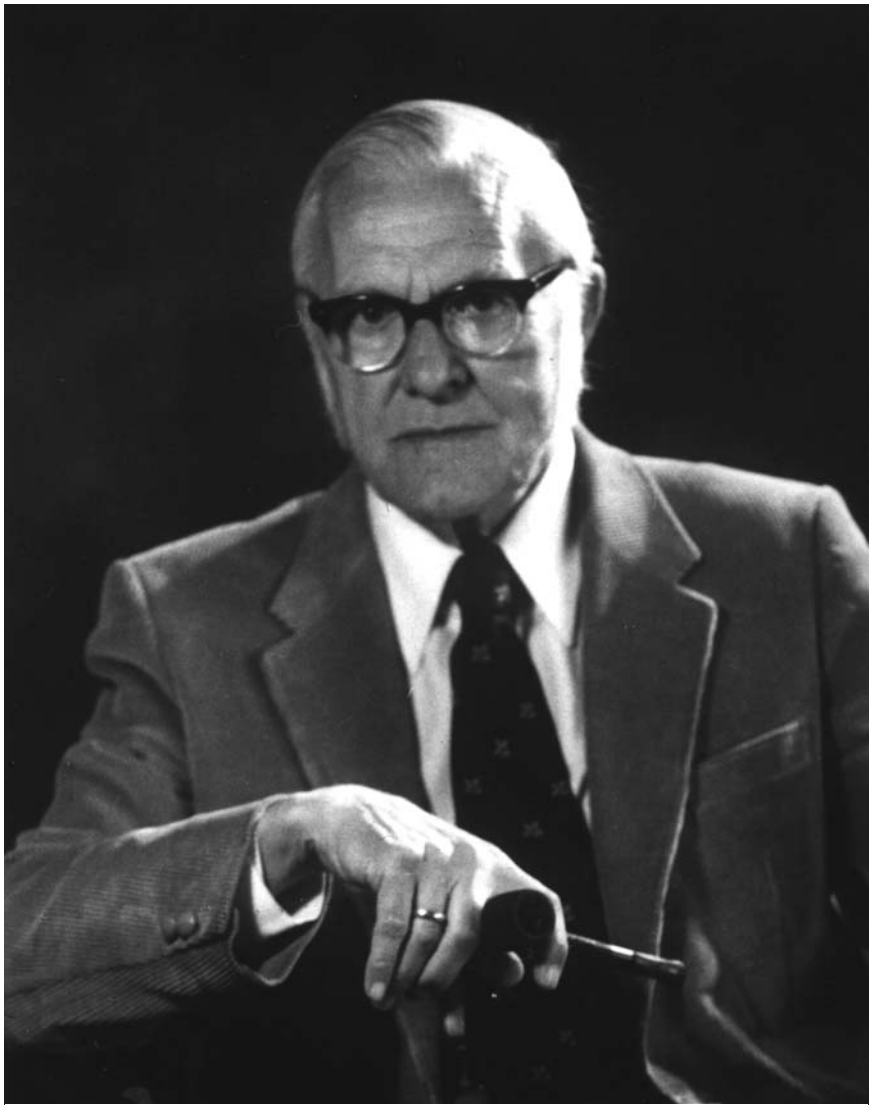

MICHAEL ROBERTS *Hepburn & Jeanes*

Michael Roberts
1908–1996

'TO BEGIN WITH, I seemed a sufficiently unlikely historian', Michael Roberts began a personal memoir in 1991.[1] His father, Arthur Roberts of Lytham St Anne's, built steam-engines for the Lancashire cotton-mills and Michael, an only child born on 21 May 1908, spent 'a very middle-class, provincial boyhood' during which he developed a lifelong interest in test cricket and learned to play the piano. He also excelled as a child soprano.[2] 'We were not a bookish family', he later recalled: 'one bureau-bookcase sufficed, and it was dominated by a large octavo edition of the complete works of Thackeray.' He nevertheless developed an abiding love of English literature: he knew long passages of Dickens by heart and could also quote extensively from Jane Austen, Trollope, Waugh, Wodehouse, and many others.[3]

Roberts's interest in history developed almost by accident. 'The influences which made me a historian', he declared near the end of his life, 'were (a) *Puck of Pook's Hill* and (b) H. G. Wells (an intelligent Assistant-Master at my prep-school had made available to his charges H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*, re-issued in twenty-four monthly parts)'.[4] Thus fortified, his parents sent him to a boarding school, Brighton College (partly, he later alleged, in order to 'cure' his Lancashire accent), where he acquired 'reasonable

[1] M. Roberts, 'Retrospect', *The Worcester College Record 1993* (Oxford, 1993), 61–71.
[2] He once wrote: 'My effective participation in music came to an end when my voice broke: until then, for range, clarity, facility of executing the most difficult baroque cadenzas, I have never heard my superior, or even my equal' (MR to Alan Hall, 10 Nov. 1996). In fact, Roberts continued his 'effective participation' in music throughout his life (see below).
[3] 'Retrospect', 61; G. H. Le May to GP, 3 June 1997.
[4] MR to Alan Hall, 10 Nov. 1996.

Proceedings of the British Academy, **115**, 333–354.

Latin, execrable French, and poor science'; but he excelled at history and, in 1927, won a scholarship to Worcester College, Oxford. His father paid him a generous allowance so that, with his scholarship, he could enjoy university life to the full. He made good friends, played sports (golf, squash, and especially fives) and made music. Curiously, for a historian who would write much on war, he hated the OTC. Looking back sixty years later, the luxury of his life as an undergraduate impressed him most (meals individually cooked, his fire lit every day) and his musical endeavours afforded the fondest memories (one summer he made a pilgrimage to Bayreuth). He also remembered with gratitude his history tutor at Worcester College, P. E. Roberts (no relation), on whose teaching methods he modelled his own.[5]

He performed spectacularly well in his final exams in 1930. He modestly ascribed this to the fact that 'I could count myself exceptionally fortunate to find, in the nineteenth-century English paper, a question on the importance of the novels of Charles Dickens to the social historian'; but there was more. Twenty-one years later, one of his examiners still recalled the originality of Roberts's answer to the question on the General Paper: 'Which of the arts has had the greatest influence on the history of its times?' Roberts wrote on 'the art of war'. He took the best first-class degree of his year and won the Gibbs Scholarship, the Amy Mary Preston Read Scholarship, and the Jane Eliza Procter Fellowship, which allowed him to spend a year at Princeton University.[6] There, encouraged by Professor W. B. Hall, he identified a promising topic for his doctoral dissertation: English party history in the early nineteenth century.

Back at Oxford, partly to improve his chances of winning a college fellowship, in 1932 he decided to compete for the university's Gladstone essay prize; and this brought another outstanding success.

