

A Scholar “In Exile:” George Rudé as a Historian of Australia

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From 1960 to 1970 the historian George Rudé lived and taught in Australia. Born in Norway, raised in England, and educated at the universities of Cambridge and London, Rudé had little reason to settle on the other side of the world, first at the University of Adelaide and later at Flinders University. While in Australia, however, he produced some of his finest scholarship. Much of his work was devoted to the topic that he had been investigating since the early 1950s: popular protest in eighteenth-century France and Britain. But from 1960 onward, Rudé generated a series of books and articles dealing with the history of Australia. This was a topic that he almost certainly would never have addressed before he arrived in Adelaide. This paper will discuss a subject that has never been explored in any previous account of his long career—his contributions to Australian history.

Can it be fairly said that the decade when Rudé called Australia his home was spent “in exile”? Writing in 1986, the English scholar Paul Preston unhesitatingly described him as “the exiled doyen of our social historians.”¹ Rudé’s close friend, the American sociologist Harvey J. Kaye, adopted Preston’s characterization and amplified upon it. “Exiled,” Kaye explained, “denotes the fact that he spent almost his entire university teaching career not in Britain but in Australia and Canada.” “Doyen,” Kaye continued, “addresses his original and continuing contributions to the field of social history over three and a half decades and the influence which they have had on the development of the discipline.”² Rudé himself accepted the idea. In a tribute to his late friend Albert Soboul published in 1982, he spoke in a self-deprecating fashion of

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¹ Paul Preston, “Review of *Criminal and Victim: Crime and Society in Early Nineteenth-Century England*,” by George Rudé, *British Book News*, Feb. 1986, 95.

² Harvey Kaye, “A Face in the Crowd,” *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 31 Mar. 1989, 13. Kaye used this same expression in his *The Face of the Crowd: Studies in Revolution, Ideology, and Popular Protest. Selected Essays of George Rudé* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1988), 1, and his obituary “Professor George Rudé,” *Independent* [London], 16 Jan. 1993, 12.

his “exile,” declaring it to be “one of the most pleasant.”³ So “exile” is an entirely appropriate term to describe his lengthy stay in Adelaide. But what compelled him to settle in Australia? How did this very British academic adapt to his new residence, and how did he, a specialist in French and British history, become an authority on Australia? What follows is at least a partial answer to these questions, based on familiar printed sources, recently discovered documents, and correspondence with his friends and colleagues.

By the late 1950s George Rudé had established himself as a reputable scholar who specialized in the social composition and violent agitation of the popular classes on both sides of the English Channel. His writings appeared in a variety of journals, notably the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* edited by his mentor Georges Lefebvre. In France, Rudé made frequent visits to the Archives nationales and archives of the prefecture of police in Paris in search of original sources. Using this fresh material, Rudé in 1950 earned his doctorate from the University of London for his dissertation “The Parisian Wage-Earning Population and the Insurrectionary Movements of 1789-91,” written under the direction of the eminent historian Alfred Cobban. Simultaneously he consulted records at a wide variety of English depots, including the Public Record Office and Guildhall Library. His article “The Gordon Riots: A Study of the Rioters and Their Victims,” published in 1956, was awarded the prestigious Alexander Prize by the Royal Historical Society. Three years later Rudé’s path-breaking study *The Crowd in the French Revolution*, an extensively revised version of his dissertation, appeared under the imprint of Oxford University Press.⁴

Yet despite these impressive credentials, Rudé found it impossible to locate a position at a British university. This failure was due, in large measure, to his membership in the British Communist Party, which he had joined in 1935. In 1949 he was compelled to resign from St. Paul’s School in London because of his Party activity and had to accept positions as a history master, first at Sir Walter St. John’s School and then at Holloway Comprehensive School.⁵ Some friends of Rudé have blamed his thesis advisor Alfred Cobban, a political conservative, for blocking any university appointment, but formal proof has never been offered.⁶

Rudé decided to seek a post abroad, specifically in Australia. In 1958 he applied for one at the University of Tasmania. Although the appointment committee recommended him for a lectureship there, the vice-chancellor, Keith Isles, delayed a decision because of Rudé’s Communist Party ties.⁷ Fortunately Hugh Stretton, head of the History Department at the University of Adelaide, thought highly enough of his credentials and arranged to offer him a position there. Despite the potential opposition of the school’s governing council, which included some “cold warriors” among its members, Stretton secured Rudé’s appointment in 1959 as a senior lecturer.⁸ In

³ George Rudé, “Albert Soboul. Un témoignage personnel,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 54 (1982), 558.

