

THE
HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION



1906-1956



PRICE TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE

Published for the Association

by

George Philip & Son, Ltd.
30-32 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4

1955

This pamphlet is copyright by the Historical Association. No portion of it may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Enquiries should be addressed to the Publishers, George Philip & Son, Limited.

Copies are obtainable at the published price of 2s. 6d. (2s. 8d. post free) from all Booksellers or from the Historical Association, 59A, Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11. Members of the Association may obtain extra copies at the reduced price of 1s. 6d. (post free) on application to the Hon. Secretary, at the above address.

*Printed in Great Britain by
WYMAN AND SONS LTD.
London, Reading and Fakenham*

FOREWORD

The Jubilee of the Historical Association has turned the minds of many people to the question of the origin and the history of that body. The Council, therefore, felt that every member of the Association ought to receive an account of its rise and development, and appointed a committee to deal with the matter. Much material has been contributed by Branch Secretaries and others, and much further information that they have sent will be preserved in the files of the central office. Many hands have taken part in the production of the narrative itself, but the main researches were carried out by Miss Grace Stretton, and it is she who recovered the basic story. She has had so much the leading part in the production of this account that it ought not to appear without an expression of our indebtedness to her.

H. BUTTERFIELD

November, 1955.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1906-1956

It was in the nineteenth century for the most part that the study of the past was revolutionized through the progress in criticism, the opening of archives and the great development of what we call 'historical thinking'. In the same century the historical approach produced a transformation in many branches of thought and scholarship; and if on the one hand all roads seemed to point to history, on the other hand there arose the feeling that philosophy had now lost its throne. By 1900, historical thinking and scientific thinking appeared to be challenging one another for the supremacy—confronting one another almost as equal powers. The epic of modern historical scholarship is a story that hardly goes back further than a hundred and fifty years.

Within that space of time, the last half-century can be regarded, in England at least, as a distinct and independent period. It is in 1906 and the immediately preceding years—the time when the Historical Association was being set on foot—that we find in different parts of the country a new kind of stirring which seems to indicate the opening of a further advance. It is true that by this date the Oxford historical school had already made a considerable development in the teaching of undergraduates; while Cambridge had already had Lord Acton as a Professor, and the volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History* had begun to appear. It was in the early years of the twentieth century, however, that the university teaching of history moved into broader paths and entered upon its most remarkable period of progress. Only since then has historical training been widely spread and historical criticism assimilated into our general outlook 'as a thing which no longer disturbs us'. Only since then has history secured a strong hold on the universities, and built itself up into a nationwide profession, and turned into a great vested interest. In the early stages of this development, one of the significant features in the story is the impressive part that was played by the newer universities. Particular importance attaches to the vigorous

and exhilarating leadership of Manchester, where T. F. Tout had become professor in 1890, and of London, where A. F. Pollard had held the chair of constitutional history since 1903.

At the beginning of this new period, the things which strike the attention are the repeated cries of discontent. Very soon it becomes apparent that the complaints and the indignation are in fact the symptoms of a great awakening. In schools the mounting zeal of many teachers of history brought to light the inadequacy of the provision made for the development of the subject. In the elementary schools history was only beginning to appear as a reading lesson, while even the larger secondary or grammar schools were often without history specialists. Professor Pollard was concerned with the teaching problem at a higher stage, and in 1904 he described modern history as the Cinderella of the University of London. In 1913 he wrote that when he had first been connected with that university 'about one student every other year sat for honours'. In 1904 Professor C. H. Firth, with his eye on a still more advanced stage in education, lamented the fact that there was no real school of historical research in any English university. The calls came from every side at once, therefore, and constituted an urgent demand for an advance along the whole of this wide front. Such a comprehensive agitation could not ignore either the general public or the government; and both of these still needed to be awakened to a consciousness of the importance of history.

The Historical Association came into existence as part of the new movement, and the story of the one is closely bound up with the story of the other. The Association, moreover, was itself a significant factor in the transformation that was to take place; and it proved to be an important weapon in the hands of the men who were leading the whole advance. Its rise is closely connected with the names that have already been mentioned, and the pioneers were Professor Firth,

Professor Pollard and Professor Tout. It was necessary to rally all possible friends, and the general reader had to be catered for as well as the more professional student. The Historical Association was the only body in the country which embraced all the educational grades concerned and all the miscellaneous interests involved.

Even within their own limited sphere the teachers could never have achieved their extraordinary success if their vessel had not been caught by the rising tide. The Historical Association had its origin in the particular needs of schools, where the development of history as a part of general education has been as significant during the last fifty years as in the universities. The credit for the origin of the Association must go primarily to teachers in schools and training colleges, and to certain other people who were anxious to help them. An enterprise initiated by some fervent London teachers was eagerly seized upon by a number of university professors, who, when their assistance was called for, were quick to see that they were being offered an instrument which would also help to answer their own needs.

I

Already by 1906 a number of 'subject' associations were in existence. The Mathematical Association had been founded in 1870, the Geographical and Modern Language Associations in 1893, the Classical Association in 1903. It is not surprising that this movement stimulated history teachers, who by 1906 were in any case beginning to form local groups. Two members of the London Day Training College (now the Institute of Education) took the initiative in the discussions which led to the formation of a wider and more representative body. One of these, the late Dr. Rachel Reid, has left an account of the difficulties and problems which provoked them to these endeavours:

The need for such an Association to help teachers of history in secondary schools had been borne in on me during five years' teaching in four different schools... I had literally no one to consult about syllabus, choice of text-books, methods, etc; and I had to fall back on the books reviewed in the *Journal of Education*... The Geographical Association had been founded and was helping teachers, and I did long for an Historical Association to do the same for me and others placed like me.

In January 1906 Miss Reid joined the staff of the London Day Training College and discussed the need for an Association with Miss M. A. Howard, the head of the History Department there. On 5 January 1906, at a conference of elementary school teachers arranged by the London County Council, Miss Howard, after a memorable appeal for attention to the teaching of this 'new' subject, made the first public proposal for the establishment of an Historical Association. Her words show that she was contemplating an organization of considerable scale and scope:

We should profit by meetings held from time to time to discuss the special problems of history teaching. The organ of such an association might do much to keep those who are working in schools in touch with the work which is being done at the Universities. It might call attention to books and articles on the teaching of history, and give particulars about new text-books, illustrations, and other apparatus for use in schools. Such

an association might when needful bring pressure to bear on educational authorities and on examining bodies. It might persuade publishers to undertake the publication of good and cheap historical wall-maps and historical atlases. It might, by giving voice to the general demand, persuade the publishers to bring out cheap editions of really good books which cannot at present be adopted in schools because of their prohibitive price. Such an association might, in fact, co-ordinate the efforts of all who are working in England towards the improvement of history teaching in our schools.

With the help of Miss E. H. Major (then Headmistress of Putney High School), the support of Professor Pollard had already been secured, and he took the chair at the meeting of 5 January 1906. His closing speech on that occasion showed that he was already thinking of an Association which he could use to serve a still wider purpose—namely, 'that history should be properly recognized by universities, and that history should be properly taught in schools.'

Professor Pollard approached Professor Firth of Oxford and a few other historians; and at an informal meeting held at his house a small committee was appointed to collect the opinions of representative people and to arrange for a public meeting. The initial expenses were met by voluntary contributions. A meeting was summoned by a circular letter which spoke of the 'present inadequate and haphazard provision for the teaching of History in England'; and proposed the formation of an association which would not encroach upon the provinces of the Royal Historical Society or of the *English Historical Review*. The meeting took place at 4.30 p.m. on 19 May 1906 at University College London, and, on the motion of Professor Pollard, Professor Firth was appointed to the chair. It was proposed by Professor W. M. Childs, and seconded by Mr. C. H. K. Marten of Eton, 'That this meeting resolve itself into the Historical Association', and after this had been carried it was moved by Mr. Graham Wallas, 'That the object of the Association be the interchange of ideas and information with regard to the methods of historical teaching.' On the motion of Mr. G. M. Trevelyan and Professor W. J. Harte, a committee of thirteen was appointed to draw up a constitution. At a further meeting on 30 June 1906 the constitution was adopted.

Of the thirty-five members who attended the original meeting on 19 May 1906, Dr. G. M. Trevelyan and Miss E. H. Spalding are now the sole survivors. At the meeting on 30 June, Professor Firth was elected President of the Association; and he (as Professor Tout once said) 'spent an immensity of personal work in drawing up its early rules and visiting the branches, and seeing that the Association was well set up for the country'. Arising out of the needs of isolated teachers without adequate text-books, the new body quickly assumed an imposing form. All of the first list of Vice-Presidents were university professors or men of like standing, as were eleven of the twenty-five members of the Council. In addition there were two principals of colleges, two training college lecturers, and nine secondary school teachers. The first honorary secretaries were Miss M. A. Howard and Miss R. R. Reid, who had done so much to initiate the Association; but in October 1906 Miss M. B. Curran, secretary of the Royal Historical Society, was appointed part-time secretary, a position which she held until 1921. The first small finances of the Association were in the hands of Dr. J. E. Morris, and he remained honorary treasurer for the next twelve years. Accommodation was generously provided, rent-free, by the Royal Historical Society at No. 6 South Square, Grays Inn. Soon after the outbreak of the war of 1914 the Society was transferred to 22

Russell Square, and by this time the Association was able to pay rent for the use of its premises.

The first statement of the aims of the Association had in view all forms of history teaching, and described its purposes as follows:

- (a) The collection of information as to existing systems of historical teaching at home and abroad, by getting together printed books, pamphlets and other materials, and by correspondence;
- (b) the distribution of information amongst the members of the Association as to methods of teaching and aids to teaching (viz. maps, illustrations, text-books, etc.);
- (c) the encouragement of local centres for the discussion of questions relative to the study and the teaching of History;
- (d) the representation of the needs and interests of the study of History and of the opinion of its teachers to governing bodies, government departments, and other authorities having control over education;
- (e) co-operation for common objects with the English Association, the Geographical Association, the Modern Language Association, and the Classical Association.

The subscription was 5s. *per annum*, and, from the beginning, 3s. of this was passed on by the branches to the central office. From 1909 it became possible to acquire life membership on payment of £3 3s. 0d.

Down to 1914 or 1920, or even later, the Council continued to think of the Association as mainly concerned with problems of teaching; but, from the earliest years, there were many who, like Professor Harte, pressed to have it regarded as a body which would comprise all who were interested in history, whether in its international or its national and local aspects. In 1911 Professor Tout was declaring: 'Nearly all [our work] has been on the lines of an Association of teachers of History. But I hope that now we are becoming strong and well-established we shall not forget that we can also make ourselves an Association of students, a body desirous of furthering the study and the investigation of history.'

It had been agreed at the very first meeting of the Council in 1906 that immediate steps should be taken to encourage the formation of local branches, but the purpose of this was still that of the prime movers—namely, 'to bring teachers together'. The time was ripe for this; and already there had been similar developments in the provinces, so that the Association might well have started outside London. In Manchester, Professor Tout, Professor Tait and Mr. A. G. Little had been planning a group on similar lines, but they willingly joined the new London body; and the Manchester branch remained the largest for many years. On the other hand Professor Ramsay Muir of Liverpool was anxious that the history teachers' association which he had recently formed should not be absorbed in the London undertaking.¹

The earliest branches were established near the universities or university colleges, and it would seem to have been more practicable to keep a branch going in a university town than elsewhere. Professor Harte led the Association from the beginning in the South-West of England, for the Exeter Branch, founded in 1906, may claim to be the foster-mother of all the early branches in the west. Leeds was another energetic branch from the beginning, its President being Professor A. J. Grant, while its Secretary was Miss Madeley, who has since served the Association in many capacities. This branch was to show a particular interest in teaching methods, especially in the investigation of the use of films and the radio in schools, as well as in the improve-

ment of examination papers. The Bristol Branch began auspiciously under the chairmanship of the Bishop, Dr. Brown, and for nearly forty years Dr. Dobson has maintained the link between this branch and the Council of the Association. Since the Association was established in London it might be held that the London centre is the oldest of all; but in fact it was only incorporated as a separate branch, under Professor Pollard, in July 1908. Later, as a result of expansion, it had to be subdivided, the largest unit being the Central London Branch (at present numbering over 700), which has been fortunate in having Dr. G. P. Gooch as its President since 1919. The first branch to represent a wide area was that of the North-Eastern Counties (1908), which covered a region rich in historic and antiquarian sites. Here Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, the famous Quaker banker and historian, was the first Branch President. The second of the 'county' branches was the joint association for Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, established in 1910, one of its founders being Mr. S. M. Toyne, who has long rendered distinguished service to the Association. This claimed to be 'the first branch to hold its meetings in various places' and to have 'no fixed centre in a large town'.

