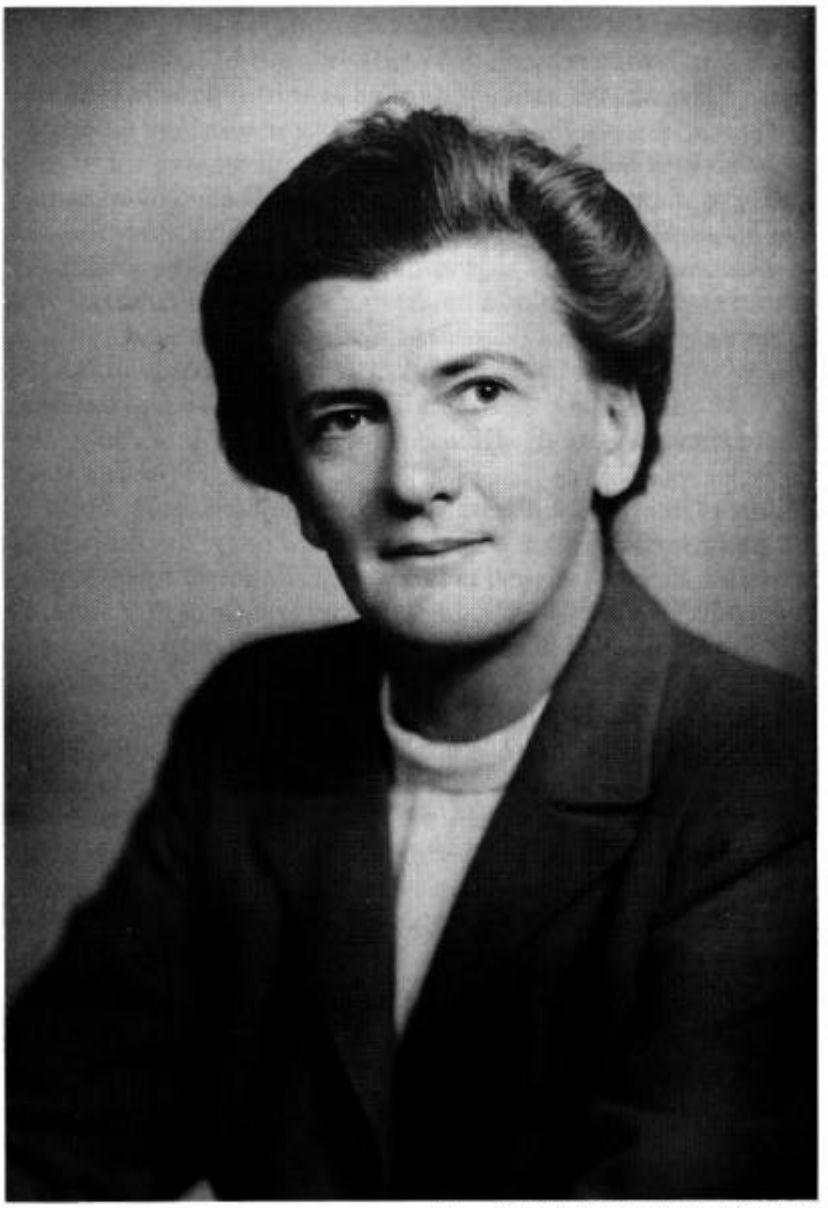
PLATE XIX



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LUCY SUTHERLAND

LUCY STUART SUTHERLAND[1]

1903–1980

HAD Rhodes Scholarships been open to women in the 1920s, Lucy Sutherland would have been an obvious, and surely successful, candidate. She had been placed in the First Class in her finals at the University of Witwatersrand in both History and Economics; she was a vigorous hockey player; she had represented her university as a delegate to the South African National Union of Students. Fortunately, she was able, through winning the Herbert Ainsworth Scholarship at Witwatersrand, to make her way all the same to Oxford, to become one of the distinguished scholars of Commonwealth origin who contributed so much to academic life in Great Britain in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. She was always to remember with gratitude the firm insistence of her Professor, the late W. M. Macmillan, a former Merton man and himself one of the earliest beneficiaries of Rhodes's foundation, that she should take a second degree at Oxford.

Lucy Sutherland was born in Geelong on 21 June 1903; her parents, both graduates of the University of Melbourne, were already settled in South Africa, but in the aftermath of the Boer War it was thought better for her mother to move back to Australia for the confinement. Lucy's upbringing, however, was entirely in South Africa and mostly in Johannesburg, where she

[1] I have received generous help in the preparation of this memoir from many of Dame Lucy's friends and pupils, among whom I must mention particularly John Bromley, Joan Carmichael, Peter Dickson, Barbara Harvey, Valerie Jobling, Kathleen Lea, Elizabeth Mackenzie, Peter Marshall, Aubrey Newman, Herbert Tout, Nancy Trenaman, and Anne de Villiers.

I have also drawn heavily for information on Dame Lucy's own letters and papers.

The obituary notice in *The Times* of 21 August 1980 was written by the late Professor May McKisack. A special *Memorial Supplement* to *The Brown Book*, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, ed. K. M. Lea (May 1981), contains a number of contributions illustrating various aspects of Dame Lucy's life and career which supplement this memoir; see also John Bromley's Foreword to *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants: Essays in Eighteenth-Century History presented to Dame Lucy Sutherland*, ed. Anne Whiteman, J. S. Bromley, and P. G. M. Dickson (Oxford, 1973), pp. vii–xv, and my obituary in *The Brown Book* (Dec. 1980).

went to Roedean School: 'one of the best and most promising pupils the school has ever had', her headmistress was to testify. Her childhood was a happy one, in spite of the death of a younger brother, Kenneth, in 1910; it entailed a good deal of travelling in South Africa, and at least one visit to Australia, where she particularly enjoyed listening to her grandparents' tales about her ancestors, on whom she left detailed notes.

