

Imperial Emotions

Emotions are not universal, but are experienced and expressed in diverse ways within different cultures and times. This overview of the history of emotions within nineteenth-century British imperialism focuses on the role of the compassionate emotions, or what today we refer to as empathy, and how they created relations across the empire. Jane Lydon examines how empathy was produced, qualified and contested, including via the fear and anger aroused by frontier violence. She reveals the overlooked emotional dimensions of relationships constructed between Britain, her Australasian colonies and Indigenous people, showing that ideas about who to care about were frequently drawn from the intimate domestic sphere, but were also developed through colonial experience. This history reveals the contingent and highly politicized nature of emotions in imperial deployment. Moving beyond arguments that emotions such as empathy are either 'good' or 'bad', this study evaluates their concrete political uses and effects.

Jane Lydon is Professor of History and Wesfarmers Chair of Australian History at The University of Western Australia. Her research centres upon Australia's colonial past and its legacies in the present. She worked as an archaeologist before becoming a historian, and retains an interest in diverse forms of evidence for the past, especially photographic archives.



Critical Perspectives on Empire

Editors

Professor Catherine Hall University College London

Professor Mrinalini Sinha University of Michigan

Professor Kathleen Wilson State University of New York, Stony Brook

Critical Perspectives on Empire is a major series of ambitious, cross-disciplinary works in the emerging field of critical imperial studies. Books in the series explore the connections, exchanges and mediations at the heart of national and global histories, the contributions of local as well as metropolitan knowledge, and the flows of people, ideas and identities facilitated by colonial contact. To that end, the series not only offers a space for outstanding scholars working at the intersection of several disciplines to bring to wider attention the impact of their work; it also takes a leading role in reconfiguring contemporary historical and critical knowledge, of the past and of ourselves.

A full list of titles published in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/cpempire.



Imperial Emotions

The Politics of Empathy across the British Empire

Jane Lydon

The University of Western Australia, Perth





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108735759

DOI: 10.1017/9781108653589

© Jane Lydon 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020 First paperback edition 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-108-49836-4 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-73575-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Tim, Roy and Dash, for keeping the home fires burning.



Contents

	List of Figures	page v111
	Acknowledgements	xi
	Introduction: Emotions and Empire	1
1	Children of Empire: British Nationalism and Colonial Utopias	25
2	Colonial 'Blind Spots': Images of Frontier Conflict	51
3	Australian Uncle Tom's Cabins	77
4	The Homeless of Empire: Imperial Outcasts in Bleak House	100
5	Christian Heroes on the New Frontier	123
6	Charity Begins at Home: Philanthropy, Magic Lantern Slides and Missionary Performances	143
7	The Republican Debate and Popular Royalism: 'a Strange Reluctance to Actually Shout at the Queen'	164
	Bibliography Index	188 216

vii



Figures

1.1	John Tenniel, Telescopic Philanthropy', Punch, Volume	
	XLVIII, 4 March 1865, page 89. Little London Arab.	
	"PLEASE 'M, AIN'T WE BLACK ENOUGH TO BE	
	CARED FOR?" (with MR. PUNCH'S Compliments to	
	LORD STANLEY.)' Punch Cartoon Library / TopFoto. page	36
1.2	Gustave Doré, 'The New Zealander', 1872, frontispiece	
	to London: a Pilgrimage. Out of copyright.	37
1.3	Jacques Louis Copia (engraver) based on drawing by Jean	
	Piron, 'Natives from Van Diemen's Land Preparing Their	
	Meal,' [Sauvages du Cap de Diemen préparant leur repas] in	
	Jacques-Julien Houtou de Labillardière, Voyage in Search of	
	La Perouse, performed by order of the Constituent Assembly,	
	[Atlas pour servir a la relation du voyage a la recherché de la	
	Perouse], Paris: Chez Dabo, 1817, Plate 5. National Library	
	of Australia. PIC Volume 592 #U8147/5 NK3030, Bib id	
	33969, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136482306.	41
2.1	Godfrey Mundy, 'Mounted Police and Blacks', frontispiece	
	Lithograph by W. L. Walton, Our Antipodes: or, Residence and	
	Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the	
	Goldfields.	52
2.2	'Phiz' (Hablot Knight Browne), 'Australian Aborigines	
	Slaughtered by Convicts', 1841. The Chronicles of Crime; or,	
	The New Newgate Calendar, London: Sydney: Printed for	
	T. Tegg, 2 volumes, 1841, between pages 472 and 473.	60
2.3	George Hamilton, 'Meeting natives on the Campaspi plains	
	June 1836'. Three Scenes Around the Campaspi River and	
	Plains, Victoria, 1836 [sic], National Library of Australia,	
	PIC Volume 1186 #PIC/20001/2. NLA- nla.obj-	
	321140428-m.	65
2.4	George Hamilton, 'Overlanders Attacking the Natives',	
	V/89: Ink drawing, signed G. Hamilton, 1846. Mitchell	
	Library, State Library of New South Wales, V/89.	69