It had become obvious from the first that there were insufficient teachers, whether in universities or training colleges or schools, to form branches in any but the largest cities; and two or three enthusiastic teachers, brought together for the discussion of text-books, could not finance a local society or provide an adequate audience for lectures. The layman, the non-teacher, had soon to be fitted into the picture, and it was important that the growing non-professional interest in historical studies should be represented. If his presence had not been desirable for other reasons, the layman would have come to hold an important place in the Association through the need for the building up of local branches. Membership, which had originally been open to 'all persons engaged or interested in the teaching of history', was widened, therefore, and in January 1917 a revision of the constitution explicitly provided for the admission of 'all persons interested in the study and teaching of history'. The Council and the 'unattached' members of the Association have, on the whole, represented those who were specialists, the professional writers or teachers of history; but the branches could hardly help becoming the stronghold of the laymen and this they have remained down to the present day. These two sections of the Association have come together each year at the Annual General Meeting, and the tension and occasional conflict of purpose between them have been of the greatest benefit to the whole body. The layman acquires the advantages of expert knowledge; the professional student is constantly reminded of the needs of a wider reading public. History gains much richness from the compounding of the two.

By 1911, Professor Pollard in London was already noting that 'In the metropolis there is an enormous growth of interest in History... The free lectures which are given every term at University College, although primarily intended for teachers, are well attended by the general public, and the audience has sometimes numbered 500.' By this date he, who had seen only one candidate every other year in the London Honours school, could point to fifty-five internal and external candidates and twenty or thirty research students in history. The Council pointed out at the Annual Meeting in this year that 'no branch has been established in Scotland, Wales or Ireland'; but by January 1912, when a separate Scottish Association had been founded, it declared with a touch of regret that it 'fully appreciates the reasons which induced the historical teachers of Scotland to set up an independent organization, rather than a series

of Branches of this Association.' Concerning the English body, Professor Tout, speaking at the Inaugural Meeting of its Scottish counterpart in 1911, said: 'The Historical Association is for the world, though after to-day it will withdraw from Scotland for the world minus Scotland—but in practice it is confined to England.' His advice to the new body throws some light on the problems which such an organization presents:

Perhaps I might suggest some cautions as to the conduct of a branch, especially in the smaller places. Do not try to have too many meetings, and do not try to have too many papers. Avoid the error of purveying too exclusively for a certain type, and avoid giving too many technical or pedagogical papers, which leave the layman inattentive or uninterested. Do not have too many discussions as to the proper historical pabulum for girls of 14 or boys of 13½, and whether we ought to correlate our History with the geographical or literary instruction.

In its earliest years the Association owed much of its form and its prestige to Professor C. H. Firth, later Sir Charles Firth, who in 1904, at the age of forty-six, had become Regius Professor of History at the University of Oxford. He had then 'surprised those who attended his Inaugural Lecture with an outstanding attack on Oxford methods of teaching', an attack which had special reference to the school of modern history. He had been born in Sheffield, and with his dry humour, his contempt for pretentious and fine writing, his unconcealed impatience in the presence of conceited mediocrity and 'his shy reticence on ultimate questions', he seemed to his southern friends 'the very embodiment of the Yorkshire character'. His work on English history in the middle of the seventeenth century—including 222 articles for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'all models of exact knowledge and scrupulous condensation'—established him as one of the leading historians in the country, and his influence as a teacher was perhaps most powerful in the field of postgraduate studies. It was of the greatest moment to the Association that such a man not only realized the possibilities of that body but devoted much time to its development and its activities in its early years.

In his youth, Firth had been at Balliol with T. F. Tout and Richard Lodge, who were themselves interested in the Association. Tout succeeded A. W. Ward as Professor of History at Manchester in 1890, when he was thirty-five years of age; and he, too, achieved particular distinction in the development and direction of postgraduate studies. His short, stout, but lively and vivacious figure, and his charming smile, which showed itself so often also in his eyes, gave an instantaneous impression of the virility, the directness, the shrewdness, the geniality and the fundamental kindness of his personality. For years he played a leading part in the British Academy, just as he did in the Historical Association, where during the period of his presidency (1910-12) he made it plain that he had policies and ambitions of his own. He was very active in the organization of the Manchester University Press, which through him became famous for its pioneer work in historical publications. Once again, a man highly capable in business—and so downright in his vigour, so set upon what he was doing, that he seemed on occasion to brush other people aside too impatiently—fought on behalf of history on many fronts, and saw the Historical Association as a valuable instrument of the cause he had at heart.

The original constitution had stipulated that there should be a general meeting of the Association every year. It was decided very early that this should be held in January, the

period at which nearly all the teachers' associations met in London. At that time very few people taught only history, and it was convenient for them to have the Historical Association meeting at a date and place which enabled them to attend the gatherings of the Assistant Masters or Assistant Mistresses, or those of the Classical and the Geographical Associations. For the same reason the meetings down to the year 1911 were held in London, where—no doubt through Professor Pollard—the Association came to be closely connected with University College. On 8 February 1907, at the first of these meetings—which lasted two days—Professor Firth, as President, announced that the Association, which had numbered only 100 in the previous year, now had 500 members, though only seven branches had come into existence. Mr. Bryce (later Lord Bryce), speaking on the teaching of history, said:

Although the need for better organization of historical studies was still great, it appeared to one who was able to look back over 50 years that the present state of things was incomparably better and more promising than that which prevailed half a century ago. He could remember the time when there was practically no teaching of history at all. In elementary schools the subject was not so much as thought of ... In Oxford and Cambridge the teaching was good of its kind, but it filled a small part of the instruction and hardly any at all in the examinations which those universities conducted. The Association was setting itself to remedy those deficiencies, and in England an immense amount had been done to introduce the study of history into all the secondary schools and into the higher of the elementary schools.

In January 1909 the membership was over 800 and the Association welcomed the issue by the Board of Education of 'an excellent circular [No. 599] on the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools'. In January 1910, the President said that the numbers had reached 920 and that 'the Association had funds in hand against the time when it had so grown in its work that it could no longer accept the hospitality of the Royal Historical Society for office accommodation'. It was reported also that a committee had been appointed by the Council of the Association 'to draw up a list of questions suggested by the Circular No. 599 issued by the Board of Education last January.'

Stimulated by resolutions which had been received from the Branch in Leeds, the Council declared to the Annual General Meeting in January 1911 that 'the time has come when it behoves the Historical Association to formulate a policy with regard to the place that should be taken by historical teaching in various types of schools'. That meeting declared 'that in every school of sufficient size there should be, at any rate, one teacher specially qualified to supervise the history teaching of the school, and that the history lessons should only be entrusted to those who are competent and interested in such work'. A second resolution demanded that British history should be made a compulsory subject in 'all school-leaving, matriculation and professional entrance examinations', and that it should embrace the growth of the Empire as well as such European history and geography as are necessary for its proper understanding. It was decided that at the following Annual General Meeting there should be a large-scale discussion on 'The Teaching of History in Elementary Schools'; and in order to provide room for this, the annual meeting was now extended for the first time from two days to three.

The growing importance of the branches had pointed to the desirability of holding general meetings

II

outside London. Professor Tout was the President of the Association, and the Manchester Branch was itself in a flourishing state. The meeting of January 1912 was held therefore in that city; and the occasion was distinguished not only by the 'lavish hospitality' of the hosts but also by the conferment of the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters upon Professors Firth, Lodge and Pollard, and upon the Treasurer of the Association, Dr. Morris. Thenceforward it became the custom (except in war-time) to hold the annual meetings alternately in and out of London. Thus Leeds, Exeter, Newcastle, Eastbourne, Oxford, Chester, Torquay, Birmingham, Hull, Boston, Bournemouth, Cardiff, York and Shrewsbury have in turn entertained the Association, while Manchester, Bristol and Cambridge have done so more than once. On these occasions lectures are delivered, all aspects of teaching are discussed, and, latterly, there have been reports on recent research, which have been followed by discussions. Officers are elected and the business of the year is dealt with; and, more recently, the branch officers have come together, so that the whole policy of the Association is examined. The social aspect of the affair has always been significant; and branches, when they entertain the general meeting, can draw upon their local wealth of scenery, their architecture, their archives, and their places of industrial interest. Mrs. Tout, recording in her eightieth year some of her recollections of the Association, wrote:

Looking back over the years, the events that particularly stand out in my memory are the series of annual meetings held out of London, where in smaller centres the warmth of personal hospitality and local welcome, which must inevitably be lost in London, were so very evident. The London meetings were always delightful, but the vastness of London and its attractions made the members attending more scattered. I think of Bristol in 1914, its historical traditions and its churches; of Leeds where the weather chanced to be too cold but was tempered by the geniality of Professor A. J. Grant and a real Yorkshire welcome; of Newcastle with the visits to the Roman Wall, to Hexham and to Durham; of Cambridge with its evening parties in the mellow candle-lighted picture galleries and the hospitality at dinner of our gracious host, Dr. A. W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse ... and perhaps most of all of Exeter, where Professor Hart's single-minded care for everybody's comfort, and his friendliness to one and all, made our stay in that lovely city especially memorable.

Mrs. Tout generously forgets how her husband, who suffered severely in cold weather, placed a hearth-rug over his bed at the Cambridge meeting, and she does not tell us how, at Leeds, he felt the need to resume more and more of his clothing in the night, until finally he lay in bed fully dressed. In 1938 there are signs of a certain dissatisfaction with 'the poor attendance at meetings held out of London', but at the Cambridge meeting of 1953 the number of registrations was in the region of 500. A remarkable general meeting in the provinces was the one held at Boston in 1945, when the difficulties of rationing and the lack of hotel accommodation presented a formidable problem, and most of those who attended were accommodated through private hospitality.

Three sub-committees of the Council are mentioned in the first Annual Report, which was presented to the general meeting of 1908. One of these was intended to consider the formation of local branches, one to deal with publications, and one to enquire into existing examinations and courses of work. In 1908 the branches were asked to consider the use of illustrations in the teaching of history, and this led to the appointment of an Illustrations Committee in the following year. In 1908, also, a lending library was started; and by 1910 the Association possessed 600 volumes, largely through generous donors such as Professor Firth. At first, these and similar activities at headquarters were entirely on a voluntary basis. (Although it was later found possible to meet specified expenses, no fees or royalties have ever been collected by those who contributed to the publications of the Association.) From 1911 the Annual Reports supply us with the membership of three committees, and down to 1918 these were the only ones which provided regular accounts of their activities. They were the committees which dealt with the publishing work, with the library and with illustrations.

Four-page leaflets had been published from the very start. 'The earliest of these,' says Professor Tout, 'were bibliographies, but as we got more courage and more money, our pamphlets increased not only in numbers but in bulk.' Some of the lectures delivered at general meetings were produced in leaflet form; but, of the first forty-eight pamphlets published down to 1920, twenty-four were bibliographies. The tendency after that year, however, was to publish fewer and fewer of these, on the ground that they benefited a comparatively small number of people and soon went out of date. By 1911 we have Professor Tout's own sketch of the origin of the long pamphlet series, which was then just beginning and was designed to present short essays on great themes. 'Recently we have become more ambitious and widened our scope,' he said, 'notably by putting together a fairly bulky pamphlet dealing with a definite historical subject.' He described how in 1910 'a very rising young scholar', Mr. F. M. Stenton, had produced *The Development of the Castle in England and Wales*, and how further essays of a similar kind were to be expected on ancient arms and armour, and on monasteries. Professor Tout himself played an important part in this development, and his influence explains why in the first place medieval topics were so strongly favoured. It was his view that 'the practical object of the Association ... is to gradually produce for the working teacher a portable working library in a few volumes'.

In his address of 1911, Professor Tout described the origin of another of the Association's publishing ventures:

We were anxious at the beginning that our Association should publish yearly leaflets giving brief accounts of current historical literature to tell the teacher what new books were being published, so that he would not find, as has often been the case, that he had pinned his faith to something absolutely antiquated. There is no doubt but that such a plan is an excellent one, but for four and a half years we thought we were not strong enough to carry it out ... We hope some time in the spring, not impossibly in the late spring, the first Historical bulletin will come out, and that in future our members will receive year by year a summary account of 'The Year's Work' in History, very similar to those which have for some years been issued by the Classical Association.

