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John and Ursula Hicks: Family Backgrounds and Education*

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Abstract

This paper provides little-known biographical information about the family background and education of John and Ursula Hicks. From the 1930s, John was a major figure in the development of economics, and the first British economist to receive a Nobel Prize. Ursula was a distinguished economist in the fields of public finance and development economics. After marriage in 1935, their life together may be described in terms of a partnership, resulting in a number of joint publications in addition to shared enthusiasms. However, very little has previously been known about their family backgrounds and early education.

*I am very grateful to Denis O'Brien, Peter Earl and Harry Bloch for their helpful comments and suggestions on an early draft of this paper. The paper quotes several pages from a manuscript autobiography (up to the age of 12) written by Ursula Hicks in the early 1980s. The manuscript is the property of Gilly Austin, granddaughter of Ursula's Uncle. I am very grateful for permission to quote from it here. I should particularly like to thank Rosaleen Lee for sending me a digital version of the original typescript, for providing detailed replies to my many queries, and for providing the initial drafts of the highly complex family trees. I am also grateful to Chris Lillington, editor of the Leamington Spa Courier (in 2011), for information about the relocation of the Courier offices when John Hicks's father worked there.

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide little-known biographical information about the family background and education of John and Ursula Hicks. There is no need here to elaborate on the fact that John Richard Hicks (1904–1989) was for many years, from the 1930s, a major figure in the development of economics, a prolific writer and the first British economist to be awarded, in 1972, a Nobel Prize. His contributions covered an unusually broad range of economic problems: his career is reviewed in Creedy (2013).¹ Ursula Kathleen Hicks (nee Webb) (1896–1985) was a distinguished economist in the fields of public finance and development economics. She was a founder, and for many years editor, of the journal *Review of Economic Studies*: her career is reviewed by David (1973).

After marriage in 1935, their life together may justly be described in terms of a partnership, resulting in a number of joint publications in addition to shared enthusiasms. Indeed, as Matthews (2004) states, Ursula ‘protected him and organised their lives’ during their fifty years of marriage and that, ‘they were seldom separated, even for a few days’. They were also colleagues at London School of Economics during a period described as ‘the years of high theory’ which saw many new developments and innovations (following the deaths, mainly in the mid-1920s, of the major pioneers of neoclassical economics). As Coase (1994, p. 214) later remarked, ‘what was done by the economists at LSE, principally by Robbins, Hayek and Hicks, was to play a leading role in what we can now see was an international movement which brought into being, for good or ill, the modern age in economics’. It therefore seems fitting to examine both backgrounds together here, although these were very different.²

A considerable amount is known about the evolution of John’s economics. In a series of interviews, recollections and commentaries on reprints of his work, he seemed eager to explain the genesis of his views and the way they changed over the years. Yet little is known about his family. Hicks himself published no information, except to state that he had a good general education. There is nevertheless much that is of interest in his background. While this cannot be expected to shed any light on

¹For other reviews of Hicks’s work see Bliss (2008), Puttaswamaiah (ed.) (2001), Scazzieri, Sen and Zamagni (eds.) (2008). A brief portrait is in Wolfe, J.N. (1968).

²Insights into their relationship and characters (as well as those of a range of economists in London and Cambridge) can be obtained from their correspondence in the months before marriage, when John was in Cambridge and Ursula remained in London; see Marcuzzo and Sanfilippo (2006). Unfortunately the University of Hyogo Library, which holds the letters, has refused to give permission for the letters to be published.

his economics, it does reveal information about how he acquired a solid mathematics training, and made the crucial move to London School of Economics. It also reveals influences on his deep interest in history.

Ursula's early life was spent in Dublin and largely revolved around the wide circle of the Religious Society of Friends, more generally known as Quakers, which played such a large part in the life of her family. Indeed, for Quakers, Dublin was probably second only to Philadelphia, to where many Irish Quakers had earlier emigrated. An examination of her background shows clearly how it reflected a combination of Quaker ideals, business enterprise, education, extensive travel, and strong and colourful personalities. Viewed in this light, it is not surprising that she displayed a strong leadership and organisational role, with wide international sympathies.³

Section 2 provides details of John's family background. His education and early career is discussed in Section 3, where it is shown that his movement into economics and employment at London School of Economics owed much to the family connections. Ursula's family background is explored in Section 4, and her education described in Section 5. An important focus of their life together was their home, Porch House, in the Cotswold village of Blockley. It was both the location of a great deal of academic work, and provided the focus of their enthusiastic joint interest in gardening. On their attachment to gardening, Wolfe (1968, p. x) reported that John was at one time responsible for laying out parts of Nuffield College gardens and, 'on one occasion he went directly from an important meeting to the gardens to supervise the planting of some new rose bushes. An eminent international trade theorist who happened to be present and who witnessed this operation earned the ire of Ursula Hicks by commenting upon the difficulty of reconciling this activity with the theory of comparative advantage'. It therefore seems appropriate to provide details of the long history of the house. Brief conclusions are in Section 7.

2 John Hicks's Family Background

John Richard Hicks was born on 8 April 1904 in Leamington Spa, in Warwickshire, and died on 20 May 1989 in Blockley, Gloucestershire.⁴ The name Hicks, along with

³Ursula left behind a short typed manuscript entitled 'My Early Life (Up to the Age of 12)', which seems to have been written some time between then and 1985. The edited version of this is contained in Hicks (2013), and is discussed further below.

⁴The 1911 census gives the year of birth incorrectly as 1905. Some sources, including Hicks himself, give nearby Warwick as the place of birth.

its variants, Hick, Hicke, Hicces and Hickson, is in fact common in England. It is a patronymic derived from the name Richard, which was popular in England after the reign of King Richard 1st (1189-1199). For this reason it is extremely difficult to trace the family ancestry very far.

2.1 John's Father, Edward Hicks

John's father, Edward Hicks (1878-1952) was born in St Columb in Cornwall. Edwards parents were Richard Hicks (born in Colan in Cornwall about 1836) and Mary (nee Hoblyn, born about 1837), who married in 1865 in St Columb.⁵ Mary died in 1881, and in the census of later that year Richard is recorded as living in Colan with nine children.⁶ In 1882 Richard married Kezia Moffatt (born about 1843), who was also from St Columb, and by the 1891 census they had moved to Sherborne, near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire.⁷ In the 1901 census, the 23 year old Edward was recorded as living in Aston in Warwickshire, as a boarder.⁸

In 1903, in Kings Norton, Edward married Dorothy Catherine Stephens (1874-1925). By the time of the 1911 census, Edward and Dorothy were living in 17 Claremont Road, Leamington, with John, his sister Phyllis Dorothy (then aged 5),⁹ and Dorothy's mother (Catherine Stephens, then a widow aged 68).¹⁰ Another sister, Mary, was born later in 1914. Very little is reported about Edward. He was sent to boarding school in Llandovery College and, after beginning his journalistic career in

⁵The 1861 census lists, at 208 Fair Street, St Columb, the family consisting of Richard Hoblyn (then aged 66), his wife Francis Hoblyn (aged 67) and their daughter Mary J. Hoblyn (then aged 27).

⁶These are (with ages in 1881 given in parentheses): William H. (13); Frances, E. (12); Richard (10); Charles (8); Mary Kate (6); Arthur (5); Edward (3) and Ellen Laura (1). Two others, presumably servants, are resident: these are Elizabeth G. Stephens (24) and Grace A. Solomon (17).

⁷Richard and Kezia had a daughter, Elizabeth, who was aged 8 in 1891. The sons William, Charles and Ernest are not recorded as being resident at the time of the census.