viii



	List of Figures	1X
	George Hamilton, 'Natives Spearing the Overlanders' Cattle', V/88: Ink drawing. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, V/88.	69
2.6	George Hamilton, 'The Harmless Natives', Lithographs by G Hamilton, [1846–1856]. Lithographed and published by Penman and Galbraith Pirie Street Adelaide. Mitchell	
2.7	Library, State Library of New South Wales. George Hamilton, 'The Persecuting White men', DL PX 133/1–3: Lithographs published by Penman and Galbraith	70
3.1	Pirie Street Adelaide. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. Hammatt Billings, frontispiece in Harriet Beecher Stowe,	71
	Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly, A 1852 .S76 U4 v.2. Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.	82
3.2	George Washington Wilson, photographer, 'An Australian <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin'</i> , 1892. Aberdeen University Special Collections.	92
4.1	'The London Sweep', in Henry Mayhew, London Labour and	92
	the London Poor (1851). Engraving. © Museum of London. Oscar Rejlander, 'Poor Joe'. Negative about 1860; print later.	105
	Carbon print, 84.XA.828.6.13. Getty Museum.	106
	Gustave Doré, 'Found in the Street', London: A Pilgrimage, 1872.	108
	William Powell Frith, <i>The crossing sweeper</i> , 1858. © Museum of London. Image number 000783.	109
	Thomas William Couldery, 'The 'Prentice Hand', 1887, Art Gallery of New South Wales.	114
	Thomas William Couldery, 'Jo the Crossing-sweep', 1879, Private Collection, Brisbane, Queensland.	115
6.1	Introduction. 'Neddie's Care'. James Bamforth, 1887, Yorkshire. PLM-00147-001 (Coll. Cinémathèque	
	française).	146
6.2	'Only a penny, Sir, please give me a penny', James Bamforth, 1887, Yorkshire. PLM-00147-007 (Coll. Cinémathèque	
	française).	148
	'Before and After', Barnardo's archives.	150
6.4	Barnett Samuel Marks, 'Saved from the Streets, Portraits of Boys on Board the "Chichester" Training Ship', Diptych Painted c.1872. L8215 (a) In deep mire where there is no standing; L4839 (b) Escape as a bird out of the snare of the	
	fowler. National Maritime Museum (UK).	152



x List of Figures

6.5	Dr Barnardo's Homes Australasian deputation, ca. 1892.	
	Photographs by Hammer & Co. Adelaide. PIC/14735,	
	National Library of Australia.	155
6.6	'Wild Blacks of Australia', in John Brown Gribble, Black But	
	Comely: Aboriginal Life in Australia, London, 1884, facing	
	p. 20.	158
6.7	'Warangesda Aboriginal Mission, Murrumbidgee River',	
	frontispiece, Black But Comely: Aboriginal Life in Australia.	158
6.8	Billy Foote, of the Warangesda Mission, Black But Comely:	
	Aboriginal Life in Australia, facing p. 40.	159
6.9	Amelia, of the Poonindie Mission, Black But Comely:	
	Aboriginal Life in Australia, facing p. 76.	160
6.10	Alfred Atkinson, 'First Aborigines at Yarrabah Mission, in	
	front of shelter, some with spears', c.1892. Cairns Historical	
	Society.	162



Acknowledgements

This has been an exciting book to write, bringing a new lens to bear on concerns that have always fascinated me: the past in the present, or how we got to where we are. Empathy is a central emotion of our time, and a powerful political tool. The emotions we now group under the umbrella of 'empathy', including compassion, pity or 'fellow feeling', underwrote the colonisation of Australia, and continue to maintain imperial and local ties. Conversely, these emotions may deny some groups, such as Indigenous Australians, full recognition of culture and rights.

