

Emigrants & Historians

*Essays in honour
of Eric Richards*

Edited by

PHILIP PAYTON



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Preface

Eric Richards retired as Professor of History at Flinders University in early 2012 after a lengthy career at the University dating back to 1971, much of it as head of department. He was, of course, swiftly appointed Emeritus Professor, and to all outward appearances little seemed to have changed – Eric could still be found toiling in his office on campus, browsing in the library, or attending the ever-popular Friday history seminars, where his good-natured but probing questioning ensured that presenters were always on their mettle. Nonetheless, there was a strong feeling among friends and colleagues, not least at Flinders, that Eric's retirement should be marked in some way and that his contribution to the field of historical inquiry – at the University and far beyond – should be honoured and celebrated. It was an opinion voiced by Andrekos Varnava and immediately taken to heart by Melanie Oppenheimer, recently appointed as Eric's successor at Flinders. The result was an International Seminar in Eric's honour, organised by Melanie Oppenheimer and Eric's fellow migration historian Margrette Kleinig, and held at Flinders University on 12 June 2015.

Informally (and affectionately) dubbed the 'Eric Fest', the International Seminar was fortunate in winning the support and sponsorship of both the Royal Caledonian Society of South Australia and the School of History and International Relations at Flinders. Moreover, it attracted the enthusiastic attention of Eric's friends, colleagues and admirers, and five of these – David Fitzpatrick,

Marjory Harper, Jim Hammerton, Doug Munro and Wilfrid Prest – were invited to present papers. Eric was also asked to contribute, and spoke on ‘Emigrants and Historians’, a theme that reflected the overall flavour of the Seminar. Such was the Seminar’s success, that it was decided that these papers should form the basis of a publication, a *Festschrift* in Eric’s honour, which would also include an introductory chapter setting Eric in context, as it were. Hence this present volume, *Emigrants and Historians: Essays in Honour of Eric Richards*. The title, of course, is unashamedly borrowed from Eric’s paper, a version of which appears as the final chapter in the book. A Bibliography, detailing Eric’s many publications, and kindly compiled by Robert Fitzsimons, is also included.

Each of the chapters, based as they are on papers given at the Seminar, reflects in some way Eric’s own interests. Moreover, they echo the dialogues and exchanges between Eric and their authors over many years. David Fitzpatrick, for instance, investigates ‘Cosmopolitan Ireland, 1841–1911’, overturning many conventional wisdoms as he demonstrates the extent and diversity of migration into Ireland during that period. Jim Hammerton alights upon ‘The late Twentieth-Century British Diaspora’, in the process examining what the term ‘diaspora’ might actually mean. Marjory Harper takes up the theme of British emigration in a specifically Scottish context in her chapter ‘Moving Out and Moving On? Emigration from Scotland to Australia in the Twentieth Century’, making particular use, as Jim Hammerton has done, of oral testimony. In an intriguing piece on the influence of Blackstone’s *Commentaries* on legal and constitutional thought in the Anglophone world, Wilfrid Prest discusses ‘Blackstone’s *Commentaries*, Modernisation and the British Diaspora’. In his contribution, Doug Munro examines the twin biographies of the controversial Australian historian Manning Clark by Brian Matthews and Mark McKenna. Although Manning Clark was not a migrant (except in the sense of his brief spell at Oxford, an obligatory temporary exile for aspiring Australian academics in those days), Doug Munro’s chapter reflects his and Eric’s converging interest in historians’ lives. The latter is a theme developed in Eric

Richards' own chapter, 'Emigrants and Historians', where he weaves elements of autobiographical insight into a wider discussion of the work of emigration historians and the story of the 'mobile academic', particularly British historians in Australia.

I was greatly honoured when Melanie Oppenheimer and Margrette Kleinig suggested that I should edit this collection. Perhaps it fell to me as 'the new boy'; or possibly it was because I was, like Eric himself, an emigrant and historian; or maybe it was because I had known Eric for so many years and had long benefited from his friendship. Either way, editing this book has been a great pleasure, the way smoothed by the ready co-operation of each of the contributors and the sponsorship of the School of History and International Relations at Flinders University. Special mention should also be made of Michael Bollen at Wakefield Press, who was especially keen to take on this project as Wakefield Press's own salute to Eric Richards – it was Eric, of course, who edited (and contributed to) Wakefield's *The Flinders History of South Australia – Social History* back in 1986.