⁸The head of the household was Jane E. Jones (aged 42), and the other boarders were Thomas A Wetherall (aged 22), Gilbert B Grant (aged 34) and William J. Price (aged 35). Hamouda (1993, p. 2) states that Edward, then employed by the Warwick Advertiser, was sent to Birmingham to obtain experience with the Birmingham Post.

⁹Phyllis later published *A Quest of Ladies: The Story of a Warwickshire School* (Birmingham: Frank Jukes, 1949). This is the story of the school established by the Byerley sisters, later mainly run by Maria and Frances, first in Warwick before moving in 1817 to Barford House, and finally moving in 1824 to Avonbank in Stratford on Avon. The Byerley sisters were children of Thomas Byerley (1748-1810), a nephew of Josiah Wedgwood (and a partner after returning in 1775 from America, where he was a schoolteacher in New York). A famous pupil of the school was the great novelist, Elizabeth Gaskell.

¹⁰Also living in the house was a companion, Ethel Wilmer (aged 24) and a servant, Ellen Philpot (aged 17). The same address is given as the place of death of Johns mother in 1925.

1885 with the Warwick Advertiser, in 1909 he became editor of the Leamington Spa Courier, which was founded in 1828.¹¹ He still remains the longest serving editor of the Courier, over the period 1909 to 1944. He oversaw the move from the old Leamington Bank building to new premises in Bedford Street in 1921. One owner of the Courier towards the end of the nineteenth century was Frank Glover, who married the English composer, pianist and sometime reviewer, Ethel R. Harraden (1857-1917).¹² It is possible that Edward became a part proprietor with Glover.¹³ In addition to his journalistic work, Edward was involved with revising a number of books published by the Courier Press, and originally written by C.J. Ribton-Turner.¹⁴ It seems likely that Edward helped John obtain a job with the Manchester Guardian after John completed his degree at Oxford, but this lasted only a matter of months and Matthews reports, not surprisingly, that it was not congenial work.

2.2 John's Mother: Dorothy Catherine Hicks

John's mother, Dorothy Catherine (nee Stephens), was born in 1874 in Ecclesall Bierlow, which is part of Sheffield. Dorothy died in 1925, the year in which John took his final examinations in Oxford. In discussing his disappointing degree performance, the illness and death of his mother were never mentioned by John. Her father was John Mortimer Stephens, a Baptist minister who was born in 1843 in Bath and died on 6 October 1895 in Bristol. J.M. Stephens was named after his father (born about

¹¹Matthews somewhat misleadingly states that he was a journalist and part proprietor of the Warwick and Leamington Spa Courier. The two founders of the Courier, John Fairfax (1804-1877) and James Sharp Senior, fell out almost immediately over political differences. Fairfax (the second son of William Fairfax and his wife Elizabeth, ne Jesson, of Birmingham) then founded the Leamington Chronicle. He successfully defended a libel suit but was unable to meet costs and had to apply to the Insolvency Court. With his wife, mother and three children, Fairfax migrated to Sydney, arriving on 26 September 1838 in the Lady Fitzherbert with only 5. He subsequently went on to become proprietor of the Sydney Morning Herald. In 1851 he paid his creditors in full, despite having an honourable discharge.

¹²Ethel was sued for libel, for 50, by Edith McAlpine after a review of her concert given in Leamington on 7 February 1893. See *The Musical Times*, 1 June 1893 (Volume 34, no. 604, p. 338).

¹³In a book entitled *Baxter Prints*, the author B.H. Morgan stated, I desire to acknowledge the help of my many friends in the compilation of this book, and in particular to Mr. Horton Harrild, Mr. Frederick Harrild, Mr. Arthur Waters and to Mr. Frank Glover and Mr. Edward Hicks, who have read the Proofs and taken the rough output of my in-experienced pen, and clothed it with what- ever style it may be found to possess. The book was published by Courier Press in 1919. The book is about the prints produced by George Baxter (1804-1867).

¹⁴These include Shakespeare's *Land Being a Description of Central and Southern Warwickshire*, revised in 1932. Another is *Kenilworth Castle and Town: With Plan and Illustrations*. These publications are not mentioned by Hamouda (1993, p. 2), who does, however, refer to Edwards book, *Sir Thomas Malory: His Turbulent Career* (1928, Harvard University Press).

1818). His mother was Sophia (born about 1824). In the 1851 census the elder J.M. Stephens and Sophia are recorded as living in Cirencester with three children, the younger J.M. (then aged 7), Ann Eliza (then aged 4) and Sarah Mary (aged 3).¹⁵

In 1867 the younger John Mortimer Stephens married Catherine (1843-1929) in Cirencester, and by the 1871 census they had their first daughter, Sophia Charlotte Winifred (1870-1944), who was known as Winifred.¹⁶ After a period in Sheffield, by 1881 they are recorded as living at 76, Gloucester Street in Elswick, Northumberland. They had, in addition to Winifred, a son (also called John Mortimer, aged 9) and two daughters, Dorothy Catherine (aged 6), and Edith Mortimer (aged 3).¹⁷ By 1891 they had moved to Hereford, and another son, Reginald (then aged 7) had been born.¹⁸ When J.M. Stephens died in 1895, Catherine moved the family to Birmingham. Here Dorothy attended extension lectures on Dante: see Hamouda (1993, p. 3). Hence it was in Birmingham that Dorothy and Edward met. On their marriage Edward became a Baptist, and John Hicks was brought up in the religion. For a time Catherine Stephens lived with Edward and Dorothy, but by the time of her death in 1929, she was living in Worcestershire with Winifred, to whom she left her estate.

2.3 Johns's Aunt Winifred

The correspondence between John and Ursula Webb, dating from shortly before their marriage (edited by Marcuzzo and Sanfilippo, 2006), makes it clear that he was very close to his Aunt Winifred. Indeed, John and Ursula's wedding reception in 1935 was held at 27 Pont Street in London, the home of Winifred.¹⁹ By that time Winifred was the widow of George Whale (1849-1925), whom she married in 1923.²⁰ Following schooling in Provence (in a 'remote Cevennes community'²¹), she had a long and distinguished career as a translator, biographer, historian and editor.

¹⁵Other members of the household included Edward M. Locke (aged 11), James B. Ransford (aged 10) and Susanna Brindell (aged 25).

¹⁶Other members of the household included Selina Carta (aged 19) and Eliza James (aged 14).

¹⁷Also resident in the house were Anna Claffer (aged 40) and Marion Sinclair (aged 21).

¹⁸The census also records an Anna Clupper (aged 50), which suggests that there is at least one transcription error in Claffer/Clupper (see previous footnote). Also in the household was Annie Jones (aged 17).

¹⁹This is just south of Hyde Park, not far from the famous department store, Harrods.

²⁰At the time of George Whales death in 1925, the address was given as 49 York Terrace, Regents Park.