⁴ See Hugh Stretton, “George Rudé,” in Frederick Krantz, *History from Below: Studies in Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rudé* (Montreal, 1988), 45-46.

⁵ See James Friguglietti, “The Making of an Historian: The Parentage and Politics of George Rudé,” in *Revolution, Nation and Memory: Papers from the George Rudé Seminar in French History, Hobart, July 2002*, ed. Greg Burgess (Hobart, 2004), 17-19.

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm makes this accusation in Christopher Hill, *George Rudé, 1910-1993: Marxist Historian* (London, 1993), 8. Rudé himself never publicly blamed Cobban and contributed an article, “The Growth of Cities and Popular Revolt, 1750-1859,” to the Festschrift dedicated to him. See J. F. Boshier, ed. *Essays in Memory of Alfred Cobban* (London, 1973), 166-190.

⁷ Stretton, “George Rudé,” 45.

⁸ *Ibid.*

February 1960, he and his wife Doreen sailed to Australia to begin their new life "in exile." Rudé's good friend, the historian Christopher Hill, would later remark that it was "very fortunate for George that he did get to Adelaide, one of the most liberal and exciting universities in the Commonwealth."⁹

The prospect of removing to Australia did not cause Rudé as much apprehension as might be imagined. Rudé must have learned much from his father-in-law, John de la Hoyde, about life in South Australia. The elderly man lived with George and Doreen Rudé in their home on the banks of the Thames for several years until he died in 1958. Born in London in 1884, de la Hoyde had emigrated with his wife and young children to Adelaide before World War I. During the conflict he served in the Australian army and then returned to his position as a clerk.¹⁰ For her part, Doreen de la Hoyde had been educated at a Catholic convent school in Adelaide. Married in 1940, George and Doreen must have discussed her long stay in South Australia so that he was knowledgeable about conditions there before the couple arrived in 1960.

From the time he began teaching at the University of Adelaide, Rudé followed a double track. He continued to pursue his research and writing in French and British social history, particularly the study of those who participated in popular unrest—riot, rebellion, revolution—what came to be known as "history from below." During his years in Australia, he published several notable works including *Wilkes and Liberty* (Oxford, 1962); *The Crowd in History* (New York, 1964); *Revolutionary Europe, 1783-1815* (London and Glasgow, 1964); *The Eighteenth Century, 1715-1815* (New York, 1965); *Robespierre* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1967); and *Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century: Studies in Popular Protest* (London, 1970). In addition, he produced a series of articles that dealt with popular unrest, most of them appearing not only in such European journals as *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, *Past and Present*, and *Economic History Review*, but also in such Australian periodicals as the *Papers and Proceedings* of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association and *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*. Seen from this perspective, Rudé was simply continuing the scholarship that he had engaged in while living in Britain.

Yet he soon realized that his enforced "exile" in Australia would enable him to undertake serious research that was closely connected to his earlier work concerning popular unrest. Rudé grasped that he could investigate the fate of British criminals, both common law and political, who had been transported to Botany Bay and Van Diemen's Land during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By early 1961 he had begun to read extensively in the literature about prisoners taken to Australia, including a lengthy study written by Manning Clark, "The Origins of the Convicts Transported to Eastern Australia, 1787-1852," published in *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* in 1956. Writing to Manning Clark on 21 February 1961, Rudé commented that "it was foolish of me really not [to] have sought out and read your paper before embarking on my investigation into 'political' and 'social' convicts transported to N.S.W., V.D.L. etc., because you so clearly deal with the background and the English historical context all of which are particular problems." Rudé continued by saying that he had found useful information in Sydney but thought that Hobart "will prove to be more fruitful in one respect at least: there

⁹ Hill, *George Rudé, 1910-1993: Marxist Historian*, 18.

