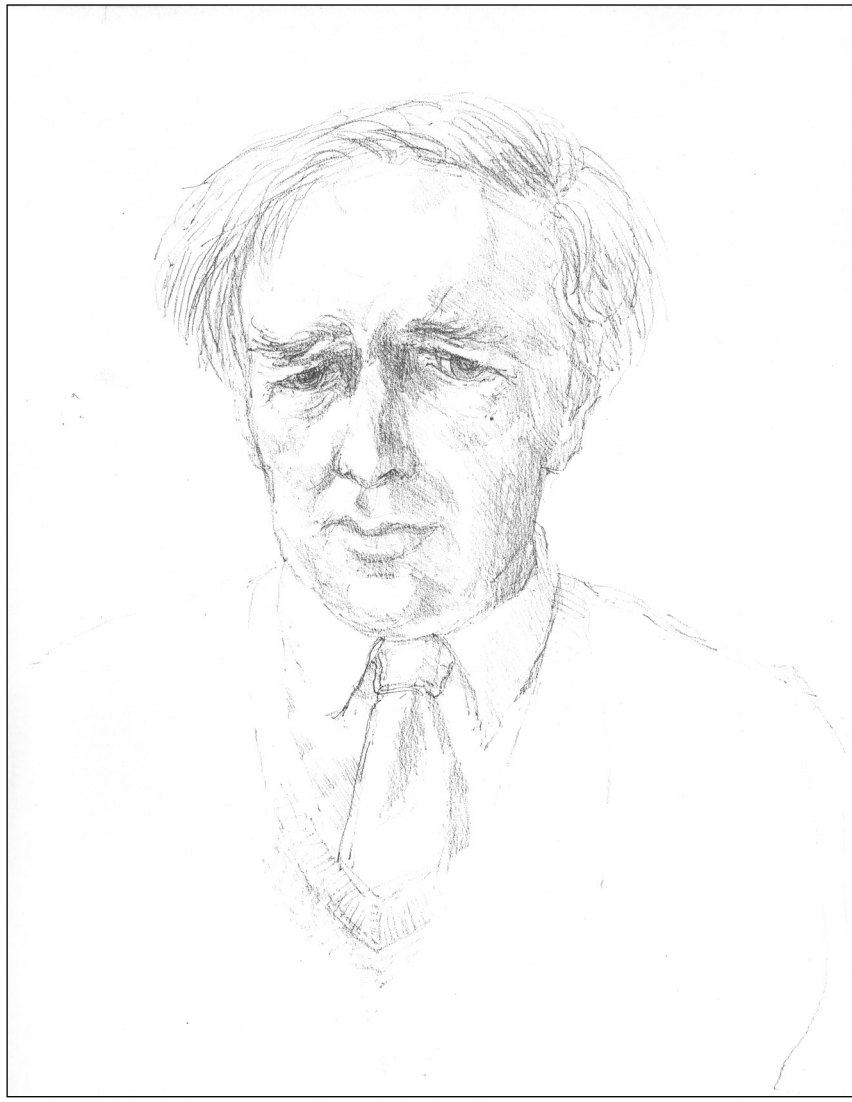

JACK POLE

Jack Richon Pole
1922–2010

A DISTINGUISHED HISTORIAN of colonial British America and the United States, Jack Richon Pole was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1985 and an Honorary Foreign Member of the American Historical Association in 2002. He was born in London on 14 March 1922, to Joe and Phoebe Pole. His father, who had immigrated as a youth from Kiev, was head of publicity in London for the Hollywood film company United Artists. His mother taught French in a secondary school, was an active suffragette, and later served as a Labour member of Finchley council. In the words of Jack's close friend Godfrey Hodgson, they 'were classic Hampstead intellectuals of the period' who 'moved in a world of academics, psychoanalysts and socialists', Jack's father being acquainted with 'all the stars of Hollywood's Golden Age'.[1] They sent Jack at age 3 or 4 to the highly experimental Maltinghouse school in Cambridge, where his godmother, Susan Isaacs, a prominent child psychologist and educationalist, taught, and later to the progressive King Alfred School in Hampstead. The Second World War, during which he served as an anti-aircraft officer at Scapa Flow in Orkney and in the Horn of Africa in the campaign against the Italians, contributed to a long interruption in his formal education. After he was demobilised in 1947, he went up to The Queen's College, Oxford, where he obtained a first in modern history in 1949.

How and when Jack first developed an interest in United States history is a subject we never discussed, but in 1949, in a highly unusual move for a British historian of his generation, he won a Proctor Visiting

[1] *The Guardian*, 4 March 2010.

Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy, XIII, 385–402.