> The regulations for the Gladstone Prize laid it down that the subject prescribed for the essay should, in alternate years, be one connected with Mr Gladstone, and one on some other historical topic—a provision which firmly defined Mr Gladstone's importance in relation to the general scheme of things. It unluckily happened that this was not a Gladstone year, and the prescribed subject was 'The reign of David I and its significance in the History of Scotland'. Of Scotland I knew little, and of David still less—not even his dates; but there was no help for it: David it had to be.[7]

[5] 'Retrospect', 61; MR conversation with GP, New Year 1985.

[6] M. Roberts, 'The naïve historian: an undelivered inaugural', *Comment*, XVIII (Winter, 1995), 2–11, at p. 3; G. H. L. Le May to GP, 31 Aug. 2001 (the examiner was Sir David Lindsey Keir, who praised Roberts's Tripos prowess in 1930 when Le May—Roberts's former student—arrived at Balliol in 1951.)

[7] 'Retrospect', 63.

His essay won the prize, but a College Fellowship still eluded him and so Roberts taught as a lecturer and tutor in history at Merton College (1932–4), and then as an Assistant Lecturer at Liverpool University (1934–5). Meanwhile he sought to apply the revelations of Sir Lewis Namier on eighteenth-century English politics to the early nineteenth century. Although he soon realized that Namierite structural analysis did not fit a generation in which elementary party organisations, with distinctive ideas and ideals, had already become an essential element in politics, he completed a finely nuanced dissertation under the supervision of Professor G. S. Veitch of Liverpool University.[8] Namier accepted a revised version of the thesis for publication as the first volume in what he intended to be a series of nineteenth-century studies: *The Whig Party: 1807–1822* (London: Macmillan, 1939; reprinted 1965).

Roberts acknowledged Namier as the second great influence on his formation as a historian (the first being P. E. Roberts). Sir Lewis would 'read the text [of *The Whig Party*] with great care, and again and again would stop short and say: "What do you mean?" And I would tell him what I meant. And he would reply: "But you don't say so!" I have never forgotten that question and that answer.'[9]

By then, Roberts had decided that his future did not lie in English history. He had discerned that 'the way to historical fame was to choose a field that had never been ploughed before, and then plough it in such a way that it would never require to be ploughed again'; yet 'in all periods of English history the competition was fierce; and vested interests existed upon which it would be presumptuous for a beginner to intrude'. By contrast, few British historians ventured into European history and he therefore searched for areas with an obvious lack of information available to those who read only English.

> There was no difficulty in identifying three or four such areas. For a time I was tempted by eighteenth-century Portugal; or again, by eighteenth-century Tuscany; but in the end the choice seemed to reduce itself to some seventeenth-century topic in the history of either Poland or Sweden. Poland was in fact better provided for than I suspected; but Sweden was scarcely provided for at all. I took what seemed to me a practical step towards resolving my hesitation. One Friday I went into Blackwell's bookshop and simultaneously bought myself a

[8] Roberts worked with Veitch, making 'expensive pilgrimages' to Liverpool for his supervisions, only because the History Faculty could find no one suitable for him to work with in Oxford. ('Retrospect', 64.)

[9] 'Retrospect', 64; MR conversation with GP, New Year 1985. Roberts would later apply Namier's approach, which saw personal ambition as more important than parties and ideology, to both South African and Swedish political history: see pages 339 and 342 below.

> *Teach Yourself Polish*, and a *Teach Yourself Swedish.* A weekend's inspection of these volumes was sufficient: by Sunday evening I had decided that Poland was not for me.

Instead, Roberts saw that the reign of Gustavus Adolphus and Sweden's dramatic intervention in the Thirty Years' War constituted the major 'field to plough' in seventeenth-century Swedish history and began to buy Swedish books and printed sources on the subject, which he read with the aid of a dictionary.[10]

Then a contact at Rhodes University College in Grahamstown, South Africa, persuaded him to apply for its chair of history. The position was not his first choice—he retained hopes of a fellowship at Oxford; he applied unsuccessfully for a lectureship at Glasgow—but it offered many advantages. Although he had published nothing at the time, Rhodes offered a salary of £700 per year—enough to finance a comfortable lifestyle—and a yearly voyage by Union Castle steamship back to England. Roberts therefore accepted the chair of Modern History and, aged 27 (the youngest professor appointed to that date), moved to Grahamstown in 1935.

Rhodes was then little bigger than a large Oxford College—about 500 students—and Roberts threw himself into university life. He acted in student dramatic productions (giving a magisterial performance as King Magnus in Shaw's *The Applecart*) and served as president of the undergraduate Dramatic Society; he played squash with the students and participated in Saturday night dances in the College Great Hall. He served as Warden of Milner House, a student residence, and took his meals at the high table in its refectory. He also built up an impressive record library, which he deployed at soirées for his colleagues and students, played the piano and sang. He even took up the trombone in order to provide a brass component in the orchestra for a production of *Iolanthe*, one of three Gilbert and Sullivan operettas that he staged (and performed in) at Rhodes. Years later, a former student recalled:

> Between the Warden and those students of Milner House who did not enjoy music there was an amiable mutual tolerance. Skirmishes on matters disciplinary were few and far between. A recalcitrant offender, no matter how eminent on the sports field or in student politics, would find himself reduced to less than the dust by the barest glance from a pair of baleful blue eyes under eyebrows

[10] 'Retrospect', 65. In a conversation at New Year 1985, MR noted that he had lost his bet, because before long he had to master materials in both languages. Roberts's library at that time still contained well-worn copies of *Teach Yourself Polish* and *Teach Yourself Swedish*, both bearing the same date of purchase—1934.

> raised in distress and amazement at his misdemeanour: eyes which would focus their vision down the full length of a slender nose, past a firmly shut and disapproving mouth and powerful chin, to the fingers that were busy with the far more important matter of filling the professorial pipe. When the words came they were few and flaying.[11]

Roberts also revelled in his teaching. Although not physically big, he exuded a remarkable 'stage presence' that immediately captivated his lecture audiences. A student enrolled in his first-year history course in 1939 recalled almost sixty years later that 'at the very first lecture [I] was struck, not to say dazzled, by the effortless articulateness and the urbane, ironic style of the lecturer'. He and his fellows immediately realized that:

> This was a different order of performance from any we were accustomed to, not only because we were fresh from high school and were glad not to be talked down to, but because a more sophisticated level of intercourse seemed to be taken for granted. The speaker's vocabulary, and the degree of comprehension assumed, flattered us. We had been promoted.

