"A Smart Parchment-Rooter": Hubert Hall, British Archives and American Scholarship, 1880–1940

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ABSTRACT

The similarities in the ways the archival and historical professions, in both the United States and the United Kingdom, emerged from a single area of joint endeavor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are now fairly well recognized. Less well known are the ways that "mutually shared space" fostered professional and personal relationships in networks of British and American "historical workers." Such relationships, now obscured, were of significance not just to the individuals concerned, but because they affected the developing archival landscapes on both sides of the Atlantic. They are considered here from the perspective of Hubert Hall (1857–1944) of the British Public Record Office, who worked with and supported American colleagues from the 1890s until his death in 1944.

KEY WORDS

Archival History, Writings about Archives, International Archives

There are few archivists whose names enjoy universal recognition even among their peers, and even fewer who achieve this over time. Hilary Jenkinson is perhaps the only British example; internationally he falls into a category also occupied by Schellenberg and Muller, Feith, and Fruin. Only in the past decade have Anglophone archivists started to reflect in any systematic way about other figures who belong to their own "prehistory."[1] In doing so, we have also started to become aware that these linchpins of the archival profession were, in fact, building upon the work of largely forgotten pioneers of archival theory and practice. In the United States, these include the notable figures of John Franklin Jameson and Waldo Gifford Leland, members of a group of pioneering men and women who, before an archival profession existed, nevertheless laid the foundations of the discipline and developed its formal infrastructure. In the American case, as elsewhere, national developments were, as they continue to be, influenced by or adapted from principles and methods in place elsewhere. International relationships and networks therefore make up another fruitful research area in the field of archival history. This article focuses on one English pioneer, Hubert Hall (1857–1944) of the British Public Record Office, whose enthusiasm for American scholarly practice in general and support for young American scholars in particular put him at the center of one of those networks. During his professional life, he worked tirelessly to make English archives more widely known and used, while at the same time being an enthusiastic advocate for American developments. Just as as Peter Wosh has demonstrated in the case of Waldo Gifford Leland,[2] a knowledge of Hall's career and of the milieu in which he operated contribute toward a prosopography of trans-Atlantic archival enterprise in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period in which archival work and historical work were regarded as interchangeable.

The suggestion that the absence of formalized professional boundaries provided the conditions for productive collaborations is hardly new; Francis X. Blouin and William Rosenberg have most recently explored the dissipation and then disappearance of "the space mutually shared by archives and history" before archival and historical practice and theory developed separately during the twentieth century.[3] Concentrating on Hall allows us to see what this "space" looked like from an individual's perspective. From a wider standpoint, the range of Hall's links with American historians and archivists, before the consolidation of history and archives administration as separate professions was complete on either side of the Atlantic, makes for a fascinating case study in Anglo-American archival relationships, and in that respect illustrates how international collaboration could flourish despite the apparent lack of easy communication and travel. The context of Hall's "story" should also suggest that the English impact on American developments needs to be treated as a distinctive influence and

that to talk of "European influences" can be misleading. While the Public Record Office (PRO) had some similarities with other national archives services throughout Europe, its role as a government department, the absence of any archival provision at the local level, and indeed the lack of any general understanding of the concept of "archivist"[4] made England a unique archival environment. More pragmatically, a shared language and history made England—and thus English practice—more immediately relevant, and in practical terms made it far more easily accessible, to Americans.[5]

A Common Heritage

It is not difficult to appreciate why trans-Atlantic collaboration seemed so attractive, and indeed so critical, at the turn of the twentieth century. Archival links between Britain (and England in particular) and America were forged through what was perceived, on both sides, to be a common historical, and therefore archival, heritage.[6] Even before the PRO was formally established in 1838, Francis Palgrave, its first deputy keeper, recognized that the national archives were "the property not merely of England, but of the English people, wheresoever settled or dispersed."[7] The records of the mother country were important not only to Britain but to its colonies—and ex-colonies—alike. For the generation of American historians who sought to explain and explore the evolution of their own national constitution, understanding the development and institutions of early and medieval England (and how those derived, in turn, from "Germanic" traditions) was a vital part of their "advanced historical training" (postgraduate research training).[8]

Until the 1880s, when British historians began to adopt the methodological processes of their German peers and history became established as a university discipline, American scholars had most often undergone such training in Germany. Toward the end of that decade, the flow of American students switched to Britain, where they benefited not only from the Anglophone environment, but from direct access to the medieval records they needed.

The importance of American contributions to English medieval historical scholarship itself was already evident, and appreciated, by the final decades of the nineteenth century. Indeed, there was a sense that American scholars, and even American tourists, understood the value of the archives far more than did their British counterparts. American scholars had produced pioneering research based firmly on records, and it was the Harvard historian Charles Gross who published the key reference book of the period, *Sources and Literature of English History*, in 1900.[9] United States scholars, it was claimed, had a "particular genius"[10] for using the records, and the PRO itself (or at least its museum with the Domesday Book and copies of the Magna Carta) was "included in every American's itinerary

while 'doing' England.'" The average Englishman, on the other hand, walked past the Record Office oblivious to its function.[11] Alfred Stamp (later PRO Deputy Keeper) was to recall the 1890s as a time when these pioneering Americans made the PRO search room their own.[12] Many of these early visitors were contemporaneously described as "historical workers;"[13] rather than (or as much as) writing history, their task was to search out archival materials, construct finding aids, and prepare guides to facilitate further research.[14] By the early twentieth century, the work of identifying and bringing together (at least intellectually) archival materials of relevance to American history was largely in the hands of the Bureau (later Department) of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and is most closely associated with Franklin Jameson, its director between 1905 and 1927.[15] Jameson had already identified the need for an American equivalent of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in the late 1890s, building on work already done by Charles MacLean Andrews. Andrews, then based at Bryn Mawr, had first worked at the PRO in 1893—where he met Hall—and had quickly recognized "the paradox which patriots and filiopietists would eventually have to face, that the Monumenta Americae Historica were basically English."[16] With such a scope, the project clearly required long-term financial support, and this was what Jameson was ultimately able to provide through the Bureau. Over two decades Andrews spent extensive periods of time in England (and elsewhere in Europe) working on the Carnegie's series of guides to American history;[17] his most notable collaborator, Frances Davenport, who started her own long association with the Carnegie Institution in 1904, became, to all intents and purposes, a long-term British resident. Individual historical societies, too, might commission their own researchers: in 1908 Miss Elizabeth French, a professional genealogist, arrived in England as "record searcher" for the Committee on English Research of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. By 1915, she had traveled throughout England examining records in more than twenty ecclesiastical and probate registries as well as in numerous individual parishes, the conditions under which the records could be accessed comparing very poorly (she reported) with the American situation.[18]