On her father's side her forbears were predominantly Scottish. The Sutherlands, crofters from Avoch, Ross-shire, emigrated about the middle of the nineteenth century, in time for her great-grandfather Alexander to be at the gold-rush at Ballarat, where he was during the Eureka Stockade; her grandfather, Kenneth, born before his parents left Scotland, was to become Town Clerk of Newtown, Geelong. In 1869 he married Georgina, the daughter of Charles Edward Stuart, a feckless man who sailed to Australia in 1850 after giving up the study of medicine at Edinburgh and then attempting a career as a factor. The Sutherlands were by tradition supporters of the Hanoverians; the Stuarts, from Rothiemay, Banffshire, of the Jacobites. One of the conditions of the marriage was that Georgina (oddly named in view of the political sympathies of her family) should give up singing Jacobite songs, though Lucy remembered that she did not wholly comply; she would recall that her grandmother's songs included verses which were nowhere to be found in the printed versions. Through Georgina's mother, Caroline Fearnside, Lucy had a connection with a rebel in the American War of Independence, Richard Montgomery, an Irishman who sold out his commission in the British army in 1772, became a great supporter of the colonists, and was to earn himself an entry in *Who Was Who in America*; by his first marriage he had a daughter, Carolina, born at sea off that colony, who was Caroline's mother. Alexander Sutherland, Lucy's father, born in Geelong in 1870, qualified as a civil engineer. In 1902 he married Margaret Mabel Goddard, at St George's Cathedral, Capetown.

The Goddards were a London family, with City connections. Family tradition had it that Lucy's great-great-grandfather had made money as a contractor for boots in the Napoleonic Wars and brought up his sons 'as gentlemen'; her great-grandfather fought for seven years in the Peninsular Wars as a gentleman volunteer. His two sons, the elder of whom was drowned in the Thames at the age of ten, were left orphans and, in addition, defrauded of their money by their agent. Their care devolved on Sir William Somerville, later Lord Athlumney, of co. Meath, with estates near

Navan; the connection was probably through the boys' mother, Lucy Elizabeth Harris, of Islington. Alfred Dean Goddard, Lucy's grandfather, went to school in England but spent his holidays in Ireland; in 1858 he was apprenticed as a law stationer to John Gear, of 36 Castle Street, Holborn, but was clearly unhappy in his employment. He emigrated to Australia in 1865, marrying in Melbourne in the same year Dorothy Musgrave, recently arrived from Ireland on a visit to her brother; he was twenty-two, his bride twenty-one. The Musgraves were a notable Irish family; Dorothy's grandfather, 'Black Willy Musgrave', had with his six sons, the 'Yellow Musgraves', protected Catholic neighbours during the 1798 rebellion, although himself a Church of Ireland man. Margaret Goddard, Lucy's mother, was born on 16 July 1873, after her parents had moved to Geelong; she spent several years before her marriage teaching at the Presbyterian Ladies' College, East Melbourne, where she had been a pupil.

With grandparents able to recall life in, or retaining clear links with, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and with remarkably wide reading in the English classics behind her, Lucy was well prepared to make the most of her time in Oxford. Now that the 'mixing' of almost all Oxford colleges has brought to an end the once clear distinction between men's and women's colleges, it may become increasingly difficult to reconstruct the character of those successful assertions of women's claim to enjoy a university education for which institutions like Somerville stood. Somerville's site, near the junction of the Woodstock and Banbury Roads and almost opposite the ancient church of St Giles, gave it an advantage of proximity to the heart of the university over more distant women's colleges. Its deliberately undenominational character, moreover, distinguished it from Lady Margaret Hall, a specifically Anglican foundation, and provided it with a claim to an intellectual freedom and independence, carefully cultivated and cherished. Somerville was undoubtedly a serious community, more overtly committed to scholarship and intellectual life than some of its counterparts, but at the same time a community set apart still from the main life of the university. Few or no women were invited to examine in Honour Moderations or Schools; few had university appointments; university administration remained a male preserve. The chaperone arrangements, increasingly anachronistic in the mid-twenties, were still in force, making anything but formal meetings with male dons or undergraduates complicated and irksome to arrange. But the world in which their male contemporaries lived was also an old-fashioned one. An

undergraduate was still treated like an overgrown schoolboy in many respects, with strict gate hours and a number of proctors' and deans' regulations, many of them fiercely enforced; senior members of men's colleges accepted, with their fellowships, an already somewhat archaic form of communal living with its own elaborate etiquette. Most women were, quite simply, so glad to be at Oxford that they tolerated these frustrations with what now seems remarkably little protest. Lucy, older and more experienced than most of her contemporaries, both saw the absurdity of the situation and understood the reason for it: that if women were to profit from and enjoy Oxford, scandalous behaviour was not only to be avoided, but must be seen to be impossible. If, after what had almost certainly been a freer life in some ways at Witwatersrand, she felt some conditions of life at Oxford irksome, she never let them spoil her enjoyment at being part of the college and the university.