¹⁰ John de la Hoyde, letter to the author, 12 Aug. 2003; death certificate for Annie Bridget de la Hoyde, 31 Oct. 1916; birth certificate for John de la Hoyde, 21 Mar. 1919. Registration Office, Adelaide, South Australia.

[are] the records of the convicts' own statements or 'confession,' which supplements ... the official description of the nature of the crime committed." He added that he had read considerable microfilm from the Tasmanian archives and hoped to return there in 1962.¹¹

But what exactly did Rudé hope to find in the Hobart archives? He explained in a lecture given in July 1970 that he was investigating the history of the "non-Common Law;" that is, the "social and political offenders" who had been transported to Australia from Great Britain and Ireland between 1788 and 1868. Rudé observed that two Australian scholars had already been carrying out extensive work on prisoners sent to Botany Bay and Van Diemen's Land. One, L. L. Robson, published *The Convict Settlers of Australia* in 1965; the other, A. G. L. Shaw, issued his *Convicts and the Colonies* the following year. Rudé sought to learn more about the fates of those convicted of social and political crimes in Britain and Ireland. His aim was to explore the interaction between the convicts and their Australian environment. Rather than simply take samples of convicts as Robson and Shaw had done, Rudé wished to examine *all* possible case histories, scrutinizing the general pattern of transportation and studying specific cases in depth.¹²

Rudé sought to differentiate between common law offenders and socio-political offenders. The former committed certain crimes for their own personal benefit, while the latter acted with others to attain social or political goals. Among those whom he classified as political criminals were machine breakers, food rioters, administrators of illegal oaths, and active rebels, particularly Irishmen.

Having determined which crimes he would include in his study, Rudé went on to identify the men and women convicted and transported to Australia. Here is where his labors began in earnest. According to Rudé, some 165,000 cases would have to be examined to separate "common law" from "socio-political" criminals. From his careful scrutiny of the convict registers at Hobart, Rudé calculated that some 5,500, about 3 percent of the total, could correctly be classified as "socio-political" protesters.¹³

Most of these convicts, including virtually all the Irish rebels, were sent to New South Wales, along with some 300 non-Irish "socio-political" offenders. (The latter included an assortment of such types as Swing rioters, Luddites, Scottish Jacobins, Cato Street conspirators, Tolpuddle Martyrs, and Chartists.) A smaller contingent of "socio-political" criminals were shipped to other destinations—Victoria, Moreton Bay, and Fremantle.¹⁴

Thanks to the assistance given him by the archivist Peter Eldershaw, with whom he developed a close friendship, Rudé was able to gather from the detailed administrative records kept at Hobart, especially the "conduct registers," a mass of detailed personal information about each convict. This included such data as the criminal's name, occupation, religion, birthplace, literacy, marital status, size of family, crime committed, date and place of trial, sentence, and physical features.¹⁵

¹¹ Canberra, National Library of Australia, Manning Clark papers, George Rudé to Manning Clark, 21 Feb. 1961. MS 7550, box 4. 1961 (i). The author wishes to thank Mr. Graeme Powell, manuscript librarian, for his assistance in gaining access to the papers.

¹² George Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian. Eldershaw Memorial Lecture, Hobart-Launceston, 14-15 July 1970," *Papers and Proceedings* of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 4 (Oct. 1970), 113.

¹³ Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian," 116-117.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 118. Rudé's correspondence with the Tasmanian archives in 1960-61 concerning the convict records there as well as a list of some 635 convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1840-53 as

Also at Hobart, Rudé delved into "particular instance" records, which provided letters written by convicts to their families and friends back home, lists of grants of land, newspaper cuttings, and ships' passenger lists.¹⁶ Finally Rudé located among the Tasmanian convict records the prisoners' own statements about their offenses, "confessions" that sometimes merely repeated the reasons for their conviction but occasionally denied the charges laid against them.¹⁷

On the basis of this mass of data Rudé could construct detailed case histories for many individuals, from their birth, education, political and social activities through their arrest, sentencing, transportation and ultimate fate in Australia. Some of these mini-biographies, such as those of George Loveless, John Frost, and Zephaniah Williams, would later appear as entries he contributed to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.¹⁸