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Eric Richards: Emigrant and Historian

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Towards the end of 1975, newly graduated from Bristol, I arrived in Australia to take up a postgraduate scholarship at the University of Adelaide. My chosen subject was the Cornish in South Australia, and my allocated supervisor was the late John Playford (situated, confusingly, in the Politics department, although I was assured – quite rightly – that he was an accomplished historian of South Australia). In our very first supervisory meeting, among John’s wise advice was the suggestion that I should make early contact with Eric Richards, Professor of History at Flinders University. As John explained, not only was Eric now a leading historian of South Australia but also he was internationally renowned for his groundbreaking work on the Highland Clearances. In both these areas, John thought, Eric might offer significant insights, not least in comparing nineteenth-century emigration from those far-flung ‘Celtic peripheries’ of Britain: Cornwall and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

I duly wrote to Eric Richards (this was long before the era of email and instant communication), and in due course, my letter having been forwarded by helpful Flinders administrators, I received an aerogramme from Eric explaining that he was currently in the United Kingdom but would be pleased to see me on his return. Encouragingly, he also welcomed me to the community of ‘Celtic historians’ in South Australia, as he put it, an intimation that he too might see value in comparing Cornwall with Scotland.¹ When at last we did meet, in Eric’s office at Flinders, I felt somewhat overwhelmed

as he ushered me to my seat, partly a response to his commanding physical stature but also by the aura of scholarship and learning that seemed to pervade his presence. To say that I was overawed would be an understatement! Indeed, as Eric sat upright at his desk and I tried to settle into the low easy-chair to which I had been shown, I felt that I was quite literally sitting at his feet.

To break the ice, and to put this fledgling postgraduate at his ease, Eric began by asking if I had read Michael Hechter's recent (and controversial) book *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. I replied hesitantly that I had, but before I gathered my thoughts in time to elaborate (I was going to say that, with my background in social science, I found Hechter's 'sociological' approach rather invigorating) Eric advanced his own opinion, that the book was very unsatisfactory. He found aspects of Hechter's core-periphery analysis simplistic, he said, not least the assumed homogeneity within each of the 'Celtic' nations, and he also objected to the uncritical use of the term 'Celtic' to imply a commonality of historical experience within and between the nations in question. I remember the occasion vividly, for in those few moments I found several of my own deeply held assumptions challenged – all to the good, I should say (with the benefit of hindsight).

When we moved on to the subject of emigration, again I discerned differences in emphasis and approach. Although already aware of the dangers of 'contribution history', of making excessive claims for the achievements of the national, regional or ethnic group in which one might be interested (the Welsh in America, for example, or the Irish in New Zealand), I was intent nonetheless on lifting the veil of historiographical invisibility that had long obscured the century (roughly 1815–1914) of mass emigration from Cornwall and the disproportionate (or so it seemed to me) role of the Cornish in the development of the international mining frontier. Eric, however, as I discovered on that occasion, was unconvinced by 'identity politics', and emphasised instead the shared experiences of emigration and settlement that generally ironed out differences between groups and individuals, especially during the colonial era in Australia. As Eric

was to put it later, in what seemed an almost reluctant chapter on the Irish in South Australia: 'Colonisation was often a powerful, homogenising process and the practical realities of migration in general transcended many of the local variations that one might have expected'.²

Nonetheless, during that memorable meeting, Eric conceded that it often made sense to examine emigration from particular localities in great depth – he was in part deferring to my Cornish enthusiasms – and here I detected Eric's characteristically gracious acceptance of alternative viewpoints, his willingness to examine issues from all angles, his desire to debate, his freedom from prejudice, his ability to modify his views having listened to others. Here was that generosity of spirit commented on frequently by so many others (as I later discovered) including, of course, the contributors to this volume. Moreover, as I also found, Eric's readiness to acknowledge the worth of my (and other people's) ideas reflected his own broad-minded approach to the study of emigration (and much else). When, many years later, my *The Cornish Overseas* at last appeared, Eric was kind enough to publish a warmly appreciative review in the *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*. If he had any objection to my overall approach, he did not say so. Indeed, for all his wariness of 'contribution history' and 'identity politics', Eric would later emphasise that, in the vast panorama of emigration from the British Isles since 1600, 'the Welsh, Scottish and Irish stories were significantly different from the main English streams'. As he concluded: 'They each require special attention'.³ Of course, he had already given detailed consideration to aspects of Scottish emigration and, just a few years after our first meeting, Eric would publish his poignant case study of 'The Highland Scots of South Australia'.