As an undergraduate she was, however, to have one chance of asserting the rights of the women's colleges, as she was to do so successfully later in her life. On 15 November 1926 she spoke at the Oxford Union against the motion that the women's colleges should be levelled to the ground and, although it was carried (with Quintin Hogg as teller for the Ayes), there was general agreement that the President of the Somerville Debating Society had 'championed the rights of the women undergraduates in a manner peculiarly charming and amazingly clear'. The text of her speech has not survived, but according to the *Oxford Magazine* 'she defended the aesthetic and other qualities of the women's colleges and their occupants. They were, she said, a very harmless race, whose chief recreation was brass-rubbing. Various reasons had been advanced for and against their remaining in Oxford. She would like to suggest a further reason for their being allowed to stay—because they wished to.' Her contribution was widely praised; Alan Lennox-Boyd, President of the Union, wrote to congratulate her on an 'extremely valiant speech . . . it was, if I may say so, a remarkable performance', and added, in a postscript, 'Your reputation is made.' *The Oxford University Review* reported that 'even more than we admired her actual speech and eloquence did we marvel at the immense sang-froid and nerve of Miss Sutherland', and was moved to add that 'if she is only an example of what the women's colleges can produce it seems in many ways rather a pity that debates are confined to [men] undergraduates . . . the interest and standard of the Union as a Debating Society would be heightened if the floor of the House

were opened to both sexes.' Membership of the Union for women lay several decades away, but the way in which Lucy seized the opportunity to speak up for women's rights, amusingly and courteously, was entirely characteristic of her wise approach to this often very contentious subject.

She retained a lively memory of her time as an undergraduate (1925–7), and of the full life which she lived, but undoubtedly what made the deepest impression on her was the intellectual stimulus she derived from her tutor Maude Clarke, a notable medievalist from Ulster who had already won a high reputation for research, and with it, a group of friends (soon to be Lucy's too) who were to become some of the leading historians of the day, including Vivian Galbraith, Llewellyn Woodward, Goronwy Edwards, and Alexander Hamilton Thompson. Maude Clarke's single-minded commitment to research, painstaking scholarship and abundant energy, so similar to what would be Lucy's mature qualities, made her the ideal tutor, and led her pupil into a distinct preference, in her options for Schools, for the medieval period. Somerville, conscious that in this young South African they had recruited an outstanding scholar, offered her in 1927 an assistant tutorship even before she had taken Schools, in which she duly got her First; a year later she was promoted to a fellowship and full tutorship, a position she was to hold till her resignation in 1945, on becoming Principal of Lady Margaret Hall. Her responsibility was to look after those reading the Honour School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics, and to teach modern and particularly economic history. Her interest in medieval history, however, died hard, and it is likely that had a post in this field been offered to her, she would have accepted it. Maude Clarke's letters to her, written mostly from Ireland during vacations, show that Lucy acted virtually as her research assistant, collecting and checking material for her in the British Museum, Public Record Office, and elsewhere, ordering photostats, and consulting with medievalists like Vivian Galbraith and Goronwy Edwards about points of interpretation. As late as 1932 Maude Clarke suggested that Lucy should publish an article on some medieval charters, 'as it would help to establish you firmly on the historical side to publish something medieval'. The posthumous publication in 1936 of Maude Clarke's book, *Medieval Representation and Consent*, owed much to Lucy's care; she put all her energies into preparing for publication, with May McKisack, Maude Clarke's *Fourteenth Century Studies* in 1937, and with Helen Cam and Mary Coate, A. E. Levett's *Studies in Medieval History*, a year later. Maude

Clarke's death in 1935 drew her away gradually from such a close involvement with medieval studies, though her enduring interest in the period was always to be discerned when one went sightseeing with her. Her main scholarly concern was, however, already in a much later period.

The PPE syllabus through the 1920s and 1930s included the study of English History from 1760, so that for a PPE tutor to carry on research on the eighteenth century was in no way inappropriate. Her decision to find a suitable subject must have been made very soon after taking Schools. She would describe with enduring astonishment her visit to consult the Regius Professor, H. W. C. Davis, who had given his Ford Lectures on *The Age of Grey and Peel*, to be told that there was no need for further work on the eighteenth century. Undeterred, but without any useful guidance, she began to look into the First Rockingham Ministry, with specific reference to Edmund Burke, and had an article already in draft when, in 1929, Lewis Namier published his *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*. She could always remember the sudden flash of illumination on how mid-eighteenth-century politics worked, and how she had torn up what she had written: he cast, she wrote, 'a new and dazzling light on the political institutions of mid-eighteenth century England'. The article, eventually published in 1932, was remarkably prophetic of her later, fuller concern with the rise of merchants to political power. There followed her book on William Braund, a London merchant with Portuguese and East India interests, based on papers belonging to the family of a friend, the Russells of Stubbers, in Essex, and in 1934, an article on 'Lord Shelburne and East India Company Politics, 1766–9'. Her long and fruitful involvement with the history of the East India Company had begun; it was to remain her principal research interest for the next twenty or so years.

