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ANTIPODAL ENGLAND: EMIGRATION, GENDER, AND PORTABLE DOMESTICITY IN VICTORIAN LITERATURE AND CULTURE

by

JANET C. MYERS

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE

Helena Michie, Director
Professor of English

Robert L. Patten
Lynette S. Autrey Professor in Humanities

Martin J. Wiener
Mary Gibbs Jones Professor of History

Houston, Texas

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ABSTRACT

Antipodal England: Emigration, Gender, and Portable Domesticity in Victorian Literature and Culture

by

Janet C. Myers

This dissertation explores representations of nineteenth-century middle-class emigration from Britain to Australia, with particular attention to the gendered dynamics of displacement. Building on the work of scholars who have theorized the performative aspects of national identity, I focus on practices of self-maintenance that enable emigrants, with varying degrees of success, to retain their ties to Britain and the middle classes despite displacement. One such practice involves the performance of what I call "portable domesticity," or the transplantation of British national identity through the replication of British domestic values and practices aboard emigrant ships and in Australia. I argue that even as portable domesticity reinforces the values of British culture, it also subverts them since the domestic practices enabling emigrants to transplant their national identity also initiate the process of settlement that ultimately leads to Australian independence. I explore this paradox in novels by Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and Catherine Helen Spence, and in cultural artifacts such as emigrant guides, memoirs, letters, and a narrative painting.
My first chapter considers the centrality of domestic practices aboard emigrant ships, where family life is modeled in order to prepare individual emigrants for the roles they will subsequently adopt in the colony. The second chapter focuses on the extent to which performances of domesticity, leisure, and strategic amnesia enable female emigrants to maintain their affiliations with the British middle class both during the voyage out and in Australia. The third chapter analyzes representations of returned male emigrants and explores how they become embroiled in criminal plots at home that signify their divided allegiances in familial as well as national terms. The concluding chapter discusses the transplantation of genre as another manifestation of portable domesticity, demonstrating how the iconography of the domestic novel is transformed and adapted to a colonial setting. Together, these chapters highlight the paradoxical effects of portable domesticity in Australia and argue for the status of the British settler colonies as important sites for the exploration of various forms of postcolonial ambivalence.
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This project owes much to the agency of fifty-five single women who boarded ships in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century and traveled nearly 20,000 miles to Australia. Robert Louis Stevenson has written that "to travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive," and these women helped me to discover the value in the journey itself.

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INTRODUCTION

"Another English House in Another Country": Remapping Britain at the Antipodes

"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)

"We believe that thousands, decaying, drooping, lingering on in this over-crowded Northern England, would profit themselves quite as much as they would benefit us, would they but shake off their fatal lethargy, shift their quarters, and bring their wasted skill and starving strength to the creation of 'merrier homes' in our more roomy Southern England." (Hursthouse 3)

In a newspaper published aboard a British emigrant ship in 1862, a passenger writes a farewell letter to her companions in which she urges them to create "another English house" in the colonies. In a contemporaneous emigration guide, Charles Hursthouse encourages emigrants to "shift their quarters" to the Antipodes—Australia and New Zealand—where they can expect unprecedented domestic success. The transplantation of British domesticity to the colonies that underlies these two accounts is the subject of this dissertation, which explores representations of nineteenth-century middle-class emigration from Britain to Australia. Building on the work of scholars who have theorized the performative aspects of national identity, I focus on the practices of self-maintenance that enable emigrants, with varying degrees of success, to retain their ties to Britain and to the middle class during the voyage out and the process
of settlement. One such practice involves the performance of what I call "portable domesticity," or the transplantation of British national identity through the replication of British domestic values and practices aboard emigrant ships and in Australia.

Rita S. Kranidis has recently argued that Victorian emigration 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'" (23). The statistics alone bear out her claim: estimates suggest that between 1821 and 1915 10 million emigrants left Great Britain for non-European destinations, while 6 million left Ireland (Woods 309). Textual evidence in the form of a proliferation of emigrant guides and the frequency with which emigration featured in contemporary periodicals suggests that it was a subject that touched the lives of many, if not most, Victorians. The history of specifically Australian emigration begins with convict transportation, which accounted for the exportation of 162,000 people between 1788 and 1868 (Arnstein, Britain Yesterday and Today 62). Beginning in the 1820s and 1830s, the convicts were joined by increasing numbers of voluntary emigrants from the British Isles who in many cases received government assistance through the Colonial Office, which financed its emigration schemes through the sale of Crown lands. In 1840, control over the selection of eligible emigrants was transferred from a London-based committee to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, but this principle served as a model for colonial immigration schemes that continued
until World War I (Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen* 54; Woolcock 331). In the second half of the century when voluntary emigration increased incrementally, an estimated 4,675,000 people left England and Wales between 1853 and 1900, while 896,000 left Scotland; of the former number, roughly half went the United States while approximately fifty thousand went to Australasia (Woods 309).

While some middle-class emigrants, and particularly single women, did receive some form of government assistance in the first half of the century, the earliest emigration efforts did little to cater to the needs of the middle classes.\(^1\) Government-assisted emigration, which entailed either a free or reduced passage, catered primarily to working-class emigrants who could perform the kinds of work most needed in the colonies, namely domestic service and manual labor. Yet although Australia was a popular destination for working-class emigrants, debates about Victorian emigration frequently center around questions of idealized middle-class domesticity. The middle classes, often figured as a stabilizing force in Britain,\(^2\) play an equally important role in Australia, where models of middle-class family life are envisioned in emigrant guides, propaganda, and fiction as a primary means through which to ensure colonial loyalty to Britain. Middle-class standards of behavior and propriety aboard emigrant ships and in the colony also extended to the working-classes. In Chapter One, I discuss how emigrant guides encouraged lower-class passengers to adopt middle-class domestic values and practices aboard ship that would enable them to become industrious settlers.
Middle-class settlement was of primary importance to Australia for a variety of reasons. Unlike other English-speaking settlement colonies of the British empire, Australia was originally a penal colony. This distinctive history made the need for respectability particularly acute, since convict transportation was associated from 1788 on with crime and degeneration. The gold rush of 1851 initiated a new narrative of dramatic upward mobility, but it also activated anxieties about licentiousness and transience. Middle-class settlement was therefore often perceived as a corrective to the problems raised by Australia's unique colonial origins. While other colonies, particularly India, were shaped by British administrative or commercial interests, Australia was relatively autonomous, achieving self-government in 1855 and federation in 1900. Although Australian society was reputedly egalitarian, however, the social distinctions between the Aboriginal inhabitants and the convicts, gold seekers, and free settlers who coexisted in the colony were often divisive.

As I have suggested, Australia's status as a penal colony brought issues of respectability to the forefront. As Robert Hughes argues in The Fatal Shore, "[w]hat the convict system bequeathed to later Australian generations was not the sturdy, skeptical independence on which, with gradually waning justification, we pride ourselves, but an intense concern with social and political respectability" (xiii). For voluntary emigrants who hoped to divorce themselves from the convicts and the history they represented, the project of remapping domesticity was crucial in creating an ideal of Australian respectability.
Working against what Hughes refers to as the "convict stain," middle-class emigrants fetishized British domestic practices and values as a means of reinforcing Australia's connections to Britain, thereby obscuring previous associations of Australia with transportation and exile. Middle-class domesticity thus became a way of rewriting Australian history and expressing 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 xi).

Middle-class emigration to the Antipodes had at least one vocal proponent from as early as 1829. Edward Gibbon Wakefield published several books on the subject of "systematic colonization," a scheme designed to create colonial settlements in Australia and New Zealand that would replicate British social structure by representing individuals of all ranks and walks of life. Within such a scheme, Wakefield argued that the middle classes would hold the key to successful colonization: "These are the emigrants whose presence in a colony most beneficially affects its standards of morals and manners, and would supply the most beneficial element of colonial government. If you can induce many of this class to settle in a colony, the other classes, whether capitalists or labourers, are sure to settle there in abundance" (quoted in Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen 97). Although Wakefield's earliest efforts to promote middle-class emigration failed in part due to the negative associations of emigration with convict transportation, prostitution, and moral degradation, his ideal finally
came to fruition in 1850 with the creation of the Canterbury settlement in New Zealand. This development helped to make emigration a viable possibility for those members of the middling ranks who were threatened with downward mobility.

In addition to helping to erase Australia's convict history, middle-class domesticity is also imagined as corrective to the licentiousness and unbridled mobility associated with the 1851 gold rush. Such a corrective is neatly illustrated in an early Australian novel by Catherine Helen Spence. In *Clara Morison: A Tale of South Australia during the Gold Fever* (1854), Margaret Elliot, a long-standing settler in South Australia, imagines her middle-class family members as the ideal colonists:

I have always thought that such a family as ours forms a valuable element in colonial society; we came here not to make our fortunes and leave the colony forthwith, but to grow up and settle in it; we have all rather more than average abilities; we have had good principles instilled in us from early youth; we have all a deep feeling of our accountability to God for both our private and public conduct; we have all, I think, a love for the country of our adoption, and a wish to serve it; and we are not eager about money—we do not care to make haste to be rich. (2: 255)

Figured here as stabilizing forces, the middle-class values of industry, accountability, and moderation are implicitly set in opposition to the rough and
transient lifestyles adopted by gold diggers and short-term emigrants. The gold rush of 1851 activated anxieties about "the curse of gold" and the multitude of single men who were drawn to Australia by the prospects of immediate wealth. Domesticity and settlement thus become central to constructions of Australian nationalism precisely because they stand in opposition to the seemingly dangerous forms of mobility associated with emancipated convicts, gold diggers, and also Australian Aborigines.

While the gold rush instigated anxieties about licentiousness and moral degeneration, it also helped to create a counter-narrative of dramatic upward mobility in Australia. James Hammerton argues that "[t]he gold rush probably did more than any other single development to extinguish, or at least overshadow, the old identification of emigration with paupers, poverty and, to Australia, transported criminals." Within a year of the discovery of gold, Australian emigration increased dramatically; whereas 21,532 people had emigrated in 1851, that number increased to 87,881 in 1852 (Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen 111). In addition to creating a new image for emigration, the gold rush also exacerbated the disproportion of the sexes in Australia and brought renewed attention to the issue of female emigration. The result was the formation of private societies devoted exclusively to women, including the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, which I discuss in Chapter Two. While middle-class emigration to Australia was circumscribed by the colony's minimal need for professional workers, after mid-century "a quite unprecedented theme
of middle-class respectability” nonetheless emerged (Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen 112). By the 1890s, the middle and upper classes accounted for about one quarter of all emigrants from Britain (Tosh 176).

**Portable domesticity and postcolonial theory**

For middle-class emigrants, portable domesticity was one of the primary strategies of self-maintenance that allowed them to retain their ties to Britain despite being displaced. My conception 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 latter definition of domesticity in some cases outweighed the former. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have argued, for example, that because most middle-class families 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). Charles Dickens, whose fiction is replete with portable families, endorses the ideological importance of domesticity in much of his fiction, parodying the notion that home is defined merely by "[f]our walls and a ceiling" (Cricket on the Hearth 44).
Within this ideological framework, the cult of domesticity glorified women's moral responsibilities in the home, and from there it was a short leap to women's responsibilities to the nation or even 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 portable domesticity:

And 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, better than ceiled with cedar, or painted with vermilion, shedding its quiet light far, for those who else were homeless. (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, women potentially not only perform the work of domesticity, but also represent it. Thus, one woman's memoir of the Australian gold diggings
describes the representational value of women's presence, where "[i]n some tents the soft influence of our sex is pleasingly apparent" (Clacy, A Lady's Visit 56).4

Ruskin's emphasis on woman's role in nation-building is echoed in emigration propaganda published throughout the nineteenth century that promulgates the virtues of the feminine civilizing mission. Female emigration was often represented as a solution to the problems brought on by the disproportion of the sexes in Australia,5 problems which one well-respected emigration advocate, Caroline Chisholm, argued would be relieved by the stabilizing influence of women and children, whom she called "God's police" (Emigration and Transportation 21). In The A. B. C. of Colonization (1850) she writes:

It would be an act of national blindness to imagine that forced bachelorism can engender loyal feelings; it is preposterous to suppose, and the height of infatuation to expect men to be loyal subjects when the system of Government emigration pursued, has deprived them of the prospect of every domestic blessing. Give them help-mates, and you make murmuring, discontented servants, loyal and happy subjects of the State.

(30)

According to Chisholm, women are the link that ensures the national allegiance of Britain's single male emigrants, who must be disciplined through the influences of domesticity. At the same time that Chisholm promoted the virtues of such "matrimonial colonization," other emigration advocates offered feminist
resistance to the discourse of the feminine civilizing mission. In Chapter Two, I discuss the work of one such emigration society that sought to grant women access into colonialism not through the prospects for matrimonial colonization, but through the agency of class privilege.

While women obviously occupy a unique position in relation to portable domesticity, I argue that male emigrants to Australia also appropriated domestic values and practices as forms of self-maintenance. Aboard emigrant ships, for example, domesticity was used as a means to discipline both male and female working-class emigrants and to prepare them for the rigors of settlement. In his recent work on the intersections of domesticity and masculinity, John Tosh has argued that the former was a critical component of masculine identity for most of the nineteenth century. During the era of high imperialism after the 1880s, however, Tosh notes a shift in masculine self-definition wherein "[d]omesticated masculinity came under mounting attack, as Englishmen were called upon to colonize the empire, and to defend it in difficult times" (7). While the burgeoning of adventure fiction during this period certainly provides evidence for such a shift, I identify a tension between adventure and domesticity as forms of masculine self-definition that seems to be at work in emigration plots for most of the century.

My interest in expanding the range of domestic ideology to account for the interdependence of male and female subjectivities as well as domestic and colonial contexts is by no means unique. In recent years, historians and feminist
literary critics have posed numerous challenges to the Victorian conception of the domestic realm as a strictly private sphere relegated solely to women. In addition to demonstrating the ways in which the home and the marketplace were interdependent, recent Victorian scholarship has explored the extent to which ideologies of domesticity are imbricated in the practices of empire. Anne McClintock's groundbreaking study *Imperial Leather* (1995) explores both how the invention of race in the Victorian metropoles became central to the self-definition of the middle-class, and how the colonies became sites for the exhibition of the cult of domesticity and its patriarchal ideologies.

Where my study departs from recent scholarship is in its focus on Victorian emigration and on the potentially empowering (and portable) aspects of Britain's domestic ideologies in colonial contexts. Despite the range of interests represented by recent work on the British empire, literary critics have been relatively slow to address the importance of emigration in the Victorian period. While interesting historical work that relies on non-fictional sources such as emigration statistics, society records, emigrant letters, and diaries has been published, to my knowledge, it is only within the past few years that interest in the role of emigration in nineteenth-century literature has begun to emerge. In particular, two recent books published by Rita S. Kranidis, one an edited collection and the other a book-length study, have taken up the issue of Victorian female emigration through the lens of literary and cultural criticism. In the latter, *The Victorian Spinster and Colonial Emigration*, Kranidis argues that both
unmarried emigrant women and the colonies function in pro-emigration rhetoric as entities of "relative value" that are constantly redefined to suit England's ideological and material needs (59). Both as a site for internal displacements within England and as a figuration for colonial space, Kranidis identifies a space she calls "Elsewhere" that is constantly redefined to serve as an appropriate receptacle for specific kinds of cultural excess, including women and the laboring classes.

While Kranidis's focus is "not on destinations but on the symbolic preparations for transport" (161), my dissertation explores the importance of domesticity during both the voyage out and the process of settlement. In this respect, it shares with Jenny Sharpe's work an interest in how British domesticity was exported to a colonial setting. Sharpe focuses specifically on the repressiveness of domestic ideology for Anglo-Indian memsahibs and the ways in which their oppression mirrored that of Indian women. Although I do not wish to deny the repressive nature of Victorian domestic ideology and the material practices associated with it, I am interested in exploring aspects of domestic ideology that had portable value in colonial Australia, a colony with an admittedly very different social structure from that of British India. Unlike India, 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. 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 stratified, society" (Enigmatic Gentlewomen 63). Within this novel social context, domestic ideologies and practices could be adapted to serve positive functions for emigrants embarking for and settling in the Antipodes.

In addition to attending to such positive elements, however, I am mindful of the ways in which domesticity, as a form of self-maintenance, is also imbricated in more deleterious imperialist practices, and particularly in the forced displacement of aboriginal populations in Australia. The frontispiece of Hetherington's Useful Handbook for Intending Emigrants incorporates an image that speaks to this issue quite explicitly (see page 44). The picture stages what appears to be a friendly encounter between two male settlers and a male Aborigine, yet it dramatizes a tension between the conversion fantasy that domesticity would civilize the Aborigines and the concurrent drive to simply displace them. The presence of a bush home in the background and several Aboriginal women and children in the foreground works to contextualize the Aboriginal man within the familiar imagery of the family circle. However, while the picture hints at the effectiveness of the project of domestic assimilation, other elements suggest that racial boundaries nonetheless remain firmly entrenched. Specifically, the Aboriginal man holds an implement that visually bisects the picture, reinforcing conventional boundaries that have otherwise been blurred and creating the illusion of a mirror image that evokes a form of mimicry in
which the Aboriginal family is, as Homi K. Bhabha puts it, "[a]lmost the same but not white" (The Location of Culture 89).

The literature I discuss occasionally, often obliquely, addresses these ambivalent effects of portable domesticity as they impact upon moments of colonial encounter between settlers and Aborigines. For example, in Chapter Four I analyze the liminal position of a colonial governess in Clara Morison who is anxiously poised between the white elite and the Aboriginal women who work for British settlers. Like the image discussed above, this example points to one of the essential features of colonial domesticity: "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" (Sharpe 92). In some cases, the conspicuous absence or marginalization of Australian Aborigines in the primary texts I discuss testifies to the efficiency with which such a policing of the domestic sphere was carried out in Australia.

In her study of nineteenth-century American literature and culture, Gillian Brown argues that home functions as "a site of permanent value" that stands in opposition to the precariousness of the marketplace and provides "an always identifiable place and refuge for the individual" (3). In the Australian colonies, by contrast, home performs a similar function, but it exists as a place of refuge not only against the marketplace, but also against the uncertainties associated with shifting racial, class, and national affiliations. Middle-class emigrants in
Australia are precariously positioned within a colony bifurcated by the social
distinctions made between Aborigines, convicts, gold diggers, and free settlers.
Rather than conferring a sense of individual identity, portable domesticity
signals a collective identity that is explicitly, and often reassuringly, British. Yet
while portable domesticity is derived from traditionally middle-class values and
practices, it comes to signify more than merely class affiliations, both in Britain
and in the colony. Whereas Tosh has argued that domesticity in Britain
eventually becomes synonymous with "the conventional good life" (4), in
Australia it signifies colonial success, and in many cases, a subsequent transfer of
allegiance that results in "a love for the country of adoption" (Spence 2: 255).

This gradual transfer of allegiance signals what I argue is the 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 leads to the erasure of Australia's
convict history and eventually, to Australian independence. As I have already
suggested, this tension is further inflected by an emigrant's gender, which often
determines how successful the project of maintenance will be. As a locus for the
contradictory and oppositional forces associated with colonization and
settlement, Australia thus offers a rich field for postcolonial inquiry because it
represents what Stephen Slemon has called "the radical ambivalence of
colonialism’s middle ground” that is often a feature of settler/colonial writing ("Unsettling the Empire" 34).

The status of the settler colonies as subjects for postcolonial inquiry is currently being contested, as are the parameters of the field of postcolonial studies. My dissertation intervenes in these debates by arguing for the value of analyses that probe the "ambivalence of emplacement" that defines the conditions of emigration and settlement (Slemon, "Unsettling the Empire" 39). Unlike British travelers abroad, who have been the subjects of much recent scholarship, Australian emigrants are inhabitants, not just visitors, of what Mary Louis Pratt calls the "contact zone" (Imperial Eyes 4). As such, they disrupt the binary oppositions that arise in the context of colonial encounters—including the boundaries between self and other, between colonizer and colonized. Such ambivalence is internalized by the emigrant/settler even at the level of language, since Australia's status as an English-speaking colony results in textual productions that are imbricated both in British and Australian literary traditions. Hence, one contemporary reviewer of Spence's Clara Morison writes that "[t]his novel is no more Australian than results from the fact that the author, having been resident in Australia, having a gift for novel writing, and writing about what she knew best, unavoidably wrote an Australian novel" (quoted in Thomson xv). The odd contortions through which Spence's novel is dubbed "Australian" are indicative of an ambivalence that renders settler writing subversive in its relationship to imperialist power. 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).

The emigrant’s threshold status results in material practices like writing or portable domesticity that are contestatory in nature. For this reason, I operate with a definition that assumes that “postcolonialism” begins with colonization and includes various forms of anti-colonial resistance. I endeavor to show how an exploration of Australian emigration enhances our understanding of the workings of imperialism both in Britain and in the colony.10 For the Victorians, the Antipodes signify a space socially and geographically far removed from Britain; however, the texts I discuss demonstrate that events in Australia have reverberating effects that travel all the way back to Britain, and vice versa.

Questions of methodology

My dissertation 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 Bhabha’s arguments about the performative nature of national identity and to Benedict Anderson’s influential 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 identifies as crucial to the emergence of European nationalisms was the development in the eighteenth century of what he calls "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).

By exploring the narratological uses of emigration plots in Victorian novels by Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and Catherine Helen Spence, I examine how the novel creates notions of national identity by dramatizing who does and doesn't belong within a specified imagined community. While the novel presents a vision of what imaginings are possible, I turn to non-fictional sources like memoirs, letters, emigrant guides, and in one case, a narrative painting, as alternative "sites of cultural self-fashioning" that also impact upon 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 texts and writing.

One of the earliest defining goals of cultural studies was that it "conceives culture relationally" so that an individual cultural production is always analyzed "in terms of its competitive, reinforcing, and determining relations with other objects and cultural forces" (Nelson 199). By examining various texts and genres
in their relation to one another, I endeavor to show that literature is both constituted by and constitutive of history. In the chapters of my dissertation 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 reveals evidence of conflicting Victorian attitudes toward imperialism. Some fictional plots and propaganda worked to sustain the empire, while others worked to critique the projects of imperialism and colonization.

My argument in the first chapter, "Housekeeping at Sea: Portable Domesticity and the Emigrant Ship," revolves around the centrality of domestic practices aboard emigrant ships, where 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, 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 the ship in the novel serves as a renovating site that prepares the emigrants to become domesticated and industrious settlers.
In Chapter Two, "Performing the Voyage Out: Victorian Female Emigration and the Gendering of Displacement," I analyze a collection of letters written by single middle-class women who emigrated to Australia under the auspices of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society (FMCES). Alongside these 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, in the novel and the letters, I explore the extent to which 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.

In the final chapters of my dissertation I shift the focus of my analysis more explicitly to the personal and national implications of emigration for the returned emigrant and for the settler. Chapter Three, "Imperial Anxieties: Emigration, Crime, and the Fraudulent Family," demonstrates how returned Victorian emigrants often become embroiled in criminal plots involving bigamy and perjury that signify their divided allegiances not only in familial, but also in
national terms. I look at the consequences of solving Britain's "family problems" through emigration as they are represented by two contemporaneous events: the publication of Mary Elizabeth Braddon's Lady Audley's Secret and the famous Victorian trial involving the Tichborne Claimant, an Australian emigrant who returned to England and attempted to claim an inheritance under false pretenses. I argue that Braddon's novel anticipates the cultural anxieties about emigration that surface during the trial by showing how emigration weakens the foundations of the family, and by extension, the nation.

My concluding chapter, "‘Verily the Antipodes of Home’: Narrating Domesticity in the Bush," explores the transplantation of genre as another manifestation of portable domesticity. In analyzing this phenomenon, 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.
Together, these chapters demonstrate how portable domesticity and the family were influential to the emigration movement in nineteenth-century Britain and ultimately, to the emergence of a distinct Australian national identity. By revealing the ways in which portable domesticity functioned simultaneously as a strategy of self-maintenance and as a strategy of resistance, I hope to show that the space I have called Antipodal England is a fertile site for the exploration of various forms of postcolonial ambivalence.
Notes

1 James Hammerton notes that between 1832-1836, approximately 3,000
women received governmental assistance to emigration to Australia (Emigrant
Gentlewomen 54).

2 Dror Wahrman argues, for instance, that in the early decades of the
nineteenth century the "taming" of the middle class transformed it from a
potentially revolutionary to a stabilizing force, one that represented the voice of
public opinion. For an extended discussion, see Part II.

3 It is also important to note that even as emigration was increasingly,
immigration into Britain was simultaneously ongoing: "Although hundreds of
thousands continued to emigrate, the net population of England, Wales, and
Scotland increased from 20,817,000 to 26,072,000 between 1851 and 1871"
(Arnstein, Britain Yesterday and Today 78).

4 Women were often regarded in the context of emigration as valuable assets
to their male companions, as is evident in an emigrant guide that asserts that for
male emigrants, "[a] good wife will be found to be infinitely the most valuable
part of his outfit, and will go far to insure success from the commencement"
(Hursthouse 53). At the same time, however, contradictory rhetoric suggested
that a wife, or "impedimenta," would initially impede a young emigrant's
portability: "[t]he great and crowning advantage of being unfettered in these
days of early striving is that the widest freedom of locomotion is afforded by the celibate condition" (Silver, *Australian Grazier's Guide* 18-19).

5 Hammerton notes that "by 1836 the New South Wales population included 2.6 males for every female, a clear consequence of the uneven effects of convict transportation" (*Emigrant Gentlewomen* 53).

