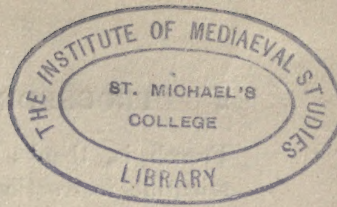


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THE PRESENT STATE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

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A Presidential Address delivered to the Mediaeval Section of the International Historical Congress at London, April 4, 1913

THERE are few mediaevalists optimistic enough to regard the present state of mediaeval studies in this country with any profound satisfaction. Nevertheless, the most pessimistic among us will agree that there has been substantial progress during the last few years, and that at no earlier period could we contemplate the outlook with so much hope as we can at the present moment. We have now more University teachers of mediaeval history, more students of the subject, and greater encouragements to them to specialize. Moreover, history has a better recognition in our schools and in public opinion than it used to have. Most gratifying of all is the development made at the top. Ten years ago, Mr. James Bryce, our president, told the first historical congress at Rome that higher historical studies were not organized in England. The statement, though not made with special relation to mediaeval studies, was certainly at that time pre-eminently true of them. I am glad to be able to tell this conference that a substantial beginning has been made since Mr. Bryce made this statement. It is now widely, but by no means universally, recognized that mediaeval studies have a technique of their own, which can only be acquired with painful effort, and that students of history, however well-read they may be, and however many high examinations they have passed, are not properly equipped to teach mediaeval history in Universities, unless they have submitted themselves to systematic training in the technicalities of their craft. In six Universities at least—Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, Manchester, and Liverpool—some provision is now made for the instruction of intending mediaevalists in palaeography and diplomatic. Of the languages necessary for the student of the English middle age, Old and Middle English can be learnt almost anywhere, and the teaching in Old-

French is, thanks to the recent remarkable development in the scientific instruction of modern languages in this country, almost equally widespread. Even a knowledge of mediaeval archaeology is not now impossible of attainment, and Liverpool has here led the way by instituting a professorship of that subject in 1908. More important by far than the mere institution of more lectures is the fact that of recent years several organized seminars of mediaeval history are now in operation in which teachers of mediaeval history show to their pupils their own methods of work, and guide them in the pursuit of their first efforts in original investigation. The first steps in this direction were taken by Mr. Hubert Hall in the University of London. Since then Professor Vinogradoff has conducted a seminar of the best continental type in mediaeval economic and legal history at Oxford. In Edinburgh, Professor Hume Brown directs something like a seminar in what is rather quaintly called 'ancient Scottish history and palaeography'. In Manchester, Professor Tait and myself have for some years held a seminar on English history in the fourteenth century, and Professor Unwin has very powerfully helped us on the economic side of mediaeval history. Some published results of work, done under seminar conditions at London, Oxford, and Manchester, are already before the world, and before very long I hope that many more will appear.

We must not only look to the Universities for training in mediaeval technique. We have been witnessing for many years the gradual process by which under the auspices of the present Deputy-Keeper, Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, the spirit of the Public Record Office is being changed. What was once an unorganized agglomeration of individual government officials, discharging routine tasks with very varying degrees of competence, is slowly developing into a society of highly trained scholars, co-operating in the great work of calendaring, classifying, and making accessible our incomparable collection of mediaeval records. The results are already seen in the higher standard, greater uniformity of treatment, and increasing rapidity of production of the numerous series of calendars of records which are now being issued under the auspices of the Deputy-Keeper. The process of development is still, however, in its earlier stages. We may hope that it will be facilitated by the recent action of the authorities in appointing a consultative committee of historians to give advice as to the publications to be issued from the Office. It is not too much to expect that before very long the Public Record Office will add to its other functions that of being, in fact, if not in name, a real practical school of charters and other higher mediaeval

studies. When this has become the case, it will not be a very difficult thing to bring such an ideal training ground into intimate relations with the mediaeval departments of our Universities.