The *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* made its appearance in 1912 under the editorship of Mr. A. G. Little,

a scholar well known both in this country and abroad for his work on the Franciscan Order. It has appeared continuously since that date, providing the scholar, the teacher, the librarian and the non-professional reader with a select bibliography for general purposes. For those who direct studies in either schools or universities it has had a signal place amongst the services which the Association has to offer. It has not confined itself to English history or to the work of English historians; and from the start it showed the kind of insight which discerns what is going to be important in the future.

In November 1915, Mr. J. A. White published in *School World* an article on 'Methods and Content of History as a Subject of School Study'; and from this arose the idea of producing an atlas. In the previous September he had talked to the Educational Section of the British Association on the teaching of history in elementary schools, and had called attention to the need for a good atlas. His high reputation as a teacher gave weight to his views, and he was interviewed by a representative of the firm of Messrs. George Philip and Son, already the publishers of Professor Ramsay Muir's atlas, which had established itself in secondary schools. It was as a result of this that the Illustrations Committee approached the Council with the proposal that the Association itself should publish an atlas. The matter was discussed for some time with the same firm, and in April 1917 an agreement was signed for a work which, since it was intended exclusively for elementary schools, would have to be very low in price. It was arranged that the Council should take full responsibility for the planning of the atlas, for the correctness of its data, and for the writing of an historical introduction. Dr. Rachel Reid was the general editor, but her illness, and the division of the work between many contributors, produced maddening delays, and Philip's *Junior Historical Atlas* did not appear on the market until 1921. In fact, it proved a useful supplement to Ramsay Muir's atlas for older children, so that it came to be used by secondary as well as primary schools. In 1933 it was renamed the *Intermediate Atlas*, and a simplified version of it was produced to meet the need for a *Primary Historical Atlas for Schools*. The first three years, 1921-4, saw the sales of the original work reach well beyond the figure of 50,000. Since 1927 there has been an Atlas Sub-Committee, now under the chairmanship of Professor Treharne.

At the Annual General Meeting of January 1908, 'the question of the publication of a Quarterly Magazine was discussed, but it was decided to postpone the further consideration of this matter.' The plan still did not seem practicable in 1911; but a member of the Association, Mr. Harold F. B. Wheeler, then decided to issue a journal on his own responsibility. The Council gave 'serious and prolonged consideration' to the problem of the relations between the Association and this new enterprise. 'The question was referred to the Branches, but their answer was not as decisive as might be desired'; and the Council was not able to agree with the proprietor 'on terms which would justify it in acquiring and conducting that magazine as the official organ of the Association.' The Council gave the undertaking, however, that the Association at least would not come into the field with a rival journal. The work bore the title: 'HISTORY, a Quarterly Journal for the Student and the Expert'; and the ordinary charge for it was four shillings *per annum*. In the first issue, which appeared in January 1912, Mr. Wheeler announced that 'Members of the Historical Association of England and Scotland are entitled to HISTORY at the reduced rate of half-a-crown per annum, post free.' In July 1915, when Vol. IV, No. 3 had been reached, he declared that he would be unable to continue

with the undertaking after the appearance of one further number. By January 1916 he had offered to hand the journal over to the Association, the members of which had hitherto supplied the bulk of both the literary contributions and the subscriptions.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Association held in January 1916, a resolution was carried *nemine contradicente* to the effect that the Association should, if possible, possess an organ of its own, through which it might address not only its own members but also the larger public outside. The resolution did not bind the Council to any definite course of action, but, on the recommendation of the Publications Committee, it was decided on 29 January to accept Mr. Wheeler's offer and to issue *History* as the organ of the Association, while making certain alterations in its form and contents. An editorial board was set up, consisting of Professor Hearnshaw, Miss M. A. Howard, Mr. C. H. K. Marten, Dr. J. E. Morris and Mr. J. A. White, with Miss E. Jeffries Davis as honorary secretary. In April 1916 the new *History* made its appearance under the editorship of Professor Pollard, who had been (1912-15) the third President of the Association.

The situation which had proved impossible for Mr. Wheeler was not likely to prove an easy one for the Association itself. Professor Pollard declared in his first issue:

The crisis of the greatest war in the annals of mankind was not the moment which the Historical or any other Association would naturally have chosen for the launching of a new literary enterprise or embarking on fresh financial liabilities, and we should have preferred a more auspicious opportunity for our venture.

He explained, however, that the Association had been anxious to prevent the disappearance of so useful a journal; and he pointed out that its objects were going to be different from those which the *English Historical Review* existed to serve. 'Our position is less Olympic and our aim is to bring the gods into contact with those men and women who have to save historical truth from sterility by propaganda.' On the one hand *History* would attempt to meet the interests of teachers, whether in schools or in universities. On the other hand, it would try to avoid being a merely professional journal, and would address itself also to the general reader. Now, as also in later years, the editor declared that the 'Historical Association has no territorial limitation, though by a natural implication its sphere is restricted to the British Empire.'

Over this period in the history of the Association the powerful figure of Professor Pollard presides. He had been the first to take hold of the idea of establishing such a body and to grasp its wide potentialities and implications; but he had recruited the services of other professors of history and had been eager to call for the leadership of men who were somewhat his senior. He had been the first chairman of the Publications Committee and, as we have seen, he had become the third President in 1912. Later, we have seen him taking over the editorship of *History*; and, even apart from the fact that he gave the new movement its close connection with University College, London, he, perhaps more than anybody else, left his mark from the very start on the history of the Association. He had begun his career not as a university teacher but in the directorate of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Apart from his achievements as a writer, particularly on the Tudor period, he holds a peculiarly important position as an organizer of historical research. In 1903 (at the age of 33) he was appointed to a poorly paid

chair of constitutional history at University College, London. In 1921 his Institute of Historical Research—towards which he had been gradually working during the course of the First World War—was actually established, and the first Anglo-American Historical Conference was held at that time under its auspices. Here, from 1923, were the offices of *History*, which previously had been accommodated at University College, London. He had his vanities, his jealousies and his love of power; and if he was intent upon an object he could brush aside a timid intruder with remarkable rudeness; but his sturdy figure, his rapid motions, his lively talk and his breezy manner seemed to bring life and vigour to any assembly, and if he loved to dominate he also had the ability to dominate. His pugnacity, his energy and his amazing missionary zeal enabled him to do unparalleled service to the Association.

A copy of the first issue of *History* (after that journal had been taken over by the Association) was sent to all members. It is recorded that in the first year the number of subscribers increased from less than a hundred to over a thousand. The names of Fisher, Egerton, Firth, Mantoux, Tout, Vinogradoff, Coulton, Crump, Headlam-Morley and Mrs. J. R. Green appear amongst the contributors during the first two years. The issue for July 1917 contains the first hint of a new policy that was to have a considerable interest for students of history:

No less serious than the problems of teaching is the difficulty the teacher experiences in keeping himself or herself abreast of the progress in historical science. Research has revolutionized history as much as it has natural science during the last half-century. Fresh truths are ever being revealed and old truths placed in a fuller or a different light. But this light takes long to penetrate the opaque pages of our text-books which are still full of exploded legends about Magna Carta, religious persecutions, naval battles—including the ‘little’ *Revenge* and the tactics of Trafalgar—numbers in war, and so forth. In our next number we hope to begin a series of notes correcting some of these time-honoured myths.

In the following October there appeared in fact the first two of the famous series of ‘Historical Revisions’—‘Magna Carta,’ by Professor Pollard himself, and ‘The Real Significance of the Armada’s Overthrow,’ by Geoffrey Callender. In spite of the war, the four quarterly issues of the journal duly made their appearance in both 1917 and 1918. Sales were never large—by 1923 they were only just over 2,000—but increased costs did not prevent the publication at four shillings of the annual volume that was soon to reach 400 pages. Editors, contributors and secretarial work were unpaid. For many years £50 was subscribed to the journal from the general funds of the Association.

The Association embarked on some of these publishing enterprises during the course of the First World War—a war which was bound to have serious repercussions on the life of the body as a whole, as well as on the fortunes of its new journal. The membership, which had reached 1,223 in 1913-14, dropped after the outbreak of war, and was soon only a little over a thousand. There had been eight branches of the Association at the end of the first year of its existence, but, if new ones were founded, old ones sometimes dropped out, and the number was still only fifteen in 1917-18. The seriousness of the situation can be seen from the urgency of the successive appeals which appeared in *History*; and in 1917, the fourth President, Mrs. J. R. Green, made an approach to the President of the Board of Education, asking if he would ‘write a few words which may serve to encourage

the Historical Association to persevere in its work, despite the difficulties of the present time’. The President of the Board of Education at this time was the historian H. A. L. Fisher, and *History* in the following October described him as ‘besieged by historians anxious to make hay while the sun of his presence illumines Whitehall or South Kensington’. He replied on 7 June:

I need hardly assure the members of the Association of the great importance of preserving the continuity of learned effort in this country. It will indeed be a disaster if any society formed for a learned and scientific purpose, and discharging at the same time a valuable office in popularizing the results of historical research, should intermit its activities by reason of the war ...

We are ... just beginning to make a marked improvement in our historical teaching in the schools. The effect of the Modern History Schools at Oxford and Cambridge and in the newer Universities is beginning to be felt. Specialist History masters are being appointed, the level of historical attainments shown in History Scholarship Examinations is steadily rising, and the formation of the Historical Association itself is a sign of this quickened and most beneficial interest.

Even before the First World War the development which was taking place in English historical education had become unmistakable. Furthermore, it can hardly be doubted that, on a long-term view, the war itself gave an impetus to historical study, and added to the consciousness of its importance in the country at large. The membership of the Historical Association rose again, and reached 1,311 in the year 1917-18. The fact that so much of Europe had come to have an immediate relevance for every Englishman would seem to have created a desire for wider horizons. The origins of and responsibility for the war were questions which touched everybody and made it difficult to close one’s eyes to the significance of history. The historians, like other academic people—particularly the experts in regional studies—were called into the service of government during the war and the subsequent peace conference in an unprecedented manner. In January 1917 the editor of *History* said that history had been ‘so much to the fore during the last quarter’ that he could only refer to one or two of the articles on the subject in the periodical literature of the time. A new tone began to appear in the public utterances of historians, and in the following April we read in the same journal:

During the last twenty-five years no subject, perhaps, has increased more in importance than history. It was, before the war, the largest honour school at Oxford, whilst the History Tripos was fast increasing in numbers in Cambridge.

In spite of counter-currents on the surface, a deeper tide could be felt to be moving forward, and it seemed to gather power from the pressures and necessities of war itself. Even in the years 1914-18 it carried the work of Firth, Tout and Pollard much nearer to the desired goal.

Apart from the development of its publications policy, the situation in the war-years called for much activity on the part of the Association. At the Annual Meeting in January 1916, there were discussions on imperial and naval history, with Sir Charles Lucas, Julian Corbett and Geoffrey Callender playing the leading parts. Two of their papers formed the first articles in *History* after the Association had

taken over the journal. Professor Pollard took up both these causes, and in July made the following statement in 'Notes and News':

It would be a depressing thought that the British people, who depend for their very existence on sea-power, should never understand naval warfare; and democratic control would clearly be but a synonym for political suicide so long as that condition obtains. It must, however, obtain so long as our University authorities make no provision for the education of the public in naval history.

In July 1917, when Professor Pollard announced the opening of the series of 'Historical Revisions', it was made clear that myths concerning our naval history formed one of the special objects of attack; while in October, when a 'Revision' of this kind by Geoffrey Callender was printed, it was announced as the first of a series on naval history, and the editor complained once again that there existed no chair in this subject throughout the universities of the Empire. In January 1918 'Mr. Geoffrey Callender of the Royal Naval College, Osborne, was elected a member of the Council'. He contributed further to *History* in that year, during which the propaganda in favour of naval (as well as imperial) history was continued in that journal; and he lectured at an experimental summer school in history held in Manchester in August—an undertaking which the editor of *History* welcomed as 'the first course of its kind to be held under the auspices of the Board of Education'. In July 1919 we read in 'Notes and News':

To those who have for many years been pleading for the recognition of naval history by British universities, the establishment of a chair in that subject at Cambridge [the Vere Harmsworth Professorship of Naval History, which later became a chair of Imperial and Naval History] is a source of peculiar gratification; and it sets a precedent which there is reason for thinking that other universities will soon follow.

