"Another English House in Another Country"

Imagining Home in the Empire

"Before concluding, we will just turn, in quiet thought, to dear Old England . . . We will not sigh, but go and make, as well as we can, another English house in another country." (Clarke 39)

*I*n a letter sent home to Britain in 1866, a recent emigrant to Australia complains about the size of a looking glass she had ordered to outfit her cabin aboard ship. At "only half the size of the one I paid for" (Clarke 41), Emilie Glen's looking glass serves as a potent reminder of the material importance of domestic objects in facilitating the recreation of English identity abroad.[1] Cabin fittings ranging from mirrors to bedding to cabinetry enabled middle-class emigrants like Glen to recreate familiar domestic spaces in the close cabins aboard ships, albeit on a smaller, more portable scale. Such replication in turn allowed emigrants to sustain essential domestic practices during a period of significant transition at sea. Passengers aboard ship, for instance, could adhere to the advice of one emigrant guide, which suggests that in preparation for dinner "even the most careless think it necessary to make some little change in their costume, and to spend at least five minutes at their cabin mirrors" (Silver, *S. W. Silver & Co.'s Colonial and Indian Pocket Book Series* 27). At sea, the act of looking in one's mirror ensures continuity with domestic rituals from home, allowing emigrants to "keep up appearances," not despite being aboard ship, but because of it. Imported onto the shore in Australia, such rituals would subsequently allow emigrants to recreate with partial

success what one woman, writing for a newspaper published aboard a ship in 1862, envisions as "another English house in another country."

The imaginative leap described in this shipboard publication suggests that we must read Glen's looking glass not merely as a portable, material necessity, but also an apt metaphor for the self-reflexivity that was essential if Britons were to see themselves and their culture as capable of preservation and even re-invention despite the enormous geographical shift across continents that Australian emigration entailed. Taking this metaphor a step further, the inferior size of Glen's looking glass is evocative of the diminished sense of national identity that middle-class emigrants often experienced in the wake of leaving home, as they subsequently looked to their mirrors for evidence of their own Englishness. Throughout this study of Victorian emigration, I trace how the powerful confluence of these material and ideological meanings occurred and how they subsequently became attached to a new form of portable domesticity that enabled British emigrants throughout the second half of the nineteenth century to envision and to create the space that I am calling Antipodal England.[2]

VICTORIAN EMIGRATION, SETTLER COLONIALISM, AND POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES

My focus on middle-class emigration to Australia continues a conversation that was initiated more than a decade ago by Edward Said's landmark study, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), which drew critical attention to the seemingly liminal role of the empire in nineteenth-century fiction. Arguing for a greater significance for empire than had previously been acknowledged, Said asserted that "[a]s a reference, as a point of definition, as an easily assumed place of travel, wealth, and service, the empire functions for much of the European nineteenth century as a codified, if only marginally visible, presence in fiction . . . scarcely ever more than named, rarely studied . . . or given density" (63). In the aftermath of Said's critique, a wealth of scholarship on British imperialism has since given this topic "density," including a host of influential studies by feminist critics who have skillfully examined the intersections between domesticity and imperialism in Victorian literature and culture.[3] At the same time, a growing body of scholarship, much of it in the social sciences, has focused on settler colonialism, a term whose precise definition is open to debate, but which typically refers to "societies in which Europeans have settled, where their descendants have remained politically dominant over indigenous

peoples, and where a heterogeneous society has developed in class, ethnic, and racial terms" (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 3).[3] Two recent collections on the subject, one by Susan Pedersen and Sarah Elkins and the other by Annie E. Coombes, have called for renewed attention to settler colonialism with emphasis on what it can teach us about twentieth- and twenty-first-century nations and empires.