Fellowship at Princeton University and sufficiently impressed his teachers that he was asked to stay on to complete his Ph.D., which he received in 1953. Perhaps his mother's involvement in the suffrage movement affected his choice of a dissertation topic, 'The Reform of Suffrage and Representation in New Jersey: 1774–1844'. This work won the New Jersey Prize, and over the next few years Jack published its main findings in three substantial journal articles.[2] Having taught for a year as an instructor in history at Princeton, Jack returned to Britain in 1953 to take up the lectureship in American history at University College London, where, for the next decade, he taught all areas of American history and rose to the rank of Senior Lecturer. In 1960–1 he was a Visiting Professor at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1963, he moved to Cambridge as University Reader in American History and Government and Fellow of Churchill College, posts he held for the next sixteen years. From 1975 to 1978, Jack also was Vice-Master of Churchill College. In 1979, he moved to Oxford to become Rhodes Professor of American History and Institutions and Fellow of St Catherine's College, positions he held until his retirement in 1989.

From the beginning of his professional career, Jack's goal was to do the quality of work that would win the respect of historians in the United States. As he put it in the introduction to a collection of his early essays published in 1979, his objective was 'to ask difficult questions, and then to find ways of answering them' by 'reading the published and archival records of American history' and producing 'books which any student of American history would be required to read in order to get an adequate grasp of the literature of the subject'.[3] As he went on to point out, such work from British hands had begun to appear only in the 1960s, when a few members of his generation, including W. R. Brock[4] and Marcus Cunliffe,[5] produced substantial and deeply researched volumes that, as the American historical community rapidly began to appreciate, contributed to change the landscape of or to rethink critical issues in United States history.

[2] J. R. Pole, 'The suffrage in New Jersey, 1770–1807', *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Association*, 71 (1953), 39–68; J. R. Pole, 'Suffrage reform and the American Revolution in New Jersey', *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Association*, 74 (1956), 173–94; J. R. Pole, 'Jeffersonian democracy and the Federalist dilemma in New Jersey, 1798–1812', *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Association*, 74 (1956), 260–92.

[3] J. R. Pole, *Paths to the American Past* (New York, 1979), pp. xviii–xix.

[4] W. R. Brock, *An American Crisis: Congress and Reconstruction* (London, 1963).

[5] Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians: the Martial Spirit in America 1775–1865* (Boston, MA, 1968).

But no member of that pioneering generation of historians of the United States in Britain turned out to be a more prolific scholar than Jack. A review of his publications reveals that, as of 2000, he had published two major monographs (one of which subsequently came out under a new title in a considerably expanded form), four smaller interpretive books, a collection of essays, a textbook, five booklets, three collections of edited documents, one anthology, three edited or co-edited books, one co-edited encyclopaedia (subsequently expanded and republished under a different title), twenty-eight journal articles, and seventeen chapters in books.[6] At least 90 per cent of these publications were in the fields of colonial British American and United States history. And he was far from done, publishing over the last five years of his life what is widely regarded as the best edition of *The Federalist*[7] and yet a third monograph which appeared shortly after his death.[8]

In creating this extraordinary corpus of work, Jack had a lot of external support. He won two Rockefeller Research Awards, one in 1952 and the other in 1960, and numerous fellowships or research grants: from the Commonwealth Fund (UK) for American Studies in 1956, the American Philosophical Society in 1957, the American Council of Learned Societies in 1968, the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford in 1969–70, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, in 1978–9, and, from the British Academy in 1988, a Leverhulme Visiting Research Fellowship. Following his retirement, he held the Goleib Fellowship at New York University Law School in 1990, a Senior Research Fellowship at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and a Visiting Fellowship at the Institute for the Bill of Rights at the Marshall-Wythe Law School at the College of William and Mary in 1990–1, and a Leverhulme Trust Emeritus Fellowship from 1988 to 1994. These prestigious awards and fellowships, which enabled him to pursue his passion for archival work in United States repositories, testify to the high esteem in which Jack was held by his peers on both sides of the Atlantic.

During his decade in London, Jack published several valuable monographic articles in local or regional American historical journals relating to the larger project he was formulating and for which he was collecting

[6] For a list of Jack's publications in English to 2005, see Rebecca Starr (ed.), *Articulating America: Fashioning a National Political Culture in Early America: Essays in Honor of J. R. Pole* (Lanham, MD, 2000), pp. 259–66.

[7] J. R. Pole (ed.), *The Federalist* (Indianapolis, IN, 2005).

[8] J. R. Pole, *Contract & Consent: Representation and the Jury in Anglo-American Legal History* (Charlottesville, VA, 2010).

materials.[9] But he did not make a major splash in American history circles until 1962, with the publication in the *American Historical Review* of his influential article, 'Historians and the problem of early American democracy'. In the 1950s the historians Robert E. and B. Katherine Brown had published impressive empirical studies showing that the franchise in two of Britain's oldest and most populous colonies, Virginia and Massachusetts, was far wider than earlier historians had suspected. Their findings challenged the longstanding but previously only lightly investigated assumption that the wealthy colonials who dominated elective offices did so by limiting the franchise and employing other means of social control to keep political participation low. This work pointedly raised the question of why, as Jack put it, 'the great mass of the common people might actually have given their consent to concepts of government' that, 'by systematically' excluding them 'from the more responsible positions of political power', restricted 'their own participation in ways completely at variance with the principles of modern democracy'. Jack's answer to this question was that colonial British and Revolutionary America, like eighteenth-century Britain, was 'a deferential society', a term 'coined by Walter Bagehot in his account of Victorian England', that operated within a fundamentally elitist and integrated structure of ideas that assumed that government should be entrusted to men of merit; that merit was often associated with wealth and high social position; that such men were obliged to use their superior talents for the benefit of the public; and that deference to them was the implicit duty of the rest of society. Most historians, myself included, took up this suggestion with alacrity, and *deference* rapidly acquired a prominent place in the conceptual lexicon of American historians.[10]