In his memorial tribute to Peter Eldershaw published in 1970, Rudé worked to rescue these socio-political figures from anonymity and, by quoting their own "confessions," individualize them. Of Dennis Collins, a laborer from York, England, Rudé recorded that he had been transported to Australia for life because he had thrown a stone at King George IV in 1833. "He did not deny the offence," Rudé observed, "but he added that 'the reason I threw the stone ... was that I petitioned the King to restore my pension and he refused.'"¹⁹

Rudé eventually incorporated his numerous discoveries in the archives into his book *Protest and Punishment*, published in 1978, after he had already left Adelaide for Montreal. The result of fifteen years of research in Australia, Great Britain, Ireland, and Canada, the volume was dedicated to Peter Eldershaw, "to whom I owe a particular debt."²⁰

But how did Rudé's study of convicts transported to Australia differ from those of his predecessors? Rudé himself provided the reasons in the introduction to *Protest and Punishment*. First, he concentrated not on all the "convict settlers" but only on those convicted of rebellion or protest against social conditions or institutions in their homeland. Second, Rudé identified individual protesters and developed detailed case histories about them. Finally, he gave a new dimension to their lives by providing a political, social, and economic context for their crimes of protest and then explaining how they fared in their Australian exile.²¹ It might also be noted that Rudé included Canadian convicts in his study, this the result of the years that he spent teaching at Sir George Williams University and Concordia University in the 1970s. Indeed, Rudé devotes an entire chapter to Canadians, both English and French speaking, who were condemned and transported to Australia because of their involvement in the armed rebellion of 1837-38 against British rule.²²

Chartists, Rebeccaists, and Irish rebels of 1848 may be found at the Archives Office of Tasmania, "Chartists" file. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Mr. Ian Pearce, State Archivist, and his staff for making this valuable file available to him.

¹⁶ Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian," 118.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 118-119.

¹⁸ See the entries on Thomas Burbury, John Frost, George Loveless, Thomas Francis Meagher, John Mitchel, William Smith O'Brien, and Zephaniah Williams in vols 1 and 2 of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. Douglas Pike (Melbourne, 1966-1967).

¹⁹ Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian," 119.

²⁰ George Rudé, *Protest and Punishment: The Story of Social and Political Protesters Transported to Australia, 1788-1868* (Oxford, 1978), v.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1-10.

²² *Ibid.*, 82-88.

Protest and Punishment, Rudé's most important study undertaken while living in Adelaide, was reviewed by two Australian academics. Writing in *Historical Studies*, Eric Richards, who had been Rudé's colleague at the University of Adelaide, found much to admire. He praised the author's attention to individual cases, close analysis of types of protest, exploration of industrial and political conditions responsible for unrest, and correlation of individuals' occupations and class with their participation in criminal activity. Richards commented that the "convict records of Australia ... exerted a magnetic attraction for [Rudé's] method of writing the history of protest." But he lamented the "almost endless flow of minutiae about individual convicts," "documentation for its own sake," and the author's "unsurprising" conclusions about the protesters, which, he believed, were "unlikely to cause much adjustment of our knowledge of convictism in Australia." Richards softened his criticism by declaring that *Protest and Punishment* was "undoubtedly a labour of love."²³

For his part David Philips of the University of Melbourne was even more critical, styling the volume a "great disappointment." He lamented what he called the "rigid framework" that underlay the study—its separation of the "nice" social protesters from the "nasty" criminals. Rudé, he argued, had engaged in "elaborate quantitative manipulation" that used a "biased" sample of cases so that the totals of convicts transported to Australia was unrepresentative of those originally involved in protest. Philips sharply admonished Rudé for "making statistical generalizations" from the samples that he had studied. While he concluded by praising the "great contribution" that the author had made to this area of history, Philips repeated that Rudé had allowed himself to become "imprisoned in ... rigid categories of 'protesters' versus 'common-law offenders,' thereby depriving himself of the opportunity to use his potentially interesting source material with greater subtlety."²⁴