²¹See her book, *The France I Know* (1918, p. 4)

Winifred's long list of publications includes translations of several books by Anatole France, her own biographical works such as *The La Tremoille Family* and *Women of the French Revolution*, along with *Margaret of France Duchess of Savoy 1523-1574* and *French Novelists of Today*. To these may be added her books *From the Crusades to the French Revolution* and *Madame Adam (Juliette Lamber) La Grand Francaise from Llouis Philippe Until 1917*. Her wide international sympathies are indicated by edited works such as *The Soul of Russia*, and *Legends of Indian Buddhism*, and her translation of *The Turkish Problem: Things seen and a few Deductions* (by Count Leon Ostrorog). She also edited *The Book of France*, published in 1915 'in aid of the French parliamentary Committee's Fund for the Relief of the Invaded Departments'.²² The list of Committee members makes interesting reading, and includes among others A.J. Balfour, Austen Chamberlin, Winston Churchill, Lady Randolph Churchill and novelists such as Thomas Hardy, Henry James, Kipling and H.G. Wells, along with her future husband George Whale. Her love of France is expressed in her moving personal memoir, *The France I Know* (1918).²³

Winifred's range of contacts was clearly extremely wide. In addition to her publishing activities, she was a member (and secretary) of the English Committee which selected a short list of books for the Femina Vie Heureuse literary prize.²⁴ The committee members included, among others, the writers Rebecca West, Rosamond Lehmann and Kate O'Brien.²⁵

Winifred's husband George Whale also had a wide range of friends.²⁶ He had a successful career as a solicitor, and was an eager book collector. A good indication of George's character and range of friends can be obtained from the book *George*

²²Her introduction states that the aims are to raise money for French sufferers from German barbarity and to forge a new link between France and England.

²³In this book, she discusses seven visits to France in War-time: three in the winter, spring, and summer of 1915, two in 1916, one in the autumn of 1917 and one in the spring of 1918 (1918, p. vii).

²⁴The prize was named from the titles of two French magazines, Femina and La Vie Heureuse, whose publishers in 1904 established an annual prize for a French work of fiction, chosen by a committee of literary women. This was extended in 1919 to English works, and the English Committee submitted a short-list of three works to the French Committee, which decided the winner. The prize continued until 1939.

²⁵H.G. Wells has already been mentioned in connection with *The Book of France*, and is discussed further below. It is well-known that one of Wells's many affairs was with Rebecca West, who bore their son.

²⁶George Whale had earlier married, in 1874, Matilda Mary Ann Lawson (1850-1922). They had three children, Matilda Winifred (born in 1875), George Harold Lawson (1876-1944) and Dorothy Lawson (born 1880). G.H.L. Whale was educated at Bradfield College, Jesus College Cambridge and St Bartholomews Hospital, becoming an eminent surgeon for diseases of the ear, nose and throat, on which he published several books.

Whale 1849-1925, jointly edited by Winifred with Edward Clodd and Clement King Shorter.²⁷ All the contributors to this volume mention Whale's sociability.²⁸ Winifred (p. 50) wrote that, 'he early became a well-known figure in London literary circles. In his house on Shooter's Hill, later at Blackheath, and recently in Regent's Park, he delighted to gather friends far too numerous to mention'. George Whale served as Mayor of Woolwich and was a founder member of Omar Khayyam and Pepys Clubs.²⁹ He was Chairman (1922-1925) of the Rationalist Press Association, which began in 1899 with the aim of publishing literature that was too anti-religious to be handled by mainstream publishers.³⁰ George died suddenly of a heart attack while drawing a meeting of the Association to its close.

It is easy to imagine how Winifred's and George's broad interests and international sympathies affecting the young John Hicks. However, there is another extremely important influence. Matthews (2004) states that 'there was a connection with the political scientist Graham Wallas', but the nature of the connection is not explained. Hicks (1973, p. 2) made only one reference to Wallas, noting that, 'I turned to economics after I had taken my degree, through a fortunate contact I had with Graham Wallas, and through him with LSE'. It is perhaps surprising that such an important event was mentioned only once and in such a 'low key' way in a footnote. Hamouda (1993, p. 7) mentions briefly that, 'Graham Wallace [sic] . . . to whom Hicks had been introduced by his Aunt Winifred in her home in London, urged Hicks to read economics'. However, it seems clear that the association between Winifred and Wallas initially arose through George Whale.

Wallas (1858-1932) was one of the four founders of London School of Economics, where he was lecturer (1895-1914) and then Professor of Political Science (1914-1923). In the present context an important point is that Wallas was President of

²⁷Published by Jonathan Cape in 1926. On p. 48 Winifred writes that By the time he was twenty-three, his library numbered one thousand volumes; at the time of his death, sixty thousand. It is not known what became of this library.

²⁸When writing his book, *The Pretty Lady*, Arnold Bennett consulted George Whale. He wrote in his journal: 'Dined with George Whale at the N.L.C. [National Liberal Club] And in his great ugly sitting room took what I wanted from his large collection of notes on war superstitions for my novel. His notes were extremely interesting'.

²⁹The Omar Khayyam Club was started, at a dinner at Paganis Restaurant on 13 September 1892, by Frederic Hudson, Clement Shorter and George Whale. The Pepys club was formed following a dinner at the Garrick Club on 26 May 1903, by George Whale, Sir Frederick Bridge, Sir Darcy Power and Henry Wheatley (editor of the 3rd edition of the diary).

³⁰It began as the Propagandist Press Committee in 1890, started by Charles Watts and George Jacob Holyoake. In 2002 the name was again changed to The Rationalist Association.

the Rationalist Press Association, of which, as mentioned above, George Whale was Chairman. He frequently gave lectures to the Association. Hence Wallas and Whale obviously knew each other and worked together in the Association, and it is therefore most likely that John Hicks's crucial meeting with Wallas arose from the George Whale connection.

In addition, a further indirect link may be mentioned. Wallas was for many years a friend and mentor of H.G. Wells.³¹ Wells was, in turn, a good friend of George Whale, as Wells himself makes clear in his contribution to *George Whale 1849-1925*, where he writes (p. 45) that, 'I was delighted to go and dine with Whale in that happy home in Regent's Park whither he went after his second marriage. . . . It was a very graceful, pleasant, bookish home. . . . Almost the last I saw of him was at my house at Little Easton. They came for a week-end'.

3 John Hicks's Education and Early Career

3.1 Education

When discussing his education, Hicks simply mentions that he had a very good general schooling. After early tuition from John's parents at home, he was sent to Warwick School between the ages of 9 and 11, and then to Greyfriars for the next two years, where he became a favourite of the headmaster, Alfred Beaven Beaven. Hamouda (1993, p. 4) reports that the move to Greyfriars, despite the high cost, was encouraged by Winifred. Beaven had been a student at Exeter and then Pembroke College, Oxford. Before being headmaster at Greyfriars he was an assistant master at King's School Bruton in 1871, a master at Worcester Cathedral School 1872-1874, and headmaster of Preston Grammar School in 1874. At Preston he appears to have acquired a reputation for producing excellent examination results with an 'extremely rigorous' regime. But a dwindling number of students seems to have led to his resignation in 1898.

Beaven was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and displayed a taste for compiling various historical lists and biographies.³² However, he also attached considerable importance to mathematics. He had five sons, all of whom had careers as mathematicians. One of them, Harold Castlereagh Beaven, went on to teach John

³¹On the close relationship between Wells and Wallas, see Stone and Smith (1983).

³²His publications include Beaven (1899, 1908-13).

mathematics at Clifton College. Another son, Alfred Disraeli Park Beaven, became senior maths master at Wakefield School.³³

The hard work and rigorous training at Greyfriars helped John to obtain a scholarship to Clifton College.³⁴ This school had, and continues to have, an outstanding academic reputation. A number of its teachers had been top Cambridge Wranglers. The school can boast three Nobel prizewinners. In addition to John Hicks, there is John Kendrew (chemistry) and Nevill Francis Mott (physics). Mott (1905-1996) was obviously a contemporary of Hicks and became Master of Gonville and Caius College (also John's college during his brief time at Cambridge in the late 1930s), before obtaining his Nobel prize in 1977.