Antipodal England exists at the point of intersection between these two sub-fields within postcolonial studies, and by examining the complex appropriation of domestic ideologies and practices within the context of Australian colonial settlement, it seeks to show one way in which they overlap. Drawing on both areas of scholarship, I argue that just as ideals of home were of central importance to emigrants struggling to retain their national affiliation in the Australian colonies, this dynamic also applied in reverse—the Australian settler experience similarly helped to shape British conceptions of home and national identity. The liminality of emigration in the Victorian novel belies this centrality, seeming to reinforce a separation between the novel's primary subject, domestic life, and its secondary concern, the empire. In sub-plot after sub-plot, fictional emigrants disappear into or arrive from the colonies in ways that facilitate plot development but display a reticence on the part of novelists to represent the conditions of colonial life. This puzzling absence may account for the fact that Victorian emigration did not come under the scrutiny of literary critics until the last decade,[5] first in an edited collection by Rita S. Kranidis, and subsequently, in separate studies on female emigration by Kranidis and Diana C. Archibald.[6]

Despite its seeming marginality in the Victorian novel, Kranidis has begun persuasively to make a case for the importance of emigration, asserting that it was not merely "a series of isolated acts and events," but rather, that it constituted "a national trend suggestive of a predominant quest for an alternative mode of 'Englishness'" (*The Victorian Spinster* 23). As my opening quote suggests, the impetus to create such an alternative was powerful, and statistics about emigration as the empire grew bear out Kranidis's claim: estimates suggest that between 1821 and 1915, 10 million emigrants left Great Britain for non-European destinations (Woods 309). In Australia in particular, emigrants arrived so quickly and in such significant numbers that with an estimated immigrant population of three million by 1890, immigrants continued to outnumber native-born Australians descended from the British until the very end of the nineteenth century (Denoon 53). Textual evidence similarly supports the contention that emigration was "a national trend." Although fictional representations

are oddly decentered, the proliferation of emigrant guides and the enthu-
siastic debates about emigration that punctuate contemporary periodicals
indicate that emigration was a vital topic that impinged on the lives of
many, if not most, Victorians.

While Australia loomed large within such discussions in the Vic-
torian era, its role within such texts, and especially in literature, has
received limited attention by critics.[7] Unlike India and Africa, which have
been focal points for much of the recent work on empire, Australia was
not subject to an administrative apparatus like the East India Company,
nor did it play a significant role in relation to the empire's commercial
ambitions. First occupied by the British as a penal colony in 1788, Aus-
tralia was opened to free migration beginning in the 1830s, and it became
home to millions of British and Irish emigrants throughout the century.
In contrast to colonies in India and Africa, it was relatively autonomous,
achieving self-government in 1855 and federation in 1901 (although cit-
izenship rights at the time of federation did not extend to Aboriginal
people). Through an analysis of the role of Australian emigration in the
Victorian novel, I demonstrate why the revision of English identity that
took place in Australia held more than a passing interest for the Victori-
ans. Despite being pushed to the edges of the novel's range of vision, what
is at stake in representations of colonial success or failure in Australia
is nothing less than the integrity of British identity, and at times, of the
British nation itself.

Such stakes are dramatized neatly in what is often perceived to be
at the crux of settler colonialism: "The paradox of settler societies is
that they simultaneously resisted and accommodated the authority of
an imperialist Europe" (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 4). Marked both by
the nature of their dependent relations with an imperial power and by
an unusual degree of political and economic autonomy, settler societ-
ies embodied a tentative and ambivalent position with the empire. In
the case of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—sometimes termed
the "white dominions"—strong imperial ties meant that "the domi-
nant culture and institutions were fashioned directly on those of the
'mother' country (Britain)" (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 3–4). Yet despite
such self-fashioning, these borrowings from imperial culture were
complicated by the heterogeneous nature of colonial society. As James
Hammerton notes, "the complex British rules which established social
identity required revision in a pioneering colonial society like Australia,"
which was "a more primitive and egalitarian, albeit still socially strati-
fied, society" (*Emigrant Gentlewomen* 63). Such stratification obviously
complicates how we read the interactions between home and colony in

the context of Australia. Donald Denoon, for instance, questions whether emigration alone can account for the maintenance of colonial ties to Britain given a large population of Irish emigrants who may have been less inclined toward loyalty to Britain (53).