If both reviewers found inadequacies in Rudé's study, they also, unknowingly, touched upon the likely reason underlying his fascination with convicts transported to Australia. Richards' comment that the work was a "labour of love" helps explain why Rudé concentrated his research on those condemned to exile. It might even be said that his scholarly interests went well beyond usual academic inquiry. Not until he had been compelled to leave Britain because of his political beliefs and activities did he begin to explore the careers of those convicted and deported for their unlawful actions. No doubt his Marxist-oriented approach to history prompted him to examine the plight of the lower classes condemned for their political, social, and economic protests. True, as well, was Philips' casual comment that Rudé reserved his greatest sympathy for the "nice" criminals, those much like himself, whose only criminal conviction occurred in October, 1936, when he was fined 5 pounds for having participated in the Cable Street protests against Oswald Mosley's blackshirts.²⁵ Of upper-class origin, well educated, and well traveled, Rudé had nothing of the "common" criminal about him. Yet he found himself "transported" to Australia

²³ Eric Richards, review of *Protest and Punishment* by George Rudé, *Historical Studies*, 19, no. 74 (April, 1980), 140-141.

²⁴ David Philips, review of *Protest and Punishment* by George Rudé, in *English Historical Review*, 95, no. 375 (April, 1980), 140-141.

²⁵ William Fishman, "A People's Journée: The Battle of Cable Street (October 4 1936)," in Krantz, *History from Below*, 391. Rudé noted that he had been arrested and fined in a questionnaire prepared for the British Communist Party in 1952. Labor History Archive, Manchester, England. Communist Party of Great Britain Archives, CP/Cent/Pers/6/05. George Rudé file. The author thanks Mr. Stephen Bird, archivist-librarian at the Labor Party Archives, for assisting him in obtaining access to this important file.

because of his political ideas and activities on behalf of the British Communist Party. He could readily identify with those thousands of involuntary emigrants to Australia and would devote years of intense research to investigating the fate of those who had preceded him there.

Rudé might have confirmed his sense that he was indeed a "political prisoner" had he known that he was being carefully monitored by the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) because of his long membership in the British Communist Party. From the moment that he first applied for a teaching position at Hobart in 1958 until he left Australia in 1968 to take a position at Stirling University in Scotland, ASIO gathered information about his activities, both academic and political. Reports from informants as well as newspaper cuttings were meticulously collected and arranged in his file. Significantly, nothing subversive about him or his wife Doreen was ever uncovered. One government agent in fact notified his superiors that "history books of which he is the author and reports of his class work at schools in England all show that he is objective in his approach to his teaching subject and has not let his own personal politics intrude in any way." ASIO appeared unaware that Rudé had left the British Communist Party when he sailed for Adelaide and never joined the Australian organization.²⁶

In addition to the case histories that Rudé incorporated into his *Protest and Punishment*, Rudé contributed several articles on transported criminals to the newly-published *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. For the first two volumes, which covered the period 1788-1850, he wrote seven articles. All dealt with prisoners transported to Australia in the nineteenth century. Most sprang from the respectable middle class who had fallen afoul of the law because of their political activism, whether involvement in Young Ireland, Chartism or criminal acts connected to Luddism. One (George Loveless) was a ploughman who became a "Tolpuddle martyr" convicted for taking "unlawful oaths" when he helped form the Friendly Society of Agricultural Laborers.²⁷

The articles that Rudé prepared were all factual and dispassionate as befitted a reference work. But in a personal letter to editor Douglas Pike, written in March 1964, he did express his feelings. Rudé observed that he had "run into difficulties with my Young Irishmen. For one thing I find them a bore."²⁸ Yet one of the Irishmen whose life he chronicled, Thomas Francis Meagher, enjoyed a dramatic career. After being transported in 1849 to Australia, where he spent three years in exile, he escaped to the United States, fought for the North during the Civil War, was selected by President Abraham Lincoln to serve as territorial governor of Montana, and accidentally drowned in the Missouri River in 1867. A county in Montana is named in

²⁶ National Archives of Australia, Australian Security Intelligence Organization, Series A6 119/90, 1958-1967. ASIO file, folio 14 (memorandum dated 5 Jan. 1960). Not until Feb., 1967, did an informant report to his superiors that "[w]hile it is true that Rudé has an extensive record of membership of the Communist ... there has been no indication of his participation in Communist Party activity since his arrival in Australia," ASIO file, folio 63 (memorandum dated 3 Feb. 1967). The author is grateful to Prof. Peter McPhee of the University of Melbourne for obtaining a copy of the Rudé file.