Another likewise recalled 'the (apparently) effortless flow of exquisite language (he did not use notes), the irony . . . I had the heady feeling that I was being treated as an intellectual equal.' In 1941, Roberts married Ann Morton, the sister of a Rhodes colleague, whom he had met on one of his voyages back to England. Years later, he looked back on his first period at Rhodes as 'the happiest years of my life' and he remained close to several students from that period. In 1968, he dedicated a book to two of them, both then professors.[12]

Amid so much social and pedagogical activity, Roberts's research on Swedish history languished somewhat. Nevertheless, he worked on his languages on the boat trips to and from Europe and he published an article on 'The constitutional development of Sweden in the reign of Gustav Adolf'. He also undertook a translation of Nils Ahnlund's *Gustav Adolf den Store* [Gustav Adolf the Great]. The American-Scandinavian Foundation agreed to publish it; Ahnlund—Sweden's leading historian at the time—approved; and in 1940 the book duly

[11] See the hilarious account of Guy Butler, *Bursting world: an autobiography 1936–1945* (Cape Town, 1983), 36–9, on MR as Warden and trombonist. Butler spent 1937–8, his second year at Rhodes, in a room directly opposite the Warden's flat. He wrote his recollections between 1977 and 1982; MR read and critiqued them.

[12] Alan Hall to GP, 30 Sept. 1997; G. H. L. ('Copper') Le May to GP, 31 Aug. 2001; Paul Maylam, 'Michael Roberts: a profile', *South African historical journal*, XXXVI (1996), 269–76, at p. 272. The dedication of *The early Vasas, 1523–1611* (Cambridge, 1968) reads 'To Copper and Alan'.

appeared. This labour of love planted in Roberts a fascination with the craft of translation that he never relinquished.

In 1943, Roberts joined the South African Intelligence Corps. At first he served at Headquarters in Pretoria, but soon secured permission to travel northwards in the wake of the South African First Division. He spent Christmas in Khartoum with a former pupil and from there flew to Asmara in Eritrea, where torrential rains stranded him for six weeks. Two things happened to Roberts at Asmara. First, he had time to study 'The English Road', built by the Anglo-Indian troops of Sir Robert Napier for the Abyssinian expedition of 1867–8, on which he would write a fine article. Second, he received an invitation from the British Council to serve as its Representative to Stockholm, an accident that finally determined which historical field he would plough. In the summer of 1944, Michael and Ann Roberts travelled to Stockholm.[13]

The British Council intended its Representatives to familiarise the countries to which they were assigned with what was then called 'the British way of life'; and, although life as the Representative in Stockholm bore little resemblance to life as it was lived in Britain in 1944, Roberts expounded what it had been and might one day be again. For the next two years, he ran a reading-room, a small library and a record collection in Stockholm and toured the entire country giving lectures on Britain's literature, music, institutions, social assumptions, and social policies to various Anglo-Swedish Societies. In the end, he thought he had covered over three quarters of the country's extensive rail network.

In 1946, after his two years in Sweden, Roberts returned to Grahamstown determined to make that country's history his principal research field, although he realised it would not be easy.

> There remained formidable bibliographical problems, and small chance of returning to Sweden to fill the gaps within a reasonable time. For the moment, the difficulty was relieved by the extraordinary benevolence of Uppsala universitetbibliotek, which for three or four years after the war was generous and trusting enough to send me consignments of books on loan, a dozen at a time, with the sole proviso that I should not keep them for more than a month. That meant, of course, hard labour on the arrival of each parcel. But what other library anywhere, at any time, would have been liberal enough to lend books to a reader six thousand miles away?[14]

[13] Roberts had originally responded favourably to a circular from the British Council 'enquiring whether anybody would be interested in teaching English to the offspring of Arab sheiks somewhere in the Middle East'. At the last minute, the Council changed the location to Stockholm. ('Retrospect', 65–6.) On the 'English Road', see Roberts's account 'A little war' (typescript). Roberts also kept a fine diary of his East African odyssey (also in typescript).

[14] 'Retrospect', 68–9.

Roberts again participated fully in the intellectual life (pedagogical, musical, and dramatic) at Rhodes, staging more Gilbert and Sullivan (playing the judge in *Trial by Jury* and Sir Ruthven Murgatroyd in *Ruddigore*). He also inspired another generation of talented young historians, six of whom would later become professors in South Africa or elsewhere: Rodney Davenport, Andrew Duminy, Jeffrey Horton, Basil Le Cordeur, John Omer-Cooper, and Leonard Thompson. Some he steered consciously towards the political history of nineteenth-century South Africa, seeking to apply to it the techniques developed by Namier for eighteenth-century Britain. He, too, wrote on South African history, using sources in both English and Afrikaans (a language he had learned in Grahamstown before the war). *The South African Opposition 1939–1945: an essay in contemporary history* (with A. E. G. Trollip, London and Cape Town, 1947) constituted the first scholarly study in English of the South African Nationalist Party.

His main historical project throughout this period nevertheless remained seventeenth-century Swedish history, and in 1953 he published the first volume of his massive study: *Gustavus Adolphus: a history of Sweden, 1611–1632*. Its favourable reception secured Roberts's appointment as professor of Modern History at the Queen's University, Belfast, in succession to the formidable G. O. Sayles. When he arrived in Belfast in January 1954 his new department numbered only six. Almost at once, however, a rapid and sustained rise in student numbers began and Roberts faced the task of guiding and controlling a major transformation of the History School. New posts arose to cope with the growing numbers and he took advantage of this to increase the number of specialized courses and to extend the range of choices open to students. Two other developments stood out. First, as at Rhodes, Roberts firmly believed in promoting the study of 'local' history, and he insisted that the existing lectureship in Irish history be raised to the rank of a Chair and a second lectureship established. He also gave constant and effective encouragement to postgraduate work in the subject, and played a vital role in creating the university's Institute of Irish Studies. Second, he worked out a novel use for the munificent endowment recently gifted to the department by Mrs Janet Boyd to establish the Wiles Lectureship, in memory of her father. As an *ex officio* member of the Wiles Trust, and as the person mainly responsible for organising the lectures, Roberts devised a unique format. Every year, a distinguished historian delivered public lectures on four consecutive evenings, each followed by a more intimate seminar attended by both Queen's faculty and specially invited guest historians

who could (and sometimes did) tear the speaker to pieces as they sipped Bushmills and nibbled Stilton. Roberts maintained an 'unobtrusive discipline in these gatherings and displayed, in his own contributions, a remarkable (at times almost terrifying) versatility of mind and range of knowledge'.[15] Herbert Butterfield inaugurated the series of Wiles Lectures in November 1954, later published under the title *Man on his Past*. Most subsequent lecture series also appeared in print soon after they were delivered, and the format Roberts established remained unchanged after his retirement—a fact that gave him great satisfaction.[16]

Three months later, Roberts delivered his most influential lecture—one of the most influential inaugural lectures ever given: 'The military revolution, 1560–1660'. He began with a modest disclaimer that he felt the topic of his own research to be too obscure.