Other scholars with archival interests visited when the occasion demanded. Jameson, for example, first visited England as head of the newly formed Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association (AHA) in 1896. He repeated the trip in 1913 and again in the early 1920s, each time renewing the relationships established with British scholars and archivists, including Hall.[19] That final visit to London in 1921 was to the first Anglo-American Historical Conference, organized by the newly constituted Institute of Historical Research (IHR). The establishment of the IHR, with its separate membership categories for historians and archivists, was an early marker of professional separation in the United Kingdom.[20] In the United States, the tailing-off of support by the AHA for

its Public Archives Commission—both financially and in terms of any interest in its ambitions[21]—might be seen as a parallel phenomenon occurring under a similar set of circumstances, certainly circumstances that meant the disappearance of generalist historical work and thus of the career patterns of men such as Jameson and Hall. It is Hall's career, with the focus on its American associations, that I examine in the remainder of this article.

Hubert Hall at the PRO

Hubert Hall was born in 1857 into a comfortable, upper-middle-class household in the county of Nottinghamshire. His grandfather, John Hall, was a noted agricultural reformer and stock breeder who, along with his son (and Hall's father), Richard, farmed a number of estates in the midlands and west of England. His early upbringing left Hall with an abiding love of the countryside, and toward the end of his life he moved permanently to a smallholding in rural Kent. This was probably a romantic throwback to his childhood; it was certainly to be an unfortunate investment given the general economic slump of the 1920s.

Hall began his forty-year career at the PRO in 1879 as a "Class 1 Clerk," appointed through the system of competitive Civil Service examinations, which was designed to attract the best generalist applicants who then had their pick of any available position. A vacancy at the PRO was not immediately attractive to the majority of candidates, not least because its salaries compared poorly with those offered in positions in the great departments of state—the Foreign Office or Home Office—to which candidates normally aspired.[22] What drew Hall to the PRO is unclear, and as he placed a respectable seventh out of twenty-eight in the pass list, he would have had some choice in his posting. Unlike the majority of his PRO colleagues (and other professional associates), he was one of the last Class 1 Clerks to enter the Office without a university degree. Perhaps the fact that he gained the second-highest marks of his cohort in the history element of the examinations[23] indicates at least a historical sensibility. There was no specialist training as such; once in post, new recruits were introduced to their duties by working alongside more senior colleagues, especially in the Copying Department where they would be introduced to the practical problems of reading the records and absorbing the detail of English administrative history. As a government department, the PRO's primary function was to meet the information needs of the rest of government, but, at a time when professional, university-based historians scarcely existed as a class in the United Kingdom, many of the PRO's senior clerks and assistant keepers also made it their business to ensure that the research potential of the national records could be fully realized. Most were actively involved in publication or in the work of learned

societies, promoting the importance (and, in the era of scientific history, the necessity) of using archives for historical research.[24]

As officer in charge of the Government Search Room, Hall was responsible for the management of records of those great departments of state that had emerged (broadly speaking) during the eighteenth century. This made him first point of contact for any scholars researching North American colonization or independence, and he quickly developed a recognized expertise in that area;[25] in 1899 it was Hall whom Jameson had in mind as the "thorough and competent scholar, preferably an experienced official of the Public Record Office" who might be persuaded to compile a guide to American sources in the PRO.[26] For researchers, the processes involved in accessing records could sometimes be cumbersome and often appeared inconsistent; a friendly, as well as knowledgeable presence in the search room was invaluable for students who had to maneuver their way through a maze of closed record series and the so-called permit system, which required specific departmental authorization for each request. United States citizens were further penalized by having to apply for the permit via their embassy.[27] Nonetheless (and as access conditions were rationalized over time), use of the PRO search rooms by American scholars increased steadily: in 1912 it was reported that one institution (presumably the Carnegie) retained six American copyists permanently at the PRO.[28] The trans-Atlantic scholarly network grew exponentially as its original members directed their own protégés toward the PRO. In his obituary of Hall, Roger Merriman, one of that group of pioneering American historians from the 1890s, remembered:

> Whether one went with a note of introduction to him from Jameson or [Charles] Haskins[29] or [Herbert] Osgood[30] or C. M. Andrews or G. B. Adams,[31] or whether one turned up timid and unsponsored, Hubert Hall was to all the quiet, sympathetic, kindly, and comprehending scholar who smoothed the way to the treasures between early charters and the wavering date line for dispatches too recent to be released by the Foreign Office.[32]

Hall, continued Merriman, was "the best and kindest friend [American historians] ever had. There was no one in England to whom, collectively, they owe so much."[33] While perhaps to be expected from an obituary, similar comments about both the substance and manner of his assistance recur with such regularity as to leave little doubt about his role in furthering American scholarship: "I am under especial obligations to Hubert Hall, Esq, . . . for his untiring search for material," wrote Clarence W. Alvord; Frances Davenport made "particular mention . . . of kind help given by Mr Hubert Hall;" Edward E. Curtis expressed the thanks "due to the best friend of American historical scholars in England, Mr Hubert Hall."[34] Such sentiments were not restricted to public pronouncements; they appear frequently too in private correspondence. And, as we will

see, appreciation could also take a more tangible, financial form, perhaps providing more convincing evidence of the esteem in which he was held.

Teaching New Generations of Scholars

Hall's PRO-based American network expanded further in the course of his many other historical activities. This was particularly true in the case of his teaching and through his involvement with the Royal Historical Society (RHS). In these arenas, Hall could more easily indulge his personal research interests, which centered on the medieval Exchequer; he had already published both popular and scholarly works on the topic by the early 1890s.[35] His research into the finances of medieval government made him a pioneer in the new discipline of economic history, and this expertise led to his appointment in the then recently established London School of Economics (LSE) in 1896. In his classes at the LSE—in paleography and diplomatics, and in the "Equipment of the Historical Student" (an introduction to the records and their interpretation) in particular—many American students received a first introduction to medieval records. In his "advanced" (i.e., postgraduate level) classes, students and established scholars were set to work on the records in small seminar groups. But this provision was exceptional, and the normalization of advanced training was becoming a pressing issue for the British historical establishment. In 1900, the RHS proposed a scheme to put "Advanced Historical Teaching" on a more sustainable footing. While some commentators interpreted sustainability as the establishment of a full-blown English equivalent of the École des Chartes,[36] the immediate terms of reference of the proposal were more practical: to raise enough money "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."[37] Hall was a member of the committee appointed to take the scheme forward; his chairman was James Bryce, an eminent and influential figure in the Anglo-American historical and diplomatic community (and who was to become British ambassador in Washington between 1907 and 1913).[38] Though the proposal itself was enthusiastically received, the financial response was disappointing; only enough was raised to augment what Hall was already providing at the LSE. Nevertheless, for students visiting London, his classes acquired "must-attend" status; by 1907 it was reported that his classes had attracted "upwards of twenty foreign students chiefly American graduates."[39] Unfortunately no complete list of these U.S. students has survived, but given that between 1896 and 1905 American universities awarded 187 PhDs in history,[40] the twenty Americans coming within Hall's ambit in these classes (in addition to those he encountered, in any case, at the PRO) constituted a

very significant minority of all American research students—and probably represented the majority working on English history.