²⁷ "George Loveless" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne, 1967), 2: 132-133. The corrected typescripts for his entries are found in the George Rudé file, Canberra, Australian National University, Australian Dictionary of Biography. The author wishes to thank Mr. Darryl Bennet of the staff of the Australian Dictionary of Biography for graciously providing access to the Rudé file.

²⁸ George Rudé to Douglas Pike, 3 Mar. 1964. Rudé file, Australian Dictionary of Biography.

his honor, and an impressive equestrian statue of Meagher stands before the state legislature building in Helena.²⁹

Besides doing research on transported criminals, Rudé also found time to review books produced by his Australian colleagues. Soon after his arrival in Adelaide, he was assigned two significant works to critique: the first volume of Manning Clark's *A History of Australia* and Geoffrey Blainey's *The Tyranny of Distance*.

Writing of Manning Clark's volume, he ably summarized its thesis concerning the Catholic, Protestant and Enlightenment contributions to Australia's development. Rudé also carefully assessed his premise that fatal "flaws" marked the principal explorers and administrators and drove them to destruction or acts of folly and despair. He did display skepticism concerning the sources that Manning Clark used, but admitted that he was "unfortunately unqualified" to judge the author's use of them. Then, after raising questions about the book's treatment of transported convicts, Rudé warmly praised it because, as he concluded, "it opens new vistas and because of the discussion and controversy that it will inevitably provoke."³⁰

Rudé was no less judicious in reviewing Blainey's *Tyranny of Distance*. He praised Blainey's "shrewd historical sense and eye for paradox" that enabled him to challenge conventional interpretations of Australia's past. Rudé particularly found illuminating the author's belief that the convict system helped to make the continent predominantly masculine, a place of "mate-ship, egalitarianism, love of sport and beer," and even the cause of the separation of the sexes at social gatherings. Rudé closed his review by observing that historians would "profitably learn from this excellent and challenging book."³¹

It should be pointed out that Rudé, always the gentleman, never savagely attacked any book he reviewed. He would carefully summarize its contents, point out weaknesses or errors, but never sought to destroy an author's reputation. Too, Rudé always managed to say something positive about a book, not taking advantage of his critique to demonstrate his own superior knowledge. Likewise he placidly accepted criticism of his own work such as that offered by Richards and Philips. Rudé never dashed off letters to the editors of journals to defend his writings or belabor his critics. He simply accepted hostile reviews as part of the price of being a practicing historian.

Receiving a chair at Adelaide and becoming quite popular with both students and faculty at his University, Rudé would seem to have settled in nicely in Australia. But however productive his stay and enjoyable his life, he seems to have chafed at his isolation from the British archives where he had worked so diligently in the 1950s. In 1967 Rudé sought to escape his "exile" and return to Europe. In March of that year he accepted the offer of a foundation chair of history at the newly established University of Stirling in Scotland.³² According to Hugh Stretton, George and Doreen were not enthusiastic about "gritty Scottish society" and requested the University to convert his

²⁹ George Rudé, "Thomas Francis Meagher," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2: 217-218.

³⁰ George Rudé, review of *A History of Australia*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie*, by C. M. H. Clark, *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 10, no. 40 (May 1963), 515-527.

³¹ George Rudé, review of *The Tyranny of Distance. How Distance Shaped Australia's History*, by Geoffrey Blainey, *Papers and Proceedings of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, 15, no. 2 (Nov., 1967), 66-68.