If this influential intervention clearly displayed Jack's early mastery of the issues in early modern American historiography and his capacity for systematic thinking about large historical problems, his first book, published four years later, established his credentials as an original and perceptive contributor to his field. *Political Representation in England and*

[9] J. R. Pole, 'Election statistics in Pennsylvania 1790–1840', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 82 (1958), 217–22; J. R. Pole, 'Representation and authority in Virginia from the Revolution to reform', *Journal of Southern History*, 24 (1958), 16–50; J. R. Pole, 'Suffrage and representation in Maryland from 1776 to 1810: a statistical note and some reflections', *Journal of Southern History*, 24 (1958), 218–25; J. R. Pole, 'Election Statistics in North Carolina, to 1861', *Journal of Southern History*, 24 (1958), 225–8; J. R. Pole, 'Constitutional reform and election statistics in Maryland, 1790–1812', *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1960), 275–92.

[10] J. R. Pole, 'Historians and the problem of early American democracy', *American Historical Review*, 67 (1962), 626–46.

the Origins of the American Republic (London, 1966) was an unusually bold undertaking for a younger scholar. It took up a major problem, the concept and practice of political representation, and covered a wide scope of time and space: the Anglo and American worlds from the late seventeenth century to the Reform Bill of 1832. It was explicitly comparative in two ways, comparing Britain with the American colonies and the new United States and three American colonial/state polities with one another. Deeply, if not exhaustively, researched, it was also enormous, its more than six hundred pages instantly invoking terms such as *magisterial* and *weighty* to describe it.

The wide scope of subject matter and density of data proved a major organisational problem that Jack did not fully resolve. He divided the volume into five parts, the core of which consisted of three parts, each broken into from six to fifteen chapters, many of them with four or five subsections. The first of these, Part Two, occupied a quarter of the text and consisted of close and largely self-contained case studies of three of the most important American colonies—Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, representing three different areas of Britain's North American empire. Part Three, the second and longest of the core parts, constituted two-fifths of the text and covered developments in the same three polities as they transformed themselves into republican states beginning in 1776 and also in the hastily contrived American national government constructed after 1774 to handle the general matters required to fight a war against Britain and pursue foreign alliances. In considerably less detail, Part Four, taking up just over a fifth of the text, considered the British case from the late seventeenth century to 1832. These three substantial core parts were book-ended by a short introduction summarising the thoughts of James Harrington, Algernon Sydney, and John Locke on the nature of representation, and a comparative summary in which Jack impressively laid out his principal conclusions and considered the import of his findings.

This organisation was not well-suited for guiding the reader through his text to his principal conclusions. The compartmentalisation of the volume into discrete studies of so many separate polities and the fact that its rich materials were not from the beginning of the volume tightly subordinated to a well-worked out general argument made it seem less like an integrated account of the subject than seven independent studies, loosely tied together by an argument fully enunciated only in the summary. The result, as R. R. Palmer lamented in an otherwise highly favourable review, was that Jack had been 'so generous with his information, so absorbed by all

aspects of his subject, and so scrupulous in perceiving nuances, that the clarity of his main argument' tended 'to be obscured'.[11] Only in the closing summary did Jack make it entirely clear that the grand theme he had been developing was the transition from a system of representation based on corporate entities such as towns or counties to one based on the numbers of enfranchised people or, as he termed it, political individualism. The same was true of his contention that, despite the differences he treated in such detail in the body of the volume, in the rate and character of this transition from place to place and from time to time and the different constitutional systems that ultimately resulted, he regarded the process in Britain and America as leading in the same direction and deriving out of an alliance between political reformers and powerful new interest groups concerned to protect new forms of property and to use the principle of numbers to undermine older arrangements.

Jack's organisation was considerably more effective in illustrating how peculiar circumstances affected the development and understanding of representation in different polities as they changed over time. It enabled him to capture in richly textured detail the complex interplay among ideas, ordinary politics and social context in each of the seven polities he treated and, in the case of his American data, was particularly valuable in working out the distinctive features of the internal histories of each of the colonies he treated during the colonial and early national eras. It also helped him fully to explore the process by which those colonies moved toward the achievement of legislative supremacy in colonial governance and the many ways that that development contributed to the establishment of 'capable self-government' and thereby served as an important precondition for independent governance. Equally important, his comparative approach enabled Jack to produce an account of his subject that was far less parochial than much of the contemporary historical literature being produced by American scholars at that time and suggested the possibility of a transatlantic approach that would have for its theme the understanding of how British peoples would adapt British culture and institutions in new physical and social situations. If Jack's discursive and sprawling organisation suggested that, at this stage of his career, he was better at dealing with precise data sets on specific problems than with