Among these students were a significant number of women. At the turn of the twentieth century, England provided a conducive environment for American female scholars, in sharp contrast, in many cases, to what they experienced in the United States.[41] The relative timeframes of the professionalization process partly explains this. Happily for women, this happened a generation later in the United Kingdom where, in the early 1900s, the formal structures of university-based history were still undeveloped. Coinciding as it did with a period of increasing educational possibilities for women, there was, in England, still leeway for those women to gain a foothold in a "new" profession not yet convincingly colonized (as it was in America) by men. The LSE, opened in 1895, established on Fabian principles as a home for advanced research and teaching in the social sciences, welcomed both men and women students, researchers and staff equally.[42] Hall's seminars seem to have been particularly "women-friendly," again in contrast to what has been described as the confrontational and explicitly masculine American seminar tradition.[43] At various times, his American women students included Frances Davenport, whose pioneering work on European archives has already been mentioned, and the two celebrated medievalists Bertha Putnam and Nellie Neilson.[44] A short account of the careers of the latter two demonstrates the kind of trans-Atlantic relationships enjoyed by scholars (whether male or female). Both women worked extensively in England and on English medieval history throughout their careers and have been described as coming under "the beneficent influence of Hubert Hall."[45] Neilson, a Bryn Mawr student of Charles Andrews (who, like Hall, was a great supporter of women's role in scholarship), was "[t]he best known among women who had received the doctorate in history before 1900."[46] Her standing was such that she became the first woman president of the AHA in 1943, the only woman holding the post in the association's first hundred years.[47] Putnam, too, was a student of Andrews, and both she and Neilson were among the many students who became personal friends, not only with Hall, but also with Hall's wife, Winifred, further intertwining the personal and the professional.[48]

Anglo-American Friendships

The account by legal historian Harold D. Hazeltine[49] of his friendship with Hall is typical of the way many of these relationships developed as a result of Hall's teaching; it also emphasizes the role Winifred played in maintaining and promoting those relationships over the years:

> During my sojourn in London [wrote Hazeltine] I came to see the importance of a knowledge of palaeography and diplomatics in the study of English legal history based on the original sources in Latin and Norman-French. It was for this reason that I attended the lectures and classes of Mr. Hubert Hall in the University of London in palaeography and diplomatics. I was fascinated by Mr. Hall's skill and learning in his teaching of these subjects; 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.[50]

The Halls' most enduring trans-Atlantic friendship was to be with Charles and Evangeline Andrews. As already noted, Andrews had first met Hall in the 1890s, but their friendship developed during Andrews's subsequent extended research trips to London. Their two families even holidayed together in Norfolk, England, in 1909; their later correspondence often referred to this as a particularly pleasurable time.[51] Other links were maintained only sporadically; Hall's dealings with James T. Shotwell provide a good example. Shotwell trained as a medievalist, first meeting Hall in 1904 during the "European tour"[52] that he made shortly before he took up a post in the history department at Columbia. He left academia on the entry of the United States into the First World War in 1917, and, having been part of President Wilson's entourage at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, devoted the remainder of his life to advocating a more active international stance for the United States. In this role, working with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), he renewed his acquaintance with Hall after twenty-five years. The events surrounding this meeting are described later in this article.

Whatever their origin—whether as a student, a professional peer, or a social contact—Hall nurtured these relationships that brought him both material and professional benefits. He was particularly appreciative of the esteem in which his American colleagues held him. By 1908, his reputation in the United States had resulted in an invitation from Harvard to receive an honorary degree, an invitation he had to decline because of the practical difficulties of traveling there.[53] The following year was the thirtieth anniversary of his joining the PRO; among the presentations marking the occasion was an illuminated address signed by forty-eight of Hall's American friends and students along with a welcome gift of £50. Frances Davenport and Jameson had initiated the presentation (and subscription list), and, although the presentation was made in London (on August 18, 1909), a dozen Americans were able to attend in person.[54] The £50 gift would prove to be the first of several instances of American financial generosity toward Hall.

Hall and J. F. Jameson: Kindred Spirits

Through the Hall-Jameson link in particular we can see how ideas about British (or specifically English) archival practice might have become familiar to American historical workers. The two men were kindred spirits in the promotion of historical enterprise; their careers mirrored each other in a number of ways. Hall, born in 1857, and Jameson, born two years later, both worked tirelessly—and well into their seventies—to ensure that the work of historians was based on secure archival foundations.[55] Their careers spanned the decades when institutional and professional frameworks were created and then consolidated; both were involved in multiple schemes and projects to further the study of history, and both were tireless promoters of the importance of their national archives.[56] On Jameson's death in 1938, the *American Historical Review* observed that he "was never content merely to 'carry on': his associates were impressed by his extraordinary and unselfish zeal in initiating enterprises for the advancement of historical research and publication,"[57] a judgment that could have applied equally well to his British counterpart.

