Swereford] is in error on this matter, his error is so grievous and so far-reaching that it must throw the gravest doubt on all his similar assertions.'<sup>490</sup> In brief *none* of Swereford's calculations of levels of knight service could be relied on because he was *demonstrably* incorrect in a number of places.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>485</sup> Round to Lyte, 31 March 1891, PRO 1/158/682.

<sup>486</sup> Round to Lyte, 31 March 1891, PRO 1/158/682.

<sup>487</sup> Page, *Family Origins*, p.xxix.

<sup>488</sup> J. Round, 'The Introduction of Knight Service into England,' *EHR* 6 (July 1891), pp.417–443; *EHR* 6 (Oct. 1891), pp. 625–45; *EHR* 7 (Jan. 1892), pp.11–24.

<sup>489</sup> Round, 'Knight Service', 6, pp.433.

<sup>490</sup> Round, 'Knight Service', 6, pp.626.

<sup>491</sup> E.g. in linking entries made on the Michaelmas 1159 pipe roll with a Welsh campaign rather than with a June 1159 expedition to Toulouse; similarly in linking the Toulouse scutage with levies appearing on the 1161 and 1162 pipe rolls.

While Round and Hall were by now corresponding less frequently, their letters were friendly and remained so despite the appearance of the second article in which Round moved from criticism of Swereford to criticism of Hall's assumption of Swereford's reliability:

the presumption is naturally in favour of Swereford's knowledge of his subject. He tells us that he had been at work among the records in the days of King John ... he wrote with the actual rolls before him ... I cannot wonder that, this being so, his positive assertions should have been readily believed, or that Mr. Hall, when I was associated with him in preparing the 'Red Book' for the press should, with a kindly bias in favour of so venerable an authority, have shrunk from my drastic criticism of his famous introduction to that volume.<sup>492</sup>

Why the *RBE* introduction was already 'famous' (even though it subsequently became infamous) is unclear; on the other hand Round's distrust of Swereford may have been generally known – he had written to Lyte about Swereford's 'frequently and grievously erroneous' factual statements as early as June 1890.<sup>493</sup> Nonetheless the disagreement about Swereford's reliability remained, for the time being, relatively civilized. There is no indication that Hall resented the criticism, whether of Swereford or himself (he even went as far as describing himself as Round's *homo ligius*).<sup>494</sup> Round was still happy to be associated with the edition, pointing out to Lyte that because he had access to the page proofs, he had been able to footnote the forthcoming edition in the Knight Service articles rather than having to use Madox, 'which will be a great convenience to students'.<sup>495</sup> He was also happy to acknowledge Hall's work publicly in other respects: 'I am greatly indebted to Mr. Hubert Hall for most kindly collating my proof with the original document [a charter of Henry I] in my absence from England', he wrote in 1893, 'Mr Hall ... as editor of the Red Book, is specially conversant with the subject'.<sup>496</sup> As late as October 1895 he felt able to use Hall as an example of good scholarship, writing in response to a review of

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<sup>492</sup> Round, 'Knight Service', 6, pp.626.

<sup>493</sup> Round to Lyte, 23 June 1890, PRO 37/16B.

<sup>494</sup> Hall to Round, 1 Dec. 1892, ULSHL MS646/42'

<sup>495</sup> Round to Lyte, 7 July 1891, PRO 1/158/688. The references in the *EHR* articles to the printed pages of the *RBE* are, indeed, correct, see e.g. Round, 'Knight Service', 6, p.626 n.2.

<sup>496</sup> J. Round, 'An Unknown Charter of Liberties', *EHR* 8 (April 1893), p.288.

*Feudal England* that, 'your reviewer misrepresented the evidence. Any real expert, such as Mr. Hubert Hall, who is editing "The Red Book of the Exchequer", would tell him so'.<sup>497</sup>

Despite this apparently amiable and supportive relationship, Hall's later account of this period presents a different version. At the height of the dispute in 1898 he accused Round of using the *RBE* proof sheets 'for the purpose of the calculations and theories which he embodied in his memorable articles on the 'Origin of Knight Service', in effect of plagiarism:

Whether this proceeding was fair or not, my own consent to it debars me from inquiring. At least, the gain to the historical student was great, and I cordially welcomed these brilliant researches and abruptly closed the chapter I was myself preparing. But more than this, I stoutly defended Mr. Round against the not unnatural annoyance caused in official quarters at this anticipation of an official work, and I took the whole blame of the matter on myself.<sup>498</sup>

In fact there is no evidence (either way) that the PRO was in any way 'irritated' by the Knight Service articles. Hall's recollections continued with the accusation that Round had then started go behind his back to Lyte, 'telling tales' of Hall's errors:

After returning my sheets with a few unimportant corrections, Mr. Round wrote privately to my official chief, informing him that he had discovered a great number of mistakes, especially in respect of personal names, in my sheets, and asking, in view of this discovery, that he might have the work of preparing the Index.<sup>499</sup>

As we have seen, Round had indeed written to Lyte from Cairo, though hardly with venomous intent. It is certainly the case that a list of errors existed; it was one which, according to Hall, he and Lyte had examined, only to find

that in this long list of errors not 5 per cent. were other than mere unfounded conjectures of Mr. Round, who in those days was even younger in the art of text-editing than myself. The incident made an unpleasant impression at the

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<sup>497</sup> J. Round, 'Feudal England', *Saturday Review*, 26 Oct. 1895, p.549.

<sup>498</sup> Hall, *Reply to Mr. J.H.Round*, pp.4-5.

<sup>499</sup> Hall, *Reply to Mr. J.H.Round*, pp.4-5.

time, but I freely imputed it to Mr. Round's enthusiasm for accuracy, and dismissed it from my mind.<sup>500</sup>

But this was in the future. Back at the PRO, Hall's editorial scheme had finally forced him to apply to Lyte for sanction to produce a three-volume edition. He produced a lengthy justification for this, concluding optimistically that, 'A considerable personal experience of publications of this nature leads me to anticipate a large increase in the sale of this Edition as compared with that of the average publications of the Rolls Series'.<sup>501</sup> By now there was little that Lyte could do except agree; a payment of £150 was made to Hall shortly thereafter.<sup>502</sup>

*July 1896 – A Provocation Too Far: 'New Methods of Historical Enquiry'*

The intermittent, though still friendly, Round-Hall correspondence was about to end for good. Hall's penultimate letter to Round (dated 30 May 1896) was short, although it did refer to another two areas about to become controversial: the Index and a forthcoming article by Hall.<sup>503</sup> It was this article which, appearing in July 1896, was to kickstart three years of a bitter public row.

'New Methods of Historical Enquiry', a 17-page review article of Round's 1892 *Geoffrey de Mandeville and Feudal England* (which included of course the knight service articles), was also a vehicle for Hall to revisit many of his long-standing preoccupations, particularly about the use of documentary evidence and the 'lax methods of our English Universities' in this respect. Few English scholars, he said, thought or cared about original sources but Round's rigorous approach in *Geoffrey de Mandeville* showed him to be a 'Nemesis' in the field of historical studies,<sup>504</sup> while on Domesday, Round was 'the most original and profound of the many able scholars who have attempted to elucidate this fascinating problem'.<sup>505</sup> But Hall had Swereford to defend, and this praise was followed by an inevitable 'nevertheless'.

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<sup>500</sup> Hall, *Reply to Mr. J.H.Round*, pp.4-5.

<sup>501</sup> Hall to Lyte, Feb. 1892, PRO 37/35.

<sup>502</sup> Payment recorded 27 March 1892, PRO 37/18.

<sup>503</sup> Hall to Round, 30 May 1896, Round Papers, MS646/53.

<sup>504</sup> H. Hall, 'New Methods of Historical Enquiry', *Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1896), p.123.

<sup>505</sup> Hall, 'New Methods', p.126.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to see how historians can carry out work without occasional recourse to hypothesis ... We have read this famous essay again and again with unabated interest. We have willingly allowed ourselves to fall under the spell of the writer's brilliant criticism and seductive theory. But for all that our hand must not be to that libel which would consign the reputation of the greatest of the Exchequer clerks to a contemptuous neglect.<sup>506</sup>

Defending Swereford, Hall argued *inter alia* that Round had ignored the fact that Swereford had had access to additional records subsequently lost; and, even if Swereford were wrong, this was irrelevant in any case to any conclusions Round might reach.<sup>507</sup> He also took the opportunity to comment on Round's criticism of other historians both living and (with particular reference to Freeman) dead, making a plea for a degree of charity: 'if a number of supreme specialists were to address themselves to a gratuitous censorship of the serious historical literature of the last twenty years, the historical community would scarcely escape the fate of the Cities of the Plain'.<sup>508</sup> While in retrospect this looks like a pre-emptive plea in defence of his editorial competency, Hall was hardly the only commentator to have found Round's incessant sniping inappropriate. Other reviewers of *Feudal England*, while also applauding the scholarship found his confrontational style 'egoistic', and, ultimately, exhausting.<sup>509</sup>

From Hall's perspective, 'New Methods' merely reiterated the exchanges over Swereford which he and Round had already carried on privately and he may have assumed that those differences, having been aired, had also been settled. But Round saw 'New Methods' as a pre-emptive strike, a deliberate pre-publication attempt by Hall to 'soften up' the literary public into accepting his assessment of Swereford's credibility<sup>510</sup> – an assessment which, being the antithesis of Round's view, was self-evidently wrong and thus had to be

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<sup>506</sup> Hall, 'New Methods', p.129.

<sup>507</sup> Hall, 'New Methods', p.132.

<sup>508</sup> Hall, 'New Methods', p.135.

<sup>509</sup> J. Baldwin, Review, [*Feudal England*] *Journal of Political Economy*, 4 (June 1896), pp.404–06; C. Andrews review [*Feudal England*], *Political Science Quarterly*, 10 (Dec. 1895), pp. 693–96; Pollock ended his review wearily: 'I confess I am rather glad to feel that it is absolutely irrelevant to the history of English law whether there was a palisade at the battle of Hastings. Review [*Feudal England*], *EHR* 10 (Oct. 1895), pp.783–84.

<sup>510</sup> Round, *The Red Book of the Exchequer* [*Mr ROUND Begs the Favour of a Perusal of the Following Statement of Facts.*] (Colchester, [1899]).

repudiated publicly. The extent of the counter-attack launched by Round in the pages of the *Athenaeum* shocked many within the historical establishment; though fewer (with the possible exception of Hall) were surprised by its tone. Hall, writing in 1898, recalled how, 'A few days after the review had appeared, Mr Round addressed to me the first of several letters filled with the most violent abuse and insults, and ending with the sinister remark that I had 'dug my own grave as a scholar'.<sup>511</sup> Round was to dispute this – though only insofar as to claim that he wrote to Hall at the *end* of a correspondence in the pages of the *Athenaeum* (discussed below), rather than rebutting the substantive charge. Although the 'several letters' are not extant, it is clear from Round's version (curiously couched as a third person narrative) that at least one of the letters would have been deeply upsetting in any circumstances:

Those who are acquainted with the code of honour prevailing among gentlemen will not be surprised to hear that Mr. Round wrote to Mr. Hall telling him that, unless he withdrew his charge [i.e. Hall's assertion that Round had made a 'deliberate and "unpardonable" garbling of Swereford's text'] as publicly as it had been made, he could have nothing more to do with him.<sup>512</sup>

As the *Quarterly Review* was only the first of several battlegrounds over the next couple of years, it may be useful, before continuing on to the remainder of the campaign, to summarize the substantive issues, some of which have already been mentioned. These often overlapped and this confusion was exacerbated by Hall's reluctance (or inability) to address the matter in hand, a characteristic guaranteed to irritate Round still further. Indeed, as subsequent rounds of the dispute became increasingly personalized, the substantive points became almost irrelevant, but, to orient the reader, the main areas of contention can be summarized – if a little too superficially – as:

- the preparation and proofreading of the lengthy Prefaces (which occurred early in the period 1890–1896) and which were written by Hall; and of the Indexes (which were constructed very late in the same period); responsibility for their many errors; and in particular

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<sup>511</sup> Hall, *Reply to Mr. J H Round*, p.5.

<sup>512</sup> Round, *Perusal of the Facts*, pp.3-4.

- the alleged culpability of Round deliberately leaving errors uncorrected to go to print
- the scholarly analysis displayed in the Prefaces; in particular as this analysis dealt with the discussion of
  - the dating of scutages, particularly the dating of the Great Scutage of Toulouse and the existence (or not) of a Welsh scutage
  - knight service and the interpretation of the [1166] *Cartae Baronum* which relied on extracts copied from pipe rolls no longer extant;
- and crucially, as already discussed, the credibility of Alexander Swereford with regard to the *Cartae*, specifically with respect to his dating of particular scutages; by extension, Swereford's reliability in general; and by extension again, Hall's own credibility as an editor in this particular instance, and as a medieval scholar overall.

*August–October 1896: The Athenaeum and 'The Great Scutage of Toulouse'*

The dispute as played out in the weekly *Athenaeum* under the heading 'The Great Scutage of Toulouse' began with Round (on 8 August) highlighting the anomaly of the 'Quarterly Reviewer' (Hall's anonymity was preserved in print, if not in any other respect) defending Swereford's reliability in general, but not even attempting to do so on any specific points (in this example, the purpose of the levy recorded on the 1159 Pipe Roll):

The only point to be clearly discerned is that the writer is very angry at any one daring to criticize Swereford – so angry that he scorns to grasp either what Swereford has stated or what his critics have maintained. Let us hope that this retrograde obscurantism will not be included among the 'New Methods of Historical Enquiry'.<sup>513</sup>

Hall's response, on 29 August, relied, somewhat disingenuously, on the (non-)argument that his difference of opinion with Round about Swereford's reliability had been the only 'one piece of unfavourable criticism in the course of a singularly favourable review'. He failed (as most readers must have seen) to address directly the question of the Toulouse/Welsh scutages. Round returned to this unresolved substantive problem:

Will [Hall], then, now tell us plainly whether he maintains, with Swereford, that the money was raised for Wales, or not? And will he further tell us

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<sup>513</sup> J. Round, 'The Great Scutage of Toulouse', *Athenaeum*, 8 Aug. 1896, p.193.

whether he adheres to his statements, in the teeth of the [pipe] roll and of Swereford's words ... It is perfectly useless for him to beat about the bush. By a straightforward answer he can end the matter.<sup>514</sup>

Round's frustration was understandable especially as Hall's follow-up response was, again, largely disingenuous, though he did, on this occasion, have an additional piece of ammunition: Round's description in *Feudal England* of Swereford 'confidently' stating that the levy was for a Welsh War. This reference by Round, Hall claimed, was an attempt to misrepresent Swereford: the manuscript, he said, read 'pro exercitu Walliae, ut videtur' (i.e. expressing, in 'ut videtur' ('as it seems'), only the *possibility* that the levy was for a Welsh war). He did, however, concede that Swereford's dating may have been problematic: 'It is quite another matter whether Swereford correctly stated that the "Great Scutage of Toulouse" is entered in the Pipe Rolls of the seventh and eight years of Henry II. This we can all perceive to be the real historical problem'.<sup>515</sup>

This concession aside, Hall's replies were shifting the debate (whether consciously or not) away from Swereford's accuracy and towards his personal integrity. Swereford, he said, was a man 'who lived wisely and honestly', in sharp distinction to Round and his 'ill-advised and petulant sarcasms'.<sup>516</sup> Hall's support for Swereford at this point had many of the qualities of a personal relationship, one which can be seen developing through the 1890s. In *Antiquities of the Exchequer* Swereford merits only a brief mention,<sup>517</sup> but the biography in the *RBE* Preface concluded that (at his death), 'the like of him was not left in England ... [a] patient scholar, large-hearted churchman and devoted servant of the Crown'.<sup>518</sup> Hall was certainly not prepared to make concessions over Swereford; and Round had no problems in personalizing the dispute in turn. While there was obviously an intellectual basis to his distrust for Swereford's conclusions (and thus for Hall's devotion to Swereford), Hall and Swereford between them made him deeply and personally angry. Contemporaries noted with some despair Round's ability to feel personal animosity

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<sup>514</sup> J. Round, 'The Great Scutage of Toulouse', *Athenaeum*, 19 Sept. 1896, p.387.

<sup>515</sup> H. Hall 'The Great Scutage of Toulouse', *Athenaeum*, 26 Sept. 1896, p.420.

<sup>516</sup> Hall, 'Great Scutage', *Athenaeum*, 19 Sept. 1896, p.420

<sup>517</sup> Hall, *Antiquities and Curiosities*, p.91.

<sup>518</sup> *RBE* Preface, pp.xxxv-xlix, and other occasional references *passim*; for Swereford's role in the compilation see Preface p.clxv (in vol. 2) and following (this section includes, p.clxxii and following, discussion of the Great Scutage of Toulouse, a discussion which refers to Round's *EHR* Knight Service articles).

towards a man who had been dead for more than 600 years.<sup>519</sup> The *Athenaeum* correspondence began to resemble the playing out of a bizarre ménage-à-trois – and it was one which was beginning to cause their mutual friends some concern. ‘I quite agree,’ Maitland privately told Round at the beginning of September 1896

that [Hall] has a weak spot in his love for Swereford – but I think that this is evident enough and will do no harm, certainly not to you nor I think to any one else; and as there are but few people in the world who are of such a right good sort as he is, I am hoping that you will be content with the status quo.<sup>520</sup>

There was little chance of this. In the final exchange (with the publication of the *RBE* still six months away), Round returned to his claim that Hall was still evading the question as to ‘whether he maintains, with Swereford, that the money (in 1159) was raised for Wales or not’. In Madox’s *Exchequer*, said Round, ‘the statement [that the money was raised for Wales] is there made “confidently” [by Swereford], without any such words as “ut videtur”’. To this, Hall (who was allowed the last word by the Editor) responded, ‘The reference to Swereford’s MS. in which the words “ut videtur” occur is, of course, to the original, with which Mr. Round is perfectly familiar, and not to any fragment that may have been printed by Madox’.<sup>521</sup>

#### *Spring–Summer 1897: ‘pro bono publico’*

The *Athenaeum* correspondence had certainly contributed to that ‘mass of literature of a controversial character [which had] served to increase the excitement with which historical students awaited the publication of a national record’.<sup>522</sup> Though they carry the date 1896, the three volumes of the *Red Book of the Exchequer* were finally published only on 9 March 1897.<sup>523</sup> The three-volume edition stretched to 1400 pages, 300 of which comprised the index. The literary press applauded the size, at least, of the undertaking:

The learned editor has towed safe into port at last a mighty derelict freighted with historical, antiquarian and topographical riches, and for the great work

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<sup>519</sup> T. Tout, ‘The Red Book of the Exchequer. Edited by Hubert Hall’ [review], *EHR* 13, (Jan 1898), p.49.

<sup>520</sup> Fifoot, *Letters of Frederic William Maitland*, p.151.

<sup>521</sup> J. Round, ‘The Great Scutage of Toulouse’, *Athenaeum*, 3 Oct. 1896, p.451; The ‘Quarterly’ Reviewer [i.e. Hall], *Athenaeum*, 3 Oct. 1896, p.451.

<sup>522</sup> ‘The Red Book of the Exchequer’, [review] *Athenaeum*, 23 Oct. 1897, p.556.

<sup>523</sup> ‘Publication To-day’, *The Times*, 9 Mar. 1897, p. 11. In *Reply to Mr J. H. Round*, p.8, Hall wrote ‘The *Red Book* was published in April 1897’.

of salvage we owe him heartiest thanks. The death of Mr. Walford Selby, the collapse of Mr. Round's health, and his retirement after a brief period of association in the production of the present edition seemed to show that a grievous fatality attended the 'Red Book'; but the fates have been defied, and the long-desired text is now in the hands of students.<sup>524</sup>

Hall must have felt overwhelming relief that the edition was finally available; but any hope of a period of post-publication calm was shattered by personal, as well as professional, events. His father died in Stiffkey at the end of March – and publication signalled a renewal of Round's onslaught, beginning in the May (and first-ever) issue of the *Genealogical Magazine*. The attack was loosely disguised as an account of the deathbed surrender of the Isle of Wight by Isabel, 'Lady of the Isle of Wight', to the crown, an action subsequently disputed by her family. Unhappily for Hall 600 years later, copies of documents relating to this case had been entered into the Red Book. 'It is claimed by Mr. Hall', began Round (bringing the attacks down to a new level),

that in the "Liber Rubeus" we are supplied with "the materials for more than one official scandal". In this, though scarcely in the sense he means, I may unreservedly agree with him.<sup>525</sup>

Round first attacked Hall's inability to distinguish between family members involved (it was, after all, a genealogy magazine), but quickly moved on to errors in the sequence of events, the nature of the transactions, and to inaccurate comments about possible forgery. These, claimed Round, were mistakes made by Hall's relying on previous editions rather than going back to the enrolments themselves. Hall, in effect, was being accused of scholarly cheating – and, in addition, of disgracing his office:

Is it not, indeed, an "official scandal" when we find an officer of the Public Record Office editing, for an official series, a famous official volume, and making statements on the strength of rolls in the custody of that office, which statements are not to be found in them, and which rolls, therefore, he cannot even have looked at?<sup>526</sup>

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<sup>524</sup> 'The Red Book of the Exchequer' [review] *Athenaeum*, p.556.

<sup>525</sup> J. Round, 'The Surrender of the Isle of Wight', *Genealogical Magazine. A Journal of Family History, Heraldry & Pedigrees* 1, no. 1 (May 1897), p.4.

<sup>526</sup> Round, 'Surrender of the Isle of Wight', p.5.

Even Round felt that Lyte ought to have an explanation of this very public criticism of one of his staff; there were, he said, both public and private grounds for complaint. The former centred on the credibility of official publications:

I do not, so far as I am personally acquainted with it, know any work in that [Rolls] series so actively and gravely misleading as “the Red Book of the Exchequer” ... it is absolutely necessary that its heresies should be exposed as soon as possible by an expert. Otherwise, its official status would seriously mislead the public.

The private grounds are not dissimilar: Hall had been unable to provide evidence in support of his claims about Swereford’s credibility and further, when asked to answer questions specifically,

[he] took refuge in personal charges, thus showing (as indeed can be demonstrated from his Preface) that he had not a leg to stand on.

Of course he must take the consequence of this [? curious] and wrongheaded conduct.

It has been a great nuisance for me, this year when I have been so overworked, to have to waste my time on all this, but it has to be done pro bono publico and in self defence.<sup>527</sup>

Hall was furious: ‘I am advised on high legal authority that Mr Round’s article is grossly libellous’, he wrote to the Deputy Keeper on 10 May,

you are well aware yourself of the malice which has prompted [Round’s] attack and of the innocent provocation given by me in the Quarterly Review’ ... I think that I have a right to protest against Mr Round’s conduct in personally denouncing me to yourself as a “scandalous” official.<sup>528</sup>

The general – or at least literary – public was less interested in the *pro bono* than in the prospect of gladiatorial combat: ‘It seems to us that there are present the materials for a

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<sup>527</sup> PRO 1/158/270 Round to Lyte, 1 May 1897.

<sup>528</sup> Hall to Lyte, 10 May 1897, PRO 37/35.

most promising literary duel, to which personal differences may possibly add a zest',<sup>529</sup> reported the *Saturday Review*, gleefully anticipating a response in the second issue of the *Genealogical Magazine*.

The response proved to be a typical Hall rejoinder. He acknowledged his use of existing printed editions, though in mitigation (of sorts) pointed out that he used 'the official copy of Dugdale'<sup>530</sup> (i.e. the copy used within the PRO) whose 'ancient' marginalia had led him to reach certain conclusions. What seems to have hurt Hall most was the charge of not consulting the original documents: he had, in fact, 'consulted nearly one thousand original records'.<sup>531</sup> Clearly determined to prove Round wrong in some way, he concluded by identifying a number of *his* mistakes – though as one of these picks up on Round's referring to a number of witnesses 'whereas, in fact, only one witness makes this statement in express terms', it is apparent that straws were being grasped. Shifting the terms of the dispute again, Hall pointed out that as a co-editor Round had been expected to contribute his genealogical expertise to the edition; as he had withdrawn, it was hardly surprising that mistakes had been made, indeed mistakes 'the like of which could be pointed out by scores in the works of more accurate antiquaries than myself'. Hall concludes with a *cri-de-coeur*: Round had once been his friend, his one-time co-editor, and in his 'closest confidence' – and he had also had access to the proof sheets 'during the entire progress of this work'. Whether, concluded Hall, Round was 'qualified to play the part of a champion of "the public interests" and to denounce me as a "scandalous" public official, is a question which I leave to the judgment of my brother antiquaries'.<sup>532</sup>

In the manner of small boys petitioning a headmaster, Round wrote once again to Lyte:

Mr Hall has not rebutted a single one of the charges of error that I brought against him in my paper.

No one can realise better than yourself how serious those charges were, relating as they did to only a very small portion of the Preface.

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<sup>529</sup> *Saturday Review*, 29 May 1897, p.618, 'If the *Genealogical Magazine* lives up to its first number we have little hesitation in predicting its success ... Mr. Horace Round writes in his usual style a caustic article under the heading "The surrender of the Isle of Wight".'

<sup>530</sup> Presumably William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (London, 1675–1676).

<sup>531</sup> H. Hall, 'Mr Hall's reply to Mr Horace Round: the Surrender of the Isle of Wight', *Genealogical Magazine*, 1, no.2 (June 1897), p.113.

<sup>532</sup> Hall, 'Mr Hall's Reply to Mr Horace Round', pp.112–114.

I cannot wonder the Mr. Hall is furious at having been “found out” in working from Dugdale while “professing” to work from the rolls themselves.<sup>533</sup>

Round’s public response came in *The Genealogist*.<sup>534</sup> This was particularly vicious; and Hall was naturally upset to learn that Round had been distributing it ‘with his own hands’ to both staff and members of the public within the Office.<sup>535</sup> Ostensibly a review of how the *RBE* could further genealogical research, it successively condemned Hall’s use of terminology (‘charters’ and ‘certificates’ rather than ‘returns’); of the quality of his diplomatic analysis; of a lack of awareness (and ‘absolute ignorance’ of ‘the facts of the case’); of ‘that confusion of thought [over dates] which is the characteristic of [his] work’; and of ‘wildly contradictory statements’. All in all, concluded Round ‘the argument is altogether wrong and proves only that [Hall] has yet much to learn in dealing with manuscripts’.<sup>536</sup>

A specific line of attack was the contents of the Index, which was hugely complicated by the number of variants both of personal and place names. Round provided a detailed dissection of its mistakes in attribution, transcription and cross-referencing (or failure to cross-reference); and condemned the inclusion of terms ‘which had no existence save in Mr. Hall’s imagination ... they were shots, pure and simple.’<sup>537</sup> There were discrepancies between the edited text and the index entries derived from it. It was Round’s criticism of the Index which prompted Hall’s realization (as he was later to say publicly) of Round’s betrayal:

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<sup>533</sup> Round to Lyte, n.d.[ between 11 May and 27 June 1897], PRO 1/158/278.

<sup>534</sup> Round, ‘Red Book of the Exchequer’, *The Genealogist*, pp.1–9. The exact chronology of the appearance of this series of articles (in contradistinction to their issue dates – *The Genealogist* as a quarterly was dated Oct.–Dec. 1897) has been difficult to establish. A detailed comparison with unpublished correspondence and of the substance of the published articles was necessary to establish the chronology used here.

<sup>535</sup> Hall to Lyte, 12 Oct. 1897, PRO 37/35.

<sup>536</sup> Round, ‘Red Book of the Exchequer’, *The Genealogist*, pp.2, 3 and 4. In the case of the dating of the *Cartae*, Moore, ‘Redating the *Cartae Baronum*’, p.2, has noted that Hall gave different dating in the Preface and in the text itself. Of the positive attribution in the text of ‘AD1166’ he remarks, ‘the [previously] interpolated date has suddenly and silently become an accepted truth, an extraordinary breach of normal editorial procedure’.

<sup>537</sup> Round, ‘Red Book of the Exchequer’, *The Genealogist*, p.9.

When I saw the [*Genealogist* article] the whole truth flashed upon me. For years past, whilst he was using my unpublished sheets, Mr. Round had taken note of my mistakes, all of which he did not think fit to communicate to me.<sup>538</sup>

In his private letter to Lyte, Hall went further, accusing Round not just of misusing the proof copies not just as sources of information for his knight service articles, but also to display his own superiority:

I have long suspected that when Mr Round was engaged, at first officially and afterwards through his former official connexion, in the revision of the sheets of the text, that he did not communicate to me the most important corrections required as he was in honour and in honest[y] (for he was paid for some of his work) bound, but that he kept a private list of the choicest errors for future use – to his own glorification.<sup>539</sup>

In other words, Round, although he had access to all the proofs, had chosen not to comment on errors, in a *deliberate* attempt to discredit Hall. This claim is difficult to substantiate on the basis of the evidence available. As noted above, it is certainly the case that Round saw (in Cairo) probably the entire page proofs for volume 1 (and including at least some of the Preface which is divided between the three volumes); it is also the case that Round offered Hall help with the index (though the extent of such help is not entirely clear). According to Hall,

when Mr Round asked me personally for work on the Index, I promised it as soon as I had broken the back of it myself. This was not done until the spring of 1896; but Mr Round was then disinclined to make any arrangement. He, however, most kindly, as I thought, begged me to let him revise the Index slips.<sup>540</sup>

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<sup>538</sup> Hall, *Reply to Mr. J.H. Round*, p.5. In a letter to Lyte (7 July 1891, PRO 1/158/688) Round claimed, *re* the knight service articles, 'I have of course, in no way interfered with the interest of Mr. Hall's edition, and hope, moreover, that my researches may be of service to him for his work.'

<sup>539</sup> Hall to Lyte, 10 May 1897, PRO 37/35.

<sup>540</sup> Hall to Lyte, dated 12 Oct. 1897 [but sent on 3 Feb. 1898], PRO 37/35.

Again according to Hall, 'Proofs of the Index were in Mr. Round's possession until April 1896'.<sup>541</sup> Hall later produced evidence for this statement – and published it privately in 1898. It comprised a copy of a covering letter, dated 20 December 1895, which Hall had sent to Round enclosing '[the] text of 'Liber rubeus' and first instalment of Index. Would you,' it asked

cast your falcon's eye over the Index slips to detect, not the 'Liber Rubeus' scribe's mis-scripts, but Hubert Hall's blunders? . . . If you would not mind using pencil for observations it would save preparing another proof.<sup>542</sup>

While the style is certainly Hall's, the letter itself does not survive in Round's own collection of Hall's letters.<sup>543</sup> The second item Hall produced as evidence is a more plausible (though still rather bizarre) 'Facsimile of an envelope addressed to Mr. ROUND, bearing the postmark 17 February, 1896, found in a book which Mr ROUND is known to have been using at that date.'<sup>544</sup> Complete with its postmark (and certainly written in Round's hand and with his typical use of exclamation marks) the envelope bears a series of notes, beginning

!!D.B.II. 151

Modo hoc totum

Tenet Wide Angevin'

!! Torp, Widone, Andagane

The Torp/Widone/Andagane confusion was a 'crowning instance' of Round's catalogue (in *The Genealogist*) of Hall's errors<sup>545</sup> and thus also, for Hall, of Round's perfidious behaviour.<sup>546</sup> If Hall's interpretation of the envelope was correct, then Round *does* seem to have identified errors; but it is difficult to say definitively that he was then guilty of not relaying those instances to Hall. In addition, it would surely, in any case, have been difficult for Round to correct index proofs in an informed manner without continuing

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<sup>541</sup> Hall, *Reply*, p.8.

<sup>542</sup> Hall, *Reply*, p.7.

<sup>543</sup> It is also the only suggestion that Hall routinely kept copies of his own 'out-letters', although several copies of his draft documents and letters (to Lyte) do survive in PRO44.

<sup>544</sup> Hall, *Reply*, p.8.

<sup>545</sup> Round, 'Red Book of the Exchequer', *The Genealogist*, pp.8-9.

<sup>546</sup> Hall, *Reply*, p.8.

access to the page proofs, presumably those which he had already returned from Cairo, and possibly from elsewhere.<sup>547</sup>

*Scholarly Reaction and the Start of the Pamphlet War: Summer 1897–1899*

Meanwhile the publication of the edition had resulted in some welcome support for Hall, reviews which were far less critical, at least in tone if not, ultimately, in substance. In the *AHR* Charles Gross ‘heartily welcomed’ the edition,<sup>548</sup> though noticeably reserving his main praise for Hall’s even undertaking the work: ‘The careful editing of such a collection of records requires an enormous amount of painstaking labor, which few persons are equipped to perform or have the courage to undertake’ (and the final paragraphs did display some unease about Hall’s views on scutage). The *Athenaeum* picked up on many shortcomings but significantly was just as critical of Round’s attacks and, indeed, went out of its way to praise the index: its construction ‘executed on the latest principles of records indexing, is [considered] worthy of the highest praise ... The page references have answered faithfully to every test.’<sup>549</sup>

The *EHR* review would have been particularly eagerly anticipated by that ‘little group of scholars who seriously concern[ed] themselves with the original sources of our medieval history’.<sup>550</sup> In an echo of the *Athenaeum* review, Tout chose his words judiciously:

It is impossible to speak too highly of the enormous pains taken by Mr. Hall in bringing before the public this great quantity of new material in a careful and scholarly form [however, the prefaces and index] are not quite so perfect as we might have expected from a man of Mr. Hall’s knowledge and scholarship.<sup>551</sup>

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<sup>547</sup> The history of this envelope is mysterious. Hall claimed to Lyte that, ‘It was in one of the volumes of text returned by Mr. Round on May 28th [1896] or thereabouts with the draft of my letter to him of 20 Dec. ... I did not however find them for some months afterwards’. On 12 October 1897 he prepared a letter to Lyte (PRO 37/35) but did not send it until 3 Feb. 1898 because he had mislaid the envelope in the meantime, ‘and of course I could not bring any charges of this sort without documentary evidence. At last the envelope has been found, and therefore I forward the letter with increased reluctance to revive an odious business.’

<sup>548</sup> C. Gross, ‘The Red Book of the Exchequer’ [review], *AHR* 2 (July 1897), p.715.

<sup>549</sup> ‘The Red Book of the Exchequer’ [review], *Athenaeum*, 23 Oct. 1897, p.557.

<sup>550</sup> T. Tout, ‘Review [The Red Book of the Exchequer]’, *EHR* 13 (Jan.1898), p.146.

<sup>551</sup> Tout, ‘Review’, p.147.

Tout tried to be equally even-handed when considering the merits of Great Scutage of Toulouse exchange: Round had been wrong to make his points ‘with needless acerbity’ but at the same time Hall’s replies ‘were couched in an unnecessarily exalted spirit [and] ... we cannot think that he has in all respects fully answered Mr. Round.’ Tout highlighted too, as curiously few of Hall’s reviewers did, ‘the somewhat obscure and stilted style in which much of the preface [was] written’.<sup>552</sup>

As these first reviews had failed to endorse fully his own opinions, Round made an extreme sortie. His *Studies on the Red Book of the Exchequer*, a 91-page attack on Hall, was the first in the series of privately-printed pamphlets for which the dispute is perhaps best known. Both the tone and purpose of *Studies* (120 copies were printed) can be deduced from the quotation (by Pollock) on the title page: ‘Not the least of Mr. Round’s merits is that the next generation will never want to know how much rubbish he has swept or helped to sweep away’.<sup>553</sup> While the whole pamphlet was a sustained attack on Hall’s scholarship, its criticism extended to the entire historical profession:

It has now been definitely shown that it is possible, in England at any rate, to publish a work of historical importance, for permanent and universal reference, so replete with heresy and error as to lead astray for ever all students of its subject, and yet to run the gauntlet of reviewers, not only virtually unscathed, but even with praise and commendation.<sup>554</sup>

Tout, as the *EHR* reviewer, came in for particular contempt: ‘we know what estimate to form of Mr. Tout’s critical power’, sneered Round.<sup>555</sup> He also extended a warning to those institutions with which Hall was closely associated – Cambridge University, the LSE, the RHS and the PRO – and thus whose interest in, and reputation for the teaching of palaeography and diplomatic would be tainted by the association.<sup>556</sup>

The *RBE* was, claimed Round, ‘probably the most misleading publication in the whole range of the Rolls series’ and displayed ‘serious and misleading errors and [a] wanton introduction of confused and wild guesswork’. Three chapters dealt with the ‘Antiquity of Scutage’, the edition itself, and inevitably, Swereford. Round’s stated aim was ‘destructive

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<sup>552</sup> Tout, ‘Review’, p.149.