6 In *Family Fortunes*, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue that the public and private spheres were more interdependent than has been traditionally recognized, and that the former relied upon networks of familial and female support, as well as on the practices of middle-class consumption. In *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, Nancy Armstrong argues that women novelists strategically utilized the domestic realm to indulge fantasies of political power. She writes that "on the domestic front, perhaps even more so than in the courts and the marketplace, the middle-class struggle for dominance was fought and won" (24). Gillian Brown in *Domestic Individualism* links domestic ideology not just to female selfhood, but to the very definition of individualism in nineteenth-century America, which was most readily accessible to white men. What she terms "domestic individualism" involves a self-definition that "locate[s] the individual in his or her interiority, in his or her removal from the marketplace" (3). Also see John Tosh.
7 See Patricia Clarke's *The Governesses*, James Hammerton's *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, Andrew Hassam's *Sailing to Australia*, and Helen R. Woolcock's *Rights of Passage*.

8 For an extended discussion of these debates and the stakes involved, see Anne McClintock, pp. 1-17 and Stephen Slemon's "The Scramble for Post-Colonialism."

9 See for instance, Mary Louise Pratt, Sara Mills, and Karen R. Lawrence.

10 Other critics have argued persuasively for this interdependence. See McClintock, Deirdre David, and Susan L. Meyer's *Imperialism at Home*. 
CHAPTER ONE

Housekeeping at Sea:
Portable Domesticity, the Family, and the Emigrant Ship

Ford Madox Brown's *The Last of England* (1852-55), perhaps one of the most famous icons of Victorian emigration, depicts a young family seated in the stern of the emigrant ship, *Eldorado*. Wearing travelling clothes, the couple appear to be middle class, and the distance they place between themselves and the other emigrants suggests a desire to maintain class status. This desire for maintenance is also apparent in the couple's posture: insulated against any intrusion by their fellow passengers, the bodies of the husband and wife are pressed closely together, their hands interlocking on the man's knee. A small child lies hidden within the folds of the woman's shawl, noticeable only because a tiny hand is held within the woman's own. The man holds an umbrella that shields his wife from the wind and also obstructs the view behind her of the white cliffs of Dover, which stand in as a metonymy for England. The husband and wife stare straight ahead, presumably engaging in an act of memory that will enable them to idealize England from abroad, despite the events that have evidently driven them from home.¹

The couple's physical positioning up against the ship's rails and their fixed expressions suggest a desire to hold themselves apart from the other passengers aboard the ship. In their distressed gentility, they represent the fate of many middle-class Britons who could not maintain their class status at home and had
Fig. 29. F. M. Brown, *The Last of England*, 1852–55. Oil on panel, oval 32 1/2 x 29 1/2 inches (82.5 x 75 cm). Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery. A small oil replica (1860), with many changes in detail, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. A small watercolor replica (1864–66) is in the Tate Gallery, London. The original oil sketch for the picture, which was finished in 1855, was sold at Sotheby's, London, November 6, 1995. A highly finished pencil drawing, which Brown seems to have referred to as a "cartoon" and dated 1852, is in the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery. The drawing, approximately half the scale of the Birmingham oil, was also completed in 1855.
to forestall degradation by emigrating to the colonies, where they could subsequently refashion themselves as respectable colonial settlers. The stoicism reflected in the husband and wife’s fixed expressions and in their gripping hands exemplifies a desire for maintenance in the face of their dramatically changing circumstances, and in the midst of members of all classes.

By contrast to the couple in the foreground, the figures in the background, seemingly working-class emigrants, are represented as less orderly and contained. These figures—clustered around the ship’s rails—are all partially hidden or cut off by the painting’s frame, leaving only fragments of bodies: a child’s face, a woman’s hands, grinning faces, a shock of red hair. Yet although we are not given visual access to this scene in its entirety, Brown provided viewers with several meta-texts through which to read *The Last of England* when he exhibited the painting for the first time in London in 1865. The first is a written description from the exhibition catalogue which provides a narrative framework for reading the painting, particularly the truncated figures in the background, while the second is a sonnet Brown included in the catalogue to accompany *The Last of England*.

The following description of the painting from *The Exhibition of WORK, and other Paintings by Ford Madox Brown* highlights several competing narratives about emigration that circulated within Victorian Britain around mid-century:

The husband is shielding his wife from the sea spray with an umbrella.

Next them in the back ground, an honest family of the green-grocer kind,
father (mother lost), eldest daughter, and younger children, makes the best of things with tobacco-pipe and apples, &. &. Still further back a reprobate shakes his fist with curses at the land of his birth, as though that were answerable for his want of success; his old mother reproves him for his foul-mouthed profanity, while a boon companion, with flushed countenance, and got up in nautical togs for the voyage, signifies drunken approbation. (Brown, The Exhibition 136-7)

Whereas the greengrocer's family is "mak[ing] the best of things" aboard ship, the group behind them disrupts such a narrative of stability by playing out a small, but important, drama of contestation. While his drunken friend abets him, a young reprobate curses his native land, signifying his willingness to dismiss his home country and to adopt a new life and potentially, a new national identity. A small woman, his mother, according to Brown, taps at her son's shoulder and tugs at the sleeve of his coat to still his shaking fist. The mother's attempt to silence her son might represent both a rebellion against the disparagement of their homeland and a desire to arrest the transformation that comes with changing national allegiances. The juxtaposition of all these scenes in the painting—the middle class couple's desire for maintenance, the working-class family's attempt to make the best of things, and the reprobate's encounter with his mother—represents emigration as a family drama. Furthermore, such scenes underscore the competing narratives of maintenance and transformation that are central to Victorian representations of emigration.
Interestingly, Brown’s painting suggests that women are primarily responsible for the work of maintenance and the idealization of domesticity that ensure loyalty to Britain, sometimes despite transformation. Like the mother in the background, the wife in the foreground of the painting is represented as the individual responsible for defusing her husband’s resentment toward his native land. In the 1865 catalogue, Brown says of the wife that “[t]he circle of her love moves with her” (Brown, *The Exhibition* 136). Indeed, as a figuration of the angel in the house, the female emigrant in Brown’s painting wears a bonnet that Lucy Rabin suggests imitates the circling of a halo.² Although the husband’s face is darkened by his raised collar and by the hat pulled down toward his brooding eyes, the wife’s face is bright, her expression calm. Furthermore, the circular shape of the painting mirrors these thematics by isolating and enclosing the family circle, while simultaneously cutting off the figures in the background who represent various threats to the family.³

The sonnet that Brown wrote to accompany his painting also reinforces the sanctity of the family circle and the angelic quality of the emigrant wife. The first eleven lines of the sonnet are written in the voice of the husband lamenting the fact that his family has been forced to leave England, while the turn comes in the final three lines, where an unnamed speaker describes the wife’s hope for the future:

"The last of England! o’er the sea, my dear,  
Our home’s to seek amid Australian fields.  
Us, not the million-acred island yields
The space to dwell in. Thrust out! Forced to hear
Low ribaldry from sots, and share rough cheer
   With rudely nurtured men. The hope youth builds
Of fair renown, bartered for that which shields
Only the back, and half-formed lands that rear
The dust-storm blistering up the grasses wild.
   There learning skills not, nor the poet's dream,
   Nor aught so loved as children shall we see."
She grips his listless hand and clasps her child,
Through rainbow-tears she sees a sunnier gleam,
   She cannot see a void, where he will be. (Brown, The Exhibition 136)

The differences between the husband and the wife's views of emigration are
pronounced, and they involve the issue of whether or not it is possible to remain
unchanged by the experience of displacement. The husband conceives of his
emigration as punishment and even exile: "Thrust out! Forced to hear / Low
ribaldry from sots, and share rough cheer / With rudely-nurtur'd men."

Imagining numerous assaults against his class status and moral character
through association with lower-class men, the husband envisions the voyage ou
as a point of rupture between his past and his future: "The hope youth builds /
Of fair renown, barter'd for that which shields / Only the back." Exchanging
hopes of success and respectability for the rude comforts of a colonial home,
"that which shields / Only the back," the husband goes bitterly forward toward a
future that he envisions as devoid of the privileges of his class—among them,
literature and learning. Despite his outwardly stoic appearance, the husband
cannot discipline his brooding mind from continually revisiting, and lamenting
over, the past.
The wife, on the other hand, envisions a continuity between past and future that is absent in the husband's dark imaginings of "half-form'd lands that rear / The dust-storm blistering up the grasses wild." While the husband ties his family's happiness absolutely to the place he and his wife have loved as children, the wife conceives of home, not in terms of place, but in terms of the people who comprise her domestic happiness—her family. As "She grips his listless hand and clasps her child," the wife performs the work of maintenance that enables her to protect and enclose her family circle. The final line of the sonnet, "She cannot see a void, where he will be," implies that as long as she and her husband are together, she can imagine a future filled with hope and happiness. Unlike her husband, she "sees a sunnier gleam" when she looks to the future because she believes in the impenetrability—and the portability—of her family.4

Inspired by the departure of Thomas Woolner, a Pre-Raphaelite poet and sculptor who emigrated to Australia in July, 1852, Brown's painting and its meta-texts capture many of the competing narratives that circulated in Victorian Britain at the height of "the great emigration movement" (Brown, The Exhibition 136). Among these were the tensions between maintenance and transformation, continuity and rupture, success and failure, memory and forgetting. Contemporary representations of emigration, like Brown's painting, frequently dramatize these tensions playing out within the context of the family. In many cases, these representations deploy a discourse of discipline to mediate between the competing pressures imposed upon the emigrant during the voyage out.
The success of social discipline, as Michel Foucault has demonstrated, resides in its potential for mobility; through its capacity to occupy various social institutions, discipline quietly pervades all aspects of our lives. In the continuously mobile space of the voyage, the power of discipline is linked specifically to domesticity and its portable unit: the family. In this chapter, I explore how disciplinary discourses on housekeeping and the family are used to negotiate the tensions between maintenance and transformation, success and failure, memory and forgetting. In a variety of texts, including emigrant guides, emigrant propaganda, and fiction, I analyze representations of emigrant success in maintaining ties to Britain through the practices of portable domesticity. While Brown's painting presents an image of emigrant success in this respect, Charles Dickens' emigration plot in David Copperfield complicates many of the issues and tensions that are raised in the painting and in other contemporaneous historical documents, including emigrant guides and the emigration propaganda for Caroline Chisholm's Family Colonization Loan Society.

**Disciplinary domesticity and the emigrant guide**

Samuel Johnson evoked the multiple threats involved in sea travel by describing ships as "prison[s], with the chance of being drowned" (quoted in Fraser 13). By the middle of the nineteenth century, when emigration was becoming increasingly popular, the safety and comfort afforded to emigrants had lessened fears of shipwreck, while the popularity of emigration among the
middle classes had begun to distance emigration from its earliest associations with convict transportation. Over against the construction of the ship as prison and the legacies of "involuntary" emigration, Victorian advocates of "voluntary" emigration began to rely on domesticated images of the emigrant ship as a temporary, portable home. P. B. Chadfield, author of Out at Sea; or, The Emigrant Afloat, describes an emigrant ship as "a floating home for the many families on board; partaking in a great measure of the character of a house, a ship presents the somewhat novel spectacle of several grades and conditions of men, and their families, for a time domesticated in one habitation" (30).

Within the new discourses that associated shipboard life with domesticity, the metaphor of the ship as prison resurfaces in a new form. The invisible agency through which the process of domestication occurs in Chadfield's account above—a process that is also elided in David Copperfield—testifies to the fact that the construction of the ship as home does not completely erase the disciplinary function previously associated with the prison. One of the arenas in which this function lingered was with respect to hygiene aboard ship. In The Emigrant's Medical Guide, physician James Fraser acknowledges that despite the increasing amenities afforded by sea travel in the mid-nineteenth century, "a crowded emigrant ship is 'a prison,' in which, without an intelligent acquaintance with, and application of, the laws of Hygiene, or the art of preserving health, the more malignant forms of disease may lead to results as disastrous as the destructive agency of the elements" (Fraser 13). Fraser's emphasis, not on natural disaster,
but on personal neglect, highlights the need for passengers to be vigilant with respect to hygiene and health aboard emigrant ships. Although many of his warnings are directed most pointedly to the steerage passengers who inhabit exceptionally close quarters, Fraser is nonetheless quick to point out that the middle-class body is not immune to disease. In fact, middle-class emigrants are equally susceptible and open to attack, "for, although their better physical condition on embarking may enable them to resist disease a little longer, the ultimate effect will be the same" (14). Fraser's comment underscores the extent to which the class system aboard ship—even as it rigidly segregates passengers by rank into first class, second class, and steerage compartments—has the potential to break down, thus undermining the distinctions that emigrants like Brown's couple so avidly hope to keep in place. Aboard ship, disease is the great leveler that can quickly destroy the social distinctions so carefully nurtured within British society. The performance of hygienic and domestic rituals thus becomes imperative for class preservation, not only as a means of "keeping up appearances," but more importantly, of fending off the imagined "contamination" of the lower classes.

In Out at Sea, Chadfield attempts to prevent the negligence that results in discomfort, or worse, disease, by providing emigrants with minutely-detailed instructions regarding "the requirements and wants in housekeeping at sea" (11). Among the most important domestic duties that Chadfield describes is the fitting out of a cabin, or in other words, the creation of a portable household within the
small spaces allotted to emigrants aboard ship. While first-class passengers occupied private quarters, their second-class counterparts lived in small cabins which housed several emigrants together, and the steerage passengers occupied communal (sometimes partitioned) spaces below decks. For second-class and steerage passengers, housekeeping duties included preparing their living spaces for occupancy, keeping them clean, preparing meals, and washing dishes and utensils. In addition to providing emigrants with explicit directions about what to take on the journey and what to wear aboard ship, Chadfield's guide also includes recipes and instructions for cooking meals with the available provisions. He writes: "[f]rom the recipes already given, very tolerable dinners may be provided, if the emigrants themselves will take the trouble to prepare them; if not, they have themselves only to blame" (23). Like the member's of the greengrocer family in Brown's painting who take comfort in the small luxuries still available to them, Chadfield emphasizes the emigrant's agency in making the best of conditions aboard ship. He requires of his readers the discipline and diligence that are characteristic features of the emigrant guide as a genre.

Writers of emigrant guides almost universally profess to exercise discipline themselves, thereby serving as models for their readers. In the preface to S. W. Silver & Co.'s Handbook for Australia and New Zealand, the authors describe the propensity for works on the colonies to assume a "literary" rather than a "scientific" treatment of their subject, faulting the former with the tendency to be colored by personal impressions and limited experience. Purporting to approach
the subject from a scientific or objective point of view, they define the value of	heir series in terms of practicality rather than pleasure: "[e]ach Pocket Book will
be replete with details, the purpose being rather to provide the voyager with a
useful store of facts than to give him an amusing book for an hour's pleasure" (iii-
iv). In similar fashion, the authors promise "to exercise in the most scrupulous
manner a double impartiality" in balancing the advantages and disadvantages of
emigration and in distinguishing between Australia and New Zealand as
possible destinations (Preface). In addition to these claims for impartiality, the
Preface also insists on inclusiveness, considering the requirements of emigrants
from a variety of occupations and classes." The self-imposed discipline that the
authors of Silver's guide promise to adhere to resonates with the disciplined
approach to shipboard life that constitutes the subject of their guides.

Consistent with this rhetoric, emigrant guides typically characterize the time
spent aboard ship as a disciplined period of mental and intellectual activity.
Rather than linking success to factors such as class status, occupation, age, or
gender, such guides consistently represent hard work as the key to prosperity in
the colonies. H. Smith Evans, in A Guide to the Emigration Colonies, writes that
"[t]he timid, the discontented, the idler, and the drunkard, are the only parties
who are not eligible for emigration. Labour is the passport to wealth and
independence" (Evans 4). Likewise, Captain Maconochie writes that "[i]n
conducting a great scheme of emigration, the mother country much more readily
sends out her worst than her best; and the helplessness that loses ground at
home, is not likely to gain it at the antipodes" (7). Equating a willingness to work with eligibility for successful emigration, emigrant guides recommend disciplined approaches to shipboard life that help prepare emigrants for the colonies. Yet ironically, unlike the manual labor that is required of new settlers, often regardless of their class status, the work aboard ship is primarily the work of middle-class domesticity.

In addition to attending to the practical aspects of portable domesticity like the fitting out of a cabin, emigrants are encouraged to engage in very structured forms of leisure that become the "work" of shipboard life. Among the intellectual occupations and leisure pursuits recommended are the following: establishing schools and newspapers, pursuing a course of reading or study, keeping a journal, playing games, dancing, sporting, and sewing. S. W. Silver & Co.'s Colonial and Indian Pocket Book Series and Voyager's Companion is typical in advocating an engagement in useful occupations aboard ship:

And yet it is just as well for the most light-hearted bird of passage to give himself some Occupations. A daily task gives zest to amusement and respectability to idleness. Indeed, a sea day is a long day without work of some kind. Two or three important books, above the easy reading class, may advantageously be attacked for a couple of hours, and the Pocket Book Log and Chart may very well ask for thirty minutes' attention. Ladies are fortunate in the ever ready resources of the needle and the crochet-hook.

(27)
Silver's guide highlights the way in which emigrants, regardless of gender or class, are assimilated to a middle-class ideal of domesticity aboard ship. The pursuits recommended above—reading books "above the easy reading class," writing, and sewing—all assume a middle-class reader. And yet, while a few guides are targeted specifically to the middle classes, the majority are directed at a wide audience, only occasionally addressing directly a subset of emigrants by class or occupation. While the notion of "respectable idleness" alluded to above resonates with the position of the British middle-class woman, who had to occupy her time with work while simultaneously creating the illusion of leisure, such guides prevent the potential feminization of male emigrants when placed in an analogous position by coding the "play" aboard ship as work. In the passage above, Silver's guide also carefully delineates separate domestic occupations for women versus men. Through such strategies, emigrant guides defuse anxieties about the gendering of domestic work, while simultaneously assimilating the lower classes to a middle-class ethic that will help them succeed in the colony. By couching the potential for social transgression within a rhetoric of proper restraint, anxieties about class mobility are less threatening than they might otherwise be.

By encouraging discipline, introspection, and intellectual improvement, emigrant guides frame the emigrant ship as a space in which middle-class emigrants can engage in the practices of maintenance that will enable them to pass through the voyage unchanged, while lower-class emigrants can transform
themselves according to middle-class models of success. Yet even while the journey necessitates the domestic practices that serve to maintain national and class affiliations, George S. Baden-Powell alludes to the contradictory possibilities of transformation that accompany the voyage out. In *New Homes for the Old Country*, he advocates a longer voyage over a shorter one, arguing that the time spent aboard ship will enable the emigrant to discipline his mind in preparation for colonial life. Speaking about the emigrant to Australia and New Zealand, he writes:

In the seventy days of rounding the Cape in a large vessel, he must be able to glean an immense amount of experience from the many on board, who are able and willing to tell him all they know of the country whither he is bound. He will land with less thought of and regret for home, and with more knowledge of what is best to do. He will have had time to think over his position and make up his mind; he will have formed some sort of correct idea of his newly adopted land; whereas after a short voyage he would be suddenly set down, after a week's semi-sea-sickness, in a land of strangers, with all his home ties and ideas still strongly influencing him, and with but very vague notions of what to do or how to do it. (449)

Baden-Powell's comments highlight the emigrant's journey as a crucial period of transition and even transformation. As he describes it, the physical distance traversed during the emigrant's journey corresponds to a process of psychological distancing from the home country that enables the emigrant to
gradually forge new national ties with his adopted country. During a long sea journey, the emigrant gains the experience, knowledge, and resolve that will enable him to succeed in the colony, whereas during a shorter journey the emigrant experiences a period of idleness that breeds indecision and homesickness.

The competing narratives of maintenance and transformation evident in Baden-Powell's description of shipboard life conjoin in the rhetoric of housekeeping and in the middle-class ideal of comfort, which is frequently evoked in emigrant guides as a measure of the emigrant's success both aboard ship and in the colony. Chadfield writes of his own experience as a passenger, noting that "[i]t was a common remark, during our voyage to the Australasian Colonies, that 'we had only just learned to make ourselves comfortable when the voyage was nearly over'" (4). Charles Hursthouse, author of an emigration guide contrasting Australia and New Zealand to Canada and the United States, likewise notes that "in a well-regulated ship, with good officers and pleasant society, such is the variety of amusement, such the absence of monotony, that I have known passengers get so comfortable on board, become so much at home, as almost to appear sorry when the voyage was ended" (67-8). This nostalgia for the voyage, a surprisingly common narrative thread in emigrant letters, is consistent with the gradual transfer of identification that Baden-Powell associates with the passage. The ability to make oneself comfortable aboard ship demonstrates qualities of perseverance and adaptability that emigrants will need
as settlers in a new country. Yet as a trope of maintenance, the ideal of comfort
also implies a sense of continuity with life in Britain, confirming that portable
domesticity, as a set of values and practices that encompass an ideal of "home," is
crucial to successful emigration.

Yet the nostalgia involved in memorializing the ship as "home" also
underscores a desire to remain in a liminal stage that can forestall the
transformation that occurs once an emigrant leaves the ship and becomes a
colonial settler. Hursthouse refers to passengers leaving Britain for the first time
as "embryo emigrants." This appellation frames the ship as an insular space in
which the emigrant grows and transforms, relying on available resources to
achieve full potential. Yet the implication of rebirth embedded in this
designation also suggests the irreversibility of emigration: the emigrant can be
transformed, but he or she often cannot transport that new identity back home.

The title page of Hetherington’s Useful Handbook for Intending Emigrants: Life at Sea
and the Immigrants Prospects in Australia and New Zealand, which addresses
readers interchangeably as "emigrants" and "immigrants," represents as seamless
the dramatic exchange that occurs in the transfer of identification from the home
nation to the colony. Such a smooth transition is made possible in part by the
fact that emigrants, in learning to "settle" aboard ship, are already training
themselves to inhabit their new identities as colonial settlers.
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The emigration plot in *David Copperfield*

On the evening prior to his departure for Australia, Wilkins Micawber in Dickens's *David Copperfield* casually undermines the gravity of emigration by minimizing the distance between Britain and Australia: "The ocean, in these times, is a perfect fleet of ships . . . It is merely crossing . . . merely crossing. The distance is quite imaginary" (659). Despite Micawber's representation of the voyage out as a period of stasis, the distance he travels is consequential, for it leads to a profound transformation in his status and fortune. Leaving Britain a perennial debtor with numerous unfulfilled expectations, he achieves financial and professional success in the colony, even rising to become a respected colonial Magistrate. Yet even prior to leaving England, Micawber has already begun, with characteristic relish, to adapt himself to the new role that will be required of him on board ship:

in his adaptation of himself to a new state of society, he had acquired a bold, buccaneering air, not absolutely lawless, but defensive and prompt . . . In his rough clothing, with a common mariner's telescope under his arm, and a shrewd trick of casting up his eye at the sky as looking out for dirty weather, he was far more nautical, after his manner, than Mr. Peggotty. (655)

Micawber's hyperbolic performance, while contradicting his own assertion that emigration is "merely crossing," simultaneously suggests that the voyage out is a
crucial period during which competing narratives of maintenance and transformation collide.

This contradiction between Micawber's representation of emigration as stasis and the reality of his transformation is not inconsistent with the rhetoric of the emigrant guides and tracts discussed above. Yet unlike these historical documents, *David Copperfield* holds out a fantasy that colonists can maintain their national identity and their loyalty to Britain despite the inevitable processes of transformation that emigration entails. The remainder of this chapter probes the distinction made in Silver's guide between "literary" and "scientific" representations of emigration, asking how the competing narratives of maintenance and transformation at work in the guides are represented in the emigration plot of *David Copperfield*.

On March 30, 1850, contemporaneous with the serialization of the novel, Dickens published an article in the inaugural edition of *Household Words* entitled "A Bundle of Emigrants' Letters." This piece, a collection of letters written by British emigrants in Australia, was published as an endorsement of Caroline Chisholm's newly founded organization, The Family Colonization Loan Society. The society's purpose, outlined by Chisholm in *The A. B. C. of Colonization*, was to provide financial assistance in the form of loans primarily to working-class and lower middle-class emigrants who might not otherwise be able to emigrate. Committed to the belief that the family was the key to successful colonization, Chisholm developed a system that enabled emigrants to band together in family
groups comprised of individuals of all ages, who lived together aboard ship and ideally, continued to support one another in the colony, forming what she called "bush-partnerships" (A. B. C. 16). By capitalizing on the disciplinary power inherent in these collective groups, wherein individual emigrants were responsible for all the members of their "family," Chisholm created a system of self-regulation to ensure the protection of female emigrants and children aboard ship, to guarantee the repayment of debts, and to promote colonial loyalty to Britain.

Among the promises elicited from embarking emigrants of the Family Colonization Loan Society was the resolution "to encourage and promote some well-advised system of self-improvement during the passage." Likewise, participants pledged the following:

We . . . endeavour, individually and collectively, to preserve the order of a well-regulated family during our passage to Australia, and to organise and establish a system of protection that will enable our female relatives to enter an emigrant ship with the same confidence of meeting with protection, as respectable females can now enter our steamers, trains, and mail-coaches. (Wills 228)

Founded on the principles of self-help, Chisholm's society echoes the disciplinary rhetoric of the emigrant guides. Yet it also incorporates an emphasis on reformation that was traditionally used as one of the justifications for convict transportation. As Patrick Brantlinger notes, "[a]ll those who are superfluous or
redundant at home can discover roles for themselves in the colonies . . . even
convicts can strike it rich and be redeemed, though they generally must stay in
the land of their redemption" (Rule of Darkness 123). Chisholm suggests that an
organized system of emigration will reform the image of emigration (especially
for single women) as well as the emigrants themselves.

