

criminal classes. Among Australian historians, the classic 'residue' thesis was most forcefully advanced in 1937 by R. B. Madgwick in his *Immigration into Eastern Australia*, which relied heavily on complaints from Australian colonists. Despite some well-documented rebuttals during the past thirty years, his argument has continued to prevail, and has been adapted in some ill-informed judgements of the 'ten-pound' British migrants to Australia since the Second World War.

In her meticulously researched book, Robin F. Haines challenges every detail of this compelling but deeply flawed thesis as it applies to the early years of Australian assisted emigration. Her story is essentially a bureaucratic one, but it carries deep implications for our understanding of the social and economic history of migration. The heroes of her argument are the overworked bureaucrats at every level of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, who were charged with administering the proceeds of colonial land sales in ways that would provide an adequate labour force for colonial development; in most cases, this meant both men and women with experience of farm or domestic labour. For potential emigrants, the commission's brief could be harsh and demanding. Strict rules dictated that the land fund be expended in the interests of the colonies, which meant close scrutiny of recruits for their character, work experience, literacy, and family profile.

Those who put themselves forward were invariably the victims of economic distress, in England mostly from the rural south, but the commission first had to satisfy itself that they were 'deserving poor' who had avoided total dependence on the parish. A wide range of charitable organizations, philanthropists, Poor Law unions, and landowners in Britain and Ireland seized the opportunity to reduce the numbers of their own dependent poor, and all of them rapidly became caught up in the extensive apparatus of emigrant selection and assistance. But their interest in disposing of their most dependent and least qualified recruits was invariably met with commission resistance, which Haines documents with scrupulous care. Families with very young children were excluded because of the known risks of high infant mortality on the voyage and age and health guidelines were enforced with rigour. Even the authorities in Australia, normally loud and hostile in their criticism of parish-aided emigrants, were not beyond advocating recruitment from workhouses when the demand for labour was strong enough, but here too the commission refused to bend the rules, rigidly insisting on its own superior wisdom in determining what best served colonial interests. This rigid insistence on careful scrutiny, and on individuals or local authorities funding part of the total costs, ensured that assisted migrants were as self-selecting as any gold-seekers or 'independent' migrants to the United States.

This is the briefest summary of Haines's story, but her research should change the way historians think about emigration to Australia. The generation of assisted migrants before the gold rushes were, just like their successors, imbued with the ethos of self-improvement and mostly non-conformist or Irish Catholic religious

values, which laid many of the foundations of Australian culture. Besides putting the final nail in the coffin of the 'spillover' thesis in these ways, Haines also contributes important new knowledge to the social history of the English poor and to debates about living standards during the Industrial Revolution. Taking reading rather than writing as a measure of literacy, for example, Haines shows how assisted migrants had a higher rate of literacy than the wider population of the same class. Many of the avid consumers of emigration propaganda were literate women who, also contrary to conventional wisdom, frequently initiated the move to leave the country in their families' interests. Those members of the labouring poor who were thus tempted to leave were suffering harsh conditions of structural unemployment, even during the 'golden age' of agriculture when farmers prospered and conditions were thought to be improving.

Haines does for Australian emigration what Charlotte Erickson has done for emigration to the United States (*Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (1994; rev. ante, xvii [1995], 141), returning the focus to local and individual experience and away from sweeping economic forces behind mass population movements. The rich and diverse experiences she describes make for very different history from the kind pioneered by Oscar Handlin, which shaped epic narratives of alienated millions uprooted from their benighted homelands and dumped unceremoniously on hostile shores (*The Uprooted*, 1951). Much of the experience Haines discusses emerges from her meticulous dissection of bureaucratic correspondence, but occasionally she enlivens the story with direct testimony from emigrants themselves. There is still room for much more of that testimony to be brought together into a rich cultural and social history of Australian immigration, but Haines's mapping of the context of the migration process now provides an indispensable framework in which future historians may situate their research.

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PETER RABY. *Bright Paradise: Victorian Scientific Travellers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. Pp. 276. \$14.95 (US), paper.

WHEN YOUNG CHARLES Darwin turned up at his family's house for breakfast on 5 October 1836, he came unannounced and created quite a stir. For five years and three days, he had absented himself from table; instead, he had rounded the globe, crushed 'kissing bugs' in the pampas, weathered the Andes, admired lithesome Tahitians, and begun to muddle over some very meaty questions about the history and geography of living things. It is said that mammoth papa Darwin (a respected physician a mite peeved by his younger son's lacklustre record in medical school) took one look at Charles and declared: 'Why, the shape of his head is quite altered.' This was saying something in 1836: phrenologically speaking, Darwin senior believed he could see a changed mind in that changed head. In *Bright*

*Paradise*, Peter Raby takes a look at more than a dozen Victorian scientific travellers and comes to much the same conclusion as Dr Darwin: minds were transformed by foreign passages.