<sup>553</sup> J. Round, *Studies on the Red Book of the Exchequer* (London, [Summer 1898]), title page. Pollock’s comment is quoted from a very positive review of *Feudal England*, in *EHR* 10 (Oct. 1895), p.783.

<sup>554</sup> Round, *Studies on the RBE*, p.vi.

<sup>555</sup> Round, *Studies on the RBE*, p.57.

<sup>556</sup> Round, *Studies on the RBE*, pp.viii and 18.

criticism' though he also intended *Studies* as a research work in its own right.<sup>557</sup> Had the research element predominated, *Studies* might have been better received – Round's scholarship was, after all, admired. But the invective directed at Hall, coupled with its attacks on the historical community more generally, made his challenge counterproductive. Though one has to marvel at Round's ability for sustained vitriolic abuse, the overall effect is numbing: as an *AHR* reviewer put it: 'his petty personalities are a vexation and a weariness to the flesh'.<sup>558</sup>

While Hall pondered his next step in the pamphlet war, a minor skirmish took place in consecutive issues of the *Athenaeum*, over the etymology, custody and poorly-edited 1807 Record Commission edition of the 'Testa de Nevill' (the name commonly given to the Liber Feodorum or 'Book of Fees' which comprised information compiled in 1302 – from Exchequer records dating back to the late twelfth century – about those fiefs held directly from the crown). The Testa de Nevill was also included in the *RBE* (and would be re-edited by Lyte in 1920). After Hall's initial article, on 10 September 1898, the *Athenaeum* published both Round's rejoinder and Hall's further response together a fortnight later.<sup>559</sup> That 24 September response was a typical one: Hall appeared to misunderstand the charges (or answered a slightly different one), or implied (whether consciously or not) that Round had misunderstood his analysis: 'R. is mistaken in his inference ... R., I fear, has misquoted – or at least misunderstood – my words'.<sup>560</sup> The Editor having declined at this point to receive any more correspondence on the subject, Round wrote instead and immediately to Lyte ('I am most anxious not to bother you on your holiday but ...'), enclosing a heavily-annotated copy of Hall's response and a point-by-point refutation of Hall's defence.<sup>561</sup>

Hall's substantive response to Round's *Studies* was his privately-printed *A Reply to Mr Round* (in 50 copies). It was a *cri de coeur* about a betrayal both personal and professional, by 'one who is, so to speak, *de familia nostra*, a colleague, a collaborator, and intimate friend; one who has shared our early toil ... but who, for a personal offence, a fancied

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<sup>557</sup> *Studies on the RBE*, pp. vi-vii and 18–19.

<sup>558</sup> 'Minor notices', *AHR* 4 (Jan. 1899), p.387.

<sup>559</sup> H. Hall, 'Testa de Nevill', *Athenaeum*, 10 Sept. 1898, pp.353–54; 'Testa de Nevill', *Athenaeum*, 24 Sept. 1898, pp.420–21.

<sup>560</sup> 'Testa de Nevill', *Athenaeum*, 24 Sept. 1898, p.421.

<sup>561</sup> Round to Lyte, 25 Sept 1898, PRO 1/158/356. Thus, for example Hall claimed to have 'identified the Testa de Nevill 'with "les liveres des Fees ... qui sont al Eschiquier"; Round wrote to Lyte 'this is simply and absolutely untrue'. Round was correct: neither in the Preface, nor in the Index, directly or indirectly, are these "liveres des Fees" identified at all with the Testa de Nevill.

injury, turns and rends us with the very weapons which we have ourselves forged to his hand':

For a year past I have remained silent, whilst Mr Round has striven with all the perverted learning and all the distorted rhetoric at his command to darken and blight my official and literary life – to denounce me as an impostor, a fraud, one who has drawn payment for a work which he has shirked, one who has undertaken to teach others to their undoing, and whose reputation has been maintained by the connivance of too friendly reviewers.<sup>562</sup>

As already suggested (for example by the Torp/Widone/Andagane affair), the evidence presented was conflicting. Nor, on the substantive issues raised in the three chapters of *Studies*, did Hall (as ever) fully answer the 'charges' made by Round. Round, increasingly frustrated, continued his attacks, but the affair was having an unsettling effect on the tight-knit historical community. Its members were increasingly unable not to take sides – and most, on the basis of their friendship with him, were taking Hall's. An exception was the *EHR*'s joint-editor Reginald Poole (Poole only became sole editor only in 1901; his co-editor at this period was Samuel Rawson Gardiner). Poole, as was to be the case a couple of years later when the appointment for the Advanced Historical Teaching lectureship was being decided, was one of the few people not prepared to make allowances for Hall's being (as Maitland termed him) 'a right good sort'.<sup>563</sup> In September 1898 Maitland turned down Poole's request to review *Studies* for the *EHR* on the grounds that he could not be objective (and that in any case he did not have time to go through the *RBE* itself to test Round's claims): 'I fear that what I shall read [in *Studies*] will be all too true' he responded, 'and yet of the said H.H. I am fond.' Maitland also felt a little guilty because he too had been shown proofs of the scutages portions of the Red Book, and thought, in retrospect, that he might have helped identify errors pre-publication.<sup>564</sup>

Turned down by Maitland, Poole took it upon himself to review both *Studies* and Hall's *Reply* in the January 1898 issue of *EHR*. He explicitly declined to discuss the personal issues raised in order to concentrate on 'the simple question ... whether or not Mr. Hall has

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<sup>562</sup> Hall, *Reply to Mr. J. H. Round*, p.3.

<sup>563</sup> See Chapter 3. Poole was still complaining about Hall (to Tout) in 1915: 'Was there ever such a muddle-headed fellow?' The same letter talks about the RCPR being left 'at the mercy of their Secretary', (Poole to Tout, 9 Nov. 1915, TFT 1/953/87).

<sup>564</sup> Fifoot, *Letters of Frederic William Maitland*, pp.179–82.

produced a competent edition'. He made a couple of minor concessions to Hall, but came down firmly in the Roundian camp: 'I cannot believe, for instance, that any one can read Mr. Hall's remarks about scutage without being persuaded that he has no grasp of the subject, and is unconscious how often he contradicts himself'.<sup>565</sup> This review upset more than Hall; Tout resented Poole's claim that his *EHR* review had 'pronounced a favourable judgement to which it is not entitled'.<sup>566</sup> Hall wrote to Tout:

I am truly distressed that I have been the cause of this unpleasantness to you in respect of my poor book. Of course Poole[']s notice is a purely partisan view. He resented my exposure of the E.H.R. "Knight service" articles of which he was very proud. Such wholesale abuse speaks for itself. At least you have [erred] with Bémont, Gross, & others ... I am answering Poole in an "open letter" [to] Gardiner.<sup>567</sup>

In fact both Round and Hall responded to the review immediately – and simultaneously – in privately-printed pamphlets: Hall as promised in the open letter, and Round in a document curiously written throughout in the third person, 'Mr Round begs the favour of a perusal of the following statement of facts.' At least in Hall's case this was to be the last word on the subject.<sup>568</sup>

*'I have taken my leave of the Middle Ages'*<sup>569</sup>

Addressed directly to Samuel Gardiner, 'the most kind-hearted of men', Hall's letter to Poole's *EHR* co-editor opened with a reference to the 'wanton injury and the grave injustice inflicted' on him by Poole's review. As well, claimed Hall, he had never meant A

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<sup>565</sup> R. Poole, 'Studies on the Red Book of the Exchequer'/'The Red Book of the Exchequer' [review], *EHR* 14 (Jan. 1899), pp.148–49.

<sup>566</sup> Poole to Tout, 23 Jan. 1898, Tout Papers 1/953/39: 'If you like I will put an erratum in our next number: 'The sentence ... referring to Professor Tout's favourable judgment of Mr Hall's edition should be cancelled, since Professor Tout informs us that his judgment was not favourable'.

<sup>567</sup> Hall to Tout, 21 Jan. 1899 TFT1/466/13: 'All Poole's instances of error are wrong as you can easily see yourself, e.g. he has omitted p.731 in the first case cited & has misunderstood the rest.' The reference to Gross is presumably to the *AHR* review; I have not traced a review by Bémont.

<sup>568</sup> H. Hall, [*A Letter Addressed to S. R. Gardiner, Editor of the "English Historical Review," Defending the Author's Edition of the Red Book, Against Criticisms by R. L. Poole in the Review*], London [privately printed], 1 Feb. 1899.

<sup>569</sup> Hall, *Letter to Gardiner*, p.14.

*Reply to Mr Round* to become public; he had withdrawn from Poole any implied consent for its use, yet Poole had persisted in using it. As to Poole's conclusion – that *A Reply* had not directly met Round's criticisms – Hall (with his usual disingenuity) claimed that it was not intended to offer a defence against Round's criticisms; it was, rather, 'a protest'. Thus, although entitled *A Reply* it was not, actually, a reply.

Hall was particularly wounded by Poole's criticism of him as part of the historical establishment, claiming that by using the private pamphlets, Poole had publicized Round's 'direct incitement to [Hall's] employers to dismiss [him] from their service as an incompetent official, lecturer and literary director'.<sup>570</sup> The Open Letter is much less concerned with Round ('one of the most learned and accurate of historical scholars')<sup>571</sup> than with Poole and his 'destructive criticism'; its closing page is a further *cri-de-coeur*:

Surely it must be evident that, although in a work of this magnitude there must be many faults, yet it is almost incredible that there should be no virtues. The meanest kind of critic knows, as a tradition, that he cannot expect to have all bad or all good, except under almost impossible conditions; and yet Mr. Round and Mr. Poole can find no single redeeming feature in all the 1,800 pages of my work, the greater part of which, to be sure, they do not discuss at all, and possibly have not read. Does not the intelligence of every fair-minded scholar revolt from such an impossible conception?<sup>572</sup>

Poole and other critics should have looked, he suggests, at the substantive contributions to scholarship: the table of contents, the account of the 'Establishment of the Exchequer', the biographical accounts of Adam de Stratton and Swereford, the analysis of the manuscript variants and so on: 'any one of these would have made an ordinary edition noticeable ... if I have failed, there is enough matter in the wreckage of my edition to furnish forth a dozen perfunctory editions.' Most poignantly for a man who had spent 20 years researching the medieval exchequer, he signed off: 'It is better that this should end, and I have taken my leave of the Middle Ages.' This recognition of his weaknesses by Hall, and his willingness to accept them and move on, were not qualities shared by his adversary.

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<sup>570</sup> Hall, *Letter to Gardiner*, pp.1-3.

<sup>571</sup> Hall, *Letter to Gardiner*, p.13.

<sup>572</sup> Hall, *Letter to Gardiner*, p.14.

### *Aftermath*

As with a later judgement on the English Civil War, Round had been shown to be (mostly) right but repulsive (even his recent biographer acknowledges that '[p]ersonal malice was undoubtedly one of Round's motives in the Red Book affair')<sup>573</sup> and Hall as (mostly) wrong but romantic.<sup>574</sup> The consequences of the affair for both men were significant, though very different, and in both cases suggestive of their professional and personal dispositions. Hall's optimistic disposition, coupled with the support of his friends (and possibly the advantages of being perceived a victim), meant that he was able successfully to 'reinvent' himself. This was probably not conscious, but after 1899 he published no more critical editions on his own account and very little 'history', concentrating instead on aspects of the study and exploitation of records (such as diplomatic analysis, or the use of records for economic history), on the management of records and archives within the repository, and on the development and improvement of national archival systems. When the *Dialogus de Scaccario* and *Constitutio Domus Regis* were finally edited in 1902, it was by Charles Johnson, Arthur Hughes and Charles Crump and not by Hall, to whom, as they acknowledged, the editing had originally been entrusted by the OUP.<sup>575</sup>

Though Round naturally saw in the choice of these editors a vindication of his own view of Hall,<sup>576</sup> their perspective was different and they understandably had little sympathy for Round himself. On two separate occasions he complained to the Deputy Keeper that although he had handed over a copy of 'his treatise' (presumably *Studies*) for the PRO Library, it had been 'boycotted and [did] not appear in the Catalogue'.<sup>577</sup> For Round, Hall been just one among many opponents, but Hall's willingness to fight back, allied with his self-belief and the support of his colleagues, albeit as friends rather than scholars, resulted in behaviour and criticism extreme even by Round's standards. In fact, the

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<sup>573</sup> Powell, *Round*, pp.137–38. Powell adds that Hall's friendships with the Webbs at LSE 'would have been an additional irritant to the arch-Conservative Round'.

<sup>574</sup> W. Sellar and R. Yeatman, *1066 and All That* (London, 1966).

<sup>575</sup> Johnson, ed. and trans., *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p.xiii. Correspondence between Hall and the OUP in 1894 (OUP Archives LB1624) suggests that Hall's proposal to edit the *Dialogus* was favourably received but that the project was never actively pursued. E-mail, OUP Archives to Margaret Procter, 14 June 2011.

<sup>576</sup> Round to Lyte, 10 Nov. 1902, PRO 1/158/452: 'The admirable edition of the *Dialogus* by three of your officers recently issued adopts I observe, to the full, if it does not exceed, my own critical attitude towards the statements in these early treatises when opposed to available evidence which was the original source of the whole trouble about the Red Book.'

<sup>577</sup> Round to Lyte, 10 Nov. 1902, TNA PRO 1/158/452; and a similar sentiment, 16 Nov. 1902, at PRO 1/158/454.

episode marked a shift in the research interests and activities of both men. In Round's case (Hall is discussed in the next Chapter) *The Commune of London* published in 1899 was to be his last major historical work (and the one which led to the break-up of his friendship with Maitland, who expressed the view that it contained 'too much controversy and too little history');<sup>578</sup> from the early 1900s his work centred on genealogy and the peerage. That said, old habits died hard – in fact did not die at all. As with his continuing *post mortem* attacks on Freeman, Round continued, terrier-like, to worry away at his adversary. For the rest of his life he launched intermittent attacks on the *RBE* and its editor; he became well known for forcing remaining copies of his pamphlets onto colleagues and correspondents,<sup>579</sup> in 1914 sending the long-suffering Tout not one but three copies of *Studies*:

I hope you will read it, as it is short, though there are few things drearier than the ashes of controversy. Oddly enough, Maxwell Lyte told me the other day that his recent work on the Testa had given him an even worse opinion of Swereford than I had.<sup>580</sup>

Lyte, who continued to give Round editorial work (but who also found him rather difficult), received regular critiques of the *RBE* and its editor: 'it is to me', wrote Round, 'a satisfaction to know that my expert criticism has at least saved our other kindred records – such as the "Testa de Nevill" – from the same unfortunate treatment'.<sup>581</sup> Lyte was finally obliged to respond to Round's constant demands for 'redress'. Though hardly providing a ringing endorsement of the edition (and making the point that it was not typical of the Rolls series), he did at least seek to put a stop to Round's incessant carping about one of his officers.

Without entering into any discussion as to the merits or demerits of Mr Hall's edition of the Red Book, I wish to make one point clear. When you remark that this Office seems "unable to meet" your criticisms upon the work, you seem to misapprehend the conditions on which it was under-taken. The grounds for the

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<sup>578</sup> King, 'Round', *ODNB*. For an account of the break see Elton, *F. W. Maitland*, pp.37–38.

<sup>579</sup> King, 'Round', *ODNB*.

<sup>580</sup> Round to Tout, 16 May 1914, TFT 1/1040/13. Tout may have felt obliged to request a copy: Round's preceding letter, 6 May 1914 (Tout 1/1040/11) contained the postscript, 'I have plenty of my Studies on the Red Book of the Exchequer (not published) if any should be wanted'.

<sup>581</sup> Round to Lyte, 18 Jan. 1899, PRO 1/158.

original appointment of Mr Hall as editor are admirably stated on page 18 of your “Studies on the Red Book” but with that appointment the responsibility of this Office ceased. ... The work was not done by Mr Hall as part of his official duties; the length of the Introduction and the form of the Index alike show that it was done upon independent lines.

Considering the numerous criticisms that have appeared on it, no student of the present generation is likely to accept it as an infallible authority.<sup>582</sup>

Even this was not enough to deter Round, who quickly replied reiterating the importance of the PRO maintaining standards.<sup>583</sup> As late as 1915 he continued to repeat his mantra that the official authority of the *RBE* was compromised;<sup>584</sup> and in a final letter on the subject in 1921 (he was by now a chronic invalid in his sixties) he recounted how the British Museum had discounted a forgery claim made by Hall.<sup>585</sup> In print, while ‘The Early Sheriffs of Norfolk’ (1920) merely criticized the *RBE*’s lack of cross-referencing,<sup>586</sup> ‘The Dating of the Early Pipe Rolls’ a year later raked up Poole’s *EHR* review to criticize Hall’s dating of the pipe rolls;<sup>587</sup> in 1922 he was in a particularly sarcastic frame of mind about Hall’s ‘vague speculations’, in particular those about one Walter de Sparkeforde: ‘I have spent much time and trouble in hunting for the said Walter, but neither in the index nor the text can I find him. Can he be among the offspring of the editor’s fertile brain?’<sup>588</sup>

The whole enterprise of the *RBE* was dogged by unfortunate circumstances, any one of which would have resulted in a less than perfect edition. The death of Selby, the ill-health of Round, the financial arrangements made with the printers, the speed of production (both too fast to begin with, and too slow thereafter), the transcriptions made from poor

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<sup>582</sup> Lyte to Round, 13 Nov. 1902, PRO 37/16B. The Index, although praised elsewhere for its construction along ‘scientific lines’, had not followed the required construction of the Rolls series; Hall had been reprimanded for this in 1896, Hall to Lyte, 27 Mar. 1896, PRO 35/37.

<sup>583</sup> Round to Lyte, 16 Nov. 1902, PRO 1/158/454.

<sup>584</sup> Round to Lyte, 13 Jan. 1915–5 June 1915, PRO 1/158/51, 55, 74.

<sup>585</sup> Round to Lyte, 18 Jan. 1921, PRO 1/158/126.

<sup>586</sup> ‘The Early Sheriffs of Norfolk’, *EHR* 35 (Oct. 1920), p.485. See also L. Larson. ‘The King’s Serjeants and Officers of State with their Coronation Services’ (by J. Round) [review], *Political Science Quarterly* 27 (1912), pp.140-142: ‘Mr. Round has found it necessary to correct the views and statements of nearly all the earlier writers who have discussed his theme’; these include Hall.

<sup>587</sup> ‘The Dating of the Early Pipe Rolls’, *EHR* 36 (July 1921), pp.321–33.

<sup>588</sup> J. Round, ‘Calendar of Inquisitions. Vol. 10, Edward III’ [review]. *EHR* 37 (1922), pp.273–75. And just in case anyone has missed the point, n. 2 invites the reader ‘to test [these] statements in the Red Book’s text’. Powell, *Round*, lists the same, and more examples, pp.139, 183–84.

copies and unreliable editions, Lyte's lack of enthusiasm for project (as the last of the Rolls Series) – all these factors, combined with Hall's less than perfect scholarship, led to inevitable critical disaster. Round, despite his obsessions, was not wrong in his assessment of Hall's intellectual, or at least methodological, weaknesses as a medieval scholar:

It is very difficult to understand the workings of such a mind as Hall's. I think the true explanation of its strange performances, which I have only exposed very partially, is that he suffers from incurable inaccuracy, which prevents his seeing what is on the page before him, and also from an appalling confusion of thought, which makes him, as men have said to me, incapable of understanding even his own meaning.<sup>589</sup>

Hall knew what *should* be done – but his confusion about the best way to approach a problem was all too often apparent on the printed page. At the same time he was not unaware of the problems, nor of their consequences: 'for seven years I gave up for [the RBE] all that makes life joyous, knowing that it must be a failure in the end, and that I must pay the penalty'.<sup>590</sup> Where Hall differed from Round was in his ability to put the affair behind him; Round remained prey to his brooding obsessions, with the result that it is as an example of a particular type of obsessional historian, rather than as a historian *per se*, that he is best remembered today.

Though, as this Chapter has demonstrated, the episode was highly traumatic for Hall, he at least moved on in the first decade of the twentieth century to concentrate on his teaching, his promotion of his students' and colleagues' work, and the improvement of British archives and archival management. Chapter 5 returns to the chronological narrative of his career, examining his influence in these areas.

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<sup>589</sup> Round to Tout, 16 May 1914, TFT 1/1040/13.

<sup>590</sup> Hall, *A Reply*, p.18.

## CHAPTER 5

### A WORKING LIFE: THE PROMOTION OF HISTORICAL ENTERPRISE

*my rather adventurous career as an archivist . . .* <sup>591</sup>

#### *Working at the PRO*

Hall's working relationship with Lyte during the 1890s had been problematic; his apparent plotting with Cartwright over the early *RBE* proofs and the tone of his correspondence about this with Round<sup>592</sup> suggest that the post-appointment honeymoon period enjoyed by the still relatively new Deputy Keeper was over. Hall had not been entirely candid about the production of a three-volume edition and Lyte had shown less than enthusiastic support for him during Round's subsequent attacks. While still demonstrating an admirable loyalty to Hall as member of his staff (and maintaining a tight rein on Round's wilder flights of fantasy), Lyte must nonetheless have been all too aware that Hall was unlikely to restrict his activities to the Government Searchroom. Though he endorsed Hall as a candidate for the proposed Keepership of the Land Revenue Record Office in 1896, telling the Treasury that he 'would be very sorry to lose Hall',<sup>593</sup> it is impossible to know whether either man would, in fact, have welcomed such a move. Hall's enthusiasm for facilitating research and helping researchers was well known and helped to enhance, rather than otherwise, the PRO's reputation. Given this expertise (and his seniority), an appointment as an Inspecting Officer in 1905 was unsurprising; and it was a role which would provide him with further qualification for his later appointment as Secretary to the Royal Commission on Public Records (RCPR).

Even without the Inspecting Officer role, he was at the centre of the historical establishment: a position at the LSE, Director of Studies to postgraduate researchers, the

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<sup>591</sup> Hall to Beveridge, 5 July 1938, Beveridge [Prices and Wages], LSE Archives, 9A/106/2.

<sup>592</sup> See Chap. 5. 'Remind me to tell you of Lyte's delicious blunder as to "Valettus de la Coppehouse', commented Hall, rather gleefully, to Round, 30 June 1890, MS 646/29. The nature of the 'blunder' is unknown.

<sup>593</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.345.

Literary Directorship of the RHS.<sup>594</sup> He was enjoying a happy second marriage and his elder son Jack was successfully launched on a legal career. Unlike his antagonist, he seems to have put the *Red Book* episode behind him quickly and successfully, directing his energies into other avenues of historical enterprise. Although this was to involve a great deal of writing and publishing, he had certainly learnt his lesson in terms of editing; that it was his colleagues (and friends) Johnson, Crump and Hughes who finally edited the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, a project which Hall had hankered after since the 1880s, was the most satisfactory outcome possible to that particular saga.<sup>595</sup> The edition included the related 'Constitutio Domus Regis' (Establishment of the King's Household) which *had* appeared in the *RBE*; and here Johnson and his colleagues took the opportunity to redeem at least some of Hall's reputation for scholarship, answering (more coherently than Hall had managed) some of the accusations of his mis-use of transcripts and earlier printed editions.<sup>596</sup> (Hall remained anxious about the *Dialogus* affair nevertheless: in 1935, responding to Crump's obituary, he was minded to write to *The Times* recalling that:

I had been recommended by Bishop Stubbs to edit the "Dialogus de Scaccario" for the Rolls Series. But this being found unsuitable, I was permitted to hand over my interest in the "Dialogus" to my colleagues, A. Hughes, C. G. Crump, and Charles Johnson, for an edition in the Clarendon Press, on my appointment as co-editor of the "Red Book of the Exchequer" ... to the great advantage of the Oxford edition ...<sup>597</sup>

an account best described as a startlingly simple conflation of events and motivations.

When H. E. Headlam, as Superintendent of the Government Search Room in Hall's absence on Royal Commission duty, gave evidence to the Commission in 1910, his account provides a good overview of the environment in which Hall had by then worked for almost 20 years. Improvements to many of the problems noted in Hall's reports during the 1890s had been made. Intellectual access was certainly better; the published *Lists and Indexes*

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<sup>594</sup> And on the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, for one year only, in 1906.

<sup>595</sup> A. Hughes, C. Crump and C. Johnson, eds., *De Necessariis Observantiis Scaccarii Dialogus commonly called Dialogus de Scaccario* (Oxford, 1902).

<sup>596</sup> Johnson, ed. and trans., *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p.xlix.

<sup>597</sup> H. Hall, 'Mr. C. G. Crump', *The Times*, 16 Dec. 1935, p.16.

series of departmental records which began in 1892 became the Office's priority. The series (which Lyte had prioritized at the expense of the Rolls Series) was explicitly intended to help with the management of the archives rather than (or as well as) aiding research, aiming both 'to build up a general catalogue of the national archives, and at the same time to facilitate the production of documents in the Search Rooms'.<sup>598</sup> Fifty-five volumes were eventually published up to 1936 with a majority appearing before Lyte's retirement in 1922, though none, perhaps curiously given the focus of Hall's PRO work, appears to have been prepared by him; Crump, Headlam, Scargill-Bird and Stamp on the other hand are acknowledged regularly.<sup>599</sup> Along with the publication of the Lists, the referencing of departmental records was improved to what is, in effect, the referencing/call number system still in use; a 'Summary of Records' was compiled as a location register, and, from a physical perspective, boxes rather than brown paper and string began to be used as a matter of course for the storage of unbound documents.<sup>600</sup> But even with improved lists, responding to enquiries remained a time-consuming process. The majority of departmental requests came from the War Office and the Admiralty and while one attendant and one foreman respectively made searches relating to those two departments, Headlam and Hall carried out the rest (an activity which Headlam estimated took up half their time).<sup>601</sup> Access dates had been rationalized in 1908 (up to 1837) on the recommendations of an Interdepartmental Committee;<sup>602</sup> Hall's long memorandum on existing practice prepared for them had been, Cantwell notes, 'not one of [his] better efforts . . . if the committee was looking for enlightenment it would hardly have found it from Hall's bewildering and overlong statement of conclusions'.<sup>603</sup>

The searchroom itself was busier: compared with the early 1890s, there was a greater percentage of overseas researchers, especially those sponsored or employed by their national governments. In 1907 Hall calculated that some 90% of permits were held 'by foreign and colonial students, [or their] English agents. The Canadian Government ke [pt]

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<sup>598</sup> H. Lyte, 'Opening Address of the Historical Section at the London Meeting', *Archaeological Journal*, 50, 1893, p.361.

<sup>599</sup> *Lists and Indexes*, Vols. 1-55. See Introduction to each Volume.

<sup>600</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.380-81.

<sup>601</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, p.42: 'We get letters every morning from people in the Colonies and Americans and foreigners, and we cannot ask them to search themselves, and we get letters from private individuals pleading that they cannot get up to London and so on'.

<sup>602</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.357-60.

<sup>603</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.358. The memo is included in the Appendixes to the *First Report*, Part 2 Appendix 5, no 4, pp. 55-62.

five copyists permanently at work, and an American agent ke [pt] six.<sup>604</sup> The esteem in which Hall was held by American researchers was signalled by an invitation in 1908 to accept an honorary degree from Harvard — an invitation he had to decline because of the practical difficulties of travelling there.<sup>605</sup> A year later, among the presentations made to him on the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his joining the PRO, was an illuminated address signed by 48 American friends and students. The presentation was made to Hall in London on 18 August 1909, with a dozen Americans present among the other guests;<sup>606</sup> the £50 gift which accompanied it was to be the first of several instances of American financial generosity towards him.

Beyond the searchroom (and his post as Resident Officer), Hall's third official role came with his appointment as Inspecting Officer in 1905. As we saw in Chapter 2, the Inspecting Officers' Committee oversaw the provisions of the 1877 Public Record Office Act (and the 1898 Act which amended it), which allowed for the managed destruction of public records by departments under the direction of, technically, the Master of the Rolls.<sup>607</sup> By the date of Hall's appointment (which brought with it a £25 annual allowance), the processes were reasonably streamlined, although some of the Committee's decisions (or more specifically the failure to implement its decisions) returned to haunt it, especially under the scrutiny of the Royal Commission, circumstances in which Hall found himself wearing awkwardly two different hats. One of the Inspecting Officers' most important decisions in this period was the decision taken early in 1909 to present the records of the Great Sessions of the Principality of Wales to the National Library of Wales.<sup>608</sup> This was more than a routine decision, given the political climate, and for Hall it also had personal significance.

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<sup>604</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, p.42.

<sup>605</sup> The offer of the honorary degree was recorded by Hall himself (CKS, U890 F1). Harvard University Archives (HUA) could not identify any material to confirm this in their presidential and university records, M. Gachette, HUA, to M. Procter, 22 March 2005.

<sup>606</sup> Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.119, where the text of the document is reproduced.

<sup>607</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.292–94, 317–18, 346–47. Minutes and papers of the Inspecting Committee are in PRO 15 and PRO 17 respectively.

<sup>608</sup> Inspecting Officers' Committee's minutes, PRO 15/8; Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.362–63 and *passim*.

*The Welsh Connection and the Work of the Royal Commission on Public Records*

Although he had published as early as 1881 an article dealing with the uncertain status of Monmouth as either English or Welsh,<sup>609</sup> there is no other evidence, until his marriage to Winifred Evans in 1895, of a particular interest in Welsh matters, though we might assume some familiarity through E. Vincent Evans (see Chapter 1). Whether or not Winifred and Vincent Evans were related, Hall's 'Welsh wife'<sup>610</sup> seems to have prompted a lasting interest in the fate of Welsh records in what was a politically-charged period for Welsh cultural nationalism, deriving from the mid-nineteenth century revival of Welsh nationalism more broadly.<sup>611</sup> Political considerations aside (a passive Liberalism may well have made him inherently sympathetic to the nationalists' political demands), the emphasis on Welsh literary and antiquarian studies, derived from the importance placed on education and literacy, would naturally have appealed to Hall. Very specifically, there was a recognition among the Welsh intelligentsia that Wales lacked cultural institutions of a national character: a national library, a national university (rather than the Welsh colleges) – and a Welsh Record Office. As Wales was governed as a part of the United Kingdom indistinguishable from England, juridical and administrative records relating to Wales were held at the PRO; the national records of Scotland and Ireland, on the other hand, had their own legislative basis and were held in national record offices in Edinburgh and Dublin. The 'Welsh records question' (as it was frequently referred to), which by the early 1900s had become centred on the return of Welsh records to Wales, was one with which Hall felt himself both professionally, and personally, qualified to address:

Friends have sometimes asked me, "Why do you worry about those Welsh records? It is no business of yours anyway!" Well, some of us have got certain notions about freedom and justice through our up-bringing or temperament. Long before people began to talk about the rights or wrongs of small nations, the story of the suppression of the Welsh courts and the commandeering of the Welsh records moved me deeply.<sup>612</sup>

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<sup>609</sup> H. Hall, 'Monmouth as a Shire Marcher', *Antiquary* 4 (Sept. 1881), pp.91–96.

<sup>610</sup> Hall to Hewins, 23 Aug. 1897, LSE Staff File: 'My address from 4-28 Sept will be Brynmeirion, Festiniog, North Wales whither my welsh wife is leading me a willing captive.'

<sup>611</sup> The generalities of this account are loosely based on K. Morgan, 'Welsh Nationalism: the Historical Background', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 6 (1971), pp.153–59 and 161–72.

<sup>612</sup> 'The National Aspect of the Welsh Records' [address delivered at Summer School of Library Service, Aberystwyth, 1918], *Library Association Record* (Sept./Oct. 1918), pp.197–98.

In practical terms this involvement seems to have started with the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (HSC). Hall's account of an early encounter with the Society neatly encapsulates the political and historical interests at work:

I had an extraordinary adventure the other night I was beguiled to dine & go on to the Cym. Soc. Paper on Owain Glydwr [*sic*]. Suddenly I was thrust into the Chair and compelled to keep (historical) order amongst a wild crew of Socialist MPs & others.

I seized the opportunity to point out that the paper (by some bardic novelist) was all rot, and that if the Welsh patriot wanted to get behind the Sassenach historian he must fight him with his own weapons . . . I suppose being a stranger & Saxon they were ashamed to throw me out so they just went home without their fun. Isambard Owen got up & said I was just right and that I had spotted their weak place and that in the new Welsh University Scheme this would be seen to etc etc so I did not do a bad night's work after all.<sup>613</sup>

Successive Deputy Keepers had shown varying degrees of interest in the Welsh records. Palgrave initiated a survey of the records in the principality in year the PRO Act was passed;<sup>614</sup> the results were published in the first Deputy Keeper's report.<sup>615</sup> 'Isolated pockets' of Welsh records were transferred to London in 1845 and 1846, and a far larger quantity – the records of the Welsh Great Sessions – a decade later.<sup>616</sup> The beginning of Lyte's tenure coincided with growing demands (occasionally within Parliament) for increased action. Demands included the publication of the Welsh records (impossible in any case as Lyte was winding the Rolls Series down), and, in 1900, the suggestion that a Welshman should be recruited to the staff specifically to deal with the records. Lyte pointed out that he already had a Welshman.<sup>617</sup> This was R. A. Roberts, who was, at this date, already editing records for the Cymmrodorion Record Series, the HSC series

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<sup>613</sup> Hall to Tout, 14 May 1897, TFT 1/466/11. Tout, as a former professor of modern history at St David's College, Lampeter, was sympathetic to Welsh aspirations (at least historiographical ones) H. Hall, 'Observations on Owen Rhoscomyl's Paper', *THSC* 1896–97, pp.47–55.

<sup>614</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.46–47. See also 'Welsh Records', *North Wales Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1839.

<sup>615</sup> Deputy Keeper, *First Report* (1840), pp. 79–121.

<sup>616</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.110, 158–59.

<sup>617</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.348.

established for the purpose in the early 1890s.<sup>618</sup> Between 1899 and 1902 Lyte was a member of the Parliamentary Local Records Committee (1899-1902), which could have offered a forum for discussion of the Welsh issue, but neither its findings nor its 1902 recommendations differentiated in any way between England and Wales.<sup>619</sup> In May 1901, shortly before the Committee drew up its report,<sup>620</sup> Hall gave a paper to the Society on the 'Diplomatics of Welsh Records';<sup>621</sup> it included the suggestion (one unlikely to endear him to Lyte) that there was a distinct 'national' character to those records which had been lost sight of.<sup>622</sup>

Though the Local Committee's 1902 report had been largely ignored, the Welsh records situation came to the fore in the wake of the decision made in 1905, after decades of campaigning, for the establishment of a Welsh National Library in Aberystwyth and a National Museum in Cardiff. An upsurge of complaints by Welsh scholars finally prompted Lyte to reconsider the fate of the Great Sessions records, untouched at the PRO since their transfer to London in the 1850s. The Inspecting Officers' Committee agreed that these could be returned to Wales, presenting them to the new National Library.<sup>623</sup> However 'the Welshmen were not appeased';<sup>624</sup> there was another attempt to persuade the Treasury to appoint a Welsh speaker to arrange the Welsh records in the PRO<sup>625</sup> and at a time where Arthur Balfour (then leader of the opposition) could be introduced as guest of honour at the Cymmrodorion annual dinner by Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George,<sup>626</sup> it was unsurprising that some action would be taken. Three months after this dinner an article in *The Quarterly Review* entitled 'The National Records' (fairly obviously written by Hall given its coverage of all his usual preoccupations) 'singled out the inconvenience of the extent to which Welsh records had been absorbed in English series'.<sup>627</sup> The article formed the basis of William Llewelyn Williams' letter to Lloyd George which urged the establishment of a Royal Commission to address the problems caused by the country

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<sup>618</sup> 'Council report', *THSC 1892/3*, pp.vii, ix.