Alfred Marshall, also a mathematics Wrangler at Cambridge, taught mathematics at Clifton College for a short time on an informal basis. William Proctor Milne (1881-1967), a mathematics teacher during John Hicks's time at Clifton, became professor of mathematics at Leeds University in 1919. The transition from teaching at Clifton to a university was not uncommon, but in a wider context it is remarkable. An earlier headmaster during the period 1879 to 1890 was Edward Pears Wilson (1836-1931), who served as President of the UK Mathematics Association in 1921, and wrote a number of introductory mathematics texts.³⁵

With strong coaching in mathematics over the whole of his time at school, John was able to win the Sebag Montifiore scholarship to Balliol, which he entered in 1922, to study mathematics. Hamouda (1993, p. 6) reports that John found the first year in Oxford to be mainly a repetition of material covered at Clifton. After winning an essay prize for a paper on Shakespeare, John was told that he need not continue with mathematics. This is despite the fact, as Matthews reports, that he obtained a first in moderations in 1923. He changed to the recently created degree course in Politics Philosophy and Economics (PPE). He reported (1992) that he 'had interests in literature and in history which I needed to satisfy', but was advised

³³A.D.P. Beaven died in Burma, at the prisoner of war camp at Thanbyuz and was buried at the Ayat War Cemetery. Two other sons were Cecil Livingston Beaven and Murray L.R. Beaven.

³⁴The Clifton College headmaster over the period 1909-1923 was John David King. Field Marshal Douglas Haig was an Old Cliftonian who went on to command the British armed forces in the First World War. In the Second World War, some of the colleges buildings were used as the main HQ where the D-Day landings were planned.

³⁵Another teacher was H.S. Hall, who wrote bestselling mathematics texts. Also overlapping with Hicks at Clifton was the famous statistician Frank Yates (1902-1994), who worked with R.A. Fisher. Yates won his scholarship in 1916. For further details of the development of science teaching at (among other schools) Clifton College, and attempts to improve science teaching in general, see Pippard (2002).

that his mathematics background would be useful for the study of economics and, as economics was an expanding subject, he would have better chances of employment.³⁶ This advice contrasts sharply with that given to Henry Phelps Brown, who in the early 1920s won a history scholarship at Wadham College. The economic historian, R.V. Lennard, suggested to Henry that it would be wise to study history rather than PPE because the latter was not well organized: see Worswick (1996). Indeed, some idea of the nature of PPE at that time may be obtained from Robbins, who had to teach on the course. Robbins (1971, p. 111) commented that the conception was good, but ‘the realization was truly lamentable. There was virtually no organization, no co-ordination to present a balanced course of teaching’.³⁷

Whatever the causes, John’s failure to obtain a first class degree in 1925 was a clear disappointment. Matthews also reports that he unsuccessfully sat a fellowship examination for All Souls. Hicks returned to Oxford to complete a B.Litt. thesis on ‘skill differentials in the building and engineering trades’, a topic in labour history, for which he was supervised by G.D.H. Cole. Matthews (2004) states that he obtained the B.Litt in 1927, but Hamouda (1993, p. 7) writes that it was completed during one academic year 1925–1926, for which he had obtained (with the help of A.D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol) a War Memorial Student scholarship. The topic, along with the encouragement to study economics, mentioned above, was suggested by Graham Wallas. It was after this postgraduate year, and several months as a junior reporter on the Manchester Guardian, that Hicks applied for a temporary teaching position, as assistant lecturer, to the London School of Economics. Given the family connection discussed above, it seems likely that he owed this position, which was regularly renewed until he was given a lectureship, to the influence of Graham Wallas.

³⁶His change of degree is also discussed in Hicks (1979). In a later interview he said that, ‘they told me to change over to [PPE] rather than to history, which I would have preferred, because, they said, my mathematics would be of some use in PPE’; see Klamer (1989, p. 168).

³⁷Robbins went on to say that the course was dominated by philosophy and ‘amateurishness and superficiality in the other subjects’. Of the university at that time, Robbins (1971, p. 110) commented that, ‘little suspicion of any sort of inadequacy disturbed the serene self-confidence of the dominant majority, although in fact there was much both in organization and intellectual tradition that was open to criticism’.

3.2 Early Career

Hicks's B.Litt. research on skill differences involved little economics, so that his serious education in economics did not really begin until he moved to the London School of Economics in 1926.³⁸ To the modern academic, it is startling that anyone would be appointed to a lectureship (though it was initially temporary) with such a thin background in the subject. And it is no wonder that Hicks made a slow start in publishing, after what must have been an intense period of self-education. After publishing two economic history pieces in *Economica*, which probably came from his B.Litt thesis, Hicks published his first economics paper in 1930, on 'Edgeworth, Marshall and the indeterminateness of wages', in the *Economic Journal*. However, this consists of a summary of the separate contributions, rather than containing new analysis.³⁹

The environment at London School of Economics was, as he often acknowledged, crucial to his development as an economist. He never again experienced that fertile and lively interaction with stimulating colleagues. A crucial turning point was the advice given by Hugh Dalton (then head of department) to look at Pareto, whose works Dalton had investigated after his time in an Italian hospital at the end of the First World War. Hicks (1979) stated that his Italian, 'is still, I fear, little more than a reading knowledge'. After Lionel Robbins's arrival and the consequent appointment of Hayek, there was 'a sort of social process which went on among the people who were working there, at that time, under the leadership of Professor Robbins' (preface to Hicks, 1939).⁴⁰

The move to Cambridge in 1935, the year of his marriage to Ursula, marked a substantial change. The sociable atmosphere of LSE was replaced by one in which, 'people are terribly prone to quarrelling with each other. At that time the Cambridge faculty was divided into parties which wouldn't talk to each other. I didn't enjoy that at all' (quoted by Klamer, 1989, p. 170). Working much more in isolation than

³⁸Coase (1994, p. 210) suggests that Hicks went to LSE in 1928, but he spent the academic year 1928-9 teaching at the University of Witwatersrand, in South Africa. He travelled to South Africa on the same ship as W.H. Hutt (1899-1988) who was taking up a senior lectureship at Cape Town. Hutt had continued to attend LSE lectures, while working for the publisher Sir Ernest Benn, after graduation in 1924. Herbert Frankel, professor of economics at Witwatersrand 1930-1946, moved to Nuffield in 1946 and initially stayed in the Hicks's flat in Oxford.

³⁹The point at issue, the fact that Marshall ruled out income effects when discussing the implications of trading at disequilibrium prices, became important in his later discussion of price determination, and the debate was again discussed by Hicks (1939, in 1946 edition, pp. 127-129).

⁴⁰Hicks was proud of being elected FBA in the same year, 1942, as Robbins.

before, the major product was the consolidation of his earlier work into his most famous book, *Value and Capital*, published in 1939. Hicks was not aware of the impact of this book in the US until after World War II, when he met Samuelson and others. Klamer (1989, p. 174, n. 9) reports that his fame in Japan arose from the fact that the Japanese confiscated a shipment of *Value and Capital* in Singapore.⁴¹

The period following his retirement, in the mid-1960s from the Drummond Chair, saw a large output, including two substantial books on capital theory, and a book on causality in economics. It also included *A Theory of Economic History* (1969) which, despite its generally negative reception, he continued to regard as ‘one of my better books’ (Klamer, 1989, p. 175). While this later body of work cannot fail to interest the serious reader, there is no doubt that it has not had the same impact as his earlier contributions. It may be said that Hicks was moving in a different direction from the mainstream.