As early as 1929 Maude Clarke, the tutor-turned-friend, wrote to Lucy from Ireland to persuade her to work less hard; it was her habit to do with as little sleep as possible, and never to write letters or turn to administration till after midnight. Her health, never very robust, seems to have suffered, and there are references to recurring bouts of illness. The first years of an Oxford tutorship can be very demanding, and she must have been faced with a great deal of preparation for her teaching and lecturing; she was also aware that the recent results in PPE in Somerville had been disappointing, and was resolved by hard work to bring up standards. There were calls on her time from many quarters,

including her parents, who after her father's retirement in 1930 generally spent the winter in Europe, especially to hear as many operas as possible. She did find time, however, for a variety of holidays, sometimes with Maude Clarke in Ireland, sometimes in getting to know England and Scotland; on occasions she went back to South Africa. It was a very full, hard-working life, dominated by teaching, research, and the pleasures of friendship and travel, though from 1933 increasingly clouded by Maude Clarke's illness. Her death in 1935 from cancer was a severe blow: Maude had not only become a great friend, but had also provided her with an exemplar of scholarship and academic conduct which she was never to forget. Fortunately Maude Clarke's former pupil May McKisack succeeded her at Somerville as the medievalist, to Lucy a thoroughly congenial appointment which was to lead to a warm and enduring friendship.

As for many people of her generation, the war cut across a well-established pattern of life which was never to be resumed. Lucy was thirty-six when war broke out in September 1939, by now a well-known figure in Oxford as her engagement diaries show, a powerful figure in her own college, and with her academic achievement recognized in her appointment to a University Lecturership. From 1937 she acted as an examiner in the PPE School, and in 1939 and 1940 as Chairman of the Board of Examiners. She had been in Greece with three friends in the year of Munich, leaving England at the end of August and returning to Oxford only just before term. A remarkable series of letters to her parents, beginning in May 1939, provides a commentary on the tensions of that summer and autumn, as they affected her and her friends, and runs through to 1943 with few breaks; they resume, but much less completely, for periods in 1944 and 1945. Like many others in 1939, she expected to be drafted almost immediately for war work; like many people, too, that work was at first voluntary and routine, such as ambulance driving, though her experiences in billetting London evacuees in Jericho were far from mundane. But the academic year 1939–40 was spent in Oxford, teaching and lecturing as usual. Not till August 1940 did she have news of a possible government job; it was the end of December before an offer came of employment in the Industrial Supplies Division of the Board of Trade, where she began work, not very happily, on 1 January 1941. 'I must say the Civil Service is not the ideal life for me', she told her parents, adding that if she was not offered a Principalship she would go back to Somerville; 'if they do, I'll accept it as a duty'.

In fact such an offer was made within a month. The business of the Division was to allocate iron, steel, and non-ferrous materials to what was left of civil industry, for home and export.[1] To start with, Lucy's particular section was concerned with miscellaneous consumer goods (forty groups of manufacturers of everything from cutlery to corsets) from which she went on to 'holloware', roughly speaking pots and pans. There was precious little material available for these industries; most civil servants including Lucy had hardly any knowledge of them, though the Board of Trade had recruited Patent Officers who were the only government servants who in those days knew industry in detail; and some rules of equity had to be worked out. The situation was further complicated because at the outset of the war the government had encouraged an export drive to help finance it, and by the time that Lend Lease had been negotiated between the US and UK governments, the Americans made it rather plain that they did not welcome exports by the British to 'third country markets', more especially Latin America, made out of 'their' steel. In the early stages of her career in the Board of Trade she wrote to her mother, 'the mixture of initiative and subordination demanded of a Civil Servant is a tiresome one for anyone accustomed to run their own show, and while I am not sorry to try it out, I'll be very glad when it's over and can't see myself staying on even if (no doubt it's very unlikely) they wanted me to'. Not even local fame as the writer of a minute on needles and fish-hooks had altered her mind; 'I should certainly not like it as a permanent occupation', she reported. She disliked particularly the alternation of periods of hectic activity and boredom. It is not generally known that she alleviated some of the latter, entirely on her own initiative, by arranging training periods of six days for new recruits to the Division. She persuaded various members of it to speak to them about the technical aspects of the metals, the policy on allocation, how to write routine letters. She made a considerable number of these raw people (most of whom had just graduated and in subjects so improbable, for the purpose, as English and History) fully operational within a week. She got some satisfaction too out of travelling about the country to visit some of the firms which depended on the allocation of metals: 'I am really becoming quite an expert looker-over of factories and can make quite sensible remarks occasionally. I find my own part-time factory work quite

[1] Joan Carmichael, Herbert Tout, and Nancy Trenaman, all colleagues of Dame Lucy's in the Board of Trade during the war, have contributed much of the information in this section.

useful', she wrote—a reference to half-shifts she and some of her colleagues worked at nights on a voluntary basis at the Morgan Crucible Company in Battersea, making components for aircraft.

Gradually, however, she became reconciled to her new circumstances, and no doubt praise for her work, and hints of the high regard in which she was held, pleased her; she was clearly delighted to be made, almost certainly on the recommendation of Sir James Helmore, a great admirer, an Emergency Regional Officer of the Board of Trade for the South Western area, the only woman so appointed. By 1943 optimism rose high that the war would soon be over; academic people in the Civil Service were trying to find out when they would be released and their colleges were said to be clamouring to have them back, she reported to her mother. This was, however, the time when the work became both more intense and more interesting for Lucy. As a Temporary Assistant Secretary she was working on general questions which were intellectually challenging, first in her old Division and in 1945 in the Priorities Division of the Board of Trade, reporting to Richard Pares: the effect of Lend Lease on British exports, planning post-war reconstruction on the supply side in Europe, and in those days immensely imaginative plans about post-war international trade, were among the subjects that engaged her. Much as she wanted to return to Oxford she was caught up in these long-term questions which entailed a great deal of hard work, involving a long visit to Canada and the USA. Although she crossed the Atlantic by seaplane on the outward journey, she returned by sea in a fast convoy, a stimulating experience, with a fellow-Australian as master of the ship in which she was travelling.