As Eric explained in this article, the 'Highlanders who came to Australia in the nineteenth century were mostly outcasts of a peasant society crumbling away on the very periphery of the British world'. Additionally, he said, the historic 'distinction between Highland and Lowland Scots had not diminished: it was a cultural, economic and linguistic difference which became more pronounced with

the industrialisation of the Lowlands at the end of the eighteenth century'.⁴ Although the Lowlanders were generally successful in Australia, in the nineteenth century enjoying a fine reputation as colonists, by contrast the fortunes of the Highlanders were decidedly mixed. In South Australia in particular, as Eric showed, those who arrived in the 1850s experienced a tragedy that added to the catastrophe they had already endured at home: 'Devastation and confusion in Scotland was followed by destitution and humiliation in South Australia'.⁵ Many were monoglot Gaelic speakers, making communication with other colonists difficult, exemplified in the experience of those who found themselves living miserably in tents at Dry Creek, north of Adelaide, where they 'became listless and prone to disease ... a sombre story of defeat, and of exasperation on the part of officials'.⁶ As Eric concluded, the 'experience of these Highland immigrants was not typical'. Yet the examination in forensic detail of this distinctive group was important, he argued, for it demonstrated the varying fortunes of different types of colonists, and indicated, therefore, that 'historians may underestimate the difficulties of settlement for ordinary people in the colony'.⁷

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of Eric's position on all this was in his monumental *Britannia's Children*, where he argued: 'That the intermixture of migrants was relatively peaceable constituted one of the great silent achievements of the British diaspora'. However, Eric was careful not 'to claim that migrants merged into a pan-Britannic homogeneity as they emigrated', and he noted that as well as differences in accent and dialect (and sometimes language), there could on occasion be antagonism between different groups. Indeed, he admitted, 'regional differences were sometimes pronounced'. When Robert Louis Stevenson journeyed across America, Eric observed, 'he marvelled at the Cornish miners in particular. They lived in a tight knot and kept themselves very close'. As Stevenson himself had put it: 'Not even a Red Indian seems more foreign to my eyes. This is one of the lessons of travel – that some of the strangest races dwell next door to you at home'. For Eric, however, the real lesson was this: 'If the British elements were as different from each

other as their advocates and patrons often insisted, then the general tranquillity which characterised their migratory interaction was all the more extraordinary'.⁸ A penetrating insight, this was vintage Eric Richards – and it was also, I think, the main point that Eric wanted me to take away and ponder after our first meeting back in early 1976.

Since then, I have been privileged to be in more or less frequent contact with Eric, swapping copies of newly-published books, exchanging email messages, meeting up occasionally in Britain and Australia – especially at conferences, such as the 'Scatterlings of Empire' colloquium at Adelaide in 1998, the 'British World' conference in Melbourne in 2004, and the British-Australian Studies Association gathering at the Penryn (Cornwall) campus of the University of Exeter in 2006. I have benefited enormously from this long association, and so too have others who have enjoyed extended contact with Eric over many years. As the other contributors to this collection attest, Eric has been likewise important in the academic lives of many other friends and colleagues.⁹

David Fitzpatrick, for instance, remembers that he 'got to know' Eric in the later 1980s and 1990, when they were 'perennial' visiting fellows at the Australian National University, their presence orchestrated with 'the connivance' (as David describes it) of Ken Inglis, Oliver MacDonagh and Paul Bourke. Eric and David collaborated in a series of seminars and publications entitled *Visible Immigrants*, in the process somehow finding time to play 'a good deal of tennis': indeed, 'whenever in doubt [we] resort to the tennis court'. On one occasion they toured New South Wales together in search of Irish-Australian graves, such was their mutual interest in the fates of nineteenth-century immigrants. But, as David readily admits, shared passions did not always mean that he and Eric necessarily saw eye-to-eye in scholarly debates, and here David encountered that wonderful generosity of spirit – and the readiness to agree to disagree – that so typifies Eric. As David explains: 'Eric and I both became obsessed with emigrant letters and have unresolved differences of opinion about how to interpret silence [and] give voice to the voiceless'. As I myself had discovered some years before, for

Eric Richards differences of opinion and approach were no barrier to warm and productive co-operation. In fact, they were quite the reverse.