Organization of study and courses of advanced teaching are important, but are by no means everything. In fact, there is sometimes a tendency to overstress these things. They can and do immensely smooth the way of the beginner, but when the first lessons of technique have been learnt, too much organized method may do as much harm as good. After all, when a scholar makes some way in any subject, there is no one who can teach him so much as he knows himself, and even watching the methods of the best masters must after a time have a deadening rather than a stimulating effect. Even in the preliminary stages of learning mediaeval technique the most vital thing of all is the provision of adequate individual direction to young aspirants to knowledge from well-informed and properly trained directors. I am convinced that there has never been a greater willingness than there is now for elder scholars to put their knowledge and experience at the service of their pupils in this direction. Wherever I go, I hear of help ungrudgingly and freely rendered, and I know that the burden of advising and directing research in this way has in many cases made serious inroads into the leisure and opportunities of private work of university and college teachers. They must be content, however, to persevere in well-doing, for their devotion is the chiefest of all the conditions of progress. It is to be regretted, however, that work of this sort obtains so little recognition. The lecture hours, the time consumed on undergraduate essays are recognized, but such private and informal help to advanced students is looked upon as a work of supererogation, an addition to the day's burden. Fortunately it has its own reward. But it is extremely arduous work to discharge properly. None of us can give real help except in the limited fields we have studied at first-hand for ourselves. And it unluckily remains true that there are still some academic teachers of history whose personal work can hardly be said to suggest any special capacity for direction in any period.

The result of all this progress is that we have now what ten years ago we had not—the beginnings of organized schools of mediaeval history in some of our Universities. It follows that the ways of the beginner may now be made much smoother than they were to my generation. A very few of us in my early days had the wisdom to go to Paris or Göttingen, or some other place where real mediaeval technique was systematically taught. The great majority of us had to learn for ourselves as best we could. We necessarily made many

blunders and wasted much time in the process. There were no British schools of history in those days. Even Stubbs, the one great historical professor, though he knew and admired the work of Ranke and his pupils in Germany, made no serious attempts to follow in their footsteps. Stubbs's general outlook was too conservative; his dislike of organizing, and being organized, was too strong to make it possible for him to be an effective pioneer of salutary revolution in promoting that 'historical teaching of history' which he so often desired to see established in our country. The traditions of English individualism, the forces of the 'college system', the cast iron of the great examination machine, repelled him from even entering the conflict. We know what he felt from reflections in his correspondence and conversation, whose humorous or semi-humorous form very imperfectly conceals the deep bitterness of spirit which inspired them. Still there were none of us, brought into direct contact with him, who did not derive stimulus and encouragement from a teacher whose kindness and sympathy were as great as his learning and grasp. And Oxford men at least must not forget to record with gratitude encouragement and advice from other teachers. Some of these, if not themselves specially addicted to research, have been in many cases the cause of research in others, and so have a right to a place in the record of the beginnings of British schools of mediaeval history.

Perhaps the greatest external stimulus which those who sought to be mediaevalists had in those distant days was that derived from co-operation in joint historical work of an advanced character. The *English Historical Review* has now been so long at work that even the oldest of us hardly remember what long and painful discussions there were before the various projects to set up a specialist periodical for historians became materialized, and how difficult it was before its first appearance in 1886 for scholars to find a means of publishing their earlier efforts. The *Review* has given us this and also a severe corrective to our deviations from scholarly lucidity and brevity. Nowadays we have also the *American* and the *Scottish Historical Reviews*, covering in friendly rivalry the same ground. More than any single undertaking the *Dictionary of National Biography* was the practical school of history to the mediaevalists of my generation, and I know not to how many other students in how many other branches of learning. And the *Victoria County Histories* have been the training school for a younger generation of mediaevalists, just as the *Dictionary of National Biography* was for my own contemporaries. In the somewhat neglected field of mediaeval archaeology the *Victoria County Histories* have done particularly useful work. And we now