In retrospect, of course, the war years seemed less grim. She was lucky in her colleagues, particularly in the opportunity given her to work with two academics whom she had not previously known well: Richard Pares and Herbert Tout. Life in London, in various flats, was constantly uncomfortable; fire-watching could become very tedious; it was often hard not only to find food and cigarettes but to make time to look for them. There were, of course, weekends in Oxford, and holidays such as two excellent ones spent in the Cotswolds. But still she missed her research; of her eagerness to get back to academic work there could be no doubt. 'I have always thought life in an Oxford College the most pleasant possible and I now think so still more', summed up her feelings. And yet these years were of fundamental importance to her development as the outstanding administrator she was to become. She learnt how to deal with people very different from Oxford

colleagues and pupils: how to explain to a disappointed visitor that, as a civil servant, she could not accept a brace of pheasant; how to do important business over cocktails and not to succumb to excessive hospitality. She had to change from an Oxford don, secure in the rather conventional setting of the university, to a woman of the world, socially at ease and completely adaptable, and interested in dressing to the part. I did not meet her between 1940 and 1945: when I saw her again, I was struck by the fact that her speech, still recognizably South African in its overtones before the war, had lost its 'colonial' associations.

Towards the end of 1944, the Council and Fellows of Somerville were beginning to consider the election of a Principal to succeed Helen Darbishire. Lucy was a frontrunner, but recognized that she might not be chosen. When it became clear that votes for her and for Dr Janet Vaughan were likely to be roughly equal, she decided to withdraw from the contest, rather than divide the college; her affection for Somerville was such that she would have been very happy to go back as a tutor, as she had been before the war. Lady Margaret Hall, however, seized their chance. By the spring of 1945 the fellows there made it known to her that the final stages of ratifying her election were a mere formality, and she found herself adjusting to the new demands which this appointment would lay upon her. Her immediate problem was to extricate herself from the Civil Service, by no means an easy achievement for a highly-regarded and experienced Temporary Assistant Secretary, as she now was. It was only at the end of August 1945 that she finally left the Board of Trade, and after a short holiday moved to her new college, 'a very good one', as she told her mother.

It would be idle to pretend that Lucy would not above all have liked to be Principal of Somerville, but there was much about Lady Margaret Hall to attract her. Although brought up a Presbyterian, she had been confirmed into the Church of England in 1931, and she found the Anglican ambience of the Hall (as it was then always called) congenial. LMH had, in addition, a fine reputation for scholarship, particularly on the historical side, and in Lynda Grier, some of whose building plans for the college she was in due time to put into operation, she was succeeding a dynamic Principal. Post-war Oxford and its colleges were administratively hard put to it to accommodate both undergraduates of the usual age and many returning warriors; but no one was better fitted to tackle the resulting problems than Lucy. Her energy in those early years was tremendous; on top of everything she put

in long hours of undergraduate teaching. And as her involvement with LMH grew, so did her plans for its growth. It is only in the context of what she hoped to achieve for LMH and, in a more general sense, for all the women's colleges, that her dilemma in 1957, when her name was under consideration for the Regius Chair of Modern History, may properly be understood.

Her speech at the Union in 1926 had been amusing and light-hearted, as befitted a contribution to a debate of that nature. But later in the same academic year she had listened from the gallery in the Sheldonian to a debate of a very different kind: Congregation was discussing the limitation of the number of women in Oxford. The opinions she heard expressed, and the fact that they were put forward by people she had thought friends to the women's colleges, deeply shocked and angered her. She was henceforth firmly committed to defending the position of women in Oxford, and to strengthening the institutions women had developed against so much open or covert opposition. When she returned to Oxford after the war, limitations on the number of women in the university were still in force; each of the five women's colleges was restricted to 150 undergraduates in all, with those reading for some research degrees included in that figure. Their status was that of Societies of Women Students; their government still lay ultimately in a Council, with prominent figures from the university working together with old members of the college, and the fellows more in attendance than the leaders in discussion. Business had, of course, been thoroughly sifted and decisions reached earlier, in fellows' meetings; but all was still reported to Council for ratification, and a proposed policy was on occasion rejected. The system did not work at all badly, but it was nevertheless a humiliating one, increasingly resented. That the women's societies became self-governing in the early 1950s and were recognized as full colleges of the university by a statute in Congregation of November 1959 was no accident; the war had improved the status of women and given them more confidence; fellows of the men's colleges who were members of the councils became increasingly uncomfortable in taking part in the government of other colleges; the whole policy of restricting the number of women and 'keeping them down', in spite of some notable rearguard action, was collapsing; the women's colleges were seen to be perfectly capable of running their own affairs in accordance with general conventions and with financial efficiency. The increasing part women like Lucy Sutherland and Janet Vaughan were taking in university business also had its effect.

For Lucy these were years of great excitement, with the fulfilling of old hopes and the opening up of new ambitions. Generous benefactions had enabled LMH in the 1930s to build a new dining hall and chapel and a good deal of extra undergraduate accommodation; the college was therefore well able to house and look after the increased numbers now allowed. But the library, partly housed in converted kitchens, was clearly too small and too inconvenient to meet current needs. To build a new one became her dearest wish; that it should contribute to the ultimate formation of a quadrangle to form a worthy entrance to the college was her ultimate aim. At the end of 1955, Raymond Erith was chosen as architect; during 1956 and 1957 discussions were in full swing about the plans, preparatory to launching an appeal for funds. The appointment of a classical architect at a time when academics had just begun to feel a compulsion to favour the latest trends in building was a bold move, and put the college, and its Principal, in the forefront of controversy. Never had Lucy's commitment to the future of LMH been stronger, nor her involvement more personal. She was determined to have her library, and to have it as she wanted it.