There are numerous aspects of the emigration plot in David Copperfield which
suggest that Dickens was influenced both by the rhetoric of emigrant guides and
by Chisholm's model of family emigration. 9 Dickens's description of the steerage
compartment of the emigrant ship in David Copperfield represents the diversity of
age and occupation that was the hallmark of Chisholm's emigration system.
Whereas governmental emigration schemes placed restrictions on eligibility for
emigration based on age and on the number and ages of children within a family,
Chisholm required only the voucher of "good character," insisting that successful
colonization required a wide spectrum of individuals. In David Copperfield,
Dickens seems to agree:

From babies who had but a week or two of life behind them, to crooked old
men and women who seemed to have but a week or two of life before
them; and from ploughmen bodily carrying out soil of England on their
boots, to smiths taking away samples of its soot and smoke upon their
skins; every age and occupation appeared to be crammed into the narrow
compass of the 'tween decks. (662)
The literal transplantation of English soil, soot, and smoke described in this passage resonates with Chisholm's vision of emigration as the wholesale transfer of English life to the colonies—a transfer made possible through the portability of domesticity, and more particularly, the family. Within the crowded space of the emigrant ship, represented by Dickens as a society in microcosm, the work of domesticity is underway even before the ship sails: "some, already settled down into the possession of their few feet of space, with their little households arranged, and tiny children established on stools, or in dwarf elbow-chairs; others, despairing of a resting-place, and wandering disconsolately" (662). Like the writers of emigrant guides, Dickens tethers the ability to create a home aboard ship to success, while the inability to find "a resting-place" is linked early on to the potential for failure, both aboard ship and in the colony.

This capacity for portable domesticity presumably comes naturally to the Peggottys. Prior to their departure for Australia, the members of the Peggotty household are already accustomed to living within unconventional family structures. David is amazed to discover, for instance, that Emily and Ham are Mr. Peggotty's niece and nephew, not his children, and that Mrs. Gummidge is biologically unrelated to the other inhabitants of the boathouse. David is equally surprised when he learns that the Peggottys live at Yarmouth in a ship that has been converted into a home. This unusual abode—a model of portable domesticity—is represented as a tidy, comfortable, and insular domestic space. As a young child, David is especially charmed by the fact that the ship had once
been functional at sea: "[t]hat was the captivation of it to me. If it had ever been meant to be lived in, I might have thought it small, or inconvenient, or lonely; but never having been designed for any such use, it became a perfect abode" (24). David’s comments highlight a central irony about domesticity: whereas "real" homes and families often fail to meet the excessive expectations of Britain’s domestic ideal, those homes and families that are not so rigidly bound by conventional expectations often more closely approximate the ideal.10 Such unconventional homes and families are a hallmark of Dickens’s fiction, and I will discuss the portability of Mr. Wemmick’s renowned castle in Chapter Three. As John Tosh notes, "no reality could have matched the depth of emotional need invested in the idea of home. The Victorians were driven by their sense of social alienation to set up an exacting standard which hardly anyone could meet" (50). Described as an unconventionally "delicious retreat" (25), the boathouse is perfectly self-contained and self-sustaining. Yet it is also mobile and flexible, able to accommodate readily an extension of the family when David and Peggotty arrive.

Given the adaptability of their family unit, the Peggottys would seem predisposed to successfully meeting the challenges posed by emigration, and indeed, together with the Micawbers, they comprise a family group that travels together and maintains an alliance in the colony which proves beneficial to all parties. Even before they leave England, the Micawbers appear to have learned something from the Peggottys about the domestic discipline that will be required
of them aboard ship. In a parody of the necessities of sea travel, Dickens describes the Micawber children on the evening prior to their emigration to Australia, outfitted in their travelling clothes and wearing wooden spoons strapped to their bodies. As he serves his wife and children punch in the small tin pots they will require aboard ship, Mr. Micawber speaks about the restraint and self-discipline that their emigration will require of them: "[t]he luxuries of the old country... we abandon. The denizens of the forest cannot, of course, expect to participate in the refinements of the land of the Free" (657). Partially immobilized by their snug-fitting garments, the members of the Micawber family humorously demonstrate their willingness to relinquish some of the freedoms they have enjoyed at home. As they learn to equate domesticity with proper restraint, they begin to perform the new roles that will be required of them as emigrants and settlers.

In addition to their preparations for the voyage, Micawber proudly describes to Betsey Trotwood the "domestic preparations" his family is engaged in to prepare themselves for the colonial occupations of farming and raising stock (630). The Micawber children are individually tasked with learning through observation to milk cows, to understand the habits of pigs and poultry, and to drive cattle. Micawber, on the other hand, has "directed some attention... to the art of baking" (631), while Mrs. Micawber is busy corresponding with her family in hopes of reuniting them with her husband prior to their departure. This role reversal, in which Micawber temporarily exchanges his writing for domestic
work while Mrs. Micawber does the opposite, is suggestive of the way gender roles are transformed and adapted in colonial Australia. While domesticity is often aligned with masculinity in the Antipodes, women are simultaneously charged with the work of cultural mediation that ensures that the family stays together and that its individual members maintain their loyalty to Britain.

While Dickens's representation of the Micawber emigrants is invested with humor and irony, their colonial success should not automatically be discredited. J. S. Tait, author of an emigration guide for the middle classes, insists that agricultural knowledge was often a liability rather than an asset in the colonies because "the chances are that the British agriculturist would have to unlearn nearly all he knew... The emigrant who can most quickly forget his former experience, and who has the greatest amount of unprejudiced intelligence and plenty of energy, will be the most likely to succeed" (19-20). Micawber possesses both of these qualities, and his subsequent success as a farmer is consistent with Tait's allusion to the possibility for colonial rebirth or transformation. Another guide directed at middle-class emigrants to Canada would also apply to Australia in its insistence that "male and female, if they expect to prosper, must be willing and accustomed to work;—the idle, the drunken, and the desponding, have no business there, where all is energy of mind and body" (Doyle 49). As Coral Lansbury contends, Micawber's "boundless enthusiasm" and "incorrigible optimism" are the qualities that enable his colonial success (95). While hard work is not Micawber's forte in Britain, his energy and adaptability, evidenced in
the dramatic shifts of emotion in each letter documenting his arrest and subsequent release from debt, render him fit to cope with the requirements of colonial life.

When Mr. Peggotty returns to Britain and reports to David on the success of his party, the news of Micawber is surprising: "I've seen that theer bald head of his, a perspiring in the sun, Mas'r Davy, 'till I a'most thowt it would have melted away. And now he's a Magistrate" (712). Mr. Micawber's new public persona—as a Magistrate and a writer—is legitimated through the addition of "Esquire" after his name. Ironically, while this title is traditionally tied to land and ownership, Micawber earns the right to affix the title to his name only by severing his physical connection to Britain. He earns the title, not because of an accidental entitlement granted by birth, but because he performs an enfranchised class position.

Yet Micawber's transformation is more than a mere performance. The reformatory effect of discipline is apparent not only in his professional success in the colony, but also in his repayment of all the debts he incurred in Britain. In Australia, where he is no longer plagued by the threat of arrest and coercion, he is presumably motivated to repay these debts either through an appropriate sense of duty or through a desire to further his burgeoning political career. Either way, Micawber ironically becomes a model British citizen only by leaving his native land. His success resonates with one writer's speculations that by being kept "under the influence of home associations and public opinion"
Caroline Chisholm's emigrants "would remain more English, more patriotic, than they now usually are, to their own infinite advantage, as well as that of the mother-country" (Maconochie 12). Micawber's reformation is certainly in keeping with the popular ethos of self-help to which Chisholm's colonization scheme is indebted. Her assumption was that working-class emigrants could be trusted to repay the money they had borrowed—money donated by generous members of the public—because they would be bound both by ties of nationalism and by ties of family. According to Chisholm, emigrants who had accepted loans "would feel a desire, a longing to do something worthy the confidence placed in them by the nation" (A. B. C. 14). Where such patriotic feelings failed to instill a sense of duty in the debtor, Chisholm also relied on a "code of honour" among the members within a family group, since one emigrant's failure to repay a loan automatically became the responsibility of the collective. This model of a self-regulating system of discipline and surveillance helps to account for Micawber's metamorphosis from debtor to Magistrate.

Micawber, of course, is not the only emigrant who benefits from the reformatory power of emigration. Lansbury asserts that "if a joyful future for the Micawbers would have been illogical in England, it was acceptable in Australia. A country where a prostitute could marry a decent working man was quite capable of restoring Wilkins Micawber to permanent solvency" (103). Lansbury refers here to Martha, whose reformation in Australia was also in keeping with contemporary propaganda about female emigration and the prospects of
marriage for single women. Belonging to the capacious Victorian category of the superfluous woman, Martha, Emily, and Mrs. Gummidge are all redeemed in the colony. Each of the three women receives a marriage proposal, and although only Martha chooses to accept, the invitations themselves are represented as signs of recuperation. Emily, living among people who can only speculate about her past, is relieved of the stigma of her fallenness, but she nonetheless continues to seek redemption through service to others. No longer superfluous, she becomes in Australia indispensable to her friends and neighbors, who rely on her help whenever there is trouble. Mrs. Gummidge, who is scarcely recognizable in Mr. Peggotty's description, is also disciplined and industrious in the colony:

"She's the willingest, the trewest, the honestest-helping woman, Mas'r Davy, as ever draw'd the breath of life. I have never know'd her to be lone and lorn, for a single minnit, not even when the colony was all afore us, and we was new to it" (711).

The reformation of the spinster and the fallen woman in the British colonies had a fictional precedent in Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848) and in Dickens's own philanthropic work. Mrs. Gummidge's transformation echoes that of Gaskell's Mrs. Wilson, whose temperamental nature towards Mary Barton is moderated to the point that "hardly a passing cloud dimmed the happy confidence of their intercourse" (449). Likewise, Jem Wilson and Mary Barton contemplate emigration as a possible means of redemption for Mary's Aunt Esther when Jem proposes that "she shall go to America with us; and we'll help
her to get rid of her sins" (463). Although Esther dies in Britain before such a plan can be effected, this solution had a realistic counterpart in Dickens's own work with fallen women, which Gaskell admired. In 1846-7, Dickens worked with Angela Burdett-Coutts to establish Urania Cottage, a reformatory for fallen women. This philanthropic institution emphasized reformation by training women in domestic skills and then assisting them in emigrating to the colonies, where they could presumably begin new lives. In an article published in *Household Words* in April 1853 entitled "Home for Homeless Women," Dickens describes the effect the home has in literally transforming its inhabitants: "One of the most remarkable effects of the Home . . . is the extraordinary change it produces in the appearance of its inmates . . . It is considered doubtful whether, in the majority of the worst cases, the subject would easily be known again at a year's end, among a dozen, by an old companion" (136). When Mr. Peggotty returns to England, he similarly muses about how Emily has been "altered" since her emigration, explaining to David that he would be unlikely to recognize her in her present state.

By leaving behind certain painful remembrances, the Micawbers and the Peggottys eventually succeed in achieving a measure of class ascension and domestic comfort that are signaled by their ability to move out of the bush and into Port Middlebury. Superficially, Dickens's representation of these transformations in *David Copperfield* functions as propaganda, corroborating the myths about Australia that would later be reified by the gold rush—the promise
of rebirth, the unlimited potential for financial success, and the abundant prospects for single women with respect to marriage. Yet Dickens's faith in the transformative power of emigration may also reflect his own fantasies and anxieties with regard to class ascension. Dickens's personal struggle to rise from the lower ranks and achieve respectability as an author is mirrored in *David Copperfield* in semi-autobiographical fashion. Although he had achieved great professional success by the time he wrote the novel, the emigration plot nonetheless holds out a fantasy that hard work, and not birth, might be the legitimate measure of one's status.

Yet this plot also assumes that emigrants can have the best of both worlds: they can remake themselves in the colony and still remain loyal to their home nation. Mrs. Micawber is the character who most firmly believes in this possibility. Like Baden-Powell, Mrs. Micawber identifies the voyage as a potentially pivotal moment of transformation: "From the first moment of this voyage, I wish Mr. Micawber to stand upon the vessel's prow and say, 'Enough of delay: enough of disappointment: enough of limited means. That was in the old country. This is the new. Produce your reparation. Bring it forward!'" (660). Echoing the rhetoric of the emigrant guide as well as Brown's representation of the emigrant wife, Mrs. Micawber frames the voyage as a crucial period of transition, and possibly rebirth. Furthermore, she attributes to Micawber the resolve and self-discipline that he eventually demonstrates, foreshadowing the eminent position to which he rises in the colony. When Mr. Peggotty later
describes Micawber as a man who "turned to with a will" in the bush (712), it is evident that a genuine transformation has occurred.

Yet according to Mrs. Micawber, such a transformation is not inconsistent with the project of maintenance. Prior to their departure for Australia, Mr. Micawber expresses his willingness to sever his ties with Britain, arguing that he has no wish for his family to return because "[Britannia] has never done much for me" (659). Yet Mrs. Micawber reproaches her husband, claiming—with Chisholm—that emigration creates a bridge between Britain and the colony. Her argument, like Chisholm’s, rests on the assumption that individual action is reflected on a national scale:11

And in doing that . . . feeling his position—am I not right in saying that Mr. Micawber will strengthen, and not weaken, his connexion with Britain? An important public character arising in that hemisphere, shall I be told that its influence will not be felt at home? Can I be so weak as to imagine that Mr. Micawber, wielding the rod of talent and power in Australia, will be nothing in England? I am but a woman; but I should be unworthy of myself, and of my papa, if I were guilty of such absurd weakness. (660-1)

Mrs. Micawber’s questions of David speak to contemporary anxieties about whether emigration deprived Britain of potentially valuable resources and wealth, thereby benefiting the new colony rather than the home nation. But despite her interrogatory tone, Mrs. Micawber remains insistent that her husband’s personal success in the colony will have imperial implications.
Underneath the self-effacing claim that she is "but a woman," her arguments highlight the important role of women as cultural mediators who bear a responsibility for the maintenance of national identity (a role that Brown also emphasizes in *The Last of England*).

Chisholm similarly associates nationalism, not explicitly with women, but with the domestic realm. As she describes it, nationalism is an inherited aspect of identity that is nurtured through stories told in domestic settings, "at the hearth's fire-side." In the following passage, Chisholm suggests that British nationalism is not merely linked to a domestic ideal; it is actively constructed through domesticity:

> The spirit which has made our soldiers and sailors triumphant all over the world is not an artificial one; the feeling that has made the flag of victory wave wherever England's banners have been carried, is not created by the thrilling thunder of the canon, the loud call of the trumpet, or the martial strains of the pibroch, but it is one that glows in man's bosom, that he carries into the battle-field, and one which Britons in a special manner inherit from the land of their birth, nurtured and cradled by the relation of the deeds of their sires, at the hearth's fire-side. (A. B. C. 33)

In Chisholm's estimation, national identity does not inhere in the patriotic performances commonly associated with nationalism—rather, it is created and sustained through the circulation of narratives within the most intimate of circles: the family. Because of their inherent portability, or their propensity for
circulation, such narratives become critical for maintaining national identity throughout the experience of displacement.  

In *David Copperfield*, narratives do succeed in bridging the gap between Australia and Britain. Prior to his departure, Micawber hints that he will perform the role of cultural transmitter when he promises to spin yarns aboard ship (659). And despite Micawber's attempts to protect Mr. Peggotty from hearing the story of Ham's death, this news eventually penetrates the bush when a visitor from Britain brings an old newspaper into their home in Australia. News travels in the opposite direction as well. When Mr. Peggotty returns home, he takes Australian newspapers with articles written by Mr. Micawber, including a published letter to David. In what may be a fantasy about his own authorial power, Dickens describes in this letter the role of David's latest novel in maintaining colonial loyalty to Britain: it is read even in the bush. Mr. Micawber assures his friend that his novel has indeed breached the gap between Britain and Australia: "You are not unknown here, you are not unappreciated. Though 'remote,' we are neither 'unfriended,' melancholy, 'nor (I may add) 'slow.' Go on, my dear sir, in your Eagle course! The inhabitants of Port Middlebury may at least aspire to watch it, with delight, with entertainment, with instruction!" (713). Micawber's letter defies the common assumption that the Antipodes are devoid of intellectual life—an assumption that emigrant guides also refute—while simultaneously insisting that loyalty to Britain is possible despite his
displacement. Drawing on his British literary inheritance, Micawber attests to the power of narrative to create and sustain national identity.

Ultimately, the most important storyteller in the novel is neither Micawber nor David, but Dickens himself. In "A Bundle of Emigrants' Letters," Dickens imagines Australia as an Antipodal England where new and old narratives can coexist:

from little communities thus established, other and larger communities will rise in time, bound together in a love of the old country still fondly spoken of as Home, in the remembrance of many old struggles shared together, of many new ties formed since, and in the salutary influence and restraint of a kind of social opinion, even amid the wild solitudes of Australia. (88)

Here, portable domesticity and the stories told about "Home" create the conditions for the kind of disciplined restraint that is associated with the project of maintenance described in emigrant guides. Dickens's vision of "civilization in the bush" is made possible in part by what he imagines in David Copperfield as the role of narrative in sustaining British national identity in Australia.

Dickens's use of the emigration plot in the novel endorses Chisholm's conviction that British emigrants "will uphold as a body the moral banner of England unsullied in the Bush" (Chisholm, A. B. C. 33). Yet his faith in the potential for emigration to benefit both Britain and the colonies did not extend to Australia's convicts, as is evident in Great Expectations, published more than a decade after he redeemed the Micawbers and the Peggottys. In the latter novel,
which I will discuss briefly in Chapter Three, Abel Magwitch's return to Britain highlights anxieties about the potentially negative repercussions of colonial progress. Such repercussions, however, were far from Dickens's mind in *David Copperfield*, a novel in which he embraces a transformation that attests to the power of domesticity, and the family, to discipline even the most errant of characters.
Notes

1 Such an act is consistent with what Benedict Anderson identifies as a crucial feature of nationalism: the simultaneous operation of remembering certain aspects of the nation's history while forgetting others. For an extended discussion of the trope of "memory and forgetting" see Chapter 11.

2 Lucy Rabin suggests that the father is also framed by a halo in the shipfitters that looms above him, and that the haloes suggest Brown's allusion to Mary and Joseph's departure for Egypt (228).

3 Rabin has speculated that Brown may have derived his idea for the framing of this painting from the porthole of a ship (228). This suggestion is interesting insofar as it introduces the role of the spectator into readings of the painting. The fact that the spectator's view of the ship is always cut off and fragmented suggests the violence of displacement as well as the inaccessibility of the emigrant experience for those who have not left their homes.

4 This conception of women's power is obviously in keeping with John Ruskin's famous description of separate spheres elaborated in Sesame and Lilies.

5 The distinction between "involuntary" versus "voluntary" emigration was traditionally used to distance the practice of convict transportation from emigration aimed at colonization and settlement.

6 The authors explain that "[i]n order to correct an erroneous tendency, we have considered the requirements of the skilled artisan, as well as those of the
agricultural labourer; and we have collected full information for the benefit of the capitalist, as well as the toiler" (S. W. Silver & Co.'s Handbook for Australia and New Zealand Preface).

7 Caroline Chisholm similarly describes the disciplinary function of the family aboard ships as a way to reinforce traditional gender roles. By creating family collectives who travel together and look after one another, she imagines that "the pride of an Englishman would be roused: men would feel as men; mothers would look with pride upon their children" (A. B. C. 14).

8 Dickens's description of the Micawbers and the Peggottys departing for Australia appeared in a chapter entitled "The Emigrants" in the eighteenth monthly number of David Copperfield, which was published in October 1850, seven months after the publication of "A Bundle of Emigrants' Letters."

9 Paradoxically, while Dickens respected Chisholm's work on emigration, he was critical of her domestic inefficiency, and she became the prototype for Mrs. Jellyby in Bleak House. After visiting her in March 1850, Dickens wrote to Angela Burdett-Coutts, explaining: "I dream of Mrs. Chisholm, and her housekeeping. The dirty faces of her children are my continual companions" ("A Bundle" 85).

10 My thinking on this subject has been influenced by conversations with Robert L. Patten, to whom I am grateful.

11 Chisholm uses a commonly evoked familial lexicon to buttress this argument in The A. B. C. of Colonization: "we cannot really be great as a nation
except every man be made to feel that his individual conduct is thrown into the national scale, unless he is made sensible that he forms one of the commonwealth, and is an acknowledged and known member of the community" (31).

12 Chisholm's emphasis on the importance of narrative to constructions of nationalism reinforces Benedict Anderson's argument that by representing people in calendrical, simultaneous time, the novel and the newspaper become an analogue for the nation, "which is also conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history" (26).
CHAPTER TWO

Performing the Voyage Out: Victorian Female Emigration and the Gendering of Displacement

Debates about female emigration to the British colonies throughout the Victorian era routinely capitalize on the crucial role women could play in consolidating the empire through the civilizing mission. Advocates of female emigration frequently publicized the benefits of "matrimonial colonization," a rendering of what is now called republican motherhood that defines women's place in the nation in terms of their domestic and reproductive roles.¹ The founding in 1862 of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society (FMCES) by two educated middle-class women, Maria Rye and Jane Lewin, marked a departure from this conventional approach to female emigration. The work of the FMCES was carried out in the spirit of energy and determination that characterized the period of growing feminist activity in the 1860s, when the British rhetoric about "superfluous" women was reaching the tenor of a national crisis.² While campaigns for improving female education and employment opportunities were long-term solutions to the problem, emigration offered a more immediate palliative. Concerned primarily with the plight of single, middle-class women, Rye and Lewin saw in emigration an alternative plot to the tragic denouement in poverty and spinsterhood that awaited a large proportion of Britain's population of single, unemployed women. Ignoring the civilizing mission and the inducements for genteel women to marry or to become domestic servants in the
colonies, Rye and Lewin instead focused on creating a class-differentiated access into colonialism by assisting single middle-class women, most of whom were governesses, to emigrate safely and to obtain professional employment in the colonies, most often in Australia and New Zealand.

A letter Rye published in The Times discussing the purpose of the FMCES clearly demonstrates her dramatic departure from the rhetoric of the civilizing mission. Here, Rye inserts her female emigrants into a heroic discourse of colonialism commonly reserved for men:

I would remind all who are hesitating about the advisability of emigration to remember, that in olden times ten men brought evil tidings of Canaan itself; yet the land was a good land, in spite of the wretched report, and it fared mightily well with those who had courage to march on and possess it. The matter is now virtually in the hands of the women of this country. They must decide their own fate. (The Times, April 29, 1862)

Whereas the rhetoric of the civilizing mission emphasizes women's philanthropic capabilities, Rye's discourse of self-determination displaces a typical concern for the welfare of others with an explicitly feminist (and middle-class) preoccupation about female individuation: the imperative to "decide their own fate." Likening emigration to the Biblical pilgrimage for the land of Canaan, Rye affords her own work monumental status. Likewise, she ascribes a novel mission to her female emigrants—to consider themselves and their own well-being. Creating a counter-narrative to the history of emigration as the passive act of shoveling
paupers and convicts from Britain's shores, Rye invests her emigrants, often labeled distressed and "superfluous" women, with a powerful sense of agency and purpose.

According to Rye, the primary responsibility of her middle-class women was to distinguish themselves from previous emigrants by maintaining their class distinction throughout the experience of displacement. Yet doing so required vigilance on the part of the FMCES emigrants, who had to negotiate the liminality of being single women—not wives—aboard emigrant ships and in the colonies. As Anne McClintock has argued, this liminality placed single, working women in a precarious relation to the imperial divide: "[t]asked with the purification and maintenance of boundaries, they were especially fetishized as dangerously ambiguous and contaminating" (48). As such, single middle-class women became a locus, not of stability, but of instability within the nation.

To counteract this position of liminality, the FMCES emigrants engaged in performative strategies—what I will call strategies of self-maintenance—that enabled them to preserve their class distinction, and in many cases, to perform upward mobility. Of central importance to these performances was a notion the governesses had of themselves as members of an "imagined community."

According to Benedict Anderson, a nation "is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). Although Anderson alludes here to the presence of inequality and exploitation, he
dramatically minimizes their effects, for as Mary Louise Pratt has recently argued, gender inequality places women in a position of permanent instability in relation to the nation. In addition, as the writings of the FMCES emigrants show, class must also be inserted into an analysis of nationality, since class, like gender, is a locus of disruption in the horizontal comradeship that undergirds the imagined community.

In the sections that follow, I endeavor to historicize the roles of both class and gender within the nation by analyzing a collection of letters from the colonies that the FMCES emigrants wrote to Rye and Lewin. These letters, which are collected with the records of the FMCES, form the basis of Patricia Clarke's fascinating study, *The Governesses*. However, whereas Clarke's intention is "not to interpret the letters, but to let the governesses speak for themselves" (xi), I am interested in analyzing the performative strategies that the FMCES emigrants used to maintain their class distinction—or their affiliation with an imagined community of the British middle classes—throughout the experience of displacement. One such strategy involved the performance of upward mobility, both through the adoption of a discourse of rights and through portable domesticity, a trope that I have discussed in the context of shipboard life in Chapter One. Another involved the performance of strategic amnesia that enabled the governesses to preserve an illusion of class distinction irrespective of the realities of their circumstances once they arrived in the colonies. These strategies of self-maintenance served different functions at various stages of
displacement. Aboard emigrant ships, such strategies enabled the governesses to negotiate their liminal class status and to maintain their class distinction. In the colonies, where the rigid social distinctions upheld in Britain dissolved, these strategies led the governesses to adapt their notions of success to an ideal of female individualism that was not so rigidly bound by class constraints. While this new ideal was empowering for many of the governesses, it nonetheless destabilized their connections to Britain because their new identities often could not be transported back home.