Given these complexities, we can read the emigrant as a liminal figure who crosses geographical and textual boundaries, allowing us to track these tensions and to address the complex imbrications of domesticity and imperialism. Unlike British travelers abroad, who were the subjects of much scholarship throughout the 1990s,[8] Australian emigrants are inhabitants and not just visitors in the "contact zone" (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 4). As such, they permanently disrupt the binary oppositions that arise in the context of colonial encounter—including the boundaries between self and other, between colonizer and colonized. This is especially true in the case of Australia, where middle-class emigrants are precariously poised within a colonial space fractured by a shifting social hierarchy whose constituents—Aborigines, convicts, gold diggers, and free settlers of English, Scottish, and Irish descent—were classified according to race, ethnicity, economic status, and in some cases, reason for emigration. Within this fluid space, I identify a crucial paradox regarding the role of portable domesticity in colonial Australia: even as portable domesticity reinforces the values of British culture, it also subverts them, since the domestic practices that enable emigrants to transplant their national identity also initiate the process of settlement that gradually leads to the formation of a new national identity for Australia, and ultimately, to independence from Britain.

The "ambivalence of emplacement" that characterizes the conditions of emigration and settlement in a place like Australia is internalized by the emigrant/settler even at the level of language (Slemon 39), since Australia's status as an English-speaking colony results in textual productions by settler writers that are imbricated both in British and Australian literary traditions and are at times subversive in their relationship to imperialist power.[9] Textual representations of the emigrant/settler as a figure who is "not quite colonial" reveal a potentially wider spectrum of subject positions vis-à-vis nationality than simple binaries allow (Spence 2: 65). This broad spectrum in turn aids our understanding of the workings of empire both in the Australian colonies and in the imperial metropolis by illustrating that although the Antipodes signified for the Victorians a space that was socially and geographically far removed from Britain, events in Australia have reverberating effects that impact not only on settler and indigenous populations, but also on Britons back home.[10]

CO-OPTING DOMESTICITY FOR IMPERIAL AIMS

In his work on settler colonialism in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe, Ronald Weitzer identifies two features of stable settler rule. The first involves maintaining control over indigenous populations by containing unrest or political agitation and minimizing involvement in indigenous affairs by the imperial power, while the second involves maintaining cohesion within the dominant settler population, a difficult task given the heterogeneous nature of settler societies (Weitzer 27–28). Weitzer's terms, when applied to Australia, suggest that simultaneous control over indigenous populations and a burgeoning group identity among settlers could work together to help minimize the pronounced cleavages within Australian society—between colony/metropole, settler/indigene, convict/free settler, and English/Scottish/Irish emigrants. *Antipodal England* reveals that one of the primary mechanisms for achieving these ends was domesticity.

As Annie E. Coombes reminds us, "ideas of 'self' and 'nation' were forged not only in response to the heterogeneous nature of the aspirations of the migrant and largely European communities . . . they *also* derived in response to the challenges presented by the reality of encountering indigenous peoples with highly differentiated political, cultural, and social structures" (3). Settlers in Australia responded to such challenges by exerting social control over indigenous domestic practices and familial arrangements. While the focus of this book is primarily on the specific ways in which English domesticity was transported to facilitate the creation of a home for British emigrants in Australia, it is also imperative to acknowledge the ways in which portable domesticity contributed to the exploitation of Australia's Aboriginal peoples—in many cases amounting to genocide—both through an ideology that presumed exclusion and through material practices that demarcated literal separations and enforced geographical displacement. In the case of Australia and other settler societies, cultural imperialism of this kind took many forms including "the outlawing of indigenous religions, customs and languages, forced removal of children from parents, and the imposition of European norms of gender roles, nuclear family institutions and forms of knowledge" (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 24–25).

While persistent and often violent interference in Aboriginal family systems was common from the colonial period onwards, popular and critical recognition of the systemic nature of such practices occurred only recently.[11] And while the literary, visual, and nonfictional texts I examine in the chapters that follow occasionally focus on colonial encounter, Aboriginal people and their culture typically remain either marginalized

or remarkably absent from the accounts of emigration that I analyze. Such an elision points to the efficiency with which the policing of the domestic realm was carried out in Australia, and to the success of a policy of "strategic amnesia" that enabled Britons largely to disregard the catastrophic fate of Australia's indigenous peoples in the wake of British colonization and settlement (Anderson x). The conclusion of this study begins the exploration of how the domestic practices established by Victorian settlers continued to hold sway and influence twentieth-century social and racial policies, so that the tragic consequences of colonialism for indigenous peoples can be seen reiterated and reaffirmed in postcolonial Australia.