[11] R. R. Palmer, Review of *Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic*, *Journal of American Studies*, 1 (1967), 131.

working out efficient frameworks for presenting extensive data, his text was, as Gordon Wood noted in his review, 'incredibly rich'.[12]

Even more ambitious, Jack's second major book, *The Pursuit of Equality in American History* (Berkeley, CA, 1978), was the first systematic analysis of the changing fortunes of the idea of equality during the first two centuries of the American republic and in its temporal range represented a departure from most of his earlier work. Although he had published three short booklets on Abraham Lincoln[13] and an edition of documents on *Slavery, Secession and Civil War* (London, 1975), his publications during the dozen years after the appearance of *Political Representation*, 1966 to 1978, showed a heavy concentration on the colonial, revolutionary, and early republican eras,[14] and the same would be true of his later publications. Sweeping in scope, tightly argued, and penetrating in its analysis of detail, the *Pursuit of Equality* had none of the organisational problems of his first book.

Starting with the observation that the world to which the American states announced that 'all men are created equal' in the Declaration of Independence in 1776 was dominated by ideas of order and hierarchy that were essentially hostile to all ideas of equality, Jack noted that natives and outsiders alike had always perceived the free population of the British North American colonies as more equal than perhaps any other contemporary society. Among that population, ideas of subordination seemed to be visibly weaker, opportunities to acquire property and independence demonstrably more abundant, the distribution of wealth considerably less unequal, and differences in wealth and social position, while sometimes inherited rather than earned, at least not built, as in Europe, upon laws of

[12] G. S. Wood, Review of *Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic*, *Journal of Modern History*, 41 (1969), 238.

[13] J. R. Pole, *Abraham Lincoln and the Working Classes of Britain* (London, 1959); J. R. Pole, *Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford, 1964); and J. R. Pole, *Abraham Lincoln and the American Commitment* (Cambridge, 1966).

[14] The principal ones being J. R. Pole, *The Seventeenth Century: the Sources of Legislative Power* (Charlottesville, VA, 1969), a trenchant exploration of the development and foundations of legislative authority in Virginia and Massachusetts; J. R. Pole, *The Revolution in America: Documents of the Internal Development of America in the Revolutionary Era, 1754–1788* (London, 1970), a useful and extensive documentary collection; J. R. Pole, *Foundations of American Independence: 1763–1815* (Indianapolis, IN, 1972), an unusually well-designed textbook; J. R. Pole, *The Decision for American Independence* (Philadelphia, PA, 1975), a short documentary collection designed for American university students; and J. R. Pole, *The Idea of Union* (Alexandria, VA, 1977), a short but cogent account of the process by which the formerly disconnected colonies that came together to form the United States developed a sense of commonality during the era of the American Revolution.

privilege. At the same time, however, he also pointed out that by 1776 colonial societies were already deeply etched by great—and growing—economic and social inequalities within the free population, while the social chasm between that population and the rapidly rising number of black slaves was enormous. Moreover, he also found that relatively few free Americans saw much wrong with these inequalities and that the conception of equality in Revolutionary America did not extend much beyond equality of political and legal rights (for those entitled to such rights) in the English common-law tradition, equality of conscience in religion (primarily for Protestants), and, to a considerably lesser extent, equality of esteem (among free men).

As Jack made clear, the idea of equality was yet far from being a universal theory in America any more than in Europe. Nevertheless, he found that the egalitarian implications of the Revolution were sufficient to insure that the quest for equality would 'thenceforth . . . remain one of the most vital and magnetic forces in American life'. His principal contribution in this study was to trace with clarity and insight the shifting orientation of that quest from one generation to the next, from the gradual emergence between the Revolution and the era of Andrew Jackson of the relatively new notion of equality of opportunity; the growing commitment to the principle of equal protection under the law after the Civil War; the rapid subversion of that principle as it applied to Blacks over the next quarter century; the failure of women, like Blacks, to achieve genuine parity after the attainment of suffrage after the First World War; and the development after the Second World War among large segments of the population of a profound commitment to equality as a social goal to be achieved through various combinations of exhortations, legislation, and constitutional law.

Like *Political Representation*, however, *Pursuit of Equality* was not only a study in the history of ideas but also an exploration of the 'relationship of those ideas to social structure and political policies', and one of the most intriguing aspects of the book was Jack's analysis of the glaring discrepancy between America's unwavering public commitment to equality after 1776, and the relatively weak public concern to translate that commitment into policy. Jack cited a variety of reasons to explain why the American pursuit of equality was not more systematic and intense before the 1950s, but he kept coming back to one powerful underlying theme: the continuing predominance of the idea of incentive over the idea of equality in American culture. To an important degree, he suggested, the most important American contribution to the transformation of received views about social organisation during the eighteenth century

was the conception—vivified by much actual example—of the social order as fluid rather than fixed, and based upon personal achievement through the exercise of individual talent and industry rather than upon ascribed rank or inherited and legally sanctioned social position. Inevitably, he showed, the high premiums Americans continued to put upon the virtually unfettered pursuit of individual goals produced ever-widening economic and social inequalities and acted as a powerful brake upon the emergence of a stronger and more comprehensive drive for equality.