For many, of course, Eric has been a role model and a source of continuing inspiration. Marjory Harper admits to having been ‘enthralled’ (her term) by Eric’s work, and as an undergraduate at the University of Aberdeen was captivated by his writings on the Highland Clearances. Along with the teaching of the late Donald Withrington, it was Eric’s books that encouraged Marjory to undertake doctoral studies in Scottish emigration history. Eric’s volumes have also underpinned much of her own teaching, and are required reading for students taking her emigration-related courses at Aberdeen. As she observes, Eric has an enviable ability to make academic work accessible to non-specialist audiences and, as she puts it, he ‘is equally at home in high-level scholarly conferences and popular venues’. Like many others, Marjory first met Eric at conferences and seminars, and subsequently he became, she explains, ‘an immense and consistent support and mentor’ in every aspect of her academic life. Moreover, she adds, it ‘has been a delight to get to know Eric as a friend’.

A. James ‘Jim’ Hammerton had also first met Eric at a conference, in this case at a British History conference held in Canberra in the 1990s. Ever since, Jim writes, their ‘mutual interests in British emigration have nourished enduring collegial contacts and friendship’. In 2001 and 2002, Jim and Eric co-convoked a conference in Canberra on oral testimony and the history of Australian migration, and subsequently co-edited *Speaking to Immigrants*, a volume in the *Visible Immigrants* series. Like David Fitzpatrick, Jim Hammerton has benefited from Eric’s inquiring and penetratingly questioning mind: ‘We have enjoyed lively debates – in at least three countries – on issues of migration history, especially on controversial aspects of the uses of oral testimony, all of which enhance a valuable friendship, full of stimulation and enriched by Eric’s good humour’.

Wilfrid Prest recalls similar lively discussions, stretching back as far as the summer or possibly early autumn of 1975, when he and

Eric met quite by chance at Stafford, in England, at the William Salt Archaeological Society and Staffordshire Records Office (where Wilfrid was searching for the papers of early modern English barristers). ‘We obviously must have known each other by sight’, reports Wilfrid, ‘and were very glad to bump into each other on the other side of the world’. Although their relationship was to blossom thereafter, not least through their joint endeavours in the inter-institutional Adelaide Centre for British Studies and the Working Group in Social History, Wilfrid insists that he cannot remember what they talked about over tea at that first encounter at Stafford, except ‘Eric’s characteristically modest response to my congratulations on his recent appointment to the Flinders chair of history’.

Doug Munro, a Flinders graduate, returned to his *alma mater* in 1988 for a six-month period of study leave (thanks to the efforts of Ralph Shlomowitz), and it was here that he was first introduced to Eric. As Doug explains: ‘I met Eric Richards and we quickly formed A Mutual Admiration Society. An informal entity to be sure, it never came under the purview of the Registrar of Clubs and Societies; it doesn’t have a written constitution; the paid up and card-carrying membership has remained static’. Nonetheless, it endures, not least because, as Doug admits, ‘I have enormous regard for Eric’s scholarship and only wish I could write as he does’. Moreover, Eric ‘has been a warm-hearted friend and staunch colleague down the years’. Indeed, their paths have increasingly converged, says Doug, a result of their growing interest in recent years in historians’ lives – ‘in Eric’s case, the army of *émigré* historians who fled England’s clammy shores and washed up in the Antipodes’.

Of course, such accolades are not confined to the contributors to this volume, and one does not have to look far to find similar appreciations of Eric Richards as historian and friend. Jim Walvin, for example, wrote in 2015 that, alongside Eric’s not inconsiderable accomplishments as cyclist and tennis-player (‘Federer in his prime gave nightly thanks for never having to face Richards across the net’), were ‘Eric’s qualities and influence as a historian’. Especially

significant were Eric's skill and reputation as 'the great encourager of others. Countless undergrads and graduates have been given confidence in their abilities and ideas to press on'. In his several visits to Flinders, Jim attended seminars, he said, that were 'full of people – colleagues and former students – who had developed into more thoughtful, accomplished scholars and teachers thanks to Eric's guidance and encouragement'. And, he added, Eric Richards 'has that sharp intellectual curiosity to challenge and ask the difficult question. But he does so in a manner that encourages rather than deflates. He is a rare beast: a scholar of great distinction who has a humble touch'. Also, 'he is great *fun* to be with'.¹⁰