In addition to contributing to the project of controlling indigenous populations, domestic ideologies also play a crucial role in creating unity within the dominant settler group in Australia by helping to sustain a "myth of common ethnic origin" (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 19). Domesticity was able to help smooth over divisions within the settler population because it could reduce the distance between constituencies as diverse as convicts and free settlers or English and Irish migrants. This was possible in part because, as historians interested in the complex negotiations of class, gender, and nation in the Victorian era have ably illustrated, domestic ideology was inextricably bound up with conceptions of English national identity in the nineteenth century. Dror Wahrman, Leonore Davidoff, Catherine Hall, and John Tosh are among those scholars whose work has illuminated these connections to demonstrate how domesticity transcended class boundaries to become a marker—not of class per se—but of national character and "the conventional good life" (Tosh 4).[12] Davidoff and Hall's influential study, *Family Fortunes*, in particular, illustrates how the middling classes had cohered into a "powerful unified culture" by the middle of the nineteenth century, with the family serving as a focal point for class definition (23). The domestic culture that was the hallmark of this class gradually became essential to the national character of the English as "the middle-class view . . . [became] the triumphant common sense of the Victorian age" (Davidoff and Hall 28). By extension, the family—the heart of the domestic ideal—played a pivotal role in securing the health of the state and imposing a moral order that impacted "not only on relations between the sexes but also in definitions of who was properly part of the English nation. The 'teeming poor', the Irish, the gypsies, the unclean, all were consigned to the category of 'other'" (Davidoff and Hall 450). As this quotation implies, those groups within England who lacked access to a secure domestic and familial lifestyle were deemed to be outside of the nation.

By contrast, in Australia, such categorical distinctions were made first and foremost to demarcate the boundaries between settler and indigene, a project that diverted attention away from the less critical but still important borders between heterogeneous emigrant groups. As Jenny Sharpe has demonstrated in her study of Anglo-Indian women, women's domestic work in the British colonies is synonymous with the work of policing racial divides: "the domestic sphere is a space of racial purity that the colonial housewife guards against contamination from the outside. . . . The 'innocent space' of the home ceases to be innocent once racial segregation is considered part of domestic work" (92). In contrast to this stark segregation, the boundaries among settler constituencies based on ethnicity, class, or even reason for migration were blurred, and Antipodal domesticity became an attractive arena for refashioning emigrant identity because it was both portable and flexible enough to be co-opted by emigrants and settlers seeking affiliation within an emerging middle-class group. As a result, domesticity provided a source of cohesion within the heterogeneous emigrant populations. By examining its portability, I call attention to the constructedness of domesticity, identifying how it was shaped and disseminated in deliberate and highly specific ways in order to serve the needs of the empire. Although middle-class emigrants represent a very small subset of the emigrant population in Australia—by the 1890s, the middle and upper classes accounted for only about one quarter of all emigrants from Britain (Tosh 176)—their presence was vital to the creation of what one writer calls "our more roomy *Southern* England" (Hursthouse 3), a collective to which many other emigrant groups aspired to belong.

As I suggested in my opening analysis of the looking glass, my understanding of portable domesticity is grounded on the premise that "home" is significant both in its material and ideological forms, since "[d]omesticity denotes both a *space* (a geographical and architectural alignment) and a *social relation to power*" (McClintock 34). For middle-class Victorians, the ideological import of domesticity was equally as important as the material and spatial practices that helped define it. Davidoff and Hall have argued, for example, that because most middle-class families at the start of Victoria's reign lived in rented accommodation and mobility was common, "home" was defined less by actual structures than by ideological associations: "the form of the housing, the shell within which that space, 'a home', was to be made, was neither fully thought out nor secure. . . . In the early part of the period, 'home' was as much a social construct and state of mind as a reality of bricks and mortar" (357–8). To put it in the words of Charles Dickens, whose fiction is replete with portable families,

"home" signifies more than just "[f]our walls and a ceiling" ("A Cricket on the Hearth" 44).