In his later historical work, Jack never got very far away from the themes he explored in his two major books. In *The Gift of Government: from the English Restoration to American Independence* (Athens, GA, 1983), he returned to and treated more expansively problems that he had broached in *Political Representation*, usefully pushing them backward in time to the middle of the seventeenth century. In the early 1990s, he published a substantially enlarged and refined second edition of the *Pursuit of Equality*[15] and often endeavoured, without success, to interest publishers in issuing a revised version of *Political Representation*. And throughout the 1980s and 1990s, he published many valuable short essays on subjects relating to his earlier research, always with new materials, fresh insights, and his customary penetration.[16]

By the time he retired in 1989, however, Jack had already begun research on yet another large and difficult subject—the changing role of the law in Anglo-America from the seventeenth through the early nineteenth century. Noting the neglect of law by historians and its pursuit by lawyers as a specialised and largely self-contained subject, Jack believed that the legal process was so fundamental to the historical development of Britain and its American colonies that it was too important to be left entirely to legal scholars and that historians should give it a central place and endeavour thoroughly to integrate it into the fabric of the history of those places. Specifically, as he pursued this goal through research in

[15] J. R. Pole, *The Pursuit of Equality in American History*, 2nd edn. (Berkeley, CA, 1993).

[16] J. R. Pole, 'The politics of the word "state" and its relation to American sovereignty', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 81.1 (1988), 1–10; J. R. Pole, 'Vocabolario Politico: notes on the word "state" in the Anglo-American tradition', *Il Pensiero Politico*, 21 (1988), 93–8; J. R. Pole, 'The ancient world in the new republic: the founders' use of history', in R. Kroes and E. Van De Bilt (eds.), *The U. S. Constitution After 200 Years* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 1–19; J. R. Pole, 'What is still vital in the political thought of the founders?', in R. C. Simmons (ed.), *The American Constitution: the First Two Hundred Years* (Manchester, 1989), pp. 203–24; and J. R. Pole, 'The individualist foundations of American constitutionalism', in H. Belz, R. Hoffman, and P. J. Albert (eds.), *To Form a More Perfect Union: the Critical Ideas of the Constitution* (Charlottesville, VA, 1992), pp. 73–106.

numerous libraries and archives in the eastern United States, he set out to study how various colonies adapted English common law to their peculiar situations, how it formed a central building block in their political and cultural constructions, and how it continued to inform the legal systems of American states long after they had become independent and leagued republics.

By the early 1990s, Jack thought he had become literate enough in American legal documents to accept an invitation to venture some of his tentative findings for a forum in the *William and Mary Quarterly,* the leading journal in his field. This forum consisted of Jack's thoughtful and surprisingly well-informed essay followed by three comments by legal history specialists. In his essay, Jack argued that colonial courts and juries were significant agents in colonial governance, that they founded their actions on common-law principles, that jury modification of those principles established local custom as community norms and therefore took on the character of local common law, and that this system throughout the states persisted well into the nineteenth century and was significantly less affected by the adoption of republican government than historians, taking at face value the words of contemporaries, had suggested. As trained legal experts, his commentators were rather critical, one of them remarking on his 'unfamiliarity with the law', pointing out a few errors in Jack's understanding of specific legal cases and legal terms, and complaining that his evidence derived from little more than 'an unsystematic rummaging through the papers of assorted lawyers and judges'. To the extent that this last charge was valid, however, Jack's citations showed that he had done a vast amount of rummaging, and his critics by and large did not so much challenge his central arguments as endeavour to qualify them.[17]

Although Jack continued to do research on this subject for another decade, the onset of the disease that debilitated him in his final years prevented him from ever fully pulling his materials together. His last book, *Contract & Consent: Representation and the Jury in Anglo-American Legal History* (Charlottesville, VA, 2010), was no more than a fragment of the large study he had initially envisioned and consisted of a series of loosely related essays on a wide range of topics subsumed under the title of the volume. Like all Jack's work, however, it represented a series of thoughtful

[17] J. R. Pole, 'Reflections on the law and the American Revolution', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50 (1993), 123–59; B. H. Mann, 'The evolutionary common law: a comment on J. R. Pole's 'Reflections', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50 (1993), 169–75; J. R. Pole, 'Further reflections on law and the American Revolution: a comment on the comments', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50 (1993), 594–9.

and informed ruminations that often challenged or qualified received wisdom and endeavoured to explore the relationship among ideas, institutions, and the political and social milieus in which they operated. Together, these essays made a strong case for the importance of courts, juries, and the common law as agencies of political representation and promulgators of law in America and for the continuities in legal culture from the colonial to the national era of American history. Certainly, it represented a strong step in his effort to bring the study of law into a central position in the analysis of the American past.