Apart from the propaganda conducted by *History*, significant work was being undertaken during the war by the Council itself. In January 1916, for example, it appointed a Committee 'to draft resolutions ... upon the position of History Teaching in Schools'. On 25 March, after considering the recommendations of this Committee, it adopted resolutions insisting upon the need of providing for an adequate study of the Humanities in all stages of the school curriculum. It decided to invite the co-operation of the Classical, English, Modern Language and Geographical Associations 'for the furtherance of this principle'. On 6 May it appointed Professor Tout, Mr. C. H. Greene and Mr. C. H. K. Marten as its delegates to a joint conference between the five associations. It resolved further 'that the value of historical training consists only in part in the information conveyed'; that the subject should be 'treated in relation to the history of the British Empire as a whole'; that 'the outlines of general history should be explained so as to make intelligible the development of civilization and our relations with other peoples'; and that 'there should be increased study of recent history'. On 17 July a meeting of the representatives of the five associations was held at the rooms of the Historical Association, with Professor Tout in the chair. The report of this conference was signed by Viscount Bryce, Sir Frederic Kenyon, Earl Cromer, Mr. John Buchan, Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield, Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P., Professor C. H. Firth, Professor T. F. Tout, Mr. Edmund Gosse and Sir Herbert Warren. It warned against

too violent breaches with tradition and against premature specialization, urging that humanistic studies should not be allowed to be superseded by scientific studies. It called also for a statement from the representatives of the mathematical and natural sciences. It declared further that:

- (v) In all reform of education it must never be forgotten that the first object is the training of human beings in mind and character as citizens of a free country, and that any technical preparation of boys and girls for a particular profession, occupation or work must be consistent with this principle.
- (vi) Subject to the above principle the associations concerned would welcome a comprehensive revision of national education from the point of view of present needs.

History made the comment:

It is a matter of no little satisfaction to the Historical Association that it should have initiated a movement which has met with such comprehensive and influential support.

The repercussions of the Council's action were to spread still further, however; for we learn that by January 1917 the representatives of the five associations had 'coalesced with a committee of the British Academy to form a Council of Humanistic Studies, with Lord Bryce as President, Sir Frederic Kenyon as Chairman, and Miss Curran as Secretary'. By this time, one meeting had already been held with the Council for Scientific Studies. By October 1918 it is remarked that

... under the auspices of the Council for Humanistic Studies, humanists and scientists are burying the hatchet of internecine strife in order to co-operate in the advancement of education.

In this way, in the thick of war, one single decision of the Council became magnified, gathering weight like a snowball; and, while this was happening, exhilaration heightened as H. A. L. Fisher came to the Board of Education and then brought forward his Education Bill.

The Council was engaged in many other activities. In the early months of 1917 it was concerned with various questions which had been submitted to it by the Board of Education's Committee on the teaching of modern languages. It opposed the combination of history and modern languages either for scholarships or in the university curriculum; and, now, as on other occasions, the voice of the Association was against compulsory Latin for historical students. It opposed the idea of employing the same person for the teaching of history and modern languages; and it complained of the tendency to specialize too much in university examinations. Later in the same year we find it attacking the latest reform of the regulations for the Higher Civil Service Examinations, which 'leave it a matter of choice whether or no the future bureaucrats of the Empire shall know anything about the history of the lands they aspire to rule'. The President and all the ex-Presidents of the Association signed the Council's protest against 'the Report dated June 20th 1917, of the Treasury Committee, appointed to consider the scheme of examination for Class I clerkships in the Civil Service'. They complained of 'the proposed exclusion of General Medieval History from the Higher Civil Service Examinations'. The policy of insisting upon the importance of imperial history provoked opposition from

some members of the Association, who preferred to stress European History, and this led to controversy in the later years of the war. But *History*, while supporting the former, was ready to give considerable publicity to the friends of an international and European syllabus.

III

If the leaders of the Association had looked forward to a considerable expansion after the end of hostilities, the event far exceeded their expectations. History in fact was one of the few unqualified victors of the First World War. In the universities, history departments showed by their crowded class-rooms that they were no longer the Cinderellas of academic England. The change in the public attitude had its effect on the whole status of the subject in schools, where, apart from the expansion of the teaching, there was a considerable eagerness for experiments in method. The war, and particularly the controversy concerning its origin, as well as the problems connected with the peace conference, provoked the publication of diplomatic documents and the writing of memoirs. Revolutions marked the opening of the new era, and these gave additional stimulus to work in the less developed fields of economic and social history. The whole outcome of the war produced an imperative need for a reassessment of Bismarck and a reconsideration of the socialist movement—a re-writing, in fact, of much of modern history. There was a general feeling, over-optimistic perhaps, but not unimportant at the time, that history was the subject which was going to provide the key to the future. The Historical Association itself had had a considerable part in the awakening of this general interest in the past. A Board of Education Report of 1923 on the Teaching of History pointed out that more progress had been achieved in the previous quarter of a century than in all the rest of the hundred years since Dr. Arnold had inaugurated the teaching of modern history in schools. Amongst the factors behind this great development the Report mentioned the work of the Historical Association, and particularly the part it had played in 'increasing the opportunities of historical research, in assisting and stimulating the teachers, and spreading in a wider circle among the general public a sense of the profound and increasing importance of history in the national life.'

As a result of all this there was now greater need than ever before for the kind of services which the Association had set out to provide. The membership in 1918-19 was 1,524 (with 382 associates). In 1922-23 it reached 4,738 (with 826 associates). Whereas there had been 19 branches in 1918-19, there were 70 four years later, and 92 in 1926-27. On the other hand, by this latter date, the membership had fallen a little, to 4,272 (with 493 associates). The expansion caused a great increase in the burdens of the Secretary and necessitated a reorganization in the work of the central office.

The sudden rise in membership after the First World War, however, was not entirely due to the propitious state of the world, but was partly the result of an enterprising policy. Much of the credit must go to a new committee (known as the Propaganda Committee at one time, and as the Development Committee at another time) founded in 1919 by Mr. F. S. Marvin, who remained its chairman for over twenty years. His missionary zeal was fortified by a robust belief in the virtue of founding new branches, and he has an important place amongst the leaders of the Association. He emerged from the war as an enthusiastic exponent of Comte's idea of progress; and from 1919 'there was a

tendency for the excellences of Comte and the excellences of the Association to jostle one another in his lectures'. As one of His Majesty's Inspectors he was able to visit many towns and many schools; and he was in a strong position when, on occasion, he would indignantly ask teachers of history why there was no branch of the Association in their district. His campaign was not limited to England, for in 1926 he was trying to found branches in India, and we hear of his attempt to found another at Cairo, where he held a temporary professorship in 1929-30, as well as of further efforts on his part in various places in South Africa. Through his books he exercised an important influence in his day, and his activities—even if the mushroom branches founded at this time did not always survive—made him a memorable figure in the history of the Association. To him must go some of the credit for the fact that the membership more than doubled itself within five years.

On 6 August 1948 a *Times* leader called attention to the part played by Professor Pollard in the development by which 'a balance more healthy than ever before had been struck ... between the original research which is the basis of history and the art of writing that builds upon these necessary foundations'. The quality of the published work for which the Association was responsible constituted in fact an important part of the appeal and popularity of the whole body. This was due in great measure to the production of the kind of essay which is not a mere compilation or abridgement—not a kind of encyclopedia article but a creative effort, historical scholars offering the cream of their reflections on first-class themes. The Association had been stressing the necessity for this larger treatment of history, as well as for intensive research, from its earliest days. And the significance of its publications must depend greatly on the continuance of this particular art, which it has a peculiar function to maintain.

It was in the years after the First World War that *History* began to establish its reputation both in this country and abroad. That journal owes a special debt to Miss Jeffries Davis who had been secretary to the Editorial Board ever since the Association took it over, and who from 1922 to 1934 was the successor of Professor Pollard in the editorship. In this period it is clear that an additional factor in the success of the journal was the distinction of much of its reviewing. By January 1921 *History* was able to announce that it had 'apparently ... turned the corner of its material difficulties and turned in 1919-20 a growing deficit in its finances ... into a balance on the right side'. In the following April it had nearly 2,000 subscribers and of these over two-thirds were members of the Association. The editor announced that when the Association subscribers exceeded 1,500, a further sheet would be added to each number; and this had taken place by the following July. In June 1924 the Treasurer was able to announce to the Editorial Board that 'the Association subscriptions for 1923-24 would cover not only the probable amount of the publishers' bill for that year but also the remainder of the deficit accumulated for 1916-21; it would therefore not be necessary, as hitherto, to use subscriptions paid for the next to meet the expenses of the current year'.

The end of the First World War found the Association still the tenant of the Royal Historical Society at 22 Russell Square, where its headquarters remained until 1936. The relations between these two bodies appear to have been more close in the period of great expansion after 1919 than at any other time. After the Council meeting of 19 February 1921 a conference was held between representatives of both; and it was agreed that members of the Association should be able to attend the lectures and consult the Library of the

Royal Historical Society. It was decided, moreover, that such a conference should take place every year, and amongst some people there evidently existed an idea of securing an amalgamation of the two bodies. *History* questioned how 'the problem of government' would be solved in such an eventuality, and it would appear that the editor had some doubt about the negotiations that were taking place. The comment in 'Notes and News' ran:

Obviously no such change could be brought about without careful consideration not merely by the Councils but by members of both bodies. It is a case for general discussion, and not for secret diplomacy.

In January 1930 a rule which had declared one of the aims of the Association to be co-operation with the English, Geographical, Modern Language and Classical Associations, was amended to comprise the intention of co-operating with 'the Royal Historical Society'.

The great expansion which occurred after the First World War was not merely numerical; for an exhilarating stage had been reached, great initiative was displayed, and the activities of the Association were enlarged. The liveliness was not confined to headquarters, for a change in the mode of electing to the Council—the adoption of the postal ballot—was described as reflecting 'a desire for greater self-determination on the part of the branches'. One effect of the new spirit was the great development now given to what has been another significant factor in the life of the Association, namely, local history. In 1911 Professor Tout had told the Scottish Historical Association to 'form circles for the study of local history'. By 1923 he seemed more anxious to apply the brake or at least to put local history in its due place:

I do not believe that we can profitably teach much local history. but I hold firmly to the faith that by illustrating general national history by local examples, we can make all the difference in the world in the lively appreciation by our pupils of the place in which they live.

At almost the first meeting of the Exeter Branch, on 3 November 1906, there had been a discussion on the importance of local history. The first effort of that branch had been the production of a Bibliography of Exeter, which had been issued to the Association in March 1908 as Leaflet No. 9. Other branches had been stimulated to undertake similar work, and London had published its Bibliography in the same year, while Sheffield was to do the same in 1911. Southampton devoted the whole session 1907-08 to the discussion of local history and proceeded to produce a book on the subject which was published by the Clarendon Press. From April 1920 an Editorial Committee in Exeter, collecting materials for a comprehensive history of the city, secured papers and other assistance from the local branch of the Historical Association. The editor of *History* took up the cause with enthusiasm, and 'deprecated the idea of centralising historical research in London, since every locality of importance 'possesses the materials for this method of training'. It was his view that 'there are more active ways in which branch members of the Association can gratify their historical instincts than by listening to one another's eloquence or essays'. He called for reports from other branches which might be engaged in the study of local history.

Professor Harte in Exeter, Professor Hearnshaw in Southampton and Professor Stenton in Reading played an important part in this whole development. The work was stimulated by the actual researches of such scholars, by

papers delivered to local branches, and by lectures at Annual General Meetings. An Association which blossomed out into so many local centres, each with a considerable degree of initiative and autonomy, would seem to have been admirably fitted to promote the cause of local history. In 1921 the Secretary of the Local War Records Committee declared that when he sent out appeals for information concerning local material, 'the most hopeful reply' which he received was the one from the Historical Association. In 1922 the Director of the Survey of English Place-Names wrote that 'Branches of the Historical Association have already done great service to the Survey in various parts of the country'. In the middle of 1922 the Council circulated a paper of 'Suggestions for Branch Officers', and these recommended amongst other things the undertaking of local history research. The movement received further encouragement from the fact that the Annual General Meeting was held at Exeter in January 1923, when Professor Harte gave an address on the subject of local history. In 1925 the branches were asked to emulate Eastbourne which had held a 'Representation of a Court Leet and Court Baron', based upon actual records, and staged in a medieval building.