In his 2015 edited volume *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, Andrekos Varnava, a Flinders historian, dedicated his book 'to my colleague and friend Professor Eric Richards', stressing Eric's role as 'an inspiration to younger generations of historians, including myself'. As he was quick to add, only partly tongue-in-cheek, this was not just 'inspiration on the academic level, but also on the sporting field, [for] over the last five years Eric and I have played many a close tennis match'.¹¹ This fond estimation was reflected in a commemorative chapter in Andrekos Varnava's book, entitled 'A Tribute to Eric Richards' and penned by John M. MacKenzie. Here John MacKenzie echoed the frequently voiced opinion that 'Eric is essentially a modest and humane figure, a person who never stands on his dignity, is never full of himself, and is always eager to speak sympathetically to everyone who approaches him'. Additionally, he wrote, Eric was 'notable for his quiet good humour, his gently witty delivery, and his desire to help students and fellow scholars in every way that he can'. His first 'memorable encounter' with Eric, he recalled, was at Dunedin in New Zealand, at a conference to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Scottish Otago Settlement of 1848. Rather like my own encounter with Eric back in 1976, John MacKenzie 'felt somewhat in awe of his reputation' but 'greatly enjoyed his company'. Again, rather like my own experience some years before, John recognised during a round-table discussion of Scottish emigration and identity, that Eric 'preferred to

avoid ethnic distinctions, but to see migration and settlement as an opportunity for the cultural melting pot, smoothing out distinctions rather than emphasising them'.¹²

Eric Richards was born in Holt in Denbighshire, in rural North Wales, in 1940. By that year, as Eric later reflected, only 5% of the British workforce was left in agriculture, a result of the urban drift associated with industrialisation. 'Out of generations of small farmers and agricultural labourers in North Wales', he wrote, 'my own father and mother had taken the path from the cottage and the village to the local town (Wrexham) as part of this great historical disjunction and transition'. He added, tellingly, that 'I was conscious of being virtually the last to depart the land at the end of one of the critical processes in Economic History'.¹³ It was this deeply formative experience, perhaps, that was to give Eric his passion for migration history, especially his sympathetic and sensitive treatment of the Highland Clearances, when much of the Highland population was not only likewise displaced but also dispersed overseas, far beyond the Scottish homeland. The Richards family, already displaced, similarly left Wales, their ancestral homeland, moving shortly from Wrexham across the border to England, although only to neighbouring Shropshire, with its own Welsh associations, but where Eric ceased to learn the Welsh language.

The shift from countryside to town, from Wales to England, had also shaped Eric's early appreciation of history. 'I was an adolescent economic determinist at school in Shropshire', he admitted, 'already seduced by Marx, Tawney and the *New Statesman*'. Thus, he decided, 'to understand and influence the world, Economic History was clearly the most important field to explore'. Its study would also, he thought, shed light on 'the problems of class discord', and be a means for 're-balancing the scales of society'. In 1959 Eric went up to Nottingham on an undergraduate scholarship (the 'first time anyone of my family had ever been anywhere near a university'), the means 'to indulge my passion' (as he put it) for Economic History. 'Born at the right time', he recalled with gratitude, 'our lucky generation reaped some of the most tangible rewards of British

Socialism and Keynesian growth'. Eric was also fortunate to study under a generation of first-rate Economic Historians at Nottingham, including J.D. Chambers, Bob Coats and Robert Ashton. Here the emphasis was on empiricism, on documents and field work, asking questions about the fate of ordinary folk during the period of industrialisation: 'not an intellectual puzzle but an actual search for the people of that time'.¹⁴ Theory was not eschewed entirely but the answers to historical conundrums were thought to lie in practical research.

Eric moved easily from first degree to PhD, researching and writing his thesis 'James Loch and the House of Sutherland 1812–1855', which investigated the origins of the Sutherland family's fortune in the English Midlands and their landed activities in the north of Scotland, a study which was later published as *The Leviathan of Wealth*, his first book. While thus engaged at Nottingham ('already a sort of labour exchange for recruitment to Commonwealth universities'), Eric applied for – and got – a Tutorship in Economics at the University of Adelaide in Australia, to which country he travelled in 1963 as a '£10 Pom'. Now firmly on his life's trajectory as both emigrant and historian, at the time it all 'seemed uncomplicated'.¹⁵ At Adelaide, however, Economic History was subsumed within Economics, which in turn was 'severely conceptual', given over to theorising, model-building and quantitative research.¹⁶ Although stimulating rather than intimidating, Eric regretted that such an approach seemed devoid of human agency. It was hardly surprising, then, when in 1967 an opportunity to work with George Rudé – whose research was far more Eric's cup-of-tea – arose at Stirling University in Scotland, at the gateway to the Highlands, Eric was persuaded to become a return migrant.