Though Hall and Jameson first met in London in 1896,[58] the latter's role with the Carnegie Institution, coordinating the exploration of European archives, resulted in the need for his continuing liaison with Hall as officer in charge of the departmental records. Their correspondence also gave Jameson insight to the problems and challenges of organizing a national archival institution.[59] Clearly, PRO practices were unlikely to be suitable for wholesale transfer into any future U.S. national archives: Charles Haskins (of Harvard University) was not alone in noting that "with respect to the science of archives and the study of diplomatics the British Isles are far behind such countries as France or Germany,"[60] while Leland, also well traveled on behalf of the Carnegie, was an admirer of French rather than PRO practice (and especially because the French had an articulated theoretical framework for their activities).[61] Hall's own support for an American national archives was concerned less with any practical implementation and rather more with his admiration for the American (or at least the Carnegie's) approach per se. He had unbounded enthusiasm for what he called the "peculiar genius" of American historians, which could lead to the creation of initiatives such as the Department of Historical Research. Jameson was easily able to identify as Hall the anonymous, but extremely fulsome, reviewer who praised the Department's "distinguished" work in 1910.[62] Hall particularly admired Jameson's cosmopolitan outlook, a perspective he (rightly) considered to be in short supply among his immediate colleagues; that no one from the United Kingdom could be found to attend the 1910 International Congress of Archivists and Librarians in Brussels (a meeting which Leland, on the other hand, found

both illuminating and helpful for American developments) was symptomatic of the insular approach adopted by English recordkeeping officials.[63]

Toward the end of 1910, Hall turned to Jameson for assistance when a Royal Commission on Public Records (RCPR) was appointed "to enquire into and report on the state of the Public Records."[64] Hall, seconded from the PRO, was appointed the Commission's secretary. In this role, he was in a good position to influence the Commissioners' activities (and thus any recommendations); one of his first actions was to prime American colleagues about the valuable role that they could play in this respect: "I attach more weight to your work than to any other organization for our own purpose,"[65] Hall wrote to Jameson in November 1910. To this end, Jameson had solicited and collated the views of some dozen American researchers with experience of working in the United Kingdom;[66] as a body, they unanimously claimed to have been "handsomely treated at the P.R.O. and disclaim[ed] all wish to criticize."[67] Nonetheless, on their behalf, Charles Andrews, who was then working in Paris and so easily able to cross the Channel to present the American evidence to the inquiry in person, made several pointed suggestions to the Commissioners: he put in 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*," the inappropriate rearrangement of some records series having, he reported, "wrought great havoc with our references." [68]

There was a different, and perhaps more practical, kind of collaboration in the early summer of 1914 when Hall and Jameson were both closely involved in setting up a center for American history students. Such students, especially those new to the capital, were, said Jameson, "apt to lead an isolated existence, when in reality there are always a good number of them in London at any given time."[69] To address their potential isolation, Jameson chaired an AHA committee charged with setting up what was, in effect, an overseas branch of the Association. Aided by Frances Davenport on the ground in London, the center was formally launched on June 15, 1914. Bryce and Hall, as "men in high positions in [the] historical world and whose friendly attitude toward American students need[ed] no exposition,"[70] became its honorary president and vice president respectively. In the early years of the war, when American scholars were unable to travel easily in much of Europe, there was, if anything, an increased demand for the reading and meeting facilities offered by the center, but after America's entry into the war in 1917, Jameson struggled to meet increasing rental costs; a room was rented instead (at Hall's instigation) in the Royal Historical Society's own offices. In this way, the scheme was kept going until after the war when other initiatives, notably the establishment of the American University Union in 1920 and then the Institute of Historical Research in 1921, superseded it.[71]

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and British Archives

This account of exchanges made, schemes implemented, and friendships maintained gives some impression of the ways in which British-based activities intersected with, and contributed to, American scholarship and archival developments at this time. Though many of the projects described here were carried out under institutional labels, much of the labor involved was voluntary and—as remains the case today—projects were successful because of the personal relationships that developed, relationships based not only on a commonality of interest, but on mutual respect and even affection. Because of Hall's own willingness to take on any amount of work in what he called "the promotion of historical enterprises," his enthusiasm for facilitating and supporting research, and his basic kindness, he inspired both great affection and great loyalty in his colleagues and especially in his students, many of whom became colleagues in turn. This ever-growing network continued to benefit him once he had formally retired from the PRO in 1921, providing new opportunities. One of these came when the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) launched its project for an international series, *Economic History and Survey of the War*, under the general editorship of James Shotwell. With his academic background as a former medievalist, Shotwell was firmly committed to 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."[72] To this end, he intended that each national series include a volume dealing with that country's war records. Hall's existing reputation in the United States and his familiarity with government records made him an obvious choice for such a work within the British series, and, in spring 1920, he was commissioned to produce *The British Archives in Peace and War* (eventually published as *British Archives and the Sources for the History of the World War*).[73] Also commissioned around the same time, and in the same national series, was *The Documents of Contemporary History: A Manual on the Administration of Archives with Special Reference to the History of the War*. That volume, commissioned from Hilary Jenkinson has, under its more familiar title, *A Manual of Archives Administration,* achieved rather greater longevity than any work of Hall's.

And, indeed, Shotwell soon came to regret the Hall commission. It presented him, as he explained to his director, with a dilemma:

> The author, as I have previously explained has a special claim upon all American historians, while no other English official approaches Dr. Hall in the help which he has given to American researchers in London. The Director of the Royal Historical Society and for a generation the leading man at the Record Office, he speaks with great authority. His name would be missed from a history of this kind; his advice is always weighty.

> As Editor [continued Shotwell] I am quite willing to admit that his style suffers somewhat from his technical preoccupations and is somewhat discursive.[74]

Shotwell himself undertook the extensive revisions needed to see the book through to publication (in 1925), a task he undertook more because of his anxiety to guard Hall's reputation in the United States than because of the volume's intrinsic merits. This type of protective response was not untypical; fond of, and loyal to him as they were, his many friends and collaborators were at the same time well aware of his limitations. Hall was an inspiring teacher in small-group seminars, but his lecturing style was widely recognized to be poor.[75] Nonetheless, when it was known that he was to be in the British delegation attending the 1924 AHA meeting in Richmond, Virginia (at the expense of the CEIP), Yale, Harvard, and Vassar showered invitations on him.[76] His lecture at Harvard on "The Evolution of British Treaty Papers" achieved particular notoriety. Expecting only a small, informal 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.