Throughout the country, local history was beginning to gain the interest of a wider public, and the development provoked a leading article here and a newspaper correspondence there. As a result of such a correspondence in *The Times*, Mr. H. W. V. Temperley carried in Council a proposal 'that the question of the co-operation of Branches ... with local Antiquarian Societies be brought before the General Meeting and that a committee ... be appointed to investigate the matter'. Three days later the Village History Committee was formed under Dr. Hamilton Thompson, who as Reader in Medieval History at Leeds had set out a little earlier to develop a school of historical research based on the archives of York. The committee, which in 1928-29 appears as the Local History Committee, quickly re-issued a pamphlet by Dr. Hamilton Thompson on *Parish History and Records* and set out to produce an elementary bibliography of local history. Apart from its publications, however, it found itself hampered by the difficulty of inserting the influence of a central organ into the occupations of distant and multifarious localities. It directed its attention to two principal problems—the desirability of correlating the efforts of a multiplicity of local history organizations, and the necessity of introducing a certain control over what might be misdirected activity or unscholarly work on the part of local enthusiasts. It recommended at the start that members of local antiquarian societies should be invited to take prominent positions in the branches. Besides trying to acquire and to spread a knowledge of the reliable literature and sources it hoped to secure for students better access to private collections of papers. It attempted to direct an amendment of the history that lay in local guide-books, and it invited the branches to supply it with information concerning such literature. It answered problems put to it and tried repeatedly to induce the branches to send reports on the researches that they were undertaking; and, particularly in 1933 it attempted to secure the appointment of correspondents who would keep it in touch with the work that was being done locally. The committee was long thwarted by the unwillingness of many branches to correspond with it, and in the late 1930s there were a few years in which its members did not even feel that there was any point in meeting. Because of the defect in communications it still described its work in 1935 as 'experimental' and in 1936 as 'tentative'.

The irrepressible branches, however, were not idle. In January 1933 *History* described how the Manchester Branch

had published illustrations of the history of their city and the surrounding district; how in Durham groups of members were working on maps to illustrate the development of the city, collecting traditions, and copying privately owned manuscripts; how also in Swansea a Welsh historical group was compiling a bibliography of the town; while at Liverpool a similar group was preparing a simplified local history. A few months later we learn that the Nottingham Branch had been joined by 'a group of students of local history, formerly separate.' This section of the branch then organized a local history exhibition, began an exhaustive bibliography of Nottinghamshire history, and issued a bulletin of local history material. A work by Mr. Cosson on *The Turnpike Roads of Nottinghamshire* appeared as an Association leaflet, and investigations were started on such topics as enclosures and the administration of the Settlement Laws. The Chairman of the Publications Committee declared his readiness to consider the publication of pamphlets based on such work on the part of the branches. *History* reported that these were undertaking 'an increasing number of expeditions to places of historical interest'.

In the meantime, at the Exeter Meeting in January 1923, Mr. G. T. Hankin, H.M.I., introduced a discussion on the use of the cinema in history teaching. The Council of the Association proceeded to appoint a sub-committee on this matter and in the following July Mr. Hankin appealed for suggestions as to possible subjects for history-teaching films, the idea being 'to write, or get written, the scenarios, and then to approach commercial firms'. In January 1924, Mr. Hankin printed in *History* offering it 'as a first sacrifice on the altar of criticism'—the rough scenario of a film on 'Woollen Manufacturing in England', which drew some interesting comments, particularly from Dr. Herbert Heaton. *History* made the comment:

So many children, particularly those with no innate capacity for reading, are more susceptible to visual impressions than to instruction of any other kind, that the addition of the film to class-room apparatus is probably only a question of time. It is, therefore, most important to ensure that the films supplied are historically sound ... There is also the obvious danger that to sit still and watch a film may be merely a short cut to knowledge, leaving dormant both the creative and the reasoning powers. We do not believe that real history could ever be taught by such means; but the historical imagination might be awakened, and a certain amount of useful information acquired.

Professor Pollard, doubtful 'about the demand for illustrations in schools—even the cinema', declared that 'you cannot make visible to the eye the really vital things', and that a picture of Westminster Abbey does not reproduce the idea of the Church. Controversy on this subject flared up at the Annual General Meeting of January 1926, at which the President, Mr. A. G. Little, 'suggested that the historical value of scenes was small in comparison with the true subject matter of history, the "things unseen"'. Mr. Hankin held that films, if not entirely correct, need not be less accurate than much of our school-teaching is bound to be; but he insisted that 'if films were used for teaching history the scenarios should be written by teachers and checked by a recognized body of historians'. One result of the debate was a communication from Professor Harte to the effect that:

the production of films on historical subjects for schools is not practical politics, first of all owing to the great expense of money and time involved, and secondly

because no historian would have the temerity to decide on the accuracy of the details on which a film largely depends.

Professor Harte thought, however, that the defects of commercial films might be turned into an asset, since teachers might show their students where such films were good and bad, and the cinema habit might be made to supply an education in criticism. To crown the whole controversy, *History* was provided with an account of an historical film on 'Wolfe and Montcalm', based on the work of Professor G. M. Wrong, 'planned by the Yale University Press under the direction of members of the Departments of History and of Education of Yale University, and produced under the supervision and control of a Committee of the University Council'. And from Yale came the reassurance on the subject of history teaching: 'These films will render obsolete none of the means or methods that have heretofore proved effective.'

In 1928, the Illustrations Committee, through the efforts of Mr. G. T. Hankin, secured the financial support of the Carnegie Trustees for the institution of a considerable piece of research into the use of films in the teaching of history. A Films Inquiry Committee, appointed to carry out this plan, selected Miss F. Consitt as investigator; and, working under the direction of Mr. Hankin, its Chairman, she studied the problem particularly in Leeds and the West Riding, but also in London and in Bedfordshire, with the assistance of the Education Department of the University of Leeds. Tests were carried out in fifty-two schools of all kinds, on children of different ages, and on classes that were at different stages of instruction. The result was the important report which was published in 1931.

As early as 1910 'the Council discussed the advisability of having an authoritative phonographic record of the speeches and voices of eminent men', but could not devise any practicable means of securing this. From 1913 the Illustrations Committee was building up a large collection of lantern-slides, and was helped by important gifts and bequests, though the interest in these has declined in recent years. In April 1929 there appears in *History* a reminder of 'those aerial views of castles, monasteries and other historic buildings which are now published', and which 'will often make quite clear points ... not easily shown by either a plan or a photograph taken from the usual standpoint'. In 1928-29 a new committee under Dr. Dobson instituted an enquiry into the effects of school broadcasting and found 'a consensus of opinion that at present broadcast lessons are of more use to elementary than to secondary schools'. It came to the conclusion that 'the value of such lessons is greatly enhanced by certain obvious and simple safeguards and observances, the use of which depends upon experience and painstaking effort and co-operation on the part of the broadcaster and the class teacher'.

In its report of 1909-10 the Leeds Branch had called attention to resolutions which it had carried (resolutions which, as we have seen, had given an important stimulus at headquarters) 'urging the Central Committee to appoint a sub-committee to deal with peccant examining bodies'. In 1925 an important Examinations Committee was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. C. H. K. Marten, this being a period during which there was increasing dissatisfaction with the history paper in the School Certificate Examination, especially as that examination was 'the dominating factor in the school curriculum' for a year and 'sometimes for two years'. This problem led to considerable discussion at the annual general meetings of 1927 and 1928; and on the latter occasion members

'appeared to be unanimous in desiring closer co-operation between teachers of history in schools and the university examining bodies'. It would appear to have been as a result of this that immediately afterwards, on 4 February 1928, a conference on School Certificate history was held in Cambridge between teachers, examiners and representatives of the Local Examinations Syndicate. Another consequence was the issue by the Council in the following autumn of a questionnaire addressed to members of the Association who were preparing candidates for the School Certificate Examination. A hundred teachers replied to this, and their answers were later collated and summarized. A further effect of the controversy was Mr. F. C. Happold's suggestion of 'a new type of question in history papers' and then, in 1930, the issue by the Council of a circular entitled 'The Case for Experiment in the setting of History papers in the First Schools Examination'. The Board of Education happened to be organizing a Vacation Course in History in the August of the same year, and it was arranged that the case for experiment should be discussed by the sixty-one teachers who took part in this. Their very conservative reaction to the new suggestion showed that there was to be a radical difference of opinion on this matter within the Association itself

These controversies created a stir; and an appeal to the University of London had already led to some satisfactory modifications in the papers set for 1929. In 1931 the Secondary Schools Examination Council appointed a Committee of Investigation under Sir Cyril Norwood to enquire into the whole examination; and its report induced the Examinations Committee not only to reaffirm its desire for conferences between Chief Examiners and teachers, but also to venture again the proposal that 'the time is ripe for experiments to be initiated by the Examining Boards'. In view of the conservative views of so many teachers, it is not surprising that the Committee was severely heckled at the Annual General Meeting of 1934.

It was very fitting that, at a period in which the Examinations Committee was so important, its chairman, Mr. C. H. K. Marten of Eton, should have become 'the first school-master President of the Association' (1929-32). He had attended the original meeting on 19 May 1906, had been elected to the first Council, and had been a member of the initial sub-committee appointed to enquire into examinations and courses of work. He served on the editorial board of *History* from 1917 to 1946, and at various times he sat on the committees dealing with finance, publications and illustrations, as well as presiding over the International Committee. As President of the Association he visited forty branches, to which he brought an intense and infectious fervour, combined with great urbanity and an almost cherubic charm.

Before he had ceased to be President the Examinations Committee, acting on a suggestion from the Birmingham Branch, had ceased to confine itself to a scrutiny of question-papers and had turned its attention to the problem of the examination syllabus. At the Annual General Meeting of 1932, therefore, there had been a keen discussion of 'Ideal History Curricula', and by the following March the Committee had devised a questionnaire on the subject. As usual, the editor of *History* published articles and correspondence which were calculated to give stimulus to the discussion. In 1932, furthermore, the Committee turned its attention to the Higher Certificate Examination. It devised another questionnaire for schools, asking, for example, whether it was sound to have 'special subjects' or to make a detailed study of short periods, or whether it was right that 'there should be such great inequality

in the demands made in History by different examining bodies'. In 1934 a questionnaire on the same subject was addressed to university teachers; and when the committee produced its report, later in the year, it was able to say that 'the replies received from teachers in schools showed very little difference in outlook from those which came from university teachers'. Later again in the same year, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education gave the Council of the Association an opportunity to submit a memorandum on 'the contents of the history syllabus and the teaching of the subject suitable for pupils who do not remain in the various types of secondary schools beyond their seventeenth year'. The Council appointed a special committee to deal with the matter, and called upon the branches for their assistance.

By 1929 Professor R. W. Seton-Watson was writing that history had become 'one of the most popular subjects in most of our universities'. This particular victory had been won, but it had already become apparent that the very success had generated new causes of conflict. The division of opinion is particularly brought home to students and teachers whenever the arrangement of a history syllabus is under discussion. In a notable address delivered at the Annual General Meeting in Exeter in January 1923, Professor Tout had declared:

Luckily the day is past when historical study needs to demonstrate its right to exist ... Yet numbers are not everything, and if the battle for the recognition of the subject is as good as won, there is an internal conflict between various branches of our study which may well still trouble our serenity.