have an additional encouragement to that pursuit in the establishment of three royal commissions with the mission of describing and cataloguing the historical remains of England, Scotland, and Wales. But I must not dwell any longer on the evidences that we are advancing. My business is not with what has been, but what is, and still more with what we hope will be! It is enough to say that nowadays there are many more opportunities of co-operation in production with other scholars, and of publishing one's work, than there were thirty years ago. The development of publishing societies, general, special, or local, the increased facilities for publication afforded by the multiplication of publishing agencies under academic auspices, are features of the last few years. If a good book or paper on a mediaeval subject is written in these islands nowadays, it is generally the author's fault, or misfortune, if it is not published. If the career open to mediaeval talent with us is still inferior to that available in most other civilized countries, it is at least wider than it has ever been before.

As the result of all these things the output of good mediaeval work in this country has considerably increased, and is still increasing, though doubtless it is not what it should be. Great additions have been made to the available material for natural history. I have already spoken of the many score of volumes of the official calendars of mediaeval documents which enable us to rewrite the detailed administrative history of the later Middle Ages. So much progress has been made with the various Chancery rolls that we may soon look forward to similar treatment being given to the chief classes of Exchequer records. Even the bulky judicial archives of the two Benches will ere long demand some sort of treatment. These, however, have been at least sampled, notably in the publications of the Selden Society, with which the great name of F. W. Maitland will always be associated. Our local records, too, are published, or calendared, to an increasing extent, and the work is generally competently done, though not all the contributions to the sources of municipal history can be as well edited as were Mary Bateson's *Records of Leicester*. If the suspension of the official Chronicles and Memorials of the Rolls Series has retarded the rate at which mediaeval annals have been issued or re-issued in adequate editions, we have still new chronicles published, or old ones critically treated, by scholars working on their own account. Nor are original studies of great value lacking. If I do not particularize them it is partly because it is invidious to make selections, and partly because I want to get on to other things. Yet there is need to emphasize the fact that we are producing a reasonable amount

of mediaeval work, because a recent learned and stimulating study of *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, excellent within its own lines, and deservedly praised for what it contains, has almost altogether omitted to deal with the work of mediaeval scholars of the present generation, not only in England but also in other lands.

I have suggested some reasons why we should feel that we have been making real progress, but I should be wanting in courage or in candour were I not to admit that there is much still to be done before we bring ourselves up to the standpoint of the best continental examples. Our best work may not fear comparison with any in the world; but there is not enough of it, and there is in much, even of our best work, a touch of that insularity that is on some occasions our pride, but on more occasions our reproach. What then are the difficulties that still confront us? I cannot but think that progress is mainly checked from the fact that, though the spirit of reform is in the air, reform does not go far in practice before it is pulled up short by the spirit of traditionalism, which is stronger in England than in any other country in the world. And as regards mediaeval science traditionalism means, first of all, distrust of the specialist and the glorification of the amateur. As a result of this it involves profound belief in the individual, and an indifference to all system, method, and organization.

History is still to the British traditionalist a new subject. He admits its importance, but he thinks that it is less 'educative' than certain other things. He is still simple-minded enough to regard it as an easy subject. He may, perhaps, have some reason for his scepticism if he knows what history means to the great majority of those who take history as their subject in the various 'honour schools of history' that flourish in our Universities, and force hundreds of students to read exactly the same books—mainly modern—and to strive, in competition with each other, to do exactly the same things in exactly the same way. So far as they go, however, these honour schools are all well enough. They give in different fashions a wide knowledge of general history, and familiarize our academic youth with the things which every instructed historian is the better for knowing. Unluckily they are taken for more than they are worth, and the cult of the examination, which the British Islands share with China, and have extended with disastrous results to India, is so enthroned amongst us that the young men and women who have attained a 'first class' are thought able to turn their hands to anything without further study. If there be any doubt as to their competence it is not by reason of their historical deficiencies, but because the traditionalist has little confidence in the educative results of any training in the