<sup>619</sup> Local Records Committee, *Report*, 1902.

<sup>620</sup> Local Records Committee, *Report*, p.3.

<sup>621</sup> 'Council report', *THSC 1900/1*, p. vii.

<sup>622</sup> H. Hall, 'The Diplomatics of Welsh Records', *THSC 1901/02*, pp.40-52.

<sup>623</sup> Inspecting Officers' Minutes 12 Jan. 1909, PRO 15/8.

<sup>624</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.362.

<sup>625</sup> *The Times*, 12 Jan. 1909, p.10.

<sup>626</sup> On 21 Oct. 1909. 'Mr. Balfour on Welsh Culture', *The Times*, 22 Oct. 1909, p.12.

<sup>627</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.362.

having become 'criminally careless in keeping [its] national records'.<sup>628</sup> Ever ready to help his fellow countrymen, Lloyd George acquiesced; the Royal Commission on Public Records, 'appointed to inquire into and report on the state of the public records and local records of a public nature of England and Wales', received its warrant on 31 October 1910. Hall, with Lyte's agreement, if not his blessing,<sup>629</sup> was appointed Secretary. The post brought a welcome additional income of £250 p.a.<sup>630</sup>

The view that the Commission was a partisan affair was widely held (and well-grounded). Three of the eight Commissioners were Welshman (as was its Assistant Secretary), a point which cannot have been lost on Lyte. Firth complained to Tout that the Commission should have had more English historians<sup>631</sup> and was later to report that 'the 3 Welshman do no work'.<sup>632</sup> As Llewelyn Williams was primarily a partisan appointment this is perhaps unsurprising; and as for Evans, while '[it] would no doubt be blasphemous to suggest that [he] ranked a Cymmrodorion Dinner . . . above a National Library or a well-produced Calendar of Records . . . he was a gregarious man'.<sup>633</sup>

Others were equally unimpressed: 'I smelt Wales when it was first announced',<sup>634</sup> wrote Round who claimed to be speaking too for Poole in assuming the Commission to be 'a dodge of the Welshmen to enable them to remove records from London to what they imagine to be Wales. I am wholly opposed to this quasi-separatist movement.'<sup>635</sup> *The Times* reported that 'the disposal of certain Welsh records . . . seem[ed] to have been one of the moving causes for the appointment of the Commission';<sup>636</sup> and the "Welsh question'

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<sup>628</sup> The letter, 27 April 1910, is reprinted as Appendix 12 in Cantwell, *Public Record Office*. Llewelyn Williams was MP for Carmarthen Boroughs and a governor of the NLW.

<sup>629</sup> From the Deputy Keeper's perspective, 'Hall was almost in breach of trust in aiding and abetting [Welsh pretensions]', Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.365.

<sup>630</sup> See Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.362–64 for detail of the Commission's creation and Hall's appointment. The Treasury invitation offering Hall the Secretaryship, 12 Sept. 1910, is at PRO 9/14.

<sup>631</sup> Firth to Tout, 29 Nov. 1910, TFT 1/367/92.

<sup>632</sup> Firth to Tout, 23 Aug. 1914, TFT 1/367/109.

<sup>633</sup> R. Jenkins and H. Ramage, *The History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (London, 1951), p.224.

<sup>634</sup> Round to Lyte, 21 Oct. 1910, PRO 1/158/563. Round refused an invitation from Pollock to give evidence to the Commission 'in view of the strange appointment of the Secretary', Round to Lyte, 5 July 1911, PRO 1/158/587. Pollock was unperturbed: 'I thought it prudent to write a friendly but firm letter to Round to correct some strange notions he had evolved by ingenious misreading of my first [letter]]', Pollock to Hall, 10 July 1911, PRO 9/14.

<sup>635</sup> Round to Lyte, 5 July 1911, PRO 1/158/587.

<sup>636</sup> 'Public Records – First Report of the Royal Commission', *The Times*, 1 Oct. 1912, p.9.

was at the top of agenda of the new Chairman, Sir Frederick Pollock. Shortly after the warrant was issued he wrote to his new Secretary:

Perhaps it will be better to hold sittings of the Comm<sup>n</sup>. for Welsh business, which may be arranged for the convenience of the Welsh members and on the understanding that others are not expected to attend. . . . Similarly correspondence about the Welsh business and evidence can easily be kept apart without any formal division.<sup>637</sup>

A number of 'special questions on the Welsh Public Records' (which concerned their current custody and ideal disposition) were put to interested witnesses.<sup>638</sup> Inevitably, Hall had links with many of these: so for example, E. A. Lewis, Lecturer in History at Aberystwyth, was a former student and Hall had (with Tout) co-supervised his DSc research;<sup>639</sup> John Ballinger, Librarian of the NLW, was later to employ Marjorie Hall on his staff there. Hall had, of course, existing relationships with the majority of the Commissioners too:<sup>640</sup> Firth was a Past President of the RHS and Pollock an honorary Vice-President; Tedder was RHS Treasurer; he, like Sidney Lee, had been involved with the Advanced Historical Teaching fund. The three Welsh Commissioners, Vincent Evans, Henry Owen and Llewelyn Williams, were all members or officers of the HSC (over and above any personal friendship); D. R. Daniel (the Welsh Assistant Secretary) was an ex-student of Hall's. Only M. R. James seems to have been wholly outside Hall's immediate circle at this time. This network of relationships – together with his willingness to take on any amount of work – made him a key figure for the Commission's success.

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<sup>637</sup> Pollock to Hall, n.d. [between 2 and 19 Nov. 1910], PRO 9/14.

<sup>638</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, pp.x-xiii.

<sup>639</sup> Hall had supported Lewis when the latter's University of London thesis was referred, apparently on the grounds that the English (Lewis was a native Welsh speaker) was not good enough for a publication: Hall to Mackinder, 4 April and 2 May 1906, LSE Staff File. Miss Mactaggart to Hall, 8 Jan. 1920, LSE Staff File: 'I have never forgotten [Lewis], and sometimes when students come here talking of him with the awe they do, I smile to myself and think of the material you had in the original instance!'

<sup>640</sup> The Commissioners were Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir Evan Vincent Evans, Charles Firth, M.R. James, Frederick Kenyon, Sidney Lee, Henry Owen, Henry Tedder, William Llewelyn Williams.

The Commission sat for 13 days between February and the end of 1911, taking evidence from 62 witnesses and accumulating numerous written submissions.<sup>641</sup> The gathering of all the information, the setting of the agendas and arrangements for the hearings fell mainly to Hall, who entered into the process with enthusiasm (he had a plan drawn up for the final report as early as December 1910).<sup>642</sup> In April and June 1911 the Commission made fact-finding visits to Belgium and France; Hall was a poor traveller and Pollock had to insist on him joining the French trip: 'it would be a great disappointment to our French colleagues and a great drawback to the completeness of our work if you were not there. You must not call it play'.<sup>643</sup> He allowed himself to be persuaded, joining the Commissioners on their fact-finding trips to Belgium, France and later, in April 1912 to the Netherlands.<sup>644</sup>

American scholars were invited to tell the Commission about their experience of the PRO and its systems. In preparation for this phase of the enquiry (which began in June 1911), Hall had started to alert his American network to the likely lines of enquiry as early as the previous summer;<sup>645</sup> Jameson, by now at the Carnegie Institution Department of Historical Research, took soundings from a dozen American scholars and forwarded Hall a cumulative list of their suggestions.<sup>646</sup> Andrews, as Professor of American History at Yale (and of course a personal friend),<sup>647</sup> was able to travel from Paris to be interviewed in person. He made a heartfelt plea for easier access for foreign students, and an equally heartfelt one for 'as few infractions as possible of the *principe de provenance*'.<sup>648</sup> Gras, the second American witness,<sup>649</sup> was questioned in particular about his research using the Port Books, a series of records which the Commissioners had personally viewed and the treatment (and fate) of which were to become a notable point of conflict when the Report was published. The hearings ended on Christmas Eve 1911; the final witness, A. G. Little,

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<sup>641</sup> These comprised around 84 separate documents (and their sub-divisions) and formed the 12 appendices to the *First Report*.

<sup>642</sup> 'Public records memoranda', Dec. 1910, PRO 9/14. PRO 9/14 is a bundle which appears to have been made up of papers in Hall's possession and added to other RCPR papers in c1930.

<sup>643</sup> Pollock to Hall, 27 May 1911, PRO 44/31.

<sup>644</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 2, Appendix 9, details the visits.

<sup>645</sup> Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.141, n.141.

<sup>646</sup> Jameson to Hall, 17 March 1911, in Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, pp.142-43.

<sup>647</sup> Letters from both Winifred and Hall to the Andrews (Andrews Papers) frequently refer to visits to Stiffkey having taken place in the early 1900s. It is certain they did so in e.g. July 1909, Hall to H.D. Hazeltine, 26 July 1909, Hazeltine Papers, 2.21.

<sup>648</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 2, p.109.

<sup>649</sup> Gras worked on economic history topics in London in the early twentieth century so can hardly have avoided being within Hall's ambit.

formerly Professor of History at Cardiff (and another ex-student), concluded his session by naming Hall as one of only two men in England capable of teaching diplomatic.<sup>650</sup>

The Commission's work, its impact (or lack thereof) and its consequences for Hall, have been described in some detail by Cantwell.<sup>651</sup> A conflict with the Deputy Keeper ('a lively passage of arms' as Hall later referred to it)<sup>652</sup> was probably inevitable, given Hall's dual role as Commission Secretary and PRO Senior Clerk. Lyte considered that some of the witnesses, including some of his own staff, had unfairly criticized aspects of the PRO's management; he held Hall responsible for the choice of witnesses and thus the likely nature of the evidence, a charge Hall vehemently denied.<sup>653</sup> There had also been a great deal of bad feeling when, despite an apparent agreement that the Commission would inspect it *in situ*, Lyte had transferred Durham and Lancashire Palatinate material into the Office.<sup>654</sup> At the same time Hall's position, and Office gossip generally, presented Lyte with ample opportunity to gather information about the Commission's likely recommendations. This, thought Hall, was 'scarcely fair'<sup>655</sup> and with the atmosphere in Chancery Lane clearly deteriorating, he wrote formally to Pollock at the end of December 'to make a personal statement with regard to [his] official relations with the Record Office and Commission'. While acknowledging the difficulties of his position, he insisted that he had 'taken no unfair advantage and [had] revealed no official secrets':

It is true that I have had the courage of my opinions on certain official matters, but these have been put on record, once for all [*sic*], side by side with an appreciation of the work of the Deputy Keeper, and through a voice that has cried in the Wilderness for more than twenty years may sound peevish, I am sure that you will understand that it would be extremely disagreeable to me to seem to sit in judgment on my colleagues.<sup>656</sup>

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<sup>650</sup> RCPR *First Report*, 2, p.163.

<sup>651</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, Chapters 12 and 13, *passim*.

<sup>652</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, p.242 and quoted by Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.368.

<sup>653</sup> Hall to Pollock, 21 Dec. 1911, PRO 9/14.

<sup>654</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.366, 369.

<sup>655</sup> RCPR minute book, Memo prepared by the Secretary about Lyte's relationship with the Commission, 23 Nov. 1911, PRO 9/10.

<sup>656</sup> Hall to Pollock, 21 Dec. 1911, PRO 9/14.

Nonetheless Hall must have been relieved to have his promotion to Assistant Keeper confirmed in July 1912<sup>657</sup> before the *First Report* was published in September. Its recommendations ranged from the replacement of the Master of the Rolls as head of the office by the Deputy Keeper, through increased resources, and better promotion prospects, to a common access date for departmental records, and longer opening hours. The recommendations were probably too broad and too numerous;<sup>658</sup> Lyte was unimpressed, to the extent of requesting formal amendments to the published Report.<sup>659</sup> His 'Observations' (a sheaf of detailed criticisms)<sup>660</sup> covered *inter alia*, the Commission's findings or recommendations on the position of the Master of the Rolls, the special permits regime, disposal, the management of the port books (in particular the claim by the Commission that it had been responsible for the rescue of a large quantity of port books and coast bonds which would otherwise have been destroyed) and the role of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. His comments on the Welsh records were prefaced with the observation, 'For reasons into which it is unnecessary to enquire, the Welsh Records have received from the Commissioners an amount of attention somewhat disproportionate to their number or their importance'. Someone, probably Pollock, placed a large exclamation mark in the margin at this point, and indeed brief annotations throughout the document suggest that he was unmoved by any of Lyte's responses. Elsewhere a different hand (possibly Hall's) has commented 'childish' and 'picturesque!'

On the basis of a response drafted by Hall,<sup>661</sup> the Commission firmly rejected the Deputy Keeper's suggestions that there was factual inaccuracy or that the Report contained anything 'outside the range of ordinary controversial difference'.<sup>662</sup> Lyte still managed to get his criticisms into the public domain when he published a version of his Observations in the next PRO report; Pollock riposted in *The Times*, and, with a hint of a concession, noted that 'although the Commissioners do not think it becoming to engage in public controversy with an officer of the Crown . . . they have prepared a detailed answer to the

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<sup>657</sup> PRO 8/55; Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.377–78. Promotion was more or less automatic on grounds of seniority.

<sup>658</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.375.

<sup>659</sup> Lyte to RCPR Secretary [i.e. Hall], PRO 9/14.

<sup>660</sup> Hall to Pollock, Jan. 1913: 'I have reason to believe that since October last, the Deputy Keeper and two or three of his ablest officers have been largely occupied with this scrutiny', PRO 9/14.

<sup>661</sup> 'Some comments on the observations addressed by the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records to the Royal Commission', 22 Jan. 1913, PRO 9/14.

<sup>662</sup> 2 Feb. 1913, PRO 9/14.

observations contained in the Deputy Keeper's report, and will submit the same for the information of his Majesty's Government.'<sup>663</sup>

Outside the PRO the *First Report* had been welcomed. From a Welsh perspective, the recommendations could hardly have been more positive: all Welsh records transferred to the PRO since 1838 should be re-transferred 'for preservation in a Record Office for Wales' and the government should begin the legislative process to establish such an institution.<sup>664</sup> A number of MPs immediately drafted a Public Records (Wales) Bill, while Aberystwyth and Cardiff corporations solicited for the new Record Office. The Bill, introduced twice, in 1913 and 1914, was talked down by Cheshire members concerned about the implications for the records of the County of Chester (even though that matter had been explicitly dealt with in the Commission's recommendations).<sup>665</sup> Compounded with the outbreak of war, this was the end of aspirations for a national record office, though Hall's Welsh connections remained strong. During the War years he became a regular contributor to Ballinger's Library Summer Schools at the NLW,<sup>666</sup> corresponded with Vincent Evans over the progress of the RCPR, on publications in *Y Cymmrodor* and on HSC matters more generally;<sup>667</sup> during the 1920s he even, on one occasion at least, judged the National Eisteddfod History Essay prize.<sup>668</sup>

It was as well for Hall that he had satisfactory employment outside the PRO; Cantwell has called *First Report* 'a personal tragedy' for Hall, consolidating, as it did, his differences with Lyte. Indeed, it has been widely suggested that, although Lyte was 65 and eligible for retirement in 1913, his decision to continue was 'not unconnected with his unwillingness to open the way for the possibility of Hall's further advancement'.<sup>669</sup> It is certainly difficult to see how the public washing of grubby linen could *not* have affected their working relationship. The *Second Report* (on departmental records and the records of

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<sup>663</sup> 'The Royal Commission and an Official Critic', *The Times*, 21 May 1913, p.6. I have not identified the proposed document for submission.

<sup>664</sup> 'Welsh and Palatinate Records', RCPR, *First Report*, Part 1, Part XI.

<sup>665</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.375; Jenkins, pp.191-92; for the Palatinate see RCPR *First Report*, Part 1, Part 11, especially pp.41-42.

<sup>666</sup> According to CKS, U890 F1, between 1915 and 1928.

<sup>667</sup> Cymmrodorion Archives, ASC1/12, 11 letters, Hall to Vincent Evans, c1914-1917.

<sup>668</sup> NLW, Eisteddfod Genedlaethol - Caergybi 1927/1/ Cyrol, 'Wales and the World War; a Little Nation's Great Effort in the Cause of Liberty' (bound typescript).

<sup>669</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.372; see also V. Galbraith, rev. G. Martin, 'Lyte, Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell (1848-1940)', *ODNB*.

statutory bodies) appeared with somewhat less controversy early in 1914. On this occasion it was Hall who was dissatisfied with the recommendations, especially those which suggested the expansion of Chancery Lane (he favoured improving facilities within departments). An (unsigned) article on 'The National Records' raised objections to these recommendations in print, although his main criticism was reserved 'for the imperfections of the Public Record Office compared with the scientific administration of continental repositories'.<sup>670</sup> This was another area in which Hall and Lyte were at odds; Lyte held the view that his staff had nothing to learn from foreign archives and archival practice: 'We do not encourage people to write treatise or essays on comparative systems . . . what we want them to do is to be able to make a clear list and arrange document scientifically, and be able to make good précis. I do not think a knowledge of foreign archives would be much help.'<sup>671</sup>

During the summer of 1914 the Commission continued to work on the Third Report, on public records held locally. With the holidays imminent, Hall suggested that he and Winifred might combine research with pleasure:

We don't know the N. of England at all, and the E. counties very little, and have an open mind for anything north of the Trent except that nothing would induce us to go to Harrogate again . . .<sup>672</sup>

The exact nature of their past Yorkshire ordeal remains unknown.

Despite the outbreak of war a few weeks later, the Commission's work proceeded smoothly over the next 12 months; indeed there was a feeling that patriotism worked to their advantage at local level and the Commissioners '[were] received everywhere with the greatest courtesy and good-will, especially in the large boroughs which take a pride and interest in their records'. Only Devizes (clearly henceforth to be twinned with Harrogate) proved obdurate, the town clerk reporting back that he was 'wholly ignorant of the contents of his muniment room and objected to a request for information on the

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<sup>670</sup> 'The National Records', *Edinburgh Review*, 220 (1914), pp.373–91. See Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.383.

<sup>671</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, p.27.

<sup>672</sup> Pollock to Hall, 25 June 1914, PRO 9/14.

subject'.<sup>673</sup> By July 1915 only a few northern destinations remained to be inspected, but government economies were about to catch up with the Commission; despite acknowledging its relatively moderate expenditure, the Treasury insisted on its closure for the remainder of the war. Hall, while outwardly acquiescent, wrote to Firth:

I think it is quite possible to induce the Treasury to let us carry on if we manage things discreetly. They will be satisfied now we have bowed to their decision and they will get the credit of having made away with us, which is all they want.<sup>674</sup>

Firth was among those unconvinced that the Treasury would be likely to restart the Commission after the War: 'The motive for economy will be as strong then [after the War] as it is now' he replied to Hall's letter. 'It will be in no one's interest to revive it, and the prospect of saving money will probably prevent its revival.'<sup>675</sup> Firth was probably correct; and in the event it was decided to carry on, without Treasury funding, and even without clerical assistance. This was a strategic decision, as Hall in particular thought it was important to keep the matter in the public view: its continuing existence was necessary to 'serve as a powerful deterrent to the neglect and possible destruction of valuable records the future sources of the national history, in the confusion caused by the War.'<sup>676</sup> Eventually a compromise was reached;<sup>677</sup> the Commission was allowed up to £400 before 31 March 1916 to wind up its business and prepare its *Third Report*.<sup>678</sup> Lacking a formal secretariat, Hall inevitably took on most of the work himself, work which, inevitably, continued beyond the Treasury deadline up to the end of June 1916, with Marjorie's assistance.<sup>679</sup> By the time the Treasury had unwillingly paid over a further £10. 11s. 5d. in expenses in August, <sup>680</sup> the proofs were more or less complete (though late returns were

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<sup>673</sup> Hall to Treasury, July 1915 PRO 9/14. A detailed itinerary for 27 May to 4 June is included as a specimen of their travels, RCPR, *Third Report* (1919), Part 2, p.45.

<sup>674</sup> Hall to Firth, 5 Aug. 1915, PRO 9/14.

<sup>675</sup> Firth to Hall, 6 Aug. 1918, PRO 9/14.

<sup>676</sup> Hall to Pollock 11 Aug. 1915, PRO 9/14.

<sup>677</sup> Partly negotiated by Hall with the Treasury Assistant Secretary Malcolm Ramsay on the basis that the Third Report was practically complete: 'Ramsay said that if that was all he was pretty sure that [some funding] could be managed: they were not Goths and the knife must not fall on a piece of useful work, and so forth', Hall to Pollock, 20 Sept. 1915, PRO 9/14.

<sup>678</sup> Malcolm Ramsay to Pollock, 30 Sept. 1915, PRO 9/14.

<sup>679</sup> Marjorie Hall to D. R. Daniel, 18 June 1916, Daniel Papers, 1258: 'the Report itself is more or less drafted, the Evidence is in the press and the Appendices have not yet been dealt with.'

<sup>680</sup> M. Ramsay to Hall, 10 Aug. 1916, PRO 9/14.

being incorporated until March 1917). Then, in September 1917 (and despite the Commission being suspended), Pollock asked Hall to prepare a Report on the War Records,<sup>681</sup> an episode described below. The *Third Report* was not published until 1919.

*The War: its Impact, and its Records*

Though Hall had been prepared to work on Commission business voluntarily, the strain resulted in a period of 'serious ill health' in 1917;<sup>682</sup> and his health was not, generally, good (both his and Winifred's letters make frequent reference to his various colds and chills). More worrying was his financial situation. 1914 had seen an improvement in his income; his Assistant Keeper's salary of £560 was supplemented by the Resident Officer's allowance (which had increased from £150 to £200 in January 1914) and he retained an Inspecting Officer's allowance of £50. In addition he received £250 as RCPR Secretary, and 100 guineas as RHS Literary Director. His teaching responsibilities had provided the opportunity of joining the LSE's superannuation scheme in 1913.<sup>683</sup> His total annual income in the early years of the war must have been in the region of £1100; though this was comfortable, increasing inflation was to steadily reduce his potential income in retirement.<sup>684</sup> When the Treasury caught up with the fact that his Resident Officer allowance and his RCPR allowance brought his total emolument above the £1,000 limit allowed, Hall had to work very hard to convince them that part of his Resident Officer allowance should not be cut.<sup>685</sup>

I would say that it is only the prospect of a pension that has made the strain and inconvenience of the post endurable, and I would also plead that, in any case, I shall be one of the very few record officers who have served 40 years without being able to reach a maximum salary for pension.<sup>686</sup>

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<sup>681</sup> RCPR, *Third Report*, Appendix 15 is Hall's account of the circumstances of the Commission's work after its suspension.

<sup>682</sup> Hall to Ramsay, 14 Nov. 1917, PRO 9/14. Though he took only two days' sick leave in 1917, PRO 1/80, 19 July 1921.

<sup>683</sup> 8 Aug. 1913, LSE Staff File.

<sup>684</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.377. £1,100 in 1910 was the equivalent of £62,766 in 2010 though only £47,355 in 1915 and £23,331 in 1920. TNA Currency Converter at [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/) [calculated on 8 Oct. 2010]. Hall's final salary (excluding allowances) was £749.12, 19 July 1921, PRO 1/80. As a comparison Lyte's final salary (1926) was £1,400 (Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.397).

<sup>685</sup> Memoranda and correspondence, 20 March, 25 March, 15 Sept. 1915, PRO 1/80.

<sup>686</sup> Hall to PRO Secretary, 15 Sept. 1915, PRO1/80.

By 1915 he had at least settled in what was to be his final official residence (The Old Gateway) and the war provided work for both Marjorie and Winifred; Jack was about to join the Royal Naval Reserve. Hall had his own additional duties. As Resident Officer he was already in charge of the police who regularly patrolled the Office at night; from 1915 their duties included fire-watching and Chancery Lane was bombed by Zeppelin on at least two occasions.<sup>687</sup> Less dangerously, Hall also became the PRO gardener, a task he must have greatly enjoyed: the Office vegetable patch produced artichokes, parsnips, carrots, shallots, leeks, marrows, lettuces and broad beans which were distributed to the Police and to local residents.<sup>688</sup>

Wartime conditions created professional problems too, and particularly the problem of the management (and future management) of the masses of records being created by hugely engorged bureaucracies at national and local levels. The precarious position of these records, particularly Departmental ones, was (as the *Third Report* puts it) 'drawn to the attention' of the Commission in March 1917.<sup>689</sup> The drawing of attention was primarily the work of Hall, and the subject of the 'war records' (the phrase was a shorthand term for all the records produced by wartime administrations) was to feature large in Hall's life over the next few years, and in a number of different ways. The most intriguing of these was his campaign for archival employment for women. His *curriculum vitae* notes that, in 1915 he established, with Winifred, the 'Committee for furthering the employment of women archivists'.<sup>690</sup> There is tantalizingly little evidence about this Committee<sup>691</sup> which was associated with the Women's Service Bureau formed to provide information on training and employment opportunities during wartime. While the Committee does not in fact appear to have achieved much in practice, the ideas and aspirations which it embodies, and Hall's own efforts in this respect are well worth discussing, providing as they do some of the first evidence for the later emergence of archives in the UK as a 'female profession'.

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<sup>687</sup> Reports, 10 Sept. 1915 (also quoted in Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.379–80) and 14 Oct. 1915, PRO 1/80.

<sup>688</sup> Account by Hall of 'A kitchen garden at the Record Office', PRO 44/2 and an illustration from *The Graphic* with seven photographs of Hall gardening is reproduced in Lawes, *Chancery Lane 1377–1977*, p.57, noted *supra*, p.21, n.76.

<sup>689</sup> RCPR, *Third Report*, Appendix 15.

<sup>690</sup> CKS, U890 F1.

<sup>691</sup> London Metropolitan University, Women's Library, Women's Service Bureau Records, Committee for Furthering the Employment of Women Archivists, 2LSW/F/2/06, 1916 (file not seen).

Hall was a committed supporter of the women whom he taught, supervised and then worked with as colleagues. Despite scholarship's Germanic seminar-based origins he did not regard records work as gendered and had little time for those (like Round for example) who considered women incapable of first-class scholarship. He would hardly have been employable at the LSE had he done so; and on a personal level he had, of course, encouraged the aspirations of his own daughter in this area. (His teaching role is discussed in Chapter 6.) He was well aware of the pool of talented women available to contribute to the promotion of historical enterprise; and the problems faced by such women were brought close to home when the Treasury refused to appoint a woman, Miss Sully, as Assistant Secretary of the RCPR. Pollock too was furious: 'The Treasury's line about female clerks is extremely mean: if I knew any of those people personally I would give them a piece of my mind'.<sup>692</sup>

Within four years of this incident, the War was providing the opportunity for women to move into many professional and occupational areas hitherto closed to them. Hall was one of a number of historians who saw a golden opportunity for women to make greater inroads into different aspects of records work. The Royal Commission, while making recommendations on training, had not specifically addressed possibilities for women, though several witnesses, including Tout and Lyte, had referred favourably to women record workers (and one, W. Paley Baildon, detailed a scheme whereby a team of 13 women could index the contents of the PRO at a rate of 391,680 index cards per year).<sup>693</sup> Tout was a long-time supporter of women's higher education and at the outbreak of war seems to have been first off the mark in suggesting a scheme for their formal employment. At the beginning of 1915 the War Emergency Committee of the well-established Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries (AWCS), backed by Tout and Sydney Webb among others, drew attention to 'large quantities of records in this country which stand in great need of being catalogued or indexed . . . in the possession of County Councils or Municipalities or other public bodies', and thus to the amount of work which could be made available for women in this field, and throughout the country.<sup>694</sup> In fact Hall was ambivalent about this particular proposal; he discussed it with Committee Secretary Ruth Young and suggested that although public sentiment was in favour of providing work for

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<sup>692</sup> F. Pollock to Hall, 19 Nov. 1910, PRO9/14.

<sup>693</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, p.150. Paley Baildon, FSA, had, *inter alia*, edited 13 volumes for the Selden and other societies by this date.

<sup>694</sup> Circular letter, copy in PRO 44/3.

women (particularly those 'in temporary distress owing to the war'), wholesale and temporary employment of (unqualified) women in this area would be a mistake, and was likely to militate against the permanent employment of suitably qualified women in the future: 'those who care only for the temporary employment of particular women during the next year or so, must be prepared to accept the responsibility of inflicting a lasting injury on the cause of women's work if they should persist in attempting to carry out their objects by one means or another.'<sup>695</sup> Hall's own ambitions appear therefore to be aimed at the professionalization of women in this field, rather than using records work as some kind of job creation scheme. The story of both initiatives remains to be written, but Hall did, at the very least, keep the subject in the public eye: *The Times* picked up his comments on the subject during an LSE lecture in October, reporting his view that

[c]ertain operations of the archivist could be more neatly and effectively performed by women than by men, and he hoped to see at least one woman in every office for the preservation of public records.<sup>696</sup>

The quantity of war records being created meant that a supply of trained archivists (male or female) was becoming increasingly vital. At the same time, Hall felt that historians too had a contribution to make towards the survival of the archives so that they could ultimately carry out their own work of 'preparing an authentic narrative of the moving incidents of these times'.<sup>697</sup> Their desks might currently 'be littered with [the] carefully selected dispatches, garbled text, faked returns, and censored reports'<sup>698</sup> circulated in war-time, but this should encourage them to try at least to identify material which could be used to write, at a future point, a real history of the war. Hall took a broad view of what this might comprise: he certainly included oral testimonies (he likened the depositions of French and Belgian refugees to the testimony of local jurors for Domesday Book), plans and photographs as well as printed and manuscript material. Hall urged historians to go out and identify, and safeguard, documentary material for the future,<sup>699</sup>

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<sup>695</sup> Hall to Ruth Young, 17 Feb 1915, PRO 44/3. He later endorsed the letter 'Containing a good deal of casual information on a vexed subject'.

<sup>696</sup> 'News in brief', *The Times*. 12 Oct. 1915, p.5.

<sup>697</sup> H. Hall, 'National Service for Historians', *Contemporary Review*, 109 (1916), p.603.

<sup>698</sup> Hall, 'National Service', p.605.

<sup>699</sup> Hall, 'National Service', p.607. 'A nation that has not kept the authentic records of its acts resembles a government that cannot redeem its paper currency with gold. In both cases the credit of the State depends on the conservation of the national treasure', p.610.

and this presaged his stance on the establishment of a 'war records office', the subject of his final major disagreement with Lyte.

The origination of the idea of a new, separate office for 'war records' is unclear: the evidence suggests that Hall and Pollock, along with Sir Martin Conway, director of the Imperial War Museum (whose daughter Agnes had been a member of Hall's seminars before the war),<sup>700</sup> first discussed the idea in late 1916. It was seen not just as a solution to the departmental records problem, but also as a 'subject-specific' resource for the historian which would bring together records from across government departments. By spring 1917 the idea was well out in the open (Hall was continuing to publish articles on different aspects of the war records) and it had support from some, though not all, of the Commissioners.

Clearly the impetus for the project – to preserve the evidence of the war – was legitimate. As Hall pointed out (in print), any future attempt to write the history of the period would be severely compromised if attention were not given, in the midst of war, to the future preservation of the material created during it. His views were supported (and probably also formed) by the assistance he was providing to John Fortescue, an official war historian. Fortescue was well aware that the impossibility of accessing all relevant official records, or the lack of those records because of poor recordkeeping, would make 'an absolutely accurate history' impossible in turn: his experiences at the War Office led him to advise historians that they 'should stick to wars a hundred years old if they could'.<sup>701</sup> As Hall pointed out, it was particularly important to safeguard the records of functions which existed *only* because of the war – partly because they were at most risk of being lost once the war was over, but also because they would become the archives needed to study this extraordinary and unique phenomenon. He emphasized too the importance of printed sources, urging 'a complete collection of all documents, books and pamphlets of any importance dealing with the war, both British and Foreign, and not of these only but also of posters and other material' all to be stored 'in a National War Library, in the British Museum or elsewhere'.<sup>702</sup> Again he repeated his plea that historians should take some

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<sup>700</sup> 21 Sept. 1911, LSE Staff File.

<sup>701</sup> 'Official History of the War. Mr Fortescue on his Difficulties', *The Times*, 10 Oct. 1916, p.7. The article reported the comments made by Fortescue as he presided over a lecture given by Hall at the LSE on sources for military and naval history.

<sup>702</sup> H. Hall, 'The Archives of the War', *Quarterly Review*, April 1917, p.499.

responsibility for ensuring the preservation of the materials, as the creators themselves could not be relied on: 'A vast mass of departmental records is being dealt with by officials who are ignorant of the elements of archive-economy as it is practised, even in war-time, on the Continent.'<sup>703</sup>

Writing privately to Hall in April 1917, Pollock (as Commission Chairman) assured him that the 'War Museum' project had the official approval of the Office of Works. Lyte, on the other hand, was apparently unaware of the turn events were taking as Pollock concluded his letter by assuring Hall that the Deputy Keeper '[would] be told at once of what is doing, so as to avoid any complaint of surprise'.<sup>704</sup> Lyte was initially ambivalent to the extent that Conway at least had the firm impression from their discussions and correspondence that he was in favour of the plan<sup>705</sup> – but 'on fuller reflection he considered the idea flawed'.<sup>706</sup> Though the Commission continued to flirt with the idea for some time, sanity (the acknowledgement of the importance of preserving the national *fonds*) prevailed, with the explicit acknowledgement by the Commission that 'to preserve the continuity of any body of administrative records is a fundamental principle accepted by all archivists, and its neglect is attended by many practical drawbacks.'<sup>707</sup> Nonetheless, the problems inherent in the quantity of records being produced would still have to be dealt with; and when the Commission finally reported, it was to recommend the establishment of a new repository for post-1901 Departmental records – in effect a reincarnation of the old State Paper Office – though with the concession (to Conway) that it should be constructed 'in immediate proximity to the Imperial War Museum'.<sup>708</sup> It is perhaps unnecessary to state that this recommendation was not acted upon.

The *Third Report* reprinted as an Appendix 'Documents relating to the Investigation by the Commission of Departmental Records relating to the War, and Communications with the Imperial War Museum on that Subject'; this included the correspondence between Conway and Lyte which referred to Lyte's apparent withdrawal of support for the project.<sup>709</sup> This can hardly have endeared Hall to the Deputy Keeper. He refused Hall permission to join

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<sup>703</sup> Hall, 'Archives of the War', p.505.

<sup>704</sup> Pollock to Hall, 25 April 1917, PRO 9/14. The sentence was later underlined, presumably by Hall.

<sup>705</sup> Conway to Pollock, 12 Oct. 1917; printed in RCPR, *Third Report*, Part 3, p.126.

<sup>706</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.384.

<sup>707</sup> RCPR, *Third Report*, Part 1, p.39.

<sup>708</sup> RCPR *Third Report*, Part 1, pp.38–39.

<sup>709</sup> RCPR, *Third Report*, Part 2, Appendix 5.

the Committee of Imperial Defence advisory committee charged with devising a scheme for the arrangement and classification of War Cabinet records and went further by barring him from taking any part in the Records Committee established by the RHS a year earlier.<sup>710</sup> The latter interdiction must have been particularly galling, as the committee had been set up primarily to promote adoption of the Commission's recommendations, most immediately those relating to the war records.<sup>711</sup> Hall reflected ruefully

... I cannot help regretting that there seems to be no scope under the existing régime for the expression of expert opinion or for the intervention of an advisory body. This is not so in other countries or in other institutions where learned opinion and professional devotion are duly recognised and appreciated. These are things that have no importance in themselves, apart from their effect upon the safety and use of the records: it is because the effect might be profoundly beneficial and there is to-day, grave need of such skilled advice, that I have ventured thus far and regret that I must henceforth hold my peace.<sup>712</sup>

Overall, his position, he wrote to Alfred Stamp, 'unfortunately does not seem to be a very pleasant one'.<sup>713</sup>

Inevitably Hall found a number of ways to circumvent Lyte's interdiction on involvement with war records. In 1919 the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) launched its project for an international *Economic History and Survey of the War* (ESHW) under the general editorship of James Shotwell. Shotwell was working on the premise that '[w]ithout documents there can be no history. The essential records of the war, local as well as central, have therefore to be preserved';<sup>714</sup> and he intended that each national series should include a volume which dealt with its country's war records. Hall, whom Shotwell had first met in London in 1904,<sup>715</sup> was an obvious choice for this; and in Spring 1920 he was commissioned to write 'The British Archives in Peace and War' (eventually

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<sup>710</sup> Hall to Pollock, 24 Feb 1919, PRO 9/14.