Historians of science have not overlooked the important place of travel and exploration in their accounts of the nineteenth century: the subtitle of the first volume of Janet Browne's 1995 biography of Darwin himself, *Voyaging*, makes the point clearly; a recent volume of *Osiris* (xi, 1996) is entitled 'Science in the Field'; I can pull off my shelf either *Geography and Empire* (1994) or *Geography and Imperialism, 1810-1940* (1995), both of which take up science at the colonial periphery and its implications at the metropolis. Much of this sort of work has grown out of the sneaking suspicion that the history of European science and that of European expansion might prove mutually illuminating, particularly in the Victorian period. For all the interest of the (many) studies that have pursued this hunch and worked to triangulate travel, empire, and science, no single, synthetic, and readable account (of the kind one would willingly give an undergraduate, for instance) has yet come to light.

*Bright Paradise* comes closest. Raby, it is a pleasure to relate, uses lively prose and skilful narrative scenography to relate a well-organized story of scientific voyaging. Scholars familiar with the literature from which he has worked (he has not footnoted his text, but has included brief bibliographical notes) will sense that they are covering much familiar ground. But for few indeed will all the ground be equally familiar. In ten chapters, Raby offers intersecting essays on Charles Darwin, William Hooker, Thomas Henry Huxley, Mungo Park, Hugh Clapperton, Richard Lander, Francis Galton, Heinrich Barth, Alfred Russell Wallace, Henry Walter Bates, Richard Spruce, Paul du Chaillu, Mary Kingsley, and Marianne North. A few more obscure figures – Richard Garner, and the ever-odd Charles Waterton – make cameo appearances as well. This laundry-list of names does not do justice to the elegant thematic organization of the book, which must leave and revisit various figures in order to maintain the coherence of chapters on, among other things, Africa, the Amazon, botanical collecting, scientific surveys, and human encounters with large primates. All of this is capped by a chapter entitled 'A New Mythology', which offers a concise summary of Edward Said's thesis (in *Culture and Imperialism*) that the British novel owes much of its generative energy (as well as many of its structural elements) to the shadow geography of the empire. Raby then offers his own readings of a number of Victorian authors – Charles Kingsley to Joseph Conrad – in exploring how the scientific traveller figured in fiction.

Much of this merits praise. Raby has succeeded in avoiding the heated prose and sycophancy that has characterized much of the more accessible writing on exploration. Readers will catch glimpses of the peculiar combination of stoicism, muscular diletantism, and disconcerting self-reliance that characterized Victorian scientific travellers, but there are no paeans here; the destructive elements of the

colonial adventure sober both paradisiacal fantasies and imperial huzzas. In addition, the book manages to sketch the intricate web of social relationships – links and distinctions of class, caste, and cash – that played such a key role in determining who travelled where, with whom, and under what obligations. Chasing birds of paradise in Borneo was intellectual leavening to some, bread to others.

There are other strengths: Raby has seized on the importance of mapping as a distinctively 'scientific' form of travel; he has distinguished between a strain of Victorian nomadism and a different sort of colonial travel that came equipped with flags and uniforms and intricate orders; he has captured the disturbing reversal experienced by many of those who ventured away from Britain seeking objects for the scientific gaze, but who suddenly noticed the gaze of others upon them. By the end, the book even offers a thesis of sorts (though it hardly feels as if it sets out to argue a point): there was natural selection lurking out there in those jungles. In essence, Raby wants to argue that the Darwin/Wallace discovery marked the climax of Victorian scientific travel; sent out to collect raw material for metropolitan scientists, a few Victorian travelling naturalists brought back a whole can of worms. This is an interesting idea, and the book might have been organized more forcibly around it.

But no part of *Bright Paradise* is forcible, and that is perhaps its strength. Its greatest weakness cannot be laid at Raby's feet: the accompanying maps are dreadful, useless for following itineraries, adding nothing aesthetically. While there are other images, drawn from explorers' journals and publications, they are seldom examined in any detail in the text. Little attention is paid to the various tropes – literary and visual – used by many of these travellers in representing their encounters; of the most interesting aspect of these encounters – their cross-cultural meanings, the kaleidoscopic complexity of the misunderstandings brokered by itinerant naturalists – Raby says far too little. Much remains to be said.

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ANTHONY HOWE. *Free Trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946*. New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1997. Pp. xii, 336. \$121.50 (CDN).

FREE TRADE WAS the most distinctive tenet of British Liberalism in the latter half of the nineteenth century when both the creed and the country were in their prime. This policy had such pervasive bearings that it is not easy to pull together as a subject. Anthony Howe has done so with great ability and commitment. His study is based on extensive archival work as well as reading in the massive literature pertinent to the subject in North American and Australian, as well as British, libraries. He is devoted to the cause about which he writes.

His presentation falls essentially into three parts. The first deals with the conception and birth in the repeal of the Corn Laws of the peculiar form of free trade