mediaeval age. He prefers an education in the tongues, history, or thought of Greek and Roman antiquity, and regards the History School as a *pis aller* for those unable to brace themselves up to the more traditionally acceptable curriculum. As things are at present, it is hard to deny that he is altogether in the wrong. Our schools of mediaeval history are still too one-sided and partial to equip the would-be mediaevalist in the broad outlines of the literature, history, language, thought, and art of the Middle Ages after the fashion in which the Oxford School of 'Literae Humaniores' has evolved a system of combined study of the tongues, philosophy, and history of the Graeco-Roman world. As good a training could be found in the one as in the other, and life is too short and time too precious for it to be desirable that all should tread the same path, however excellent that one path may be. As long as in practice an excessive proportion of our young talent is driven in one particular direction, so long will it revenge itself by refusing to equip itself adequately for any further journeys it may have to undertake.

Let us not, however, dwell longer upon examinations, for at the best they are but the preliminary schooling of the scholar. Yet even examinations can be made to do more than they have done, and in particular the specialized study on right lines of such periods in original sources may be, in some places actually is, a real easy introduction under undergraduate conditions to the historical teaching of history. In any case, however, the serious training of the mediaevalist can only begin after graduation, and for that reason it is an encouraging sign of progress that some Universities are beginning to insist on some real first-hand work as the condition precedent of such 'higher degrees' as the mastership. We must, however, regard the training of the mediaevalist as an end in itself rather than as inspired by a quest of degrees. Our danger is still that such a training will never be begun at all, though the opportunities of such training are now coming nearer to hand. The root of the matter for the 'first class honours man' is to realize how little he has learnt. He has shown, we must admit, an amazing memory, and a wonderful capacity to keep in his head at the same time an enormous number of facts of varying degrees of importance. He has given proof, too, of great smartness and rapidity in writing, against time and without book, short journalistic essays on any given historical problem. He has proved himself clever, as possessing some gifts of style, generalization, co-ordination, and readiness. All these are excellent things so far as they go, but when you tell him that he is still at the beginning of his course, that he must now specialize, learn the technique of his trade, do

original work, he will, if he be worldly wise, meet you with questions that you find it very difficult to answer. You may tell him that by following your advice he may become a distinguished scholar ; but you cannot hold out any rosy prospects of fame and still less of fortune. When you urge him to study technique, he promptly answers that this man and that man have got the best posts in the limited profession of the academic teaching of mediaeval history, without having taken any such otiose and painful precautions. He can tell you that such a college or such a university has chosen as its teacher of your subject a man who had taken his degree a few years before, and has done nothing since save teach and write for the newspapers.

This seems to me the root of the matter. The vital difference between England and France or Germany is that with us, but not beyond sea, original work in his subject is not regarded as an essential qualification for the academic teacher. No doubt things are much better than they were, but so long as University opinion allows an academic appointment to be given to the non-specialist, so long it will not be to the interest of the aspirant to such posts to make himself a specialist. The worst offenders in this matter are a certain number of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, which practically, though not nominally, appoint the mass of the University teachers of history in those Universities. They are not, I fear, the only culprits. The evil done by them is the more harmful, however, since traditionalist public opinion regards anything done by the 'older Universities' as necessarily right. Yet it is proper to add that human nature often triumphs over the vicious system of appointment. Some of the very best workers on mediaeval history have held, and are holding, such college appointments. Their science is, however, a work of supererogation, the gratification of a scholarly ambition, the response of the zealot to the divine fire which is in him. Things are made worse too by the appalling demands on the time and energies of the teacher, which is the result of the much vaunted 'tutorial system', a system admirable in conception, but pushed sometimes to ridiculous excess, so that the work of the University teacher is conceived to be the constant feeding of the individual with spoon meat, cut up and prepared in such a way that it can be most easily digested, even by the most delicate of intellectual and moral constitutions. Things are in some ways worse in the smaller academic centres, where one professor, with perhaps one assistant, is expected to hold innumerable courses on all sorts and 'periods' of history, and that in places where even books are not always to any