> I concern myself with a small country, peripheral to the main centres of European development; its history neglected, and almost unknown to English scholars; its language untaught in our schools, and unblessed, I am afraid, by any very high priority in our universities. In these circumstances, the cultivation of Swedish history is bound to be something of a purely personal hobby; and that is one reason why I have felt it better not to take it as my subject for this lecture.

Instead, Roberts deployed his daunting knowledge of early modern European history (in many languages) to select four critical changes in the art of war in the century following 1560. He reviewed in turn the 'revolution in tactics' (the replacement of the lance and pike with firepower), the growth in army size and the adoption of more ambitious and complex strategies, ascribing most of these transformations to the military innovations wrought by Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange, and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. He then examined the impact of the new-scale warfare upon Europe's political and social development.[17]

Like so many inaugural lectures, probably even this novel contribution would have passed into oblivion had Sir George Clark not singled it

[15] *Essays presented to Michael Roberts*, ed. J. Bossy and P. Jupp (Belfast, 1976), viii.

[16] He attended the 1987 Wiles lectures which 'I was glad to note, ran on precisely the lines I laid down 33 years ago; the feeding was good; Geoffrey Elton, as always, was the last to leave the Common Room bar every night, and the first to get up every morning'. All was clearly well with the world. (MR to GP, 4 Nov. 1987.)

[17] *The military revolution, 1560–1660: an inaugural lecture delivered before the Queen's University of Belfast* (Belfast, 1956), quotation from p. 3. It has been frequently reprinted, most recently in *The military revolution debate. Readings on the military transformation of early modern Europe*, ed. C. J. Rogers (Boulder, CO, 1995), 13–35. Later in 1955, he also delivered a complementary lecture, 'Gustav Adolf and the art of war', printed in M. Roberts, *Essays in Swedish History* (1967), 56–81.

out for special praise as the new orthodoxy in his 1956 Wiles Lectures, published two years later as *War and society in the seventeenth century*. For a quarter of a century, almost every work on early modern Europe that mentioned warfare included a paragraph or two that summarized Roberts's argument. Then, from 1976, a plethora of books and articles by various historians discussed the 'military revolution' of early modern Europe, and in the 1990s strategic analysts began to compare it with the 'Revolution in Military Affairs' which they perceived in the wake of the Gulf War. All of them took that 1955 lecture as their starting point. Forty years later, Roberts observed with characteristic modesty, 'It is a sobering thought that an obscure inaugural in a provincial university should provide the pretext for forty years of debate. I can't help feeling that for once in my life I did *invent* something.'[18]

Roberts's research on early modern Sweden now appeared in print at a rapid pace. The second volume of *Gustavus Adolphus* came out in 1958, to universal acclaim. 'The author weaves a complex military, political and diplomatic narrative in the old-fashioned grand manner', wrote Christopher Hill in *The Spectator*, 'but he combines this with first-class analytical chapters which recreate the economic, social and intellectual life of Sweden, and set Gustavus Adolphus's achievement in a deep historical context.'[19] His achievement led to Roberts's election as Fellow of the British Academy in 1960 and as Honorary Fellow of Worcester, his old Oxford College, in 1966. He also became a Fellow of the Royal Irish Academy. Eight more books on Swedish history followed, starting with *Essays in Swedish history* (a collection of his previously published articles and book chapters) in 1967; and *The early Vasas: a history of Sweden, 1523–1611* and *Sweden as a great power, 1611–1697: government, society, foreign policy* (a collection of translated documents) in 1968. Five years later, he brought out both *Gustavus Adolphus and the rise of Sweden* (an abridged version of his great biography, republished in 1992 as *Gustavus Adolphus*); and *Sweden's age of greatness, 1632–1718* (a collection of essays, most of them translated from Swedish into English by

[18] MR to GP, 9 Jan. 1995. For a succinct review of writings on the Military Revolution in the 1980s, see Rogers, *The military revolution debate*, 4–5; for the expanding debate in the 1990s, see C. J. Rogers, '"Military Revolutions" and "Revolutions in Military Affairs". A historian's perspective', in *Towards a Revolution in Military Affairs? Defense and security at the dawn of the twenty-first century*, ed. T. Gongora and H. von Riekhof (Westport, CT, 2000), 21–35. For one example of the article's impact, see I. A. A. Thompson, *War and society in Habsburg Spain* (Aldershot, 1992), ix: 'My interest in the historical study of war [was] inspired by Michael Roberts's seminal essay on "The Military Revolution"'.

[19] *The Spectator*, 8 Aug. 1958. I thank Paul Maylam for this reference.

Roberts).[20] In 1979, he published his own Wiles lectures, *The Swedish Imperial experience, 1560–1718*, which provided a brilliant concise survey of the subject; and in 1986, *The age of Liberty: Sweden 1719–1772*, a 'Namierite' view of men and politics in which personal ambition prevails over party organisation, ideas and ideals. Finally, in 1991, he published *From Oxenstierna to Charles XII. Four studies*, a collection that contained one of Roberts's finest articles (which had served for many years as a stunning public lecture): 'The dubious hand', an investigation of the mysterious death of Charles XII of Sweden. 'All that one needs to pronounce judgment', he once jested, 'is expertise in folklore, ballistics, forensic medicine, tactics, geology and the history of costume.' Thanks to the mastery he acquired in these skills, his 'judgment' has stood.[21]

Roberts also transcribed, translated, and edited the dispatches of two Swedish diplomats sent to Republican England in the 1650s, and he translated for a colleague the letters and journal of Johan Wahlberg, a Swedish naturalist who in the mid-nineteenth century travelled around South Africa, and subsequently in Namibia, until an elephant trampled him to death.[22] His last intellectual tribute to Swedish history was an article on the visit to England in 1809 of the Swedish luminary Erik Gustav Geijer, whose sharp eye and ear picked up such things as the popular interest in the extra-marital affairs of the duke of Clarence, one of George III's sons, which reached such a pitch that instead of calling 'heads or tails' gamblers began to call 'duke or darling'.[23]

[20] He expressed amazement at the success of the abridged *Gustavus Adolphus*, commenting that Longmans had made 'an incredible offer of £1,000 advance royalties. Nobody ever offered me advance royalties before.' (MR to GP, 19 July 1991.) Full citations for all Roberts's publications between 1935 and 1975 may be found in *Essays presented to Michael Roberts*, 179–83; references to his subsequent works are provided in the footnotes below.

[21] MR to GP, 7 Nov. 1980. Roberts took his title from a poem on the subject by Samuel Johnson, *The Vanity of human wishes* (1749): 'His fall was destined to a barren strand/A petty fortress and a dubious hand . . .'