As the new century began, Jack was also hard at work producing a new edition of *The Federalist*, a substantial series of essays written by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison to explain the details and make the case for the ratification of the American national Constitution of 1787. Scholars had long used these essays as the single best index to the intentions of those who wrote the Constitution, and several modern editions of them had been published during the last four decades of the twentieth century. When Jack entered upon this project, his friends wondered why another edition was necessary and why he wanted to do it. The answer to those questions was immediately revealed upon publication of his edition in 2005. No previous edition had included such extensive annotations in which Jack used his extraordinary erudition to identify all historical references, quotations, and unidentified literary allusions, to clarify key concepts, and to explain contemporary uses of linguistic terms and uses. This feature of the book made it the richest edition of *The Federalist*, an impressive work of scholarship, and yet another significant contribution to the historical literature on the formation of the United States.[18]

Over the decades since Jack had introduced it to the United States American historical community, the concept of deference had been applied so widely and uncritically as to become little more than a caricature of Jack's early formulation, and several studies had shown that deference was more of an elite prescriptive aspiration than a description of an operational political and social system. In 1998, the *Journal of American History* published a round table discussion on 'Deference or defiance in eighteenth-century America?', in which five historians considered the continued utility of the concept.[19] Of these, Michael Zuckerman impressively

[18] Pole, *The Federalist*.

[19] J. R. Pole, 'Deference or defiance in eighteenth-century America?: a round table', *Journal of American History*, 85 (1998), 13–92.

pulled together a considerable amount of evidence to argue that the concept had little explanatory value for colonial American studies, in the process suggesting that Jack bore responsibility for later historians' abuse of the concept,[20] to which Jack, pleased at the critical attention his early effort continued to elicit nearly four decades after its initial publication, effectively took exception in a subsequent letter to the journal.[21]

A compulsive and careful writer, Jack by no means limited himself to the specialised historical work discussed in this memoir. During his career, he published thoughtful essays on American politics;[22] appreciative accounts of the achievements of several leading American historians, with all of whom he had had a close association;[23] various commentaries on contemporary intellectual and social issues;[24] and a few essays on cricket, one of his main passions.[25]

Beginning in the early 1980s, Jack's collaborations with me led to yet more publications. We first met in the early summer of 1961 when, having recently read one of my early articles and then visiting his in-laws in Pittsburgh, he drove over to meet with me in Cleveland, where I was then teaching at Western Reserve University. In his later years, Jack liked to muse that our decades-long friendship grew out of the fact that we both had the same given name, which forced us into endless explanations that Jack was not merely a nickname for John. As we quickly discovered, however, we also shared a deep interest in the history of governance in

[20] M. Zuckerman, 'Tocqueville, Turner, and turds: four stories of manners in early America', *Journal of American History*, 85 (1998), 13–42.

[21] J. R. Pole, 'A target respectfully returns the arrow', *Journal of American History*, 86 (1999), 1449–50.

[22] J. R. Pole, 'Forward from McCarthyism: the radical right and the conservative norm', *Political Quarterly*, 33 (1962), 196–207; J. R. Pole, 'The language of American politics', in L. Michaels and C. Ricks (eds.), *The State of Language* (Berkeley, CA, 1980), pp. 421–31.

[23] J. R. Pole, 'Daniel J. Boorstin', in M. Cunliffe and R. Winks (eds.), *Pastmasters* (New York, 1969), pp. 63–78; J. R. Pole, 'On C. Vann Woodward', *Journal of American Studies*, 32 (1988), 503–8; and J. R. Pole, 'Richard Hofstadter: the historian as critic', in R. A. Rutland (ed.), *Clio's Best: Leading Historians of the United States* (Columbia, MO, 2000), pp. 68–83.

[24] J. R. Pole, 'Misusage and abusage,' *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 9 July 1989; J. R. Pole and F. N. L. Robinson, 'Mortuary science: a proposal', *Oxford Magazine*, 67 (1991); J. R. Pole, 'A bad case of agoraphobia: is there a market place of ideas', *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 Feb. 1994; J. R. Pole, 'Colour casting', *Oxford Magazine*, 80 (1992); J. R. Pole, 'A letter from Gamma Airlines', *Oxford Magazine*, 145 (1997); J. R. Pole, 'Freedom of speech: from privilege to right', in R. Cohen-Almagor (ed.), *Challenges to Democracy: Essays in Honour and Memory of Sir Isaiah Berlin* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 11–54; and J. R. Pole, 'Letter from the Kingdom of Poland, Research Funding Council (1498) to Dr. Mickaus Kopemick', *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 2 June 2000.

[25] J. R. Pole, 'Test cricket commentaries', *The Listener*, 17–24 Dec. 1981; J. R. Pole, 'Ramadhin and Valentine', *London Review of Books*, 13 Oct. 1988.

colonial British America and in the relationship among inherited ideas, social conditions, and institutional development. We shared as well a powerful conviction that the colonial world could only be fully understood as an extension of the transatlantic British world. And we were also profoundly secular and avid social networkers.