adequate extent procurable. Again, in the higher posts of the schools of France and Germany, the teachers are men of the same training and of the same ambitions as the academic teachers. In England, however, there is such a deep gulf between school teaching and academic teaching, and such excessive demand on the time and temper of the school teacher, that it is a very rare thing for a would-be specialist to begin his teaching career in a school, despite some distinguished instances to the contrary. It is no wonder, then, that no form of the career of the history teacher makes a very direct appeal to persons of talent and ambition.

And what other openings for the mediaevalist are there in this country save the career of teaching? In France he can by reason of his training obtain a post as an archivist in the national or departmental records, or become a librarian in one of the great libraries. In England there are no departmental archives, and the records not safely housed in Chancery Lane are looked after by custodians who can only accidentally and by special grace read them or care for them, and who, though generally kind and sympathetic, do in some cases exact extortionate fees from those who would wish to consult them. And in our Public Record Office officers are appointed, not by reason of their special knowledge of history, still less by their skill in palaeography, diplomatic, Old-French, and mediaeval Latin, but as the result of a portentous examination in universal knowledge that lasts the best part of a month, and is used as the one portal to the higher civil service for Britain, India, and the Crown Colonies. It would be fatal for any one with an ambition to become an archivist in the Public Record Office to devote the time between his graduation and the entrance on his profession to the study of the subjects that will be of any use to him if he gets into it. These subjects are not recognized in the examination. From the point of view of 'getting marks', he would be wasting his time. He would be sure, therefore, to do so badly in the examination that if he secured any post at all, he would come out low on the list and would perhaps be sent to help in the administration of the Malay Peninsula or Hong-Kong, where mediaeval learning is not a specially useful accomplishment. Similarly, if our young mediaevalist wished for library work, he would find that in most libraries there is no career at all for a man of education. In the British Museum there is a chance, and the British Museum has luckily escaped thralldom to the general civil service examination which controls entrance into the Record Office. But with our usual British distrust of the specialist the special examination follows in the main the old-fashioned lines of a liberal education. Thus the

man who wishes to work at Old and Middle English manuscripts has to prove his fitness by being examined in a 'limited competition' in Greek and Latin, in French and German. Thus the 'classical' tradition still lays its dead hand on mediaeval learning. No wonder that our best mediaevalists are men whose means put them above worldly cares, and allow them to teach themselves their craft at their own leisure. The danger is that such men are solitary workers, and can mainly help the advance of science by the example of their output.

Much that I have said about the teaching career applies to any branch of historical science, but it holds good with special force to mediaeval studies, which can only be mastered after a severe technical training. This is the worse since, though specialization in education has not produced as yet with us technical proficiency, it has resulted in some of the worst effects of specialization—the divorce of even the preliminary study of our subject from those auxiliary studies without which the main science is cultivated to little purpose. Very lamentable results flow from the divorce of history from linguistic and literary studies. Your would-be mediaevalist does not know Old-French, and if he does, it is the Old-French of Paris, not the Anglo-French of Stratford-atte-Bow, which is what he most wants. If he knows Latin well, his Latin is of so 'classical' a variety that he is certain to be unable to construe, and probably liable to despise, the 'Low Latin' of the Middle Ages. He is not likely to learn Old and Middle English unless he has 'taken honours' in that subject, and those who take their degree in mediaeval literature and philology are as innocent of any knowledge or interest in mediaeval politics as our mediaeval historian is of the relevant languages, thought, literature, and art. Thus when you get your specialist, he is only half a specialist. He is so absorbed in his own 'point of view' that he has no eyes or ears for aspects of mediaeval life which are vital to its comprehension as a whole.