Because of the ideological significance attached to domesticity and the commonplace assumption that it was the "natural" purview of the English, it could be readily co-opted and pressed into the service of the empire. In the Antipodes, domesticity proved crucial to the success of colonial settlement given Australia's historical function as the receptacle of Britain's "superfluous" and unwanted populations. Britain's transported convicts in particular played a pivotal role in the history of Australian colonization,[13] because as Robert Hughes notes in *The Fatal Shore*, "[w]hat the convict system bequeathed to later Australian generations was . . . an intense concern with social and political respectability" (xiii). Working against what Hughes terms the "convict stain," subsequent generations of emigrants fetishized middle-class domesticity as a means of divorcing their experience from associations with convict transportation and exile while simultaneously reinforcing their connections to Britain. As my readings of a range of texts will illustrate, portable domesticity thus allowed for a rewriting of Australia's past and the expression of a wish-fulfillment "that 'real' Australian history had begun with Australian respectability—with the flood of money from gold and wool, the opening of the continent, the creation of an Australian middle class" (Hughes xiii).

In addition to helping to erase Australia's convict history, an emphasis on middle-class domesticity was also advantageous in serving as a corrective to the licentiousness and unbridled mobility associated with the "strike-it-rich-quick mentality" engendered by the 1851 gold rush (Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness* 124). Figured by one novelist as "a valuable element in colonial society" (Spence 2: 255), the middle-class family and its ideals of industry, accountability, and moderation are set in direct opposition to the presumed rough, transient, and avaricious customs of gold diggers and short-term emigrants. Often figured as a stabilizing force in Britain,[14] the middle classes play an equally important role in colonial Australia, where models of middle-class family life are envisioned in emigrant guides, propaganda, and fiction as a primary means through which to steady the empire, both socially and economically, and to ensure colonial loyalty to Britain. This stabilizing function was so dramatic that in some cases, even marginalized subjects could reposition themselves as solid citizens of empire through the adoption of domestic practices and ideals, further contributing after mid-century to "a quite unprecedented theme of middle-class respectability" in Australia (Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen* 112). By standing in opposition to the seemingly dangerous

forms of economic and social mobility associated with emancipated convicts and gold diggers, portable domesticity thus enhanced the respectability of emigration and settlement in Australia and contributed to the "myth of common ethnic origin" among settler populations (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 19).

Through the consolidation of control over indigenous populations and the maintenance of some degree of unity among settler groups, British emigrants gradually generated the foundational myths around which Australian nationalism would eventually cohere. Yet while "[t]he dominant history told a brave story of pioneers and settlers, soldiers and unionists, almost always white, English-speaking and male" (Pettman 66), this gendered fiction elides not only an extensive indigenous history, but also the significant role settler women played in Australia, particularly given the prominence of domesticity within the settler project. While the cult of domesticity in Britain markedly glorified women's moral responsibilities in the home, it was a short leap from there to women's responsibilities to the nation and by extension the empire. In his well-known essay "Of Queen's Gardens," John Ruskin explicitly makes this connection, famously asserting that woman's queenly function extends to the nation through her duty "to assist in the ordering, in the comforting, and in the beautiful adornment of the state" (106). This duty is fulfilled through the British wife's seemingly inherent aptitude for making domesticity portable, since "wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her. The stars only may be over her head; the glow-worm in the night-cold grass may be the only fire at her foot: but home is yet wherever she is; and for a noble woman it stretches far round her" (102–3). Although he emphatically relegates woman to her "proper" sphere by glorifying her moral virtue, Ruskin simultaneously alludes to a uniquely feminine capacity for mobility that has far more radical implications. While women are figured in the passage above as agents of portable domesticity, they are also emphatically *embodiments* of portable domesticity, since they both carry out the work of making the home and are themselves the carriers of it; in the context of the empire then, women not only perform the work of domesticity, in Ruskin's language, through "ordering" and "comforting," but also through "adorning" or representing it. The middle-class woman was particularly well placed to perform such work because, as Carolyn Vellenga Berman has argued, "[b]y embracing the seemingly humble duties of domestic life as a mission of national stature, women of all classes (but especially the middle classes) could prove their superiority to women of rank as caretakers of the nation" (53). I propose to show that far from being mere passive participants in the practices of imperialism, Victorian women in Australia

played a critical role as powerful cultural mediators who possessed a perceived aptitude for making domesticity portable.[15]