A good deal has been written about the appointment to the Regius Chair of Modern History at Oxford in the summer of 1957. It can confidently be stated that Lucy had no idea that she would be considered as a candidate, and that she was immensely surprised to receive, on 2 May, a letter from Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister, telling her that her name, among others, had been mentioned to him.[1] He added that he knew that it would be unusual for a head of a college to accept a Professorial Chair, and asked that if she would feel unable in any circumstances to accept an offer, he would like to know in advance; 'I make this preliminary enquiry with the object of saving us both some possible embarrassment; myself that of making, and you that of refusing a formal offer', he concluded. On 5 May she replied to the Prime Minister: 'the Chair', she wrote, 'is one which any historian would be proud to occupy, and I have never envisaged the possibility that I might be considered as qualified to do so.' She wished she could say that she would be able to accept the offer unconditionally, if it were to be made to her, but for reasons partly personal and partly connected with her position as Head of her College, she had reluctantly come to the conclusion that she could

[1] I am grateful to the Right Honourable the Earl of Stockton, PC, OM, for permission to quote from his correspondence with Dame Lucy Sutherland.

not at present consider accepting any position which would involve the resignation of the Principalship. Were it to prove possible for her to continue to hold that office, and no official objection arose from the university, she would be delighted to accept the appointment if offered to her. In Cambridge, of course, a headship of a house and a chair are not considered incompatible, and they have not always been so regarded in Oxford, where there was no legal obstacle to such a combination. But in view of Oxford's different tradition she cannot have been surprised, on 17 May, to receive a letter from the Prime Minister thanking her 'for the forthright terms' of her reply, and telling her that, as after further consideration and advice he had come to the conclusion that the Chair and a Headship were not compatible, he must therefore with regret cease to regard her as a possible candidate for the Regius Professorship. There is a pleasant tailpiece to this story. When her name appeared in the New Year Honours in 1969, Harold Macmillan congratulated her in characteristically felicitous terms: 'Since you would not allow me to make you a Professor, I am all the more gratified that you have at least agreed to become a Dame.'

It is appropriate at this point to reflect on Lucy's achievements as a historian, both before and after 1957.[1] Her election to the Fellowship of the British Academy in 1954, and the award of the degree of D.Litt. from Oxford in 1955, were earned when she was only just over fifty years old. She was above all a highly professional worker, a historian writing for fellow-historians. Only very occasionally did she write for the general public, and it was not really her *métier*. How far she decided herself to concentrate on the East India Company and the City of London, or to what extent Namier specifically directed her to the need for their study, is not entirely clear; but the former seems much the more likely, since her Preface to her book on the *East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (1952) acknowledges a general, rather than a personal, debt to him. That the framework was conceptually his, cannot be in doubt; indeed, she makes it plain. She would never have denied the vitally important part Namier's writings and, later, his invigorating though sometimes exhausting friendship, played in her historical development.[2] But it was probably the

[1] For a much fuller appreciation, see John Bromley, 'Lucy Sutherland as Historian', reprinted from *The Brown Book*, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford: *Dame Lucy Sutherland Memorial Supplement*, ed. K. M. Lea (May 1981), pp. 8–13, in *Politics and Finance in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Aubrey Newman (London, 1984), pp. xi–xviii.

[2] For her views on Sir Lewis Namier, see *Proceedings of the British Academy*,

papers of William Braund, upon whose career she had early focused her attention, which opened up to her the possibility of a large-scale investigation of the interplay of the East India Company and successive governments up to the Company's reorganization of 1784. The strength of her study of the East India Company lies in its subtle understanding of the reciprocal services government and company could afford each other, its skilful unravelling of the financial complexities to which this understanding led, and its broad political canvas; it displays a competence not only in analytical history but also in setting out the underlying narrative. It is more than the static analysis which Namier had pioneered, though, of course, he saw his work as merely preparatory to the great reworking of eighteenth-century history to which he always aspired but never achieved. It is based on the sifting of a really extraordinary mass of evidence, as her surviving notes testify; she was indefatigable in her search for the smallest scrap of information which might throw light on the springs of action of politicians and merchants. Its weaknesses, a certain stolidity of manner and, on occasion, over-elliptical exposition, were her own; she was not a notable stylist, and her mind worked so fast that she could be guilty (and not only in her writing but also in lectures) of moving too fast through the stages of an argument without taking account of slower heads. But it remains a remarkable achievement and one not yet paralleled: there is no comparable study of the South Sea Company or of the Bank of England in eighteenth-century politics, and the task of embarking on one, even now when papers are better catalogued and more accessible than they were when she began her work, is a daunting one. Her early training in economics, and her commitment to economic history as a young don, gave her an understanding of the details of financial and commercial history essential for the task she had set herself. The book on Braund was in some ways an apprentice's piece; through Braund she explored and mastered the workings of mid-eighteenth-century marine insurance and the organization of the East India shipping interest. Her paper, read to the Royal Historical Society in 1934, on 'The Law Merchant in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', shows her grasp of what a merchant of the time had to know and work by; it is (as Professor John Bromley has noted)[1] one of the most remarkable of her articles, since it

xlviii (1963), 371–85; 'Lewis Namier, and Institutional History', *Annali della Fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, 4 (1967), 35–43.