<sup>711</sup> See 'Report of Council', *TRHS*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., 2 (1919), pp.199–205.

<sup>712</sup> Hall to Pollock, 24 Feb. 1919, PRO 9/14.

<sup>713</sup> Hall to Stamp, 14 March 1919, quoted by Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.384.

<sup>714</sup> J. Shotwell, 'Editor's Preface', in Hall, *British Archives*, p.ix.

<sup>715</sup> J. Shotwell, *The Autobiography of James T. Shotwell* (Indianapolis and New York, 1961), p.65. Shotwell described Hall as 'head [*sic*] of the Record Office, as modest as he was capable'.

published as *British Archives and the Sources for the History of the World War*)<sup>716</sup> The CEIP was also in a position to sponsor work which would feed into this publication through its national co-ordinating committees. The British committee was headed by William Beveridge, recently appointed Director of the LSE. In September 1920 he convened an open meeting on the subject of 'Local War Records'. The theme, again, was the impossibility of writing any history of the war, and of war-time conditions unless the records survived and were accessible. On this occasion Hall 'dealt succinctly with the nature, use, custody and preservation of Local Records' (perhaps considering that in doing so he was not breaking any ban on meddling with 'war records' *per se*). The meeting resulted in the setting-up of a Local War Records Committee to co-ordinate activities for safeguarding war records; Mildred Wretts-Smith, another long-term student and colleague of Hall's at LSE, was appointed its Secretary and became responsible for the data which its surveys of local records were to generate.

The meeting also learned of the imminent publication of Hall's *A Repertory of British Archives*, a first attempt to provide a guide, not only to the central public records, but to those public records held locally.<sup>717</sup> (His CEIP commission, on the other hand, does not appear to have been mentioned at the meeting.) The *Repertory* drew heavily on information collected for the RCPR's *Third Report* but much of the work had originated in Hall's pre-War seminars and among those credited<sup>718</sup> were Joan Wake and Irene Churchill, both destined for eminent archival careers.<sup>719</sup>

### *Recognition and Retirement*

Lyte's interdictions notwithstanding, Hall remained fully occupied with activities unrelated to his official role. Shortly before his retirement his 40 years service to the promotion of historical enterprise was rewarded with an invitation to accept an honorary doctorate at Cambridge in December 1920 as a keeper and editor of records.<sup>720</sup> As much as he must have been delighted by the invitation, the subscription raised by 83 of his

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<sup>716</sup> Pauline Stearns to George Finch, 11 March 1920 and 6 May 1920, Columbia University, CEIP Archives (hereafter CEIP), Vol. 20, fols. 746, 760; Shotwell to James Scott, 7 July 1921, CEIP Vol. 23, fol. 493.

<sup>717</sup> Printed report of meeting, PRO 44/4; H. Hall, *A Repertory of British Archives*, Part 1. *England* (London, 1920).

<sup>718</sup> Hall, *Repertory*, p. vii.

<sup>719</sup> For the results of the local war records survey to January 1922 see Wretts-Smith, 'Local War Records', pp.247-58.

<sup>720</sup> *Cambridge University Reporter*, p.386.

former students to purchase his robes for the occasion must have given him equal pleasure.<sup>721</sup> Although the subscription list is lost, the formal photograph taken on this occasion has survived (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Hall in his Cambridge D.Litt robes, 1920<sup>722</sup>

Hall retired from the PRO on 25 August 1921. He could have continued for a further year but clearly felt that enough was enough. In what was to prove a poor decision he invested over half his pension lump sum (probably around £750.0.0),<sup>723</sup> plus his savings, in a small farm in Walderslade, Kent, which Winifred and Dickie were to run on a day-to-day basis.<sup>724</sup> While the location was perfect, the decision was a poor one given the decline in land

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<sup>721</sup> Winifred originally donated the robes to LSE in 1944 but in 1947 arranged for them to be transferred to Cambridge and the associated address to be returned to her, LSE Staff File, 1944–1947. The address has not survived.

<sup>722</sup> Source: RHS archives. A copy with a dedication to D.R. Daniels is at NLW, Portrait Collection, B 27.

<sup>723</sup> 'Pension £449.16.0 plus supplement of £237.7.6 p.a. together with an additional allowance under the Superannuation Act 1909 of £ 1448.7.1 plus supplement of £764.6.11 [payable] from 26 August 1921', Stamp to Hall, 19 Sept. 1921, PRO1/80.

<sup>724</sup> Hall to Andrews, 20 May 1931, Andrews Papers, Box 30, Folder 349.

values, and increasing labour costs and taxes. The family's financial situation was to deteriorate gradually over the next two decades and though it is difficult to imagine Hall not engaged in historical work whatever the financial incentive, the 1920s and early 1930s saw him constantly on the look-out for paid remuneration. Despite the general economic climate there were still many such opportunities to be had.

### *Teaching, Research and Publications*

In the work Hall produced from the beginning of the new century we can see a clear shift from literary and editorial productions (the latter exemplified by the *RBE*) towards work directed primarily at aiding researchers; much of this derived from the work carried on in his seminars. He was fortunate that the LSE was prepared to pay for the publication of such evidence-based research, even if, as with the *RBE*, the costs regularly exceeded his initial estimates.<sup>725</sup> His students also benefited financially as the LSE paid for their time; Eileen Power was delighted to find that the rather tedious work allocated to her for the *Select Bibliography for the Study, Sources, and Literature of English Mediaeval Economic History*<sup>726</sup> had 'inadvertently made £2'.<sup>727</sup> A steady flow of such publications had already made an impressive contribution to nascent archival and diplomatic studies while the seminar also provided research training for many individuals who were to become eminent historians and researchers in their own right; Hall estimated in the mid 1910s that some 400 students had passed through these various classes since 1896.<sup>728</sup>

During the War he began to lecture at the Library Association Summer Schools organized by Thomas Ballinger at the NLW in Aberystwyth; he lectured there in palaeography and archives between 1915 and 1925.<sup>729</sup> In 1918, for example, six students attended his Archives course which comprised palaeography, diplomatic, the history of archives and the classification of MSS; the discussion of methods of study or research, and the 'inspection of MSS'.<sup>730</sup>

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<sup>725</sup> Hall to Hewins, 27 Oct 1903; Hall to H. Mackinder (Director), 1 July 1908; Hall to Miss Mactaggart, 24 June 1909: 'I am not good at figures', Hall to Miss Mactaggart, requesting more money for presentation copies, 6 Oct. 1909.

<sup>726</sup> (London, 1914).

<sup>727</sup> Eileen Power to M. Spring Rice, 10 Jan. 1912, Girton College Archives, GCPP (hereafter GCPP) Power E, 2/1/3 'This term I shall do £5 worth: now, I will be diligent indeed.'

<sup>728</sup> Account of his teaching, 'London School of Economics. The study of historical records', n.d., probably summer 1914, LSE Staff File.

<sup>729</sup> CKS, U890 F1.

<sup>730</sup> LSE pamphlet collection. D42/425 'Summer school of Library service, Aber, 29 July-10 August

Although on his appointment to the RCPR in 1910 Hall had arranged for some of his University of London lectures to be undertaken by Hilary Jenkinson, he retained his post as University Reader in Palaeography, Diplomatic and Medieval Economic History, and continued both to supervise research and masters students and to provide the practical seminars. In October 1919 this work was transferred to the Faculty of Arts at King's College London which had become a more appropriate home for provision of advanced training in (medieval) historical studies than the LSE, which could no longer provide him with enough students.<sup>731</sup> Although he found King's 'a very friendly place'<sup>732</sup> it was very different from the LSE: 'there is too much of the Soviet about the modern University administration' he wrote to Miss Mactaggart back at the LSE, 'Give me a beneficent autocracy!'<sup>733</sup> He continued with occasional postgraduate supervision: Mildred Wretts-Smith was awarded her MScEcon for a dissertation on the Muscovy Company in 1920;<sup>734</sup> her paper on the same topic was published in *TRHS*.<sup>735</sup>

In the wider world there were other, more significant changes being planned in the teaching of advanced historical study: 1921 saw the opening of the Institute of Historical Research (IHR). Driven by Pollard (Hall was a member of the Appeals Committee), this was, in effect, the realization of the scheme for Advanced Historical Teaching promoted 20 years earlier, and the Institute quickly became a focus for the historical research community. As an aside we might note that it did not position itself (or subsequently become) a British *École des Chartes* and thus the formalization of professional training for archivists (as opposed to historians) was still some time in the future. It was a sign of that emergent new order that it was not Hall but Hilary Jenkinson who contributed to the Preliminary Course on 'Archives and their uses'.<sup>736</sup>

1921 was in any case a year of change for Hall. A couple of months before his retirement he began to consider his future teaching role, embarking on what can only be described as

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1918'.

<sup>731</sup>'We could not provide him with an audience & we thought that King's with its larger history side would recruit for him.' Lilian Knowles to [Beveridge], 3 June 1921, LSE Staff File.

<sup>732</sup> Hall to Miss Mactaggart, 23 Oct. 1919, LSE Staff File.

<sup>733</sup> Hall to Miss Mactaggart, 9 Nov. 1919, LSE Staff File.

<sup>734</sup>'University Research 1920/21, *History*, 6 (Jan. 1922), p.296.

<sup>735</sup> M. Wretts-Smith, 'The English in Russia during the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *TRHS*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., 3 (1920) pp.72–102.

<sup>736</sup> University of London, Institute of Historical Research, *First Annual Report 1921/22*, p.8.

a charm offensive; both Lilian Knowles and Sidney Webb were solicited to support his reappointment teaching medieval economic history and his ultimate ambition seems to have been a full-time Readership. In what was, in effect, a petition to (on this occasion) Beveridge, he set out his credentials in general:

I feel that I have got some claim in respect of my 25 years work and, still more, I feel that I can do good work still. Indeed, if I drop out, the hold of King's College & the School on the mediaeval period will become precarious unless I am mistaken.<sup>737</sup>

Knowles, perhaps unnecessarily, pointed out to Beveridge that London University 'would never make a man a Reader at 64'. In any case, '[a]s a lecturer he was hesitating & difficult to follow' she added, 'but one stuck to him out of sheer admiration for his goodness of heart'. More pragmatically, she also drew attention to the fact that, as his retirement meant that Hall would no longer have unfettered access to the PRO, his usefulness to research students would be limited.<sup>738</sup> Despite these reservations, a compromise was reached: Hall was appointed Reader in Palaeography and Diplomatic at King's College; though not on the full-time basis he had been angling for. More profitably (as it was to turn out) he also continued his seminar work at the LSE, specifically contributing to Beveridge's long-term research into historical prices and wages.

It had been Hall's work on the Winchester Pipe Rolls at the beginning of the century (influential on so many later economic historians in its revelation of the quality and amount of data)<sup>739</sup> which had originally persuaded Beveridge of the possibility of extending his prices and wages research back to the medieval period. Hall himself had always intended to return to the Rolls after his retirement<sup>740</sup> and from 1923 his LSE seminar on medieval European famines gathered longitudinal data on wheat prices to contribute to Beveridge's work. In 1924 the seminar published the first-ever list of the

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<sup>737</sup> Hall to Beveridge, 29 June 1921, LSE Staff File.

<sup>738</sup> Knowles to Beveridge, 3 June 1921, LSE Staff File. Eileen Power wrote of being invited to the Record Office on a Saturday: 'Hubert Hall has asked all his seminar to go to the Record Office at 2.30, where he is going to shew off some of the treasures in the Museum & also to unlock others; and afterwards his wife is to give us tea.', 6 Oct. 1911, GCPP Power E 2/1/3.

<sup>739</sup> R. Britnell, 'The Pipe Rolls and their Historians', Chap. 1 in Britnell, ed., *Winchester Pipe Rolls*.

<sup>740</sup> Hall to Andrews, 8 Nov. 1924, Andrews Papers, Box 23, Folder 277.

rolls with an introduction as to their value for this kind of research.<sup>741</sup> Indeed there was so much data available, not just in the Winchester Rolls but elsewhere, that, as, Beveridge put it, 'Once we were embarked upon this venture, we never had a chance of stopping . . . As the indefatigable energy of Dr. Hall, in his years of official retirement, discovered more and more material ... the scope of the work was widened.'<sup>742</sup> Hall took on responsibility for the 'Archivistic side' of the project; with a salary of £200 by July 1923,<sup>743</sup> he headed a team of 'extractors', one full-time and a number of part-time workers (at 3/6d an hour)<sup>744</sup> employed in specific localities, or for specific tasks.<sup>745</sup> He was able to employ a number of his old students in this way, Joan Wake among them.<sup>746</sup> Mildred Wretts-Smith was now Beveridge's principal assistant.<sup>747</sup> Hall was excited about the potential of the work for economic history more generally – he judged that along with analysis of data from the Westminster and Ely series (which, he told Andrews, he had been the first to explore in detail) his seminar would 'give some new & exhaustive information about the incidence & causes & affects [*sic*] of famines in England with their sequels in the shape of pestilence and social unrest'.<sup>748</sup>

Away from the field of economic history King's had engaged Hall to deliver a short series of public lectures on 'The Diplomatic History of Treaty Papers' in March 1922, chaired by the Earl of Onslow, James Headlam-Morley, Historical Adviser at the Foreign Office, and Pollock;<sup>749</sup> his work in this area (and release from the civil service) allowed him to contribute to the renewed debate, in 1924, over the 'Scrap of Paper'. 'Scrap of Paper' was the insulting description allegedly used by the German Chancellor during his final meeting with British ambassador Sir Edward Goschen in 1914 to describe the Belgian neutrality treaty. The phrase had been referenced extensively throughout the war as an example of German brutality, but there was a problem: if the meeting had been conducted in German, the phrase would have been an innocuous one – with unfortunate consequences for the

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<sup>741</sup> 'A List of the Rent Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester (Ecclesiastical Commission) in the Public Record Office', *Economica*, 10 (1924), pp.52–61.

<sup>742</sup> TS memo by Beveridge: 'Present position of English Price History', Feb. 1949 LSE Archives, Beveridge Papers (hereafter cited as BEV), BEV 9a/19.

<sup>743</sup> Beveridge to Hall, 2 July 1923, LSE Staff File.

<sup>744</sup> J. Mair to Hall, 23 July 1924, LSE Staff File.

<sup>745</sup> 'Memorandum on organisation of work on English Price History', 31 Dec. 1929 by F. J. Nicholas, BEV 9A/8 (Folder 2).

<sup>746</sup> Hall to Andrews, 20 May 1931, Andrews Papers, Box 30, Folder 349.

<sup>747</sup> Mentioned *passim* in BEV 9A/8.

<sup>748</sup> Hall to Andrews, 8 Nov. 1924, Andrews Papers, Box 23, Folder 277.

<sup>749</sup> Printed programme, 'The Diplomatic History of Treaty Papers', in PRO44/1.

British propaganda effort, reliant on the interpretation which proved Germanic perfidy.<sup>750</sup> This had not gone unnoticed at the time. Early in 1915 Hall had been asked by the French historian Charles Bémont to confirm the language used; after discussion with the Foreign Office librarian about the way in which the meeting had been recorded, he replied that the conversation had indeed been in English. The obituaries which followed Goschen's death in May 1924 prompted Hall to write to *The Times* to that effect;<sup>751</sup> the letter sparked a debate, not only over the substantive language issue (which was never satisfactorily resolved), but over the reliability of any written sources for the writing of history at all. It also touched on the problem of verbal exchanges as records, something which – as we have already seen in noting his openness to idea of accepting oral testimony as material for history writing – was of interest to Hall: 'The real moral that is pointed to by this amazing story', he wrote later, 'seems to be that if questions of historical fact are to be usefully decided, care must be taken that spoken as well as written evidence should be recorded'.<sup>752</sup>

#### *American Connections*

While Hall's *Prices and Wages* work provided him with a steady income of sorts, his extensive network of friends and colleagues, particularly American ones, continued to provide him with an additional stream of opportunities. The *Prices and Wages* work itself was funded until 1929 by a Rockefeller Foundation grant to the LSE and the CEIP book commission (with its useful honorarium of £50)<sup>753</sup> was another example. While Hall's popularity with American historians as well as his familiarity with government records had made him an obvious choice for such a work, the commission came to present Shotwell with a dilemma when he received the manuscript. With diplomatic understatement he had to admit to his unimpressed Director John Bates Clark that '[Hall's] style suffers somewhat from his technical preoccupations and is somewhat discursive.'<sup>754</sup> The preoccupations were Hall's usual criticisms of Britain's failure to establish archive services along Continental lines;<sup>755</sup> as for the discursiveness, Shotwell took it upon himself to make the extensive revisions required and he also ensured that the final published

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<sup>750</sup> See Otte, "German Paperchase".

<sup>751</sup> H. Hall "The Language of the "Scrap of Paper", *Notes and Queries*, 29 Jan. 1927, p.78.

<sup>752</sup> Hall, "Scrap of Paper", p.80.

<sup>753</sup> Stearns to C. Phillips, 10 Feb. 1922, CEIP, Vol. 25, fol. 963.

<sup>754</sup> J. Clark to Scott, 15 Nov. 1921 quoting Shotwell, CEIP, Vol.23, fols.525–e6. An internal memo Scott to Shotwell, 27 Oct. 1921, had recommended withholding publication, Vol.23, fols.520–21.

<sup>755</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, p.xvi.

version was improved by the inclusion of material by Mildred Bulkley and, from the Local War Records Committee, by Mildred Wretts-Smith. Despite Shotwell's loyal support throughout the process, it remains difficult to gainsay the judgment on the original 1921 manuscript that Hall had taken advantage of the CEIP commission to write a work almost wholly dedicated to his own preoccupations and one which was unlikely to have been accepted for publication 'under any other auspices'.<sup>756</sup> Even after Shotwell had reduced the historical overview (Part II) by half,<sup>757</sup> it was still over 200 pages long, dealing with, *inter alia*, the archives of British dominions and dependencies, and the eighteenth-century Commissions and Committees of Inquiry rather than with the 'war records' for which it was commissioned.

While the rewriting and redrafting continued, the CEIP had published Hilary Jenkinson's *Manual of Archive Administration including the Problems of War Archives and Archive making*. This work, although also failing to focus on the anticipated subject of 'war records' (it was originally commissioned as 'The Documents of Contemporary History: a Manual on the Administration of Archives with Special Reference to the History of the War' and in the published version only 15 out of some 250 pages dealt with war records) has nevertheless become rather better known than Hall's.

Though Shotwell recognized Hall's stylistic ineptitude, he seems to have been perfectly willing to undertake the onerous task of editing *British Archives*; the acceptance of Hall's less than perfect scholarship because it was compensated for by other qualities is a thread which runs through many of Hall's professional dealings (from his colleagues' reactions to the *RBE* affair onwards). There are other examples in the American context. John Franklin Jameson had, as early as 1908, wanted to invite Hall to the US, and especially to a meeting of the American Historical Association (AHA) (though he was warned off inviting Hall to lecture).<sup>758</sup> In 1924 the CEIP funded a group of 'distinguished representatives of British historical scholarship', one of whom was Hall, to attend that year's AHA meeting.<sup>759</sup> The invitations showered on him on this occasion to lecture or hold classes came from Yale,

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<sup>756</sup> J. Scott to Shotwell, 27 Oct. 1921, Scott to Shotwell, 27 Oct. 1921, CEIP vol. 23, fols. 520–21.

<sup>757</sup> Shotwell to Scott, 8 Sept. 1923, CEIP vol. 27, ff 670–3. Shotwell to Scott, 8 Sept. 1923.

<sup>758</sup> Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.119. The warning came from Ephraim Adams, professor of history at Stanford University.

<sup>759</sup> Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.291, n. 471. The conference report in the *AHR* lists 12, rather than 10, 'distinguished representatives'. 'The Meeting of the American Historical Association at Richmond,' *AHR*, 30 (April 1925), pp.454–55.

Harvard and Vassar; he stayed with Merriman on his arrival in Cambridge (Mass.); and later with Andrews<sup>760</sup> and was also introduced to President Coolidge.<sup>761</sup> The lecture given at Harvard on 'The Evolution of British Treaty Papers' (presumably based on his KCL lectures but with an audience doubtless aware of his recent involvement with the Scrap of Paper correspondence) achieved a certain notoriety. Expecting only a small group, Hall instead

found himself confronted with over a hundred enthusiastic admirers ... practically all the members of the Harvard History Department were there, a large majority of the graduate students in history, and a considerable number of distinguished people from outside the University ... [he] was just about to start when President Lowell strolled in and took a seat in the front row.<sup>762</sup>

Merriman's description of Hall's debilitating attack of nerves at this point (a slightly odd choice of anecdote for an obituary notice) nevertheless concluded with the recollection of 'the yell of applause . . . which greeted him when he had finished [which] bore testimony to the deep gratitude and admiration of all those who were present and of many others besides.'<sup>763</sup> Hall, though 'overwhelmed with hospitality and kindness from everybody' during the trip, remained unhappy about his lecture performance: 'Perhaps it was not as bad as he thinks', suggested Winifred optimistically to Evangeline Andrews shortly after her husband's return.<sup>764</sup> This experience notwithstanding, Hall was enthusiastic about the American lifestyle: 'Hubert is full of enthusiasm about the food over there - the cereals, the fruits, the cream and the salads - and the efficiency of service (coloured people) in hotels & on the rails', reported Winifred in the same letter.

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<sup>760</sup> Hall to Andrews, 3 Oct., 19 Nov. and 23 Dec. 1924, Andrews Papers, Box 23, Folder 277.

<sup>761</sup> 'British Historians Call on Coolidge', *New York Times*, 4 Jan. 1925, p.28.

<sup>762</sup> Merriman, 'Hubert Hall', p.450. Hall's inability to deliver a lecture was well-known; Ephraim Adams had warned Jameson about this as early as 1908. See Jameson to Andrews, 25 Aug. 1908, in Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.119.

<sup>763</sup> Merriman, 'Hubert Hall', p.450.

<sup>764</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 24 Jan. 1925, Andrews Papers, Box 23, Folder 278. Evangeline reassured Winifred that Hall's Yale lecture had been 'much enjoyed and appreciated and [Charles Andrews] feels sure that the lecture at Harvard was a good one too, in spite of your dear husband's pessimistic view', Evangeline Andrews to Winifred Hall, 22 Feb. 1925, Andrews Papers, Box, 23, Folder 279.

There was to be one more visit to the US at the beginning of the 1930s. In the meantime his teaching and RHS work, his research students whose 'wants & queries' sometimes left him no time for his own interests continued regardless,<sup>765</sup> and he was incapable of voluntarily reducing his workload. Though in July 1925 he finally had to relinquish his post as Reader at King's College London (his last pensioned position),<sup>766</sup> he went on to accept an offer from (or perhaps persuaded) both King's and LSE to allow him 'to act in an advisory capacity for another year'.<sup>767</sup> He also became a vice-President of the Historical Association (holding the position until 1929). The strain occasionally showed: the introduction he wrote in 1925 for the RHS's *List and Index* of its publications 'abound[ed] in errors'.<sup>768</sup>

When Beveridge left the LSE temporarily to join the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry towards the end of 1925 Hall (by his account) took responsibility for the Prices and Wages project until the Beveridge returned in April 1926. 'Going about to archives, N.S.E. & W. takes time & keeping the threads of a dozen works & workers and editing the results takes still more time', he told Andrews.<sup>769</sup> Despite this workload he was still prepared, in his new capacity as 'occasional lecturer and adviser on Sources of Economic History', to propose a new course of lectures for the coming term; it was agreed that he should hold a seminar and deliver 'two or three courses similar to that on Farming in Eight Centuries'.<sup>770</sup> But a few weeks after these arrangements had been made, Hall had reached the end of his usually very long tether:

when Beveridge got back in Apr[il] he was eager for results and I was getting fagged. Then there has been a revolution at Russell Square [i.e. at the RHS] with the advent of Tout & the Medievalists, and everything is ordered differently. Finally the [general] strike, which was the last straw for me. Students work & exams put back 2 weeks, Printing 2 months . . . I rashly agreed to take on a Historical study [unspecified] that would otherwise have

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<sup>765</sup> Hall to Andrews, 10 Feb. 1925, Andrews Papers, Box 23, Folder 279; 2 Oct. 1925, Andrews Papers, Box 24, Folder 287.

<sup>766</sup> Shovelton, Secretary at KCL to [Jessie] Mair *re* cheque for £556.17.7 for Hall in final settlement of London University's pension responsibilities, 19 June 1925, LSE Staff File.

<sup>767</sup> Hall to Andrews, 2 Oct. 1925, Andrews Papers, Box 24, Folder 287.

<sup>768</sup> Humphries, *Royal Historical Society*, p. 40.

<sup>769</sup> Hall to Andrews, 14 July 1926, Andrews Papers, Box 24, Folder 293.

<sup>770</sup> Hall to Mrs Mair, 13 or 15 April 1926 and Mair to Hall, 8 June 1926, LSE Staff File. His total payment for the year 1926/7 was to be £200.

fallen through; & though I did it purely on impulse, for the sake of a cause, they have been bound to tie me to deliver type-script by 31 July & how I am to write 10,000 words by then & my other work as well G[od].O[nly].K[nows]. as the physicians have it.<sup>771</sup>

The outburst was uncharacteristic; while his workload was always heavy, it rarely caused him the anguish expressed here (and he apologized for it in the same letter written to Andrews). His teaching contract at LSE continued to July 1930, when he finally retired after 35 years. He was to be remembered as ‘a familiar figure in the Senior Common Room, and was greatly regarded not only for his learning but also for the gentle charm of his personality’.<sup>772</sup>

The end of his teaching did not signal the end of his association with the School. In 1929 Beveridge and Edwin Gay of Harvard conceived a major Rockefeller Foundation-funded project which would incorporate the many separate national prices and wages projects then under way.<sup>773</sup> Hall’s salary was commuted to a payment of 100 guineas as a consultant<sup>774</sup> until the international project was finally refocused away from the medieval period in 1931.<sup>775</sup> In July that year Beveridge invited Hall ‘to act as “honorary advisor” on antiquarian and other matters and [to] continue . . . to clear up difficulties for us in a way in which no one else can’,<sup>776</sup> an offer which Hall, of course, accepted. ‘I feel’, wrote Beveridge, ‘that your work for this should never really come to an end’, though in practice his admiration did not extend to supporting the proposal Hall enthusiastically made by return for publishing the Winchester Rolls.<sup>777</sup>

But there were other publication projects in hand, including what had perhaps been his most protracted task for the Selden Society: the completion of Charles Gross’s *Select Cases of the Law Merchant*. Volume 1 had been published in 1908; volumes 2 and 3 remained unpublished despite Hall’s efforts in the intervening decades to identify a suitable editor

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<sup>771</sup> Hall to Andrews, 14 July 1926, Andrews Papers, Box 24, Folder 293.

<sup>772</sup> Extract from Professorial Council Agenda, 18 Oct. 1944, LSE Staff File.

<sup>773</sup> W. Beveridge, *Prices in the Mercantile Period 1550-1830* (London, 1939), pp.xlix-lii.

<sup>774</sup> Mair to Hall, 3 May 1929 and 16 May 1930, 14 Nov. 1930, LSE Staff File.

<sup>775</sup> Because of the lack of comparable European data for the medieval period; as a result, ‘the work done on the Manorial Era in England was put into cold storage’, Beveridge, *Prices in the Mercantile Period*, p.li.

<sup>776</sup> Beveridge to Hall, 24 July 1931, LSE Staff File.

<sup>777</sup> Beveridge to Hall, 17 July 1931, LSE Staff File.

(three of whom, between 1910 and 1926 ‘all . . . failed (by one fatality and another) to deliver the goods’). In typical fashion he undertook to complete the translation and editing of the two volumes himself; this proved more complicated than anticipated. ‘The snag was’, he wrote to James Tait, ‘that [the Society] supposed that a lot of stuff was in hand, only wanting an industrious student to handle it, but this turned out to be a delusion’.<sup>778</sup> Nonetheless the volumes appeared in 1930 and 1932. Though showing some signs of a rushed job, the edition was generally well received – ‘the hand of the master archivist is apparent throughout’<sup>779</sup> – while the *Yale Law Journal* even referred to ‘Dr Hall’s customary lucid style’.<sup>780</sup>

Successful reviews aside, the start of the 1930s was an unsettled time for the Halls as a family. Marjorie, although planning a move to Northampton (see Chapter 1) was still unwell, Jack’s health was ‘far from good’ and Winifred was suffering from chronic arthritis; altogether Hall felt he had (and was responsible for) a ‘rather helpless family’. Making the farm a profitable venture seemed impossible: it was running an annual deficit of £100 ‘in spite of real hard work & simple husbandman’s way of living’.<sup>781</sup> 1931 at least ended well, with what was to be his final visit to the USA. The visit was set in train by Reginald Haselden, Curator of Manuscripts at the Huntington Library, who sought Hall’s advice about a suitably-qualified candidate to work on the Library’s extensive collections of English estate papers. Haselden (who was British himself) was insistent that ‘suitably-qualified’ meant ‘a person recommended or trained by Dr. Hubert Hall’.<sup>782</sup> Usually very ready to promote ex-students’ interests, the opportunity to work on the Huntington’s collections proved too great a temptation for Hall. Dismissing, for a variety of reasons, the claims of Mildred Wretts-Smith (‘brilliant, though I doubt if she is at her best with classification & description of documents . . . Moreover her health is poor’) and others

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<sup>778</sup> Hall to Tait, 19 Dec. 1933, TAI 1/91.

<sup>779</sup> I. Langbein, ‘Select Cases on the Law Merchant’ [review], *Columbia Law Review*, 33 (March 1933), p.561.

<sup>780</sup> H. Hall, ed. and trans., *Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant. Vol. 2, Central Courts, A.D. 1239–1633; Vol. 3, Supplementary Central Courts, A.D. 1251–1779*. Selden Society (London, 1930, 1932); J. Tait, ‘Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant, A. D. 1239-1633. Vol. ii. Central Courts’ [review], *EHR*, 46 (1931), p.643, notes a number of mistranslations as do more recent commentators i.e. S. Sachs, ‘From St. Ives to Cyberspace: The Modern Distortion of the Medieval “Law Merchant”’, *American University International Law Review*, 21 (2006), p.761, n. 267. G. Woodbine, ‘Select Cases on the Law Merchant. Volume III, (1251-1779)’ [review], *Yale Law Journal*, 42 (June 1933), p.1300.

<sup>781</sup> Hall to Andrews, 20 May 1931, Andrews Papers, Box 30, Folder 349.

<sup>782</sup> ‘Extract of letter from M[ax] F[arrand] to ‘JB’, 20 Aug. 1931, Huntington Institutional Archives (hereafter HIA), Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

(who would be 'unable to take the work that might cause the loss of their connexion with British & Foreign clients'),<sup>783</sup> he suggested that Haselden 'might find someone (like myself) sufficiently interested to come for board & travel for a month or two'.<sup>784</sup> Haselden was delighted to take the hint and after some necessary financial negotiations (the Huntington sent a draft for \$1500 to cover first class travel and expenses),<sup>785</sup> Hall and Winifred arrived in Pasadena in December 1931.

Tout and Beveridge had already visited the Huntington; it was Beveridge's glowing reports of the facilities available, and of the work that was needed on the collections which had particularly attracted Hall.<sup>786</sup> The original intention had been that the expert should work on the medieval material in the Ellesmere Papers (originally the Bridgewater House Library), the Huntingdon papers, the Battle Abbey Muniments and 'an enormous mass of material from Stowe', arranging these 'in scientific fashion and list[ing] the manuscripts for the express purpose of making them available to scholars and students'.<sup>787</sup> In practice the likely outcomes of Hall's work were, as Haselden had to admit to the Director of Research Dr. Max Farrand, unclear: 'It is impossible to state exactly what will be accomplished during the time Dr. Hall is here as the extent and nature of the documents at present is practically unknown'.<sup>788</sup> His vagueness was perhaps wise: although the Halls spent three months away from England, leaving Kent on 4 December,<sup>789</sup> they spent time in New York to meet up with the Shotwells, with Frieda Demerest (who, as Frieda Nicholas, had worked with Hall on the Prices and Wages project from 1923 until her marriage early in 1931) and Professor Edwin Gay and his wife.<sup>790</sup> Taking the train to the West Coast they only arrived in San Marino on 18 December. Hall worked regular hours in the Library ('one of the most beautiful, inside & outside, that I ever saw')<sup>791</sup> but Henry Huntington's gardens made just as deep an impression on him, and he later described the 'rousing

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<sup>783</sup> Hall to R. B. Haselden n.d.[mid-June] 1931], HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>784</sup> Hall to Haselden, n.d. [late June 1931], HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>785</sup> Haselden to Hall, 17 Aug. 1931 and 7 Oct. 1931. HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>786</sup> Beveridge, 'Some Explorations in San Marino,' p.85.

<sup>787</sup> Haselden to Hubert Hall, 29 May 1931, HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>788</sup> Memo, n.d. [Aug. 1931], HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>789</sup> Hall and Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 17 Jan. 1932, Andrews Papers, Box 31, Folder 357.

<sup>790</sup> Hall to Haselden, 24 Nov. 1931, Folder 31.1.1.19.3. A photograph of Edwin and Louise Gay (c1901) is available on the Harvard Business School website, [www.hbs.edu](http://www.hbs.edu) [viewed 18 April 2012]. Frieda Nicholas had married earlier in 1931 (BMD) in Wandsworth.

<sup>791</sup> Hall and Winifred Hall to Evangeline Andrews, 17 Jan. 1932, Andrews Papers, Box 31, Folder 357.

beves of quail [whirling] like feathered cricket-balls across the lawns, and . . . the homeward walk to tea, when the blaze of the poinsettias show[ed] a deeper red in the cool shadows'.<sup>792</sup>

In all the Halls spent just over five weeks in San Marino.<sup>793</sup> The decision to return to the UK via the Panama Canal (because of changes to liner schedules) meant embarkation from Los Angeles on 31 January 1932. A spoof ship's log sent to Haselden from onboard SS Pennsylvania gives some idea of their high spirits:

31 Jan	9-11pm	Watched cargo put on board. Sorry for the board (and cargo)
1 Feb	12 - 5-6am	Heard cargo put on board (sorry for selves)
	8am	Breakfast. Flowers fresh (selves not)
	9am-11am	In deck-chair queue (H.H. only W.H. in bed)
	11am-12.30pm	Trying to forget 'bovril' (served 10.55AM) <sup>794</sup>

Hall immediately set about putting his notes into some kind of order. He sent his first report 'on the manorial documents in the Huntington Library' back to California in March 1932, though it was probably a second report, entitled 'Some characteristic features of the Ellesmere collection', which Haselden later edited and 'attempted to straighten up some of the more involved sentences'.<sup>795</sup> An article for the Library's *Bulletin* was mooted, but did not materialize and in fact it is difficult to identify any concrete results of Hall's work: for example, while a report on the Hastings manuscripts published in 1934 contained a section on manorial records it gives no indication of any work that Hall might have done.<sup>796</sup> Nonetheless the Halls and the Haseldens had clearly enjoyed each other's company and a friendly correspondence was maintained (which including exchanges of copies of *The Strand Magazine* and the *New Yorker*) until Haselden's early death in 1937.

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<sup>792</sup> H. Hall, 'The New Pilgrimage to San Marino', *Contemporary Review*, 148 (Aug 1935), p.220.

<sup>793</sup> Hall to Beveridge, [2]3 Dec. 1931, LSE Staff File.