The issue of the emigrant's return to Britain is thematized in numerous Victorian autobiographies and fictional accounts of emigration, including two texts that I juxtapose with the FMCES letters, Mrs. Charles Clacy's _A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia 1852-53_ and Anthony Trollope's _John Caldigate_. These texts about Australian emigration explores the most pressing issue raised in the letters, namely the single middle-class woman's precarious liminality in relation both to home and colony, and at the same time, they expose the rifts in the British nation created by class and gender hierarchy. In Trollope's representation of Mrs. Euphemia Smith in particular, the instabilities that challenge the nation in the FMCES letters are greatly magnified. Aboard ship, Mrs. Smith engages in strategies of self-maintenance that enable her, like the FMCES emigrants, to maintain her class distinction. However, when she fails to perform these strategies of maintenance in the colony, Mrs. Smith becomes a threat both to the nation and to the project of colonialism. Although the FMCES
letters testify to the renovating power of the colonial to make new roles available to women, Trollope's novel suggests that colonial freedom is exceptionally dangerous for British women, if not for British men. Yet while they differ in this respect, both the letters and the novel reveal the disruptions in the imagined community caused by class and gender hierarchy, and in so doing, they expose the unstable foundations on which the project of colonialism is grounded.

Performing the voyage up: the female emigrant "between-decks"

Under the auspices of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, Rye, and later Lewin, were active in helping single, middle-class women to emigrate for over twenty years. Although the cumulative influence of their efforts was relatively minor (between the years 1861 and 1886 the FMCES assisted only 302 middle-class women to emigrate), Rye and Lewin's work is remarkable precisely because they persisted when public support waned and colonial authorities insisted that the services of the educated classes were not needed in the colonies. The following representative page from a contemporary emigration guide includes numerous advertisements addressed to domestic servants, but none addressed to governesses. In her discussion of the society's eligibility requirements, which demanded that emigrants possess both education and practical domestic training, Rita S. Kranidis comments on how the FMCES founders manipulated existing class categories to find a place for their emigrants: "What is most interesting about this set of requirements . . . is that
EMISSION TO QUEENSLAND,
AUSTRALIA.
Queensland Government Offices,—
32, Charing-cross, London.

LAND orders for 10 acres per adult are given
to persons paying their own passage. Half-plead
soldiers. Land can also be acquired at
3s. 10s., and 5s. per acre, payable in ten annual
installments.

Assisted Passages at £2 granted to Farm
Labourers, Peasants, Boys, Mechanic,
and other eligible persons.

Free passages granted to female domestic
servants, for whom there is great demand in
the colony. Statistics and further information
on application.

ARCHIBALD ARCHER, Agent-General.

GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA.

THREE PASSAGES TO SYDNEY, New South Wales,
are given to Female Domestic Servants, in first class
vessels, at 12 months interval, after the end of
the engagement, and an approved character,
and a bond signed at the expense of the
applicants. For application, see Local Agents, or at this office.

RICHARD E. COOPER, Assistant Secretary
Government of New South Wales, 8, Queen-street,
Westminster—1870.

GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND.

THREE PASSAGES TO NEW ZEALAND, at £15 each, are
granted to emigrants, to New Zealand, New South
Wales, and Australia, on ships of the
Government. Emigrants must have a character,
and a bond signed at the expense of the
applicants. For application, see Local Agents, or at this office.

Outlay for the Diamond Fields.

MONEY & Co., General Outfitters, Camp and
Prospecting Goods, Contractors of All Kinds, First class Goods,
Wholesale and Retail, 1, Long Acre, London, W.

EMIGRANTS' TENTS.
The most useful thing an Emigrant
family can take with them to use of
BENJAMIN EDGINGTON'S TENTS.
Easily erected, easily packed away, water tight,
comfortable, cheap.
To be seen at BENJAMIN EDGTON
2, Duke-street, London, W., and throughout the country.
Publish Illustrated Catalogue post free.

MELBOURNE MEAT PRESERVING
COMPANY, 137, MOUNTS DITCH, LONDON.

COOKED BEEF AND MUTTON IN TINS
with full instructions for use. Prime qualities,
and free from bones.
Sold Retail by Grocers and Provision Dealers
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JOHN McCALL AND CO.

MERCHANT-SHIPPERS
AND PASSENGERS
OCEAN TRANSIT GUIDE.

THE
BRITISH, FOREIGN, AND COLONIAL
MERCANTILE REVIEW
AND
Shipping Register,
A Merchant-Shippers and Passengers' Ocean Transit Guide.

Continuing—A Register of Vessels Loading in the Ports of Great Britain for all parts of the world—Outward and Homeward Bound Vessels—A Classified Table of Regular Lines of Steam Ships for Freight and passengers, with ports of departure, destination, dates of sailing, brokers or agents, rates of passage money—Freight and Insurance— the Customs Duties—the Postal, Telegraph, and Table
Tables—a general Shipping Directory—a
Review of the British and Foreign Commerce—Latest Telegrams, Mercantile and Shipping Advertisements, &c.

PRICE FOURPENCE.
Subscriptions:—1s. 6d. per annum, or
Post Free, 20s. per annum, payable in
advance.

Published Simultaneously in London
and Liverpool.
EVERY TUESDAY.
LONDON:—70, Fenchurch-street,
LIVERPOOL:—30, Cable-street.

Editorial Department, A. Langham Place,
London, W.

SOLD BY ALL NEWSAGENTS.
they seek to construct a new class and gender category, one that would satisfy the expressed needs of the colonists while attempting to rescue distressed gentlewomen at home" (30). In attempting to negotiate these competing pressures, the founders of the FMCES created a rupture in the nationalist discourse that depicts single, middle-class women as "superfluous" to the nation by virtue of their gender and class. Rye and Lewin refused to accept this definition of themselves and their potential emigrants, publicizing instead the enormous potential for single middle-class women to achieve success in Australia and New Zealand: "there is plenty of work here for women who know how to do it . . . for women who can take care of themselves, and intend to walk uprightly, it is a place where they must get on in the long run" (The Times, May 29, 1863).

The ability of Rye and Lewin's emigrants to "walk uprightly" by performing strategies of self-maintenance was exceptionally important aboard emigrant ships, which were liminal spaces involving special dangers and anxieties for women with respect to class. Despite their middle-class status, most of the FMCES emigrants were obliged for financial reasons to travel "between-decks," or in second-class accommodations also occupied by working-class emigrants who could afford to pay their own way. As one emigrant guide explains, the social distinctions upheld in the context of emigration were quite simple: "[e]migrants to a colony may be divided into two classes: those who pay their own passage out, and those who are assisted out" (Hursthouse 59-60). Because
most of the governesses required the assistance of loans granted by the FMCES,\textsuperscript{12} they shared an uncomfortable alliance not just with working-class emigrants, but also with steerage passengers, most of whom were poor emigrants sent out through government-sponsored schemes. These associations caused an unbearable affront to the gentility of some governesses, like Miss Cary, an emigrant to New Zealand, who writes: "I can assure you, to me the passage was most trying. We had food enough, I had so many things of my own, I did not suffer as much as others, but oh Miss Lewin, no Lady should come out on those emigrant ships" (Clarke 36). Cary’s letter attests to the dangerous fluidity of class dynamics aboard ship even as she attempts to take advantage of the mobility it affords. By insisting on the exceptional nature of her own circumstances throughout the journey, Cary aligns herself with the first-class passengers and thereby dispels the other associations that she found so unpleasant.

Well aware of the threats posed by such associations and by the inevitable mixing of classes and of sexes in the close quarters of the ships, Rye and Lewin likewise attempted in a variety of ways to distance their governesses from emigrants of the lower classes who represented the possibilities of social descent and moral degradation. In so doing, they had to work against the narratives of sexual scandal, promiscuity, drunkenness, and class degradation that had been associated with female emigration throughout the century.\textsuperscript{13} For the FMCES emigrants who were often fleeing potential ruin in Britain and the horrors of the poorhouse, the specter of degradation resurfaced aboard ship in a novel form:
the sexual fall. Louisa Dearmer, a prolific correspondent to Jane Lewin, writes of the tragic consequences that sometimes occurred even before the ships reached their destinations: "There is one sad thing I feel bound to mention: so many of the girls sent out, particularly in English vessels, but in others as well, get ruined on board ship; when they arrive here they have no character and go on the town" (Clarke 102). In emigrants' letters like this one and in Rye and Lewin's discourse about female emigration the story of the fallen woman performed a policing function that served as a potent warning to middle-class women who were expected to prove themselves "vastly superior to the hordes of wild Irish and fast young ladies who [had] hitherto started as emigrants" (The Times, April 29, 1862). The direct correlation in Dearmer's account between impropriety aboard ship and ruin in the colony was a familiar narrative that the founders of the FMCES cultivated in an effort to deter impropriety. They were also careful in selecting vessels for their emigrants, but beyond this source of protection they could only advocate self-determination. Their stress on individual agency and the imperative for their middle-class emigrants to "decide their own fate" translates in the emigrants' letters into characteristic preoccupations with propriety, with class stratification, and with strategies of self-maintenance.

One such strategy, which is evident in Cary's letter above, was to align oneself with the privileges of first-class travel and to thereby perform upward mobility. Many of the governesses do this by adopting a discourse of rights regarding their treatment and comfort aboard ship that is consistent with the project of
female individualism alluded to in Rye's letter to *The Times*. For instance, Margaret Pyman complains bitterly because she had to pay for her wine whereas other passengers were given a bottle of sherry each week: "It was not that I cared for or required it, but I did not choose to be deprived of my rights" (Clarke 45). Although perhaps objecting solely on principle, Pyman's rhetoric of rights represents an attempt to assert her own will and to modify circumstances that were beyond her control. A lack of space, privacy, or equitable treatment are the governesses' most frequent grievances, all of which are evident in Maria Atherton's complaint: "Being short of room they placed four of us in a Cabin not so large as the others which contained only two persons. We had no light and no air and were therefore quite unable to retire to our berths...we were the only parties deprived of a seat at the Table in the second Cabin and obliged to stand or seat ourselves on boxes" (Clarke 35). Not comfortable in or out of her cabin, Atherton displays a characteristic sensitivity about her status "between decks" as a second-class passenger; to assuage such anxieties she and other FMCES emigrants stridently defended their rights to everything to which they were entitled, thereby performing the upward mobility that could forestall the alternative drive to class degradation.

Another strategy of self-maintenance employed to avoid the dangers of a class fall was the performance of portable domesticity. Guides and catalogs for emigrants often include comprehensive lists of the necessary fittings, clothing, and food a second-class passenger would require for the journey, instructions
about how to dress appropriately for the varying climates and how to maintain
good health, and recipes and instructions for cooking aboard ship or in the bush.
The FMCES emigrants who traveled second class were entitled to all the
necessary items that would make it possible for them to replicate a domestic
"household" in their own cabins. The FMCES assisted its emigrants in obtaining
their cabin fittings—pillows, mattresses, bedsteads, bedding, folding chairs, pots
and dishes, mess utensils, lamps and candles, cabinets, and articles for personal
hygiene—and the frequent allusions to such domestic items in the governesses' 
letters attest to the significance of the ordinary performances of grooming and
dining in maintaining respectable status. McClintock has argued that the
idleness typically associated with middle-class women was actually "a laborious
and time-consuming character role performed by women who wanted
membership in the 'respectable' class" (161). When performing such a role, a
middle-class woman had the double burden of working to conceal every sign of
her labor. Although emigrant guides and cabin fittings quite literally made
domesticity portable, the work of domesticity, and by extension self-
maintenance, was undoubtedly arduous, especially when it was performed in
the confined spaces of second-class cabins, which generally housed two or even
three women.

One of the crucial rituals of domestic life aboard ship and the occasion for
displaying middle-class leisure was dining. S. W. Silver & Co.'s Colonial and
OUTFITS TO CANADA.

SEA BEDDING, CLOTHING & CABIN REQUISITES
SUPPLIED BY
E. J. MONNERY & SON,
CABIN FITTERS, CLOTHIERS & GENERAL OUTFITTERS,
165, FENCHURCH STREET, LONDON.

Cabin Fitted and Berths Fixed at an Hour's Notice.

PRICE LISTS OF SUPERIOR OUTFITS FREE.

OUTFIT for 12s. 9d.

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Colonial Blankets, 6s. 6d. pair.

OUTFIT for 25s.

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E. J. MONNERY & SON, 165, FENCHURCH ST.
Indian Pocket Book Series and Voyager's Companion explicitly compares morning coffee to the Magna Carta and has this to say about dinner:

But the supreme shipboard duty is dinner at 6 P.M. It is a business, a ceremony, an obligation, and a pleasure combined. All things lead up to it: time is reckoned by its hour; it is expected; it is desired; and it demands preparation. 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. (27)

Meals, because they occurred at regularly scheduled intervals, performed a crucial function by continuously reiterating the social stratification of passengers by rank, or in other words, by redrawing boundaries that were too easily transgressed in the close confinement of the ships. What one wore to dinner, where one sat and with whom, and what one ate and drank all served as indexes of class. Figured in the Silver's guide as "among the chief ends of life" (20), eating and drinking aboard ship thus enabled the display and performance of an enfranchised status.

Receiving the attention and favor of the ship's captain, who dined with the first-class passengers, was also depicted as a sign of esteem and respectability that brought one closer to coveted first-class status. Several emigrants describe activities sanctioned by ship captains that replicate the patterns of middle-class leisure. Rosarie Winn makes it clear that such activities implied respectability by association:
We brought out a Paper called the *Dudbrook Chronicle* weekly, which I used to help the Captain to write and which I contributed an article every now and then . . . We used to have a Debating Society on board which met twice a week to discuss different topics and we kept it up during the whole voyage, but only the Gentlemen, of course carried on the debates.

(Clarke 39)

As a testament to the propriety of life on the ship, Winn's decorous account obeys the rules of polite society and defuses the popular anxiety that an emigrant ship is no place for a woman.

In an effort to dispel the stigmas associated with emigrant ships, as Winn does above, some FMCES emigrants report disposing of their fittings upon arrival in Australia or New Zealand by simply throwing them overboard. Although such an act seems counterintuitive given the importance of the cabin fittings in the performance of portable domesticity, it is nonetheless consistent with a series of efforts made by the governesses to conceal the fact that they traveled second class. Arriving in the colony with nothing but their luggage, as the first-class passengers would have done, the FMCES emigrants were able to leave behind any unpleasant reminders of past hardships and to begin their new lives in the Antipodes with a clean slate. The disposal of the fittings in the colony further reaffirms the idea that class status is linked, not only to material and economic realities, but also to powerful imaginings and performances.
Another crucial performance was an engagement in strategic amnesia, a mode of forgetting that enabled the governesses to preserve an illusion of class distinction irrespective of the realities of their circumstances aboard ship or in the colonies. In some cases, for instance, the freedom and independence of the voyage, what one emigrant calls "the delightful solitude on the magnificent ocean" (Book 1, 307), appears to have overshadowed or colored the harsher realities of life at sea. Many emigrants recall their passages as particularly exhilarating experiences, regardless of physical discomforts. Cecille Nagelle writes: "I think the Sea air has done me much good, I am reaping the benefit of it now; I never felt better" (Clarke 42). Other emigrants describe favorable conditions and good weather despite newspaper accounts of the same voyages that report dangerous storms, extreme weather conditions, and food shortages. On the other hand, one unhappy traveler reports a mutiny aboard her ship that was never mentioned in the account of a fellow passenger (Clarke 29). Such instances of strategic amnesia may be attributed in part to the fact that these are retrospective accounts, often written months after the emigrants had arrived in Australia and New Zealand and subsequently experienced the numerous hardships and discomforts associated with adapting to a new way of life. But in many cases the experience aboard an emigrant ship appears to have been enjoyable precisely because it suspended the inevitable, creating a liminal space where the dismal reality of life in Britain could be forgotten and where hope for the future could be nourished: "The voyage was a very pleasant one and I need
hardly tell you that I was very sorry when it came to an end, and I found myself for the first time in my life at the mercy of strangers" (Clarke 47). Ellen Ollard’s letter displays a characteristic regret that is infused with fears about the future difficulties associated with her displacement.

Once on shore in Australia and New Zealand, the FMCES emigrants expressed ambivalence about colonial life and customs even as they begrudgingly adopted colonial ways. Rosa Phayne, a governess who lamented her decision to emigrate and never successfully adapted to her new surroundings, violently resisted converting to an Australian way of life: "I hate Australia and the Australians, I shall [be] with them but never of them" (Clarke 111). Maria Barrow’s reaction is more tempered and therefore more typical, yet it still reflects a deliberate resistance to assimilation and an accompanying sense of alienation:

I can’t quite make up my mind about the Colony whether to like it or not. I know there are some nice people in it, and I may add some mosquitoes . . . We have had fine weather ever since I have been here and it is very pleasant, still I miss the freshness of some of our fine days in dear old England, everything is so dried up, and certainly the birds don’t sing and the flowers (generally) don’t smell. (Clarke 63).

Despite the fine weather, for Barrow the experience of displacement is so jarring that even nature is impenetrable to her interpretations; its laws are not universal. However, other FMCES emigrants, particularly those who found a home either
with family members or in permanent situations, were able to circumvent such feelings of alienation by engaging in a form of strategic amnesia that enabled them to minimize the contrasts between Britain and Australia or New Zealand. Emigrant guides and catalogs frequently describe Australia and New Zealand as the most "English-like" of all the colonies, a sentiment reinforced in some of the governesses' letters.\textsuperscript{15} Isabella McGillivray, who traveled with three of her sisters to her brother's Australian home, explains that "[w]e have met with very great kindness here and things are so like home, that we do not feel in a foreign land in the least" (Book 1, 45). Fanny Giles performs a similar erasure when she writes that "everything about me seems so English that I cannot yet realize being so far from my native land" (Book 1, 153).

Whether they enjoyed their new homes or not, most of the governesses went to great lengths to convince their friends and families at home that their class status, and even their identities, had remained unchanged by their colonial experiences. In many cases, the governesses enlisted the help of the FMCES in maintaining what Robert Hughes calls a "national pact of silence" regarding their debts or their impoverished circumstances in the colonies (xii).\textsuperscript{16} For instance, Laura Jones, a governess who lived in a hut in the bush among dissenters and had to take up needlework when she lost a situation, requests that Lewin conceal her difficulties from her friends and relations in Britain: "I have not written to any of my friends at home as I disliked telling them of my circumstances, but I will write soon now and may ask a favour: that you will not answer any
enquiries that may be made respecting me—I will write and tell them as much as I wish them to know" (Clarke 120). Jones' request that Lewin maintain silence regarding her temporary social descent (she subsequently obtained a position teaching at a boarding school and repaid her debt in full), suggests the empowerment that comes from gaining control over one's own narrative. The ability to do so was a hard-earned freedom that Jones, among others, privileged highly. Edith Jadis makes a similar request from Australia, asking Lewin not to include her name in the printed reports of the society, "but if it must appear at all—only the initials—& those backwards viz. J. E. I have already put something by towards repaying my passage money—I am always thinking of my delightful voyage and longing for it over again" (Book 1, 440). Jadis' plea for discretion and her nostalgia for the voyage are indicative of a desire to dissociate herself from the stigmas associated with debt and with assisted emigration. As these examples suggest, when the governesses temporarily endured periods of poverty or social degradation in the colonies, which they often did, they nonetheless retained control over their textual identities, telling stories about themselves as upwardly mobile women who, although unable to help themselves at home, were personally and financially successful in the colonies.

In Australia and New Zealand, where the rigid social distinctions upheld in Britain were no longer enforced, the project of self-maintenance gradually led many of the FMCES emigrants to expand their notions of success to include an ideal of female individualism. For those who were successful and who adapted
to colonial life despite initial setbacks, the freedom and independence they experienced often compensated for being away from home. Louisa Geoghegan, whose letters reflect a gradual reconciliation with displacement, displays a characteristic amnesia that suggests how her ideals have been transformed:

I am now so reconciled to Australia that I was surprised to see by your letter that I had apparently been disappointed at first. At times I feel it is rather dull work never to go beyond the garden or Croquet ground, but then I remember I can rake or hoe in the garden as I please and the freedom to please oneself more than compensates for monotony. (Clarke 105)

The ideal of "pleas[ing] oneself" is consistent with Rye's rhetoric of female agency and the drive to decide one's own fate. For Geoghegan and others who were flexible enough to adapt to—rather than be affronted by—a new set of social codes and standards, bush life, which Geoghegan calls "a strange mixture of roughing and refinement" (Clarke 103), was empowering. This "strange mixture" provided the governesses with access to a new role: that of the colonial woman, a figure who could combine gentility with a measure of practicality and independence.

Ironically, the performances of portable domesticity that enabled the FMCES emigrants to maintain their class affiliations aboard emigrant ships served to free them from class constraints once they arrived in Australia and New Zealand. Colonial governesses were often expected to perform a range of household
chores not ordinarily required of a British governess. As James Hammerton notes, "[c]ertainly in Britain any middle-class woman forced to share in as much rough domestic work as her colonial counterpart would be considered, and would consider herself, to have lost caste irrevocably, whereas in Australia a common class origin with her equally industrious employers was often sufficient to preserve her dignity" (Emigrant Gentlewomen 63). While some FMCES emigrants nonetheless had difficulty accepting such responsibilities because they regarded them as a degradation in status, the more resilient women attempted to adapt themselves to their new environments, as in the case of Mary Wilson, who writes from New Zealand that "I am getting more reconciled to colonial life in many ways, it is so different from home, but I endeavor to suit myself to the people and the place" (Book 1, 375). Still others found such work liberating because it enabled them to enjoy a degree of independence that was otherwise unprecedented. Nancy Barlow, who opened her own school in Australia, explained that "I am getting quite a Colonial woman, and fear I should not easily fit into English ideas again—can scrub a floor with anyone, and bake my own bread and many other things that an English Governess and Schoolmistress would be horrified at" (Clarke 69). The subtext beneath Barlow's celebration of her new identity is the recognition that she is unfitting herself for English life. In fact, the governesses who were part of a superfluous class in Britain shared the dilemma of the convicts who were transported to Australia in the first half of the
century; like them, these women could be socially redeemed in the colony, but they could not transport their new identities back home.17

Although the FMCES emigrants describe a range of responses to the psychic experience of emigration, the majority of the letters testify to the success of Rye and Lewin’s society in granting a class-differentiated access into colonialism. Most FMCES emigrants were eventually able to repay the debts they incurred in Britain to make their passages over, but some subsequently struggled to save enough money to return home. Miss Ireland writes, "I have indeed been an unfortunate girl and as soon as I have paid my debts and saved enough money for my passage I shall come back to dear Old England" (Book 1, 68-9). Although some emigrants optimistically planned to return, few probably did so. More often, the governesses resigned themselves to their forced migration, as the following letter from Gertrude Gooch suggests:

I am certain it will be a long while before I see the Old Country again, perhaps never. I love it as ever, but I can earn more money here and I expect always [will] find something to do. There are enough of us at home. I often think of you, our old Ship, the Voyage and many other things and cannot believe I am 17,000 miles away from Old England.

(Clarke 57)

Gooch’s letter reveals an interesting tension between a nostalgia for the nation that enabled her to memorialize England and a sense of reproach against the domestic politics that failed to provide for her. Her affiliation with a collective
yet disenfranchised "us" alludes to a fracture in the horizontal comradeship of
the imagined community caused by the marginalization imposed upon
"superfluous" women by virtue of their gender and class. Across this rift, which
became an ocean, the FMCES emigrants performed a balancing act that exposed
the instabilities inherent in their colonial identities, and in the nation that forgot
them.

Bridging the gap between colony and home

In addition to emigrant letters, the Victorians produced numerous
autobiographical and fictional accounts of emigration that demonstrate how the
middle-class woman imagined herself at the margins of the nation. One such
account is the memoir of Ellen Clacy, a single, middle-class woman who traveled
to Australia with her brother, got married, and returned to Britain, where she
subsequently wrote a best-seller entitled *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of
Australia* 1852-53. Clacy's autobiographical account reifies the energizing myths
of emigration and of the gold rush, affirming Australia's abundant prospects for
economic success and for marriage. However, like Rye and Lewin, Clacy relies
upon a familiar idiom of self-determination and class distinction; she encourages
healthy, self-reliant women to emigrate, insisting that in Australia, where men
greatly outnumber women, "we may be pretty sure of having our own way"
(151). Like the FMCES emigrants, Clacy employs rhetorical strategies in her
memoir that are calculated to protect her middle-class "respectability," even in
the most primitive conditions in the bush. She peppers her narrative with French and Italian phrases, excuses her use of "colonialisms," and insists on representing the truth as she hears or witnesses it. In addition, she minimizes the significance of displacement by repeatedly insisting that she has remained untainted by her colonial encounters.

Yet like the governesses, Clacy is in fact transformed in positive ways by her emigration to Australia. Such a transformation is evident on the title page alone, which includes the paradoxical designation "Written on the Spot by Mrs. Charles Clacy." Although her memoir was written after her return to Britain as a married woman, Clacy locates the act of authorship in Australia at the site of imperial adventure, at a point when she could not yet have written as Mrs. Charles Clacy. Yet she simultaneously relies on the authority of her new signature, for it is her married name which signifies her successful assimilation back into British life.

At the same time, the slippage from single female emigrant to writer and wife is representative of a larger transformation: the renovation of Clacy's superfluous status within the nation, not just through marriage, but also through her newly acquired authority with regarding colonial matters.

Clacy's ability to return home after her wedding is only one sign of her privileged position as a female emigrant. Unlike the FMCES emigrants who traveled alone or the diggers' wives who resigned themselves to "quietly settling down to this rough and primitive style of living, if not without a murmur, at least to all appearance with the determination to laugh and bear it" (Clacy 56),
Clacy travels in the protection of men with the freedom to come and go as she pleases. Her presence at the gold diggings invokes the portability of English domesticity, where "[in] some tents the soft influence of our sex is pleasingly apparent" (56). Here the division of labor is based on an egalitarian mode that Clacy prefers; the men are eager to make puddings while Clacy takes an active role in their digging party. Yet her job in the gold excavation is nonetheless particularly domestic: "Tin-dish-washing is difficult to describe. It requires a watchful eye and a skillful hand; it is the most mysterious department of the gold-digging business" (64). Consistent with a false idea that women's work occurs without labor, Clacy renders her task "mysterious" and yet essential (like the work of domesticity, which must be constantly performed as if by invisible agency). Her penultimate role in the narrative is also performed imperceptibly when her party is attacked by bushrangers intending to rob them of their gold. Clacy escapes and is unmolested, as is their fortune, for she carries the travelling money and the gold receipts concealed inside the lining of her dress. This "strange treasury" as she refers to it (108), is crucial, for it suggests the inviolability of the female middle-class body and also disrupts the prerogative to male ownership (both to the land and to British women's bodies). In addition, it recasts "superfluous" women as valuable national resources, quite literally worth their weight in gold. As she sails into the English harbor upon her return home, Clacy is greeted by the sound of church bells that signify this new-found
respectability. In ending her narrative with this symbolic gesture she advertises her successful assimilation back into English life.