4 Ursula’s Family Background

Ursula’s father was William Fisher Webb (1859-1924), a successful Dublin lawyer, whose practice was initially at 38 Dame Street, Dublin, close to Trinity College Dublin.⁴² William was the youngest son of James Webb (1797-1878) and Susanna (nee Fisher) (1816-1906), who were both members of prominent Irish Quaker families. William had two elder sisters, Edith and Gertrude, both of whom were teachers and remained unmarried. Edith taught at the Mount School York (a Quaker school) before teaching at the highly regarded Alexandra School in Dublin. Gertrude established a kindergarten in Dublin. Ursula attended this school before going to the Alexandra School, and from there she was sent, at her mother’s wish, to Roedean.

Ursula’s mother, Isabella Mary (nee Hayward) (1865-1931) was born in Limerick

⁴¹A curious feature of this book is that, despite Hicks’s wide reading and his sincere attachment to the history of the subject, he does not display the historian’s respect for sources. There are no references to Irving Fisher, W.E. Johnson, W. Launhardt, Henry Moore, Henry Schultz, A.L. Bowley, Knut Wicksell, or Harold Hotelling. Wicksteed is briefly mentioned in discussing excess demand curves, but no reference is given. Even Edgeworth, who invented the indifference curve apparatus, is mentioned only in passing three times. When discussing general equilibrium, there is no mention of John von Neumann and Abraham Wold, or even Karl Gustav Cassell. Yet appropriate references to these influential writers would not have reduced the reception or long-term admiration for this book.

⁴²Their home address in the 1911 census is 2 Highfield Road, Dublin. In 1910 he established a partnership with his younger cousin Leonard Webb, at 1 Suffolk Street, Dublin. This partnership was dissolved on 12 August 1915, when William and his wife moved to England.

and died in Surrey.⁴³ Isabella had a good education in England. In the 1871 census, she is listed as aged 5 and living with her grandfather, Joseph Hayward, then aged 69, in Whetsone, Finchley. Her education included the period 1877-1881 at the Quaker school in Sidcot, followed by The Mount School in York from 1881-1883. Finally Isabella studied at University College London, graduating in 1893 with a BSc in Botany and Physiology.

Isabella and William were married on 22 December 1893 at Torquay. They met when Isabella was staying in Ireland with William's family, while on holiday. Ursula relates that William's older brother Frederic wanted to marry Isabella's younger sister, Alice, but her father refused on the grounds that Frederic was 15 years older than Alice and was 'drifting' in his career (though he later became a doctor in Manchester). Isabella's father was William Hayward (born in London 1830 and died in Torquay 1917), and her mother was Elizabeth (nee Alexander). Elizabeth's parents were Samuel Alexander, of Limerick, and Isabella (nee Fisher). Samuel was in turn the son of Edward Alexander and Jenepher (nee Fisher). Hence Ursula's paternal grandmother (Susanna) was initially a Fisher, as was her maternal great-grandmother (Isabella) and great-great-grandmother. In fact Susanna and Isabella were sisters, so that William Fisher Webb married the daughter of his first cousin, Elizabeth (nee Alexander). The Alexanders were also Quakers. Marriages between cousins, and across generations, were not uncommon in the three families involved.

A prominent member of the extensive Webb family was Alfred Webb (1834-1908). Alfred's uncle was Thomas Webb, who was married to Mary (nee Fisher, another of the Fisher sisters), the aunt of William Fisher Webb, Ursula's father. Joseph Webb, who was the brother of Richard Webb (William Fisher Webb's grandfather) was Alfred Webb's great grandfather. Hence Alfred Webb's father was William Fisher Webb's second cousin, and they also shared an aunt and uncle. Ursula recalls that Alfred lent her father the money that enable him to be articled to a firm of solicitors. Alfred travelled widely, including an early trip to Australia during 1853-1855. This trip was partly for his health, and must have been successful as he walked from Melbourne to Sydney before sailing home.⁴⁴ Alfred also travelled to Iceland in 1861 with his

⁴³Her address was 'Dromaneen', in Chichester Road, Oxted, Surrey. The house was presumably named after the castle in County Cork, one of the castles formerly owned by the O'Callaghan family: William Fisher Webb's great grandmother was Mary O'Callaghan.

⁴⁴See Webb (1999). Disappointingly this omits much of Webb's discussion of his family background. Further information is in Regan-Lefebvre, J. (2009).

cousin, Joseph Shackleton⁴⁵ and shortly afterwards married his cousin (and Joseph's sister) Elizabeth Shackleton (1834-1907). Elizabeth was from the Ballitore Quaker community, near Dublin, the most famous member being the explorer Ernest Henry Shackleton.

The Quaker school at Ballitore, started by Abraham Shackleton (1696-1771) in 1726, had as its most famous pupil Edmund Burke, who went from there to Trinity College Dublin in 1744. Elizabeth's father was George Shackleton (1785-1871) and her mother was Hannah (nee Fisher), the daughter of Joseph Fisher (1774-1830) and Hannah (nee Mark). Here is another Fisher connection. Elizabeth's grandfather was Abraham Shackleton (1752-1818), who took over the running of Ballitore school, started by his grandfather and namesake, and whose half-sister was Mary Leadbeater. In the first of a series of pedagogic books, Mary published *Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry*, in 1811. This contained an introduction and notes by the famous Irish author Maria Edgeworth. Here, of course, there is a link with economics, as Maria was an aunt of Francis Ysidro Edgeworth. One of Mary's six children, Lydia, married into the Fisher family.

Alfred Webb was energetic and wide-ranging, taking over his father's printing business, publishing articles and books as well as being a member of parliament, and campaigning against slavery, like his remarkable parents Richard Davis and Hannah Webb (nee Waring), who were also in contact with American abolitionists.⁴⁶ Widely respected, Alfred had the considerable honour of being invited to preside at the 10th Indian National Congress in Madras in 1894.

4.1 Webb, Fisher and Shackleton Connections

This section illustrates just some of the complex relationships among the Fisher, Shackleton and Webb families referred to above. The 'trees' shown in Figures 1 to 4 are considerably simplified and, for example, do not include all children of the marriages listed (for example, Hannah and George Shackleton had 13 children, but only Elizabeth is shown here). Also, the trees do not demonstrate how Alfred Webb is the cousin of his wife Elizabeth Shackleton, and how there were other connections (in addition to Elizabeth's parents, George Shackleton and Hannah Fisher) between

⁴⁵See Stone (2004), and for Shackleton's account, see Stone (2005).

⁴⁶Among his publications is a huge book on Irish biography: see Webb (1878). A digital version of this book can be accessed at the Library Ireland web site: <http://www.libraryireland.com/biography/index.php>.

Fishers and Shackletons, and between the latter and Webbs. However, from these trees, the following points are noteworthy. Isabella Fisher’s father Benjamin was a second cousin of her mother-in-law, Jenepher. Ursula’s paternal Grandmother Susanna was the older sister of Ursula’s maternal great grandmother Isabella. Alfred Webb’s aunt Mary (from the marriage of his father’s brother Thomas) was the elder sister of Ursula’s maternal great grandmother Isabella. Ursula’s paternal grandfather James had a cousin also called James Webb, who was the grandfather of Alfred Webb, who in turn married Elizabeth Shackleton, and Elizabeth’s maternal grandfather was a cousin of Jenepher Fisher; as mentioned above, Ursula’s father married the daughter of his first cousin (Elizabeth Hayward, nee Alexander). The tree in Figure 4 shows that Norman Fitzroy Webb and Melanie Louisa Webb were cousins, and also cousins of Ursula. The invitations to John and Ursula’s wedding were issued by ‘Mr and Mrs N.F. Webb ... on the occasion of the marriage of their cousin Miss Ursula K. Webb’,⁴⁷