[22] *Swedish diplomats at Cromwell's Court, 1655–1656: the missions of Peter Julius Coyet and Christer Bonde* (Camden Society, fourth series, XXXVI, 1988:); J. A. Wahlberg, *Travel journals (and some letters), South Africa and Namibia/Botswana, 1838–56*, ed. A. Craig and C. Hummel (Cape Town, 1994: Van Riebeeck Society, 2nd series, XXIII). The initiative came from Hummel, a colleague in the Rhodes History Department. As it happened, Roberts had acquired a microfilm of the Wahlberg papers in the 1970s. He produced a complete translation between 1989 and 1992, which Hummel then edited. In addition to the articles and book chapters on Scandinavian history reprinted in *Essays in Swedish history* and *From Oxenstierna to Charles XII*, Roberts also wrote 'Sweden and the Baltic, 1611–1654', in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, IV, ed. J. P Cooper (Cambridge, 1970), and numerous reviews of books on Swedish history (above all for the *English Historical Review*).

[23] M. Roberts, 'Geijer and England', *Scandia*, LX (1994), 209–30 ('duke or darling' at p. 217).

Roberts's prodigious output on early modern Sweden had a tremendous impact. A subject that had scarcely featured in earlier historical debate in the English-speaking world now entered the mainstream and has remained there ever since. Indeed, Roberts made available so much information about his subject with such authority that it diverted attention from other Baltic powers, especially from Denmark and Poland. As Robert Frost commented in his excellent new synthesis of early modern Baltic history:

> History, it is often suggested, is written by the winners. Yet losers also write history; they just don't get translated. Thus Anglo-Saxon historiography is dominated by accounts of the period from the Swedish viewpoint in the seventeenth century, and from the Russian viewpoint in the eighteenth.

As Göran Rystad, doyen of Swedish historians put it: 'When it comes to making Swedish history known in the Anglo-Saxon world, I believe Michael achieved single-handedly more than all other historians together.' One can think of few other twentieth-century scholars who, single-handedly, have had a comparable influence on the historical study of a foreign country.[24]

The impact of Roberts's work stemmed not just from its quantity and quality, but also from the remarkable vigour of his style. Throughout his life, Roberts strove to make his prose vivid and arresting, whether in lectures or in writing (for he spoke as he wrote and not the other way round). He had a sure command of syntax and tone; he would blend the mandarin and the demotic to mischievous and ironic effect; he was skilful at parody (like W. H. Auden, he believed that the ability to parody is the surest indicator of literary command). On this subject, he gave no quarter.

> No one teaches us the craft without which we are not fitted to be good historians: the craft of letters. Many of us do not care to apply ourselves to it, and few expect instruction in that matter from their supervisors; with the consequence that (in the unkind words of Mr. Philip Guedalla) 'Historians' English is not a style: it is an industrial disease'. Yet in history, as in so much else, 'le style, c'est l'homme'; and just as Lord Dunsany once warned us never to trust a man with elastic-sided boots, so I take leave to look askance at the historian with elastic syntax and grammar. If a man will not take pains with his sentences, he cannot expect me to put unlimited faith in the accuracy of his footnotes.[25]

[24] R. Frost, *The Northern Wars. War, state and society in northeast Europe, 1558–1721* (2000), 14; G. Rystad to GP, 17 Oct. 2001. Unlike John Elliott and some other British historians of early modern Europe, Roberts created no 'school'. As he observed in 1991: 'I never in my whole life had a student prepared to do research in Swedish history': 'Retrospect', 69.

[25] Roberts, 'The naïve historian', 8–9. No doubt MR derived enormous pleasure from his inclusion as an authority in the *OED*: the entry on 'poliorcetics', for example, ends with a quotation from the second volume of *Gustavus Adolphus*.

Roberts's reputation never rose as high in Sweden as in the English-speaking world, even though most of his major works appeared in Swedish translation.[26] In part, of course, this arose from the fact that many native historians wrote about early modern Sweden and so Roberts's view was just one among many; but it also reflected methodological differences. Until at least the 1980s, Swedish academic historians remained committed to deep archival research and the construction of interpretive models that dwelled heavily on economic and social imperatives and the emergence of what Sven A. Nilsson of Uppsala University styled 'the military state'. It was 'all Methodology, Marx and Models' Roberts once observed.[27] He, by contrast, constructed his analysis around a strong narrative core. Nevertheless, Sweden honoured him with a knighthood in the Order of the North Star, an honorary degree, and membership of both its Academy of Letters and its Academy of Science. He subsequently wore with pride the distinctive Swedish black livery and top hat on academic occasions. The university of Lund proved especially welcoming, thanks largely to the determination of its leading historians to internationalise the context of Sweden's past. After one delightful research trip to Lund, Roberts reflected 'I could live there happily, if it wasn't such a regimented and bureaucratized country'. He persisted in liking it even after the Chief Archivist informed him 'In Sweden, you are regarded as *a living myth*'![28]

Looking back in 1991, Roberts expressed three regrets concerning his engagement with Swedish history. First, it was a lonely subject for anyone but a Swede: 'The number of Scandinavian historians in the United Kingdom was very small indeed, and the relative isolation of Belfast made contact with any of them—for instance, with Ragnhild Hatton—comparatively rare.' Second, 'Swedish history occupied only a minuscule place in the schools of modern history at British universities, though Swedish language and literature (with some encouragement from Svenska

[26] *Essays in Swedish history* appeared as *Sverige och Europa: studier i Svensk historia* (1969), the first two sections of *The early Vasas* as *Gustav Vasa* (1970), *The Swedish Imperial experience* as *Sverige som stormakt* (1980), and *The age of liberty* as *Frihetstiden* (1995). MR took great pains over these editions: of *Sverige som stormakt* he wrote 'I have just finished an extensive revision, designed to make it palatable to the Swedish General Reader' (MR to GP, 2 Oct. 1979)—and in this he triumphed for, according to Göran Rystad, that work remains 'in Sweden probably the most widely read of Michael's books' (G. Rystad to GP, 17 Oct. 2001).

[27] MR to GP 26 April 1982.

[28] MR to GP, 15 Nov. 1986 and 9 May 1988; and G. H. L. Le May to GP, 31 Aug. 2001. The Chief Archivist swiftly amended his accolade to 'a living legend' and Roberts 'took this very kindly'.

Institutet) was occasionally a subsidiary subject for departments of German,' and so he could never train students in his own discipline. Above all,

> Anything like genuine archival research seemed precluded by my domestic circumstances, to say nothing of the expense involved. . . . With *The Early Vasas* I seemed to have typed myself as a synthesizer, a political historian, a narrative historian—labels which at that time still carried no serious pejorative suggestion. But to myself I seemed to be simply an interpreter who busied himself with trying to make available to an English public information which they might otherwise have found difficult of access: a service-industry, perhaps, though hardly a public utility.