<sup>794</sup> Hall to Haselden, 2 Feb. 1932, HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>795</sup> Haselden to Farrand, 26 July 1933. HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>796</sup> R. Haselden, H. Schulz *et al*, 'Summary Report on the Hastings Manuscripts', *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, 5 (April 1934), pp.1-67.

Over and above his Huntington report Hall continued working as usual: research on English marshland farming, working with Winfred on Westminster ratebooks and chancery records, and, of course, occupied with RHS and Selden Society publications. '[A]fter that', he wrote to Haselden, 'I am free to write a political novel or to work up my experiences as an off[icial] archivist by way of reminiscences. I hate to be always dull and to be didactic means that you must be dull.'<sup>797</sup> In July he and Winifred were in Stiffkey (then enjoying the scandal of its rector) but also deeply concerned by Marjorie's deteriorating condition.<sup>798</sup> Her death on 5 August upset him deeply. Although he was soon back working on *TRHS* proofs and the final version of the Huntington report<sup>799</sup> his letters to Andrews in particular over the next few months seem uncharacteristically gloomy – and about the political and economic situation as well as his own:

Everything here seems to be in a state of tension – in Imperial affairs, Ireland, India, Africa, Egypt, Persia, to wit: in home affairs, a brooding cotton and railway, and actual bus strike: a silly squabble with the Australian cricket board, and other crises.<sup>800</sup>

'I have been seriously tempted to chuck it all up', he confessed to Haselden, 'but one hates to do anything that one might regret or that might savour of cowardice, and so one has gone on.'<sup>801</sup> His perspective on foreign affairs, here the impact of the first anti-Jewish legislation by the National Socialist government in April 1933, was inevitably coloured by historical precedent:

I expect there will be a great influx of Jews from Germany [] . . . We have got a lot here already, many able, cultured, humane. I always liked Jews personally, but their want of nationality is a "snag". One feels that this has been the trouble all the time, and it may explain why the medieval Church took the part of the Jews and Templars expelled by Edw I & Edw II. "Why? I will tell you!" –

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<sup>797</sup> Hall to Haselden, [] June 1932. The article was H. Hall, 'The Romance of Marshland Farming', *Contemporary Review*, 143 (1933), pp.696–705.

<sup>798</sup> Hall to Haselden, 27 July 1932.

<sup>799</sup> Hall to Haselden, n.d; received in Pasadena 6 Sept. 1932.

<sup>800</sup> Hall to Haselden 11 Feb 1933.

<sup>801</sup> Hall to Haselden, 31 July 1933.

as Walter of Henley says: The medieval Church, being Catholic, was international, of course.<sup>802</sup>

It may be a fanciful suggestion, but there are indications that Hall had the same kind of relationship with Walter of Henley as he had, 30 years previously, with Swereford. Walter of Henley's treatise on husbandry (giving him an immediate agriculturalist's connection with Hall), written at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, was already very well known: Thorold Rogers had used it, and the RHS edition of 1890 had an introduction by Hall's old friend William Cunningham.<sup>803</sup> A newly-discovered manuscript from a Mottisfont Priory register must have given Hall pleasure on several levels. In October 1933 the RHS convened a special meeting to discuss the possibility of a new edition. Introduced by Hall, the main speaker was Eileen Power, who acknowledged Hall's 'special knowledge of the subject and . . . his never-failing kindness in communicating it'.<sup>804</sup> As with so many RHS events, the room was full of Hall's friends, ex-students and colleagues: among them Edwin Gay, Professor Tawney (with whom Hall had collaborated, along with Marc Bloc, in 1929),<sup>805</sup> Power herself, and finally Joan Wake, countrywoman as well as historical worker, whose suggestion that 'practical farmers of today' should collaborate in any new edition would surely have appealed to Hall.<sup>806</sup> By the time Power's paper appeared, he had published his own article in the *Contemporary Review* (May 1934).<sup>807</sup>

The early 1930s saw the development of bodies which were, eventually, to separate archival concerns from historical ones and become the bedrock for a separate discipline of professional archivists; Hall (and Winifred) attended the annual receptions of the newly-created British Records Association,<sup>808</sup> no doubt enthusiastic in particular about its support for local archive services. He continued, though less regularly, to publish his own work, but he was as active as ever on behalf of the RHS (the honorarium for the literary

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<sup>802</sup> Hall to Haselden, 14 July 1933. The refugee influx would have reminded Hall of the Belgian refugee crisis at the start of the Great War: 'We are putting up some Belgians at C[hob]ham'. Hall to Tout, 19 Dec. 1914, TFT 1/466/19.

<sup>803</sup> E. Lamond (ed.), *Walter of Henley's Husbandry* (London, 1890).

<sup>804</sup> E. Power, 'On the Need for a New Edition of Walter of Henley', *TRHS* 4<sup>th</sup> ser., 17 (1934), p.107.

<sup>805</sup> H. Hall, R. Tawney, M. Bloch, 'Les plans parcellaires: Allemagne, Angleterre, Danemark, France' *Annales de l'histoire économique et sociale*, 1 (1929), pp.229-31.

<sup>806</sup> 'Agriculture in the Middle Ages. Walter of Henley's Treatise', *The Times*, 13 Oct. 1933, p.19.

<sup>807</sup> H. Hall, 'Walter of Henley and the Gospel of Husbandry', *Contemporary Review*, 145 (1934), pp.573-81.

<sup>808</sup> 'British Records Association', *The Times*, 13 Nov. 1934, p.17; 19 Nov. 1935, p.19. 'Piecing History Together', *The Times*, 16 Nov. 1937, p.21.

directorship now the only supplement to his pension). As late as November 1936 (at the age of 79) he was seeing no fewer than five volumes through the press, with more in preparation.<sup>809</sup> 'I sometimes wonder who will do these jobs when I drop out' he had written earlier that year.<sup>810</sup> Even so, it must have been clear to Hall that a new generation was in the ascendant; the deaths not only of his contemporaries but also of younger colleagues were a regular occurrence. Crump died in 1935, as did Kate Norgate and Maude Clarke, medievalists whose work had been published in *TRHS*, Clarke only 43; Firth and Sir Richard Lodge, (Lodge having been President of the RHS between 1929 and 1933) and Eleanor Lodge all died in 1936<sup>811</sup> and Pollock,<sup>812</sup> Haselden and John Franklin Jameson in 1937. Richard Chope, another of Hall's early LSE seminar members, died in February 1938.<sup>813</sup> On 10 March 1938 he attended the funeral of Alfred Stamp;<sup>814</sup> just six weeks later his own son Jack died, less than two years after his marriage and leaving his wife, Nora, pregnant. Henry Biggar ('Chief Archivist for Canada in Europe') who had given evidence to the RCPR, died later that same summer.<sup>815</sup>

Hall retired as Literary Director of the RHS, after 47 years, in October 1938, his final year in office marked by the largest number of volumes ever published by the Society in one year. In 1939 he was made an honorary Vice-President of both the RHS and the Selden Society, and at the RHS summer meeting on 6 July was presented with an address signed by 324 former pupils, colleagues and friends.<sup>816</sup> The text was published in *Transactions*:

It would be hard to over-estimate the debt which the Society owes for his unremitting labour on its behalf. . . . He has placed at the service of scholars who have contributed to the Society's publications a range and variety of historical knowledge such as is rarely possessed by one man in any generation.<sup>817</sup>

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<sup>809</sup> Hall to Tait, 1 Nov. 1936, TAI 1/91.

<sup>810</sup> Hall to Herman Smith, 10 May 1936, HIA.

<sup>811</sup> Hall attended Lodge's funeral on 24 March 1936, *The Times*, 25 March 1936, p.19.

<sup>812</sup> Hall attended Pollock's memorial service on 28 Jan. 1937, *The Times*, 29 Jan. 1937, p. 17.

<sup>813</sup> 'Mr R. P. Chope' [obituary], *The Times*, 11 Feb. 1938, p.16.

<sup>814</sup> *The Times*, 11 March 1938, p.17.

<sup>815</sup> H. Hall, 'Dr. H.P. Biggar', *The Times*, 3 Aug. 1938, p.12.

<sup>816</sup> *The Times*, 7 July, p.17. This was one of three similar addresses subsequently lost. They are listed by Hall in CKS, U890 F1.

<sup>817</sup> 'Report of the Council. Session 1937-1938', *TRHS* 4<sup>th</sup> ser., 22 (1940), p. 243.

Hall and Winfred finally retired permanently to the house at Walderslade, giving him the opportunity, he must have thought, to start, finally, to write his memoirs (or possibly the political novel he had mentioned to Haselden). The outbreak of war put a stop to any thought of a complete retirement; there were 'all sorts of pressing correspondence with official, local and academic correspondents, including old students wanting war time jobs 'and there were, too, unexpected physical demands: 'to make things harder for us', he wrote to Andrews, 'I have been seriously unwell with dropsy, from a strained heart, as the result of too much "digging for Victory" (and food)'.<sup>818</sup>

Money remained a continual problem to the extent that he considered withdrawing from any society requiring a subscription. American ex-students and colleagues provided practical help (and perhaps an opportunity to repay the Halls for the hospitality offered in Chancery Lane or at Stiffkey) in the shape of food parcels, and the opportunity to reflect on the value of archives: 'How will we be able to carry on without a true History of Eastern Europe in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century?' asked Hall of Andrews in April 1941, 'It is difficult . . . for any country . . . to raise the question of authentic records . . . but if indeed historical truth is to prevail, some attempt to preserve a true standard ought to be made.'<sup>819</sup> The Halls' world had certainly shrunk; by December 1942 he and Winifred had not visited London for more than two years, constrained by war, old age and the relentless routine imposed by their 22 acres. But despite his deteriorating eyesight, Hall remained an enthusiastic letter writer and was clearly delighted to be able to sign off as 'VP RHist Soc'.<sup>820</sup> His last letter to Charles Andrews, dated 31 August 1943, was probably never read by its intended recipient: Andrews died on 9 September. In it Hall had written about the war coming closer: 'we here seem to be as much involved as if we were in a front-line trench!' In mid June 1944 the German V1 assault on London began in earnest; by the end of June up to 100 V1s were reaching London daily, the majority via the 'Bomb Alley' of north Kent and Sussex. A month later 'Cartref', which lay on this flight path, was hit, and badly enough to be subsequently uninhabitable). Hall, who had been looking through his papers with the intention of making notes for the LSE's Golden Jubilee, was not seriously

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<sup>818</sup> Hall to Andrews, 28 April 1941, Andrews Papers, Box 42, Folder 457.

<sup>819</sup> Hall to Andrews, 28 April 1941, Andrews Papers, Box 42, Folder 457.

<sup>820</sup> Hall to Andrews, 23 Dec. 1942, Andrews Papers, Box 43, Folder 468.

hurt, but, shaken (and still recovering from a serious fall earlier in the spring), had to be moved to hospital.<sup>821</sup> He died there, in his sleep, on his 87<sup>th</sup> birthday on 27 July 1944.

*Aftermath — Winifred and Dickie*

His bureau & papers were blown all over the place & I have not been able to sort things out as we had to leave the damaged furniture until the Government Valuer (War Risks) had seen them.<sup>822</sup>

Over the next few months Winifred tried to deal with Hall's papers and books, many damaged in the raid; she finally packaged up books and sent them for sale at the booksellers Hodgsons at 115 Chancery Lane.<sup>823</sup> Winifred and Dickie moved into a cottage, 'Roseglade', their income much reduced (even from its previously unsatisfactory level). She was unsuccessful in her application to the Royal Literary Fund for a widow's grant, though in her support PRO Secretary C. T. Flower had written warmly of the many scholars who had 'received many kindnesses from [Hall] and from Mrs Hall, who helped in every possible way in his efforts to get scholars together in a friendly way'.<sup>824</sup> In the severe winters of the late 1940s there was continuing help from their American friends: on one occasion Evangeline Andrews seems to have arranged a whip-round for clothes to send to England. Ranging from 'undies and stockings', a dressing gown and silk dress, to a tweed coat from Professor Wallace Notestein at Yale, these parcels were a godsend and Winifred was suitably grateful.<sup>825</sup> It is through the continuing correspondence between the two women that we have some idea of Winifred's life after Hall's death: an isolated and financially precarious one. For several years she thought about returning to North Wales, though this did not happen,<sup>826</sup> and she and Dickie struggled on into the 1950s. 'We are as poor as ever – indeed worse than ever', she wrote to Evangeline at the beginning of 1951, though she was still in a position to be able to pass on Evangeline's most recent parcel to the American air force base near Ramsgate. By now almost 80, Winifred, suffering with

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<sup>821</sup> Winifred to Mrs Carr Saunders, 3 Sept. 1944, LSE Staff File.

<sup>822</sup> Winifred to Mrs Carr Saunders, 3 Sept. 1944, LSE Staff File.

<sup>823</sup> Winifred to Miss Evans, 21 Nov. 1944, LSE Staff File.

<sup>824</sup> C. Flower to Royal Literary Society (copy), [1945] PRO44/1.

<sup>825</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Adams, 29 April 1947 and 8 May 1947, Andrews Papers, Box 45, Folder 494.

<sup>826</sup> Winifred Hall to Evangeline Adams, 8 May 1947 and 15 Jan. 1949, Andrews Papers, Box 45, Folder 494 and Box 46, Folder 503; and 22 March 1951, Box 47, Folder 516.

arthritis, was finding it increasingly difficult to cope: 'Sometimes I feel it is difficult to stand up to [continuous news of disasters] and would be glad to be released if it were not for my dear boy – he is such a cripple and more or less an invalid.'<sup>827</sup>

Still at Roseglade in 1964,<sup>828</sup> Winifred died on 9 July 1967 in her mid-90s under the care of the Court of Protection (the circumstances of which are unknown); after her funeral on 14 July she was buried in Aylesford church a couple of kilometres from Walderslade.<sup>829</sup> Dickie had died the previous year.<sup>830</sup> Completing the archival circle, it was Joan Wake, Hall's ex-pupil, who arranged the deposit of his papers at the PRO after Winifred's death and almost 90 years after Hall was first appointed there.<sup>831</sup>

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<sup>827</sup> Winifred to Evangeline Andrews, 22 March and 25 Jan. 1951, Andrews Papers, Box 47, Folders 516 and 515.

<sup>828</sup> According to the 1964 telephone directory, BT Historical Phone Books, available online via [www.ancestry.co.uk](http://www.ancestry.co.uk)

<sup>829</sup> Joan Wake to H. C. Johnson, 7 Sept. 1967, PRO57/1855.

<sup>830</sup> BMD, July–Sept 1966.

<sup>831</sup> Correspondence between Joan Wake and PRO secretary (Johnson), PRO 57/1855.

## CHAPTER 6

### DEVELOPING EDUCATION AND TRAINING: FOR HISTORIANS, ARCHIVISTS AND RECORD WORKERS

*. . . there is no better or more bracing exercise for a student of history than to work through for himself a Court Roll or Inquisition* <sup>832</sup>

*You would say that at present there are no regular means of acquiring that knowledge [of diplomatics] in England? No, except my friend Mr. Hubert Hall, and Dr. R.L. Poole*<sup>833</sup>

Chapter 5 concluded with an example of the loyalty which Hall could inspire in his students. Joan Wake, who had first met Hall in 1913<sup>834</sup> remained in touch with him, and then Winifred, for more than 50 years. Hall's dedication to his students, and their loyalty to him, are referred to again and again by his contemporaries, and some examples have already been mentioned in this thesis. The overall objective of this Chapter is to evaluate the impact of Hall's teaching on his students, and to consider the extent to which, through them and their own work, his contribution to the promotion of historical enterprise, and to archival endeavour in particular, has been far greater than is currently recognized.

Hall's teaching was directed at historical workers, some of whom may alternatively (or also) identified themselves as researchers, or record workers, or even, towards the end of the period under discussion, as archivists. As we have already seen, Hall's calls for 'trained archivists' (though he was not a lone voice in this respect) increased during the First World War, as part of the call for improvements in the national archival infrastructure more generally. Given that the notion of professional archivists (as a body) was a continental European phenomenon<sup>835</sup> it is anachronistic to talk about *archival education* in the sense that it is now understood. It is far more appropriate to think in terms of education and training *about* archives, an education which could be directed towards any category of historical worker. Thus, rather than trying (for example) to map

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<sup>832</sup> F. Madan, *Books in Manuscript: a Short Introduction to their Study and Use with a Chapter on Records* (London, 1893), p.150. Madan, Bodley's Librarian from 1912, was also university lecturer in palaeography between 1889 and 1913.

<sup>833</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, p.163 Evidence of A. Little.

<sup>834</sup> P. Gordon, 'Wake, Joan (1884–1974)', *ONDB*.

<sup>835</sup> 'In certain foreign countries ... the conditions ... are very different from those which obtain in England. There archivism is a profession', RCPR, *First Report*, Part 1, p.32–33.

elements of nineteenth-century provision onto elements of current 'professional education' (although in Chapter 7 I will take that approach towards archival roles and processes), this chapter will discuss the nature of the education and training provided for individuals who would later re-categorize (or self-identify) themselves as *either* historians *or* archivists. An understanding of this education and training process is important because it contributes to the later development of the professional education and training of archivists.

It should be noted at the outset that Hall's work was not typical of late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century practice: that he was a pioneer in this area was already recognized by his contemporaries. This chapter therefore begins by providing a brief account of the context out of which his own work developed and his opinions formed, that is, (1) the training available to the men managing the largest body of archives in Britain at the Public Record Office (without, usually, considering themselves, or calling themselves, archivists); (2) the teaching of history as a university subject and, particularly, the development of the seminar form; (3) the views of the historical establishment on the need for training historical workers generally, and of archivists specifically. It will then discuss Hall's teaching work within the context of these elements. It will discuss his pedagogy, including the seminars where the use of documents was widely praised as opening up new avenues of research, particularly for economic history. We have already noted the collaborative publications which emerged from these seminars; this chapter will also touch on the way in which these collaborations created scholarly relationships and networks in Britain and further afield. It will further draw attention to his students, and particularly the women students whose careers he promoted assiduously.

Hall was, by every account an extremely successful and inspirational teacher at a small group level (in direct contrast to his performance in the lecture hall). He made extensive use of the seminar form and did so, uniquely, from the point of view of a custodian of records as well as a teacher (and indeed as an editor). Thus the nature of those seminars, their membership and what they produced are important in understanding the later development of archival education as I suggest that, in its close focus on the records, and on their interpretation, his seminar teaching was influential on the development of that

education.<sup>836</sup> In addition, the publication of work derived from his seminars was pioneering both in terms of its content (particular the works dealing with diplomatic analysis) but also in his readiness to credit members of the seminar for their contributions. A majority of seminar participants were women and examination of their experience of these seminars contributes, again, to a fuller understanding of the major role taken by women in developing archival practice and archival networks in the mid-twentieth century. It may be significant to record here that discussion of the seminar as a method of history teaching has, both in the case of the US and Germany, highlighted it as way of excluding women from a world of male historical scholarship (see literature review, Introduction); with minor exceptions this is not apparent in any discussion of the seminar for the same period in the British context.

### *The Public Record Office*

Although Levine has argued that by the late nineteenth century the staff of the PRO formed the country's first body of professional archivists,<sup>837</sup> her argument rests on their specialism; there are many other elements of professionalism (a recognized body of knowledge, external regulation, for example) which were notably absent. Such a specialism was, *de facto*, necessary given that only a single institution with the function of government (archival) recordkeeping; certainly PRO staff did not self-identify as archivists (or indeed as historians),<sup>838</sup> and would not have considered themselves as possessing skills transferrable to another environment (their skills were PRO-specific). Writing in 1914, Hall suggested that the late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century record officers explicitly rejected the concept of *archival* professionalism (or at least were unaware of its being an option): they received, he said,

no special training, and were officially regarded as clerks and not as archivists. Indeed the later Victorian and Edwardian record officers seem to have actually lost the opportunities for professional initiative and advancement that fell in the way of some of their predecessors.<sup>839</sup>

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<sup>836</sup> For which see Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists*, Chapter 7, 'Gatekeepers to the Profession: Archival Education, 1880–1980.

<sup>837</sup> Levine, 'History in the Archives'.

<sup>838</sup> See e.g. Stamp, 'Retrospect', p.37, 'please to remember that I am only a Civil Servant who has never posed as an historian'.

<sup>839</sup> Hall, 'National Records', p.375.

Nor (to continue to argue against the ‘professional archivists’ proposition), was a pre-existing body of professional literature or well-defined principles available to those ‘later Victorian and Edwardian record officers’ (though it can certainly be convincingly argued that it was those men who developed this body of literature as we will see in the next Chapter); nor were there specialist examinations for entry into the PRO, as was the case elsewhere in Europe for entry into a national archival service.<sup>840</sup> Yet, despite all these caveats it would clearly be an omission *not* to consider the way in which PRO officers were trained to work with the records: it can at least be said that they exhibited professional characteristics.

As with Hall’s appointment in 1879, the officers from whom the Assistant Keepers were ultimately drawn (that is, Class 1 clerks) entered the PRO via the general Civil Service examinations. They were not required (nor were they able) to express any preference for a particular department or position; successful candidates were offered vacant posts across the Civil Service in order of their position in the examinations. This was problematic for the PRO as its salary scales compared poorly with other departments; more successful candidates (and thus those likely to be more intellectually well qualified) would be offered, and take, better paid entry-level positions elsewhere.<sup>841</sup> Lyte had managed to extract the concession from the Civil Service Commission that appointment to the Office should depend on an additional examination in French and Latin, though the test itself was ‘not a very exacting one’.<sup>842</sup> Given these entry conditions, most specialist training had to be, and was, on the job; the nature and appropriateness of this training were the subject of detailed examination by the RCPR:

When a man first comes in, the first day he arrives, he is set down in front of a volume of facsimilies . . . he is told to decipher the facsimile and make the best thing he can of it by himself, and then to compare his own version with that given by the editor.<sup>843</sup>

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<sup>840</sup> Or, indeed, as there were for entry into the British Museum and South Kensington Museums.

<sup>841</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 1, p.31. For Lyte’s tussles with the Treasury on recruitment during the 1890s see Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.321–24.

<sup>842</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 1, p.31.

<sup>843</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, p.26 (evidence from Lyte).

On his appointment in 1905 Alfred Bland was 'put to sit with Mr Rodney for a short while, and after that with Mr Isaacson, an Assistant Record Keeper . . . for about two years'. Bland reported that his palaeography was learnt by making office copies of increasingly difficult documents: 'an early Close Roll to copy *literatim*'. He assisted Mr Isaacson with the revision of the Patent Roll Calendars: 'when I say revising . . . I mean that I read the Roll occasionally and then took my turn with the manuscript of other people's calendars'. Informal instruction came by shadowing senior colleagues; Bland 'went with [Rodney] constantly on to the floors in the Record Rooms where he was engaged in some rearrangement and listing, and [he] had some slight experience in the Public Search rooms'. The general view of the younger clerks was that both the principle and method of their training was 'absolutely sound'.<sup>844</sup> Hilary Jenkinson, who entered the Office in 1906, had worked in a similar way with Crump and with Johnson, but he also drew attention to his exposure to underlying principles, telling the Commissioner: 'I had instruction in theory, and I spent a good deal of time seeing what books there were on various subjects connected with records.'<sup>845</sup>

There was little support from the staff for the type of archival training practised in the state archive systems of France, Belgium or the Netherlands. This training had impressed the Commissioners but they appreciated that such arrangements were inappropriate for the British administrative system, and in any case worked only where formally-constituted archives, providing positions for a body of professional archivists, could be found 'in every important local centre'. On the other hand the informality of the PRO approach was problematic; it needed to be systematized so that inexperience and lack of knowledge no longer led to failures in the arrangement of the records, to poor finding aids, or to 'the publication of imperfect work'; in addition it took up too much of the senior staff's time. What was needed was a year's post-appointment training, at a university or elsewhere, to include 'mediaeval Latin and French, the history of legal institutions, mediaeval legal practice, palaeography and diplomatic, and especially the methods and tools of research'.<sup>846</sup> Whether needed or not, this was not a model that existed before the

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<sup>844</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, pp. 64–65. On the other hand Pike, who retired in 1889, emphasized the need for a course in the law, 'as it was in the old days before the reign of William IV' (Part 3, p.71); Pike was a barrister and Year Book editor.

<sup>845</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, pp.65–66.

<sup>846</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 1, pp.32–33.

1940s, and as a form of qualification for service in central government recordkeeping it has never been adopted at all.

*Educating 'about' Archives — the Place of Documents, Records and Archives within History Teaching and Advanced Historical Training*

In Britain the introduction of history into the universities as a separate honours degree subject took place first at Oxford in 1872 (although there had been the possibility of studying history there since 1853) and then, following the creation of the Historical Tripos in 1873, at Cambridge. This establishment within the universities of history as an academic discipline eventually required the appointment of an increasing number of subject specialists, a process which, in the United States, had taken place earlier and to a greater extent than in the UK. The development and increase of postgraduate-level, research-based study (or 'advanced' study) within universities followed the same pattern. Thus in the mid nineteenth-century the first wave of American scholars who needed the training in historical research methods to qualify them for a university position had studied in Germany, a circumstance which was both cause and effect of a major preoccupation of nineteenth century American historians, the development of the American constitution. An understanding of the institutions of early and medieval England was considered vital to understanding American constitutional developments – but Germanic traditions were considered to underlie both. The consequent emphasis on medieval history within the framework of the new document-based scientific history meant that scholars needed a thorough grounding not only in medieval administrative history, but in the specialist skills required to evaluate and read the documents themselves. It was only in German universities that young American historians had the opportunity to learn 'a dazzling array of refined and esoteric techniques for ferreting out and verifying the historical fact [such as] palaeography, numismatics, epigraphy, sphragistics and many more'.<sup>847</sup>

William Stubbs' appointment as Regius Professor of History at Oxford in 1867 heralded 'a new era of medieval studies' in Britain.<sup>848</sup> His admiration for the results and methods of

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<sup>847</sup> Novick, 'That Noble Dream', p.23.

<sup>848</sup> M. Knowles, 'Some Trends in Scholarship, 1868-1968, in the Field of Medieval History', *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> ser., 19 (1969), pp. 139-57.

German scholarship was limitless, and his own work, principally his *Constitutional History*, and his *Select Charters* (the latter first published in 1870 and reaching its ninth edition in 1913) became required texts for history students. His insistence on the primacy of the document, and therefore on the importance of its correct interpretation, deeply impressed his contemporaries; the students he inspired – Tout, Firth, Poole and Round have already been referred to – were among those whose work ensured the pre-eminence of medieval history throughout the 1890s.<sup>849</sup> This was also the generation responsible for the development of the infrastructure of professional history.<sup>850</sup> With that infrastructure in place (the university teaching of history, the consolidation of the RHS, the appearance of scholarly journals) the possibility of structured research training became possible.

Previous chapters have referred to the role of the RHS in promoting Advanced Historical Training, and the provision of evidence-based research training at the LSE; here I will outline the particular discussions which took place over training about archives (and even, in some cases, ‘archivists’). Such discussions were often, and very unhelpfully given the resource implications, based on the assumption that the *École des Chartes* was the model to which to aspire (though allowing, of course, for national administrative differences);<sup>851</sup> the figure of the ‘Archiviste Paléographe’ who graduated from the *École* with both advanced historical training and the skills to manage his share of the national archives became an ideal for many. The lack of a British equivalent harmed not just the records of the nation but those lying outside the Public Records system, the archives of local administrations in particular.<sup>852</sup> Without trained individuals, not only would these records’ physical condition continue to deteriorate, but there would be no intellectual organization and consequently no research access. Lyte used his presidential address to the Royal Archaeological Society in 1893 to suggest the need for a British *École des Chartes*, ‘where a course of systematic instruction would be given in the art of deciphering ancient manuscripts and other kindred subjects’<sup>853</sup> (even if he seems to have revised his views by the time he gave evidence to the RCPR). York Powell (a Francophile in general) was a particularly keen supporter of the idea:

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<sup>849</sup> Account of Stubbs’ influence based on Knowles, ‘Trends in Scholarship’.

<sup>850</sup> Goldstein, ‘Organizational Development of the British Historical Profession’, pp.18–93.

<sup>851</sup> ‘Ecole nationale des chartes. L’école’, [www.enc.sorbonne.fr/1-ecole.html](http://www.enc.sorbonne.fr/1-ecole.html) [viewed 21 Aug. 2009]. Founded in 1821 to educate ‘des jeunes gens capables d’organiser les dépôts de documents issus des confiscations révolutionnaires et de renouveler l’histoire nationale’.

<sup>852</sup> The papers of institutions and families at least coming within the purview of the HMC.

<sup>853</sup> Lyte, ‘Opening Address’, p.363.

The French archives are not so fine as ours, but they take care to preserve their local and provincial documents as well as their national and central records; they give their archivists a regular training, they calendar and make accessible all that time and fate have spared of pre-revolutionary documents. We have not got farther than the provision of a fine central Record Office . . . though we have lately set up at Oxford, Cambridge, and London the regular courses of palaeography, diplomatic, and bibliography, that constitute the preliminary training of the archivist or historical research. We want more: we must have county archives, kept by trained archivists. We must have more trained archivists at the disposal of the Deputy Keeper of the Rolls . . .<sup>854</sup>

This passage neatly summarises the main concerns of this period: Britain was squandering the potential of the world's finest collections of archives, held centrally and locally, because it had failed to provide the specialist training which would allow for their proper care and exploitation on a *systematic* basis. Powell's plea for 'more trained archivists' was, in 1898, far ahead of its time, if only in terms of supply and demand, though to provide demand he also promoted, and in some detail, the idea of a network of government-sponsored regional archives, which would accept deposited records, and provide guaranteed employment for a regular supply of trained, 'certificated archivists'.<sup>855</sup> This was, at the turn of the twentieth century, an unlikely pipe dream, indeed an infrastructure to support such a model (which, as noted above, included university-based training) would not be in place in England until the 1940s, and in some parts of Britain, notably Scotland, not until the 1980s. Without a network of repositories such as existed on the Continent, it was easy to make the case that there was no need for specialised training over and above that provided for historical workers more generally.

By the end of the 1890s, while provision for this wider group of historical workers was not systematic there was, at least, an awareness of what kind of training was necessary, and a number of providers linked, at least, by their common membership of the historical establishment, were helping not only themselves but their professional colleagues; the English *École des Chartes* had always been, as RHS President A. W. Ward suggested, 'the

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<sup>854</sup> F. Powell, 'Preface', in Seignobos and Langlois, *Study of History*, p.iv.

<sup>855</sup> F. Powell 'The *École des Chartes* and English Records', *TRHS*, new ser., 11 (1897), pp.31-40.

school of self-help'.<sup>856</sup> In 1898 the *Quarterly Review* could identify several institutions where such training, carried out 'upon the most approved principles', was available:

Oxford has once more led the way . . . The course of original instruction in diplomatics, palaeography and in the applied scholarship of sources and bibliography . . . forms an agreeable relief to the conventional work of the Schools. It makes no pretension to rank with the professional curriculum of the 'Ecole des Chartes', but it amply suffices for academical purposes. At Cambridge a course of instruction has been provided by the public spirit of a private scholar, and this is being followed up in a series of university lectures delivered by Mr. W. H. Stevenson upon the origins of our Old English diplomata. Finally in the heart of the prosaic and illiterate capital, a third class, in palaeography and diplomatics, has suddenly sprung up in connexion with the LSE, which, profiting by the friendly interest of the authorities and students of the British Museum and Record Office, has achieved an astonishing success.<sup>857</sup>

The author of this anonymous article, the public-spirited private scholar, and the man responsible for the 'astonishing success' of the LSE provision, were all Hubert Hall.

### *The Importance of the Seminar*

To provide the context for Hall's seminar work, the following section traces the adoption – and adaption – of the classic German seminar into parts of the British university system,<sup>858</sup> and then looks at Hall's interpretation<sup>859</sup> of the method, and, more importantly, as suggested in the introduction to this Chapter, at its results.

The objective of the seminar was, as Hall and his contemporaries understood it, 'not to teach the facts of history but to teach the correct methods of dealing with the raw material from which the facts must be determined'.<sup>859</sup> Its roots lay in the German university

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<sup>856</sup> A. Ward, 'Presidential Address', *TRHS*, new ser., 14 (1900), p.17.

<sup>857</sup> [H. Hall], 'The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents', *Quarterly Review*, 188 (July 1898), pp.183–215.

<sup>858</sup> The following section draws particularly on Clark, 'Dialectical Origins'.

<sup>859</sup> Adams, 'Historical Seminary', p.522.

philology seminars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century where a small group of students was dedicated both to a single professor and to the study of a specific problem within a disciplinary area, the term 'seminar' or 'seminary' denoting the particular group of students rather a teaching method *per se*.<sup>860</sup> It was Ranke's adoption of the seminar which canonized it as the desirable teaching method for history students: 'a group of promising pupils to whom the master taught the skills of his craft in co-operative work with mutual help and rivalry in the field of his own studies.'<sup>861</sup> In this model each student would defend a paper arguing a particular position (one, ideally, which differentiated him from his fellow students) against the rest of the group. The process was designed to encourage the development of critical facilities, though the specificity of the problems and depth of analysis required meant that a sense of context, and sometimes of perspective, could easily be lost. Refined by in-depth criticism of his peers and professor the student's thesis would be gradually achieve perfection, or, in practical terms, be deemed publishable.

The practice was familiar to Americans who had studied in Germany; its consequent introduction to American universities during the 1880s, retaining the emphasis on careful scholarship and original, publishable research, was indicative of the relatively advanced development of the American historical research culture noted earlier. However, its practical implementation was not always entirely successful. Jameson complained about Herbert Baxter Adams' 'tiresome' seminars at Johns Hopkins, where there was 'too much mutual admiration and not enough savage criticism';<sup>862</sup> while British economic historian William Ashley (who was appointed Professor of Economic History at Harvard in 1892) described the seminar's inherent tendency towards 'disintegration' (with familiar accuracy):

it must be confessed that most of the members of a seminary, having no special knowledge of the subject assigned to a particular afternoon, take only a languid interest in what is set before them, and contribute little in the way of

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<sup>860</sup> Clark, 'Dialectical Origins', p.130. Smith, *Gender of History*, provides an accessible synthesis of Clark *et al.* in a section on 'The Historical Seminar', pp.105–116.

<sup>861</sup> M. Knowles 'Presidential Address: Great Historical Enterprises III. The Monumenta Germaniae Historica', *TRHS*, 5<sup>th</sup> ser., 10 (1960), p.135.

<sup>862</sup> Novick, *Noble Dream* pp.39, 48. Adams gained his PhD at Heidelberg before returning to the US.

discussion; while the professor who presides soon exhausts the generalities which occur to him<sup>863</sup>

Many American researchers in the PRO searchrooms in the 1890s therefore had experience (of whatever kind) of seminar work. Fewer British students had similar experiences;<sup>864</sup> two who did were Andrew Little and George Prothero, both well known to Hall and not unlikely to have discussed their experiences with him. Little, visiting lecturer in palaeography at Manchester University between 1903 and 1928 (and first independent lecturer in history at the future Cardiff University)<sup>865</sup> spent a year in the late 1880s in Göttingen. He was enthusiastic about his seminar experience:

It was a discussion [he wrote to his stepmother] between students and professor on the principles and practice of the critical examination of original historical documents . . . [Ludwig] Weiland was the professor; he is quite splendid . . . and quoted a few screamingly funny examples of documentary falsifications. I did not know the subject was capable of such a treatment.<sup>866</sup>

Hall's close RHS colleague Prothero attended Heinrich von Sybel's seminar in Bonn, 'an advanced Rankean class for the study of original sources' between 1873 and 1874 before returning to Cambridge 'inspired by his German training in research and method'.<sup>867</sup> It was difficult to replicate the research focus of the seminar in the English university system where even undergraduate history teaching was so recent an introduction; in Cambridge Prothero had to wait over a decade before a campaign to introduce to the Historical Tripos a special subject element, based on the close study of original sources and designed to introduce techniques for historical research, was successful.<sup>868</sup> This was certainly a step in the right direction even if still at undergraduate level. At around the same time (his account was published in 1887), Belgian historian Paul Frédéricq's survey of UK history teaching shed light on attitudes to the seminar. Prothero's colleague J. R. Seeley (who

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<sup>863</sup> Ashley, 'Teaching of History in America', pp.102–03.