Roger Merriman's description of Hall's panic attack at this turn of events (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 other besides."[77] Hall, though "overwhelmed with hospitality and kindness from everybody" during his stay, remained unhappy about the lecture: "Perhaps it was not as bad as he thinks," suggested Winifred optimistically to Evangeline Andrews. On the other hand, Hall's enthusiasm for the American lifestyle—over and above American historical practice—was undimmed by his Harvard experiences. "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," Winifred assured Evangeline in the same letter.[78]

A Visit to San Marino

Though the CEIP had been able to fund the British historians' visit to the AHA conference in 1924, trans-Atlantic travel for many Americans used to regular trips to Europe declined markedly, particularly after the stock market crash.[79] There was, however, to be one final and unexpected opportunity for Hall to visit America. By the early 1930s, the Huntington Library in San Marino, California,

held one of the finest collections of medieval and early modern English estate papers outside Britain.[80] When the library decided it needed a specialist to work on these manuscripts, Reginald Haselden, curator of manuscripts (and English by birth), sought Hall's advice about a suitably qualified candidate. By "suitably qualified," he meant "a person recommended or trained by Dr. Hubert Hall who is the greatest authority on such matters." While usually more than ready to promote ex-students' interests, the opportunity to work at the Huntington, was, on this occasion, too attractive an offer to pass on elsewhere. Rather than a young archivist or historian, he suggested to Haselden, "You might find someone (like myself) sufficiently interested to come for board & travel for a month or two."[81] Haselden was delighted; and, with the library paying their first-class fares upfront,[82] Hall and Winifred arrived in Pasadena on December 18, 1931, having taken the opportunity to meet up with the Shotwells, Professor Edwin Gay, and other friends in New York en route.[83] The Huntington Library was to provide Hall with an experience unlike anything he had previously encountered in terms of facilities and the holdings themselves.

Even by the standards of other major U.S. collecting institutions, the Huntington collection was remarkable for its size, quality, and the speed at which it had been accumulated. "Acquisitions were made so rapidly that . . . no member of the staff could hope to have more than a confused impression of the total contents."[84] Henry Edwards Huntington had, over a period of twenty years, acquired his huge collection of rare books and manuscripts through well-informed bulk buying, often purchasing complete libraries, or, at least, the maximum amount possible in a single transaction.[85] Much of the material involved in this "migration of manuscripts" (as it was known from the British perspective) had been acquired as English landowners started to realize their assets in the poor economic environment. The attitude of British historians and archivists to this migration was perhaps more relaxed than might be expected; they appreciated that facilities for the care of the records, and the treatment of students and researchers, were often far superior at wealthy U.S. institutions to anything available, or indeed possible, in the United Kingdom, and their main concern was to ensure that the export and subsequent location of archives were adequately documented.

William (later Lord) Beveridge, then director of the LSE, who visited the Huntington a year or so before Hall, pointed out that although the materials were now difficult for British scholars to access, they had not previously been accessible in England in any case, "while the care given to their preservation was often deficient."[86] At the same time, however, he lamented that related classes of records had been split, reminding us that Hall would have been working within a manuscripts environment unfamiliar to him. While the importance of the principle of provenance was appreciated, as we have seen, by individuals,

its implementation was not yet the norm. Nonetheless, the estate collections that Huntington had purchased shortly before his death in 1927 were certainly recognizable as archival *fonds*,[87] and Hall was to work on the medieval material in four such collections: the Ellesmere Papers, the Papers of the Earls of Huntingdon, the Battle Abbey Muniments, and what Haselden called, "an enormous mass of material from Stowe." The task was to arrange these "in scientific fashion and list the manuscripts for the express purpose of making them available to scholars and students."[88] Specific objectives were less clear; as Haselden admitted to Dr. Max Farrand, the director of research, "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 is at present practically unknown."[89]

His vagueness was perhaps wise. Although the Halls were away from the United Kingdom for almost three months in total, they spent only four full weeks in Pasadena and, arriving as they did a few days before Christmas, were clearly in holiday, as much as working, mood. Winifred in particular made the most of her trip, developing "her attachment to the American 'stores' and the so-called 'Movies'." Possibly influenced by the latter, she also took to American slang, telling Mrs. Haselden, "I'm not going flashing it around, 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. . . ."[90]

The Halls left Los Angeles for the long trip back to the United Kingdom via the Panama Canal. Hall worked on his notes on board ship and ultimately seems to have agreed "to submit a plan for the cataloguing of the four collections in hand and to complete the materials for a report on their relations and features of interest."[91] In March 1932, he completed a report on manorial documents held by the library. A second report, "Some Characteristic Features of the Ellesmere Collection," was probably the one Haselden edited in an attempt "to straighten up some of the more involved sentences."[92] An article for inclusion in the library's *Bulletin* was discussed, but did not materialize; a summary report of the Hastings manuscripts published in April 1934 contained a section on manorial records but without any indication that Hall's work had contributed to this.[93] Even Hall's own account of the visit lacks scholarly focus, being rather a paean to the whole experience:

> And then . . . the stroll through shrubberies and rose gardens to luncheon in a pavilion cafe, rousing bevies of quail to whirl like feathered cricket-balls across the lawns, and then some dalliance with a saucy jay or a volatile humming-bird bobbing like a cork in the spray of a fountain; and so back to work, and after work, the homeward walk to tea, when the blaze of the poinsettias shows a deeper red in the cool shadows and the purple glory of sunset is reflected on the brown slopes and white snow-cap of "Old Baldy."[94]

The Huntington expedition was the last of Hall's American adventures. Though by now well into his seventies, he continued to work and remained in touch with his American friends. Haselden was a regular correspondent until his early death in 1937, a grateful recipient of English magazines and news from home. But older friends were of a generation whose historical work had itself become old-fashioned. Though Hall (at the age of seventy-nine) and "deeply moved with joy and pride," congratulated Andrews on the publication of *The Colonial Period of American History*,[95] a generation of new historians considered it "fashioned largely out of the materials of an earlier age" and belonging to an outdated historiography.[96]

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, correspondence took a more practical turn. Evangeline Andrews sent regular food parcels during the early 1940s, and on one occasion after the war when conditions became even more austere, she arranged a collection of second-hand clothes to send to Winifred, by then widowed and supporting a partly disabled son. Ranging from a dressing gown and silk dress, to a tweed coat (from Professor Wallace Notestein at Yale),[97] these parcels were a godsend at a time of strict rationing and severe winters.[98] The kindnesses shown to the Halls in straightened circumstances must have seemed, to both sides, a world away from the hospitality offered by the Halls on numerous occasions to American students and scholars in their apartments off Chancery Lane or holiday home in Norfolk.

Hall's death, on his eighty-fifth birthday in 1944 (a few days after his home had been bombed)[99] prompted numerous tributes, many of which recalled those earlier kindnesses. He was, concluded Merriman's obituary, "one of the strongest links in the ever-strengthening bonds of Anglo-American friendship and understanding,"[100] while Lester J. Cappon, as secretary of the Society of American Archivists, wrote directly to Winifred to express the society's condolences and "grateful appreciation of his contribution to the fellowship and work of this Society and of his untiring efforts in the preservation of and research on historical and archival records."[101]

While the individuals concerned may remember it fondly, the support, help, and friendship archivists give to researchers and students have few lasting monuments, and Hall is no exception to this rule. In remembering his remarkable career as a "promoter of historical enterprise" and firm supporter of American scholarship, I hope to provide some acknowledgment not just of his achievements but of those of many other now unremarked historical workers, on both sides of the Atlantic, who, obliquely and incrementally, contributed to shaping our current, and much more familiar, archival landscape.