One day, he overheard himself 'dismissively referred to as "not an archive historian". I was stung; I bristled. Shades of Namier!'[29] He immediately resolved to change his subject once more to something that would allow him to deploy his palaeographic skills.

Roberts had kept up his reading and teaching on eighteenth-century England, and he noted both that the history of British foreign policy in the two decades after 1763 remained strangely neglected and that Anglo-Swedish relations became unusually significant in international affairs during the first of those decades. He had already drawn attention to the topic, and identified the main themes, in a pioneering article published in 1964, entitled 'Great Britain and the Swedish Revolution, 1772–3'. He now worked on the relevant British manuscript collections and accumulated miles of microfilms from foreign archives. The first fruits were a series of studies that revealed the central role of the Baltic in British foreign policy during the mid-eighteenth century. In 1970, he published his Stenton Lecture on 'Splendid isolation, 1763–80'—almost as influential in its field as 'The Military Revolution'—and a chapter on Anglo-Danish-Russian relations; followed five years later by a study of Lord Macartney's mission to Russia.[30] The crowning glory came with *British Diplomacy and Swedish Politics, 1758–1773* (1980), which displayed mastery of an unusual range of primary sources. To the obvious British and Scandinavian archival material, Roberts added manuscript and

[29] 'Retrospect', 69–70. The colleague he overheard was Ragnhild Hatton, who made no secret of her view that although MR was a fine scholar, since he only used printed sources he was not a 'true historian'.

[30] 'Great Britain and the Swedish Revolution, 1772–3', *Historical Journal*, VII (1964), 1–46; *Splendid isolation, 1763–1780* (Reading, 1970); 'Great Britain, Denmark and Russia, 1763–1770', in *Studies in diplomatic history*, ed. R. M. Hatton and M. S. Anderson (1970), 236–68; *Macartney in Russia* (English Historical Review Supplement, VII, 1975).

printed material from Austria, France, the Netherlands, Prussia, and (via Michael F. Metcalf) Russia. He managed, unlike many students of international relations, to relate foreign policy developments to domestic affairs in each of the countries involved—partly through the skilful use of reports by foreign diplomats to their home governments. The book exemplified the three qualities that marked all Roberts's writing:

> A complete mastery of the sources; an ability to reach beyond his sources and give an interpretation of events and individuals that is both vivid to the general reader and accurate to the specialist; and a literary style which at its best is in the tradition of Gibbon or Macaulay.

The reviewer for *The Times Literary Supplement* hailed it as 'probably the most thorough study now available of any aspect of British foreign policy during the eighteenth century.'[31]

Roberts did much of the research and writing for these works while serving as head of department at the Queen's University, Belfast, aided by a few fellowships and sabbaticals (he particularly enjoyed a spell at All Souls and another at the Villa Serbelloni); but he devoted much of the rest of his time—as at Rhodes—to administration and teaching. He left his mark on both. Although his department became one of the largest in the Faculty of Arts, Roberts made many important contributions to the general academic life of the university, especially through the Library Committee, which he chaired for many years during a period of change and expansion. He also fulfilled the traditional role of an old-style professor by teaching at all levels, from the first-year outline to the final year Special Subject, and for the General Degree as well as for Honours.[32] He took his share of tutorials and, while maintaining a steely professionalism (and ceaselessly lighting, cleaning and puffing on his pipe), pointed out errors with gentleness and good humour. ('*Very* interesting theory, Miss Campbell. It's such a pity it doesn't fit the facts.') He shared his students' excitement when they dug something new out of the sources (for example in his popular Special Subject on 'The Interregnum, 1649–1658'). He

[31] Quotations from Peter Jupp's obituary in the monthly bulletin of the QUB History department (in fact, Jupp referred to Roberts's first book, *The Whig Party* but, as he correctly stated, those same qualities 'marked all his subsequent work'); and *TLS*, 27 Mar. 1981. For the scale of Roberts's achievement in this field, see also the review article of H. M. Scott, 'British foreign policy in the age of the American Revolution', *International History Review*, VI (1984), 113–25.

[32] At QUB in 1961, the first history lecture heard by George Boyce was from MR on the impact of the French Revolution. 'It was history as we had not yet encountered it: sweeping, yet detailed and exact; and we emerged from the lecture wondering "how one small head could carry all he knew"' (George Boyce to GP, 21 Aug. 1997)—a striking parallel with the reaction of Alan Hall and Copper Le May at Rhodes over twenty years before: see page 337 above.

VIOLATION OF NEUTRALITY, MAY-JUNE, 1960.

"SO YOU SEE — YOU'VE LOST EVERYTHING."
"NOT MY SOLE."

Source: Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University: Michael Roberts Collection.

ensured that they received the material support they needed, asking about difficulties in getting hold of books and persuading the university library to buy duplicate copies when bottlenecks occurred. He also brought student representatives onto the Department Board (the first at Queen's to do

so) and, in every timetable change or innovation, the welfare of the students remained paramount. As one former student put it: 'My impressions of Michael, as I look back, are of a man who had always time to listen'.[33]

Roberts won the respect of all sorts and conditions of students who came to Queen's, whether Protestant or Catholic and whether hard-drinkers or week-end retreaters (a division perhaps no less significant in Ulster than religion). Between 1958 and 1960 one of them produced a series of cartoons of departmental life featuring Roberts (and sometimes his colleagues) in mock adversarial positions—for example as 'Kaiser Bill', leaning heavily on his 'examiner's blue pencil', while the student impotently wields his 'examinee's pen' (see figure). Roberts treasured copies of these cartoons and wished one to accompany this notice. He also got on very well with his departmental colleagues. As two of them commented upon his retirement:

> He was able to maintain the friendly atmosphere [in his department] that had come easily enough whilst most matters could be settled by mutual agreement among the few people concerned but that might easily have perished in the more formal meetings that the expansion of the staff now made necessary.

When he retired, his colleagues at Queen's presented him with two Festschrifts: one published, *Essays presented to Michael Roberts*, edited by John Bossy and Peter Jupp (Belfast, 1976); the other a personal tribute, 'Words and Music: an entertainment for Michael Roberts', a collection full of private jokes on subjects that interested him. Nothing could better reveal the depth of their affection.[34]

This collegiality owed much to Michael Roberts's shrewd ability to judge job candidates. He held that one could assume a certain level of professional flair and competence from candidates who made a short-list; what really mattered was temperament, and choosing someone whom everyone could live with, and enjoy doing so. Outsiders attending the Wiles lectures always returned impressed by the collegiality as well as the erudition of the Queen's faculty whom they met. Looking back, one of Michael's former colleagues recalled:

> We seemed to laugh a great deal. When the political troubles came to Northern Ireland in 1968 the department held together to a man and a woman for more

[33] James Casey (an undergraduate at QUB 1961–5) to GP, 26 June 1997. Most former students and colleagues recalled Roberts's pipe rituals with great affection.