Eric's spell at Stirling established his lines of research for the next two or three decades, yet by 1971 he was already back in Adelaide, appointed to a position at the new Flinders University in a free-standing Department of Economic History, which went on to nurture a 'dream team' (Eric's phrase) of W.A. Sinclair, Ralph Shlomowitz, G.D. Snooks and Wray Vamplew. 'Second migrations

are commonly better informed and more rational', Eric mused (so too are third), and Flinders became his academic home for life, although by the mid-1980s Economic History had become subsumed within History, a trend observable at other Australian and British universities at the time. To his repertoire of scholarly interests Eric had by now added South Australian history, and in 1986 he was editor of the magnificent *The Flinders History of South Australia – Social History*, published by Wakefield Press as part of the South Australian Jubilee 150 celebrations. Working in Australia had also provided the opportunity and stimulus to contemplate the emergence of entirely new economies, built in what to European eyes had been a virgin wilderness. Studying both old and new economies in tandem, as it were, the Old World and the New, brought into focus the human and environmental costs of 'progress', and Eric explained that he was 'much engaged in the ironies of displaced Scottish Highlanders recruited as the direct agents in the destruction of Aboriginal societies in colonial Australia'.¹⁷

As Eric's Bibliography in this volume indicates, by this time he had emerged as a prolific author of immense scholarship, *The Leviathan of Wealth* (1973) followed by a succession of impressive books, among them *A History of the Highland Clearances: Vols. 1 and 2* (1982 and 1985), *Patrick Sellar and the Highland Clearances: Homicide, Evictions and the Price of Progress* (1999), *The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil* (2000), and *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland Since 1600* (2004). He also co-authored with the late Monica Clough (one of Eric's great life-long friends) *Cromartie: Highland Life, 1650–1914* (1989). Later, in 2007, Eric published *Debating the Highland Clearances: Eviction and the Price of Progress*, which reviewed and assessed the contrasting interpretations of various historians. To this was added *From Hirta to Port Phillip: The St Kilda Emigration to Australia in 1852*, which appeared in 2010. Several of Eric's books have won literary prizes, and in 2009 he was awarded the New South Wales Premier's Prize for his volume (published the year before) entitled *Destination Australia*, which traced emigration to Australia from the early days of Federation

through to the demise of the White Australia policy and beyond. Eric's Preface is almost a hymn to the contemporary multicultural Australia created by the historical processes he describes in the book, paying tribute as he does to the neurological team at Austin Hospital in Heidelberg, Melbourne, which had treated his daughter when she was ill. John M. MacKenzie thought the Preface worth quoting at length, and so do I:

Some [of the neurological team] were from the Pacific Islands (one of whom might have been a rugby player); others were Greek in origin; one was clearly Japanese, another Chinese from Hong Kong; one was an Indonesian Muslim in traditional dress. There was a homesick nurse from Lusaka in Zambia, another from Nigeria; they were supported by a technician from Sheffield and a legion of doctors from various parts of Asia. The medical teams were orchestrated by a Highland Scot and a person of rather obvious Irish connections.

In this way, as Eric observed:

the Austin Hospital in November 2007 had assembled a full cast of multi-cultural modern Australia, a remarkable interacting convergence of the elements of the new Australia, here vividly working to a better future. It was also a scene which was, in virtually every respect, totally inconceivable in 1900 and a demonstration of the change that had been wrought upon this continent during the intervening century.¹⁸