We can now go back to where we began, and realize why it is that the progress in the organization of mediaeval study is not so great as at first sight appears. The technical training exists, but it is shunted on to a siding which is not a direct continuation of the main line. It is perhaps illustrative of the want of correlation in England between mediaeval history and the auxiliary sciences which we cannot do without, that if any member of this section wishes to hear at this Congress what brother scholars have to say on questions so vital to us as those of diplomatic and palaeography, he will have to make the long pilgrimage from King's College to Burlington House to gratify his very



natural desire. And mediaeval technique is side-tracked in other ways also. To put it brutally, it does not 'pay' to specialize in mediaeval study, since, when you have specialized, you cannot always secure an opening for your talents. No wonder then that our distinguished teachers of palaeography and diplomatic teach to very modest audiences, and that they complain, anyhow in our largest Universities, that their hearers are not the home-grown product of the place, but strangers who come in from far and near, attracted by those 'research degrees', which, admirable in conception, are still a delusion and a snare, except when the candidate can find in the University a teacher able, and willing, to direct his study of his subject. Perhaps it is easier to set up a school of history at a new British University than an old one: that is always supposing that there are the money and men enough to make the plan practicable. We are less hampered by tradition. We have smaller numbers to deal with, and, if I may speak of our own Manchester experience, we can more easily make the examination subordinate to the teaching, and make our training in sources, our preliminary seminar work, an integral part of the course. We have, on the other hand, difficulties in obtaining recognition for work done in a new University that no one outside the British Isles has any conception of. Nevertheless, we have little reason to complain, in Lancashire at any rate. In particular, we are free to vary our methods, and strive to combine what is best in the old with what is best in the new. Our experience is, I say emphatically, that what is best for the education of the historian is also best for the general training of the men and women who intend to devote themselves to other professions or to practical life. Under traditionalist conditions it is very hard to graft the new shoots of research on to the old tree of the 'education of a gentleman' in general culture divorced from professional technicality.

Even the examination system bears hardly enough on mediaeval history. The majority of both teachers and students have as little to do with it as they can. It is looked upon as too technical to attract, and so remote from modern needs that it is in most places an unpopular subject. It might be in peril of disappearing, if it presupposed a further technical training, to be pursued after graduation, which is not exacted from the students of more recent periods! As a matter of fact each branch of history has its own technique, and because in mediaeval history the need for technique is becoming obvious, the zealots for the history of recent times have, I believe, even more reason to complain than we mediaevalists of the hordes of unskilled labourers who aspire to till some section of the field of

knowledge, with such information as the light of nature and general reading give them.

What then does English mediaeval science require to realize its opportunities to the full? It is not enough to provide technical training; it is necessary to insist upon it. And the best way to secure this is to make research, based on sound technique, the condition precedent of appointment to all academic posts. It requires that our archives should be reorganized on the lines suggested by the new Record Commission, and staffed by experts. It requires the ending of the unhealthy centralization of archives in the capital, and the establishment of local record offices after the model of every other civilized country. It requires the compulsory concentration, within these local record offices, of the uncared-for ancient documents that are still lurking in a score of unsuspected places. It requires that, as in all other civilized countries, historians should be consulted in the preparation of public documents for publication, calendaring, and summarizing, and that State grants for the encouragement of historical learning should be administered by historians, just as similar grants for the development of natural science are administered by scientists. It requires that the great libraries, where mediaeval manuscripts are stored, should attract, not repel, from their staff students who have already given proof of sound training in mediaeval lore and some grasp of mediaeval technique. It requires the strengthening of our nascent schools of mediaeval history, the co-ordination of our too isolated and individualistic efforts. It requires the co-operation of the general historian with the historian of a distinct or of a special aspect of the science. Moreover, it needs the co-operation of the mediaeval historian with the student of mediaeval thought, art, and letters, of society, of economic conditions. In short, it involves a further recognition of the dignity, the importance, and the practical value of our science, and encouragement to the rising generation to enlist themselves under its banner.