If Victorian women ensure that national identity is preserved through the transplantation of British domestic life in the colony, Victorian men, by contrast, are often figured as a weak link in the chain connecting England to the empire. One renowned emigration advocate, Caroline Chisholm, calls it "an act of national blindness" to support a system of colonization without women.[16] She insists, "[g]ive [male emigrants] help-mates, and you make murmuring, discontented servants, loyal and happy subjects of the State" (30). What is left potently unstated in Chisholm's imperative is the threat that male emigrants might turn to, even marry, non-British women, thus potentially destabilizing a presumptive British identity not only for the men themselves, but for their children. However, while the Australian colonies created an opening for a redefinition of women's place in the empire, Antipodal emigration also allowed for a more capacious set of gender norms for Victorian men. While this may seem counterintuitive given the ethic of mateship and the romance of the bush celebrated in so much of early Australian fiction, the conditions of colonial settlement necessitated that middle-class male emigrants, like their female counterparts, appropriate domestic values and practices as a means of negotiating displacement and retaining ties to Britain. Drawing on Tosh's work on masculinity, which cogently argues that domesticity was a critical component of masculine identity for most of the nineteenth century, this study explores the extent to which domesticity was crucial not only to women's efforts at self-definition in the Antipodes, but also to that of their male counterparts.

READING THE ARTIFACTS OF EMPIRE

Antipodal England relies on a conception of national identity as a construct that, like domesticity, is defined as much by a state of mind as it is by physical space (in this case, by geographical boundaries). My understanding owes much to Homi K. Bhabha's arguments about the performative nature of national identity and to Benedict Anderson's landmark study of nationalism, *Imagined Communities*. By emphasizing the cultural roots of nationalism—in religion, print culture, language, and kinship—Anderson makes it possible to theorize national identity not in terms of political or state ideologies, but in terms of cultural practices. One such practice that Anderson famously identifies as crucial to the emergence of European nationalisms was the development in the eighteenth century of print-capitalism. "[T]he novel and the newspaper," Anderson argues,

"provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation" (25).

Building from Anderson, I examine the print-capitalism of Antipodal England in both its fictional and nonfictional guises. By exploring the narratological uses of emigration plots in Victorian novels by Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and Catherine Helen Spence, I chart how the novel in particular helps to shape conceptions of national identity by dramatizing who does and who does not belong within a specified imagined community. One of the noteworthy features of Victorian literature that inspired this study was the consistent marginalization of emigration plots across a wide spectrum of novels as emigrants disappear into or arrive from the colonies with very little narrative detail. By attending closely to examples of such marginalization and to how novelists used the empire for strategic purposes, I demonstrate how the novel actually dramatizes the centrality of the colonies to Victorian conceptions of home and national identity. Issues of genre are central to this study, which focuses in part on how novelists manipulate the generic conventions associated with sensation fiction and domestic fiction in order to examine the effects of cross-cultural translation associated with emigration and colonial return.

While the novel presents a vision of what imaginings are possible, visual art and nonfictional sources such as memoirs, letters, and emigrant guides provide alternative "sites of cultural self-fashioning" that also impact upon constructions of national identity (Brantlinger, "Cultural Studies" 54). By juxtaposing novels with other genres I endeavor to broaden current scholarship on British imperialism by investigating what Deirdre David calls "the textual labor of empire building" (4), or in other words, the ways in which the imperial project depended not only upon territorial expansion and military activity, but also on various kinds of texts and writing. In the chapters that follow, I pair novels with archival sources such as letters written by governesses who emigrated to Australia, personal accounts of the Australian gold rush, and emigrant guides published by individuals or corporations such as S. W. Silver and Company, outfitters of emigrant ships. My analysis centers on how fictional plots and propaganda mirrored and helped to generate sometimes conflicting Victorian attitudes toward imperialism. By reflecting and changing the terms in which emigration was imagined and discussed, these textual representations worked at times to sustain or to critique the projects of imperialism and colonization; the fervor with which emigration and settlement is discussed, however, speaks to the centrality of these issues within the empire as a whole.