The Historical Association has itself been too divided to have a strong policy in many of these struggles; and this, perhaps, helps to explain why its successes at this further stage of the story cannot be so sensational as its earlier ones. Henceforward, it was to play a somewhat different part; but its virtue has been that it has at least provided a forum for the various protagonists and secured that the issues should be further debated in the pages of *History*. In an address at the Annual Meeting of 1922, Dr. Ernest Barker had set history up against philosophy and had criticized the passion for historical research. It was his view that 'those who have studied Greek history in the school of *Literal Humaniores* at Oxford may be better equipped for understanding the contemporary world than those who have studied a favourite period of "modern history" which runs from 1789 to 1878'. He was answered by Professor Pollard who, in 'An Apology for Historical Research', pointed out that 'matter is far less plastic than mind ... and that in order to guide human thought and action aright we needed all the induction and observation we could make'. Professor Tout, in his address of 1923, was partly replying to Dr. Barker and partly deploring the emphasis on more recent history, for he had come to be anxious about the prospect for medieval studies. He insisted that the modern world itself could not be explained without a knowledge of the middle ages; he attacked 'the unfortunate tendency toward specialization at school, and the disposition to use history for the purpose of reinforcing contemporary prejudice'. 'Those who hate war', he said, 'would have all the battles cut out of history, or would like to see text-books re-written 'from the standpoint of the League of Nations'. At the same Exeter Meeting, Mr. C. H. K. Marten and Mr. Marvin led one of the liveliest discussions on record on the question: 'Should History Teaching be used as Propaganda?' It was decided to continue this discussion at the next Annual General Meeting; but

on this occasion, we are told, 'the atmosphere was calmer'. In April 1929, however, Professor R. W. Seton-Watson produced a 'Plea for the Study of Contemporary History' in the journal of the Association, and showed the importance of a new type of historian 'who has lived through many of the events he describes and has perhaps been in close contact with some of the chief actors', though he also makes a careful study of the documentary evidence. The Historical Association and its journal have been the indispensable forum for the discussion of the nature of history and the educational importance of its various parts.

IV

In the early and middle 1930s the history of the Association is marked by some notable changes. In 1934, Professor C. H. Williams succeeded Miss Jeffries Davis in the editorship of *History*. About the same time, Professor Turberville replaced Professor Hearnshaw as chairman of the Publications Committee. At the beginning of 1935 Dr. Nichols began his long and important tenure of the office of Honorary Secretary. In 1936, when the Royal Historical Society was forced by a demand for higher rent to remove from Russell Square to Chelsea, the Association took over two large rooms in a corner building in Gordon Square. Miss Friend, who had become Assistant Secretary and Librarian in January 1927, and who was in charge of the office from January 1931, remains the chief guardian of continuity down to the present day. Apart from the administrative work, which calls for so much devoted service, she answers the constant *cri-de-cœur* from amateur or professional, member or non-member, now seeking information about heraldry or the history of beards, now wanting help with a pageant or a history room, and now looking even for a pen-friend interested in history.

The life of the Association is not merely at headquarters, however, but also in the branches, which—apart from the stimulus which they are so often seen giving to the centre—contribute much by their local enterprise and their individuality. The Hertfordshire Branch for many years offered prizes for historical essays from candidates of school age. The North London Branch has an annual lecture for affiliated schools; while Bristol arranges at least two lectures for schools every session. The Lancaster Branch claims to have been the first to publish its transactions. The South-East London Branch helped in the production of Miss Dymond's *Handbook for History Teachers*, and held an exhibition in order to illustrate the Handbook. Swansea was the first to organize a revision course for teachers, the first also to arrange a 'dig'. Under the presidency of Mr. W. T. McIntire the Carlisle Branch had a flourishing existence in the 1930s and showed a particular concern for local antiquities. Through the guidance of Mr. A. C. Ellis the expeditions of the Torquay Branch became a scholarly affair, the reports of which were reprinted in pamphlet form. It seems clear that a particular importance attaches to the local officers; and if on the one hand their initiative can give distinction to a branch, it appears to be true on the other hand that when numbers fall, as in a time of national emergency, the reason is not principally a financial one it is rather the fact that branch officers are compelled to turn their attention to other things. Local secretaries themselves have plenty of individuality to deal with, especially when, amongst the presidents of their branch, there is now an Isaac Foot or a Josiah Wedgwood, now a Belloc or a Chesterton. It was as a result of resolutions proposed by individuals from the floor that the Annual General Meeting agreed in 1920 to

the election of the members of Council by a postal ballot, in 1922 to the occasional holding of Council meetings outside London, in 1935 to the introduction of the present system of national and local voting areas, in 1939 to the promotion of a 'popular' magazine, and in 1940 to the production of a report on history syllabuses.

It was the policy of Professor Turberville on the Publications Committee to secure pamphlets on broad themes, written with an eye to the intelligent but non-technical reader; and as the 1930s saw the production of some significant examples of these, this period will serve to illustrate the type of result that has been achieved: R. G. Collingwood, *The Philosophy of History* (1930); I. C. Latham, *The Manor* (1931); F. M. Stenton, *Norman London* (1934—a double number, revising a previous pamphlet); N. H. Baynes, *The Political Ideas of St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei* (1936); A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English House* (1937); Rose Graham, *An Essay on English Monasteries* (1939); and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain* (1939).

In January 1927 the Treasurer had reported a balance in hand, but had stated that this was smaller than the amount of the royalties received from the Historical Atlas and similar sources. He had put forward the opinion that such royalties should not be used for current expenses in any case, but should be 'devoted to the advancement of historical learning and the promotion of research'. A statement circulated in the autumn of 1930 had explained why more money was needed for the general purposes of the Association, and it had elicited from a number of branches generous gifts to the central funds. In the spring of 1931 the Propaganda Committee had divided all the branches in the country into seven groups (soon increased to twelve), and had appointed some leading member or members to promote a development policy in each of the areas. The arrangement was 'not intended to interfere with the autonomy of the Branches or to cut them off from the central office', though an intensified propaganda was envisaged. One of the objects appears to have been to encourage joint enterprises and the pooling of experience.

In 1931-32 the effects of the slump showed themselves in a loss of 200 members, a reduction to 3,771 (with 1,083 associates) as compared with 4,575 in 1924-25. The next report showed a further loss of 100. In January 1934 it was announced that the Propaganda Committee had plans for a campaign by which it hoped to do more than recover the ground lost in the recent difficult years. At the Branch Officers' Meeting in January 1935, the policy of drawing the branches together was further illustrated by the recommendation that membership cards should carry the sentence: 'It is generally understood that members of a branch are privileged to attend the meetings of any other branch.'

It may have been as part of its promised campaign that the Propaganda Committee embarked upon the policy of Tours at this time; and certainly, by restricting these to full members it hoped to win over a number of people who had hitherto been content to be associates. It was particularly through the efforts of Mr. E. H. Dance that the first tour was undertaken in August 1934—a visit to the Roman Wall and to Scotland under the leadership of Mr. W. T. McIntire. Once again the real initiative would appear to have come from the branches; for in these, as we have seen, it had already been recognized that there was an increasing desire for expeditions to historical sites. In 1936 there was a visit to Provence (arranged in conjunction with the Classical Association) and in 1938 Dr. Dobson and her husband, who

was Professor of Greek in Bristol, were conducting members on a tour to the Rhineland. These tours, so important for both the stimulus and the satisfaction that they give to historical interest, henceforward became a standing feature of the Association, and came into the hands of an independent committee from 1949.

As early as 1909-10 the question of holding a summer meeting had been discussed by the Council which, however, had 'come to the conclusion that at present it is not desirable to hold more than one meeting a year'. In 1927 Mr. F. C. Happold suggested that, in addition to the Annual General Meeting in January, the Association should hold a Summer Meeting or School in some pleasant place like Oxford or Cambridge or Stratford-on-Avon. Such Vacation Schools, conducted by the University of Leeds and the University College of the South-West of England, had already been advertised in *History*. The comments produced by the suggestion soon convinced Mr. Happold, however, that the kind of meeting which he had in mind 'would be unlikely to attract sufficient members of the Association to warrant the financial risk'. In January 1928 he brought forward a modified proposal, for which he had secured the approval of the Council. He suggested a meeting limited to forty persons, 'who should gather together, not with the intention of hearing someone else talk, but of discussing the ideals, aims and methods of their work'. These proposals may or may not have been forgotten when in September 1936 there appeared the announcement of an 'interesting experiment in Revision Courses in History, arranged by Professor R. F. Treharne at Aberystwyth for the Easter Vacation, 1937'. Although it did not prove possible to hold a further one in 1938, the success of the first meeting was so great that a second one was organized in 1939, and these courses also have become a standing feature of the Association's activities.

The founders of the Association looked far afield and by 1913 were wondering how to establish closer relations with the American Historical Association. *History* had declared during the First World War that 'the Historical Association knows no geographical limits less extensive than those of the British Empire'. Ten years later Mr. F. S. Marvin was acting upon this assumption and already in 1921 an overseas branch had in fact been founded at Colombo. A branch was established in Belfast in 1927, but this remained in existence for only four years. One at Rangoon, also founded in 1927, lasted, however, until the outbreak of war in 1939, and at some of its meetings the audiences seem to have numbered nearly 400. In 1934 a branch in Pietermaritzburg reported that it hoped to publish the results of researches by members into the history of Natal. In 1937 there was formed in Lisbon the first overseas branch established outside British territory; and from the beginning it set itself the task of researching into the history of the British colony in Portugal. In 1934-35 there were three South African branches, but of these only Pietermaritzburg still exists, along with the Lisbon branch and one founded in Victoria (Australia) in 1949-50. The Scottish Association became affiliated in 1926, 'on a 1603 rather than a 1707 basis'. The first overseas Historical Associations to be affiliated to the English one were that of New Zealand in 1923 and that of Ceylon in 1925. Montreal and, for a short time West Australia, became affiliated in 1927, Rangoon in 1928, and Kandy (Ceylon), previously a branch, in 1934-35; but at the present day only Scotland and Montreal, with the newly affiliated History Teachers' Association of New South Wales (1955), still retain this connection.

In February 1927, immediately after the Treasurer had announced a slight balance, Professor Tout induced the

Council of the Association to make a contribution to the new International Committee of Historical Sciences. In the Middle Ages, he said, and even later still, there had been a genuinely cosmopolitan scholarship; but the development of the modern state and the increase in specialization had made; historical studies more exclusively national. Now an International Committee would sit permanently to carry out the policies of such a Congress as had assembled in 1923, and to prepare for future Congresses. In 1926 a British National Committee had been formed as a basis for the representation of this country on the International Committee; and, to the former of these the British Academy, the Royal Historical Society and the Historical Association were each to nominate two representatives.

At a meeting in Göttingen in 1927 the International Committee formed a Commission on the Teaching of History, but Great Britain was not amongst the eight nations that were represented on it. This Commission set out to examine the conditions of historical teaching in the participating countries, and the subject of historical text-books proved 'probably the most controversial of the topics' which were taken up at the Göttingen assembly. Mr. G. T. Hankin, who represented the Association on the British National Committee, was soon appointed to serve on the Teaching of History Commission. A separate Congress on the Teaching of History which met at The Hague in the summer of 1932 had previously addressed a number of questions to various bodies such as the Association. In its answer, the Council, while welcoming the opinion of experts on existing text-books, laid special and repeated stress on the freedom of the teacher, including the freedom 'to select text-books without official control'.

For the International Conference of Historians, held in Warsaw in 1933, which proposed to make a survey of history teaching throughout the world, the Council transmitted first a report on English secondary schools, and then an account of universities drawn up by a committee under Dr. G. P. Gooch. Independently of the Association, a special committee with Dr. Gooch as chairman and Professor Eileen Power as secretary set out to discover how far a selected group of text-books treated international relations impartially and in a manner conducive to international friendship. The Council of the Association had its misgivings on this whole general issue, however, and forwarded the following resolution to the International Conference on the Teaching of History which was due to meet in Madrid in 1937:

That any revision of text-books with a view to the promotion of international understanding should be undertaken only by eminent historians, who should be influenced solely by considerations of historical accuracy.

Numbers rose again to 4,494 (with 948 associates) in 1938-39. In that year the Examinations Committee received over a thousand replies to a questionnaire on the history papers set by the various Examining Boards in July 1938. The committee reported that, 'in violent contrast to the questionnaire issued some years ago,' when 'the condemnation was so widespread that publication would have been difficult,' the new returns showed that 'teachers were satisfied with the papers set for both Higher and School Certificates.' 'Teachers of history,' the committee said, 'have gained a certain uniformity of view, as regards what should be taught,' and 'the examiners are in close touch with the schools'. Members of the Association learned in 1938 that 'the British Film Institute has its History Committee, the collection of archives in the form of early films is being

seriously undertaken, even historical research into the evolution of Mr. Chaplin's moustache and the technique of the early cinema have become subjects of serious interest. In this year the Council of the Association appointed representatives on the Committee of Management of the National Film Library. About the same time the vigorous young Economic History Society, with which the Association had a large common membership, was added to the bodies with which the Association undertook to cooperate. Old projects reached a new stage of development, but fresh projects never ceased to emerge. In 1938, on the proposal of Dr. Rachel Reid, the Council circulated to education authorities its unanimous resolution, 'that in view of the extensive rebuilding of schools now in progress consideration should be given to the need for a properly equipped history room. A parallel resolution asked that universities should provide 'refresher' courses and that history teachers should be 'enabled to attend one of these on full pay, every five years'. Early in 1939 the Swansea and Llanelli Branch organized (under the Board of Education) an experimental course on 'Aids to the Teaching of History'.