Whatever the explanation, the friendship grew as Jack generously helped my first doctoral student win a Fulbright Scholarship to University College London, and then guided him while he was in London. When in the early 1960s I undertook to edit a seven-volume text on American history, I enlisted Jack to write the volume covering the Revolution and the early national era, and, as a historical advisor to the Bicentennial Commission of the Thirteen Original American States, I helped them recruit Jack to write his book on the idea of union, which was intended as the first of thirteen volumes on the major themes that emerged out of the American Revolution. (Also, in the mid-1960s, St Martin's Press asked me to be a reader for Jack's first book, and in my anonymous report I qualified my great enthusiasm for its contents with a strong recommendation that it be thoroughly reorganised before publication. When the book appeared, however, the organisation was unchanged, and I never knew whether the press did not send it to him or whether he rejected my suggestions for reorganisation. This subject never came up for discussion, and Jack never knew that I had been a reader.)

During the mid-1970s, we became even closer as Jack visited the United States more regularly, and I spent the year 1975–6 at his old college in Oxford and at least part of almost every summer thereafter in London doing research. He often stopped by Baltimore as he was making his rounds of American archives, and I always made a point of seeing him for a few long visits when I was in the United Kingdom. Yet, our formal collaborations did not begin until 1979, just as he was moving to Oxford to take up his new chair.

Already by the early 1970s, the literature on colonial British American history had ballooned to such an extent that it was difficult for those in the field to stay on top of it, and with a large number of doctoral students at Johns Hopkins University, to which I moved in 1966, I made it a point of trying to do so. One always needs to be able to tell prospective historians in an era of prolific and exciting production in their field what they do *not* need to read, and I had been thinking for some years about organising a conference of experts among my peers, each of whom would take stock of where we had arrived in her or his individual area of expertise and make some suggestions about where we should go. While visiting my

family and me at our house in the Aveyron in the summer of 1979, Jack talked at length about his plans to enhance American history study at Oxford by expanding its temporal range to include the colonial era and expressed his desire to do something dramatic that would direct attention to the growing significance of that area in American historical studies. When I outlined my idea for a small invitational conference on the state of the field, he immediately endorsed it.

Over the next two years, Jack and I proceeded to implement this idea. He got grants from the British Academy and Barclay's Bank International, and I got one from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and we recruited many of the leading scholars in the field to produce papers on the assigned topics. When it turned out that we needed a few thousand more dollars to pay the transportation and other costs for a week-long transatlantic conference, Jack, with his usual aplomb and without an appointment, walked into the Commonwealth Fund of New York, from which he had much earlier had a fellowship, and walked out of the door with a cheque for the sum required. Held at St Catherine's College in August 1981, this conference was memorable for those who attended, the papers being well-constructed and stimulating excellent discussions. Over the next few months, Jack and I edited these papers and published them with a joint introduction in a volume entitled *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, MD, 1984). Having shared the editorial chores, we decided to divide the introduction into two distinct sections, one historiographical and the other theoretical, with each of us writing one. Jack took particular pleasure in thinking that no one would be able to tell which of us wrote which section; I don't think he ever told, and I never will. How much the conference and the book helped Jack in his successful campaign to extend the American history syllabus at Oxford is difficult to assess, but the book enjoyed a great success, many of the essays it contained being required reading in graduate seminars in colonial British American history for the next decade. More than once, Jack mused that this volume might well be the most successful book either of us would ever publish.

The success of this initial collaboration probably surprised us both equally. Only one of my few previous collaborations had turned out well, and Jack seems never even to have considered previously the possibility of collaborating on any project. But our collaboration rested on several important intellectual affinities. We were both transatlantic and comparative historians long before the concept of *Atlantic history* was invented. Although I had a deep interest in promoting transnational comparative

studies of European colonies in the Americas, neither of us ever practised it in our empirical work. Nor did the fact that Jack's own empirical work focused on those colonies that would transform themselves into the United States prevent him from agreeing that it was anachronistic to study those colonies apart from the nineteen British American colonies in North America, the West Indies, and the Atlantic that did not separate from the British Empire in 1783 and that had formed part of the same political and cultural entity for the previous century and a half. Radical contextualists both, we inserted the words *British* and *Early Modern* into the title of our book to emphasise the situational and temporal divide before and after the imperial divorce that led to the creation of the United States.

Colonial British America would be the first of three collaborations. In response to an invitation from Blackwells, Jack and I edited *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Oxford, 1991), which we designed in much the same manner as *Colonial British America*, dividing the subject to reflect the major areas of scholarly concern that had emerged in the previous forty years and making it as inclusive as space permitted. When Blackwells subsequently wanted to include this work in a new series, we took advantage of the opportunity to substitute a few newly authored entries for the weaker ones in the earlier version and to add several new ones. This new version was published as *The Blackwell Companion to the American Revolution* (Oxford, 2000). Our third collaboration was to serve as co-editors of a series of monographs published by Johns Hopkins University Press. Entitled *Early America: History, Context, and Culture*, this series produced ten substantial monographs between 1991 and 2005, when we both ceased our involvement in it. Although one reviewer naively condemned the *Blackwell Companion* because its many articles did not offer a coherent point of view, an objective neither possible nor desirable, Jack and I were satisfied that all of our collaborations had been useful contributions to the scholarship in our field.