Notes

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers whose comments resulted in a considerable refocusing of the original draft and Dr. Peter J. Wosh for his support. "Parchment-rooter" was Winifred Hall's description of her husband, Hubert, following a trip to California in 1931–1932, a neologism influenced by her take-up of American slang.

[1] Most notably through the series of International Conferences on the History of Records and Archives (I-CHORA) first held in Toronto in 2003.

[2] Peter J. Wosh, ed., *Waldo Gifford Leland and the Origins of the American Archival Profession* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011).

[3] Francis X. Blouin and William Rosenberg, *Processing the Past* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 8. See also Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape," *The American Archivist* 74 (Fall/Winter 2011): 600–32.

[4] The term "archivist" was seen as a foreign (and therefore suspect) usage. See Margaret Procter, "What's an Archivist? Some Nineteenth Century Perspectives," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 31, no. 1 (2010): 15–28.

[5] For England, see Elizabeth Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in 20th Century England* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009), especially chapter 1, "How Government Shaped the English Archival Profession." Stefan Berger emphasizes the exceptionalism of the English case in "The Role of National Archives in Constructing National Master Narratives in Europe," *Archival Science* 13, no. 1 (2013): 1–22.

[6] I have previously discussed these in "Consolidation and Separation. British Archives and American Historians at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Archival Science* 6, nos. 33—4 (2006): 361–79.

[7] John Cantwell, *The Public Record Office, 1838–1958* (London: HMSO, 1991), 300.

[8] See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) for a summary of the "Anglo-Saxonism" of this generation of American historians, 80–5. For Jameson's exposure to these ideas, see Morey Rothberg and Jacqueline Goggin, eds., *John Franklin Jameson and the Development of Humanistic Scholarship in America,* vol. 1, *Selected Essays* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), xxix–xxxii.

[9] Charles Gross, *The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485* (London: Longmans, Green, 1900); a new edition was published as late as 1951 (New York: P. Smith, 1951). For its pioneering qualities, see Ian Archer, "Bibliographies of British History," Institute of Historical Research, www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/RHSB.html.

[10] Review by Hubert Hall of the 1909 *Report of the Carnegie Institution Department of Historical Research*, quoted in E. Donnan and L. Stock, eds., *An Historian's World. Selections from the Letters of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956), 129, n. 147.

[11] "A Fair American Looking at Domesday Book," press clippings book, U.K. National Archives (TNA), PRO 8/61, fol. 5.

[12] A. E. Stamp, "The Public Record Office and the Historical Student—A Retrospect," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (TRHS)* 11 (1928): 28–29. Stamp specifically mentioned Frances Davenport (who joined the staff of the Carnegie Department of Historical Research in 1905), Galliard Thomas Lapsley (who retired as reader in constitutional history at Cambridge in 1937), and Roger Bigelow Merriman (later professor of history, Harvard). Bibliographic details, unless otherwise stated, are drawn here, and throughout, from the *American National Biography Online* (*ANBO*), http://www.anb.org/articles/home.html.

[13] The useful category of "historical worker" was current in both Britain and the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century to describe individuals who made their living within the archival/historical "mutual space." The category, already anachronistic by the 1920s, disappeared completely as professional divisions emerged. The disappearance of the term offers a plausible explanation for why individuals such as Leland and Jameson in the United States and Hall in the United Kingdom, who occupied that space and made significant contributions to archival development in their respective countries, also "disappeared" from a professional memory that developed as *either* historical *or* archival. Recent reassessments of Leland and Jameson, and of Hall and others in the United Kingdom, as well as calls for historians and archivists to reconnect (see note 3)

appear to suggest that both communities would find it to their advantage, at the start of the twenty-first century, to reconnect. See Wosh, *Waldo Gifford Leland*; Randall C. Jimerson, "American Historians and European Archival Theory: the Collaboration of J. F. Jameson and Waldo G. Leland," *Archival Science* 6, nos. 3–4 (2006): 299–312; M. Rothberg and J. Goggin, eds., *John Franklin Jameson and the Development of Humanistic Scholarship in America,* 3 vols. (Athens, Ga. and London: University of Georgia Press, 1993–2001); Hans C. Rasmussen, "Endangered Records and the Beginning of Professionalism among Archivists in England, 1918–1945," *Library and Information History* 27 (June 2011): 87–103. Blouin and Rosenberg, *Processing the Past*, in particular chapter 11, "Can History and Archives Reconnect: Bridging the Archival Divide."

[14] Jameson's assessment of his varying abilities in the "many branches of historical work" points to a similar contemporary understanding of the historical worker role. (Quoted by Jimerson, "American Historians and European Archival Theory," 301–2.)

[15] Jimerson, "American Historians and European Archival Theory"; Margaret Procter, "Consolidation and Separation."

[16] A. S. Eisenstadt, *Charles McLean Andrews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 68–69. Andrews (1893–1943) taught at Bryn Mawr from 1889, then at Johns Hopkins (1907), and finally at Yale (1910–1931). "If my name lives," he said, "it is because I was the author of those [Carnegie] *Guides*" (*ANBO*). For the *Monumenta Germaniae*, see M. Knowles, "Great Historical Enterprises III. Monumenta Germaniae Historica," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 10 (1961): 129–50.

[17] Those guides being Charles M. Andrews, *Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783 in the Public Record Office*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1912–14); Charles M. Andrews and Frances Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the U.S. to 1783 in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1908), iii–v; Frances Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the U.S. and Its Dependencies* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917).

[18] Royal Commission on Public Records (RCPR), *Third Report*, part 3 (London: HMSO, 1919), 41–43.

[19] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 66, fn. 156. Jameson's letters from England during the 1913 Fourth International Congress of Historical Sciences list his social engagements, which included dinner with Hall. Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 154–57.

[20] Procter, "Separation and Consolidation," 369–70.

[21] Richard C. Berner, *Archival Theory and Practice in the United States* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1983), 16, 18, 104.

[22] For entry requirements and salaries, see P. Levine, "History in the Archives: The Public Record Office and Its Staff, 1838–1886," *English Historical Review* 101 (January 1986): 23–25, 33.

[23] Great Britain, Civil Service Commissioners, 24th Report (1880), 172.