If I have drawn too gloomy a picture of what is, too ideal a picture of what might be, I hope I have not from excess of zeal given offence to any one. Nothing is further from my thought than the blaming of schools, institutions, or still more individuals. You will know that the preacher is always liable to see the worst of the age which he endeavours to urge to repentance. You will make allowance for the fervour of the would-be reformer or prophet. As you would not go to Jacques de Vitry for an unbiased picture of the morals of a mediaeval university, so you will realize that you must not go to a modern Jeremiah for a perfectly balanced view of the shortcomings

of modern academic England in regard to his particular hobbies. Yet I cannot believe that these are mere visions, for I know that the distinguished visitors whom we are welcoming to-day from every land beyond sea and ocean, see in their own countries things in actual operation that are with us only visions of the future. Fortunately the republic of learning is one, and no more signal service can be done to us Englishmen by our foreign friends and visitors than to bear witness that they have already accomplished what we ourselves feel ashamed that we are only just beginning to undertake. Above all, we can appeal to the magnificent services which continental Europe and America have rendered to the advance of British mediaeval science, so much neglected in its own home. If we cannot ourselves produce a critical edition of our early laws, have we not one now from Liebermann? If we cannot edit all our own chronicles and records, we can at least rejoice that Paul Meyer has given us an admirable edition of the *Histoire de Guillaume le Mareschal*, and that Léopold Delisle's vast scholarship has illuminated many dark places in our history, notably the reign of Henry II. Charles Bémont has given English editors an exemplar of how a record should be published in his *Rôles Gascons* of Edward I. M. Bémont we hold in special honour, not only as one who has done admirable work on nearly every part of our thirteenth-century history, but as conducting the most productive school of mediaeval English history on the Continent since R. Pauli, whose *Englische Geschichte* remains of value after more than half a century, ceased to teach at Göttingen. Liebermann by his continuation of Pauli's work on the English Chroniclers in the *Monumenta Germaniae*, by his editions of chronicles and law books, and by his admirably minute bibliographies, now alas! no longer appearing, and in countless other ways, has done for our history in Germany what Bémont has done for it in France. I pass over work on the earliest periods, such as that of Mommsen in his editions of Gildas and Nennius, of Hübner in his British volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, the renewal of Celtic studies by Germans, from Zeuss to Zimmer and Meyer, and the overwhelming share taken by Germans in the study of the early stages of our mother tongue. I pay but a passing tribute to some of the greater early scholars, to Brunner, to Maurer, to Gneist. I barely mention too what Rössler and Böhmer, Cartellieri and Wissowa, have done for the Norman and Angevin periods. Petit-Dutaillis has severely corrected our national self-complacency in *Magna Carta*, and in our mediaeval constitution and its historian; has made the most systematic effort yet made to bring up to date Stubbs's great work, and has supplemented the

labours of the lamented André Reville on the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. J. Flach has given us something to think about in his revolutionary views as to the part taken by England in the development of feudalism. We owe to Makower an elaborate study of the law of the English Church, and to S. Goldschmidt the most detailed account of the early history of the Jews in England. Koch has written the best account of the early career of our only English emperor, Richard of Cornwall, and I call Earl Richard an emperor with the more conviction since H. Bloch has shown that there is twelfth-century canonical sanction for the view that an emperor-elect can be styled emperor, even before his coronation by the pope. Who is there who has worked on English church history that has not used the magnificent editions of papal registers published by the *École française de Rome*? It is all to our profit that Bémont has written the best life of Simon de Montfort, that Wurstemberger and Mugnier have illustrated the careers of the Savoyards who flocked to the England of Henry III, that Langlois has elucidated the age of Edward I, that Finke has shown how much light the archives of Aragon throw upon that monarch's foreign policy, and that Kern has collected from many archives, including our own, vivid illustrations of the external relations of the same period. Gavrilovitch has worked out the history of the execution of the treaty of Paris of 1259. Mme Lubimenko collected all that could be known of John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, and Dimitresco did something towards the elucidation of the career of Gaveston. Horstmann has helped us to disentangle the relationship to each other of some of the chroniclers of the reign of Edward III. We owe to Déprez our introduction to the diplomatic of the documents issued under the small seals of the English kings, and by far the completest study of the origins of the Hundred Years War. Denifle first taught us to appreciate the true part which our mediaeval Universities played in the history of institutions and of culture, and has written the fullest narrative yet published of the early campaigns of the Hundred Years' War in a book which is not called, what an English critic has called it, 'the Dissolution of the Church of France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries!' Déprez and Denifle hold a high place among the distinguished band of scholars who are re-writing for us the history of the Hundred Years' War. To them we may add the name of Luce, whose great work is already accomplished, of Beaucourt, the historian of Charles VII, and of Delachenal, who will develop before this section one of his most striking discoveries in his history of Charles V. Nor must we forget what we owe to the editors of fourteenth-century chronicles, to Luce and Lettenhove, to