<sup>864</sup> See Soffer, *Discipline and Power*, on the reluctance of English (specifically Oxbridge) history students to study abroad, pp.197–98.

<sup>865</sup> F. Powicke, *Modern Historians and the Study of History* (London, 1955). For Little see F. Powicke, 'Little, Andrew George (1863–1945)', rev. M. Pottle, *ODNB*.

<sup>866</sup> Powicke, *Modern Historians*, p.76.

<sup>867</sup> Soffer, *Discipline and Power*, pp.147–48. Von Sybel, a student of Ranke's, was subsequently (1875) director of the Prussian State Archives.

<sup>868</sup> A. Cecil, 'Prothero, Sir George Walter (1848–1922)', rev. Peter R. H. Slee, *ONDB*.

had just succeeded Stubbs as Regius Professor) told Frédéricq, for example, that ‘English students [were] not bold enough for work upon the sources, what the Germans call *Quellenstudien*’,<sup>869</sup> and there was more disappointment at Oxford, where

many of the lecturers restrict themselves to a somewhat elementary style of teaching, without reference to sources or original documents, thereby leaving unemployed all the scientific equipment in use beyond the Rhine. Add to this the fact that no practical course crowns all this theoretical teaching at Oxford, at a time when the German facilities could not exist without their numerous *Uebungen* [seminars], *Gesellschaften* [societies], seminaries, etc., where the students are trained in method and in individual research.<sup>870</sup>

Clearly Stubbs’ admiration for German historical methodology had not extended to introducing its pedagogy; and in his farewell address as Regius Professor he provided an explanation: ‘he had had much sympathy [with the concept of the seminar], but too little of the proselyting [sic] spirit; he had not been an organizer, because he hated organization and loved liberty.’ Frédéricq thought this a curious argument ‘in a country where colleges are emphatically organized communities’, but he found it a view repeated elsewhere.<sup>871</sup> Sometime the students themselves had taken action; at Balliol an American student who had spent some years in Germany set up a ‘historical Seminary’ in 1882. Overall, despite some good pockets of seminar-type work at Oxford and Cambridge (there was nothing at all at the University of London), Frédéricq felt that students were not ‘sufficiently familiar with sources of history and original documents’ and even if they had been, they lacked the critical and analytical techniques to allow them to truly understand what they were looking at.<sup>872</sup>

#### *Hall and Advanced Historical Training*

Encouraged by his teaching success, and a growing number of students,<sup>873</sup> Hall felt confident about committing his views on specialist training to print. His article in the

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<sup>869</sup> Frédéricq, ‘Study of History’, pp.29–30.

<sup>870</sup> Frédéricq, ‘Study of History’, p.33.

<sup>871</sup> Frédéricq, ‘Study of History’, p.43.

<sup>872</sup> Frédéricq, ‘Study of History’, p.51.

<sup>873</sup> Winifred Hall to Mrs Carr Saunders, 3 Sept. 1944, LSE Staff File: ‘my husband’s surprise at the growth each term of his own class’.

*Athenaeum* in 1905 ranged over a number of his preoccupations on the management of archives and the intellectual and practical difficulties of their exploitation. In common with many of his contemporaries, while he considered the *École des Chartes* a splendid institution for French purposes, he was well aware that the wholesale transfer of the model across the Channel would be unworkable:

the continental and the English archive systems have scarcely a single condition or a single feature in common, and we are tempted to wonder if this rudimentary fact is generally known. We have no Ministry of Public Instruction, no official body of professors or doctors of history, and no departmental archives providing the chief employment of archivists. Our archives are under the nominal supervision of various dignitaries, who in some cases are probably unaware of their existence.<sup>874</sup>

From 1910, his position with the RCPR provided him with an influential forum for his views. An early outline report on 'the science of archives' which he prepared for the information of the Commissioners suggested that their enquiry should address '[t]he value of scientific study and professional training for the arrangement and classification of English Archives' and 'the value of such studies in the superintendence of the searchrooms and assistance of the Public'.<sup>875</sup> Although the Commission restricted itself, as we have seen, to reviewing the training of officials for work at the PRO, the questions asked of witnesses prompted a far more broadly-ranging discussion of the topic.<sup>876</sup> Hall later suggested that the RCPR had been initiated partly because of historians' dissatisfaction with the PRO's 'complete detachment from the scientific methods of record-keeping' and thus through a desire to 'secure an adequate historical training for record officers according to the Continental method'.<sup>877</sup> There is little evidence for this, though among the Commissioners were Pollock, Firth, and Tedder all of whom had been involved with the Advanced Historical Training Scheme at the beginning of the century. As already noted, the RCPR reports failed to have any effect on the way in which specialist training was provided and it was a subject to which Hall was to return frequently, and sometimes with considerable vehemence. A typical piece (in 1917) deplored the lack of training for

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<sup>874</sup> H. Hall, 'History and the Science of Archives', *Athenaeum*, 7 Jan. 1905, p.18.

<sup>875</sup> Public records memoranda, [Dec 1910], PRO 9/14.

<sup>876</sup> 'Provisional lists of questions put to witnesses', RCPR, *First Report*, Part 3, pp.vii-xiii.

<sup>877</sup> Hall, 'National Records', pp.375-77.

'archivists' and 'historians' and the state of the management of English archives, where, unlike on the Continent, 'official documents . . . have continued to be vested in their custodians, who have received no recognized training as archivists and who often have no knowledge of the nature of value of the records in their care'.<sup>878</sup> Hall's teaching provided the opportunity to educate his students about how things were done elsewhere and thus how improvements could be made at home.<sup>879</sup>

### *Hall's Seminars — Pedagogy*

When Poole conducted a survey of the teaching of palaeography and diplomatic more than a decade after Frédéricq's investigation into history teaching, he could report, apart from LSE provision, little advance in provision for advanced study and certainly none systematic enough to compare with teaching in France or in Germany and Austria. It was time for previously inchoate proposals for improvement to come together, which they did in the form of the Advanced Historical Training Scheme. Poole had reported that the classes already available at LSE (he did not mention Hall by name) were 'given chiefly with a practical view to preparing students for work at the Public Record Office and the British Museum'.<sup>880</sup> Hall's teaching encompassed diplomatics and palaeography and administrative history but it also provided the skills needed for employment in the various branches of historical work, introducing students to *how* the sources could be used. Increasingly, with his greater experience, and with institutional backing, he developed his seminar as a very practical class. While retaining the ethos of the *Quellenstudien* approach, and the objective of publication, it dispensed with the ultra-critical, narrowly-focused study of individual documents and the narrowly-focused monograph which consequently often resulted (practices described by Poole as 'the ill-informed excesses' of the German and Austrian model).<sup>881</sup> Hall aimed rather to demonstrate the practical application of methodological document criticism and his seminar's publication would be of a kind to benefit the historical community as widely as possible. He was in the right place to experiment with this; as early as 1898 he was enthusiastic about the possibilities

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<sup>878</sup> H. Hall, 'A National War Museum and a Public Record Office for Wales', *Y Cymmrodor*, 27 (1917), p.208.

<sup>879</sup> E.g. Hall, *Studies*, pp.6–11, *passim*.

<sup>880</sup> R. Poole, 'The Teaching of Palaeography and Diplomatic', in W. Archbold, ed., *Essays on the Teaching of History* (Cambridge, 1901), pp.29–30.

<sup>881</sup> Poole, 'The Teaching of Palaeography and Diplomatic', p.30.

presented by the LSE's commitment to evidence-based research, proposing publication of an 'Album Palaeographique',

The sale of course is problematical but . . . I think it will sell at least enough to cover expenses . . . but the great thing to look at is the great κῦδος that must attach to the school which will have been the first in this country to publish anything of the kind. It will prove that our work in the class is practical and will lift its reputation above that of the University classes.<sup>882</sup>

The proposal was accepted: *The Receipt Roll of the Exchequer for Michaelmas Term xxxi. Henry II, A.D. 1185* was published in 1899, its full title making clear its collaborative nature: 'Transcribed, extended, and edited by the class in palaeography of the London School of Economics and Political Science'. Whether its sale proved as unproblematic as Hall had claimed is unknown, but the *AHR* at least called it 'the first fruits of organized palaeographic instruction' in England and praised its sumptuous presentation.<sup>883</sup>

Sumptuous presentation, in this case 31 large collotype plates, also meant high production costs. Palaeography was, in any case, an expensive business: Hall was already spending considerable amounts of his own money arranging for document facsimiles to be available to his students in the School's Library;<sup>884</sup> as he later told Prothero, the scientific approach required scientific equipment,

[I] took £50 afterward to pay my photographer (which is a heavy item) books and unavoidable expenses. The labour is considerable as you would see if you saw all my "apparatus".<sup>885</sup>

Alongside his seminars Hall was also delivering more traditional teaching, lecture courses on palaeography, diplomatic and historical sources, each 'supplemented by Practical Instruction in the shape of exercises or theses, and exhibitions of MSS. or books, as well as

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<sup>882</sup> Hall to Hewins, 27 May 1898, LSE Staff File. H. Hall, *The Receipt Roll of the Exchequer for Michaelmas Term xxxi. Henry II, A.D. 1185. A Fragment of a Unique Record, Reproduced in Thirty-one Large Plates in Collotype . . .* (London, 1899).

<sup>883</sup> 'The Receipt Roll of the Exchequer' [review], *AHR*, 5 (April 1900), p.612.

<sup>884</sup> Hall to Hewins, 19 July, 8 Nov., 12 Nov. 1897, LSE Staff File.

<sup>885</sup> Hall to Prothero, 18 March 1901, Prothero Papers PP2/III.4

by Seminars'.<sup>886</sup> The Historical Sources lecture courses covered many different topics over the years: 'The Sources of Medieval Economic history (between 1896-1911), 'The Evolution of Accounts' (1902), 'The Church as Landlord during the Middle Ages' (1902-03) and so on.<sup>887</sup> Hall was still developing new lecture programmes in the 1920s, on the back of his Prices and Wages research for Beveridge (see Chapter 5). There were also visits, to archives and libraries,<sup>888</sup> to Winchester<sup>889</sup> and, on one memorable occasion at least (in 1907) to the École de Chartes where his group participated in 'a profitable *conférence* by M. Lelong on the subject of that ideal *Inventaire* which French archivists have so nearly realized'.<sup>890</sup>

But it was the work of the 'Advanced Seminar' which was consistently successful and consistently original. Following the success of the *Receipt Roll*, further collaborative editions and handbooks appeared over the following decade. The influential *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester for the fourth year of the Pontificate of Peter des Roches, 1208-1209* appeared in 1903 (as number 14 in the LSE's Studies of Economics and Political Science Series). Hall was well aware of the importance of the edition, telling Hewins (admittedly in the attempt to prise funding out of LSE for its publication), 'In this Winchester Pipe Roll we have got a real good thing & one which if well done will make rather a sensation'.<sup>891</sup> Cambridge University Press published the two-volume *Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents* in 1908 (*Diplomatic Documents*) and 1909 (*Legal Records*);<sup>892</sup> and *Two Select Bibliographies of Medieval Historical Study* (on Palaeography and Diplomatic, and on Manorial and Agrarian History) was Number 27 in the LSE Studies Series in 1912. *A Select Bibliography for the Study, Sources, and Literature of English Mediaeval Economic History* appeared in 1914; reviewers recognized it as an important contribution, though not without its problems. William Ashley, who had tested

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<sup>886</sup> H. Hall, 'Account of the Classes in Mediaeval History at the London School of Economics' in M. Moore, *Two Select Bibliographies of Medieval Historical Study: with a Preface by Hubert Hall and a Description of the Mediaeval Historical Classes at the London School of Economics* (London, 1912), p.14.

<sup>887</sup> Hall, 'Classes in Mediaeval History,' pp.12-13.

<sup>888</sup> Hall, 'Classes in Mediaeval History', pp.17, 20.

<sup>889</sup> Winifred Hall refers to a photograph of students at Winchester, W. Hall to Miss Evans, 17 May 1944, LSE Staff File.

<sup>890</sup> H. Hall, 'The Visit of the University of London to Paris', *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1907, p. 664.

<sup>891</sup> Hall to Hewins, 17 March 1902; post-publication Hall sent a long letter to Hewins explaining why the edition had been longer, and thus more expensive, than originally planned, 27 Oct. 1903, LSE Staff File.

<sup>892</sup> The extended titles acknowledge the seminar group in each case.

it by looking at how his own work was listed, was rather taken aback by the number of minor slips; though he generously summed up,

The fact is that it takes not only a good deal of intelligence, but also a good deal of knowledge to construct a satisfactory bibliography . . . and these qualities are more conspicuous in the sections of this book which show the mark of Mr. Hall's own hand than those which he benevolently entrusted to his students. But, when all is said, the merits of this bibliography are very great, and its defects will only occasion a good humoured smile occasionally.<sup>893</sup>

All these publications were produced in the same way. Once Hall had identified a project, the selection of materials was decided by the Advanced Seminar class as a whole; in the case of any edition, or handbook, students could then work independently on the transcriptions allotted to them (rather as a scientist might spend hours in the laboratory) without supervision,<sup>894</sup> and any textual problems were brought back for whole class discussion.<sup>895</sup> Hall provided Hewins with a more detailed account of the Seminar at work on the Winchester Roll in January 1902:

each student has a share in the copying. This is done by them here in "Record-type" style i.e. a verb. et lit. transcript leaving space between each line. One goes on where the other left off. I correct in red ink and each student comes up to the desk & extends his own portion which I dictate aloud to the class putting all but obvious words on the board.

They thus see their mistakes from my corrections. Each has a notebook divided into sections.

1. Introduction
2. Text

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<sup>893</sup> W. Ashley, 'A Select Bibliography for the Study, Sources, and Literature of English Mediaeval Economic History' [review], *Economic Journal*, 24 (1914), p.577.

<sup>894</sup> 'A seminar is like a laboratory — its nucleus is a room containing materials and apparatus for research — it should be not simply a place where a small number of students can meet once a week, but a place in which they can work in the absence of the teacher who directs them': C. Firth, printed memorandum, 'Advanced Studies, Modern History', n.d. [between 1917 and 2 Aug. 1920], ULSHL MS860 Pollard Papers.

<sup>895</sup> Hall (ed), *Formula Book Part 1*, p.vii.

### 3. Glossary

### 4. Index

and we note every matter of interest for each of these ... Under 2 they fill in the text from dictation & make the needful annotations. You will see therefore that under my direction they do the work themselves & they are doing it very well so far.<sup>896</sup>

Predictably Hall spent far more time with his students engaged in this work than other seminar directors might have done; for the Winchester Roll project, for example, he calculated that he had spent 600 hours on the work.<sup>897</sup> The Winchester Roll project was, in particular, pioneering work; as Hall had judged and later historians have agreed, it influenced a network of young historians enthused with the possibilities of historical research and its application to the new economic history.<sup>898</sup>

#### *Who were Hall's students?*

There are numerous references to the help given, and kindnesses shown, to students and it is clear that Hall was at his best working with individuals, or, as in his seminars, with small groups. His concern for his students' welfare and interest in their careers was as important for his success as a teacher as his pedagogy. He was immensely proud of the fact that 'numerous posts or employment as historical lecturers and as archivists or researchers have been obtained by students as the result of their training in the courses provided by [LSE]';<sup>899</sup> and he was always ready to promote their advancement. In turn (and whatever they thought of his teaching style outside the seminar room) his students proved to be both loyal supporters and friends and formed his network for promoting historical enterprise. He was particularly proud of the evidence of such friendships — on the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his joining the PRO he was presented with an illuminated address and gifts by 84 current and former students (it joined the presentation made by his American admirers noted in Chapter 5); in 1920 83 former and current students

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<sup>896</sup> Hall to W. Hewins, Jan. 1902, LSE Staff File.

<sup>897</sup> Hall to Hewins, 27 Oct. 1903, LSE Staff File.

<sup>898</sup> Britnell, 'Winchester Pipe Rolls', pp.7–11; Britnell lists the work of some of the historians who participated in Hall's seminar.

<sup>899</sup> Hall, 'Classes in Mediaeval History', p.12.

presented him with his DLitt robes, and in 1927, when he finally retired from his readership at King's College London, 95 'past and present academic colleagues, students and friends' subscribed to endow the Hubert Hall Prize for palaeography. Finally, on his retirement from the RHS in 1939 a presentation address was made by no fewer than 324 'former colleagues, pupils and friends, British and foreign'.<sup>900</sup>

Hall's classes and seminars were attended by different types of student, some formally registered as research students, some established academic researchers, and some professional historical workers. A researcher working in the Government Searchroom during the day might meet Hall later at the LSE. Into this category fell a number of students for whom Hall acted as Director of Research (a role acquired under the terms of the Advanced History Teaching Scheme appointment); they were typically studying for DSc at LSE or after 1900 when his courses became available inter-collegially, were DLitt and MA students throughout the University of London. In 1911 Hall could claim that eight out of 12 DSc students in the Faculty of Economics (i.e. the LSE) had attended his classes (even if he was not their primary director of research).<sup>901</sup> Among the first he supervised directly was Caroline Skeel, awarded a DLitt in 1903, who was ultimately appointed to a Chair at Westfield College, 'a student' (Hall judged correctly in 1902) 'of no ordinary ability'.<sup>902</sup> Edward A. Lewis was another notable supervisee who later became first Sir John Williams Professor of Welsh History at UCW Aberystwyth.<sup>903</sup> Eileen Power, who joined the LSE with a Shaw Scholarship in 1911, though not initially delighted to learn that Hall was to be her new supervisor,<sup>904</sup> later warmed to him and indeed remained in contact with both him and Winifred until her death. Also likely to be in the PRO searchrooms were the women employed by the Victoria County History. Established in 1899, the VCH was to provide research work for many highly-qualified female historical workers. It was a

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<sup>900</sup> As listed by Winifred Hall in 1944. It was one of the three addresses sent to the School (21 Nov. 1944 WH to Miss Evans) which she later asked to be returned, (Miss Evans to WH, 26 Feb. 1947). The documents do not appear to have survived.

<sup>901</sup> Hall, 'Classes in Mediaeval History', p.12.

<sup>902</sup> Reports on students, 29 Oct. 1902, LSE Staff File.

<sup>903</sup> In 1930. 'Lewis, Edward Arthur (1880-1942)', Welsh Biography Online, at <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s2-LEWI-ART-1880.html> [viewed 3 June 2012].

<sup>904</sup> Berg, *Woman in History*, p.72. Eileen Power to Margery Garrett, 6 Oct. 1911, GCPP Power E 2/1/3.

market which Hall explicitly aimed at<sup>905</sup> and when the VCH fell into financial difficulties it had a noticeable effect on student recruitment (and fee income)<sup>906</sup>

Many students and scholars only temporarily in England took the opportunity to attend the LSE classes. The American contingent (see Chapter 2) was the most significant; in 1907 it could be reported that Hall's classes had attracted 'upwards of twenty foreign students chiefly American graduates';<sup>907</sup> an unknown Japanese student attended the classes in 1905.<sup>908</sup> Sadly there is, again, no full list of these students, though among them were the 'distinguished medievalists' Bertha Putnam and Nellie Neilson who both 'came under the beneficent influence of Hubert Hall'<sup>909</sup> and who, like many of his students, also became friendly with Winifred. Both women remained in touch with the Halls: as an economic and agrarian historian (as well as a legal historian) Neilson's interests ran parallel to Hall's for many years while Putnam's work on wages (as part of her interest in labour regulation) mirrored Hall's later work. N.S.B. Gras, whose high opinion of Hall was noted in Chapter 3, attended seminars as late as 1925.<sup>910</sup> A typical tutor-student relationship, combining scholarship and friendship, was described by Harvard legal historian Harold D. Hazeltine who spent some time in England in the early 1900s:

I was fascinated by Mr. Hall's skill and learning in his teaching of [palaeography and diplomatic] . . . and I soon came to know him personally as my teacher. This led to a close friendship with Mr. Hall and his charming wife. They entertained me frequently in their apartment in the Temple; and I, in turn, entertained them in one or more of the best restaurants in London. I valued their friendship highly and very much enjoyed their company.<sup>911</sup>

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<sup>905</sup> Hall to Mackinder, pointing out recruitment opportunities at a forthcoming event: LSE Staff File: '[William] Page [VCH General Editor] is coming & some Victorian ladies who are not students & your words might bear fruit falling on this virgin soil', 10 May 1906, LSE Staff File.

<sup>906</sup> Hall to Miss Mactaggart, 26 Sept. 1909, LSE Staff File.

<sup>907</sup> RHS *Advanced Historical Teaching Fund Committee of Management, 7<sup>th</sup> annual report*, July 1907.

<sup>908</sup> RHS *Advanced Historical Teaching Fund Committee of Management, 3<sup>rd</sup> annual report*, Feb. 1905, p.4.

<sup>909</sup> M. Hastings and E. Kimball, 'Two Distinguished Medievalists, Nellie Neilson and Bertha Putnam,' *Journal of British Studies*, 18 (1979), p.145.

<sup>910</sup> Hall to Charles Andrews, 2 Oct. 1925, Andrews Papers, Box 24, Folder 287.

<sup>911</sup> 'Explanatory Notes,' 1957, Harvard Law Library, H. D. Hazeltine correspondence 2.21 (hereafter Hazeltine Papers).

## *Women*

The disappearance of the presentation lists means that Hall's networks have to be re-created from scratch.<sup>912</sup> Women formed a substantial part of these networks, and in some areas of activity, predominated. Hall's advocacy and support for women's historical work is feature of his professional life from the late 1890s onwards and one which he was sometimes able to promote more publicly, as with the planned establishment of a Committee for Furthering the Employment of Women Archivists. Any examination of Hall's activities therefore also throws light on the extent to which women played a significant role within a newly professionalizing historical environment.

This phenomenon has been noted elsewhere, as has the decline in numbers of women historians after the 1930s.<sup>913</sup> However, that decline was in the number of women with university-based academic posts, 'historians' as distinct from 'historical workers' (of whom university historians, at least in the UK, were a sub-set). Research has not considered the extent to which women historical workers (those attending Hall's classes) took the opportunity, when academic posts were formally or informally closed to them, to enter into (or indeed manage the creation of) the newly-professionalizing discipline of archives. A detailed and rigorous investigation of this phenomenon lies outside the scope of this thesis, but even a brief account of the constituency of Hall's networks gives ample evidence that their further investigation would demonstrate a clear lineage between the women who came within his ambit as students, collaborators and researchers, whether in his classes at LSE or in the PRO searchrooms, and a later generation of women who were clearly identified as archivists. I am not suggesting of course that Hall's students *necessarily* became archivists, only that his encouragement, teaching and support facilitated their progress in that direction. I will conclude the Chapter with a brief introduction to some of these women who deserve, at least, prosopographical study.

The seminar-based publications list collaborators by name: thus the Winchester pipe roll edition acknowledged the participation of Frances Davenport, Miss E. M. Leonard, and the sole man, E. A. Lewis.<sup>914</sup> All the contributors to the *Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents* were women; they included Miss H[elena] Hadley (with the title of

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<sup>912</sup> No lists of student attendance for specific courses survive within the LSE archives.

<sup>913</sup> See, particularly for economic historians, Berg, 'The First Women Economic Historians', *Economic History Review*, 45 (1992) pp. 308-29.

<sup>914</sup> Hall, *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

Archivist, London County Council), Miss Leonard (with her Cambridge Tripos and MA Dublin awards), Miss A[lice] Raven (on the staff of Victoria County History) and Miss Steele Hutton. The *Select Bibliography of Mediaeval Economic History* (published in 1914 but representing classes held over the previous seven years at least) credited 11 individual students; nine are women, including Eileen Power, Irene Churchill and Agnes Conway.<sup>915</sup> Moving forward in time, the *Repertory of British Archives* (1920) recognized the work of nine women and four men, all London postgraduate research students. In total, more than 20 women can be readily identified as contributing to these collaborative works; they are (as named there):

Miss M E Carter	Miss M Lane, MA
Miss A B Wallis Chapman	Miss E M Leonard
Miss Irene Churchill	Miss G R Lewis
Miss A E Conway	Mrs M E Maynard
Miss Frances G Davenport	Miss S E Moffat
Miss L Drucker	Miss M F Moore
Miss Ruth Easterling	Miss EE le P. Power
Miss H L E Garbett	Miss Alice Raven
Miss H Hadley	Miss P Steele Hutton
Mrs Hutton	Miss Joan Wake
Miss Hilda Jones	Miss M. Wretts-Smith

Several have already been mentioned in this thesis.

Other women attended Hall's classes without participating in his seminars; others came into Hall's ambit in different ways. Mary Trice Martin, the Record Agent, and Hilda Johnstone (Tout's sister-in-law) were related to existing colleagues;<sup>916</sup> while Mary M. Evans BA, Margaret C. Horth BA, Edith S. Scroggs and Katharine M. Westaway, MA were all successful students in Hall's course at the Aberystwyth Library Summer School in 1918.<sup>917</sup> Many more women can be identified in Hall's correspondence: Lilian Knowles (reader, from 1907, then professor of Economic History at LSE), Miss (Rose) Graham (winner of the Alexander Prize Essay in 1903 and contributor to *TRHS* until 1929),<sup>918</sup> Frieda Nicholas

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<sup>915</sup> Conway (by then Mrs Horsfield) was still in touch with Hall in 1933, Hall to Andrews, 2 Feb. 1933, Andrews Papers, Box 32, Folder 370.

<sup>916</sup> Hall to Beveridge, [2]3 Dec 1931, LSE Staff File: 'The lady who made the Ellesmere Catalogue (or most of it) was a student of mine and daughter of a colleague (Trice Martin)'. 10 July 1904, TFT 1/604/2.

<sup>917</sup> 'Summer school of Library service, Aber[y]stwyth], 29 July-10 August 1918', LSE pamphlet collection, D42/425.

<sup>918</sup> All listed in a note by Hall on his classes, [May] 1906, LSE Staff File.

(later Demerest) and Mildred Bulkley.<sup>919</sup> The RHS provides another avenue for identifying these women. As Literary Director, Hall had an outlet for publishing students' work and he did so with enthusiasm; in a remarkable period during the 1920s *TRHS* carried more papers by women than men and between 1924 and 1926 two-thirds of the articles (14/21) were by women.<sup>920</sup>

### *Conclusion*

As suggested at the outset of this thesis it does not seem unreasonable to assume that Hall's relationship with his daughter, and indeed with his wife, fed into and encouraged his own support for his women students and colleagues. The wider investigation into the way in which those women took their own careers forward as historical workers, and the extent to which the continuing female predominance of the British archival profession can be traced back to Hall's long teaching career remains to be carried out.

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<sup>919</sup> Of the women mentioned in this section, Wallis Chapman, Drucker, Garbett, Moffat, Raven, Steele Hutton, Johnstone, Scroggs and possibly Maynard can be identified as VCH authors. Information supplied by Dr. C. P. Lewis.

<sup>920</sup> Compare e.g. with 1964 to 1966 when *TRHS* published one article by a women in its three volumes. (The amount of women's papers published does not necessarily correlate with the number of papers read at RHS meetings – though it is likely to be very close; the figure could be derived from RHS annual reports.)

## CHAPTER 7

### HALL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHIVAL PRACTICE AND THEORY

... *the science of archives of which he was a tireless advocate*<sup>921</sup>

This final chapter<sup>922</sup> examines Hall's writing on archival science, and that of his direct contemporaries in the late nineteenth and first two decades or so of the twentieth century. I use the term archival science in the sense in which it was used at that period: the exercise of the technical aspects of archive management based on a framework of principles. I suggest that those principles were already accepted and understood to be necessary to good practice, and, in addition, that they were expressly articulated. I will demonstrate that an extensive literature of archival science existed in the decades preceding the publication in 1922 of Jenkinson's *Manual* (received wisdom holding this up as the first work of archival science published in Britain and as containing a fully-formed and original body of archival theory).<sup>923</sup>

I will do this by identifying those works which identify and discuss specific aspects or processes of archival thought or archival management about which there continues to be debate in contemporary archival science in order to establish the intellectual framework within which Hall and his contemporaries managed and exploited the national archives. In doing so I will engage with some of the literature surrounding the processes of historical research and, in particular those works which, usually explicitly, recognized that successful research was dependent on the adequate care and processing of the archives. I do not consider the central works of diplomatic theory except where they deal *also* with archival management. I will begin with a survey of Hall's work, in particular discussing what he understood as archival science and I will note the corpus of work which influenced both him and his contemporaries. In the second part of the chapter I will

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<sup>921</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.385.

<sup>922</sup> An earlier version of this chapter which provided a more detailed examination of some areas (e.g. classification, description and finding aids) appeared as Procter, 'Life before Jenkinson'; for a more detailed examination of 'the archivist' see Procter, 'What's an Archivist?'

<sup>923</sup> E.g. Eastwood 'Jenkinson's Writings', p.35: 'Jenkinson's effort to generalize about records and about their appraisal, arrangement, and description ... was *virtually* novel' [my italics]. Jenkinson claimed that there had been no attempt pull together 'a complete body of illustration of general Archive theory and practice'; his *Manual* was 'an attempt to fill this gap', *Manual* (1922), pp.16-17.

examine in more detail the contribution made by Hall and his contemporaries to archival science, structuring this around five enduring elements of archival discourse: the nature of archives/qualities of records, appraisal and disposal, arrangement and classification, description and access, and the archival identity.

This body of writing should be reclaimed as part of a lost heritage of British archival science which, during the second half of the twentieth century and as part of the professionalization of the archival discipline, came, erroneously, to be identified solely with Jenkinson. His 'adoption' by a new archival profession was one factor in the consolidation of discrete professional identities and thus the disappearance of the generalist historical workers whose work crossed what would later become a number of professional boundaries and who subsequently became homeless, neither 'archivist' nor 'historian', just because of this flexibility; Hall was, of course, a prime example of the historical worker.<sup>924</sup>

#### *Hall's Archival Writing: its Context and Approach*

In discussing the evolution of British 'archival theory', it is important to recognize that it evolved within, and was of importance to, an audience that no longer exists. The audience for the works discussed here – the historical worker – comprised anyone with an interest (however defined) in the research uses of the documentary record and whose work contributed to the 'promotion of historical enterprise' in its many guises. A good idea of what these individuals might need to know can be deduced from the many subjects covered by the popular series of 'Helps for Students of History' published by SPCK between 1918 and 1924. These short pamphlets covered a wide range of subjects, from *Hints on the Study of Latin* to *A Guide to the History of Education*. The series also provided the platform for some important early works dealing with what are, in fact, archival principles, notably Charles Johnson's *The Care of Documents and Management of Archives*,<sup>925</sup> and C. G. Crump, *The Logic of History*,<sup>926</sup> both of which will be discussed further below. In the same series, R. L. Marshall's *The Historical Criticism of Documents*

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<sup>924</sup> Where Hall's contribution has been recognized it has been by writers rooted in the PRO/Civil Service tradition, specifically Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.385; and C. Kitching, 'Archives and History in England since 1850' [online] at [www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/history\\_and\\_archives.html](http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/history_and_archives.html) [viewed 24 Jan. 2012].

<sup>925</sup> C. Johnson, *The Care of Documents and Management of Archives* (London, 1919).

<sup>926</sup> C. Crump, *The Logic of History* (London, 1919).

touched on the authenticity and reliability of records, qualities which derived from their status as by-products of administrative processes.<sup>927</sup> Such work is clearly a response to the need for explicit principles which can inform best practice.

Hall was well aware of the consequences – for research – of the lack of any such explicit articulation of principles, and thus the effects on practice, and, as we have seen, took any opportunity to say so. The anonymity provided by much periodical press publication allowed for targeted criticism, for example in 1914:

historical scholars have pointed out that the policy of [the PRO] has been characterised by a complete detachment from the scientific methods of record keeping which are practised with conspicuous success in almost every other country.<sup>928</sup>

This ‘detachment’ had not gone unnoticed beyond the PRO; in 1909 American scholar Charles Haskins (incidentally clearly differentiating ‘archival science’ from diplomatics) drew attention to how, ‘with respect to the science of archives and the study of diplomatics the British isles [were] far behind such countries as France or Germany’.<sup>929</sup> A decade later, after the First World War had demonstrated the urgent need for improving the management of records (see Chapter 5), Hall was lamenting the lack of ‘professional periodicals issued by our archivists, though their colleagues, the librarians and men of science or literature, have this advantage . . . Even the allotment-holder has a periodical devoted to his work and interests.’<sup>930</sup> There was a body of professional principles which those managing archives *ought* to be aware of – but no adequate means of disseminating it. There were several terms used to describe that already understood body of principles and knowledge (only much later labelled ‘archival theory’)<sup>931</sup> which underpinned practice (though they often also encompassed practice): the ‘Science of Archives’, ‘Archive theory’ and ‘Archive economy’. The terms were – as remains the case today – inconsistently

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<sup>927</sup> R. Marshall, *The Historical Criticism of Documents* (London, 1920).

<sup>928</sup> Hall, ‘National Records’, p.370.

<sup>929</sup> C. Haskins, ‘Studies in English Official Historical Documents; a Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents,’ [Review], *AHR* 14 (April 1909), p.558.

<sup>930</sup> H. Hall, ‘British and Allied Archives during the War. England’, *TRHS*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., 2 (1919), p.21.

<sup>931</sup> This is an impressionistic claim, but an unscientific search of electronic resources (24 Jan. 2012) suggested clearly that the term has only been used with any frequency since the early 1980s.

used, and doubtless frequently misconstrued.<sup>932</sup> 'Science' would have been understood within its contemporary context; while, by the end of the nineteenth century, it had been recognized that history was not, after all, as with the natural sciences, subject to naturally-occurring laws which could be observed and codified for general application,<sup>933</sup> the application of scientific *rigour* when dealing with the physical evidence (i.e. the archives) was still required.<sup>934</sup>

Hall used both 'archival science' and 'archival economy' across a range of his published writings. While 'archival economy' might be expected to lay the emphasis on practice (economy here defined as the way in which something is managed),<sup>935</sup> he, like other commentators, used the term inclusively for both the practical management of archives and the principles on which that management was based. Thus the general principles which appear in his work often do so within a description of their practical application (and that in turn most usually within the specific context of the management of the Public Records). Whatever such a body of knowledge was called, acknowledging its existence was crucial: if there was no recognized methodology for discovering the 'true sources of history' from the archival records,

the historian is in danger of being carried away by the literary impulse of his art. The result of this is seen in the waste editions and worthless texts which lie scattered through our streets, the wrecks of many able enterprises upon the stubborn rocks of fact.<sup>936</sup>

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<sup>932</sup> It remains a difficulty in discussing archival science across international/language boundaries that, in the greater part of Europe (at least) 'science' is a general term and is not restricted to the study of the natural and social sciences as for much of the Anglophone world.

<sup>933</sup> Kadish, *Historians, Economists and Economic Historians*, p.8; Crump, *Logic of History*, p.12.

<sup>934</sup> When established in 1921, the IHR called itself a 'laboratory of historical research'. Its 2005 postgraduate facility, named 'The History Lab', represented a bizarre throwback to this concept as Ludmilla Jordanova appears to have realized given her rather tortuous explanation: 'It's interesting that this venture is called a lab – that implies the practices of science and a generally experimental approach [but] [i]t's not, in the end, about techniques, data, or skills, but about vision, self-awareness and openness', 'Launch of the History Lab', available at [www.history.ac.uk/histlab/newsarch2006.html](http://www.history.ac.uk/histlab/newsarch2006.html) [viewed 3 April 2009].

<sup>935</sup> Economy: "The management or administration of the material resources of a community, discipline, or other organized body; the art or science of managing such resources. Freq. with modifying word". *OED*, draft revision March 2009 [online] [viewed 21 April 2009].

<sup>936</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.2.