**Emigration, performance, and the failure of colonialism**

Such a seamless reconciliation between home and colony is more problematic in Anthony Trollope's gold rush novel, *John Caldigate*, which thematizes the Australian emigrant's return to Britain and the complications that ensue. Written in 1879, the novel betrays the anxieties about imperialism that surfaced in the late Victorian period, when more aggressive territorial expansion led to increasingly jingoistic attitudes.18 Whereas Patrick Brantlinger argues that the colonies function in many imperialist texts as moral testing grounds where lapses in morality can be overlooked upon return, Trollope discredits the popular opinion that "anything done in the wilds of Australia ought not 'to count' here at home in England" (399). Although the novel describes the success of class performatives in reinscribing the social structure of the nation during the journey aboard an emigrant ship, the breakdown of social codes and standards in Australia precludes the possibility for self-maintenance once emigrants arrive in the colony. Because of the failure of this project of self-maintenance, none of the emigrants in the novel are able to return home unscathed after experiencing the uncivilized influences of colonial life. However, while John Caldigate is gradually able to reassimilate into British life, Trollope's female emigrant, Euphemia Smith, is not. Her failed attempt to return to Britain underscores a
rupture in the national fabric, while simultaneously pointing to the failure of colonialism to unite the empire or renovate the emigrant.

In Trollope's novel, as in the FMCES letters, portable domesticity plays an important role in maintaining class distinctions aboard ship. Trollope describes the experience on the outward bound *Goldfinder* as a dramatic departure from everyday life insofar as no work is required and passengers may do just as they please. Yet his emphasis on its utter distinctiveness is partly ironic, for despite their unbounded freedom, passengers are quick to reproduce the social structure of the nation:

There is no peculiar life more thoroughly apart from life in general, more unlike our usual life, more completely a life of itself, governed by its own rules and having its own roughnesses and amenities, than life on board ship. What tender friendships it produces, and what bitter enmities! How completely the society has formed itself into separate sets after the three or four first days! How thoroughly it is acknowledged that this is the aristocratic set, and that the plebian! How determined are the aristocrats to admit no intrusion, and how anxious are the plebians to intrude! (38)

The rapidity with which social demarcations get consolidated aboard ship reveals the profound impact of class performatives on the life of the nation. By replicating aspects of their lives at home, the passengers reinstate the social structure of Britain; the first-class passengers are distinguished by their idleness
and fashionable attire, the second-class passengers by their industry in reading or sewing, and the steerage passengers by their invisibility. Dining, dancing, and socializing become the indexes of class status.

Aboard the *Goldfinder* the fixity of class is thus depicted as indisputable. Euphemia Smith, a widowed gentlewoman with a mysterious past, travels second class and initially does not attempt to hide her impoverished state. But she soon attracts the notice of John Caldigate and Dick Shand because of an obvious discrepancy between her physical appearance and her manner. They are intrigued to discover that "she talks a great deal better than her gown" (40). Once she becomes involved in a shipboard romance with Caldigate, Mrs. Smith begins to perform upward mobility, gradually improving her appearance by bringing out her best clothes and thereby affiliating herself with the first-class passengers. Caldigate and his partner, Dick Shand, to the contrary, attempt to hide the fact that they are gentleman, for "[t]hey were both dressed according to the parts they were acting, and which they intended to act, as second-class passengers and future working miners" (40). Eager to become accustomed to the roles they will be assuming once in Australia, they can experiment in this way without consequences, because true breeding cannot be disguised.

Although Mrs. Smith becomes a target for the gossip of her fellow passengers, who assume she is emigrating with the stereotypical motive of "husband-hunting," her professed lack of interest in the future suggests that hers is in fact a forced migration. Like the FMCES emigrants, she asserts that she would like life
on the ship "if it led to nothing else" (41). Despite her pessimism, however, the
passage temporarily enables Mrs. Smith to reside in a liminal space where the
uncertainties of the future are suspended. Here, she can perform an
enfranchised class status despite the undisclosed hardships she suffered in
Britain. Echoing the nostalgia of the FMCES letters, she consequently laments to
John Caldigate that the journey must inevitably end:

So we have come to the end of it . . . of all that is pleasant and easy and
safe. Don't you remember my telling you how I dreaded the finish? Here
I have been fairly comfortable, and have in many respects enjoyed it. I
have had you to talk to; and there has been a flavour of old days about it.

What shall I be doing this time to-morrow? (70)

Mrs. Smith's question underscores the role of strategic amnesia in consolidating
nostalgia for the nation. Already memorializing the "old days" and the home
before she even reaches the opposite shore, she rapidly forgets the hardships in
Britain that presumably propelled her migration. Mrs. Smith echoes the fear of
many of the FMCES emigrants whose futures spanned terrifyingly before them
when they found themselves across the ocean and alone.19 Unlike John
Caldigate, for whom emigration marks the beginning of opportunity and
adventure, for Mrs. Smith it marks the start of a self-imposed exile.

The end of the voyage also represents the point at which the fixity of class and
of nation is suddenly challenged by the dispersal of the emigrants. The rigid
class structure apparent on the emigrant ship breaks down in the face of an
unbounded social order where individuals become rich, or change their names, virtually overnight. The popularity of diggers' weddings and the common practice of selling digging licenses to miners who then assume false names suggest the radical instability of identity. The mobility that ensues, while empowering for the governesses, is a source of grave danger for the female emigrant in Trollope's novel. Even Caldigate must justify his own moral transgressions by explaining that "[i]t was a wild kind of life up there . . . and this was apparent in nothing more than in the names people used" (226). Yet nowhere is the performative nature of identity more evident than in the example of Euphemia Smith, who changes her name four times. She assumes the name Mademoiselle Cettini for the stage, Mrs. Caldigate for her married state, Euphemia Cettini for her business transactions, and she adopts a false name to escape Britain. Late in the novel her identity has become so problematic that she cannot sign a legal document. Troped as a foreigner and occasionally referred to as an Australian woman, Mrs. Smith enacts the governesses' worst nightmare as she quickly loses her identity in the colony. Unlike the governesses, who protect their class distinction by hiding their names from the British public, Mrs. Smith's willingness to adopt new names for herself causes her to be unrecognizable. Her entrance into the public realm (as a performer and later as a gold prospector) leaves her doubly marginalized; ironically, although she earns a living and later gains material wealth at the gold mines, she disregards the parallel struggle to retain her class distinction.
Whereas Caldigate can eventually return to Britain, "laden with gold" (18), to marry a woman he has only seen twice, Mrs. Smith has no such expectation of return. Caldigate’s romantic aspiration to marry Hester Bolton not only sustains him throughout the more trying periods of his pilgrimage, but it also enables him to leave Britain without remorse. Mrs. Smith, on the other hand, understands that such a return is precluded for her because (unlike Ellen Clacy) she has already played out her marriage plot. She is fully attuned to her superfluous position in relation to the nation and to Caldigate’s gender privilege: 21

Things do come back to men . . . You have a resurrection;—I mean here upon earth. We never have. Though we live as long as you, the pleasure-seeking years of our lives are much shorter. We burst out into full flowering early in our spring, but long before the summer is over, we are no more than huddled leaves and thick stalks. (46)

The metaphors of seasonal change in this passage invoke what is now called the biological clock and the imperative to female reproduction, figured here as an essential aspect of nation-building. The FMCES emigrants bypass the inherent contradiction that single women must necessarily be outside the nation (both in a literal and a figurative sense) by assuming domestic roles as governesses in other people’s families. 22 But Mrs. Smith, who as a performer occupies a place in the public sphere, is fully attuned to the fact that she is no longer a "productive" citizen of the nation.
Despite the presumption of gender privilege, however, none of Trollope's emigrants escapes the colonial encounter unscathed. Even Caldigate's body bears the signs of colonization when he returns "much darker in colour, having been, as it seemed, bronzed through and through by colonial suns and colonial labour" (126). Caldigate, a gentleman by birth, is eventually redeemed and reassimilated back into English life through the resolution of the domestic marriage plot. But his resurrection is not nearly as easy as Clacy's seamless transition would suggest, because he must first be publicly exonerated from the taint of his colonial past: Mrs. Smith's charge of bigamy that follows him back from Australia. In the trial that ensues, Caldigate is charged with the crime, but he is eventually recuperated through the Queen's pardon and the public declaration of his innocence.

Dick Shand, Caldigate's partner at the diggings, is not as lucky. Having spent time among the "savages" in the South Sea islands, Shand returns and is hardly recognizable, even to his family:

Though they knew him very well now, they would hardly have known him had they met him suddenly in the streets . . . In colour he was almost darker than brown. You would have said that his skin had been tanned black, but for the infusion of red across it here and there. He seemed to be in good present health, but certainly bore the traces of many hardships. (474)
The multi-layered description of Shand's countenance suggests that his "contamination" is not merely superficial. In addition to being racially stigmatized, Shand is marked by class degradation, for he wears the sturdy yellow trousers that are the typical uniform of the Australian convict. His appearance coupled with his "bush manners" together brand him irredeemable, rendering him wholly unfit for life in Britain. As a result, he must return to Australia after contributing to Caldigate's exoneration, but not without a small capital from his friend that will enable him to become a partner on a sugar estate.

For Euphemia Smith, no such recuperation is possible, either in Britain or in Australia. Like Caldigate and Shand, Euphemia Smith's body is also physically marked by her colonial encounters. In London she appears before Caldigate wearing a veil (suggestive both of the impenetrability of the female body and of all that must be disguised or hidden) that effectively conceals the nature of her transformation and her fall in class. When Caldigate requests that she remove it, the spectacle of beauty which the veil is traditionally assumed to conceal is conspicuously absent:

But there she stood, looking at him, and to be looked at,—but without a word. During the whole interview she never once opened her lips. She had lost all her comeliness. It was now nearly seven years since they two had been on the Goldfinder together, and then he had found her very attractive. There was no attraction now. Since those days she had become a slave to gold,—and such slavery is hardly compatible with good looks
in a woman. There she stood,—ready to listen to him, ready to take his money, but determined not to utter a word. (377)

Whereas Caldigate's financial success in the colony reifies the class status assigned to him by birth, Mrs. Smith's success as a gold prospector leads to a degradation in class status and a loss of respectability. Here the idiom of slavery and the nexus of exchange (both of money and of the gaze) invoke the metaphors of prostitution, underscoring both the charges of bigamy against Caldigate and Mrs. Smith's submission as a pawn between men. Malek Alloula argues that within the harem the veil signifies an enclosure of private space, but also an injunction against trespassing that extends it into the public arena. Although she is not physically veiled at her own perjury trial, Mrs. Smith manifests this injunction through a similar stoicism by again refusing to speak and by maintaining an inscrutable countenance that frustrates the gaze of the courtroom spectators.24 Like the FMCES emigrants, she uses silence as a means of empowerment to retain control over her own narrative.

The legal plot that comprises the latter half of John Caldigate and culminates in the return of all three emigrants—John Caldigate, Dick Shand, and Euphemia Smith—revolves around a discrepancy regarding Mrs. Smith's textual identity: her proper name. The damning piece of evidence in Caldigate's bigamy trial is an envelope addressed to "Mrs. Caldigate" and written in his own hand. Unlike the FMCES letters that straddle the gap between home and colony, this epistolary fragment was never supposed to reach Britain. The testimony
provided by the envelope undermines the stability of the empire and constitutes what Deirdre David calls "a counterinvasion of the metropolis" (4), a reversal of the power dynamics of imperialism wherein the mother country is infiltrated by the colony. Because names in Britain form the basis for the system of primogeniture that maintains firm social demarcations, the name on the envelope threatens the foundations of the family, and by extension the nation, by questioning the legitimacy of Caldigate's marriage to Hester Bolton, her name, and his son's rightful inheritance.

This crisis is resolved only through the avid commitment of Bagwax, an exemplary postal worker who proves that the postmark and the postage stamp on the envelope are fraudulent. Like performatives of class aboard emigrant ships, the everyday operations of the post office help to generate and sustain an imagined community. The postal worker performs "the routine ordinary work of the day, seeing that the proper changes were made in all the stamps used during the various hours of the day,—assuring himself that the crosses and letters and figures upon which so much of the civilisation of Europe depended, were properly altered and arranged" (453). The uniformity of the daily practices of the post offices in Britain and throughout the colonies enables this institution to perform and sustain the work of empire. The realization that a postal worker in Sydney has most likely accepted a bribe for manufacturing the false postmark is cause for alarm; as Homi K. Bhabha suggests, it is precisely such "scraps, patches, and rags of daily life" that keep the fabric of the nation intact.
("DissemiNation" 297). It is the postage stamp, bearing the Queen's head, that adumbrates the ineradicable link between the colony and the Crown. As Bagwax asserts, despite the corrupting influences of perjury and bribery, the stamp is the one thing that can be trusted, because "this little queen's-head here can't be untrue" (511).

Despite Bagwax's infinite confidence, however, the ambiguity of such fragmentary evidence heightens the fears of Hester's mother who questions Caldigate's innocence and the extent of the British stronghold: "The Queen! As though she could know whether he be guilty or innocent. What can the Queen know of the manner of his life in foreign parts?" (590) This question underscores a growing anxiety about imperialism in the late Victorian era and a fear that Britain would be unable to contain or police the sprawling empire. The recognition of corruption in institutions like the post office, or even in the lives of middle-class emigrants like Euphemia Smith, suggests that the necessary practices of self-maintenance are not being performed. While Victorians had the testimony of countless emigrants like the governesses whose daily lives at the sites of displacement indicated otherwise,25 they nonetheless began to worry that they could not effectively span such distances.

The fate of Mrs. Smith and her Australian partner Thomas Crinkett—incarceration for three years with hard labor—insinuates that Britain had come full circle since the establishment of a convict colony at Botany Bay. In reinscribing Mrs. Smith into a superfluous position in relation to the nation (in
this case, through her literal marginalization within the confines a prison),
Trollope implies that emigration, like transportation, had failed to stabilize the
empire or to renovate convicts and settlers. The strategic amnesia that enables
Clacy and the FMCES emigrants to memorialize Britain without censure is
absent in Trollope’s account of female emigration. Writing in the late Victorian
period with the benefit of his own personal experience in Australia, Trollope
reproaches the nation for failing to take care of its superfluous classes.

Unlike the more optimistic accounts in the FMCES letters and *A Lady’s Visit to
the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852-53*, the fate of Trollope’s female emigrant in
*John Caldigate* suggests that class and gender inequalities do more than
destabilize the nation they threaten to undermine the very foundations of the
British imperial project. While the governesses’ letters testify to the renovating
power of the colonial to make new identities available to middle-class British
women who are willing to adapt to less rigid social standards in Australia, they
simultaneously acknowledge the impossibility of transporting those identities
back to Britain. Unlike Mrs. Smith, who places a claim on the nation through her
legal accusations against John Caldigate, many of the governesses readily
accepted an increasingly marginalized position in relation to Britain in exchange
for colonial freedom and independence. But Mrs. Smith is unwilling to make
such a bargain, and her return home signifies a protest against her exclusion
from the privileges associated with national identity and allegiance. In Chapter
Three, I discuss the return of two male emigrants whose presence in Britain
similarly counteracts narratives of imperial progress by dramatizing how the influences of colonial life threaten the foundations of the British family, and by extension, the nation. Although Trollope's novel and the FMCES letters differ in their assessments of the success of the colonial project of self-maintenance, both suggest that the rift caused by class and gender inequality within the nation is widened in the context of emigration, creating a space for potentially empowering and often threatening forms of female self-assertion and independence.
Notes

1 From the Family Colonization Loan Society established in 1849 to the British Women's Emigration Association active between 1880 and 1914, the rhetoric of women's religious and moral authority enabled thousands of British women of all classes to emigrate to the settler colonies under the rubric of service to the empire. For an account of these organizations, see Hammerton's *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, Chapters 4 and 6.

2 As early as 1829 Edward Gibbon Wakefield linked emigration with the problems associated with single middle-class women in *A Letter from Sydney*. For a discussion of Wakefield's thesis and for census figures reflecting the population imbalance between the sexes in the 1860s, see Hammerton's *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, Chapter 1. See also the famous debate about "superfluous" women in 1862 between William R. Greg's "Why Are Women Redundant?" and Francis Power Cobbe's "What Shall We Do with Our Old Maids?"

3 Rye and Lewin had slightly different ideas about how best to run their society. Rye envisioned a two-tier system of female emigration that would cater both to well-trained governesses and to lower middle-class women. For Rye, whether or not marriage or domestic service was an inevitable by-product of emigration was irrelevant. However, Lewin, who took over as Honorary Secretary when Rye left the FMCES in 1865 to focus her efforts on juvenile emigration from Britain to Canada, ultimately limited the scope of the society's work by accepting only those middle-class women who were seeking
professional careers in the colonies. For a more detailed account of the formation and development of the FMCES, see Hammerton's *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, Chapter 5.

4 The FMCES assisted women in emigrating to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Russia, Canada, and the United States. I will be focusing on letters written by women who emigrated to Australia and New Zealand, the most common destinations.

5 An article published in *The Times* on April 18, 1850 insisted that the majority of emigrants sent out "should not be mere heaps of pauperism, shovelled from our shores, but fairly selected portions of British society" (quoted in Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen* 98). By manipulating this existing discourses of colonialism, Rye created a new narrative for female emigration.

6 My analysis extends Judith Butler's argument in *Gender Trouble* about the cultural construction of gender to include the category of class. Drawing on Butler's conception of performance, I argue that middle-class identities are constructed through the repetition of a series of regulatory practices that sustain the illusion of a unified self.

7 Pratt argues that women are situated in a position of permanent instability within the nation because "[g]ender hierarchy exists as a deep cleavage in the horizontal fraternity, one that cannot easily be imagined away" ("Women, Literature" 31).
Citations from the FMCES letters are taken both from Clarke's *The Governesses* and from the original manuscript source held by the Fawcett Library. The archival source includes two Letter Books with handwritten page numbers; when citing from the original manuscript I will provide both book and page numbers.

This number is exceptionally small when contrasted to the work of two female emigration schemes of the previous decade, whose combined efforts enabled 1,300 women to emigrate within the short span of only three years. In addition, it pales in comparison to the work of the British Women's Emigration Association, which assisted nearly 20,000 women to emigrate between 1880 and 1914. For more detailed accounts of these figures, see Hammerton's *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, Chapters 4 and 6.

Greg associates the problem of "redundancy" explicitly with women of the upper-middle class who were "too spoiled to purchase love at the expense of luxury" (445-6). Women of the lower classes, he argued, were unlikely to remain single for long because they did not maintain the same elite standards with respect to marriage, while female servants resolved the problem of redundancy by fulfilling their natural roles within the domestic realm.

The FMCES emigrants challenged in a number of ways the neat binary oppositions commonly drawn between voluntary and assisted emigration. As part of "a surplus population" they belong to the category that *The Emigrant's*
Manual labels "Unfit Emigrants"; however, they simultaneously match the description of those emigrants in the opposite category "who seek a new field of exertion as a better means of rising and going forward in the world than they can find at home" (22).

12 Consistent with an emphasis on self-help as opposed to philanthropy, the FMCES gave loans to their emigrants to pay for their passages, with the stipulation that they be repaid within two years and four months. The issue of debt is a recurrent theme in the FMCES letters partly because the emigrants often included payments or requests for extra time to repay their loans.

13 Through governmental emigration schemes in the early part of the century individuals were sometimes taken from the streets to fill quotas on emigrant ships, which consequently became sites of drunkenness and debauchery. The work of the FMCES was thus instrumental in elevating the respectability of female emigration and in distancing it from its earliest associations with convict transportation and prostitution.

14 See Homi K. Bhabha's "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation" for a discussion of how the imperative to forget the violence involved in the nation's past serves to consolidate the national will.

15 The following example from S. W. Silver & Co.'s Handbook for Australia and New Zealand is typical in identifying a resemblance between the Antipodes and Britain: "The immigrant will discover that he has but come to another Britain
over the Line, and that trades and professions similar to those at home are in full exercise there" (96).

16 As Hughes explains, Australian nationalism was also born out of such forgetfulness: "After abolition, you could (silently) reproach your forebears for being convicts. You could not take pride in them, or reproach England for treating them as it did. The cure for this excruciating colonial double bind was amnesia—a national pact of silence" (xii).

17 As Patrick Brantlinger suggests, the energizing myths of Australian emigration—"Arcadian redemption versus social damnation"—left no possibility for return. See Rule of Darkness, Chapter 4.

18 Brantlinger labels the phase of imperialism beginning in the 1880s the "New Imperialism," a stage characterized by the intense rivalries associated with the Scramble for Africa, Asia and the South Pacific.

19 A similar commingling of nostalgia and fear is evident in Charlotte Brontë's Villette when Lucy Snowe, having crossed the English Channel, reflects on her future prospects: "about midnight the voyage ended. I was sorry: yes, I was sorry. My resting-time was past; my difficulties—my stringent difficulties—recommenced. When I went on deck, the cold air and black scowl of night seemed to rebuke me for my presumption in being where I was: the lights of the foreign sea-port town, glimmering round the foreign harbor, met me like unnumbered threatening eyes" (52).
This practice was illegal but it prevented new arrivals from having to spend valuable time and money obtaining a license, which had to be renewed on a monthly basis.

The Emigrant's Manual explicitly defines the privileges that "gentleman emigrants" enjoy: "Their ease and happiness they generally suppose to arise from their capacity for 'roughing it;' but this is an entire mistake: it arises from their ability to come home if they find that emigration does not suit them" (29).

The complexities of the governesses' role within the Victorian family have been carefully articulated by Mary Poovey, but as Anne McClintock notes, such complexities are magnified within a colonial context.

The trope of darkened or yellowed skin is frequently evoked to signify the taint of colonialism in the Victorian novel. See, for example, descriptions of two other returning emigrants, George Talboys in Lady Audley's Secret (36) and Angel Clare in Tess of the d'Urbervilles (313), both of whom bear complexions that are characteristically transformed in the colonies.

Inderpal Grewal similarly links the veil with inscrutability, arguing that the first step toward civilizing the colonies was to see into the harem and through the veil, thereby penetrating the opacity that marked Eastern cultures as "other" while simultaneously creating a transparent populace (50).

Aside from their personal correspondence with friends and family members who emigrated, Victorians had access to emigrants' letters in
newspapers and journals which frequently published such letters as testimonials and as propaganda. See, for example, "A Bundle of Emigrants' Letters."

Trollope traveled extensively in Australia and New Zealand, publishing a travel book based on his experiences in 1873. His son Frederic, whom Trollope visited while in Australia, was the model for the central character in Trollope's short novel Harry Heathcote of Gangoil, which dramatizes the conflicts between squatters and free-selectors in Australia. Although such conflicts are reconciled in the happy ending of this novel, Frederic ultimately failed as a sheep farmer and had to sell his station at a great loss in 1875. Trollope's consequent disappointment may have inflected his more pessimistic vision in John Caldigate of the possibilities of colonization and empire.
CHAPTER THREE

Imperial Anxieties:
Emigration, Crime, and the Fraudulent Family

On Christmas day in 1866, an Australian emigrant arrived in London and claimed to be Roger Charles Doughty Tichborne, Baronet and heir to the Tichborne estates. One of England's oldest families, with estates dating back to the time before William the Conqueror, the Tichborne family of Hampshire had recently mourned the death of Roger's father, Sir James Tichborne. Until the emigrant's arrival, the family had believed that Roger, the eldest son, had been lost at sea off the coast of South America in 1854. Only Lady Tichborne, Roger's mother, maintained the hope that her son might have survived the wreck of the emigrant ship, Bella.

Eager to believe the rumors that circulated in England in 1854 and again in 1857 that there had been survivors from the wreck who had been taken to Australia, Lady Tichborne placed advertisements for her son in The Times in 1863 in English, French, and Spanish. When these failed to yield any results, she decided in May of 1865 to hire a detective in Sydney to look for her son. The advertisements that Arthur Cubitt subsequently placed in local newspapers caught the attention of an Australian attorney, William Gibbes, who approached his client Thomas Castro, a butcher whom he suspected of being Tichborne. Gibbes's suspicions were based on the fact that his client had made passing references to having property in England and to having survived a shipwreck,
and also that Castro smoked a pipe carved with the initials R. C. T. Despite Castro's initial reluctance to come forward, Gibbes, who may have been motivated by the advertisement's promise of a liberal reward, convinced his client to write to Lady Tichborne and identify himself. This correspondence initiated what would become a long struggle to prove that Castro was Roger Tichborne, and thereafter he became famous under an illustrious title—the Tichborne Claimant.

In the first of many letters to Lady Tichborne, the Claimant alluded to identifying features which would ensure his mother that he was indeed her lost son. He writes: "Mr. Gibbs suggest to me as essential That I should recall to your Memory things which can be only known to you and me to convince you of my Identity. I don't thing it needful, my dear Mother, although I send them Namely the Brown Mark on my side And the Card Case at Brighton" (Woodruff 44-5).

Ironically, although Lady Tichborne had no recollection of the latter testimonial and only vague recollections of the former, evidence from servants suggests that Roger was born with a birthmark on his side. Yet Lady Tichborne was convinced, not by this mark, but by a photograph sent by Gibbes and by the handwriting and the general tenor of the Claimant's letter. As a result, she eventually sent the passage money so that the Claimant and his family could return to England to meet her face to face. In the meantime, the Claimant was recognized by two ex-servants of the Tichborne family who were living in
Sydney, Andrew Bogle, who returned to England with the Claimant, and Michael Guilfoyle, a gardener who later withdrew his recognition.