Despite the emphasis in this memoir, it would be a grave mistake to measure Jack's contributions to historical study only in terms of his published work. Sequentially occupying key posts in London, Cambridge, and Oxford, he was particularly well-placed to promote and deepen the study of American history in the United Kingdom, and he certainly rose to the challenge. As his former Cambridge colleague Betty Wood observed in her remembrance of him, Jack 'did more, far more, than anyone else in the United Kingdom to ensure that early American history secured a firm foothold in British academe' and would go on 'to thrive during the 1980s

and 1990s'.[26] As she pointed out, Jack's influence was critical in the establishment of the British Group in Early American History, an organisation founded in the early 1990s and now having an international membership running into the hundreds. At its annual meeting in 2010, this organisation organised a round table to commemorate his influence in early American history.

But Jack's influence also extended well into United States history. In May 1995, a two-day conference hosted by Anthony J. Badger and designed to honour Jack convened at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Several of Jack's friends and former graduate students presented papers on the emergence of an American national political culture, a subject to which Jack had made many substantial contributions. The core of the audience and most of the presenters were drawn from the twenty-three doctoral students he had guided through their D.Phils., fifteen at Cambridge and eight at Oxford.[27] Many of them, in evidence of Jack's strong international reputation, had come from the United States specifically to study with him, and over half of them had written on nineteenth-century United States history. This conference also drew many friends and former colleagues at both Cambridge and Oxford, scholars who worked in Jack's field, and at least one of his former undergraduates. In his opening remarks, Badger stressed Jack's contribution as an exacting and caring teacher, who had, he said, been 'an inspiration and a role model to a new generation of American historians in Britain who endeavoured', like Jack, 'to write monographs as carefully researched as their counterparts in the United States, on topics in domestic United States history . . . and to be published in the United States'. As Badger pointed out, Jack established vigorous seminars at both Cambridge and Oxford in which he 'introduced British students of America . . . to the importance of careful and extensive archival research' and 'of getting known in the United States, attending conferences, and being networked to . . . leading American scholars'.[28]

Jack was indeed a model for such behaviour. His networking in the United States was legendary. Sometime in the 1950s, he met Richard Hofstadter, whom Jack regarded as the best American historian of his generation, and they formed a friendship that lasted until Hofstadter's

[26] B. Wood, 'A British colleague's memories of Jack Pole,' *Uncommon Sense* #128 (2010).
[27] For a complete list of Jack's completed doctoral students, see Starr, *Articulating America*, pp. 267–8.
[28] A. J. Badger, 'Preface', in ibid., p. x.

death in 1970, and this was not unusual. He established close relationships with many of the leading American historians of the last half of the twentieth century, often showing himself to be an exceptionally generous friend to his American associates when they came to the United Kingdom. Two of those associates, Joyce Appleby and J. G. A. Pocock, two other transatlantic historians, contributed essays to his Festschrift, which otherwise consisted of papers presented by Jack's former students and me at the Sidney Sussex College conference. Edited by Rebecca Starr, one of Jack's early doctoral students at Oxford, the volume, entitled *Articulating America: Fashioning a National Political Culture in Early America: Essays in Honor of J. R. Pole* (Lanham, MD, 2000), constituted a fitting tribute to Jack's career as an American historian.

My friendship with Jack did not extend far enough beyond our mutual professional interests to say much about his private side. Of course, no one could be around Jack for very long without discovering his obsession with cricket, including the avidity with which he followed Test matches and his role in co-founding, with David Cairns, the Trojan Wanderers, a cricket club for which he played well into his 70s and which survives him. But I never met any of his non-academic friends and met his wife Marilyn Mitchell only once, in the early 1960s, and possibly on the same occasion his son Nicholas and two daughters, Ilsa and Lucy. Ilsa has been especially helpful in constructing this memoir.[29] Sometime in the late 1990s, I began to notice that Jack seemed to have some slight physical—but absolutely no mental—impairment, but I never inquired why, and it was his friend Janet Wilson, not Jack, who first told me that he was suffering from Parkinson's Disease, almost a decade after he was diagnosed with it in the mid-1990s. By the middle of the last decade, this disease had stopped his annual pilgrimages to the United States and, as I was spending less time in the United Kingdom, I saw much less of him and was never in Oxford long enough to see more than a few of the paintings he produced in the years of his later retirement or to read any of the novel that he ultimately decided not to publish.

Jack's death on 31 January 2010, was followed by obituaries in *The Guardian* (4 March 2010), *The Daily Telegraph* (9 March 2010), *The Independent* (9 March 2010), and *The Times Higher Education Supplement* (8 April 2010). On 12 June 2010, his family and many of his friends and colleagues gathered at St Catherine's College for a memorial service, and

[29] Married in 1952 in the United States, Jack and Marilyn lived separately from the mid-1970s until their marriage was dissolved in 1988. Marilyn died in 2006.

several of them spoke eloquently and affectionately about him and his accomplishments over a long and productive life. Like them, I retain many fond memories of our long association and, with many of Jack's other American colleagues and intellectual protégés, a deep appreciation for his many profound contributions to the analysis of the American past.

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Note. I wish to thank Joyce O. Appleby, Ilsa Pole, Lucy Pole, Nicholas Pole, Rebecca Starr, Janet Wilson, and Betty Wood for help in constructing this memoir.