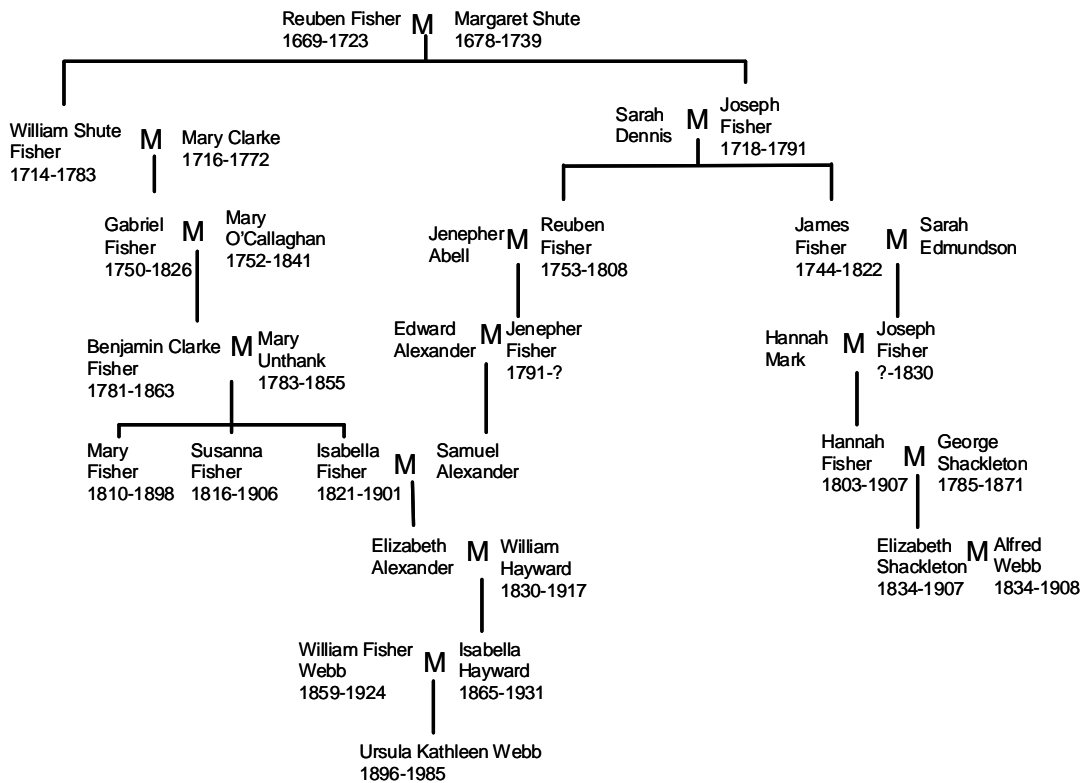


Figure 1: Family Connections: A

⁴⁷A blank invitation is reproduced in Marcuzzo and Sanfilippo (2006, p. 91).

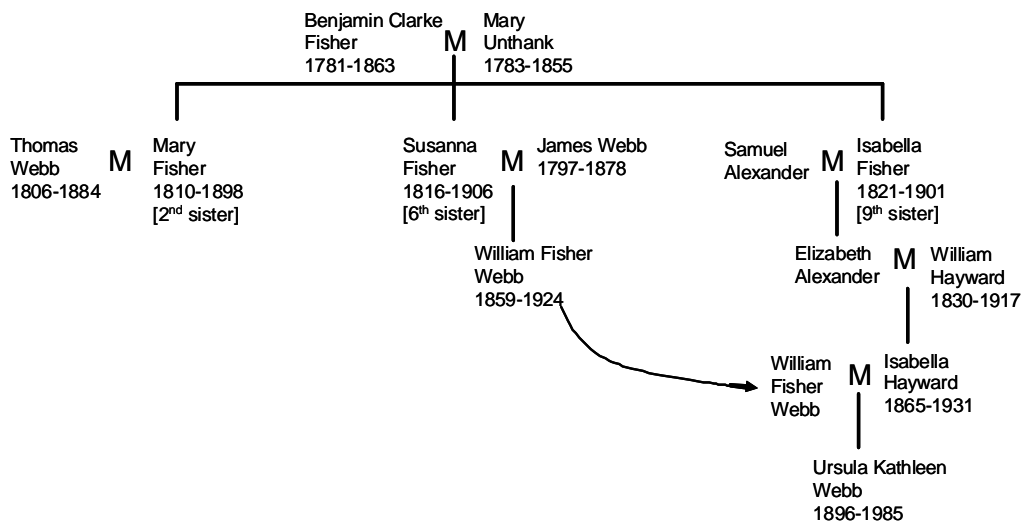


Figure 2: Family Connections: B

5 Ursula's Education

Ursula's education contrasts sharply with John's. It seems best simply to quote from her own description, from her autobiographical sketch in Hicks (2013). However, footnotes have been added by the present author, and are shown within square brackets.

By the time I was nearly four I had pretty clearly outgrown a nannie and was to have a governess who would see to my further training. Mother was ashamed at the mirth with which my English relations greeted my brogue (which I don't think can have been very heavy as I was always very careful to speak quite differently to Mother and to Essie). So it was decreed that I must have an English governess, Miss Simms. She was a young woman from Birmingham, one of a large and indigent (lower) middle class family. She anglicized me by teaching me to call a spool of thread – a reel of cotton, a lobby – a landing, and a press – a cupboard. But I don't think her Birmingham accent was nearly as attractive as Essie's brogue. She was very kind and in the end I got to like her, but never with the same feeling as for Essie.

The greatest influence on me in my young days was my Aunt Gertrude, the younger of father's two sisters. With some difficulty after father turned