Rather than charting a historical trajectory of Antipodal emigration, I have chosen to order the chapters in a way that mirrors the process of emigration itself; chapters move from an emphasis on the transition from home to colony, including the liminal spaces of the emigrant ship and the Australian gold fields, to the reverse movement of emigrants returning to Britain, and finally, to the more permanent and lasting forms of colonial settlement in Australia. Through this trajectory, my argument clarifies the increasingly complex processes by which portable domesticity transformed the emigrant into the settler; these processes were recognized, disavowed, and deployed at key moments as both the link *and* the point of rupture between home and colony.

My argument in the first chapter, "Housekeeping at Sea and on Shore: Portable Domesticity and Emigrant Transformation," revolves around the centrality of domestic practices aboard emigrant ships, where idealized family life is modeled in order to "train" individual emigrants for the roles they will subsequently adopt in the colony. Beginning with one of the most famous icons of Victorian emigration, Ford Madox Brown's painting, *The Last of England* (1852–55), I analyze representations of shipboard life in emigrant guides and in the writings of Caroline Chisholm, a proponent of group emigration who founded the Family Colonization Loan Society to permit artificial "family" units to travel and settle together. I read the emigration plot in Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* within this historical context, arguing that each of these texts encourages impoverished middle-class and working-class British emigrants to adhere to middle-class standards of behavior and propriety in an attempt to preserve order amid the cramped spaces of emigrant ships and later to harness the supposedly liberating potential of empire in the colonies. Within the logic of these texts, and particularly the novel, the emigrant ship becomes a primary locus for the affirmation and adoption of middle-class domestic values and practices; once mastered, the texts seem to argue, middle-class domesticity will transform those unable to achieve financial security within England into industrious and successful settlers in Australia.

Chapter 2, "Performing the Voyage Out: Victorian Female Emigration and the Gendering of Displacement," retains a focus on liminal spaces by examining accounts both of shipboard life and of the Australian gold diggings. I begin by analyzing a collection of letters written by unmarried middle-class women who emigrated to Australia under the auspices of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society (FMCES). Alongside their letters I read Anthony Trollope's *John Caldigate*, a novel about the Australian gold rush that thematizes many of the issues raised by the FMCES emigrants. Although Trollope's titular hero can successfully return to Britain after

temporarily inhabiting the morally ambiguous space of the Australian gold diggings, his female companion cannot. Thus, I explore the extent to which in the novel and the letters performances of domesticity, leisure, and strategic amnesia enable female emigrants to maintain their affiliations with a British middle class aboard ship and in the colony. I argue that while the letters and the novel differ in their assessments of the success of such performances, both suggest that the rift caused by class and gender inequality within the British nation is widened in the context of emigration, creating a space for potentially empowering and often threatening forms of female self-assertion and independence. While such threats are ultimately contained within the logic of the novel, they continually resonate in the autobiographical accounts I examine.

The succeeding chapters of *Antipodal England* shift focus more explicitly to the personal and national implications of emigration for the returned emigrant and for the settler. Chapter 3, "The Fraudulent Family: Emigration, Colonial Return, and the Sensational Crimes of Empire," revisits the family, exploring how the resilience and portability I discuss in the first chapter is challenged when Victorian emigrants to Australia return to Britain and subsequently become embroiled in plots involving bigamy and fraud that signify their divided allegiances between home and colony. By pairing two wildly popular accounts of colonial return from Australia to Britain, one the fictional case of George Talboys in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* and the other the actual legal case involving the Tichborne Claimant, I endeavor to show how both accounts, though seemingly very different, draw on the genre of sensation fiction to dramatize and heighten pervasive Victorian anxieties about emigration and colonial return. In so doing, these accounts illustrate how emigration threatens the family, and by extension, the nation, by importing into its arenas the fluidity associated with bigamy and fraud.