### *Studies in Official Historical Documents*

Hall's *Studies in Official Historical Documents* (1908) was designed as a 'comprehensive treatise' to cover 'the several aspects of the national Archives which concern the historical student' (i.e. anyone involved in the study or writing of history). It intended to fill gaps both in the literature of diplomatics, and on 'the principles of [records] classification'.<sup>937</sup> The latter area addressed specific aspects of archives management (e.g. classification, destruction, access); again these will be used in the second part of this chapter. Hall's views on archives management were, according to the introduction, already 'in shape' by the late 1890s<sup>938</sup> (and it is hard not to conclude that some of the advice which appears in *Studies* is aimed very directly at his PRO colleagues).<sup>939</sup> When he (finally) published *British Archives and the Sources for the History of the World War* in 1925 he was drawing on further 15 years professional experience (including his time with the RCPR); Chapters 14 to 18 cover many aspects of archival management and practice (for example, arrangement and classification; access; description and publication; materials and forms of records) and Hall makes clear that all these processes should be carried out within a coherent system, informed by archival principles.<sup>940</sup> However, in this section I concentrate on his earlier work and the landscape of archival science at the start of the twentieth century, partly because Hall's ideas remained fairly constant over that period, but also because, as we saw in Chapter 5, *British Archives* was published, although not written, after Jenkinson's *Manual*.

At over 400 pages *Studies* is a substantial work. Part I: 'The sources of official historical documents', deals with their history, provenance, current and desirable arrangements (classification) and their 'analysis'; it concludes with a Bibliography of English Official Historical Documents. Part II covers 'The Diplomatic of Official Historical Documents' and Part III 'The Palaeography of Official Documents'. What would be now most immediately recognizable as components of archival theory therefore appear mainly in Part 1 though without, of course, any suggestion that such topics would not be of interest to *anyone*

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<sup>937</sup> Hall, *Studies*, v. The publication of *Studies* in 1908 was prompted by the publication of his *Formula Book* in the same year, presumably because what he calls the 'scientific writings' in *Studies* are required in order to understand fully the documents presented in the earlier work.

<sup>938</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.v.

<sup>939</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.53–74. He wrote on the same topics for a more general audience in e.g. 'History and the Science of Archives', *Athenaeum*, 7 Jan. 1905, pp.16–18.

<sup>940</sup> *British Archives* was originally written in 1922 though not published until 1925 (see Chapter 5).

involved in historical work. For Hall, the ‘science of archives’ or ‘archive economy’<sup>941</sup> was inseparable from the ‘auxiliary historical sciences’; so that, for example, an understanding of palaeography and diplomatic was just as much a part of archive economy as are ‘numberation and classification’.<sup>942</sup> Thus in Hall’s seminars the students would identify, transcribe and classify the records in order to use them in their research. Today, typically, an archivist would carry out the first three processes, and a historian the research.

*Studies* referenced dozens of other works. The Preface introduced his readers to what Hall considered the most significant of these; thus we have an indication of what shaped the intellectual approach to archival management at the PRO (and consequently what would also inform any future approaches).<sup>943</sup> Reproducing here Hall’s own citation style and comments, the Preface lists: Edward Edwards’ 1865 *Libraries and Founders of Libraries*, with its ‘Synoptical Table of the Records’, marking Edwards as ‘in advance of his times’;<sup>944</sup> Charles Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History*;<sup>945</sup> L. O. Pike’s ‘notable monograph on the Public Records’;<sup>946</sup> and Walter Rye’s ‘handbook’.<sup>947</sup> In addition Hall referred his readers to ‘official’ works (that is, written by PRO staff) such as William Hardy’s monograph on the Rolls House; Scargill-Bird’s guide to the Public Records; and Lyte’s *Report on the Rolls Chapel and Catalogue of the PRO Museum*.<sup>948</sup> Beyond these Hall noted ‘numerous articles and other periodical essays which are not exclusively published in antiquarian journals’, written by his contemporaries and predecessors at the PRO

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<sup>941</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.6–7.

<sup>942</sup> Hall, ‘Diplomatics of Welsh Records’, p.41 for Hall’s definition of ‘diplomatics’. L. Duranti has also made the point that while the diplomatic literature of the eighteenth century ‘embodie[d] archival as well as diplomatic theory’, diplomatic scholarship in the following century ‘made of diplomatics a discipline quite distinct from archival science, although consistent with and complementary to it.’ ‘The Future of Archival Scholarship: endnotes’, Oct. 1998 [online] [www.ucd.ie/archives/html/conferences/luciana-notes.htm](http://www.ucd.ie/archives/html/conferences/luciana-notes.htm) [viewed 24 Jan. 2012]. On the basis of the work discussed here, I suggest that this division was not so pronounced in the British case; though note that Jenkinson (*Manual*, 1922, p.13, n.2) dismissed the need for ‘historical criticism of documents’ for archives on the grounds that ‘most of the critical tests usually applied to historical documents are not, in view of the qualities described above, [i.e. preservation in continuous official custody] required in the case of Archives.’

<sup>943</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.i–ii. While Hall’s referencing is not always complete (see Chapter 4) there is usually enough information for a positive identification thus (my) full bibliographic references are provided in the following footnotes.

<sup>944</sup> E. Edwards, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries* (London, 1865).

<sup>945</sup> Gross, *Sources and Literature*.

<sup>946</sup> Probably L. Pike, *The Public Records and the Constitution* (London, 1907).

<sup>947</sup> Probably W. Rye, *Records and Record Searching* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1897).

<sup>948</sup> W. Hardy, *A History of the Rolls House and Chapel* (London, [?1896]); H. Lyte, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Other Objects in the Museum of the Public Record Office Museum London* (London, 1902).

among them Gairdner, Martin, Sainsbury and Selby (though specific titles are not given).<sup>949</sup> Ewald's *Our Public Records* 'deals . . . also with [Archives] classification', while an entry for 'Records' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 'should prove of special value'.<sup>950</sup> Finally Hall listed other 'instructive essays', which he was aware of, but had not seen: by Delisle,<sup>951</sup> Round, Gross, L. V. Harcourt,<sup>952</sup> and Powicke (none can be specifically identified). Elsewhere in *Studies* there were references to Sir Francis Palgrave's *Kalendars*; Powell's 1631 *Repertorie of Records*, Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *State of Historical Literature*, an article by E. G. Atkinson, 'Public Record Office Indexes and Lists'; and the *Revue Internationale des Archives*, 1895-6.<sup>953</sup>

As already noted, Hall was very conscious of the fact that, in Britain, '[t]he study of official documents ha[d] not yet reached a literary method of expression, and [was] far behind the scientific development of the continental "Archivwesen"' (a view shared by many experts).<sup>954</sup> To remedy this, he referred readers to works which (over and above those which now more easily qualify as works of diplomatic or historical bibliography) would fall into the category of archival science as understood today. While there is no mention of *Handleiding voor het ordenen en beschrijven van archieven*,<sup>955</sup> which had been accessioned into the PRO Library in the year of its publication<sup>956</sup> (though possibly inaccessible in the

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<sup>949</sup> C. Martin: now known primarily as the author of *The Record Interpreter* (London, 1892). Selby's publications included his edition of *Bond's Handy-book for Verifying Dates* ([London], 1887).

<sup>950</sup> A. Ewald, 'Records', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. 20 (Edinburgh, 1886), pp.310-14.

<sup>951</sup> L. Delisle (1826-1910), French medievalist.

<sup>952</sup> Despite the initials presumably not Lewis Vernon Harcourt, first Viscount Harcourt (1863-1922) and Liberal MP for Rossendale. Presumably then Leveson William Vernon Harcourt (1871-1909) a collaborator with Maitland for the Selden Society.

<sup>953</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.16, 17, 24, 28; Arthur Agard (ed. Thomas Powell), *The Repertorie of Records, Remaining in the 4. Treasuries on the Receipt Side at Westminster [and] the Two Remembrancers of the Exchequer*. (London, 1631); Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *Observations on the State of Historical Literature, and on the Society of Antiquaries, and other Institutions for its Advancement in England; with Remarks on Record Offices and on the Royal Commissions* (London, 1830); Atkinson edited *State Papers Ireland*, but I cannot identify the article.

<sup>954</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.101, for examples of this widespread view. These include Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatie* (Paris, 1894), p.39 (a brief paragraph about 'les archives du royaume' which also notes the difficulty of locating local or private archives); Gross, *Sources and Literature*, Chapter 3 'The Archives'; and H. Tedder, 'Proposal for a Bibliography of National History,' *Libr[ary] Chron III*, p. 185; F. Harrison, 'A Proposal for a New Historical Bibliography,' *TRHS*, new ser., 11 (1897), pp.19-30; and [unknown title], *Athenaeum*, 10 Sept. 1904, p.349.

<sup>955</sup> S. Muller, J. Feith, and R. Fruin, *Handleiding voor het ordenen en beschrijven van archieven* (Gronigen,1898); unlikely to have been read before the French translation became available in 1910.

<sup>956</sup> M. Roper, 'The Development of the Principles of Provenance and Respect for Original Order in the Public Record Office', in B. Craig, ed., *The Archival Imagination: Essays in Honour of Hugh A.*

original Dutch), Hall referenced yet another group of necessary works, bibliographies of ‘Archivwesen’ (archives management, or just ‘archives’; Hall does not provide his own translation). These were, as listed by Hall:

- G. Holtzinger, *Catechismus der Registratur und Archivkunde*<sup>957</sup>
- F. von Löher, *Archivlehre*<sup>958</sup>
- Von Helfert, *Staatliches Archivwesen*<sup>959</sup>
- G. Richou, *Traité Pratique des Archives Publiques* (1883)<sup>960</sup>
- H. Bresslau, *op cit*<sup>961</sup>
- E. Lelong, in *Répertoire générale du droit francais*, s.v. “Archives de l’histoire de France”
- C. A. Burkhardt, *Hand- und Address-buch* (1887)
- *Revue Internationale des Archives*<sup>962</sup>
- *Archivalische Zeitschrift* – journal of Bavarian State Archives

Again, whether Hall saw this material for himself is unclear, his referencing, though incomplete, is certainly adequate enough to suggest that he was working with the publication to hand, particularly as he often gives specific page references.<sup>963</sup> The PRO Library held both Gross and Giry, for example,<sup>964</sup> and while accession dates are unavailable there is no reason to suppose that they were not obtained, like the Dutch Manual, shortly after publication and were therefore available when Hall was writing *Studies*; equally of course he may have had his own copies.<sup>965</sup>

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*Taylor* (Ottawa, 1992), p.144. The PRO library accessions register, which recorded the accession 20 July 1898 and which Roper consulted, now appears to be missing.

<sup>957</sup> Georg Holtzinger, *Katechismus der Registratur und Archivkunde* (Leipzig, 1883).

<sup>958</sup> F. von Löher, *Archivlehre* (Paderborn, 1890).

<sup>959</sup> J. von Helfert, *Staatliches Archivwesen* (Vienna, 1893).

<sup>960</sup> Cited by E. Casanova, *Archivistica*, p.14, as *Traité Historique et Pratique des Archives Publiques* (Paris, 1883).

<sup>961</sup> Which ‘op cit’ is unclear; possibly *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (Leipzig, 1889).

<sup>962</sup> Specifically, C. Langlois, ‘La Science des archives’, in *Revue Internationale des Archives, des bibliothèques et des musées*, 1, 1895-6, pp.7–25.

<sup>963</sup> E.g. a reference to p.179 in *Archivlehre* is to ‘Schriften über Archivwesen’, *re* writing on archival (and registry) management from the late seventeenth century, commenting specifically on the late eighteenth-century tendency to rearrange fonds alphabetically under the influence of a widely-read work on legal practice.

<sup>964</sup> The online TNA library catalogue (consulted online c.2008).

<sup>965</sup> The extent of Hall’s personal book collection is unknown. Winifred disposed of his books in November 1944 (see Chapter 5).

To conclude this survey of works of archival science known to Hall we should note the 'Bibliography of the history of the public records' which forms an appendix to the RCPR *First Report*.<sup>966</sup> Although anonymous it is reasonable to assume that Hall, as Secretary, was closely involved with its compilation. It included works already referred to here – von Löher, von Helfert, Richou, Burkhardt, the *Revue Internationale des Archives* and the *Archivalische Zeitschrift* – but it is far more extensive. The 'Periodical publications' list includes material from (predominantly the national archives services of) Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, German, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Sweden and Spain. The section 'Works relating to foreign archives' lists inventories and calendars and formal reports, but also work of a theoretical or professional character; for example from Belgium, J. Cuvelier, 'L'éducation des Archivistes' (1906)<sup>967</sup> and 'Le Rôle des archives' (1911);<sup>968</sup> from Germany, H. Kaiser and W. Wiegand's translation of the Dutch manual as *Anleitung zum ordnen und beschreiben von Archiven* (1905)<sup>969</sup> and Rudolf Opfermann, *Über Archivbauten* (1905);<sup>970</sup> from France, C. V. Langlois 'La Science des archives';<sup>971</sup> from Spain, L. R. Miguel, *Manual del archivero, ó teoria y practica de arreglo y clasificación de los archives* (1877);<sup>972</sup> both the original Dutch, and French translation, of Muller, Feith and Fruin's manual; and from Italy, P. Taddei, *Archivista: manual teorico practico* (1906).<sup>973</sup>

In brief Hall wished to see English, or British, archival science formalized as it was elsewhere in Europe and was keen to raise awareness of what was done elsewhere. At the same time he was working within a tradition derived from the management and exploitation of medieval records in particular – and the way in which he articulated the archival principles underpinning that management was very much of its time. But as a pioneer in that area, he certainly deserves wider recognition as the 'tireless advocate' of the science of archives described by Cantwell.<sup>974</sup> The remainder of this Chapter places his work alongside that of his contemporaries writing on similar archival topics, in particular

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<sup>966</sup> RCPR *First Report*, Part 2, Appendix 12, pp.164-168.

<sup>967</sup> J. Cuvelier, 'L'éducation des archivistes', *Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique*, 1906.

<sup>968</sup> J. Cuvelier, 'Le rôle des archives', *Le Musée du Livre*, 1911.

<sup>969</sup> H. Kaiser and W. Wiegand, *Anleitung zum ordnen und beschreiben von Archiven. für Deutsche Archivare Bearbeit* (Leipzig, 1905).

<sup>970</sup> R. Opfermann, *Über Archivbauten: Handbuch der Architektur* (Stuttgart, 1905).

<sup>971</sup> Langlois, 'La Science des archives.'

<sup>972</sup> L. R. Miguel, *Manual del archivero, ó sea teoria y practica de arreglo y clasificación de los archivos de las Diputaciones, Beneficencia, Gobiernos de Provincia, Ayuntamientos, y Aministraciones Económicas* (Toledo, 1877).

<sup>973</sup> P. Taddei, *Archivista: manual teorico practico* (Milan, 1906).

<sup>974</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.385.

his direct contemporaries at the PRO, Crump (who joined the Office in 1888) and Johnson (in 1893). This will take the story of archival writing forward from the landscape revealed in *Studies* and, in considering the writing as a body, we can begin to see the development of a corpus of work which was starting to fill the gap in what Hall (in 1905) called '[t]he neglected bibliography of our own "archive economy"'. In discussing their work we should note that Hall, Crump and Johnson, in turn, used (in references, bibliographies and recommendations for further reading and so on) a small but recognizable body of material which is used so regularly as to suggest that it should be acknowledged as having its own influence on the development of articulated British archival theory insofar as it provided a common currency for 'archival discourse' in the early twentieth century. It included (by necessity given the 'neglected bibliography' of British writing) French and German language material as well as works on historical method. I review them briefly below, in order of their publication. (Some have already been referred to briefly in the earlier discussion of Hall's *Studies*.)<sup>975</sup>

1890. Franz von Löhner, *Archivlehre*.<sup>976</sup> *Archivlehre* can be translated as 'archival theory'; the subtitle, *Grundzüge der Geschichte, Aufgaben und Einrichtung unserer Archive* ('Principles of the history, functions and management of our archives') perhaps reflects its contents more accurately. Never translated into English, it is largely concerned with the history of archives and archive-keeping in the various parts of Germany from the earliest times.

1896. C. V. Langlois, 'La science des archives'.<sup>977</sup> The *Revue Internationale des Bibliothèques, des archives et des musées* explicitly set out to be a review for archival administrators as well as for the information of scholars, and to analyse, rather than just chronicle, work being produced throughout Europe on archival science. Langlois explained what archives were and then commented on the usefulness of available publications aimed at archive administrators, not at historians. Unavailable in English.

1898. Charles Seignobos and Charles Langlois, *Introduction to the study of history*.<sup>978</sup> First published in France in 1897, the translation quickly became a key text. The

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<sup>975</sup> Translations are mine unless stated.

<sup>976</sup> F. von Löhner, *Archivlehre* (Paderborn, 1890).

<sup>977</sup> C. Langlois, 'La science des archives', *Revue Internationale des Bibliothèques, des archives et des musées*, 1 (March 1895), pp.7–25.

<sup>978</sup> C. Langlois, and C. Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, trans., G. Berry (London, 1898).

authors, scornful of historians who dispense with scientific practice, present ‘an essay on the method of the historical sciences’<sup>979</sup> to their readers, a method centring on the document and its interpretation. Though not a work of archival science, Langlois was Director of the Archives Nationales and some of his concerns – the inadequacy of descriptive catalogues, the concomitant lack of union catalogues and the cost of preparing good catalogues, continue to resonate.<sup>980</sup>

1900. Charles Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History*.<sup>981</sup> This work, by the American historian, quickly became required reading; it features in practically all bibliographies (and recommends in turn the recent translation of Langlois and Seignobos as ‘the best book in English’).<sup>982</sup> It is, in effect, a compendium of sources available for writing British history, but a section on ‘historical method’ recommends works with which the reader (a student or other historical worker) might be expected to be familiar (these include works, in turn, by J. Brewer, E. A. Freeman and J. A. Froude, principally those relating to the scientific method). A separate section on ‘the archives’ includes a bibliography on the public records and references to catalogues of archives held elsewhere.<sup>983</sup>

1910 S. Muller, J. A. Feith and R. Fruin, *Manuel pour le classement et la description des archives: traduction française et adaptation aux archives belges*.<sup>984</sup> The 1910 French translation appears in the majority of bibliographies published after that date, suggesting that translation facilitated an immediate recognition as a key text for archival science: it does not appear in bibliographies in the original Dutch edition.

1916 J. W. Jeudwine, *The Manufacture of Historical Material. An Elementary Study in the Sources of Story* [sic].<sup>985</sup> Jeudwine’s book appears in many bibliographies, presumably because of guidance about using the records to write history. Its main topic is the sources available for writing legal/cultural/social history, but he emphasizes the importance of the contemporary record for the writing of any

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<sup>979</sup> Seignobos and Langlois, *Study of History*, p. 3.

<sup>980</sup> Seignobos and Langlois, *Study of History*, pp. 27-38.

<sup>981</sup> Gross, *Sources and Literature*.

<sup>982</sup> Gross, *Sources and Literature*, p.1.

<sup>983</sup> Gross, *Sources and Literature*, chap. 3, 55-67.

<sup>984</sup> S. Muller, J. A. Feith and R. Fruin, *Manuel pour le classement et la description des archives: traduction française et adaptation aux archives belges par Jos. Cuvelier. Adaption aux archives françaises par H. Stein; avec une préface de Henri Pirenne* (The Hague, 1910); the most recent edition in English is S. Muller, J. Feith, and R. Fruin, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*. Reissue of the trans. of the 2<sup>nd</sup> (Dutch) edition (Chicago, 2003).

<sup>985</sup> J. Jeudwine, *The Manufacture of Historical Material. An Elementary Study in the Sources of Story* (London, 1916).

history and the need for proper evaluation of such sources. He had a specific view of the archivist/historian relationship: the writer of history, he opined, 'is not in the least likely ever to look at a manuscript. That absolutely necessary work is done by other men' and, specifically by 'the Archivist'.<sup>986</sup>

*Towards a Systematic Model of Archival Theory: Elements of the Structure*

While, at the start of the twenty-first century, the notion of imposing the rules of natural science on the archival discipline has long since disappeared, there is broad agreement on what comprises the components or elements of archival science (i.e. those areas in which practical processes need to be carried out, and around which academic research can be undertaken). These elements are

- the nature of archives/qualities of records
- appraisal and disposal
- arrangement and classification – and the importance of context
- description – and, linked to this, the intellectual access to and consequent use of archives
- the archival identity

The following discussion uses this (current) terminology as a framework for the variant terminology used by individual writers which nevertheless denotes the same phenomena. Though it may appear anachronistic to use this current terminology, it can be shown that the elements considered to make up the body of archival theory (and practice) have, despite the terminological differences, remained more or less constant over time. A couple of points are worth making before proceeding with this exercise: first, it should be remembered that the concepts are discussed largely within the context of the Public Records; second, although I have used the word 'archivist' to describe the individual performing certain processes, or reflecting on them, the term was not a very familiar one to a contemporary audience, and it was only rarely used by the officers of the PRO to describe themselves.

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<sup>986</sup> Jeudwine, *Manufacture of Historical Material*, p.225.

*The Nature of Archives/the Qualities of Records*<sup>987</sup>

At the start of the twenty-first century (as they have been for the past six decades), archives students in the UK and much of the anglophone world are introduced to archives through Jenkinson's definition of an archival document as one which

was drawn up or used in the course of an administrative or executive transaction (whether public or private) of which itself formed a part; and subsequently preserved in their own custody for their own information by the person or persons responsible for that transaction and their legitimate successors.<sup>988</sup>

This definition differs little from that of Charles Johnson published three years earlier:

Archives consist of one or more groups of documents no longer in current use, each group of which has accrued in the custody of an individual or a department in the ordinary course of business, and forms an organic whole, reflecting the organization and history of the office which produced it. The subsequent transfer of such custody does not affect the definition.<sup>989</sup>

Johnson's definition, with all the elements familiar to current commentators – the record as part of the business process, the nature of the *fonds*, the evidential and informational qualities of the record, the role of custody – is certainly as workable as anything subsequently produced by Jenkinson and is expressed more concisely<sup>990</sup> (and it should be acknowledged that Jenkinson 'excepted' Johnson from the apparent failure of English archivists to deal with theory).<sup>991</sup>

The phrasing of Johnson's own definition is concise and precise. In that respect at least he is unlikely to have referred to Hall as a model. How Hall might have defined 'archives' has

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<sup>987</sup> This section considers the use of the word 'archives' as used or articulated by practitioners. Jenkinson (*Manual*, 1922, pp.2-3) drew attention to the lack of precision in the use of the term (and that of 'archivist' in English and French).

<sup>988</sup> Jenkinson, *Manual*, p.11.

<sup>989</sup> Johnson, *Care of Documents*, p.8.

<sup>990</sup> See Jenkinson, *Manual* (1922), pp.2-11 for exposition of the same concepts.

<sup>991</sup> Jenkinson, *Manual* (1922), pp.16-17.

to be deduced from what he wrote about specific records series: so, for instance, the ‘impartiality’ of archives<sup>992</sup> is beyond question. The medieval legal records, for example, are ‘impartial evidence ... [with] unimpeachable authority’. Though this instance does not provide a definition of ‘recordness’ it does demonstrate his understanding of its characteristics. A ‘record’ has integrity. ‘In all times’ he commented elsewhere, ‘the sanctity and authority of these legal evidences have been admitted and maintained by every party in the State’.<sup>993</sup>

Crump, while acknowledging the legal character of records, emphasized *process* (whether legal or administrative); the importance of context/original order was explicit:

In its accurate sense a record is a document regularly drawn up for a legal or administrative purpose and preserved in proper custody to perpetuate the memory of the transaction described in it; for the most part it forms a link in a complicated process, and unless the connexion between it and the other documents making up the process has been preserved, a portion of its meaning will have perished.<sup>994</sup>

Of course there was a statutory definition in the Public Record Office Act: ‘records’ were documents ‘of a public nature belonging to Her Majesty’. This definition required further interpretation: did ‘public’ refer to records open to the public or to documents ‘relat[ing] to public affairs’?<sup>995</sup> Theory aside, there could be practical consequences of failures to agree on definitions. The long-standing disagreements over integration of the PRO and the State Paper Office (only resolved in 1854) were fuelled partly by disagreements over definitions. Palgrave certainly saw little differentiation (even if this also suited his view that the SPO should be part of the PRO). The use of the term ‘public archives’ should also be noted. He said:

the terms ‘Records’ and ‘State Papers’ as employed in our ordinary language, convey mistaken ideas – they are generally understood as if they designated two genera of documents having distinct characters, whereas in some of the

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<sup>992</sup> A quality emphasized by Jenkinson, *Manual* (1922), p.12.

<sup>993</sup> [Hall], ‘History and the Science of Archives’, p.16.

<sup>994</sup> C. Crump, ‘Records’, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York, 1911), pp.955–966.

<sup>995</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.331–32.

most essential points their character is identical, forming only two classes of the Public archives – their separation arose from collateral causes and not from any variation in principle.<sup>996</sup>

Finally, we might note an early use of the term ‘semi-public records’ (now typically associated with the records of Non-Departmental Public Bodies), which the 1902 Local Records Committee applied to ‘the records of universities and colleges, or endowed schools and hospitals, and other charities, and of scientific societies’.<sup>997</sup> Hall also used this term; in his *Repertory of British Archives* he described the records of ‘National Institutions and Central Authorities’ (such as Trinity House, the Bank of England, the National Portrait Gallery, the Royal Institution and Lloyds Corporation); ‘Central professional bodies and Trade Associations’ (e.g Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, the inns of court and the Institution of Civil Engineers); and ‘Learned, Religious, and Charitable Societies’ (e.g. the Society of Antiquaries, the SPCK, the British Red Cross Society, the RSPCA, the NSPCC and the YMCA).<sup>998</sup>

#### *Appraisal: the Selection and Disposal of Records*

The necessity of making a selection from the totality of created records for archival preservation has long been recognized – certainly for longer than some modern commentators appreciate. The claim that, before Jenkinson’s *Manual*,

it was not the habit of English archivists to write in a reflective way about the nature of records and the processes of their proper care let alone to consider the great question of appraisal that has so preoccupied the current generation of archivists.<sup>999</sup>

is clearly specious. The view that Jenkinson was the first to consider appraisal and indeed the view that he somehow ‘invented’ the concept (of what he himself called

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<sup>996</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, pp.105-106. We might also note a further tension, unrelated to statutory definition, which separated records according to their use at the PRO: a record used as evidence, for legal and governmental purposes and a record used for research (for ‘literary’ purposes). In practical terms categorizing records by use resulted in different management methods being used, and, at various times, dictated the level of fees applied.

<sup>997</sup> Local Records Committee, *Report* (1902), for the definition, p.22; bodies falling into this category, listed in Appendix 8.

<sup>998</sup> Hall, *Repertory*, pp.172–74.

<sup>999</sup> Eastwood, ‘Jenkinson’s Writings’, p.35.

'selection')<sup>1000</sup> is one which cannot be supported even with the most cursory examination of nineteenth-century PRO practice. The legislative and regulatory structure demanded a thorough intellectual approach to appraisal; the debate and controversy surrounding selection were as heated and as complex as any twenty-first century discussion. In 1911, the subject was even the subject of an editorial in *The Times*.<sup>1001</sup> This section briefly looks at the activity and understanding of appraisal, contextualizing Hall's contribution to the discussion.

The process of deciding what should be destroyed and what should be retained (destruction of departmental records was permitted by the 1877 Public Record Office Act) was a perpetual concern. It was not just unmanaged disposal within departments which was problematic; retaining *too many* records without managed appraisal was equally so, even before the Great War brought previously unimaginable quantities of records into existence.

It is well known, indeed, that the wealth of sources for the later period of European history is viewed with some dismay by writers on historical method, and nothing short of a rigorous selection will enable the student to overcome this congestion of materials. But it is essential that this selection should be made intelligently and with a full appreciation for the requirements of posterity.<sup>1002</sup>

The context of this quotation makes clear that Hall saw selection as a core task for the archivist; despite the impression left by Jenkinson, there had to be routine, active intervention in the selection of departmental records. Indeed Hall had a more realistic view than did Jenkinson on the desire or the ability of civil servants to play a meaningful part in the selection of records for future preservation. Writing in 1917, he described why intervention was necessary; the experience of the previous 50 years (i.e. despite the provisions of the 1877 Act),

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<sup>1000</sup> Jenkinson, *Manual*, pp.28–30 and Part III, *passim*.

<sup>1001</sup> 'We have begun to master the art of preserving documents of value; the more difficult art of judicious destruction has yet to be learned. Perhaps it cannot be taught; we can make only rough guesses', 'The Preservation of Public Records', *The Times*, 15 April 1911, p.7.

<sup>1002</sup> Hall, *Studies*, 3. He wrote in 1920, 'The War has led to the accumulation of bewildering masses of records, accounts and papers ... scarcely to be calculated even in figures of thousands of tons. Even after wholesale weeding, they would probably exceed in bulk all the records at present in the charges and custody of the Master of the Rolls.' Hall, *Repertory*, p.xli. And see also Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.276 for Lyte's similar views on 'useless rubbish'.

clearly shows that, as soon as records cease to be useful as official precedents, they are in imminent danger of destruction . . . and in any case the clerks in charge of them are scarcely qualified to select those which should be permanently preserved for historical reference.<sup>1003</sup>

Johnson too believed that

[t]he most satisfactory plan is to call in the assistance of the archivist to whose care [the records] will ultimately be committed, and concert with him a scheme for the filing of current papers which shall provide for the[ir] regular and systematic destruction ... [and ensure that] papers of a permanent value are kept from being buried in a mass of useless rubbish.<sup>1004</sup>

The regulations as eventually agreed to implement selection under the 1877 Act were designed to address both inappropriate retention and inappropriate destruction, so that '[t]he more valuable records of each Department which are preserved are, as consequence of the destruction of those which are worthless, rendered more easy of access, and the task of making proper lists and descriptions of them is rendered proportionally more practicable.'<sup>1005</sup>

Inappropriate destruction was to be prevented by the drawing up in each department of 'A schedule of the documents for the time being proposed to be disposed of containing a list of the documents, and such particulars as to their character and contents as may be calculated to enable the Houses of Parliament to judge of the expediency of disposing of such documents.'<sup>1006</sup> These schedules are identical in form to modern retention schedules: thus, for example, the War Department's schedule listed, for each record series, its 'Registry index n[umber] or letter, subject, particulars, including the time, after the date of the documents, at which they may be destroyed.' The concept of the aggregation of information as a selection criterion was also employed. Although originally created to

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<sup>1003</sup>Hall, 'The Archives of the War', *Quarterly Review*, April 1917, p.509 .

<sup>1004</sup> Johnson, 'Care of Documents', pp. 43–45.

<sup>1005</sup> Quoted in RCPR, *First Report*, Part 2, p.33.

<sup>1006</sup> Instructions of the MoR pursuant to the Public Record Office Act 1877, 21 Dec. 1881, PRO 1/46.

manage destruction, these schedules could be used repeatedly as more records were created within the same series, for example:

Papers relating to

E Series Lunatic soldiers

Effects of deceased soldiers and deserters. 20 years (wills being kept)<sup>1007</sup>

A Home Office list of 'Documents to be preserved' (1884) is in effect an Acquisitions Policy using a mixture of functional and record types as criteria for retention (though this may be a particularly good example as it was submitted in evidence to the RCPR). Thus the first four categories (of 18) were

- (1) Papers which can reasonably be considered of Legal, Historical, Genealogical or antiquarian use or interest, or which give any important information not to be obtained elsewhere.
- (2) Papers which form important precedents or contain important Minutes by the Secretary of State or Under Secretaries of State, or are specially directed by the Heads of Departments not to be destroyed
- (3) Artizans' Dwellings
- (4) Byelaws, sealed copies of<sup>1008</sup>

In practice the implementation of 1877 and later 1898 legislation<sup>1009</sup> which provided for destruction had mixed results; the consequences of 'getting it wrong' are much in evidence in the Reports of the RCPR. The Commission could report that 90 disposal schedules had been approved with 36 covering documents already in the PRO and thus allowing for some useful 'de-accessioning'. On the other hand some of the approved schedules had proved to be 'too sweeping, [condemning] to destruction documents which were worth preserving'. Where there were 'continuing schedules' in place (i.e. agreed and

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<sup>1007</sup> A printed list of documents 'not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the PRO' of the War Department, 5 June 1883, PRO 1/48. The importance of documenting disposal decisions was also well understood; in 1848 Palgrave emphasized that, were powers to destroy be given, it would be necessary e.g. 'to preserve distinct evidence of what has been done, and by whose order.' (Quoted in RCPR, *First Report*, Part 2, p.32).

<sup>1008</sup> RCPR, *Second Report* (1914), Part 2, p.274.

<sup>1009</sup> The 1898 Public Record Office Act took back (from 1715 to 1660) the date from which documents might be destroyed. Lists of government documents relating to 'The destruction and disposal of documents unsuitable for preservation' are in RCPR, *First Report*, Part 2, Appendix 4 and in the *Second Report*, Part 2, Appendix 5.

then implemented without further revision) records of historical (or other) value continued to be destroyed, with some Departments supposing themselves ‘free to weed their archives at their own unlimited discretion’<sup>1010</sup> and giving ‘a free hand to civil servants in ridding themselves of inconvenient accumulations of old records’.<sup>1011</sup> It is clear that considerable thought went in to the practicalities of implementing disposal on a regular basis: a 1879 memorandum<sup>1012</sup> suggesting a rolling programme of weeding on the basis of agreed retention periods bears a startling resemblance to the methodology, informally known as the Grigg System, implemented after the 1958 Public Record Act.

Hall’s own account of the need for well-managed retention and destruction is set out in *British Archives*; it makes clear that disposal should be consistent, duplicates should be identified and dealt with, and that the activity, rather than the record type, should determine retention.<sup>1013</sup> Where implementation was problematic, this was due, in his view to the ‘lack of an effectual co-ordination of the functions of State archivists and departmental registrars or paper clerks’,<sup>1014</sup> the relationship which was embodied (at least in theory) in the Public Records Act 1958 and which has become increasingly necessary in the e-environment to ensure effective transfer of records from creating department to TNA (or indeed between any creator and archive repository). Several modern-looking examples of retention schedules are printed in *British Archives*; a particularly good example, entitled ‘Agreed periods of preservation for documents common to all branches of the Ministry of Labour’, is a good example of a retention schedule drawn up for repeated use, and, in this case, across branches of the same organization.<sup>1015</sup>

### *Arrangement and Classification — and the Importance of Context*

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<sup>1010</sup> RCPR, *First Report*, Part 1, p.69. ‘Missing archives’ (destroyed because of failure to assess their historical value) included Poll Books from the Royal Courts of Justice; Metropolitan Police Courts records and Customs records, pp.67–69.

<sup>1011</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, pp.32–33.

<sup>1012</sup> James Cole [?Treasury] to the Master of the Rolls, enclosing draft suggestions that might be sent by the MoR to Departments advising them on how they might deal with their records before transferring them to the PRO, 7 Sept. 1879, PRO 1/44. The final approved Rules for Disposal of Valueless Documents, 28 Jan. 1882 appear in the 44<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper (for 1882), pp. ix–x. Whether detailed guidance along the lines suggested in Cole’s memo was ever available (or used) is unknown.

<sup>1013</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, Appendix D provides ‘The Schedules for the destruction of official documents relating to the War period’.

<sup>1014</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, p.270.

<sup>1015</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, p.366.

As a product of his time, and despite (as we will see) his appreciation of provenance and original order as the basis for arrangement, Hall still yearned towards categorization as a means of arrangement. The production of classification schemes based on administrative structures continued throughout his career, ranging across a variety of 'official records' at both central and at local levels: 'a 'Classified Table of Diplomatic Instruments' appears in *Studies*<sup>1016</sup> while a 'Classified list of public records' forms Part 1 of *A Repertory of British Archives*.