To Eric's formidable publishing output has been added a string of other outstanding academic achievements. He is Fellow of both the Australian Academy of the Social Sciences and the Australian Academy of the Humanities, and has held visiting positions at Glasgow, Warwick, the ANU, London (Birkbeck and King's Colleges), Florence, Cardiff, and Cleveland Ohio, culminating in 2014 in his Carnegie Visiting Professorship at the University of the Highlands and Islands. In 2012 he was voted Historian of the Year by the History Council of South Australia. Alongside his recent *On the Wing: Mobility before and after Emigration to Australia* (edited with Margrette Klein in 2013), are Eric's latest books, a new 2016 edition

of his *The Highland Clearances* and a monograph *The Highland Estate Factor in the Age of the Clearances*, also published in 2016. They are testament to Eric's enduring commitment to his earliest enthusiasms but also to his belief that there are still enormous challenges facing historians – especially economic and social historians – in our attempts to understand the forces that have shaped the modern world. 'Most of our explanations of economic change are inadequate', he insists: 'Our understanding, for instance, of the role of women in the economy; of the roots of population change; of how and why certain economies after decades of stagnation, suddenly begin to grow rapidly; of the ultimate causes of the great diasporas – to mention a few matters – are still far from resolved'.¹⁹ Here, of course, is Eric Richards the great encourager, the great inquirer, urging us all – and himself – on to yet greater endeavours. As an awe-struck Theresa Mackay from Canada put it so aptly in 2014: 'This guy is a Rock Star Historian'.²⁰

Notes on Contributors

David Fitzpatrick was Professor of Modern History at Trinity College Dublin, where he continues to teach as Fellow Emeritus. His works include *Politics and Irish Life: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (1977), *Irish Emigration, 1801–1921* (1984), four chapters on Irish emigration and the Irish in Britain in *A New History of Ireland*, vols V, VI (1989, 1996), *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Colonial Australia* (1994), *The Two Irelands, 1912–1939* (1998), *Harry Boland’s Irish Revolution* (2003), ‘Solitary and Wild’: *Frederick MacNeice and the Salvation of Ireland* (2012), and *Descendancy: Irish Protestant Histories Since 1795* (2014).

A. James Hammerton is Emeritus Scholar in History at La Trobe University, which he joined in 1969. Since then his research interests and publications have ranged across nineteenth-century British female emigration, marriage and marital conflict in Victorian Britain, the British lower middle-class and post-war British emigration. His most recent book, co-authored with Alistair Thomson, was *Ten Pound Poms: Australia’s Invisible Migrants* (Manchester University Press, 2005). In 2002, he co-edited, with Eric Richards, *Speaking to Immigrants: Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Migration in the Visible Immigrants* series. His forthcoming book on the modern British diaspora, *Migrants of the British Diaspora since the 1960s: Stories from Modern Nomads*, will be published by Manchester University Press in 2017.

Marjory Harper is Professor of History at the University of Aberdeen and Visiting Professor at the Centre for History, University of the Highlands and Islands. She has published mainly in the field of emigration, particularly from Scotland, and her two most recent books have each won international prizes. She co-authored *Migration and Empire* (2010) with Stephen Constantine, and in 2016 she edited a book on *Migration and Mental Health: Past and Present*, published by Palgrave Macmillan. She is currently working on two further monographs: *Testimonies of Transition* (a study of Scottish emigration based on oral testimony) and a book on Scots in Australia and New Zealand, both for Luath Press, Edinburgh.

Doug Munro is Adjunct Professor of History at the University of Queensland. A graduate of Flinders University, he started as a historian of the Pacific Islands with a specialism in labour migration and unfree labour systems generally. More recently his interests have turned to historians' auto/biographies, and to writing about individual historians as varied as George Rudé and G.R. Elton. His books are *Crisis: The Collapse of the National Bank of Fiji* (co-authored), *The Accidental Missionary: Tales of Elekana* (co-authored), *The Ivory Tower and Beyond: Participant Historians of the Pacific*, and *J.C. Beaglehole: Public Intellectual, Critical Conscience*. He has taught in universities in Queensland and Fiji, and was a Visiting Research Fellow at Flinders University on two occasions.

Philip Payton is an emigrant and historian. He first arrived in Australia in 1958 aged 4½ (his parents were 'Ten Pound Poms') and stayed until November 1962. In the mid-1970s he was a postgraduate student at the University of Adelaide, and thereafter he has been a frequent visitor to Australia, settling permanently in 2015. He is Professor of History at Flinders University, as well as Adjunct Professor in the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University and Emeritus Professor of Cornish & Australian Studies at the University of Exeter. He also served in the Royal Navy for thirty years, twelve as a Regular and the rest as a Reservist, and was *inter alia* Senior Lecturer in the Department of History and

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