In the days following the Claimant's return to England, he went to Paris and met with Lady Tichborne, who immediately claimed him as her lost son, Roger. In subsequent weeks, the Claimant was repudiated by other members of Roger's extended family who believed him to be an imposter. The confusion instigated by these conflicting testimonials resulted in two trials, one a civil action for the possession of the Tichborne estates in 1871-2, and the second a criminal trial in 1873 wherein the Claimant was charged with perjury. The latter, which lasted 188 days, was the longest British trial on record. The evidence presented was problematized by the potentially mercenary investments that various family members were accused of harboring. While the Claimant was described by the prosecution as an imposter driven by greed, the defense argued that the family members who disavowed Roger did so not because he was an imposter, but because he had humiliated the family by choosing to lead a humble lifestyle in Australia. For a period of roughly seven years from the Claimant's arrival in London until the end of the criminal trial, these contradictions captured the popular imagination. It was not until February 1874 that he was finally sentenced to fourteen years of penal servitude.

Writing in the months prior to the conclusion of the criminal trial, *The Graphic* describes the Claimant's fate as a matter of utmost importance: "the gentlemen of the jury . . . are expected to do for the nation what we are afraid we should never
be able to do for ourselves—viz., arrive at a satisfactory and conclusive verdict 
upon one of the most bewildering questions of identity which have ever been 
submitted to human judgment” ("Topics” Feb. 14, 1874). Figured as a large-scale 
crisis, the difficulty of ascertaining the Claimant's true identity is not merely a 
familial issue, but a national one as well. Determining who belongs in the family 
also has critical ramifications for who belongs in the nation, since Victorian 
political thinkers held “that the authority relations of the household were a 
microcosm of the state: disorder in one boded ill for the stability of the other” 
(Tosh 3). In Chapter One, I discussed how the family functions in emigrant 
guides and in pro-emigration rhetoric as a disciplinary unit capable of promoting 
a system of national colonization that allows for safe passages and successful 
settlement. In this chapter, by contrast, I look at how returned emigrants 
threaten the Victorian family by importing into its arenas, and into the nation, 
the fluidity associated with identity confusion and masquerade.

In the first part of this chapter I discuss George Talboys's return in Mary 
Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* as a fictional account of the identity 
destabilization and imperial anxieties that are raised by the Australian emigrant's 
return to Britain. In subsequent pages, I return to the case of the Tichborne 
Claimant to analyze how the structure of sensationalism impacted upon the trials 
and upon the kinds of attempts that were made to ascertain the Claimant's 
identity. Published four years prior to the return of the Tichborne Claimant and 
the scandals that ensued, Braddon's novel anticipates many of the cultural
anxieties that are later raised by the trial. I argue that the novel creates a link between familial and national concerns by mirroring the problems that arise within the family as a consequence of George Talboys's emigration to Australia with recurrent anxieties about the state of the nation and the empire more generally. While most criticism of the novel focuses on the heroine, Lady Audley, as the locus for the novel's anxieties about identity, my discussion centers around the (often absent) figure of George Talboys, whose emigration highlights specific family problems raised by the practices of imperialism and initiates a crisis of identity that I suggest rivals Lady Audley's own.

In her recent discussion of Victorian female emigration, Rita S. Kranidis contends that Victorian texts are often "dominated and structured by the issues that surface within them only as marginal concerns" (18). Indeed, representations of emigration are rarely given central prominence in the plots of Victorian novels; instead, emigrants like George Talboys often occupy marginal roles, appearing from or disappearing into the colonies at timely moments and in ways that work to further plots or to provide resolutions that might not otherwise have been possible (Anthony Trollope's John Caldigate is one clear exception).1 During the trials of the Tichborne Claimant, however, issues that are marginalized in Lady Audley's Secret and other Victorian novels are brought into the mainstream of Victorian culture. By reading the novel and the trials in relation to one another, I endeavor to show that the sensation novel not only creates the conditions for the favorable reception of the Claimant's story, but also
that it anticipates the cultural anxieties that surface in the trials by showing how
emigration destabilizes the foundations of the family, and by extension, the
nation.

**Emigration and the crisis of "innocent bigamy"**

As I have suggested in Chapter Two, the destabilization of identity that was a
characteristic feature of Australian life was a source of great anxiety in Britain.
For female emigrants like Euphemia Smith, such instability often arose in
conjunction with colonial marriage. The popularity of "diggers' weddings"
(Clacy 23), or unions abruptly forged at the Australian gold fields, contributes to
the laissez-faire attitude toward marriage that is cultivated in the colony. Such
an attitude is satirized in Ellen Clacy's memoir of the Australian gold rush; she
writes that "[a]lthough railroads are as yet unknown in Australia, everything
goes on at railway speed; and a marriage concocted one day is frequently
solemnized the next" (46). The levity attached to marriage in a colony where
"bridal veils, white kid gloves, and, above all, orange blossoms are generally
most difficult to procure at any price" (Clacy 23), might help to account for the
ambiguity surrounding Euphemia Smith's charges of bigamy in Trollope's *John
Caldigate*. Despite the fact that Caldigate eventually receives the Queen's pardon
following his conviction, the evidence associated both with the bigamy trial and
with his reprieve is highly ambiguous. The novel's marriage plots thus instigate
the identity crises that afflict both John Caldigate and Euphemia Smith, and they
also create family problems that are magnified on a national scale through the intervention of the law.

In addition to marriage, economic circumstances, especially for male emigrants, often contribute to the destabilization of identity in the Antipodes. James Hammerton notes that "[f]or young emigrants the act of emigration itself could trigger social mobility, and this of course was a constant theme in emigration propaganda" ("Out of Their Natural Station" 152). This theme is evident in an emigration guide that makes the claim that "[i]n the mere money balance, a man in England with a clear £500 a-year is just nobody; but a man in New Zealand with this income would just be himself and somebody else too" (Hursthouse 91). The doubleness resulting from such upward mobility is suggestive of status accrued both through economic success and through marriage. The addition of a wife as the "somebody else too" offers one reading of the passage. Another, however, involves the more sinister form of masquerade that enables the Tichborne Claimant to embody two personas at once: he is a butcher in from Wagga Wagga, Australia, and a titled gentleman from Hampshire, England.

The implication for masquerade in the context of colonial emigration suggests that, as in the case of Euphemia Smith, social mobility in Australia had potentially dangerous consequences for Britain. In fact, the Victorians upheld a double standard with respect to the advantages to be gained through emigration; while the potential for social mobility, whether through marriage or economic
success, often featured prominently in propaganda about Australia, such mobility was valued only if it did not infiltrate British social systems. According to the logic of imperialist progress, "emigrants must not return, after all, and the horizon must be expanded outward in a linear progression, broadening the scope of the empire" (Kranidis 126). In Trollope’s *Harry Heathcote of Gangoil*, Mary Heathcote exhibits a characteristic but uncertain hope regarding her prospects for return; envisioning a future time when her baby son will have grown up, she tentatively asks her husband a question that equates mobility with return: "By that time, Harry, you will have got rich, and we shall all be in England—shan’t we?" (9). Although Trollope doesn’t represent such an outcome, the historical record offers contradictory evidence regarding the likelihood of such a return.

J. S. Tait, author of an emigration guide for the middle classes, writes that “[n]o mistake in life is so fatal as an error in emigration. A return is scarcely possible. Where an emigrant goes there he must stay, whatever the conditions” (2). By contrast, Charles Hursthouse insists that return presents few obstacles for middle-class men:

if it turned out that any of them did not like the life, they would return for good; they would have tried the thing at comparatively insignificant cost of time and money—they would only be a year or so older in age, but *many* years older in good, useful experience and expansion of ideas; and they would now be better satisfied, more inclined to make the best
of anything offering in England. (94)

Hursthouse's comments suggest that gender, class, and age play key roles in determining who can return, especially since saving money to pay for a passage back home was often a substantial impediment. Whereas middle-class men, according to Hursthouse, can easily spare the time and expense involved, this was certainly not the case for middle-class women, as we have seen in the previous chapter. However, regardless of the obstacles involved, evidence suggests that compared to Scotland, Ireland, and other parts of Europe, England and Wales had an unusually high rate of return: "of the 4,675,100 who left England and Wales between 1853 and 1900 only about 2,250,000 were permanent migrants" (Woods 310).

The emigrant's return and the ways in which subsequent identity crises impinged upon both the family and the nation was thematized in 1862 not only in Lady Audley's Secret, but also in Great Expectations. Charles Dickens's novel, published five years after the abolition of the sentence of transportation, explores the consequences of this practice by detailing Abel Magwitch's return to Britain and the deleterious consequences it has for Pip and his family. As Coral Lansbury notes, the optimistic picture of Australian reformation that Dickens paints in David Copperfield is substantially darkened in his later representation of the convict's return from Australia: "Superficially, Magwitch had been reformed in New South Wales—he was at least a man of property on his return to England—but Magwitch dies in prison, a convict to the last" (149). Great Expectations
highlights the danger inherent in the social mobility that enables Magwitch quite literally to become "himself and somebody else too" when the returned convict explains to Pip the means through which this doubling occurs: "it was a recompense to me, look 'ee here, to know in secret that I was making a gentleman... If I ain't a gentleman, nor yet ain't go no learning, I'm the owner of such" (300). While Magwitch's success in Australia is phenomenal, the logic of imperialism dictates that such upward mobility is good for the empire only if successful colonists, and especially ex-convicts, keep their distance from Britain. Magwitch's transgression, then, resides not in the fact that he gains access to wealth, but that he also seeks the corollary status that accrues to wealth at home in Britain by creating his protégé, Pip.

While Dickens's representation of the dangers associated with transportation in Great Expectations undoubtedly helped indelibly to connect emigration and crime in the Victorian popular imagination, the increasing popularity after mid-century of middle-class emigration and colonial settlement for all classes helped to reform the image of emigration, particularly for women. However, despite these changing attitudes, the linkage of emigration and crime continued to evoke anxieties about imperialism even after transportation was abolished in 1857 (and despite its continuing practice until 1867). After mid-century, when free settlers, as opposed to convicts, began to populate Australia and other settlement colonies in greater numbers, new anxieties about imperialism and the destabilization of identity began to surface in Victorian literature and culture.
Such an anxiety is evident in Catherine Helen Spence's *Clara Morison* when the titular heroine is warned against the risks a single woman must be attuned to in the Antipodes: "Girls should be very careful who they marry in a place like this, for there are many men who have a wife in each of these colonies, besides one in England" (1: 204).³

While bigamy is figured here as a corollary to imperial expansion, an 1874 edition of *The Graphic* identifies a more subtle version of this crime, which it refers to as "unintentional bigamy." The column elaborates on several cases involving individuals who remarried after their spouses were presumed to be lost at sea or killed in the colonies, only to subsequently discover that their spouses were living and that they themselves were bigamists:

> Bigamy is one of those offences which may imply consummate villainy, or may be undeserving of the mildest punishment known to the law. With the blacker phase of this offence every one is familiar, and none would wish, so long as monogamy exists, to see a jot of its penalty abated. Of what may be termed innocent bigamy, some curious instances have recently been reported, and the several stories demand a few moments of consideration. ("Topics" Feb. 21, 1874)

Perceived here as a growing problem associated with the expansion of the British empire, bigamy, whether "innocent" or not, is a phenomenon that is everywhere evident in the Victorian novel, not only in the spate of bigamy novels published in the 1860s, but throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴
Probably the most famous literary representation of the linkage between bigamy and imperialism involves the proposed marriage between Edward Fairfax Rochester and Jane Eyre. Although Jane escapes from the threat of bigamy when her suitor's secret is revealed, the novel questions the extent to which Rochester is accountable for his attempts to deceive Jane and his wife, Bertha Mason. Rochester's confession of guilt is coupled by a plea that Jane (and the reader) judge him compassionately: "Bigamy is an ugly word!—I meant, however, to be a bigamist: but fate has outmanoeuvred me; or Providence has checked me... You shall see what sort of a being I was cheated into espousing, and judge whether or not I had a right to break the compact, and seek sympathy with something at least human" (Brontë 326). Although Jane refuses to become Rochester's partner in this crime, her involvement in the novel's bigamy plot leads to a predictable pattern wherein her identity is compromised. Immediately after she escapes from Thornfield, Jane adopts an alias which initiates a crisis of identity that is not resolved until St. John discovers her real name and she subsequently recognizes her true desires respecting Rochester.

In Lady Audley's Secret, the titular heroine, like Rochester, similarly rationalizes her bigamous second marriage by insisting that "I have a right to think that [George Talboys] is dead, or that he wishes me to believe him dead, and his shadow shall not stand between me and prosperity" (354). Yet whereas Rochester's crime is pardoned within the logic of the plot (Jane forgives him even before she learns of Bertha Mason's death), Lady Audley is severely punished for
her transgression when she is exiled to a maison de santé in a chapter suggestively titled "Buried Alive." By contrast, Rochester, like John Caldigate, is free to remarry after Bertha's death, and like Caldigate, he is tentatively reassimilated into the domestic realm. The similarity of these two instances suggests that the important question is not simply whether bigamy is intentional or not, but rather, who the victim is. When the victim is a "colonial" and a woman, like Bertha Mason or Euphemia Smith (who is troped as a colonial woman and a foreigner once she arrives in Australia), bigamy is presumably excusable, whereas when the victim is a member of the British aristocracy the punishment is far less merciful.

Identity and the other end of the world

In Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*, as in *John Caldigate*, the hero returns to Britain, complete with a fortune gleaned at the gold diggings, with the intention to settle down into an idealized domestic life. In each case, bigamy disrupts these intentions and raises questions about each protagonist's identity. Just as Caldigate dreams of Hester Bolton while in the wilds of Australia, George Talboys is sustained throughout his trials at the diggings by the memory of his beloved wife: "I clung to the memory of my darling, and the trust that I had in her love and truth, as the one keystone that kept the fabric of my past life together—the one star that lit the thick black darkness of the future" (21). George's domestic life, and his relationship with his wife in particular, is figured
here as central to his own self-definition. This is consistent with John Tosh's recent claim that domesticity was a critical component of masculine identity for most of the nineteenth century, since "home was widely held to be a man's place, not only in the sense of being his possession and fiefdom, but also as the place where his deepest needs were met" (1). Lacking a home of his own and mortified by the birth of a son who would be "heir to his father's poverty" (19), George sets his sights on Australia in hopes that he might succeed in gaining the means to provide for his family. At the diggings, he envisions his wife as the embodiment of portable domesticity, "under [his] wretched canvas tent, sitting by [his] side, with her boy in her arms" (22). Yet his own failure to engage in strategies of self-maintenance that would allow him to retain his ties to the domestic life he reverences causes him to lose his family, and subsequently, the means of his self-definition. Although he is in Australia for three and a half years, George never sends a letter home, a strategy that was quite crucial for the FMCES emigrants, and his wife accordingly presumes herself deserted.

The dissolution of identity that George experiences is ongoing at the Australian gold diggings, and it becomes evident in a moment of alarming self-recognition that he describes to a fellow passenger aboard the homeward bound Argus: "I was in the centre of riot, drunkenness, and debauchery; but the purifying influence of my love kept me safe from all. Thin and gaunt, the half-starved shadow of what I once had been, I saw myself one day in a broken bit of looking-glass, and was frightened of my own face" (21). Unlike the governesses I
discuss in the previous chapter, whose shipboard mirrors serve to reflect back
the evidence of their successful self-maintenance, George's mirror reveals an
alarming transformation that is symbolic of the extent to which his identity has
been compromised by his experiences in the Antipodes. Despite his assumption
that his love renders him impervious to the influences that surround him, the
mirror indicates that George is indeed altered. Likewise, his sudden departure
from England and his failure to write home create a window of opportunity for
his wife to change as well; in the interim between his departure and return,
Helen Talboys famously "sink[s] her identity" by transforming herself into Lucy
Graham and then into Lucy Audley (271). Although George experiences self-
reproach regarding "the recollection of that desertion which must have seemed
so cruel to her who waited and watched at home!" (241), his remorse comes too
late, and he returns to Britain oblivious to the fact that his prospects for a
domestic reunion have already been blighted.

The superficial transformation through which George becomes a "shadow of
what [he] once had been" is an important and persistent trope in Victorian
representations of emigration, which often thematize the dissolution of identity
in purely physical terms. In A Tramp to the Diggings: Being Notes of a Ramble in
Australia and New Zealand in 1852, John Shaw, M.D., describes the inevitable
physical effects of emigration that he has witnessed among emigrants during his
travels in the Antipodes. Not surprisingly, the characteristic feature Shaw
identifies is consistent with what George sees when he looks at his own
reflection, and it involves the wasting away of a healthy English complexion:

In society the native Australian (of course I mean the whites, not the
aborigines,) is a most agreeable person . . . Both men and women, however,
lose that healthy look which is ever characteristic of an English face; the
colour goes, and the cheek shrinks, with the skin either wrinkled or loose,
and assumes a coarse or sun-burnt aspect. (226-7)

The bodily transformation Shaw describes is a familiar marker of colonial contact
in the Victorian novel. The trope of darkened or yellowed skin is most
frequently evoked to signify the taint of colonialism, a taint associated in Britain
with fears of both class and racial degradation.\(^7\) Shaw is careful to avoid a racial
stigma by subsequently identifying causal agents that bring on the bodily
degeneration he describes (excessive drinking and smoking) and by
differentiating between white settlers and Aborigines. But the remarkable
slippage whereby the former become the "native Australians" suggests the (often
violent) abruptness of the physical and psychic transformations emigrants had to
undergo in making the transition from home to colony.

Through such transformations, the violence of displacement and colonial
contact gets written on the emigrant body, signaling visually the kinds of
identity crises that often follow in lieu of the emigrant's return to Britain. For
example, Trollope's John Caldigate and Dick Shand wear characteristically
colonial complexions when they return, as does George Talboys, whose skin is
described as "dark bronze" in color when he arrives in London (36). However, George also speaks to his friend Robert Audley of physical manifestations of the psychic pain associated with emigration that are not always visible to the unknowing observer:

Do you know, Bob . . . that when some of our fellows were wounded in India, they came home bringing bullets inside them. They did not talk of them, and they were stout and hearty, and looked as well, perhaps, as you or I; but every change in the weather, however slight, brought back the old agony of their wounds as sharp as ever they had felt it on the battle-field. I've had my wound, Bob; I carry the bullet still, and I shall carry it into my coffin. (49)

Likening his grief for his wife's death to a physical wound that never heals, George aligns his own colonial experience and its consequences with that of British soldiers who were presumably wounded in battle during the Indian Mutiny. Unlike the obvious changes in complexion that make apparent the transformations wrought by emigration, the hidden wounds George invokes here highlight an important disjunction between reality and appearance that is far more subversive. The hidden wounds stand in for the secrets associated with colonialism that the Victorians sought to repress, secrets involving crime and bigamy (embodied in the return of fictional emigrants like Abel Magwitch, Bertha Mason, and Euphemia Smith), as well as violence (signified here by oblique reference to the Indian Mutiny). The implied disjunction in this passage
between imperial expansion and the realities of colonial violence parallels the
disjunction between the knowable and the unknowable aspects of an individual's
identity.

Similar ambiguities about the wounds of displacement are highlighted by the
presence aboard the *Argus* of Miss Morley, a 35-year-old governess who is on her
way home to marry a man to whom she has been engaged for fifteen years.
Given that she travels first class and carries with her a savings accrued in
Australia, Miss Morley has presumably achieved a measure of financial success
in the colony. Yet she returns without the optimism that George Talboys, with
his £20,000 fortune, initially enjoys. In a reversal of the paradigm wherein female
passengers lament the ending of the voyage out and the future uncertainties it
brings, Miss Morley dreads the moment in which she will finally arrive in
Britain. Imagining a litany of problems that could result from the ways in which
both she and her husband have changed during the lengthy interval between her
departure for Australia and her return home, she cannot envision her future
marriage or her reassimilation into normative British life. Ten days before the
*Argus* is expected to reach land, the governess expresses her fears to her friend
and fellow passenger, George Talboys: "I wonder, looking back, to think how
hopeful I was when the vessel sailed . . . but for this last month of the voyage,
day by day, and hour by hour, my heart sinks, and my hopeful fancies fade
away, and I dread the end as much as if I knew that I was going to England to
attend a funeral" (17). Miss Morley's dread highlights the gendering of colonial
redemption, especially when read in conjunction with George Talboys's optimism. Although she assures George that her story is "an exceptional case" the testimony of the FMCES governesses and the fate of Euphemia Smith suggest otherwise. When George defensively informs his companion that "your terrors have nothing to do with me" (18), he ironically underscores his own complicity in upholding the gendered double standard that allows him to desert his wife and expect to nonetheless find her waiting at home unchanged.

As evidence of his miscalculation, however, the dissolution of George's identity is emphasized in descriptions of his position aboard the Argus, where "nobody knew who or what he was, or where he came from, but every body liked him" (14). The extent to which he has changed in the interim between his departure and his return is signaled by his status aboard ship: he travels out to Australia in steerage, but returns a first-class passenger. Yet rather than frame this upward mobility in a positive light, Braddon pointedly undermines her hero's success, critiquing his abandonment of Helen Talboys "in the pursuit of a fortune which she never lived to share" (47). The penalty George pays for this infidelity is figured through the sense of rootlessness that causes him to endure a series of successive displacements that follow on the heels of his Australian emigration. Immediately after he arrives in London and learns of his wife's death, George vows to Robert Audley that he will leave Britain, recognizing that reassimilation will be impossible: "I shall set sail in the very next vessel that leaves Liverpool for Australia. I shall be better in the diggings or the backwoods
than ever I could be here. I'm broken for a civilised life from this hour, Bob" (45). Because his identity is tied to his domestic role as a provider for his family, it is not surprising that the supposed death of his wife intensifies his crisis of identity. Yet his misfortune is figured here as a "domestic" failure in a dual sense, with the implication that in leaving again he fails not only his family, but also his nation.

Before he emigrates for a second time, George asks his friend Robert to be his son's guardian. Although he continues to provide for him financially, George's efforts to ingratiate himself with his son fail, signaling his exiled position outside of the family: "He always went loaded with toys and sweetmeats to give to the child; but, for all this, Georgey would not become very familiar with his papa, and the young man's heart sickened as he began to fancy that even his child was lost to him" (49-50). Ultimately, George's identity crisis progresses up until the climax that results in his disappearance. This occurs when Lady Audley attempts to efface George's identity as she has effaced her own by watching him "sink with one horrible cry into the black mouth of the well" (394). When he miraculously gets out alive, thanks to his experience in the Australian mines, he is wholly unrecognizable. Mr. Marks, who looks after George in his dazed state, taxes his mother to remember their unusual guest: "Do you remember my bringin' home a gentleman . . . as was wet through the skin, and was covered with mud and slush, and green slime and black muck . . . and was such a objeck that nobody would ha' known him? . . . and didn't know where he was, or who he was" (419). Having left behind all that might define him, including the Army,
his wife and son, and his friend, Robert, George is "gone mad or stupid-like" (419), a condition that echoes Lady Audley's supposed madness in the face of her crisis of identity.

Despite his determination to return to Australia, however, George never carries out this resolution, opting instead to board a ship bound for America. His choice of destination is important since it suggests the extent to which his national identity is compromised by his initial displacement. In nineteenth-century emigration guides, the United States, and often Canada, are represented as problematic destinations, insofar as these locales threaten the British emigrant's sense of national allegiance. Emigrants are often figured in the rhetoric of such guides as valuable cultural capital; by extension, emigration to the United States signifies the waste of capital, as the following tract makes clear:

Year after year we have gone on giving the bone and sinew of our people to increase the strength of a rival confederation, not always animated by the best or kindest feelings towards our country. The United States have thriven with unexampled rapidity on the hosts of sturdy labourers who have swarmed over to their ports, to escape from the poverty and destitution which awaited them in the battle of life at home [in Britain]. (Tracts: Canada: The Land of Hope 3)

Whereas emigration to Australia presumably strengthens the bonds of empire by directing emigrant labor toward the settlement of Britain's colonial possessions
and the expansion of the empire, emigration to the United States weakens these bonds and allows the cultural capital of emigrant labor to be permanently lost.

Given these contemporary associations, we might read George's subsequent emigration to America as an emblem of his weakened allegiances to Britain. His decision to exchange his berth on the Victoria Regia, an emigrant ship bound for Melbourne and aptly named for Britain's queen, for one bound for New York might be read as a second desertion, this time of his queen and his home country. In addition to suggesting George's rootlessness—he no longer belongs in Britain or in Australia—this change of plans signifies the apex of an identity crisis that culminates in his sudden and mysterious disappearance. The fact that he travels under an alias, Thomas Brown, makes him impossible to trace and renders Robert's advertisements in The Times fruitless.

As I have said earlier, Kranidis argues that the colonies function in Victorian discourse as entities of "relative value" that are constantly redefined to suit the ideological and material needs of the mother country (59). George's emigration, and the empire more broadly construed, function in Lady Audley's Secret as the catalysts that instigate the development of the novel's secrets—Lady Audley's crimes of impersonation, bigamy, and attempted murder. However, emigration and empire also function in the novel as the means through which the problems caused by these secrets might be resolved. As one Victorian reviewer sarcastically notes of Braddon's œuvre, "It is a peculiarity of Miss Braddon's heroes and heroines that they are always ready to abandon wife, children, and
home, and to proceed at a moment's notice either to Australia or America" (Rae 103). As the site for escape or for exile, for brashly seeking fortunes or for quietly sinking into obscurity, these distant locales exert a kind of invisible agency in the plot of *Lady Audley's Secret*. Contrast, for example, the differences between George's motivations each time he emigrates. The first time, he goes to Australia filled with expectations, "to try [his] fortune in a new world" (21). When he emigrates to America, by contrast, he goes "a broken-hearted man, to seek some corner of the earth in which [he] may live and die unknown and forgotten" (421).