³² *The News* [Adelaide], 11 May 1967, quoted Rudé as saying that one of the main reasons he was leaving the University of Adelaide was that he wanted to be "nearer his research work for his European history books."

appointment to a visiting professorship for a single year.³³ The irritated administration refused to do so and demanded that he teach for at least one semester, which he did during the spring of 1968. When he sought to rescind his unwise decision, the University again refused him.³⁴

Soon Rudé returned to Adelaide, but this time as Professor of History at Flinders University. Most of his scholarship now focused less on Australian history than on general problems such as "The Study of Revolutions" (1968), published in *Arena* and originally delivered as a memorial lecture sponsored by the Melbourne University Labor Club in honor of the radical historian Brian Fitzpatrick. But his most important publication was "The Archivist and the Historian," the Eldershaw Memorial Lecture that he delivered twice in Tasmania in July 1970 and later printed in the *Papers and Proceedings* of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association. In it Rudé honored the memory of the young archivist who introduced him to the rich documentary holdings in the Tasmanian State Archives in Hobart and who died prematurely at age forty in 1967. Rudé used the occasion to describe his development as a research scholar as well as sum up his extensive work on convicts transported to Australia. He discussed his methodology and presented numerous case histories of the "socio-political" prisoners who had been exiled to New South Wales and Tasmania. He characterized them as either "Village Hampdens" or "Artful Dodgers," that is, political radicals or economic criminals. Once again, he repeated his belief that, on the whole, most appeared to be "men of considerable quality and worth" who deserved to have their names and activities recorded. He concluded his lengthy address by promising his audience that he would write a book on the subject, one entitled "Social Protest in England." The volume eventually appeared as *Protest and Punishment*.³⁵

When it was published in 1978, Rudé had left his Australian "exile" behind him and was teaching at Sir George Williams University (now Concordia University) in Montreal where he arrived in 1970 and remained until 1987. The volume ably synthesized years of research and confirmed his status as a leading authority on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century social history, what came to be known as "history from below." The volume was, as Eric Richards had described it, "a labour of love." Two indicators offer proof of Rudé's devotion to his subjects. During his years in Canada he paid a visit (pilgrimage?) to the grave of the "Tolpuddle martyr," George Loveless, located in a cemetery outside of London, Ontario. "The tomb," he observed, "bears a simple inscription, redolent of filial piety but discreetly omitting all reference to the part he played as a champion of human rights."³⁶ Similarly, while living in Montreal Rudé visited the Côte des Neiges cemetery to locate the graves of the Canadian rebels of 1837 who had returned from their exile in Australia.³⁷

Using information that he had gathered during his years at Adelaide, Rudé in 1974 published two final studies dealing with transported convicts: an article on "Early Irish Rebels in Australia" appeared in *Historical Studies*, and an entry on the Irish exile Kevin Izod O'Doherty was contributed to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Thereafter, he confined himself largely to studying the questions of revolution and popular ideology, with occasional forays into the familiar territory of the French Revolution.

³³ Stretton, "George Rudé," 47.

³⁴ Letter to the author from R. B. McKean of the University of Stirling, 16 Jan. 2003.

³⁵ Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian," 128.

³⁶ Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, 212.

³⁷ Alan H. Adamson, "George Rudé in Canada" in Krantz, *History from Below*, 57.

While resident in Canada Rudé did not sever all his ties to Australia. Far from it. He returned from “exile” several times. In 1972, 1978, 1980, and 1985 Rudé taught at the University of Adelaide as a visiting scholar. On the last occasion, the University awarded him the title of Honorary Professor. In 1975 he served as a visiting professor at the Australian National University and the following year held a similar position at Latrobe University. In recognition of his scholarship his numerous Australian friends and colleagues organized the George Rudé Seminar, which first met at Melbourne in 1978 with Rudé attending. The Seminar proved so successful that in 1980 it reconvened at Adelaide where he was the guest of honor. Eight years later, when the Seminar gathered at Melbourne to mark the bicentenary of the French Revolution, Rudé participated. This proved to be his final trip to Australia. His once robust health deteriorating, Rudé died in 1993.

The years that George Rudé spent “in exile” in Australia were extraordinarily productive. Certainly he had not found it easy to leave Britain with its rich storehouses of documents for unfamiliar scholarly territory. Yet, surprisingly, he quickly rose to the challenge, bringing his powerful intellect to the study of transported criminals. Rudé thus both complemented and completed the work that he had been conducting on “socio-political” criminals. Certainly the near decade he spent at Adelaide proved to be one of the most productive of his entire career in terms of publications.

Thus, we can agree with a comment made by Hugh Stretton, who, after surveying his colleague’s work at Adelaide, concluded that “perhaps his Australian exile was not so regrettable after all.”³⁸

³⁸ Stretton, “George Rudé,” 54.