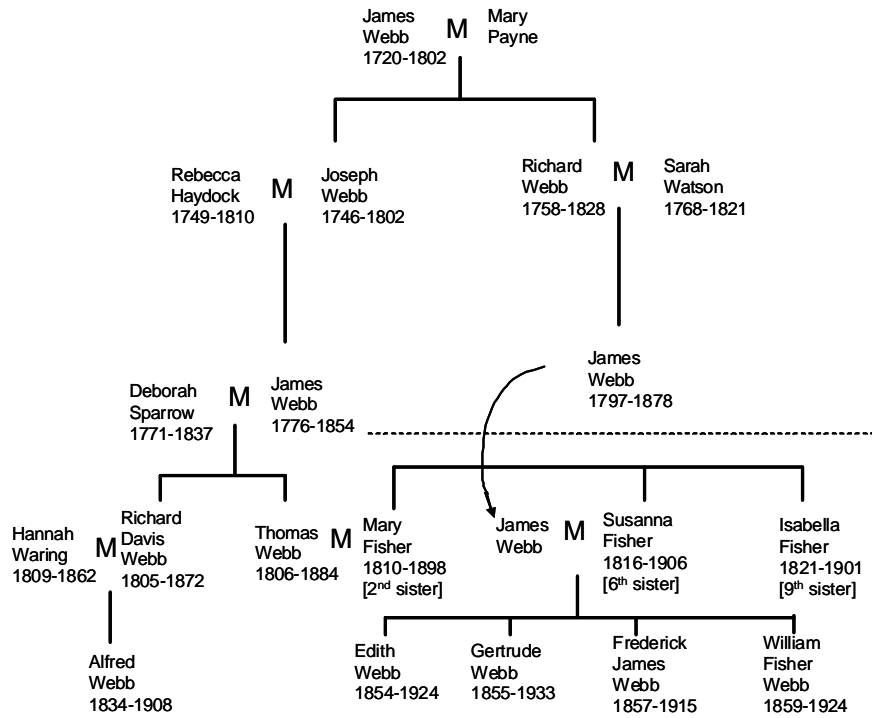


Figure 3: Family Connections: C

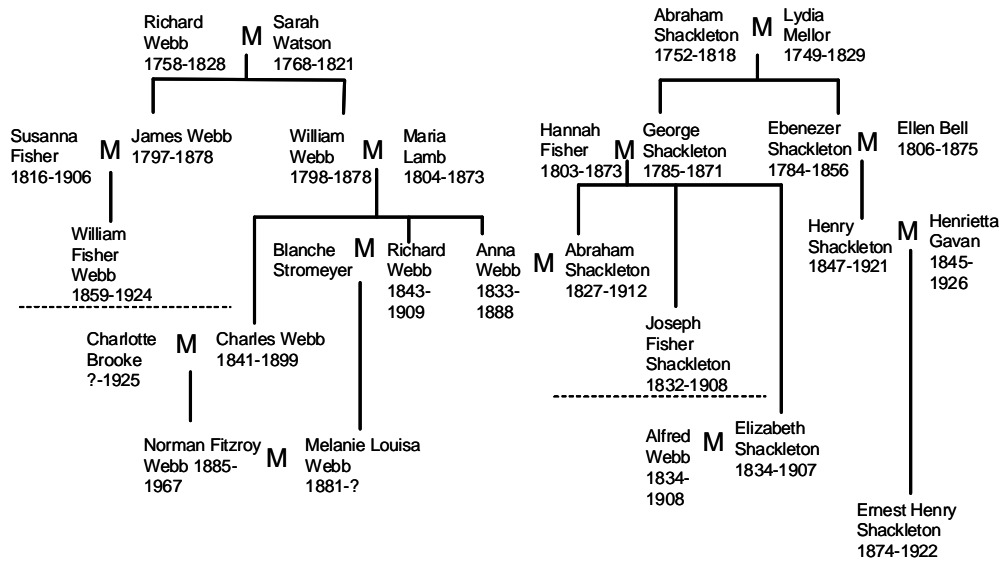


Figure 4: Family Connections: D

them out of Clondillure, her sister Edith managed to find a very eligible early Victorian house in Frankfort Avenue, Rathgar, which runs between the Rathmines and the Rathgar roads. It had fine big rooms just right for the school, and an upper floor for living. The school flourished and must have numbered about 30 children, usually from about 4 to 11 or 12 (but the bright ones put their heads through the top by 9). Auntie took over my moral training, I am sure to the relief of my parents. She had herself a strong religious sense, but she never forced anything on us. Rather she appealed to our reason. We went straight to the New Testament and learnt a text every Sunday, and if on Monday we knew it perfectly, a text was placed in a box which each of us had. Arithmetic we started with different coloured beans – black for units, white for tens and brown for hundreds. (For long I felt that the brown ones must somehow be more valuable). The top class which she took herself was quite small, but of differing intelligences. She got over this very successfully by putting the bright children to work in their own pairs. I always feel that if I had been able to work a bit longer with George Preston (who ended up a Professor of Chemistry at Dundee and an FRS⁴⁸) that my maths would have been better. (Preston died aged 79.) But she managed to conceal from us who the clever ones and who the stupid ones were. Every month in the top class we had an ... [A page is missing here, probably containing material about her time at Alexandra School.]

... made jolly little notes in tunes. A short sighted mistress was completely baffled by this. (I was a great collector of nibs. One time I had 63 in the pocket of my sailor suit, and when the string broke it was a disaster.) But my great invention was cyphers. My first experiment was just numbers. One very quickly learnt the numbers of the letters. This was safe as although⁴⁹ surprised at such a list they roused no comment from my mistress. But my real success was a pictorial cypher. (At that age one can remember anything almost instantly.) The shapes I used were quite random and of course we had nothing to convey or conceal. We just

⁴⁸[George Dawson Preston (1896-1972) was in fact a Professor of Physics, and was Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He was educated in a private school in Oundle between 1909 and 1914, was wounded in the leg at the start of World War I. He studied at Cambridge in 1921 and became a researcher at the National Physical Laboratory in Teddington.]

⁴⁹[This was originally typed as ‘the’ but changed by hand.]

passed them round among my friends. But a page of these was found and led to quite a terrible row, which actually reached my parents ears so that I had to foreswear all cyphers.

Apart from the school course, many lessons were interesting, especially history, where we used a ‘line of time’ showing contemporaneous events in different countries. But it was all geared to Irish history, English only appearing as it impinged on Ireland. Latin was always fun, especially Virgil, translating as we went, with very little finesse of grammar or prose. The worst gap in our training was literature, which was confined to Scottish or Irish works. Scott, Maria Edgeworth was our main diet. My mother was much upset at this lacuna, and supplemented it heavily (or I should never have got to Roedean), and we saw many Shakespeare plays by good visiting companies. She also read me *The Odyssey*.⁵⁰ But I have never had a really strong literary sense. Both music and drawing were well taught. For music we had compulsory class singing in parts, usually an instrument (mainly piano) and if any talent was observed, Harmony – filling up chords from numbers. Drawing consisted of the then usual drill of a collection of objects on a drawing board (it was just the same at Roedean) but it was a useful drill and did teach one perspective. I did not mind this instruction as I was always drawing at home in any case.⁵¹

But the study that gave me the most interest was Botany where annual competitions were set of pressed flowers showing flower, stem, leaf and if possible, root. There was a fixed programme of Natural Orders. Three or four gradually attaining more difficult (rarer collections – such as geraniaceae, scrophulariaceae and so on⁵²). These had to be mounted on 12×10 sheets and labelled: English name, Latin name, where found, date and natural order. It was a magnificent training, in accuracy, neat fingers and field botany. There had to be a minimum of 35 specimens, but my maximum was all that I could find, for compositae I had more than 100, somewhat to the consternation of the Professor of Botany, at Trinity, who

⁵⁰[This was originally written as Oddysey. This is the second epic Greek poem, the first being the *Iliad*, attributed to Homer. It describes Odysseus’s journey home after the fall of Troy.]

⁵¹[Ursula continued to draw and paint throughout her life.]

⁵²[Geraniaceae is a family, of about 800 species, of flowering plants, the best known of which are Geranium and Perlargonium. Scrophulariaceae, is also a family of flowering plants, containing many species of annual or perenial herbs.]

judged the entries. I never went on an expedition without a tin over my shoulder to collect specimens. Naturally, I was aided and abetted by my Botanical mother, but the hobby was essentially my own. The Irish flora was extremely rich, but I also collected wherever I was – especially in Devonshire, and even in France in 1908. After 5 years of this discipline I was an accomplished Botanist. The Botany mistress at Roedean quickly discovered this. I was made to check all the flowers brought in for the Roedean (very inferior) competition (just putting a flower in water, with a name). This did not imply that one really had to look at the flowers, as I did. All of this was of course accompanied by gardening. My mother was an early rock garden enthusiast and we grew them in rivalry. My infant prodigy botany was recognized and my enthusiasm sharpened by invitations from the great such as Professor Lloyd Praeger⁵³ and Professor Andrew Dixon at Trinity.⁵⁴ (We were great friends of the Dixons as in addition to my mother’s professional interests, Mrs. Dixon was with my father one of the early Poor Law Guardians).