[34] *Essays*, vii. The 'Michael Roberts Collection' at the Cory Library, Rhodes University, contains a copy of 'Words and Music: an entertainment for Michael Roberts', as well as copies of the cartoons.

> than a decade and a half, and those who joined it hold together still in friendship and affection.

That, too, was an important part of Michael Roberts's legacy to Queen's in particular and to Northern Ireland in general.[35]

When Roberts reached retirement age in 1973, he and Ann decided to move back to Grahamstown. Since he intended to retire, he reluctantly broke up his magnificent library (housed in a special extension to the house at Ballynahinch), and sent many of his books on seventeenth-century Europe to the Institute of Historical Research in London (where readers can admire his austere, neat signature). But he found he could not stop writing. In addition, he served as Director of the newly founded Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes for three years and as a member of the Rhodes Council for over a decade. As one of the relatively few lay assessors resident in Grahamstown, he was much in demand on committees, especially Selection Committees, where (according to a colleague) he displayed his customary 'breadth of academic experience, independent judgment, [and] a nose for knavery however carefully concealed'.[36] He made excellent use of the Institute's resources in order to continue his publications on both Britain and Sweden in the eighteenth century; and he kept up his reviewing, especially for the *English Historical Review*, which had published his first articles in 1935. He also returned to another old interest: translation.

Roberts always loved poetry, and wrote a lot of witty light verse in younger days ('Not all of which', he later admitted, 'was retained').[37] This may explain his remarkable facility at rendering eighteenth-century Swedish verse into English, for at Grahamstown he translated many of the 'Epistles and Songs' written by Carl Michael Bellman, as well as some duets for drinkers by Gunnar Wennerberg, several poems by Anna Maria

[35] Deborah Lavin to GP, 17 July 1997. Nevertheless after leaving 'the Province', at least, MR revealed his sympathies: at Grahamstown he wore an orange tie on 12 July.

[36] From Rodney Davenport's address at the Memorial Service for MR, Grahamstown, 27 Jan. 1997, quoting Calvin Cook. He also played a key role in developing the Trevelyan Fellowships during a period as Visiting Fellow at the University of Durham in 1982 (Deborah Lavin to GP, 17 July 1997.)

[37] Some of Roberts's pre-war light verse appeared in two Rhodes University publications, *The Rhodeo* and *The Rhodian*. Other works met rejection, including a scatological poem inspired by his landlady in Grahamstown whose immediate reaction to the events of September 1939 was to order a hundred dozen rolls of toilet paper 'to see her through the war'. Roberts's poem ended with a curse that she might be

> Compelled to use, in self-despite,/The whole twelve hundred in one night;
> And hence to earn a grisly lustre/As the world's champion Bronco-buster.

Lenngren and some pieces by Birger Sjöberg. He had them privately printed and bound for his friends (and anyone else whom he thought might enjoy them) and would sing them when requested by interested visitors. He was delighted when, in honour of his eighty-fifth birthday, Swedish Radio broadcast a concert of his translations of Bellman and others.[38]

From Grahamstown, Michael Roberts also maintained contact with a huge circle of friends, including many former students. He planned his trips deliberately so he could visit them.[39] In between, he wrote them a stream of letters on a battered 1936 Remington typewriter (modified with some special keys to produce Swedish diacritics). In these he recounted recent events and the progress of his books in a shapely, sequential form, full of sharp observations and elegant turns of phrase, punctuated by a few well-aimed malevolent barbs. Keeping up with his friends must have consumed many hours, but he still found time to maintain his Swedish, to start learning Spanish, and to follow cricket. Gradually, however, his medical problems multiplied. He had a laminectomy in 1984, and thereafter needed to wear a brace, and from 1987 he depended on a pacemaker. These did not prevent him from travelling—later that year he went all round the United Kingdom with a Rail Pass—but in 1991 his tear ducts dried up and for a time he feared for his sight. He had to cancel a planned visit to Lund. His doctors even forbade watching cricket matches on television, though he occasionally violated this prohibition: in 1994, he gloated as he 'watched S. A. lick the boastful Aussies twice running'.[40] By then, his hearing had also deteriorated and he struggled to find a hearing-aid and a record player that were compatible.

Despite these afflictions, he always remained ready with advice and help—as I know better than most. I first became familiar with Roberts's 'Military Revolution' while completing my thesis on the Spanish Army of

[38] MR to GP, 18 Aug. 1993. The volumes are: Gunnar Wennerberg, *The Boon Companions: twenty-four duets from* Gluntarne *newly done into English by M. R.* (Grahamstown, 1976); Carl Michael Bellman *Epistles and Songs translated into English by M. R.* (3 vols., Grahamstown, 1977, 1979, 1981); Anna Maria Lenngren, *Fifteen poems from* Samlade Skaldeförsök *translated into English by M. R.* (Grahamstown, 1980); and Birger Sjöberg, *Seven pieces from* Fridas bok *done into English by M. R.* (no place, no date).

[39] For example, his last trip to Britain (in 1987) revolved around visits to Copper Le May in Oxford, his QUB friends in Belfast, Iain Adamson (another ex-QUB colleague) in Dundee, and his former students James Casey in Norwich and George Boyce in Swansea: MR to GP, 4 Nov. 1987; MR to Alan Hall, 11 Nov. 1987.

[40] MR to GP, 18 Jan. 1988 ('I never neglect my Swedish'); 9 Sep. 1989 ('I rashly decided that it was time I learned Spanish'); and 22 Feb. 1994 (on Australia's Test Match downfall).

Flanders between 1567 and 1659 and, although bowled over by the erudition and the broad sweep, wondered why my data did not match his. For example, in 1634, at the battle of Nördlingen, Spanish troops who exhibited none of the 'revolutionary' characteristics described by Roberts routed Swedish forces that epitomized them. Further research in Spanish sources seemed to cast further doubts on Roberts's argument, and I addressed them in the last chapter of my thesis, entitled 'A Military Revolution?' With characteristic grim humour, the Degree Committee of the Cambridge History Faculty appointed Michael Roberts to serve as my external examiner. They scheduled my viva in the rooms of Charles Wilson at Jesus College and I apprehensively arrived early, to find a small but athletic man purposefully pacing the quadrangle. To my horror, I recognised the volume under his arm as my thesis and fled until the appointed hour. I need not have worried: although Roberts devoted a good part of the exam to discussing that chapter (and spent much of the rest criticising my appalling style), he agreed with my critique of his 'Military Revolution' theory and even suggested ways to strengthen it. He recommended, however, that I could find a more appropriate conclusion to my work when I turned it into a book, and that I should publish my critique separately, perhaps as an article, once I had further developed the argument.