I am deeply grateful to those colleagues who provided advice, read chapter drafts and engaged with my work, especially Ann Curthoys, Liz Conor, Andrew Lynch, Susan Broomhall and Shino Konishi, as well as a wider circle of colleagues who shared their precious time in reading and responding to my work. Thank you Tony Ballantyne, Anna Johnston, Fiona Paisley, Maggie Nolan, Jon Piccini, Roland Bleiker, Emma Hutchison, Angela Wanhalla, Brook Andrew, Jessica Neath, Ross Gibson, Ann McGrath, Karen Hughes, Amanda Nettelbeck, Kalissa Alexeyeff, Melinda Hinkson and Alice Gorman. Since I arrived in Western Australia over six years ago, many colleagues have provided generous responses, critique, and lively conversation, and I especially thank Alistair Paterson, John Docker, Jeremy Martens, Tony Hughes d'Aeth, Kieran Dolin, Ned Curthoys, Aileen Walsh, Darren Jorgensen, Clarissa Ball, Ted Snell, Janice Lally, Vanessa Russ, Kate Gregory, Jenny Gregory, Philip Mead, David Gilchrist, Giovanni Tarantino, Farida Fozdar, Sharon Purchase, Laura Dales, Sandra Bowdler and Sven Ouzman. My interest in the history of emotions was inspired and strengthened by the work undertaken by colleagues associated with the Australian Research Council (ARC) Centre for the History of Emotions, hosted by The University of Western Australia.

Much of the early thinking and research for this project emerged from an ARC Future Fellowship addressing the status of historic photographs of Aboriginal people, now acknowledged to be an important form of

хi



xii Acknowledgements

Indigenous heritage. Images are not the only focus of this book, but they permeate and actively shape it, as they do both history and life. Such research is only possible with the support and generosity of many people, including institutional collection managers, and especially Aboriginal communities. In researching images of frontier violence, I am especially grateful to Wirrayaraay Elder Aunty Sue Blacklock and the Reverend John Brown, and members of the The Friends of Myall Creek committee, especially Ivan Roberts, who supported work on a book collection marking the 180th anniversary of the 1838 Myall Creek Massacre. I am also tremendously grateful to Lyndall Ryan, with whom I collaborated in that work. I am likewise grateful to Julie Robinson, Maria Zagala and Tracey Lock of the Art Gallery of South Australia, Ian Coates and Sarah Streatfeild of the National Museum of Australia, Gave Sculthorpe and Mary McMahon of the British Museum and Andrew Sergeant, Damian Cole, Erika Mordek and Nicola Mackay-Sim of the National Library of Australia for their help in accessing their collections. Thanks to Eleanor and David Lydon for permission to reproduce T. W. Couldery's work, and my father James Lydon for his interest in this research. For invitations to present my work, I am grateful to Paul Sendziuk, Anna Johnston, Liz Conor and Jon Piccini. Research addressing lantern slide visual culture was funded by the ARC through a Discovery project exploring magic lantern slide history, led by Martyn Jolly, and involving Elisa de Courcy, Martin Thomas, Nicolas Peterson, Paul Pickering and Joe Kember. Research about anti-slavery discourse in Australia was the subject of another Discovery project led by Fiona Paisley, and conducted with Jennifer Burn, Philippa Levine and Kevin

I am grateful for permission to reproduce portions of work published elsewhere: Chapter 2 draws in part from an article published in *History Compass* in 2017, copyright Wiley and Sons: https://doi.org/10.1111/hi c3.12330, and another published in *Journal of Australian Studies* in 2018, copyright Taylor & Francis: https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2018.15 26816. Chapter 4 draws in part from an article published as "The colonial children cry": Jo the crossing-sweeper goes to the colonies', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 20(3): 1–18, copyright Oxford University Press: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2015.1052091. Chapter 6 is derived in part from an article published in *Early Popular Visual Culture* in 2017, copyright Taylor & Francis: https://doi.org/10.1080/17460654.2017.1406813

Many thanks to Michael Watson at Cambridge University Press for his patience and encouragement, as well as series editors Catherine Hall, Kathleen Wilson and Mrinalini Sinha for their incisive advice about the



Acknowledgements

xiii

project, and Lisa Carter for support. Karen Gillen kindly compiled the index, and Ursula Acton provided rigorous and sensitive copy-editing. Finally, deep love and gratitude to my friends and family who have put up with my absence while writing – and especially Mary Lydon, Tim, Roy and Dash.