The fourth chapter, "'Verily the Antipodes of Home': Narrating Domesticity in the Bush," explores the transplantation of literature itself—and the genre of the domestic novel in particular—as another form of portable domesticity, one that helped to ensure the success of settlement and to forestall the threats associated with colonial return that are explored in the previous chapter. In analyzing the transplantation of genre, I look at one of the first domestic novels written in Australia by a woman, Catherine Helen Spence's *Clara Morison*, which details the story of a Scottish governess who emigrates to Australia. To explore how the iconography of the domestic novel is transformed within this colonial setting, I discuss *Clara Morison* as a rewriting of another domestic novel to which it incessantly doubles back—Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. I argue that Spence's

novel exemplifies the portability of domesticity in two ways: by thematizing the role of British literature in enabling emigrants to maintain their ties to their home country despite displacement, and more literally, by rewriting the domestic novel and setting it in Australia, thereby demonstrating its adaptability.

Antipodal England concludes with "Portable Domesticity and Strategic Amnesia," which considers the reverberating legacies of nineteenth-century colonial settlement, particularly as they have recently come to light through investigations in the 1990s into the fate of what have become known as Australia's Stolen Generations. This label represents the tens of thousands of Aboriginal children who, over the course of roughly seventy years, were forcibly removed from their families and placed in the custody of institutions or foster homes in an attempt to enforce assimilation to Anglo culture. The investigative commission that examined their fates concluded that Australia's state and local governments had, from the late nineteenth century to the late 1960s, engaged in a systematic policy of genocide with respect to Australia's indigenous people. Under the auspices of bettering the education and future opportunities available to indigenous children, the Stolen Generations were lost not only to their families, but also to the Aboriginal culture from which they were forcibly divorced. The genesis of this policy during the period under study suggests that portable domesticity, in addition to being an important resource for British emigrants struggling to maintain their ties to home while negotiating geographical and cultural displacements, simultaneously functioned in ultimately devastating ways to fulfill one of the most insidious objectives of empire building: the British civilizing mission.

In her recent collection, *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and South Africa*, Coombes argues that "an understanding of the political and cultural institutions and practices which shaped these colonial societies in the past can provide important insights into the available means for contesting its legacy of unequal rights by historically marginalized peoples in the present" (2). By examining settler colonialism and the origins of nationalism in Australia, this study aims in part to contextualize recent developments in the twentieth century and to help us better understand "the radical ambivalence of colonialism's middle ground" (Slemon 34). Settler nation-states are born out of such ambivalence, and in particular, out of two significant ruptures: the splitting off from indigenous populations and the splitting off from the imperial metropolis (Elkins and Pedersen 3). Such ruptures are made possible by transforming a "myth of common ethnic origins" into a myth of "common destiny," which orients settler societies around a

collective future rather than the past (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 19). Faced with the enormous divide between metropole and colony—physical and material, but also emotional and psychological—British emigrants looked to the future to construct a national narrative that could incorporate and ultimately transcend their former ideals associated with family, nation, and home. In so doing, they were able to imagine and create "another English house in another country," a project whose partial successes have had reverberating consequences for both Britain and Australia.

By examining the multifaceted ways in which portable domesticity functioned in colonial Australia, *Antipodal England* illustrates how the rhetoric and realities of "home" enabled British emigrants throughout the second half of the nineteenth century to create a national identity that was dependent upon but distinct from their English counterparts. These imaginings and the material practices that sustained them suggest that the forces of cultural production extend beyond geographical boundaries. Furthermore, the prevalence of such forces, as demonstrated in the diverse cultural texts I discuss, suggests the central role that emigration and settlement played within the context of the empire as a whole. This study exemplifies how, as a pivotal site for the expansion of British colonial settlement, the space I have called Antipodal England offers a nuanced and complex field for reconceiving the processes of colonial and postcolonial identity formation.