Although George Talboys is the sole emigrant in the novel, almost all the major characters contemplate following in his footsteps at one point or another, including Lady Audley, Robert Audley, Clara Talboys, and Alicia Audley. Going "to the end of the world" (363), whether on a mission to find George Talboys or as a means of facilitating Sir Michael Audley's recovery, is imagined both as a means of escape and as a means of displacing or resolving the problems brought on by the novel's secrets. Lady Audley, for instance, contemplates disappearing as George did, but her anxieties about doing so underscore the difficulties attached to female emigration: "But where could I go? What would become of me? . . . What could I do?" (316). Likewise, Clara Talboys alludes to the envious mobility men possess when she asserts that "[i]f I were a man, I would go to Australia, and find [George], and bring him back" (439).

Robert, on the other hand, who does have access to such mobility, conceives of emigration as a means of escaping from the responsibilities associated with
following the growing chain of evidence regarding his friend’s disappearance where he knows it will lead him: to Lady Audley. Torn between his desire for justice and his love for his uncle, Robert contemplates a prospect that merely substitutes one form of allegiance, familial, over another, national: "If I could let the matter rest; if—if I could leave England for ever, and purposely fly from the possibility of ever coming across another clue to the secret, I would do it—I would gladly, thankfully do it—but I cannot!" (172). The impossibility of evading what he perceives to be the stronger claim upon him, his commitment to justice, compels Robert to substitute Lady Audley’s exile for his escape; “let [her] go away,” Robert warns Mr. Maldon, "[she] shall not be pursued" (173). Ultimately, this is exactly how Robert resolves the problem of Lady Audley’s guilt and his own complicity in its revelation. Fearing the spectacle that must attend upon a murder trial, Robert single-handedly punishes Lady Audley by displacing her into the realm of the foreign.

Allusions to journeying "to the end of the world" in *Lady Audley’s Secret* are often multi-valent, and they take on enhanced significance when read in juxtaposition with other Victorian texts that exhibit similar preoccupations, however obliquely. A pertinent example of one such text is Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), which has recently been revisited by critics interested in reading it allegorically within the historical context of British imperialism.⁹ Indeed, the initiation of Alice’s journey is described in a passage that includes a veiled allusion to Antipodal emigration:
'I wonder if I shall fall right through the earth! How funny it'll seem to come out among the people that walk with their heads downwards! The antipathies, I think—'(she was rather glad there was no one listening, this time, as it didn't sound at all the right word) '—but I shall have to ask them what the name of the country is, you know.

Please Ma'am, is this New Zealand? Or Australia?' (8-9)

This moment in Carroll's text very closely approximates Robert's assessment of George's disappearance after his encounter with Lady Audley; Robert exclaims that "I parted from him alive and well; and lost him as suddenly and unaccountably as if a trap-door had opened in the solid earth, and let him through to the Antipodes!" (151). Read allegorically, this passage from Alice's Adventures neatly thematizes several related anxieties associated with colonial emigration and imperial expansion. In particular, Alice's telltale substitution of "antipathies" for "Antipodes" underscores the often paradoxical nature of the relationship between Britain and the colonies, wherein they are alternately valued and disavowed. In addition, Alice's passage into Wonderland almost immediately initiates a crisis of identity that spurs her to ask, "'[w]ho in the world am I?' Ah, that's the great puzzle!" (15). This puzzle, generated in response to the otherness of the colonies (an otherness figured here by "people who walk with their heads downwards"), is also crucial to the resolution of Lady Audley's Secret.
Recentering the family circle

In a famous passage from *Great Expectations*, Mr. Wemmick defines the value of portable property:

these are all gifts of that kind. One brings another, you see; that's the way of it. I always take 'em. They're curiosities. And they're property. They may not be worth much, but, after all, they're property and portable. It don't signify to you with your brilliant look-out, but as to myself, my guiding-star always is, Get hold of portable property. (187)

Wemmick's home in Walworth, "got hold of a bit at a time" is "a freehold" that allows him to capitalize on the benefits of such portability (194). Like Mr. Peggotty's boathouse, Wemmick's castle is represented as an idyllic, insular, and delightfully quirky home. Yet it is also highly functional, working to protect the privacy of Wemmick's personal life and the sacredness of his family. Fortified by a moat and a working drawbridge, the design of the castle offers Wemmick a way to "cut off the communication" and thereby protect against the encroachments of the world beyond the family (192). Unlike Audley Court, whose "broad outer moat was dry and grass-grown" (3), Wemmick's suburban castle symbolizes the middle-class values of privacy and seclusion.

Braddon's novel ends by privileging such values with a configuration of the family circle that "reestablishes middle-class life and middle-class morality at the expense of the two extremes" (Michie, *Sororophobia* 71). After exchanging his bachelorhood for middle-class marriage, Robert Audley fulfills his "dream of a
fairy cottage . . . where, amid a little forest of foliage, there is a fantastical
dwelling-place of rustic woodwork, whose latticed windows look out upon the
river" (445). Rather than marrying his cousin, Alicia, and sustaining the
aristocratic lifestyle associated with Audley Court, Robert elects not to make the
kind of advantageous "bargain" that Sir Michael and Lady Audley make when
they marry (11). Instead, he chooses Clara and marries for love. He also
becomes industrious in his professional life, and when we last see him in this
capacity he is prosecuting a breach of promise suit, having presumably become a
staunch defender of the institution of marriage. Although he is accused by
Harcourt Talboys of having "paltered with the laws of [his] country" in his
supposedly lenient treatment of Lady Audley (434), Robert's work as a barrister
neatly resolves the previous conflicts he has had between his personal, familial
obligations and his professional ones.

Anne Cvetkovich argues that the novel's happy ending is undercut, however,
by the fact that "[i]n Lady Audley's Secret, the family is not a refuge from problems
that occur elsewhere, but a suddenly healed instance of an institution that has
been riddled by conflict throughout the narrative" (53). However, I contend that
the domestic idyll represented in the final chapter is not merely a "healed
instance" or a repetition of the familial models represented in the rest of the
novel, but rather, that it represents a departure to a new style of domesticity. In
other words, I suggest that the fairy cottage on the Thames, with its extended
portable family, is convincing precisely because it stands in opposition to other
forms of failed domesticity in the novel. As in David Copperfield, where Mr. Peggotty's boathouse is represented as an idyllic home precisely because it is atypical, the fairy cottage in Lady Audley's Secret is equally successful because it is not bound by the rigid conventions or expectations that govern other homes and families in the novel. According to middle-class Victorian ideals, "[i]f companionate marriage and the raising of children were to flourish, so went the common wisdom, they needed not only space but seclusion. The 'family circle' beloved of the didactic writers was intimate and inward-looking" (Tosh 28).

Robert and Clara's retreat certainly embodies this ideal of seclusion and intimacy—echoing the trio of husband, wife, and baby idealized in The Last of England—but their family circle is simultaneously capacious enough to embrace extended family members. In addition to offering a place for George Talboys, Robert and Clara's home is a haven for their frequent guests, including Georgey, Sir Michael Audley, Alicia Audley, and Sir Harry Towers.

By contrast to this portable family, instances of failed domesticity in Braddon's novel are evident across class lines; Audley Court and Squire Talboys's home in Dorsetshire offer aristocratic examples, while Captain Maldon's home at Southampton and the Marks's Castle Inn offer examples from among the lower classes. Framed in the opening and closing chapters by descriptions of two homes, Audley Court and the fairy cottage, Lady Audley's Secret invites the reader to generate comparisons between the different domestic modes. These comparisons, in turn, highlight the excessiveness of Britain's domestic ideals,
which are constantly undermined by the presence of single women, like the
deserted Helen Talboys, and disavowed or second sons, like George Talboys, for
whom the family cannot (or will not) provide. Unable to sustain the pressures
created by such contradictions in domestic ideology, *Lady Audley's Secret* reveals
the flaws inherent in family life and offers an alternative possibility in the fairy
cottage on the Thames.

George Talboys's relation to this domestic idyll as a third party to the
marriage of his sister and his dear friend has been the subject of much critical
commentary, which has focused on the homoerotic dynamics that inform this
triangulated relationship, wherein Clara appears merely to be a pawn between
the two men. Indeed, George attributes his return home from America as well
as his rootlessness to his longing for the fellowship he shared with Robert, a
longing which is mediated through another woman, in this case Helen Talboys:
"I might have made plenty of friends had I pleased, but I carried the old bullet in
my breast; and what sympathy could I have with men who knew nothing of my
grief? I yearned for the strong grasp of your hand, Bob; the friendly touch of the
hand which had guided me through the darkest passage of my life" (444).

George's ambiguous position within this domestic idyll contributes to Braddon's
efforts to reconfigure the family circle for strategic purposes.

It is important that George Talboys is absorbed into the middle-class idyll not
through the marriage plot, which is ultimately the means for John Caldigate's
reassimilation, but through the agency of portable domesticity. Exchanging his
journeys aboard emigrant ships for the "slender wherries" in which he and
Robert traverse the Thames (445), George is accommodated into the British
family as an avuncular figure whose homosocial relation to the marriage plot is
simultaneously liberating and threatening. In her study of the place of uncles in
Victorian literature, Eileen Cleere argues that "a model of the extended family—
especially and most significantly a model of the avunculate—was often
implemented by Victorian writers to highlight the inadequacies of paternalistic
and affective family paradigms" (14). While George's position as an adjunct to
the family certainly serves such a purpose, it is also important to note, as Cleere
does, that the trope of the avunculate is not strictly benign. In terms of affective
ties, George's place in the family is problematic insofar as the homosocial bond
he shares with Robert threatens to undermine or overshadow the bond between
husband and wife. Although the narrator alludes to the possibility that George
might himself one day remarry, indicating that "it is not quite impossible that he
may by-and-by find some one who will be able to console him for the past" (446,
italics mine), this tentative formulation makes the prospect seem unlikely. From
an economic standpoint, George's status as a gentleman of fortune leaves him
independent of Robert and Clara's family, so that he may remain indefinitely at
its margins as neither dependent nor provider. His liminality within the
homosocial triad thus enables him to defer his own marriage plot, leaving him in
a titillating position that underscores his conditional reinsertion into the
family.12
A recent adaptation of *Lady Audley's Secret* on public television's "Mystery!" series spins Braddon's resolution on its head; in the adaptation, Alicia Audley secures Lady Audley's release from the *maison de santé*, George returns from America with a wife who has helped restore his happiness, and Robert remains single. The imagined recuperation of both George and Lady Audley is interesting especially for the way in which it excuses the former's bigamous second marriage in the America. In Braddon's novel, the possibility of George's recuperation through marriage, however tentative, is raised only after he has received news of Lady Audley's death. As in *Jane Eyre*, where Rochester is eventually released from his responsibility for his "mad" wife through the troubling agency of her death, the adaptation releases George from the influence of Helen Talboys/Lady Audley because of her presumed madness. Although she successfully escapes from the *maison de santé*, the final scene stages a visual confrontation in a train station between Robert and Lady Audley that suggests she has strategically manipulated a new gentleman companion. By emphasizing her continued duplicity, this resolution enables George's second marriage to be portrayed as a victimless crime.

**The sensation novel and the Tichborne trial**

In a pocket-book that the Tichborne Claimant had carried while living in Wagga Wagga, Australia, investigators responsible for gathering evidence in the colony discovered a memorandum containing an aphorism from the companion
novel to *Lady Audley's Secret*, Braddon's *Aurora Floyd*. Known as "the famous entry" and signed R. C. Tichborne Bart, this text was frequently invoked by the Claimant's opponents, who argued that it laid bare his motivations for imposture. It read: "some men has plenty / money and no brains / and some men has / plenty brains and no money / surely men with plenty / money and no brain / where made for men with plenty brains and no money" (Woodruff 188). This aphorism aptly supported the theory that the Claimant was a poor butcher named Arthur Orton who had emigrated from Wapping, England to Wagga Wagga, Australia and subsequently perpetrated the imposture of Sir Roger Tichborne.\(^{13}\)

The structure of sensationalism at work in Braddon's novels impacted upon the Tichborne case in ways that are suggestive of how literary representations in turn shaped historical realities. If "sensationalism derives its power from rendering concrete or visible what would otherwise be hidden" (Cvetkovich 50), the trials garnered the rapt attention of the public by promising to unveil hidden evidence of the Claimant's true identity. As I suggested in the beginning of this chapter, the testimony of family members and family servants was often contradictory and ambiguous, making it difficult to establish the Claimant's identity through personal testimonies and affidavits alone. Although most members of Roger Tichborne's extended family repudiated the Claimant, Lady Tichborne's belief that he was her son Roger carried with it the weighty backing of maternal instinct. Yet her sudden death in 1868 before the trials had begun
meant that she never witnessed the evidence stacked against him. At the same time, while two ex-family servants identified the Claimant as Roger Tichborne prior to his departure from Australia, Vincent Gosford, who had been Tichborne’s steward and confidential agent, repudiated the Claimant upon his arrival in Britain.

Because of the contradictory nature of such personal testimonies and the often bewildering gap between the Claimant’s detailed knowledge of some aspects of Roger Tichborne’s life and his sheer ignorance of others, much of the evidence in the trials took the form of bodily proofs that were presented as indisputable. Beginning with the brown mark that the Claimant invokes in his first letter to Lady Tichborne in an attempt to prove that he is her lost son, numerous forms of physical, bodily evidence, from tattoos to scars to a lock of hair, were presented to establish the Claimant’s identity. In many cases, such evidence promises to deliver “the satisfaction or the thrill of seeing” that is central to sensationalism (Cvetkovich 24). D. A. Miller’s renowned work on sensation fiction in *The Novel and the Police* suggests that it is a corporeal genre that impacts the reader’s central nervous system, creating adrenaline effects that locate sensation not just in the text, but also in the body. In Braddon’s novel and in the Tichborne trials, bodily evidence often contributes to the titillating suspense that is linked to efforts to pin down a singular identity. For instance, Lady Audley’s “hidden relics,” the baby shoe and the lock of hair, reveal the secret of her former pregnancy and ultimately provide the means for reducing her identity to the body, locating it in
the taint of hereditary madness that is presumably triggered by her motherhood. Likewise, the Claimant’s brown mark and other physical traits were spoken of as “extraordinary proofs” capable of isolating identity as a product that inheres in the body (Woodruff 295).

The most obvious form of bodily evidence and the site of visual incoherence during the trials was the discrepancy between the Claimant’s size and stature and that of Roger Tichborne. While Tichborne possessed a delicate, slight build, the Claimant weighed twenty-seven stone (378 pounds) at the height of the trials. A nurse reportedly overheard Lady Tichborne remark “that her son was very thin and that people must have been savages in Australia to have made him so rough” (Woodruff 154). Yet while the Claimant’s imposing presence in the courtroom offered compelling visual evidence of a troubling discrepancy, his conspicuous body also ironically impeded the efforts to uncover his identity. Prior to the civil trial, his ill health prevented him from returning to Australia, where he was expected to meet with witnesses and gather evidence. Likewise, his frequent illnesses, presumably brought on by a combination of obesity, alcoholism, and venereal disease (Roe 39), frequently disrupted the progress of the trials. As in Lady Audley’s Secret when Robert loses George’s trail by failing to recognize his friend in a description of an outbound emigrant with his arm bound in a sling, the Claimant’s body added to the incoherence and the sensationalism of the trials.
Among the most provocative of the bodily proofs used to identity the
Claimant as Roger Tichborne was a genital abnormality, described as a recessed
or retracted penis, which Tichborne was reported to have had from birth. While
this abnormality was never brought into evidence in the civil trial and was of
little legal value during the criminal trial (it was established that the Claimant
had the abnormality, but it was difficult to prove conclusively that Roger did), it
nonetheless contributed in a voyeuristic way to the question of how identity
could and could not be made visible. A single stanza from a contemporary
ballad succinctly (and humorously) accentuates such voyeurism by insinuating
that Lady Tichborne's recognition of her son was based on an inspection of the
Claimant's abnormality: "She swore to her child, the rightful heir / How she
knew will make you stare, / She stript him of course, she'd not neglect it, / She
found the strawberry where she left it" (quoted in Roe 38). The act of stripping
alluded to in the ballad is reminiscent of two equally titillating scenes in Lady
Audley's Secret in which Phoebe and Luke, and later Robert and George, steal into
the heroine's dressing-room. Figured as acts of penetration, these intrusions,
which involve navigating a secret passage and opening a hidden drawer,
culminate in both cases in a metaphorical stripping of Lady Audley's absent
body: "the whole of her glittering toilette apparatus lay about on the marble
dressing-table . . . Two or three handsome dresses lay in a heap upon the ground,
and the open doors of a wardrobe revealed the treasures within" (69). Like the
voyeurism implied by the scene of Lady Tichborne’s recognition, this passage from the novel is alluring both for what it can and cannot reveal.

The titillation created by the mystery of the Claimant’s genital abnormality was accentuated by other sexual secrets involved in the case, including the mysterious presence of a sealed packet that Roger Tichborne had given to his steward, Gosford, before leaving for South America. As Michael Roe notes, “[c]ontemporaries often referred to the case as ‘romance,’ both the Times and the Saturday Review later suggesting that the Claimant himself had been encouraged in his fantasy by indulgence in novel-reading” (36). The influence of such an indulgence is perhaps at work in the Claimant’s account of the contents of the sealed packet. Prior to his departure in 1853, Roger had hoped to marry his cousin, Katherine Doughty, but was rebuffed by her parents, who opposed the union. Gosford claimed that the sealed packet indicated Roger’s resolution to construct a chapel at Tichborne if the marriage eventually did take place. The Claimant, however, unaware of Gosford’s testimony, gave contradictory evidence attesting to the packet’s contents, indicating that it contained information pertaining to his seduction of Katherine Doughty, her possible pregnancy, and a secret marriage which had supposedly taken place prior to his emigration.

Not surprisingly, the controversy over the contents of the sealed packet provided additional fodder for sensationalism. Katherine Doughty had become engaged to Percival Pickford Radcliffe, an aristocrat from Yorkshire, even before
the news of the *Bella* and Roger’s death reached Tichborne (Woodruff 32). Like George Talboys’s initial return to Britain or his uncomfortable presence as an adjunct to his sister’s marriage at the end of *Lady Audley’s Secret*, the Claimant’s testimony regarding the sealed packet introduced an unwelcome third party into Lady Radcliffe’s marriage. If his explanations were true, they implicated her in a seduction. But perhaps more damaging was the unstated implication that if they were true, and if the Claimant was Roger Tichborne, then Lady Radcliffe, like Lady Audley, was guilty of bigamy. Douglas Woodruff asserts that the Claimant’s admission regarding the sealed packet was “the fuse of a time-bomb” that would eventually destroy him: “[i]t was to entangle the questions of his identity with the honour of a highly-respected wife and mother, well known in country society and, until she died in 1906, no one could write about this part of the case without making it plain that merely to report it was a painful necessity” (96). As I suggested above, in the context of bigamy, who the victim is matters a great deal. The insinuation that Lady Radcliffe might have duped her aristocratic husband, not to mention the other members of her social world, was regarded as the Claimant’s most heinous perjury. In summing up the verdict in the criminal trial, the judge spoke angrily of his nefarious attempts to pass as Roger Tichborne, but the criticism shifted to a hyperbolic register when he got to the Claimant’s attempts to “blast the reputation of Lady Radcliffe” (quoted in Woodruff 369). By contrast, it is interesting to note that although the Claimant subsequently committed bigamy after he was released from prison in 1884, “[n]o
one seems to have worried that two women both claimed to be not only Lady Tichborne but the legal wife of the Claimant" (Woodruff 443). 

While the sealed packet and its contents seemed to come straight out of British sensation fiction, the Australian evidence presented in the Tichborne trials drew heavily on the romance of the Australian bush, making the Claimant into "an archetypical outback worker: station-hand, gold-digger, rouseabout, mailman, with a whiff of bushrangery and violence" (Roe 37). By emphasizing the roughness and mysteriousness of bush life in order to account for Roger Tichborne's transformation from aristocrat to butcher, the defense contributed to the radical incoherence of the Australian evidence. The titular hero of Trollope's *Harry Heathcote of Gangoil* is a colonial Magistrate who bespeaks a truth about bush justice when he questions his neighbor's deviance from the unspoken codes that govern colonial life: "What did this man know of the Australian bush, that he should dare to talk of this or that as being wrong because it was un-English? In England there were police to guard men's property. Here, out in the Australian forests, a man must guard his own or lose it" (43). This renegade code of justice, which also allows for John Caldigate's reprieve, suggests that British standards of behavior and propriety are not valid in the bush, where independence and self-preservation inevitably win out. Within the context of this ethic, birth is a relatively inconsequential feature of identity, so that it becomes possible to imagine that an uncultivated butcher in Australia might actually be a gentleman. Despite the fact that Harry Heathcote, for example, is
"rough to look at," the narrator contends that "by all who understood Australian life he would have been taken to be a gentleman" (4).

The Australian evidence in the trial centered primarily around "one of the great relevant truths about Australian life—that people altered their names at convenience" (Woodruff 154). The legacy of convict transportation contributed to an unspoken code that implicitly allowed such alterations of identity to go unremarked in the colony. Woodruff explains that "[i]t was a free-and-easy society in which men drifted in and out of occupation, and many of them were not at all anxious to have all their movements traced . . . More so than in most places, it was bad form to ask personal questions or to show any undue curiosity" (161). Precisely because the practice of adopting false names was such a common and unquestioned feature of Australian life, the evidence out of Australia was often inconclusive. Like Trollope's Euphemia Smith, whose adoption of numerous aliases in Australia renders her unable to sign a legal document, the Claimant's use of several name variants—including Thomas Castro, Alfred Smith, Arthur Orton, Tom Morgan, and Roger Tichborne—leaves him no identity in the eyes of the law. Thus, references to the Claimant in the court records are never singular; when he is indicted in the civil trial, he is referred to as Thomas Castro, alias Arthur Orton, alias Sir Roger Charles Doughty Tichborne.

In Lady Audley's Secret, what is accepted as commonplace in Australia is
not a criminal offence, but it is regarded as an extremely sinister form of duplicity. After Robert discovers the labels on the discarded bonnet-box that link Lucy Graham to Helen Talboys, he penetrates Lady Audley's motivations, describing for her benefit the processes underlying her attempted self-transformation: "What do people generally do when they wish to begin a new existence—to start for a second time in the race of life, free from the encumbrances that had fettered their first journey? They change their names, Lady Audley" (271). Yet while Robert concedes that the labels he has discovered are not adequate evidence for a jury, the issues raised by the Tichborne case led to the passage in Britain of the False Personation Act in July 1874. This act allowed for a maximum sentence of penal servitude for life to be granted to individuals who perpetrated the kinds of imposture attempted by the Tichborne Claimant and represented in Braddon's novel.

The sensationalism associated with the Tichborne case did not end with the resolution of the second trial or with the passage of the False Personation Act, however. The Graphic regretfully reports that the fervor associated with the case continued to resonate in the weeks following the Claimant's incarceration:

Now that the Claimant, after the most protracted trial on record, has been found guilty of the crimes imputed to him, it might have been hoped that both the subject and the prisoner would have been suffered to sink into obscurity, and that the public would seek recreation in fresher topics of excitement. Instead of this, the gigantic investigation
seems likely to be followed by a series of minor episodes. ("Topics" March 14, 1874)

These "minor episodes" had reverberating effects in Britain throughout the next two decades. After the Claimant's release from prison in 1884, he initiated a campaign of public speaking that took him, perhaps not coincidentally, to New York and back. Around the same time, rumors that had trickled back from Australia about an asylum inmate named William Cresswell came to a head. Cresswell was alternately reputed to be Arthur Orton and Roger Tichborne, and persuasive evidence was gathered in favor of the former supposition. Eventually, however, an Australian commission finally refuted the rumors, relying, among other things, on the fact that Cresswell had no genital abnormality (Roe 160). A decade after this incident, the Claimant published a confession indicating that he was Arthur Orton, and in keeping with the sensational history of his case, he retracted it shortly thereafter.

In a passage from Australia and New Zealand often cited in discussions of the Tichborne case, Trollope suggests that public opinion in the colonies ran in the Claimant's favor, not because he was personally well liked, but because "there was a pleasurable excitement in the idea that such a man should return home from the wild reckless life of the Australian Bush and turn out to be an English Baronet" (412). The "pleasurable excitement" evoked by the trials and their rehearsal of a familiar colonial fantasy is coterminous with the excitement gained through reading sensation fiction. Yet this titillating pleasure is tied to an
uneasiness about the integrity of the family, and by extension the nation, that was grounded in the material reality that Britons were beginning to populate various parts of the globe at growing rates, until "by the 1890s one person in four on earth was a 'subject' of Queen Victoria" (Arnstein, *Victorian Britain* 836). Like the return of George Talboys to Britain, which sets in motion Braddon's intertwining and sensational plots, the Claimant's return from Australia foregrounds anxieties about emigration and identity that raise troubling questions about the possibility of uniting British subjects across such vast distances. These questions had extended reverberations in part because, as the Victorians had witnessed in fictional form in *Lady Audley's Secret*, rather than signaling an end, the emigrant's return marked the beginning of a much longer story.
1 Edward Said's work intersects with mine in its attention to the marginal uses of imperialism in the nineteenth-century British novel as a device that moves plots or closes them off. Yet while he argues that authors prior to the late Victorian period used imperialism "for relatively simple purposes such as immigration, fortune, or exile" and in ways that supported the dominance of the empire (74), I argue that far from being a simple plot device, Braddon's use of emigration is central to the novel's contested engagements with questions related to imperialism.