The link between classification and provenance (and indeed between classification and original order) is explicit in the treatment in *British Archives* of the records of the war. Such records, created as a consequence of a unique event (with unique administrative arrangements) clearly had immediate archival value and had to be dealt with quickly. Their classification was 'necessarily based upon that which obtains in the several departmental Registries concerned . . . here, as elsewhere the clue to the provenance of the Records is found in the administrative system of the office in which they were prepared.'<sup>1017</sup> Along with his colleagues (and with scholars), Hall had experienced at first hand the end results of a number of unsatisfactory attempts to impose or re-impose order on the Public Records during the gradual amalgamation of systems which followed the 1838 PRO Act. Some of these schemes, influenced by the approach to classification found within the natural sciences, were very quickly recognized to have disastrous consequences. Failure to cross-reference to previous arrangement schemes meant that some record series listed in the earliest Reports of the Deputy Keeper could no longer be identified 50 years later.<sup>1018</sup> (In some cases, of course, where original order had been lost long before the records' transfer to the PRO, consequences of lack of arrangement by original order, or sometimes even loss of provenance, continue to the present day.) Even if original order could not be discerned, provenance was quickly explicitly accepted as necessary: '[a]s early as 1868 it was seen as the duty of the PRO to keep the Records and Papers belonging to each office distinct from all other Records and papers'.<sup>1019</sup> Practice, however, inevitably lagged behind principle in this as in other respects, although by 1912

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<sup>1016</sup> Hall, *Studies*, Appendix 1.

<sup>1017</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, p. 277.

<sup>1018</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.309.

<sup>1019</sup> Roper, 'Development of the Principles of Provenance,' p.142. Roper also notes the requirements of 1889 transfer regulations for 'each series of documents [to] be arranged in order, and clearly distinguished from every other series by an appropriate title'.

the RCPR considered it necessary to make only a brief statement about the necessity of adhering to the principle: 'The classification [of all documents in the PRO] necessarily follows the courts or departments for which the documents are received; any other system would destroy the history of procedure, which is part of the legal and constitutional history of the country'.<sup>1020</sup>

Hall was (understandably), particularly scathing about arrangement by format. What, he said, had not 'entered into the philosophy of the ancient or modern archivists' in creating and maintaining such schemes were considerations of '[t]he relationship of one class to another, the construction of the subsidiary documents from which the formal Record is derived, the position of the derived documents which may be grouped around these',<sup>1021</sup> an observation suggestive of descriptions of 'the archival bond'. We have some idea of his approach in practice from his time at the Huntington Library. When Haselden sought a suitable candidate to work on the manuscripts it was for someone *inter alia* to 'arrange the material in scientific fashion'.<sup>1022</sup> Responding to Haselden's request, Hall set out what he considered to be the correct way of dealing with these (purchased) collections, emphasizing the need to understand where the records came from, their original arrangement and the nature of the links between them (and his response also suggests the extent to which the approach was a familiar one in the 1920s). 'The fact is', he told Haselden

that a collection of that sort needs to be classified & described, roughly & briefly at least, by some one acquainted with their provenance and relationship ... The younger workers are used to finding this done for them, in the case of Public Records and British Museum MSS, which have traditions of custody for the archivists to work on; but it is very seldom that the contents of local muniment rooms are accessible before they reach the sale-room, and so the researchers do not get much practice, except in the case of charters, correspondence and such conventional classes of documents ...

. . . It is also helpful to be able to indicate, in the course of the preliminary classification, the topographical and genealogical associations of the various

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<sup>1020</sup> RCPR *First Report*, Part 1, p.12.

<sup>1021</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.53-54.

<sup>1022</sup> Haselden to Hall, 29 May 1931. HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

groups, or even of individual documents, and their kinship, not infrequently, with other species.<sup>1023</sup>

Finally in this section it is worth noting that Hall was a great proponent of classification because he knew that a framework (or a fileplan in twenty-first-century terminology) would allow the searcher to see not only what was available but also what *ought* to have been created. For searchers, knowing that records have existed in the past but are now destroyed/lost may be as important as accessing existing records.<sup>1024</sup>

### *Description and Finding Aids*

The effective description of records results in both their better management and exploitation: they can be identified and found. The dangers posed by poor description, whether by failing to provide contextual information or through too narrow a focus on the individual document were recognized early in the nineteenth century. Calendaring and preparation of indexes were commonplace, though not always effective. Before the 1838 PRO Act, claimed Hall, 'the officials who should have been engaged in [records preservation] were employed ... in preparing worthless texts, imperfect calendars, and misleading indexes at a total cost to the nation of some hundreds of thousands of pounds'.<sup>1025</sup> He was referring here specifically to those records selected for publication (the only means of making the records available to a wider public) by the Records Commissions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Rolls Series was better managed in this respect (at least in theory); by the 1870s editors of State Papers had very explicit guidance for calendaring which suggests that some attention had been given to the theoretical basis for constructing finding aids. Editors were instructed to give comprehensive abstracts – but not of routine documents; to indicate what was *not* there; to note 'striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs and manners'; to give meaningful dates; to reference to any printed sources; to indicate the extent of the document and its language and so on. To provide 'access points' the calendars were completed by indexes of names, places and subjects. These very specific instructions foreshadow the standardised descriptive practices now widely adopted by the archival community; both identify the

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<sup>1023</sup> Hall to Haselden, n.d. [June 1931], HIA, Folder 31.1.1.19.3.

<sup>1024</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.2-4.

<sup>1025</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.27.

‘data elements’ needed to represent archival entities and thus allow intellectual access.<sup>1026</sup> Indeed it would be entirely possible to map ‘Instructions to Editors’ to the current standard for archival description ISAD(G).<sup>1027</sup>

Records identified for publication were, of course a small percentage of the whole. In the separate pre-1838 offices practice varied. There were certainly extensive finding aids for some types of record: however these were, very specifically, not intended for public use. On the contrary, the information in these finding aids – lists, indexes and calendars – was there to provide a source of income for their keepers who charged enquirers for using them. In addition the lists and indexes drawn up by one keeper for a particular were usually bought by the next incumbent. The PRO acquired, by purchase, 153 such volumes as late as 1857 from the estate of the last incumbent of the Rolls Chapel office.<sup>1028</sup> In the PRO searchroom, finding aids were also needed to help the staff, as much as the searchers, locate records. The calendars produced for the Rolls Series were helpful to an extent, but had limited use for locating and using material:

In an ideal condition of Archive-economy, the Index or Inventory would answer every practical purpose and the Calendar might well be dispensed with, for as a substitute for a text (provided always that [the original] is accessible) the latter is quite unsatisfactory.<sup>1029</sup>

In fact, as we saw in Chapter 2, Lyte drew the Rolls Series to a close, focusing instead on the production of published ‘Lists and Indexes’. By the mid 1890s the Royal Historical Society was applauding the PRO’s progress in the area of finding aids: ‘calendars, chronicles, lists, indexes, and reports [are all] welcome landmarks in the wilderness of musty parchments – landmarks without which few students could pursue original

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<sup>1026</sup> ‘Instructions for Editors’ are published in the preface of most of the State Papers volumes with very little, if any variation. For an example see *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy 1558-1580*, vol.7 (London, 1890).

<sup>1027</sup> International Council on Archives, *ISAD (G) General International Standard Archival Description*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Madrid, 1999).

<sup>1028</sup> The volumes were the property of Thomas Palmer, who transferred into the Public Record department in 1841. See RCPR, *First Report*, Part 2, p.106; and Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.189.

<sup>1029</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.106.

researches with any profit'.<sup>1030</sup> These new, printed inventories were, said Hall, clear evidence of the 'concentrated arrangement of the Records'.<sup>1031</sup>

### *Access and Use*

'Inventories are intended to facilitate access to original documents, and promote the use of them', stated Johnson.<sup>1032</sup> The close relationship between access and description had long been recognized; in the mid-seventeenth century William Prynne at the Tower of London lamented that the lack or inadequacy of finding aids,

oft causeth [the searcher] to make long fruitlesse searches, and to depart with a *non est inventus* of which they sought for, and might speedily find, had the late Keepers of the Records been so industrious to make tables to them<sup>1033</sup>

At the same time as the post-1838 PRO was grappling with the residual problems of centuries of physical and intellectual neglect, the 'army of students bent on exploring the innermost recesses of our Archives' was 'daily increasing'.<sup>1034</sup> While the needs of the remote user were catered for through the series of Calendars of State Papers, more was needed. '[A]n intelligent use of lists and indexes of Records forms the most effective method of present-day research', wrote Hall, 'a complete inventory of Archives, however summary, is essential'.<sup>1035</sup> He wrote on several occasions about ways to open up the archives, one solution being 'an historical subject-index to the Archives at large ... an historical inventory and concordance of subjects and sources'. It is not entirely clear what this would look like, although his inspiration was the laborious construction of the Royal Historical Society's historical bibliography. As with his approach to classification, Hall's approach to subject guides is characteristic of the contemporaneous obsession with organization and compartmentalization. Given the impossibility of subject-indexing the archives,<sup>1036</sup> his idea of the 'historical subject-index' appears to have involved the mapping

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<sup>1030</sup> H. Hall, 'The Progress of Historical Research', *TRHS*, new ser., 9 (1895), pp.271–86. 'Lists and indexes' produced are listed in the Deputy Keeper's *Reports*.

<sup>1031</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.28.

<sup>1032</sup> Johnson, *Care of Documents*, p.38.

<sup>1033</sup> Quoted by F. Thomas, *Handbook to the Public Records* (London 1853), p.xxvii.

<sup>1034</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.11.

<sup>1035</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.79.

<sup>1036</sup> Though this was suggested to the RCPR by W. Paley Baildon, see Chapter 5.

of archives to a thesaurus of 'historical ideas', or to *types* of historical study or broad subject areas.<sup>1037</sup> The scheme remained on the drawing board, but he did produce a worked-out example for a specific subject area, a guide to the possible sources (including printed references, parallel manuscripts, and archives) for investigating 'The inquest of Judges – Edwardian State Trials 1289-1293'. This early subject guide mirrors the research guides still produced routinely by many archives services today, and which cannot easily be superseded by the search engine.<sup>1038</sup>

Some of Hall's views on the use of archives and the role of users have a contemporary resonance. He noted with approval that although 'the preparation of Lists or inventories of Archives is ostensibly the business of archivists', genealogists and local historians in particular had 'begun to learn the lesson of self-help'; his underlying aspiration that everyone could find their 'own archives' is very modern (even post-modern) one.<sup>1039</sup> Similarly he had a very inclusive view of who might use the archives:

the repository of Records is a mine of information from which the whole body of workers may take their profit. Here the lawyer, the antiquary and the archaeologist can labour side by side with the topographer, the genealogist, the biographer, the philologist, the economist and the palaeographer.<sup>1040</sup>

This early twentieth-century view of access to archives was (the permit system aside of course) a democratic and open one. Searchers had a role to play in contributing to institutional knowledge (what might now be called 'user-generated content') and individuals, whether motivated by their own research objectives, or for the greater good, provided the Office with valuable finding aids. Stamp, as Deputy Keeper, was delighted to acknowledge their contribution: General Plantagenet Harrison who 'on his death left a vast collection of notes and memoranda gathered mainly from the plea rolls', which Stamp found 'generally reliable'; Major Poynton, who devoted 'the last ten years at least of his life to the laborious task of dating and arranging the fragments of early plea rolls, a piece of work that must be of lasting benefit to any worker in that field'; William Hudson, who

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<sup>1037</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.77.

<sup>1038</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.144–46.

<sup>1039</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.74–80. TNA's 'Your Archives', launched in 2007, allows individuals to contribute information to TNA catalogues. See <http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> (the application is due for replacement in 2012).

<sup>1040</sup> Hall, *Studies*, pp.74–75.

carried out 'a great deal of work on the Catalogue of Ancient Deeds [and] Miss Fairbrother [who produced] a number of most useful indexes to the records of the Admiralty and the War Office, which she had compiled during her thirty years' work in the search rooms'.<sup>1041</sup>

Users and other interested parties could also have an impact on the Office's 'acquisition policy'; the destruction schedules deposited with Parliament under the 1877 and 1898 Public Record Office Acts were open for public comment. So, for example, concerted action by patent agents led to the permanent retention of patent registers, previously destroyed 21 years after closure. The RCPR reports of 1912 and 1914 both concluded that historians should be formally involved in disposal decisions:

since one reason for destroying documents is the fact that they are deemed to be of no historical value, we think it desirable that historical students should either be represented on the Committee [of Inspecting Officers] or consulted by it when documents illustrating the particular branch of history with which they are concerned are under consideration.<sup>1042</sup>

The relationship between historians and records, and what would survive, became a more pressing concern, as we have seen, over the issue of the war records. As with the arguments over changing access periods to departmental records throughout the nineteenth century, there were national security interests to be taken into account. While acknowledging such concerns, Hall pointed out that the war archives, as well as providing material for research, and providing departments with information about precedent, would also contribute to 'the political education of the Public'. Prefiguring arguments made decades later to support access to information legislation, he commented,

We are often told that we should trust the people; but we are not always told with what they may be trusted. Among other things they might, perhaps, be trusted with the truth about the history of their own times.<sup>1043</sup>

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<sup>1041</sup> Stamp, 'Retrospect', pp.35–36. I am grateful to Dr David Thomas, TNA, for suggesting (July 2010) the comparison between these examples and 'the power of the cloud' in the current digital environment.

<sup>1042</sup> RCPR, *Second Report*, Part 2, p.70, referring to *First Report*, Part 1, p.20.

<sup>1043</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, pp.292–93.

On a more practical level, successful promotion of archives brings its own problems: access has to be reconciled with preservation. The publication of calendars resulted in increased use of certain classes of records and thus their subsequent deterioration through wear and tear.<sup>1044</sup> Hall seems to have been resigned to some amount of decay, pointing out that ‘the Record, we are told, was made in order that it might be searched’ adding that, ‘To be worn out in the public service is a fate which it can no more escape than its custodians.’<sup>1045</sup> Crump observed the potential for similar tensions, between custodian and researcher in the searchroom, concluding that ‘heavenly intervention was the only solution: ‘It is a regrettable fact that there are not enough archangels in residence on the earth, since many problems could be simplified by putting a seraph in charge of all the search-rooms frequented by the devotees of historical research.’<sup>1046</sup> His comment brings us neatly to an examination of the archival identity (or, in more applied terms, the archival role), first as it was subsumed within the identity of the ‘historical worker’ and then in its own right.

### *Roles and Identities (1) The Historical Worker*

This thesis has, overall, attempted to demonstrate that until the 1920s it was difficult (indeed largely meaningless) to separate the archival components of ‘historical enterprise’ from any other; thus, to understand the position of Hall and his contemporaries, any discussion of archival identity needs to be preceded by its contextualization within the wider term, ‘historical worker’. I will address this topic first (and this references some of the discussion on historical writing in Chapter 3) and will then continue by addressing ‘archivist’ specifically.

All the individual categories of user and researcher could lay claim to an umbrella title – that of the ‘historical workers’, typified by those students who attended Hall’s LSE classes and continued their collaborative work thereafter. The term ‘historical worker’ is used particularly often by Hall; more generally the language and metaphors of labour are commonplace in discussion of historical practice, and the discourse merits some discussion. The idea of ‘division of labour’ in all types of enterprise, and related ideas about systematic and scientific methodologies could, as we have already seen in Chapter

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<sup>1044</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, p.249.

<sup>1045</sup> Hall, *Studies*, p.29.

<sup>1046</sup> G. Crump, *History and Historical Research* (London, 1928), p.87.

3, be applied to history. Ropes' argument that good history writing comprised three separate processes (research, synthesis or analysis, and style) made it possible for each process to be carried out by a separate individual. Thus 'facts' could be compiled by an individual with access to the records and other sources; a degree of analysis could be applied by a subject expert (in the case, say, of Frederick the Great, an eminent soldier might review his campaigns or a lawyer his legislative career) while the writing would be entrusted to a 'literary man' able to express the narrative in 'clear and graphic language, not striving after rhetorical effect or elaborate ornament, but still possessing an individual style'.<sup>1047</sup>

The whole is greater than the sum of its parts, and such specialization allows for the development of expertise which in turn promotes continuous improvement. Given that the development of expertise is a characteristic closely associated with the development of professions, it is a little strange that historical work came to be equated with manual labour (and often labour of a repetitive, even soul-destroying kind). Yet historical endeavour is commonly associated with metaphors of labour and construction: laborious examination of the document or text produces the facts which are the building blocks of history. Many historical workers are part of a historical rank and file, happy to construct the firm foundations upon which visible and elegant upper storeys can subsequently be erected by others. As Jeudwine put it, the archivist [sic] was 'the mason who lays the solid foundations for the airy crockets of the historical building'.<sup>1048</sup> There are numerous similar examples.<sup>1049</sup> Stubbs, who referred to himself (1867) as 'a worker at history',<sup>1050</sup> described the results of research as 'little pebbles of the concrete in which the foundations of the historic superstructure are laid',<sup>1051</sup> a review of Red Book of the Exchequer suggested that while an editor 'prepares the quarry for cutting . . . it is not his duty to build'.<sup>1052</sup> Hall used a related engineering analogy for the work both of archivist

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<sup>1047</sup> Ropes, 'Co-operative History', pp.396–98.

<sup>1048</sup> Jeudwine, *Manufacture of Historical Material*, pp.225–27.

<sup>1049</sup> Natural history metaphors were also common, at least suitably industrious ones. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, p.13 (probably referring to the *Monumenta Germanicae*) referred to 'the great German hive of historical workers ... busy as we are on our archives'; and: 'The mere archaeologist, the mere genealogist, the mere antiquary, are not the parasites of historical study, as they are too often regarded by men who find it easier to borrow than to estimate the results of their researches; they are working bees in the hive of historic knowledge', *Seventeen Lectures*, p.87.

<sup>1050</sup> Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, p.15.

<sup>1051</sup> Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, p.93.

<sup>1052</sup> 'The Red Book of the Exchequer' [review], *Athenaeum*, 23 Oct. 1897, p.557.

and researcher: 'the work of the historian in [the medieval] period has had to wait upon the labours of the archivist, just as military operations must depend on the construction of ways of advance and lines of communication',<sup>1053</sup> and was himself referred to (in a review of *Court Life in the Elizabethan Age*), as 'good navy in the work of historical research [who] has tossed up, amid much rubbish, some material which is capable of being worked up into valuable forms'.<sup>1054</sup>

It is telling that, in 1921, the IHR, in describing its membership or recording attendance at lectures differentiated in a number of ways: 'Archivists, historians, etc', 'Teachers in the University of London' and 'Teachers in other universities' either British or overseas.<sup>1055</sup> The concept of the historical worker did not long survive the professionalization of history (perhaps the association of manual labour was felt to be inappropriate in the university environment). The term, as well as the concept, quickly dropped out of use as a new generation, created entirely with the new professionalized environment, assumed dominance of the field. J. F. Jameson, born in the same decade as Hall, noted in 1923 that, 'Many American historical workers correspond with individual European historical scholars';<sup>1056</sup> and Hall, writing to him the following year, described the AHA as 'a great professional force equipped and inspired as no other national body of historical workers is found to be elsewhere.'<sup>1057</sup> Tout (born in 1855), said (in 1926) of his predecessors as RHS Presidents: 'It is no disparagement to our first four Presidents to say that save Grote, they were chosen for their general distinction rather than for the specialized gifts as workers at history . . . We have now to enter into a second stage in which the President is also an

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<sup>1053</sup> Hall, *British Archives*, p.342. A similar military simile was used by Jameson (1922): 'fate has prevented me from ever writing a history and confined me to the simple role of a powder-monkey, passing forward ammunition for others to fire off', Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.302. Labouring metaphors might also have negative connotations: thus H. Stewart in 'Carlyle's Conception of History', *Political Science Quarterly*, 32 (Dec. 1917), pp. 573-4, discusses Carlyle's comment that 'History ... like every other field of labor has its artist and its artisan.' In this case the division is qualitative; Stewart continues, 'The latter is concerned only with some narrow area, like the simple husbandman who tills his own plot, putting in his seed and reaping his harvest by the rules which experience has taught him with never a thought for the wondrous relation in which his farm stands to the earth below and the firmament above.'

<sup>1054</sup> 'Politics, Sociology, Voyages, and Travels' [review of 'Court Life under the Plantagenets'], *Westminster Review*, Jan. 1887, p.224. The comment is offered as a consolation for more negative criticism (but is, in itself, positive).

<sup>1055</sup> IHR, *First Annual Report, 1921/22*, pp.12-13.

<sup>1056</sup> Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.289.

<sup>1057</sup> Hall to Jameson, 17 Jan. 1925 in Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, p.303, n.3.

historical worker'.<sup>1058</sup> His successors (all very much of that 'second stage' of professionalism) would speak only of 'historians'.<sup>1059</sup>

### *Roles and Identities (2) Towards an Archival Identity*

The final part of this chapter will consider late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century understanding of the archival role, a role which does not necessarily have to be played (though it sometimes is) by an individual with the title of 'archivist'. It is clear that the word 'archivist' was most often, in the nineteenth century, associated in Britain in the public mind (if at all) with non-governmental or private bodies, and, in particular, with individuals engaged in activities of an often slightly mysterious nature, often overseas. (Even as late as 1923 G. Herbert Fowler felt obliged to explain '[t]he continental term 'Archives' and its useful derivation, 'the Archivist'.)<sup>1060</sup> I have limited the discussion here to the public views of those PRO officers (Crump, Hall and Johnson) as those views were expressed in their works on archival theory and practice examined earlier in this chapter.

As today, the archival role sits uneasily between providing a service to the creating organisation (as part of the bureaucracy) and fulfilling a broader cultural remit. As with their pre-1838 forebears, Hall and his contemporaries, were *keepers* of records (or more formally, junior or senior clerks and Assistant Keeper).<sup>1061</sup> The function of the pre-1838 keepers, and the primary function of the post-1838 record establishment was to meet official and legal needs rather than the growing demands of the literary enquirer and the establishment of an integrated Public Record service did not alter that primary role (and

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<sup>1058</sup> T. Tout, 'Presidential Address', *TRHS*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., 9 (1926), p.19.

<sup>1059</sup> The term, anachronistic in the 1920s, had by the 1930s all but disappeared. A simple search (conducted in July 2011) in JSTOR for 'historical worker' (up to 1960), found only three usages after 1940. An obituary of Albert Bushnell Hart (aged 89) called him 'the most useful historical worker of his generation (*AHR*, 49 (Oct. 1943), p.193): his work included 'preparation of bibliographic aids, the editing of documents as helps to teaching, the editing of maps, handbooks, and texts'. The reviewer of a Dutch state archives publication said of it, 'Nothing could be more suitable for the needs of the historical worker; but the general historical reader will find little to interest him.' *EHR*, 64 (1945), p.271. A 1940 review of Powicke's *Handbook of British Chronology* 'consists mostly of lists with dates, of the sort that every historical worker must compile for himself in his own field', *Journal of Modern History*, 12 (Dec. 1940), p.536. Finally, in 1945, is a passing reference to research 'likely to engage the historical worker', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 31 (March 1945), p.511.

<sup>1060</sup> For the extended discussion see Procter, 'What's an Archivist?'

<sup>1061</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.48. The 'Keeper' was Master of the Rolls. The first PRO establishment comprised the 'Deputy Keeper' assisted by six Assistant Keeper and a further 24 clerks. See RCPR, *First Report*, Part 2, Appendix 7, 'The Staff of the Public Record Office', particularly section (c) 'The First Generation of Record Officers'.

thus the roles of its staff); as its first Deputy Keeper, Sir Francis Palgrave was quite clear about the role of the PRO. As a government bureau, it was

in the first place a *public Office*, and a department of the general administration of the Law. It deals with the public as Suitors, Clients, or customers in matters of business. And the Officers as practical Men of Business must perform those duties which are common to all Departments where fees are paid by the Applicant or Suitor as a price for the document which he obtains or sues out, or for the information or service which he receives.

However, as the same time, and unlike the pre-1838 system, the Office was to be

also a public Library to which the public are to be permitted to resort under proper restrictions . . . In this branch of duty, the Officer must act as Librarian, he must be somewhat more than a mere Man of business, he must possess the qualifications which may enable him to assist the literary enquirer.<sup>1062</sup>

These qualifications were the acquisition of skills to assist in the literary side of the office, and it is with these activities that the word 'archivist' comes to be associated, though without the term ever replacing the titles of Clerk or keeper (unsurprisingly as the government work continued and increased unremittingly). Crump, who joined the PRO in 1888, had seen at least the end of the evolution of the PRO into one which was as much a research institution as a government office; and in some of his published work he used 'keeper of the record' interchangeably with 'archivist'.<sup>1063</sup> But just as the term 'archivist' never *replaced* 'keeper', PRO officers could never be (nor did they consider themselves) *primarily* archivists. At the same time, they nonetheless recognized themselves to be performing archival functions (such as appraisal, preparation of finding aids and so on, as discussed earlier) as *part* of their duties as professional civil servants and thus many displayed archival *characteristics* of outstanding merit. It was in this context that Hall had to apologize (in 1909) for lack of PRO (or indeed *any* British) representation at the International Archival Congress to J. Cuvelier at the National Archives of Belgium, 'we

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<sup>1062</sup> Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, p.522: memorandum of Sir Francis Palgrave, 14 June 1838.

<sup>1063</sup> Crump, *History and Historical Research*, pp.88-89.

[the PRO] are not a professional so much as an official body – clerks rather than scholars'.<sup>1064</sup>

On occasions when Hall, Crump and Johnson could be considered 'the archivist' in isolation, that is away from the PRO context, they distinguish him, or her, from the mass of historical workers, as someone who managed archives in contradistinction to using them. Charles Johnson, reflecting on 'The qualifications of the archivist', suggested that the archivist 'must renounce historical work on his own account, except as an exercise to keep alive his interest in history and his knowledge of the needs and progress of historical study in those fields in which his documents can be useful'.<sup>1065</sup> Again, Johnson's comments anticipated Jenkinson's statement to the same effect.<sup>1066</sup> Perhaps reflecting the impartial qualities of the records back onto the practitioner, Hall saw the archivists' role as providing impartial guidance (though this was in the context of the contrast between the early twentieth century and the pre-1838 situation where access to records was provided through 'the mercenary attentions of their ill-trained custodians . . . men who were neither trained historians nor efficient archivists').<sup>1067</sup> Crump, while in general agreement with (and quoting) Johnson, was perhaps a little more realistic about the likelihood (at least in 1928) of a strict renunciation of historical work on the part of the archivist:

Even the sternest archivist who from a sense of duty has renounced "historical work on his own account" will have been obliged to study some part of the documents in his care, and may even have published some of his researches, excusing himself by calling his sin "an exercise to keep alive his interest in history".

The proper duties of archivists (stern or otherwise) were, Crump continued,

to provide for [the records'] safe custody, to preserve the history of the various collections in their charge, to assign all stray documents to their

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<sup>1064</sup> Hall to J. Cuvelier, 15 March 1909, National Archives of Belgium, AGR, Archives du secrétariat, no. 1396. I am grateful to Dr Peter Horsman for bringing this correspondence to my attention.

<sup>1065</sup> Johnson, *Care of Documents*, p.42.

<sup>1066</sup> Jenkinson, *Manual*, p.123ff.

<sup>1067</sup> [Hall], 'History and the Science of Archives', p.18.

proper classes, to form new classes where and only where new classes are needed, and to provide proper means of reference<sup>1068</sup>

### *Conclusion*

This Chapter has brought together a large amount of evidence to support the thesis that the principles and good practice generally accepted by the mid twentieth century as forming the corpus of professional knowledge for a discrete profession of archivists were already understood, accepted, and indeed in the public domain, by the first two decades of the century. I have shown that there was an extensive literature of archival science available in the decades preceding the publication in 1922 of Jenkinson's *Manual* and thus that it is possible to identify at least two generations of progress in archival science before that date. This comprises the works discussed here of Hall, Johnson and Crump and others, and the corpus of works on which they (sometimes) drew. Much of this material has been identified and discussed here for the first time. It seems unnecessary to add that further research could extend the origins of a British school of archival theory and practice back to the mid-seventeenth century,<sup>1069</sup> and then, fittingly, back to the recordkeeping practices of the medieval exchequer.<sup>1070</sup>

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<sup>1068</sup> Crump, *History and Historical Research* pp. 88–89.

<sup>1069</sup> Agard, *Repertorie of Records*.

<sup>1070</sup> I am not suggesting that this work is in itself unknown, only that an attempt has not been made to establish the genealogy of British archival science. For an example of medieval practice see e.g., *RBE*, p.863 for recordkeeping instructions in the office of the King's Remembrancer.

## CONCLUSION

I have tried in this thesis to establish Hubert Hall as representative of the historical worker, a generalist in the field of historical study, archive and record work and scholarship, and a category which is now too broad to be meaningful to a contemporary audience. As a result, Hall and many of his contemporaries have been disregarded by the modern archival community, whose creation myth speaks of spontaneous generation in the 1920s. And indeed, the formation of professional organizations, and the adoption of a foundation text do indeed date back to that decade. However, I hope I have succeeded in proving that Hall deserves recognition as a significant figure in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archival historiography or that I have, at least, been able to show, through him, how historical work at the turn of the twentieth century had few labels and fewer boundaries.

The structures of professional history were consolidated by 1921 making boundaries more evident, and more likely. The existence of boundaries militated against the type of portfolio work which women, in particular (though not exclusively), engaged in at the beginning of the century. The availability of this work for women has been well documented but has been shown here to be a complex network providing many opportunities for employment, though much of it was based on personal recommendation and informal networks which were to sit less easily with more formal, university-based structures. Hall created and made use of these networks to support his students, and indeed his colleagues; in doing so, and through his promotion of record studies, his influence extended into several future generations of historians, and of archivists.

In discussing the contribution of Hall and his contemporaries to the development and the articulation of various aspects of the theory (and practice) of archival science in the UK, I have drawn attention to the range of material which existed. This account should to lay to rest the received view that Jenkinson defined or, even, 'invented' a corpus of British archival theory. His *Manual* drew on existing scholarly and practice-based writing, work which has been almost entirely lost from the professional consciousness; his contribution to archival theory was evolutionary rather than revolutionary. Nevertheless when the *Manual* was reissued in 1937 it quickly became the canonical text of the new archival

professional group. This is unsurprising and follows a typical professionalization model. In the Netherlands, Muller, Feith and Fruin's manual became, in the 1890s the key text at the point when the professional archival organization established itself (and when archival legislation was introduced). The model repeated itself in the US in the 1930s with the foundation of the national archives, and the establishment of the Society of American Archivists (in 1936). In the UK, that the *Manual* coincided with the beginnings of archival management as a profession was Jenkinson's gain. By the 1930s the age of the historical generalist was over – identities, of archivist and of historian, were fixed and archivists, in particular lost sight of what had contributed to forming that professional identity.

*'... the perfect scholar, with the perfect scholar's genius for helping other scholars'*<sup>1071</sup>

In order to understand better the world of the historical worker, I set Hall's work in the context of contemporaneous intellectual developments, particularly in the fields of historical writing and research, of teaching and of archival practice and principles. His credentials as 'the perfect scholar' are, as this thesis has shown, incomplete. As his contemporaries recognized, his learning was (as his friend Charles Johnson pointed out) 'extensive rather than precise'.<sup>1072</sup> The second half of the quotation on the other hand more accurately identifies Hall's 'genius' – 'his services to historical scholarship as an archivist, editor, and teacher'.<sup>1073</sup>

Although I did not originally intend it as such, this thesis has become a biography of Hall, or, at least, it provides the framework for a biography. Insofar as I was concerned to establish 'the facts' to construct that framework, I have not sought to discuss his personality or character, though of course these have been referred to, or, more often, implied. There is enough evidence to say with some certainty that Hall's enthusiasm, his 'inexhaustible energy for new explorations'<sup>1074</sup> and his readiness for sometime laborious and tedious work endeared him to his colleagues and to his students: his real strengths lay in his willingness to facilitate the work of others (and a determination that they should succeed) and his patience; and he was, by nature, an optimist. The views of two women who both became eminent academic historians are typical: 'I think Hubert Hall is going to

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<sup>1071</sup> J[ohnson], 'Hubert Hall', p.5, quoting Roger Merriman.

<sup>1072</sup> C. Johnson, 'Hall, Hubert (1857–1944), archivist', *DNB*, 1959. Available via [www.odnb.ac.uk](http://www.odnb.ac.uk)

<sup>1073</sup> Johnson, 'Hall, Hubert (1857–1944)', rev. G. Martin.

<sup>1074</sup> J[ohnson], 'Hubert Hall', p.5, quoting William Beveridge.

be nice to work with – very kind & helpful, & above all not interfering. ... So I am cheerful',<sup>1075</sup> wrote Eileen Power as she took up her scholarship at the LSE. 'Mr Hall has gone away now: I feel a little "left"', Hilda Johnstone told her brother in law Tom Tout, 'He has been so good to me – came into the searchroom & talked to me for a long time on Thursday.'<sup>1076</sup>

Hall's relationships with his students appears to mirror those with his family; and the two worlds often overlapped. While no letters between Hall and Winifred survive, there is nothing to suggest that it was anything other than a happy marriage (whatever effect it may have had on Marjorie). Winifred clearly enjoyed the opportunities for travel and social activities which became available through her husband's commitment to the promotion of historical enterprise. Hall appears to have been close to his children, particularly Marjorie, and his solicitude for his students perhaps also relates to Dickie's disability, and John's chronic ill-health. A fuller biography of Hall would, of course, explore these aspects in greater detail.

#### *Areas for Future Research*

Many possibilities for further research have suggested themselves in the course of this thesis:

There is much work to be done on the role of women historical workers in the early twentieth century and on their careers after the 1920s. The women identified in Chapter 6 are the immediate candidates for prosopographic study; and this would in turn provide data for investigation of the emergence of archives as a female-dominated profession.<sup>1077</sup>

The Assistant Keepers at the PRO also lend themselves to prosopography. Both Cantwell and Kitching have recognized the importance of this group and their 'pioneering work in describing and publicizing the records'.<sup>1078</sup> As well as Hall, Crump and Johnson, Kitching also includes the earlier generation, Selby and A. C. Ewald. Again, individual studies of

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<sup>1075</sup> Power to M. Spring Rice, 8 Sept. 1911, GCPP Power E 2/1/2.

<sup>1076</sup> Hilda Johnstone to T. Tout, 10 July 1904, TFT 1/604/2.

<sup>1077</sup> The unlisted papers of Joan Wake at Northamptonshire RO are a particularly attractive proposition in this respect.

<sup>1078</sup> Kitching, 'Archives and History in England since 1850' [online].

these men would build a picture of the intellectual and cultural environment out of which elements of twentieth century archival management emerged.<sup>1079</sup>

Contact between British and continental archival practitioners, informal or otherwise, deserves examination. It is not clear whether the lack of British representation at the International Archival Congress (Chapter 7) represented a lack of awareness, a lack of enthusiasm or a view that a knowledge of foreign practices was unnecessary. On the other hand British students (Power included) attended the *École des Chartes* and it would be instructive to establish the extent to which they were influenced by the experience and transferred it in some way into the British context.

Cantwell provides a full account of the work of the RCPR, though the history of its constitution, its work and its politics merit additional specific investigation. The *Reports* themselves provide much evidence (as Cantwell has emphasized) for archival historiography, not just for the Public Records but for recordkeeping practice generally.<sup>1080</sup>

Finally the brief study of the literature of recordkeeping in Chapter 7 should be extended backwards in time to create a complete bibliography of British archival writing.

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<sup>1079</sup> Though, excluding Ewald, all have entries in the *ONDB*.

<sup>1080</sup> The provision of local services will be the topic of a special issue of the *Journal of the Society of Archivists* in 2013 which draws on the UK-CHORA conference on the same topic held in Liverpool in July 2011.

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#### **Girton College Cambridge**

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## ARRANGEMENT of BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Hubert Hall: a Bibliography (by date of publication)
  - 1.1 Monographs: Books, editions, pamphlets
  - 1.2 Articles and chapters in books
  - 1.3 Reviews by Hubert Hall
  - 1.4 Letters to the press
  - 1.5 Obituaries
2. Reviews of works by Hubert Hall
3. Primary sources
  - 3.1 Official publications
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  - 3.4 Reviews
  - 3.5 Newspaper articles
4. Secondary sources
  - 4.1 Monographs: books, editions, pamphlets
  - 4.2 Articles and chapters in books
  - 4.3 Thesis
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The End