As the prospect of war became more immediate, the Honorary Secretary, Dr. J. F. Nichols, made arrangements for the safe-guarding of the records and for evacuation from London should this become necessary. Duplicate copies of council minutes and of the list of members were deposited in Exeter. On 7 October 1939 an emergency meeting of Council decided to form a small executive body, consisting of the President, the Treasurer and the two Secretaries, with power to take action in case of sudden need. The Annual General Meeting of January 1940 was restricted to a single day; but, even so, Dr. Rachel Reid secured a unanimous resolution of Council to the effect that the Association should satisfy the imperative need of teachers for 'some authoritative guide ... in the framing of a syllabus'. The curtailment of the Annual General Meeting induced the West Country Branches to organize a Regional Conference at Bristol in the following April—an experiment which was to be repeated later in the Midlands, through the efforts of Mr. E. H. Dance, and which was renewed in the course of the Jubilee year. The premises at Gordon Square were damaged by German bombs in October 1940; but the office and the library of the Association were in the basement and suffered less than was the case with some of the other societies housed in the same building. It was decided now that headquarters should be transferred to Exeter, where accommodation was provided by the Roborough Library of the University College of the South-West. The move took place in December 1940; and when Exeter itself was bombed late in 1942, the Association escaped serious damage, though a bomb fell outside the window and the building itself suffered damage. Miss Friend accompanied the office to Exeter, and remained there in charge of it until the end of the war.

In the meantime, the activities of the Association were greatly reduced; but many branches still held meetings, the Council continued to function, pamphlets were produced, and *History* went on appearing, though with serious delays. Tours and vacation schools were suspended; and for a time the annual meetings did little more than formal business.

Then in 1943 the offices of President, Secretary and Treasurer changed hands, and the new team (Professor Turberville, Mr. Medlicott and Mr. Sharp) were asked by the Council to form a small committee and to draw up post-war plans.

The genesis of the many activities of the Association has now been examined, and the result is the emergence of a complex body, the parts of which are constantly engaged in activities or coming out with new initiatives—the whole forming a story to which a mere outline could never do justice. After the Second World War three large-scale projects called for an organizing endeavour and an administrative skill possibly greater than anything which had preceded them—first, the Post-War Plans Report, produced when ultimate victory was in sight; secondly the incorporation of the whole body as a limited company; and thirdly the long and careful preparations for the Jubilee. These undertakings have one important common feature: they involve the envisaging of the Association as a whole.

The Post-War Plans Report attempted for the first time a comprehensive survey of the whole development of the Association. Its programme was ambitious—it gave warning that a great increase of membership was to be expected, and it believed that even the number of 10,000 might be reached. It proposed the launching of an appeal for £25,000 so that the Association might achieve a position of financial security. It recommended an attempt to secure improved accommodation, if possible in a building that might be shared with similar bodies. The essential point of the Report, however, was the distinction that it made between the two different groups of members catered for by the Association—the 'professional' and the 'lay'. In the past there had often been an attempt to satisfy both groups at once; and it seemed to the writers of the Report that in the effort to provide a *via media* between popularization and specialization certain other very desirable objects had been neglected. It was suggested that, as far as possible, activities should be devised that met the special needs of each class of member.

The first problem after the war was to bring the headquarters back to London and set all the machinery to work again. In October 1945 a cottage was rented from the Royal Anthropological Society behind 21 Bedford Square; these new premises gave larger quarters (including a pleasant upstairs room for the library) and enabled the Association to stay in the Bloomsbury district. The annual general meetings were resumed on the grand scale in January 1947 with a splendid meeting at Bournemouth, where the annual subscription was raised (for the first time since 1906) from 5s. to 7s. 6d. After Professor Turberville's tragic death in May 1945, Sir Charles Grant Robertson had acted as President for the remainder of that year, and he was succeeded by Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, with Mr. S. M. Toyne as Chairman of Council. This was a new office, necessitated by Dr. Trevelyan's inability to undertake regular attendance at Council. It thus fell to Mr. Toyne and to Mr. J. W. Herbert (Honorary Secretary 1946-50) to steer the Association through the first post-war phase. In 1947 Professor R. F. Treharne took over the editorship of *History* and shouldered the tremendous task of making up for the delays which had taken place during the war.

It soon became clear that a revived interest in history throughout the country was to carry the Association to an unprecedented size. The membership, which had fallen to 3,350 (with 577 associates) in 1940-41, rapidly increased after 1945, and, since 1950, has stood at just over 8,000. The increase from 5,285 on 1 July 1946 to 6,503 on 30 June 1947 was the greatest experienced in any single year of the Association's history. Along with the increase in activities at headquarters the energy of the branches was intensified; and Bournemouth, Exeter, Hull, Boston, North London, West

London, Ealing, Coventry, Norfolk and Cambridge have been particularly vigorous since the war.

The Post-War Plans Report had suggested a further development of that side of the Association's work which would appeal to the professional interest of teachers. It had pointed out that in spite of the special services which the Association was in a position to provide for this class of member, and in spite of the prominence of educational needs amongst the factors that had helped to bring it into existence, no committee had ever been appointed to deal in a comprehensive manner with the problems of the teacher. The Report proposed, therefore, that a Teaching of History Committee should be established to examine such matters as the training of teachers, the improvement of teaching methods, the revision of syllabuses, examinations, etc., adult education, and even university teaching. It suggested further that the Association should provide itself with the best library in the country for the teaching of history, that it should devote more of its publications to this subject, and that an annual survey, to be called 'The Year's Work in History Teaching', should be undertaken. In accordance with this policy, the Teaching of History Committee was formed in 1945; and, under the experienced guidance of Miss Madeley, this Committee played an important part in the work of the Association after the war, although not all the suggestions in the Post-War Plans Report have been carried out.

In 1945 Sir Charles Grant Robertson, then Acting-President, took a leading part in the organization of the Association's appeal for a capital endowment of £25,000. In February 1946 Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, the new President, and Sir Charles Grant Robertson signed the letter to *The Times* which launched the Association's special appeal, but the response was disappointing, though a sum of nearly £2,000 was collected. In 1947 the Association's Honorary Solicitor, Mr. W. T. Mellows, advised the Council that the expansion of the Association's work and the new legal agreements with publishers and landlords made it desirable to become incorporated as a company limited by guarantee, though the Board of Trade would allow the word 'limited' to be omitted from the title. After this, an extraordinary general meeting, held in 1950, authorized an alteration in the articles of association, since a recent court decision would otherwise have made the profits and the income from investments liable to income tax. As an indirect result of its conversion into a limited liability company, the Association had to reorganize its system of accounting and present a consolidated balance sheet. Rising costs and an increase in staff necessitated a rearrangement of duties in the office, and in 1950, Dr. Duncan Coomer, assisted by a sub-committee, opened negotiations for new premises within easy reach of central London. The project met with difficulties, but in 1952 new headquarters were found on the ground floor of St. Mary's Rectory at Kennington. These premises afforded increased office-space and more room for the library, now containing over 5,000 volumes.

During the Second World War, the International Committee of the Association, taking advantage of the presence in the country of many educationalists from allied countries, had held informal meetings of historians and teachers to discuss the international aspects of the 'text-book question'. As a result of these conversations the Council resolved in January 1945 that there should be set up an international advisory committee of historical experts to supervise the scrutiny of history text-books. A report furnished by the Association, on the suggestion of the Ministry of Education, exercised some influence on the proceedings of the preparatory commission of UNESCO

at the close of 1946. In 1948 Mr. G. T. Hankin, chairman of the International Committee, called attention to the whole problem in *The Times* and in *History*, pointing out that UNESCO was apparently shelving the matter; but in 1950 he was able to report that work had begun on the exchange of English and German text-books, and on the task of mutual criticism. Helped by the German Education Section of the British Foreign Office, the committee sought to promote understanding between the teachers of France, Germany and Great Britain, sent delegates to Anglo-German conferences of history teachers, and arranged for a Teaching of History Exhibition to be carried to Germany. Mr. Hankin held that it might be harmful if the state or any official authority were allowed to undertake or prescribe the revision of school-books, and that voluntary societies of teachers, like the Historical Association, could more properly enter upon the task. A conference organized by the Foreign Office at Brunswick in July 1950 reached a remarkable, even an unexpected, degree of unanimity, and drew up a list of recommendations, approved by both sides, for teachers and text-book writers on Anglo-German relations in the period 1890 to 1914. The problem of the publication of these results led to a serious division in the Council of the Association, and provoked a penetrating discussion of the whole international problem of text-book revision. On the one hand it was felt that the Association must not appear to give its authority to a semi-official version of history, achieved by treaty, even though the most eminent experts in a given historical field had been identified with its production. On the other hand it was felt that if voluntary organizations did not undertake the work, governments themselves would assume the task, especially as they or their organs often have great part in the authorization of text-books; while if the results of agreed revisions are not published the whole of the proceedings are rendered futile. In May 1951 the Council resolved 'that the work on revision of text-books be allowed to expire', not because it was unimportant but because it was beyond the scope and financial means of the Association.

By 1913 the Association had decided to publish constitutional documents for use in class, though with the reservation 'that original documents in the hands of uninstructed teachers are more dangerous than the worst of text-books'. It began to produce at the same time a series of booklets on 'English History in Contemporary Poetry'; and later, through the efforts of Mr. F. J. Weaver, a series of *Historical Pictures* was started. Mr. C. R. N. Routh, who succeeded to the chairmanship of the Illustrations Committee after Mr. C. H. Gerrard had been its Chairman for eighteen years, particularly interested himself in the plan for producing 'History Picture Books'. The first two volumes of this series, *The Later Middle Ages*, by Margaret Sharp, and *Stuart Times*, by E. S. de Beer, were published together in June 1955. The presence first of all of Sir Henry Hake and then of Mr. C. K. Adams on the Illustrations Committee has given it a valuable connection with the National Portrait Gallery.

In 1947 the Association purchased from the S.P.C.K. on very favourable terms the whole existing stock and publishing rights of the 'Helps to Students of History' series. Its policy is to continue publication of this valuable series, to add new numbers on occasion, and to reprint certain issues which have become unprocurable. Under its auspices six new 'Helps' have so far appeared, among them Mr. Philip Grierson's *Coins and Medals* (1954), the only bibliography of its subject in existence.

A proposal to found a 'popular' historical magazine was first made to the Council in 1930, but it was not until

January 1939 that the Association agreed to go forward with the plan. A group of enthusiasts—Mr. A. C. F. Beales, Mr. J. Wilson and Mr. C. T. H. Sharp—made the necessary enquiries amongst publishing firms; but though a firm had undertaken to produce the magazine and an editor had been secured by 1947, actual publication was postponed until January 1951, owing to the shortage of paper and other difficulties. The Association, which can therefore claim *History To-day* as its child, has a representative, Mr. S. M. Toyne, on the Board of Directors of that magazine; and members may receive it at a reduced subscription, a small part of which brings financial benefit to the Association itself.

In 1940 a pamphlet produced for the Association by Professor MacInnes on *The Empire and the War* had aroused very considerable interest. The Ministry of Information distributed 120,000 copies of it in the British Isles and overseas. Under the chairmanship of Dr. J. A. Williamson, the Publications Committee issued the first of its most popular set of pamphlets, *Common Errors in History*, in 1945. Under his successor, Professor Medlicott, it produced Professor Barraclough on *The Medieval Empire* (1951) and Dr. Erich Eyck on *Bismarck: After Fifty Years* (1947); and from the Great Historians it has moved into the history of science. Under Professor Bindoff it has issued, furthermore, the special pamphlet on *The Coronation in History* by Professor B. Wilkinson (1952). After long delays the Local History Committee produced in 1947 its *Handlist of Local History*, which was prepared chiefly when Dr. Nichols, the successor of Mr. McIntire, was its chairman; and in 1949 a handbook on *County Records* was produced. Since 1952, the chairman of this committee has been Mr. F. W. Brooks. In 1950 there occurred an interesting new departure in the programme of the Tours Committee—visits, under the leadership of Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Burne, to the sites of battles and to battle areas.