[24] See Christopher Kitching, "Archives and History in England since 1850," Institute of Historical Research, Making History, http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/history_and_archives.html.

[25] Hall was a corresponding member of the historical societies of Connecticut (from 1899), Maryland (from 1904), and Massachusetts (from 1905); he was made an Honorary Member of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society after his retirement from the PRO in 1921. He was also a Foreign Member of the American Antiquarian Society.

[26] Rothberg, *John Franklin Jameson*, vol. 2, 241–43.

[27] Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, 333, 356–57, 359–61.

[28] RCPR, *First Report,* part 3 (1912), 42. The Canadian government retained five permanent copyists at the time.

[29] Charles Homer Haskins, 1870–1937, medievalist and professor of European history at the University of Wisconsin, 1892–1902, then at Harvard until 1937: "he trained an entire generation of specialists in English medieval history" (*ANOB*).

[30] Herbert L. Osgood (1855–1918), colonial historian, Columbia University.

[31] G. B. Adams, 1851–1925, medievalist and English constitutional historian, taught at Yale between 1888 and 1917.

[32] Roger Merriman, "Historical News," *American Historical Review* 50 (October 1944): 207.

[33] Roger B. Merriman, "Hubert Hall" obituary, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 68 (1944–1947): 449–50.

[34] Clarence W. Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, vol. 1 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1917), 17; Davenport, *European Treaties*, 7; Edward E. Curtis, *The Organisation of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1926), 192. There are numerous similar examples.

[35] For example, Hubert Hall, *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer* (London: Elliot Stock, 1891).

[36] Royal Historical Society Council minutes, May 17, 1900, RHS Archives, London; see Robert Humphreys, *The Royal Historical Society*, 1868–1968 (London: RHS, 1969), 28–30.

[37] [School of Advanced Historical Studies] subcommittee minutes, February 26, 1901, RHS Archives.

[38] Bryce was, in addition, "perhaps the only British historian to have an American mountain named after him." See Christopher Harvie, "Bryce, James, Viscount Bryce (1838–1922)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/, 2004.

[39] Royal Historical Society, Advanced Historical Teaching Fund Committee of Management, 7th *Annual Report*, July 1907.

[40] William B. Hesseltine and Louis Kaplan, "Doctors of Philosophy of History: A Statistical Study," *American Historical Review* 47, no. 4 (1942): 771.

[41] See, e.g., Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race and the Politics of Memory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). The title of chapter 1, "From Feminine Refinement to Masculine Pursuit, 1880–1920," summarizes the progression in the United States. See also Jacqueline Goggin, "Challenging Sexual Discrimination in the Historical Profession: Women Historians and the American Historical Association, 1890–1940," *American Historical Review* 97 (1992): 769–802. For a specific example, see John C. Hirsh, *Hope Emily Allen. Medieval Scholarship and Feminism* (Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim, 1988), especially chapter 2, "To England." The Allen example is particularly germane: Allen was a very close friend of Joan Wake, later one of the first generation of English county archivists and herself a student and lifelong friend of Hall.

[42] The Fabian Society, founded in 1884, was an intellectual Socialist organization, committed to gradual and progressive reform, based *inter alia* on evidence collected from the study of past and present economic conditions. The study of medieval economic history required archival and palaeographic skills—hence Hall's employment to teach these subjects at the LSE.

[43] Bonnie G. Smith, "Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: The Seminar and Archival Research in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (1995): 1150–76.

[44] This section draws on Margaret Hastings and Elisabeth G. Kimball, "Two Distinguished Medievalists, Nellie Neilson and Bertha Putnam," *Journal of British Studies* 18, no. 2 (1979): 142–59; Allen Mikaelian, "Women's History Month: Meet Nellie Neilson," American Historical Association, *AHA Today* blog post, March 13, 2012, http://blog.historians.org/articles/1592/womens-history-month-meet-nellie-neilson.

[45] Hastings and Kimball, "Two Distinguished Medievalists," 145.

[46] Jacqueline Goggin, "Nellie Neilson," *ANBO*.

[47] The second, Natalie Zemon Davies, was elected in 1987.

[48] Both Neilson and Putnam knew, and corresponded with, Emily Hope Allen and Joan Wake, for example (see fn. 41).

[49] Harold D. Hazeltine (1871–1960) graduated from Brown University in 1894, gaining his doctorate in Berlin in 1905; he worked at Cambridge University between 1906 and 1940 before returning to the United States in 1940.

[50] Harvard Law School Library, H. D. Hazeltine correspondence 2.21, "Three Letters from Hubert Hall to Harold Dexter Hazeltine/Explanatory Notes, 1957." LSE had become a constituent college of the University of London in 1900. The Temple continues to be the area of London most closely associated with the courts and the legal profession; Chancery Lane, bordering the area, was the site of the Public Record Office.

[51] Winifred and Evangeline continued to correspond until the 1950s, after the deaths of both their husbands; for their correspondence, see Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, Charles McLean Andrews Papers (MS38) (hereafter Andrews Papers).

[52] James T. Shotwell, *The Autobiography of James T. Shotwell* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), 65.

[53] Hall himself recorded the offer of the honorary degree. Kent Archives Service (KAS), Papers of Hubert Hall, U890/F1. The fact of the offer cannot be confirmed, or disproved, by Harvard University Archives. Hall eventually received an honorary doctor of letters degree from Cambridge University shortly before his retirement from the PRO in 1921.

[54] Hall was thanked especially for "the generous and untiring helpfulness with which [he had] throughout these years aided the researches undertaken in London by American historical scholars," Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 119.

[55] At his death (aged seventy-eight), Jameson was still employed (at the Library of Congress). Hall relinquished his final paid position, as literary director of the RHS, only in 1939 at the age of eighty.

[56] Fred Shelly, "The Interest of J. Franklin Jameson in the National Archives, 1908–1934," *The American Archivist* 12 (April 1949): 99–130.

[57] "John Franklin Jameson," *American Historical Review* 43, no. 2 (1938): 243–53, 245.

[58] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 66.

[59] See, for example, Jameson, letter to Hall, April 28, 1910, quoted in Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 129–31.

[60] Charles H. Haskins, review of *Studies in English Official Historical Documents; A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents* by Hubert Hall, *American Historical Review* 14 (April 1909): 558.

[61] See Jimerson, "American Historians and European Archival Theory"; Charles Andrews, "The Lessons of the British Archives," AHA *Annual Report 1909,* 349–50, is one of a series of similar reports for Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden published as part of the *10th Annual Report of the Public Archives Commission*. Leland's introductory paper, "American Archival Problems," has been reprinted in Wosh, *Leland*, 81–8.