I followed this advice, and the article duly appeared in 1976. There the matter might have rested had Trinity College Cambridge not invited me to deliver the 1984 Lees Knowles lectures on a topic—any topic—in military history. I decided to revisit 'The Military Revolution', partly because I had learned a lot more about the conduct of war in early modern Europe, by both land and sea, and partly because I suspected that changes in that conduct played an important role in European overseas expansion. I gave my four lectures at Trinity in November 1984 but could not decide what to do with them. I had two concerns. First, did the lectures amount to a book, or should they appear as separate articles (a Trinity don who had heard some of the lectures opined that they would not merit a book)? Second, how would Roberts feel about a whole book devoted to qualifying his original idea? I sent Roberts the lecture texts and resolved to visit him in Grahamstown to discuss my second concern in person. We spoke at length at New Year 1985, and I returned to Britain re-assured that he would not take offence at my choice of subject. He promised to re-read my text and three weeks later delivered his verdict.

> [Chapter] II was good, but basically unsurprising, except for its richness of illustration; as to [chapter] I, I still think that it might be more sharply focussed

> (and does your siege-theory for the Military Revolution in the West fit with your revelation of the Far Eastern salvoes, which you incautiously refer to as the eastern Military revolution?); but III is fine and IV, sensational. . . . The *total* experience of the lectures makes me think that much would be lost if they were dissected and distributed: they need to make their impact together.

With that letter, a book was born. Roberts also provided numerous references to strengthen my case and expressed great delight when the work duly appeared and received favourable notices. I can think of few other scholars who would display such remarkable generosity to a tiresome ploughboy disturbing a field that they had ploughed before.[41]

Although Michael Roberts frowned upon those who devoted their energies to discussions of historical theory and method, he did commit to paper his own views on how the discipline should be practised. He did so in 1954, in preparation for his inaugural at Queen's, but 'at the last moment my nerve failed me' and he decided on 'The Military Revolution' instead. 'The undelivered inaugural was consigned to the archives and forgotten' until, in 1994, he 'fished it out, re-read it, and found to my surprise that I still thought (by and large) what I thought in 1954.' Some excerpts from this historical testament, which he delivered at Rhodes University in March 1995 to mark the sixtieth anniversary of his appointment there, form a fitting epitaph for one of the most erudite, prolific, and influential British historians of the twentieth century.

> All historical enquiry starts with the question 'what happened?'; goes on to the question 'how?'; and ends up with the far from simple question 'why?'; but if we were to suspend our activities until the philosophers reached agreement on the meaning of 'why', the chances are that we should never embark upon them at all. A determination to establish first principles is notoriously inhibiting to constructive activity. It seems to me that there is a certain morbidity in the preoccupation of some modern historians with the justification of their own existence and the rigorous scrutiny of their intellectual intestines. Self-consciousness may at last stifle creation . . .
>
> There are certain qualities which are common to all historians, of whatever colour: an unflagging desire to know and understand the past; an imaginative sympathy which overleaps the centuries; a personal engagement which is strong enough to bear up under the labours of the enterprise. However we may rationalise it, however 'scientific' the methods we may employ, historiography at bottom is not a rational activity, any more than writing an opera is. Historiography is generated by a species of emotion; and a main problem of the historian is to keep emotion under control. . . . It is vain to wish for impartiality: class-feeling, patriotism, religion, so far from being weaknesses to be deplored, or stifled, or

[41] MR to GP, 27 Jan. 1985. G. Parker, *The military revolution. Military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988; 3rd edition, 2000; dedicated to Michael Roberts).

disguised, are necessary trace-elements without which history grows feeble and chlorotic. What matters is not an unattainable impartiality, but honesty and fair-mindedness.

It is a commonplace that history involves a continual act of selection: this is, indeed, crucial to the whole business of writing history. It is an agonizing operation. Anybody who has ever engaged in an extended piece of historical writing will vividly remember how much of his material never got into the book at all. Was he right to leave it out? right to prefer this example to that, the one testimony to the other? ought not his decisions as between them to have been justified in a fairly-argued footnote? After all, it is with history as with icebergs: it is the submerged part which is the larger, and also the more dangerous to passing mariners. For my part, I confess to a conviction that very few historians select their material in accordance with clear, logical and philosophical principles. Most of us (I think) select it according to the issue of innumerable conflicts within ourselves, conscious, half-conscious or unconscious: conflicts between mind and heart, prejudice and fair-mindedness, austerity and abandon, utility and ornament, rigour and style. . . .

The Recorded Past, it seems to me, is the material out of which historians are made. When we study history, or attempt to write it, the object of our attention is, quite simply, the materials from which history can conceivably be written, together with the histories which have in fact been based upon them. In the sense in which I use the word, 'history' is the effective communication, in speech or writing, of some information retrieved from the Recorded Past: without the historian, there is no history. In itself, history does not exist, it is *made*: made by the historian, or by tradition, or by the folk-memory, or even by the bard. Extraneous circumstances—material prosperity, social misery, foreign conquest, messianic notions, or whatever it may be—have from time to time led historians to write in ways which reflected those circumstances, and hence have appealed to a majority of their contemporaries; others, less sensitive to the prevailing climate, have written histories that failed and were (for a time) forgotten. But no history exists until it has been written, or otherwise narrated.[42]

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Fellow of the Academy

Note. In compiling this memoir, I have drawn on four principal sources. The 'Retrospect' written by Michael Roberts for *Maktpolitik och Husfrid: Studier i internationell och svenska historia tillägnade Göran Rystad* (Lund, 1991), 1–26, and reprinted in *The Worcester College Record 1993* (Oxford, 1993), 61–71; an interview with Paul Maylam six weeks before his death, used by Professor Maylam in 'Michael Roberts (1908–1996): a profile', *South African Historical Journal*, XXXVI (1997), 269–76; a series of conversations with MR over New Year 1985; and reminiscences of

[42] MR to GP, 21 June 1994; 'The naïve historian', 6–7. MR updated some references in his original text and had it retyped before delivering and publishing it.

Michael Roberts kindly communicated by Jeremy Black, John Bossy, George Boyce, James Casey, Rodney Davenport, Andrew Duminy, Alan Hall, Peter Jupp, Deborah Lavin, Basil Le Cordeur, G. H. L. Le May, Paul Maylam, Michael F. Metcalf, Pepé and Ian Morton, Joanna Parker, Jane Roberts, Göran Rystad, Hamish Scott, and Shirley Stewart. I thank them all.

Professor Roberts bequeathed his Scandinavian books, microfilms and other materials, and a part of his academic correspondence, to Worcester College, Oxford, and the rest of his papers and some memorabilia to the Cory Library of Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, where they form the 'Michael Roberts Collection'.