To an Association which produces so wide a range of publications the services of its printer and publisher are of fundamental importance. Of the printing houses with which the Association has done business, none has served it longer or more worthily than Messrs. Wyman and Sons, with whom there is a connection stretching back over more than forty years: while, in publishing, the names of G. Bell and Son and Macmillan and Co. deserve to be remembered alongside that of George Philip and Son, who have been responsible for all the Association's current literature since the last war and who are represented on the Council by a friend of long standing, Mr. E. G. Godfrey.

The study of the genesis of institutions, policies and ideas may discover the dates of resolutions put to the meeting and controversies that have come out into the open; but it can never recover, and never do justice to, the perpetual play of thought, the constant interchange of suggestion and counter-suggestion, out of which concrete proposals eventually arise. Nor can it do justice to the perennial labours of a central office, or of committees which carry on within their terms of reference year in and year out, or of individuals who for a great portion of a lifetime may serve an organization in one capacity and another. Some names which only appear in a momentary flash during the course of this outline history belong to people who devoted to the Association many years of highly varied service—such men as F. J. Weaver, who made the Secretaryship the administrative keystone, and his present-day successor, H. A. T. Simmonds, who has maintained its distinction by his humanity, his tact and his easy mastery of the business; J. A. White, for over twenty years a pillar at headquarters; or Norman Baynes, a familiar figure on lecture platform and meeting floor. Again, the

work of Esmond de Beer, Philip Whitting and Taylor Milne for the Jubilee Annual General Meeting, only added another chapter, and another variety, to the tale of their multiple activities. It will be clear that the Association benefits from the thousand initiatives that individuals take with respect to points which at first may seem minor in themselves. But if in the branches it supplies pleasant evenings, on its tours and at its summer schools links learning with exercise or leisure, and in its pamphlets strives to serve both the class-room and the armchair, the whole is more than the sum of its parts, and as a great fellowship the Association has a national function to perform. It is particularly true that in days when specialization proceeds further and further so that the specialists are no longer able even to read one another, the Association has the supremely royal function of finding for all things their due proportion, and of guarding the quality and the status of 'general history'.

References

- ¹ This Liverpool group did not agree to call itself a branch of the Historical Association until 1908, though Professor Ramsay Muir himself was on the first list of Vice Presidents, and his society sent its good wishes in October 1906. A year later, ten of its members were full members of the Historical Association; and in May 1908 the secretary wrote saying that the Liverpool society was willing to consider itself a branch of the Association.

APPENDIX I

THE PRESIDENTS

By DR. G. P. GOOCH

I have pleasant recollections of all our Presidents. The first of the long line, Sir Charles Firth, allowed me to consult him about my *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, published as long ago as 1898. I met Professor Tout, the liveliest of men, for the first time at the house of Sir Adolphus Ward during the London interlude between the Manchester and Cambridge chapters of his long life. Of all our Presidents, Professor Pollard, I think, had the keenest intellect, and I have always felt he would have been a brilliant success at the bar. He had a rather sharp tongue and as a reviewer he could be merciless. He was disappointed that he was never offered the Chair of Modern History at Oxford. Of Mrs. Green I saw a good deal during the Parliament of 1906, and at her hospitable home in Grosvenor Road I used to meet her friend Sir Roger Casement, Dr. Douglas Hyde, and other Irish celebrities. Her love of Ireland was a passion and her eyes could flash in anger. I recall Professor Grant as one of the gentlest and most modest of men and one of the best lecturers I ever heard. Mr. A. G. Little, my successor, the oracle of Franciscan studies, never displayed much interest in the modern centuries. He was a master of dry humour. 'Of course' he remarked at a meeting of the British Academy, 'we do not read each other's books.' Sir Henry Marten, of Eton College, was wisely chosen to instruct our present Queen in English history. Professor Harte did much to arouse interest in history and in the Historical Association in the West Country, where an annual lecture on local history has been established in his honour. I followed Professor Heamshaw's career with affectionate interest ever since our Cambridge days. I used to call him 'the schoolmaster', for he became increasingly authoritarian in his views, and in his later years he was more of a publicist than

an academic historian. Sir Charles Grant Robertson, author of the first scholarly life of Bismarck in English, devoted too much time to administrative duties as the Vice-Chancellor of Birmingham to produce the large-scale works which he was fully qualified to write. Professor Turberville, a man of great charm, was the only one of our chiefs who was cut off at the height of his powers. Dr. Trevelyan I have known since he came up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in the autumn of 1893, and neither of us was in doubt how we hoped to spend our lives. *The Age of Wycliffe and England under the Stuarts* alike revealed his rare quality, and the Garibaldi saga made him a national possession. Professor Stenton's survey of the Anglo-Saxon centuries impresses experts and amateurs alike by its sheer mastery. So far I have written of scholars who have passed away or grown grey in the service of Clio. It is a pleasure for an octogenarian to salute our latest captains as the voice of a younger generation—Professor Medicott, with an honourable record in the field of modern and contemporary history, and Professor Butterfield, whose broadcasts and reflections on history have won him admiration beyond the limited circle of historical students. I heard his name for the first time when I was an examiner for the Cambridge History Tripos in 1922, and we unhesitatingly awarded him a First. We congratulate him on his election as Master of Peterhouse, a post once held by two old friends of mine, Professor Temperley and Sir Adolphus Ward. Our Presidents in combination have made an impressive contribution to the scholarship of the last half-century, and our great army of members need not fear that there will be any lack of distinguished teachers to carry on the torch of learning in the coming years.

APPENDIX II

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION 1906-1955

PRESIDENTS

Professor C. H. Firth	..	..	..	1906-10
Professor T. F. Tout	..	..	..	1910-12
Professor A. F. Pollard	..	..	..	1912-15
Mrs. J. R. Green..	..	..	..	1915-18
Professor Firth	..	..	..	1918 ; re-elected 1919-20
Professor A. J. Grant	..	..	..	1920-23
Dr. G. P. Gooch	..	..	..	1923-26
Mr. A. G. Little	..	..	..	1926-29
Mr. C. H. K. Marten	..	..	..	1929-32
Professor W. J. Harte	..	..	..	1932-35 ; re-elected 1935-36
Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw	..	..	..	1936-38
Sir Charles Grant Robertson	..	..	..	1938-41 ; re-elected 1941-43
Professor A. S. Turberville	..	..	..	1943-45 (<i>d.</i> 9 May 1945)
Sir Charles Grant Robertson	..	..	..	July-Dec. 1945
Dr. G. M. Trevelyan	..	..	..	1946-49
Mr. S. M. Toyne	..	..	..	Chairman of Council, 1946-49
Professor Sir Frank Stenton	..	..	..	1949-52
Professor W. N. Medlicott	..	..	..	1952-55
Professor H. Butterfield	..	..	..	1955-

HONORARY TREASURERS

Dr. J. E. Morris	..	..	1906-18	Mr. J. A. White..	..	..	1939-42
Miss A. M. Baylay	..	..	1918-21	Mr. E. T. Rhymer (Acting)	..	..	July - Dec. 1941
Mr. J. A. White	..	..	1921-33	Mr. E. T. Rhymer	..	..	Jan. 1942-March 1943
Mr. E. T. Rhymer	..	..	1933-39	Mr. C. T. H. Sharp	..	..	March 1943-

SECRETARIES

Miss M. B. Curran	..	..	..	Secretary, 1906-21
Miss L. M. Penson	..	..	..	{ Secretary, July 1921-Jan. 1922
Miss A. M. Hart	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Jan. 1922-Jan. 1924
Miss M. A. Howard	..	..	..	{ Asst. Secretary, Feb. 1922-24
Miss E. F. Bond	..	..	..	{ Secretary, Sept. 1924-26
Mr. J. A. White	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Jan.-July 1924
Miss H. M. Friend	..	..	..	{ Asst. Secretary (part-time), Sept. 1924-July 1925
Mr. F. J. Weaver	..	..	..	{ Acting Hon. Secretary, Sept. 1924-26
Mr. M. Gompertz	..	..	..	{ Part-time Assistant, Sept. 1925-Jan. 1927
Mr. J. A. White	..	..	..	{ Asst. Secretary, Jan. 1927-
Dr. J. F. Nichols	..	..	..	{ General Secretary, Sept. 1926-30
Professor W. N. Medlicott	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Jan. 1930-33
Mr. J. W. Herbert	..	..	..	{ General Secretary, Jan.-Dec. 1930
Mr. P. D. Whitting	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Jan. 1933-35
Mr. H. A. T. Simmonds	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Jan. 1935-Mar. 1943
	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Mar. 1943-46
	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Apr. 1946-Jan. 1950
	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Jan. 1950-53
	..	..	..	{ Hon. Secretary, Jan. 1953-

CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES 1908-1955

PUBLICATIONS (1906)

Professor A. F. Pollard	1908-11
Mr. A. G. Little	1911-14
Mr. C. L. Kingsford	1914-16
Professor F. J. D. Hearnshaw ..	{ 1916-22
	{ 1930-31
Miss Alice Gardner	1923-24
Professor H. W. V. Temperley	1924-27
Miss L. M. Penson	1927-29
Professor J. D. Mackie	1929-30
Professor A. S. Turberville ..	1931-43
Dr. J. A. Williamson	1943-46
Professor W. N. Medlicott ..	1946-52
Professor S. T. Bindoff	1952-

LIBRARY (1908)

Professor T. F. Tout	1908-11
Professor A. F. Pollard	1911-14
Mrs. J. R. Green	1914-17
Professor C. H. Firth	1917-19
Professor A. J. Grant	1919-20
Dr. C. A. J. Skeel	{ 1920-21
	{ 1922-27
Miss R. R. Reid	1921-22
Miss A. M. Baylay	1927-46
Mr. A. T. Milne	1946-53
Mr. L. W. Herne	1953-

ILLUSTRATIONS (1909)

Mr. G. Gidley Robinson	1909-12
Miss A. M. Baylay	1912-13
Miss R. R. Reid	{ 1913-19
	{ 1922-28
Mr. J. A. White	1919-22
Miss H. M. Madeley	1928-29
Miss D. Dymond	1929-31
Mr. C. H. Gerred	1931-49
Mr. C. R. N. Routh	1949-54
Mr. A. T. Milne	1954-

EDITORIAL BOARD OF HISTORY (1916)

Professor A. F. Pollard	1916-22
Miss E. Jeffries Davis	1922-34
Professor C. H. Williams	1934-47
Professor R. F. Treharne	1947-

PROPAGANDA (DEVELOPMENT) (1918)

Mr. F. S. Marvin	{ 1918-29
	{ 1931-43
Professor W. J. Harte	1929-31
Mr. E. H. Dance	1943-51
Mr. C. Wintle	1951-53
Mr. H. A. T. Simmonds	1953-

FINANCE (1918)

Mr. H. R. Tedder	1918-24
Mr. C. Johnson	1924-43
Mr. W. T. Mellows	1943-45
Continued as General Purposes 1945 under the chairmanship of the President for the time being.	

EXAMINATIONS (1925)

Mr. C. H. K. Marten	1925-38
Mr. S. M. Toyne	1938-43
Continued as Teaching of History Committee: Examinations Committee revived 1951.	
Mr. D. Kitchen	1952-53
Mr. J. W. Hunt	1953-

VILLAGE HISTORY* (LOCAL HISTORY) (1925)

Professor A. Hamilton Thompson	1925-34
Mr. W. T. McIntire	1934-42
Dr. J. F. Nichols	1942-52
Mr. F. W. Brooks	1952-

WIRELESS (BROADCASTING) (1928)

Dr. D. P. Dobson	1928-
------------------------	-------

FILMS (1929)

Mr. G. T. Hankin	1929-38
Merged with Illustrations 1938.	

INTERNATIONAL (1934)

Dr. G. P. Gooch	1934-42
Mr. C. H. K. Marten	1942-45
Mr. G. T. Hankin	1945-50
Professor G. Barraclough	1951-

REVISION COURSE (1940)

Professor H. F. Treharne	{ 1940-50
	{ 1955-
Mr. C. R. N. Routh	1950-51
Mr. F. W. Brooks	1951-55

TEACHING OF HISTORY (1943)

Mr. S. M. Toyne	1943-47
Miss H. M. Madeley	1947-52
Mr. W. H. Burston	1952-

TOURS (1949)

Professor A. Hamilton Thompson	1949-52
Mr. J. Salmon	1952