6 Porch House in Blockley

After John and Ursula moved to Oxford in 1946, and John took up the Nuffield College fellowship, their main residence was Porch House in the Cotswold village of Blockley, although they also maintained a flat in Oxford. The house was previously owned by George and Winifred Whale, and was left to John by Winifred.⁵⁵ Porch House was subsequently bought by Ursula, who bequeathed it to Linacre College, where Ursula was a Foundation Fellow, ‘after John’s life tenancy expired’.⁵⁶ Her

⁵³[This was originally typed as Lloyed. Robert Lloyd Praeger (1865-1953) obtained a degree in engineering at the Royal University. After museum work he was employed in the National Library in Dublin until retirement in 1923. Hence he was not a professor, but was President of the Royal Irish Academy, 1931-1934, and of the British Ecological Society, and was first President of the National Trust for Ireland on its establishment in 1947.]

⁵⁴[This should in fact be Henry Horatio Dixon (1904-1949), who was Professor of Botany in Trinity College Dublin for 45 years, retiring in 1949. He became a student of TCD in 1887 and was first appointed there as an assistant in 1892. He became FSR in 1908. Ursula is clearly confusing the name with that of his brother, Andrew Francis Dixon, who was Professor of Human Anatomy.]

⁵⁵See Marcuzzo and Sanfilippo (2006), who suggest that the house, along with a magnificent library, was left to John by Winifred. Simkin (2001) writes incorrectly that it was left to Johns sister, from whom Ursula bought it.

⁵⁶Simkin (2001) repeats the suggestion, which appears in various sources, that Porch House was initially a Bishop’s residence, but this suggestion is now discounted.

hope was that the house would be used as a quiet environment for students to work in the country. But Linacre subsequently sold Porch House and named one of their buildings, 105 Banbury Road, after Lady Ursula Hicks.⁵⁷ After Ursula died, John travelled, with assistance, to overseas conferences. He was rather frail and had for some time been unsteady on his feet, commenting to Samuelson (2001, p. 4) that, ‘fortunately I am dying from my feet up rather than from my brain down’.

Except for their many overseas trips, Porch House provided their main home for 40 years.⁵⁸ It clearly provided a quiet haven for John and Ursula’s close partnership, and a perfect environment for an undisturbed daily working regime, described by Lejonhufvud (2001, p. 319). The house is a large Grade II listed property with a large garden, in which both John and Ursula took much interest. John also encouraged the economic historian T.S. Ashton (1889-1968) to move to Blockley in retirement, where he lived in ‘Tredwells’. Similarly, he persuaded G.B. Richardson to return to Oxford and buy a house in Blockley.⁵⁹ Klammer (1989, p. 176) mentions that when he went to interview John in 1988 in Porch House, he approached the local shopkeeper for directions and reports that, ‘when he finally realized whom I was looking for, he exclaimed, “Oh, he is quite a recluse, you know. He got a Nobel Prize, eh? Isn’t that interesting!”’.

The house has an interesting history. Tree-ring dating of roof timbers suggests

⁵⁷There is some uncertainty about the fate of Hicks’s library. For discussion of his papers, see Marcuzzo and Sanfilippo (2006, pp. 120-129). They mention that the University of Hyogo holds something like 1,200 books, but this can only be a fraction of the total number. Part of the library was left by John to All Souls College, while other books, along with his papers, were bequeathed to his former secretary, Patricia Utechin (1928-2008) who had also worked for Max Beloff and Isaiah Berlin. These were quickly sold. Access to material held by the John Hicks Foundations appears to be extremely difficult.

⁵⁸John and Ursula also owned the house next door to Porch House, which they called Puffers. It was once The Railway Inn, which was built in 1850 to accommodate the needs of navvies working on the new railway line (the Oxford, Worcester and Wolverhampton Railway popularly referred to as Old Worse & Worse). The navvies were not welcome in the other village inns. It was a Donnington Ales (Arkell) House run for many years by George and Olive Cox. The Blockley Riot of 1878 was attributed to the excessive number of public houses in the village, along with over-zealous behaviour by the police. The famous prophet and visionary, Joanna Southcott (1750-1814), married, near the end of her life, a Blockley resident called John Smith (1758-1829).

⁵⁹See Schuller (2008). John Hicks’s relationship with Oxford University Press extended over fifty years. For twenty of those, until 1971 when new rules limited terms of office, he was a Delegate and member of the Finance Committee (a subcommittee of Delegates). Six of his books were published during his period as a Delegate and, with Richardson taking his place as Delegate (and becoming Secretary, that is chief executive, in 1974), Schuller comments that ‘Hicks’s relations with his main publisher were considerably closer and more complex than normal’. However, some of his later books were published by Blackwells who were then under the influence of René Olivieri.

that the most likely period of construction is 1535-1540, but the name and general appearance date from the 17th century.⁶⁰ An early owner was Elizabeth Martyn, who lived there from 1713 until her death in 1747, having moved from the nearby Upton Wold on her husband's death in 1713.⁶¹ After Elizabeth Martyn, the house was owned by Lieutenant-Colonel Melchior Guy Dickens (1696-1775), a distinguished British diplomat, minister to Prussia and Sweden and ambassador to Russia. He was involved in a dispute with his Blockley neighbour, Edward Collier, who was accused of blocking a drain running through his land.⁶² Collier's son was Admiral Sir Edward Collier (1783-1872), who was born in Blockley and returned to live there after a successful naval career.⁶³

7 Conclusions

This paper has provided details of the family backgrounds and early education of John and Ursula Hicks who, from their marriage in 1935, formed a close partnership. Both were involved in the exciting discussions taking place in London School of Economics, particularly under the influence of Robbins, in a period described as 'the years of high theory'. Ursula was a founding, and long-time, editor of the *Review of Economic Studies*, established with the explicit purpose of bringing the new discoveries to a wider audience. Although much is known about the genesis of John's famous publications and the evolution of his views, he provided only a few vague statements about his background and, in particular, his entry into the profession. Hicks referred only to 'a fortunate contact' with Graham Wallas, a founder of London School of Economics. However, it turns out that this contact arose through his aunt, Winifred,

⁶⁰See Bridge (2008). For a detailed description of the house, containing plans and photographs, see Rodwell (2008).

⁶¹Both Francis and Elizabeth gave, in their wills, donations to support charity schools in Blockley. In addition, their daughter Ann, who pre-deceased Elizabeth, also gave money for the poor in Blockley. A later owner of Porch House, Thomas Horne, gave in 1845 a new building for a school in nearby Morton-in-Marsh. Other Blockley residents who made charitable bequests include the aptly named Martha Scattergood and her father Rev. Samuel Scattergood (1646-1696).

⁶²In fact Dickens was living at 66 Great Queen Street, London, between 1749 and 1751. Some sources suggest that he was still living in Porch House in 1779 when his son was buried in Blockley church. However, in his will dated 10 July 1775, he was living at Waddon in Croydon, Surrey. He gave instructions that his body should not be taken to Blockley but interred in a vault in the parish church in Croydon.

⁶³He was buried in the chancel of the church, where there is a stained glass window in his memory. After retirement he served as a County Magistrate, and he also built the Police House in 1861 on Colliers Close.

her husband George Whale, and their extremely wide circle of friends. His early mathematical training, which was crucial for his subsequent economic research, was shown to benefit from the outstanding teaching he received at school: again Winifred played a role in suggesting the school.

Ursula's family was shown to have been intimately linked with the large Quaker community in Dublin in the early years of the 20th century. The importance attached to education within the community, and the numerous complex links with the prominent Fisher and Shackleton families, were discussed. From the mid-1940s (following John's appointment to Nuffield College) John and Ursula's main residence was Porch House in the small village of Blockley in the Cotswolds: again Winifred was the central figure, as she bequeathed the house to John. Some details of this interesting house and its history were therefore also provided. These biographical details, while they obviously cannot be expected to provide insights into their contributions to the economics literature, provide a more rounded view of the two partners and, in particular, John's entry into the profession.

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