[1] Bromley, in *Politics and Finance*, ed. Newman, pp. xii–xiii.

demonstrates a capacity for theoretical argument which played little part in most of her published works. When she came to draft the book on the East India Company, she had prepared herself very thoroughly for the task she had set herself; a version of it was complete, or nearly so, when war began, and safely lodged in a bank vault for the duration. By 1946, at least, she was back at work on it; two articles appeared in 1947, one (on the East India Company and the Peace of Paris) read at the first post-war Anglo-French Conference in 1946, and the other, an invaluable summary of the book itself, was a preview of what was to appear in 1952. Her productivity in these years was prodigious: between 1952 and 1957, for example, she published six articles, contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and to the *Victoria County History* of Oxfordshire, and wrote twenty-one reviews. She was justified in assuring the Prime Minister in 1957 that in spite of her involvement with LMH, she had a continuing commitment to historical studies.

Lucy's other major interest, besides the East India Company, was the City of London, particularly on the financial side, though she also became an expert on its complicated constitution. In one of her most influential articles, one of the essays presented to Sir Lewis Namier in 1956, on 'The City of London in Eighteenth-century Politics', she presented a masterly analysis of the 'monied interest' which invariably supported the government of the day, and sought to explain the almost continuous hostility of the rest of the City to successive administrations, typified in the careers of Alderman Barnard and William Beckford. This essay paved the way for two more detailed studies, her Creighton Lecture of 1958, *The City of London and the Opposition to Government, 1768–1774. A Study in the Rise of Metropolitan Radicalism* (published 1959), and her Raleigh Lecture to the British Academy of May 1960, *The City of London and the Devonshire–Pitt Administration, 1756–7*. The intricate research which underlay these three articles, leading to her unique knowledge of personalities, important and otherwise, in the City, and her facility in making use of contemporary newspapers, combined to enable her to unravel far from simple financial operations and to relate them to both City and national politics. But she was conscious that she had not yet explained to her satisfaction the origins of City Radicalism, and without a deeper understanding of it she knew she could not proceed to write what would have been a second major contribution to the history of the eighteenth century. The notes which she left are clear evidence of the vast amount of work she had already

undertaken towards such a book, to be entitled *The City of London and Eighteenth-Century Politics*. Had she not given the last years of her life so unstintingly to the preparation of the eighteenth-century volume of the *History of the University of Oxford*, she might have found time to bring it to a conclusion.

In the space available, it is impossible to do justice to many facets of her historical achievement: for instance, her penetrating understanding of Indian politics in the eighteenth century, demonstrated in a number of articles, some of them in not very easily accessible Indian journals, her recognition of the importance of the career of Sampson Gideon, the great Jewish financier, her interest in the identity of Junius, and the quality and range of her numerous reviews, over which she took great trouble. It is essential, however, to say something about the part she was always willing to take in co-operative enterprises. The first of these was the preparation of the edition of *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, under the general supervision of the late Thomas W. Copeland, to which Lucy contributed the second volume, for the period July 1768 to June 1774 (published 1960). The precision of her work was generally acknowledged to be impeccable; those who were her colleagues in LMH at the time can bear witness to the way in which their expertise was exploited to make each note as accurate and comprehensive as possible. She enormously enjoyed the company and intellectual stimulus afforded her through membership of the 'Burke factory', and she looked forward avidly to the annual reunion which brought together fellow-workers like John Brooke, John Woods, and Peter Marshall, the 'factory's' indefatigable organizer, Valerie Jobling, and, of course, Tom Copeland himself. The second enterprise was the *History of Parliament*, to which she had given warm support ever since Sir Lewis Namier had mooted it. She not only served on the committee directing it, but made several contributions to the two sections which deal with the House of Commons between 1714 and 1790. The third was the project, which began in the late 1960s, for a multi-volume history of the University of Oxford, with Lucy as the editor of the eighteenth-century volume. This was to bring forth all her powers of organization and cajolery, as she mustered her team and directed the research necessary to re-create the life, learning, and politics of the university in what had always been regarded as the least creditable century of its existence. The project enchanted her and, because the material on which she had to work lay conveniently at hand in the university and college archives, admirably suited the years towards the end

of her life in which her health was increasingly uncertain. Her Bryce Lecture at her old college of Somerville, delivered in 1972, on *The University of Oxford in the Eighteenth Century: a Reconsideration*, is a brilliant summary of her early work on the university. An important by-product of her later research was her recognition of the key role played by Sir William Blackstone in Oxford and in his college of All Souls, in the middle of the century.

The full measure of a scholar's quality may not always manifest itself in what is published; pupils, both undergraduate and graduate, enjoy a special insight into his or her mind, range of interests, and methods of work. Lucy was an outstanding supervisor of research students: a kindly nurse to the beginner, a constructive critic of the fledgling thesis, a friend for life of its author. She took endless trouble over each chapter, returned work promptly and was always accessible. What is difficult to convey is the way in which she made each research student convinced of the interest and importance of his work, refuelled his confidence if he felt low, and set his modest findings in a perspective which led him on to more questions and more hard work to answer them. 'To a good student', she would say, 'everything is grist to his mill', and it was just because everything was grist to her mill that she genuinely found the results of research, however meagre, so deeply interesting. The range of her knowledge was truly impressive. But what often emerged in private supervisions or conversations was how speculative was her mind. Only occasionally did her published work reveal how deeply, and with what enjoyment, she entered the world of ideas; undergraduates whom she took for Political Thought were often aware of it, especially as she spoke of Edmund Burke, whose work and career had early captured her imagination and led her into further reading and thinking. To many undergraduates she was a formidable tutor, though few failed to appreciate her teaching after they had come to terms with the quickness of her mind and had sensed her ability to make everything interesting; her liveliness and enthusiasm were deeply infectious. She was not a great believer in the Socratic method, preferring quickly to clarify the essentials of a problem, and then to illuminate it through her rich learning and ability to recreate the past. As a tutor for the Warren Hastings Special Subject she was superb, as many who are now distinguished scholars bear witness. She would have been an excellent Regius Professor. The Festschrift, *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants*, presented to her in 1973, indicates something of the high regard in which pupils and colleagues held her.