Viard and Déprez, to Molinier and Moranvillé. Puiseux and Prentout have worked out aspects of the war in Normandy; Moisant has written on the Black Prince's administration of Aquitaine; Wallon has given us what still remains the fullest history of Richard II; Lechler and Loserth have illuminated the age of Wyclif and co-operated with English scholars in the publication of the reformer's writings. Caro has studied some aspects of the diplomatic history of the early fifteenth century, and Hans Prutz has introduced to German readers the 'crusading' account books of the future Henry IV. German scholars have first set out in detail the economical developments of England towards the end of the Middle Ages. Russia has sent us Vinogradoff, whom we may now almost claim as a fellow countryman, though on that showing we might also claim our share in Liebermann and Keutgen, and some other of our visitors also. And we must perforce claim an even greater share in the zealous scholars of our own tongue from the United States of America, who are taking a characteristic share of their own in the task of compelling our mediaeval records to yield their stores of new knowledge. How should we find our way about the materials of our mediaeval history were it not for the Bibliographies of the lamented Charles Gross, a man whose contributions to municipal history alone have put every scholar under a further obligation? Special emphasis should be laid upon the services which Gross has done to British history by organizing its systematic study at Harvard, a task now carried on by his pupil and successor Haskins, whose good work on the Normans is universally recognized. G. B. Adams has given us one of the best general histories of the Norman and Angevin periods. Child has illuminated later mediaeval history by his great collection of ballads. Who could enumerate the monographs which American scholars of this generation have written or are writing on mediaeval history? But I have special reasons for paying a tribute to the part which American scholars are playing in developing our administrative history, which is still to our shame so largely an unworked field. Such work as Lapsley's on the Palatinate of Durham, of Baldwin's on the Privy Council, of Lewis's on the Stannaries of Cornwall and Devon, of Matzke's on the Laws of William the Conqueror, of Lunt's on ecclesiastical assessments and taxation, of Willard's on the lay subsidies and other aspects of the activities of the Exchequer, of Miss Putnam's on the execution of the Statute of Labourers, of Miss Scofield's on the reign of Edward IV, may be cited simply as instances of what the Americans are doing for the early history of their mother land.

But I will not go on, though my list is far from exhaustive. May

even an imperfect enumeration of what foreign scholars have of recent years done for English history have some effect in inspiring British scholars to betake themselves to the Record Office and British Museum, so that they also may claim a reasonable share in the work that is to be done there. But I am far from wishing to claim for Englishmen a monopoly of the study of English history! May the deliberations of this conference be strengthened by the friendly co-operation of our friends from beyond sea, and may the example of what is done not only by them for us, but by them for the organized study of history of their own homes, do something to stimulate the British Government and British public opinion to a more lively sense of the obligations that the nation owes to its mighty past, and to take a little more interest in us who are trying, rather wearily and without much encouragement, to do what in us lies to make the mediaeval past a more living thing to our own age.

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