[62] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World,* 129 (Jameson, letter to Hall, April 28, 1910). Hall's review is "American Historical Research," *Athenaeum*, April 16, 1910, 460.

[63] For Leland's reports on the congress, see Wosh, *Leland*, chapter 3, "First International Congress of Archivists and Librarians (1910)."

[64] The formal terms of reference were, more fully, to "inquire into and report on the state of the Public Records and local records of public nature of England and Wales." For the political machinations behind the appointment of the commission and its achievements (and failures), see Cantwell, *Public Record Office*, chapters 12 and 13.

[65] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 141, fn. 199.

[66] RCPR, *First Report* (1912), part 3, 109–10. Bryce, by then British ambassador in Washington, provided a report on access to U.S. government records for comparative purposes, *First Report*, part 2, 70–72.

[67] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 142– 43 (Jameson, letter to Hall, March 17, 1911).

[68] RCPR, *First Report*, part 3, 109–10. The outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914 resulted, in due course, to the winding-up of the commission's activities; its recommendations were never implemented in the austere postwar economic climate, but its three substantial reports (1912, 1914, and 1919) continue to be the most authoritative account of English and Welsh archival history and practice ever produced.

[69] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 163 (Jameson, letter to Bryce, January 7, 1914). Jameson, as a student, first met Bryce at Johns Hopkins in 1883. Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 30, fn. 80; Rothberg, *John Franklin Jameson*, iii, 99–101.

[70] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 163–64 (Jameson, letter to Bryce, January 7, 1914).

[71] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 164, fn. 294. See also L. F. Stock, "Some Bryce-Jameson Correspondence," *American Historical Review* 50 (January 1945): 271–72 for Hall's suggestion that the room also be used as a reading room for American soldiers.

[72] J. Shotwell, Editor's Preface, in Hubert Hall, *British Archives and the Sources of the History of the World War*: (London: Oxford University Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), ix.

[73] Pauline Stearns, letters to George Finch, March 11, 1920, and May 6, 1920, Columbia University, CEIP Archives, vol. 20, fols. 746, 760; Shotwell, letter to James Scott, July 7, 1921, CEIP Archives vol. 23, fol. 493.

[74] Clark, letter to Scott, November 15, 1921, quoting from an earlier letter from Shotwell, n.d., CEIP Archives, vol. 23, ff 525–26. An internal memo had earlier recommended that publication be withheld, vol. 23, ff 520–21. Scott, letter to Shotwell, October 27, 1921.

[75] Hall's weaknesses in this respect were widely recognized. Jameson was warned against inviting Hall to lecture in the United States by Ephraim Adams in 1908. Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 119 (Jameson, letter to Andrews, August 25, 1908). Reginald Poole, then Oxford University lecturer in diplomatics wrote to George Prothero, president of the RHS, "If [Hall] tries to explain a thing, he breaks down and loses himself in platitudes," January 26, 1902, RHS archives, London, Prothero Papers, PP2/III.4.

[76] Donnan and Stock, *Historian's World*, 291, fn. 471. The conference report lists the "distinguished representatives of British historical scholarship" who formed the group. "The Meeting of the American Historical Association at Richmond," *American Historical Review* 30 (April 1925): 454–55. On this occasion, Hall stayed with Merriman in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and then with the Andrews. Hall, letters to C. Andrews, October 3, 1924, November 19, 1924, December 23, 1924, Andrews Papers.

[77] Merriman, "'Hubert Hall," 450.

[78] Winifred Hall, letter to Evangeline Andrews, January 24, 1925, Andrews Papers. Evangeline reassured Winifred that the lecture had been "much enjoyed and appreciated in spite of your dear husband's pessimistic view," February 22, 1925.

[79] In 1931, Hall noted, "Only 50% at most of the usual American visitors were (or are) to be seen over here this year"; they included Bertha Putnam and Nellie Neilson and "the Gays of Harvard," presumably Edwin F. Gay (1867–1946), economic historian and sometime dean of Harvard Business School. Hall, letters to Haselden, November 24, 1931, and July 14, 1933, Huntington Institutional Archives (HIA), folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[80] Robert O. Schad, "Henry Edwards Huntington: The Founder and the Library," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 1 (May 1931): 3–32.

[81] Hall, letter to Haselden, n.d. [June 1931], HIA, folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[82] Haselden, letters to Hall, August 17, 1931, and October 7, 1931. The Huntington sent a draft for $1,500 to cover the Halls' expenses, HIA, folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[83] Hall, letter to Haselden, November 24, 1931, HIA, folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[84] "Announcement," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 1 (1931): 1–2.

[85] Schad, "Huntington," 12.

[86] William Beveridge, "Some Explorations in San Marino," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 1 (1931): 85.

[87] Schad, "Huntington," 28.

[88] Haselden, letter to Hall, May 29, 1931. Brief details of these early collections (by date of acquisition) are in George Sherburn, "Huntington Library. Collections," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 1 (1931): 33–106, HIA, folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[89] Internal memo, n.d. [August 1931], HIA, folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[90] Hall and Winifred Hall, letter to Mr. and Mrs. Haselden, February 20, 1932, HIA, folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[91] Hall, letter to Haselden, January 14, 1932, HIA, folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[92] Haselden, letter to Farrand, July 26, 1933, HIA, folder 31.1.1.19.3.

[93] R. B. Haselden, H. C. Schulz et al., "Summary Report on the Hastings Manuscripts," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 5 (April 1934): 1–67.

[94] Hubert Hall, "The New Pilgrimage to San Marino," *Contemporary Review* 148 (August 1935): 220.

[95] Hall, letter to Andrews, March 20, 1937, Andrews Papers.

[96] See Novick, *Noble Dream*, chapter 4, "A Most Genteel Insurgency" and chapter 6, "A Changed Climate." For the way in which historiographical and conceptual developments have continued to increase the distance between different disciplines, see Blouin and Rosenberg, *Processing the Past*, chapter 5, "Archival Essentialism and the Archival Divide."

[97] Notestein was a student of G. B. Adams whom Hall had met in the PRO in the 1890s.

[98] Winifred Hall, letter to Evangeline Adams, April 28, 1947, Andrews Papers.

[99] His death was recorded as "by enemy action."

[100] Merriman, "Hubert Hall," 450.

[101] Lester J. Cappon, letter to Winifred Hall, November 17, 1944, KAS, U890 F5/2.

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