During the war Lucy had found not only that she enjoyed administration, but was good at it. Others knew this too. She had scarcely come to LMH before she was invited to chair a Board of Trade Working Party on the Lace Industry, an experience into which she entered with her usual gusto. She was a member of various Royal Commissions, including that on Taxation of Profits and Income; a source of splendid anecdotes was her time on the Committee of Enquiry into the Distribution and Exhibition of Cinematograph Films. From 1964 to 1969 she was a member of the University Grants Committee. In the sphere of local government she for long chaired the Awards Committee of Oxford County Council. In the university she was even more active. A member of Hebdomadal Council from 1953 till her retirement, she also served on the General Board of Faculties (which she chaired), and was a curator of the University Chest; many other chairmanships and responsibilities came her way. Perhaps nothing gave her greater pleasure than her appointment in 1960 as a Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and with it the opportunity of presiding at degree-giving ceremonies. The future University of Keele saw much of her as she helped the University College of North Staffordshire forward on its way to maturity; the University of Kent had her among its sponsors. It was not only university education which interested her: she took a leading part in promoting the work of the Delegacy of Extra-Mural Studies, and served on the governing body of the Administrative Staff College at Henley. She did long service as Chairman of the Council of St Helen's School, Northwood, on the Council of Roedean, and as President of the Girls' Public Day School Trust. But in spite of all these public commitments, she always found time for her college. It was rare for her to be away from Oxford for more than a few days, apart from her annual holiday in the Mediterranean; she seldom missed a college meeting, and always kept a tight rein on college business. Everything to do with LMH absorbed her attention, and particularly the progress of the new buildings which went up during most of the 1960s and into her retirement. When she left the college in 1971, its appearance had been entirely transformed. The dignified and impressive quadrangle and new library, which formed part of it, were the reward in a very direct way of her faith and energy in overcoming obstacles, and a lasting achievement of the woman who, forty-five years earlier, had spoken up for the women's colleges in that debate at the Union and listened with anger, in Congregation, at the attack on the presence of women in the university.

As a scholar Lucy owed a great deal to her professor at

Witwatersrand, William Miller Macmillan; in her funeral address she recalled that 'his method of training us was rather that of a master craftsman among his apprentices than that of the Head of a modern University department'; her immense debt to Maude Clarke and to Namier is also plain. She certainly also owed a good deal to her father, the Australian mining engineer, who introduced her to the 'real world' of businessmen and financiers, as he took her round with him in his visits to mines and offices. Although a woman of probity, she was not shocked at the conduct of men like Clive and Warren Hastings, who faced and succumbed to great temptation, much as she might deplore it; she understood enough of how business affairs were conducted to understand their problems.[1] Lucy and her father were very close; 'his intellectual interests were so many and his temperament so fortunate', she wrote to her mother on hearing of his death in April 1941, and she found it hard to believe that she would never again meet him at some street corner 'swinging his stick and delighted to go off on some expedition or another'. Like father, like daughter; Lucy always had the same width of intellectual interests and the same happy temperament, and she knew what she owed to him and to her mother for their constant encouragement of her at every stage of her career. But her achievements were also very much her own; it was her dedication to hard work, her energy and persistence, her courage in the face of intermittent illness and the shadow of death from cancer which, unknown to all but a handful of friends, hung over her for many years, which enabled her to do all she did, both as scholar and administrator. The key to her busy life was a relentless self-discipline, underlined by a firm religious faith.

But Lucy was the least solemn of people. She loved social life; she particularly loved parties. She acquired many friends and kept them all; no one could have been more steadfast in friendship through thick and thin. And her friends were not by any means only influential and easy persons; she felt a great sympathy for scholars dislodged by the Nazis, and did much to help them while, and after, they achieved their difficult rehabilitation. She was a great raconteur; many a flagging occasion was kept alive by her splendid stories. A personality so powerful and a will so strong meant that, to some persons and in some contexts, she could seem obstinate, even dictatorial; she did indeed conceive her role as chairman or as head of house as one in which she should give a

[1] For a slightly different emphasis, see Bromley, in *Politics and Finance*, ed. Newman, p. xvi.

firm lead and direct policy. But she always sought consensus, and almost always got it; she had a way of being right.

As a young woman, Lucy had striking dark hair; a portrait of her by her lifelong friend, the South African painter Maud Sumner, now at Somerville, gives a splendid impression of her as she appeared at the outbreak of war. Of medium build and not very tall, she was a keen swimmer and a vigorous walker until arthritis of the hip curtailed her activities; the pace she could maintain even in rough country could exhaust those much younger. It was not till the last few years of her life that her physical energy began to wane. Her last year was one of acute pain and stoical resignation; she was mistress of herself till the end. She died on 20 August 1980, at the age of seventy-seven.

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