2 Although transportation was officially abolished in 1857, the last convict ship did not sail to Australia until 1867.

3 In addition to this direct warning, Clara Morison includes a cautionary tale about Miss Ker, a woman who is the victim of a bigamous husband. Miss Ker functions in the novel as Clara's double, and her fate—she marries a man in Adelaide who already has a wife and four children living in Sydney—serves as a recurrent reminder for Clara to exercise caution with respect to her own suitor's affections (1: 204-5).

4 See Elaine Showalter for an extended discussion of the 1860s "bigamy novels." Later in the century, I am thinking particularly of Thomas Hardy's novels, which often include marginal plots that connect emigration and bigamy.
Recent criticism on *Jane Eyre* is also invested in measuring the extent of Rochester's accountability. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Susan L. Meyer's "Colonialism and the Figurative Strategy," and Deirdre David.

I am grateful to Helena Michie for bringing this up in conversation.

As Anne McClintock notes, "[f]or the elite, a sun-darkened skin stained by outdoor manual work was the visible stigma not only of a class obliged to work under the elements for a living but also of far-off, benighted races marked by God's disfavor" (212).

Such a distinction between the superficial and psychic wounds of displacement is also evident in Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* when Angel Clare returns from Brazil physically wasted by disease and bearing a characteristically sickly complexion. Although Clare acknowledges prior to his departure that emigration is often a profitable commercial endeavor, he nonetheless laments that it "snaps the continuity of existence" (222). The violence of this image again invokes the sense of psychic trauma that George associates with displacement, as well as highlighting a distressing lack of continuity between the emigrant's life before and after his displacement.

See Nancy Armstrong's "Occidental Alice" and Daniel Bivona's "Alice the Child-Imperialist and the Games of Wonderland." For a discussion of Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*, see Rita S. Kranidis, who argues that Alice is a
figurative traveler whose journey forces her to renegotiate her relationship to Britain.

10 While the lower-class homes in the novel offer evidence of domestic squalor, the aristocratic homes provide examples of what Parul Morrison calls the "domestic carceral," insofar as their pristine facades cover over the gothic secrets and repressive "domestic regulations" that obscure the family's prospects for domestic happiness (438).


12 Pip is similarly positioned in relation to the marriage plot at the end of *Great Expectations*. Although he does not go to Australia himself, Pip's imbrication in Magwitch's colonial history renders him unable to reassimilate into normative domestic life in Britain. As a result, he goes to work as a clerk for the Eastern branch of Clarriker & Co. and is absorbed into the family as an adjunct to the marriage of his best friend, Herbert, and Herbert's wife, Clara.

13 The jury in the criminal trial was ultimately persuaded by this theory, finding that the Claimant was not Roger Tichborne, but that he was Arthur Orton. In an effort to explain how Orton managed to perpetrate the fraud, Douglas Woodruff speculates that Roger Tichborne may have survived the wreck of the *Bella*, made his way to Australia, and subsequently encountered Arthur Orton. He goes on to suggest the possibility that Orton may have
witnessed Tichborne's death in the bush, retained his papers and possessions, and subsequently plotted the imposture. Once he arrived back in Britain, the Claimant had nearly five years to accrue information about Roger Tichborne's life before he had to stand trial.

14 The prosecutor in the criminal trial at one point asserted that in the Claimant's testimony "[w]e have the most extraordinary medley of ignorance and knowledge" (Woodruff 347). The most bewildering gaps in the Claimant's knowledge had to do with his imperfect recollection of his education and with his failure to remember how to speak French.

15 Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* suggests that class considerations are quite important in determining whether bigamy is a criminal offense. After Arabella emigrates to Australia, remarries, and returns with her husband to Britain, her bigamy goes unremarked. As Jude puts it, "[t]here is this advantage to being poor and obscure people like us—that these things are done for us in a rough and ready fashion. It was the same with me and Arabella. I was afraid her criminal second marriage would have been discovered, and she punished; but nobody took any interest in her—nobody inquired, nobody suspected it" (322).
CHAPTER FOUR

"Verily the Antipodes of Home": Narrating Domesticity in the Bush

In a short story that appeared in the collection entitled *Lights and Shadows of Australian Life* (1851), Mrs. Charles Clacy describes her heroine, Julia, a young British woman who exchanges her social status as "the 'all-but-belle' of giddy, fashionable C—" for the role of "housekeeper to a squatter's establishment in the colonies" (168). After she is abandoned by her fiancé, a British officer in India who opts to marry for wealth and title, Julia undergoes a series of rapid self-transformations: she emigrates to Australia to join her brother, nearly loses her life in a bush fire, and subsequently marries her brother's partner after he rescues her from the blaze. Through this speedy resolution of her heroine's marriage plot, Clacy offers a romanticized image of female emigration that is consistent with British propaganda emphasizing the ready availability of husbands for single women in Australia.¹ Yet despite Clacy's acquiescence to the imperatives of the romance plot, "A Bush Fire" simultaneously undercuts other romantic conventions through its portrayal of Julia as a resourceful and adaptable heroine:

She had early learnt one great lesson—to conquer herself; and, instead of wandering beneath the gum-trees like a forsaken maiden in romance, she exerted all her energies to impart to her brother's home that air of comfort which a true Englishwoman disseminates wherever she goes. There was always something to be done, and she entered into the rough life with a
hearty good will, and at length found herself absolutely enjoying it. (173)

Julia's ability to accommodate herself to "the rough life" of the Australian bush is attributed exclusively to her ability to make domesticity portable; her capacity to recreate domestic comfort "wherever she goes" is represented in Clacy's short story as a powerful source of female agency. That such agency is linked to privileges associated with class and nationality is implicit in the idealized and exclusive categorization of the "true Englishwoman." For Julia, "go[ing] about in a gingham dress superintending butter-making, mutton-picking, and innumerable other bush amusements" is enjoyable because these are novel occupations, and because her participation in them is limited to a supervisory role (168).

The intersecting issues of portable domesticity, feminist agency, and marriage that converge in Clacy's "A Bush Fire" are the central subjects of this chapter. To illuminate the remapping of British domestic narratives and conventions in colonial Australia, I examine representations of portable domesticity associated with the single, middle-class female emigrant, returning again to the figure of the emigrant governess. For more than a decade, critics of Victorian literature and culture have been interested in the British governess as a figure who highlights a range of cultural anxieties related to domesticity, class, and gender. In Victorian debates about female education and employment opportunities and in nineteenth-century novels featuring protagonists who are governesses, critics have identified challenges to prevailing domestic ideologies that are posed by
the governess’s shared alliances with both middle-class mothers and working-class women and men. While these readings of the governess have been influential in shaping debates within Victorian studies about domesticity and women’s work, this chapter extends the scope of such criticism by exploring historical and fictional representations of the colonial governess in nineteenth-century Australia.

Because she made visible the class and gender inequalities that necessitated her emigration, the British governess who emigrated to the colonies was a locus of instability within the British nation. But within a colonial context, this instability and the related contradictions critics have previously associated with the governess are amplified. As Anne McClintock has recently argued, governesses in the colonies were precariously positioned upon several critical boundaries:

In the colonial family, the fractures in the domestic scene became severe.

The colonial governess was in every sense a threshold creature. Graced with an education, she did not have the opportunity to use it. Racially a member of the white elite, she was in reality a member of the serving class.

She was protected by racial privilege but not by economic security. (277)

The difficulty of finding work in burgeoning colonies where families often could not afford the services of the educated classes often necessitated shifts in station for emigrant governesses who were subsequently forced to obtain work as domestic servants or as needlewomen. In addition, colonial governesses were
often uncomfortably aligned in terms of the work they did with indigenous peoples who performed menial work for British settlers. Because of these alliances, these women challenged the boundaries associated not only with class and gender, but also with race and nationality.

Poised at the junction of so many paradoxes, the colonial governess not surprisingly became a source of contention within Victorian debates about the emigration of single women to the British colonies, particularly those debates centered around the work of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, which I have discussed in Chapter Two. The formation of the FMCES marked the beginning of a campaign that would span several decades and ultimately facilitate the emigration of just over three hundred single, middle-class women to the British colonies. Yet the records of the FMCES—including Rye’s letters to the British press, letters from the colonies written by emigrant governesses, and the society’s annual reports—all indicate that the organization was plagued from its inception by inconsistencies with respect to its purposes and its successes. These inconsistencies suggest that as a site of rhetorical instability, the colonial governess embodied the potential both to maintain and to transform British domestic ideologies associated with gender and nationality.

In an early domestic novel set in colonial Australia, Catherine Helen Spence explores this potential through the story of a young Scottish woman who emigrates to Australia, where she hopes to find employment as a governess. Like her heroine, Spence was also an Australian immigrant; she left Scotland for
the colony in 1839 and subsequently remained in Australia for the duration of her life, where she established a reputation as a novelist, a journalist, and a public speaker.  

*Clara Morison: A Tale of South Australia during the Gold Fever* (1854) is her first novel. Published in the same year as "A Bush Fire," it depicts the story of the protagonist's journey from domestic service to genteel marriage, a progression made possible through an extended marriage plot that hinges on the hero and heroine's shared love of British literature. Clara Morison's identity in the colony is continually inflected by her class, gender, race, and nationality. Yet rather than read this liminality as a liability, as critics have typically done when discussing the governess, I argue that her shifting identity is powerfully transformative, because it simultaneously enables her to transport domestic values and practices to Australia while adapting them to a new colonial lifestyle. Spence dramatizes the potential of this portable domesticity in *Clara Morison* on two levels: thematically, by examining the role of British literature in enabling Clara to maintain her ties to Britain despite her displacement; and metatextually, by rewriting the domestic novel and adapting its conventions to a new, postcolonial setting.

In the sections that follow, I begin by examining the governess' transformative potential in a series of letters the founder of the FMCES wrote to *The Times* about the objectives of her emigration society. In these letters, I identify divergent narratives of agency and victimization that represent the emigrant governess as a figure who is potentially both powerful and vulnerable. In letters from the
colonies written by the emigrant governesses themselves, I briefly show how the FMCES emigrants took advantage of this flexibility to challenge popular narratives about what constitutes emigrant success. In the second section, I turn to *Clara Morison* to demonstrate how Spence uses literacy as a litmus test that repeatedly "proves" her heroine's gentility, as well as her ability to both maintain and adapt to shifting domestic values. Finally, I analyze the novel's metatextual implications by pairing *Clara Morison* with another domestic novel to which it incessantly doubles back—Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. In so doing, I expand on current debates by showing how the colonial governess is poised not only between classes, but also between nations and their divergent narrative economies.

**Uneasy identifications**

In 1862, a year during which the problems associated with Britain's escalating population of "superfluous women" were hotly debated in the press, the FMCES was founded. From the outset, Rye and Lewin had different ideas about how best to run the FMCES. Rye envisioned a two-tier system of female emigration that would cater both to well-trained governesses and to lower middle-class women. Because she was less preoccupied than Lewin with the feminist implications of their work, Rye was unconcerned with whether marriage or domestic service were inevitable by-products of emigration. She insisted that "[i]f these women of mine work, it will be well; if they marry, it will be well;
whichever happens, good must arise for the colonies, for our countrywomen, and for commerce" (The Times, April 29, 1862). Lewin, however, resented the popular association between female emigration and "husband-hunting," a motive that was often ascribed to female emigrants because of the disproportionate number of single men in the colonies (particularly in Australia around the time of the gold rush). Lewin consequently rejected the propaganda promoting "matrimonial colonization," or the emigration of women for the explicit purpose of providing colonial settlers with wives and mothers. As a result, when Rye left the FMCES in 1865 to focus her efforts on juvenile emigration from Britain to Canada, Lewin took over as Honorary Secretary and thereafter limited the scope of the society's work by catering exclusively to middle-class women who were seeking professional careers as governesses in the colonies.⁸

The difficulties the founders of the FMCES had in determining which middle-class women to assist through emigration is indicative of the governess' liminal status, even within the middle classes. To complicate matters further, the original propaganda published by the FMCES often deliberately neglected to distinguish between lower-middle class women who were trained as domestic servants and educated middle-class women who were trained as governesses. As a result, such propaganda often overstated the opportunities for governesses in the colonies. A typical exaggeration is evident in Clara Morison when one of the characters insists that "[g]overnesses of every kind are so much wanted [in Australia], that I have heard of people going in quest of them on board every
newly-arrived ship, and engaging them before they put foot on shore" (1: 6).
This propagandistic idea that Australia could provide an outlet for one of
Britain's growing domestic problems was challenged by colonial authorities who
repeatedly insisted they had minimal need for the services of the educated
classes. In addition, the perils associated with the emigration of single, middle-
class women—lack of appropriate protection, the inevitable mixing of classes on
board ship, fears about moral ruin, and the physical dangers of the journey at sea
—were invoked by opponents in Britain as obstacles to female emigration.
However, despite these warnings and objections, and despite their own
differences in defining the ideal female middle-class emigrant, Rye, and later
Lewin, continued to help single, middle-class women to emigrate for over
twenty years. Their work is remarkable because they persevered in advancing
their cause by manipulating the very objections that threatened to sabotage their
efforts.

For example, in a series of letters on the subject of female emigration written
to The Times in 1862, Rye relies on a paradoxical stance that wavers according to
her purposes, shifting from an emphasis on female agency to an emphasis on
female victimization designed to spur reform. This rhetorical strategy is
calculated to combat opposition and to elicit support for the work of the FMCES
by differentiating their "women of sterling worth" from lower-class female
emigrants (The Times, April 29, 1862). By strategically invoking the privileges
associated with class and nationality, Rye endows her emigrants with a sense of
agency that is absent from the propaganda associated with the emigration of other superfluous populations, including prostitutes, convicts, the Irish, and the poor.9

In Chapter Two, I argued that Rye utilizes a rhetoric of self-determination to foreground explicitly feminist and middle-class preoccupations with female individuation. Within this context, her female emigrants, often labeled distressed or "superfluous" women, are endowed with a powerful sense of agency and purpose. By rousing her female emigrants to garner "the courage to march on and possess" the colonies (The Times, April 29, 1862), Rye inserts these robust pioneers into a heroic discourse of colonialism commonly reserved for men and insinuates that they are destined to play a decisive role in colonizing the British empire. In so doing, she represents domestic settlement as military conquest, a conflation that echoes colonialist rhetorics and policies that blatantly disregard the consequences of such territorial expansions.10

Consistent with the pioneering mission she ascribed to her emigrants, Rye was quite literally a pioneer, frequently leaving Lewin in charge of the FMCES office in London while expanding the scope of her own work on emigration throughout the empire. In the spring of 1863 she arrived in New Zealand as escort to one hundred single women and by May was writing to The Times with the good news that nearly all her emigrants had obtained suitable placements. In this letter she insistently repeats her assertion that the prospects of employment are good "for women who know how to do it... for women who can take care of
themselves, and intend to walk uprightly” (May 29, 1863). Here again, Rye associates agency with class privilege, assuming that self-confidence and the desire to maintain respectability are the necessary preconditions for emigrant success in the colony. However, a large proportion of the women Rye escorted on this trip were domestic servants, the class of workers most desperately needed in the Antipodes; Rye’s letter makes no distinction between employment opportunities for governesses versus servants, even though situations for educated women were far more limited in both New Zealand and Australia.

Despite Rye’s implicit confidence in the ability of her female emigrants to succeed regardless of the work they choose to do, she reverts to a rhetoric of victimization in the same letter when she describes the voyage out and the conditions at the immigration barracks in Dunedin. Her descriptions reinforce sensationalist stereotypes about the dangers associated with the emigration of single women, and by extension, they confirm her opponents’ fears that female emigration is neither safe nor respectable. After describing the successful placement of her female emigrants, Rye claims that "[o]f the voyage the less said the better," but she subsequently fills the better part of the column with explicit details regarding the horrors of being aboard the emigrant ship. Her primary objections center around the vices of intoxication and idleness that are exacerbated aboard ship by the mixing of single men and women in close quarters and by the quantities of brandy and wine that are carried for export. Rye emphasizes that regardless of her vigilance and that of the ship’s captain, the
vulnerability of her female emigrants in such an environment should not be underestimated: "Happily, we were favoured with a particularly sober captain, who did all in his power to rectify the evils about which I have been complaining; but no one man, however vigilant, can keep constant guard over 60 or 70 men, and we suffered sorrow of heart enough" (May 29, 1863).

Rye's account of the immigration barracks, where her emigrants were given temporary accommodation upon arrival, is replete with similar objections that often have to do with affronts related to class:

An indefinite dread of commencing any description of the immigration barracks has, I suppose unconsciously, influenced me in penning this letter, for I find myself drawing to the end of my paper without one line written upon the subject I have most at heart. In a word, then, I am bound to confess the worst fears of the worst wishers to female emigration are fully realized at the Dunedin Immigrants' Barracks. (May 29, 1863)

The fears Rye alludes to above include the dangerous proximity of sleeping quarters for men and women, the numbers of illegitimate children, and the presence of their mothers and other disreputable women.

Although the rhetorical shifts in Rye's letters between narratives of agency and victimization appear to be counter-intuitive, they actually serve a strategic purpose. By confirming the worst stereotypes about female emigration, Rye separates her organization from negative associations of emigration with prostitution and convict transportation; by emphasizing the respectability of her
emigrants, she depicts them as helpless victims, rather than licentious participants in their own degradation. Through such strategic differentiations, Rye effectively subverts the stereotypes that would otherwise be so damaging to her work. At the same time, her rhetorical shifts from a discourse of female agency to one of victimization create a platform from which she launches a powerful call for reform that can begin to elevate the respectability of female emigration. A letter she wrote to *The Times* in June about British Columbia ends with a plea for governmental assistance in regulating female emigration, which she imagines as a national imperative: "it only remains for Government to decide, whether this exodus shall be orderly and under supervision, or straggling, dangerous, and spasmodic. For the sake of a fine colony, and still more for the sake of the suffering thousands at home, I most devotedly pray that some help will be given us, to guide this matter aright" (June 21, 1862). Rye's rhetoric quickly displaces the burden of blame from her female emigrants to the governmental authorities who have failed to regulate emigration and thereby prevent the dangers associated with female emigration.

The letters written from the colonies by the FMCES emigrants frequently allude to the paradoxes evident in Rye's rhetoric. The emigrants' letters confirm that Rye and Lewin persistently conflated reality and myth by exaggerating the need for governesses in the colonies, the wages they could hope to earn, and the protection that would be offered to them through the FMCES colonial committees. Few women report the smooth transition purportedly promised by
Rye and Lewin wherein they would be met upon arrival in Australia, offered protection in a home for newly arrived emigrants, and assisted in finding situations. Instead, the organization of the colonial branch of the society proved unreliable, and many emigrants arrived unprotected and without anywhere to go. Many scorned the accommodation at the home for emigrants on the grounds that it housed lower-class women and was, in the words of one governess, "anything but a fit place for 'Ladies'" (Clarke 84). In addition, many governesses quickly exhausted what little money they had in paying for the services of colonial women who, for a fee, would assist them in locating work.

Regardless of whether they were successful after such difficult transitions or not, the FMCES emigrants repeatedly express their concerns regarding the extent of the society's misrepresentations. One governess' letter is extremely explicit in refuting the myths associated with female emigration: "It was a matter of surprise my getting an Engagement the same week I came, teaching is not plentiful here as we are led to believe in England; salaries are not high; there are numbers of unmarried ladies; I think it is high time the fables about Australia were ended" (Clarke 145). Another letter similarly suggests that although the incentive to marriage was never deliberately promoted by the FMCES, it created a widespread misconception in the popular imagination: "there is an idea in England that young and accomplished Governesses soon marry in this land; that is a mistake, at least nowadays . . . Mrs. Dillon tells me she knows of but one instance of a Governess marrying. I however have heard of several, still it
should be looked on as the exception not the rule" (Clarke 85-6). This governess' words offer a warning to single women at home not to be spurred into emigration by false hopes. Yet Rye and Lewin were all too eager to believe the myths and equally willing to disregard firsthand accounts from colonial authorities and unhappy emigrants alike. They clung to emigrant success stories, which were few and far between, using these as the basis for their determined efforts.

The disappointments many of the FMCES emigrants faced when they reached Australia and discovered that the colony did not live up to the excessive expectations created by British propaganda forced them to adopt new definitions of emigrant success. As I have argued in Chapter Two, the FMCES letters suggest that many governesses redefined success in the colony in terms of relatively moderate achievements such as the attainment of financial independence or the enjoyment of freedom from social convention. The following excerpt by a governess who alternately berated and then guardedly resigned herself to Australian life suggests a process of ongoing redefinition that is representative of these women's experiences:

In Bush Life there is a great charm; lonely perhaps, some people would find it. I never have done so. I have seen more of life, of the springs of action in people, their ways and peculiarities than I ever did in my life before and I have traveled and seen much; perhaps it is because there is less reserve, less stiffness, less of the conventionalities of life, I like it. I am very happy
with all this; I feel I am in the Colony, simply not of the people or with them beyond our own household. (Clarke 113-4).

The tension in this letter between resigned contentment and self-imposed alienation dramatizes vividly one governess' attempt to negotiate between the poles Rye represented in terms of power and vulnerability. By delineating a distinction between being "in the Colony" versus "of the people," Phayne festishizes the boundary lines that Rye draws in relation to class privilege. While exemplifying an "ambivalence of emplacement" that is unique to the colonial settler (Slemon, "Unsettling the Empire" 39), Phayne's letter nonetheless imagines the household as a protected space whose boundaries can be definitively circumscribed and carefully maintained.

**Literacy and portable domesticity**

In Spence's *Clara Morison*, the story of the emigrant governess opens predictably given the difficulties expressed in the FMCES letters. After she is placated with exaggerated claims about her prospects in Australia, the titular heroine, like many of the FMCES emigrants, is "thrown into the colony with no connexions that any one knew of, and with merely a letter-of-introduction passport into society" (1: 60). Clara's "passport," the letter she carries from her uncle to a gentleman who had emigrated from Scotland years earlier, is the only authentication of her identity in Australia. However, this document lacks the authority her uncle assumes it carries, insofar as the recipient of the letter, Mr.
Campbell, can offer Clara neither assistance nor protection. He insists that Clara’s letter is more or less worthless: "Everybody that can do nothing at home is sent out as quite good enough for the colonies, and generally with such a flaming high character, that we require to be cautious" (1: 30). Like the FMCES emigrants, Clara is deceived by misrepresentations in emigration propaganda.11 While her letter is the credential that should ensure her success in finding remunerative work, it serves instead merely to highlight the fact that her story, indeed her very identity (tellingly represented through a textual object), will have to be rewritten. The fact that this rewriting necessitates class changes and adaptations is evident much later in the novel when Clara contemplates returning to Scotland and is dissuaded by her cousin, Gilbert Elliot, who makes the following irrefutable argument: "you cannot mean to leave the colony the same Clara Morison you came" (2: 242).

The transformation that Gilbert invokes as evidence of Clara’s attachment to the colony begins shortly after her arrival in Adelaide, when she is forced by economic necessity to undergo training as a domestic servant in lieu of obtaining a position as a governess. The identity confusion caused by this change in station is evident when Clara must disguise her gentility in order to secure a position as Mrs. Bantam’s servant: "Clara had dressed herself veryplainly, in case Mrs. Bantam might wish to see her; so there was nothing to distinguish her from others except the propriety of her language; but that her Scotch accent prevented Mrs. Bantam from observing" (1: 88). In order to avoid the fate of her
prospective employer's former servant, whose aspirations to gentility caused her to lose her place because she attempted "to unite in her own person the incompatible offices of lady and servant" (1: 231), Clara must hide her genteel origins. Like many gentlemen who traveled second-class on the voyage out in order to practice assuming the roles they would soon adopt as miners (including Anthony Trollope's John Caldigate and Dick Shand), Clara performs a masquerade that is antithetical to the traditional model of class climbing. Her performance is successful both because of her superficial transformation (wearing the appropriate clothing) and because of her national marginality (speaking with a Scotch, rather than an English, accent).

Later in the novel, Clara performs a masquerade in reverse, pretending to be a governess while she is still working as a servant. After several months with Mrs. Bantam, Clara visits a friend whom she had met upon arrival in the colony. Mrs. Handy insists that Clara has retained her respectability in spite of her change in station: "though you are thinner, and have lost your colour, you are quite as lady-like as ever. I did not let my husband know you were at service; he fancies you are a governess, so give yourself a few airs, and he will believe it" (1: 150). Clara's ability to revert quickly to her former role testifies to the malleability of her colonial identity. At the end of the novel, when it is widely learned that "Clara, second daughter of the late William Morison, Esq., of Edinburgh,' was the identical Clara who had been at Mrs. Bantam's" (1: 269), the extraordinary possibilities for class mobility in Australia are dramatically underscored.
Despite the seeming fluidity of class, however, the reader is continually reminded throughout the novel that Clara is as genteel, and often more genteel, than the individuals she must serve. In the interval between Clara's entrance into domestic service and her marriage to a respectable sheep farmer, the signs of her gentility are always affiliated with her literacy. In *Australia and New Zealand*, Anthony Trollope writes: "I have been at many bush-houses . . . but at not one, as I think, in which I have not found a fair provision of books . . . To have a Shakespeare is a point of honour with every man who owns a book at all,—whether he reads it or leaves it unread" (310). According to Trollope, the book, and not the act of reading, earns iconographic status in the Antipodes, where many British emigrants attempted to transplant domesticity within a colonial setting. However, in Spence's novel, the act of reading—and more specifically, how and what characters read—demarcates their class standing and their relationship to Britain.

Clara's progression to genteel marriage is facilitated by her love of British literature, a passion she shares with the novel's hero, Charles Reginald. Clara and Reginald retain strong ties to each other and to the British middle classes because they avidly consume and discuss the latest British literary works, and because they both frequently write letters home. As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have argued, reading and writing were defining features of middle-class life in England: "Reading was not only a form of instruction, self-discovery and self-definition, it was also a source of profound pleasure, both
individually and collectively... Discussion groups, based on reading, were a common feature of middle-class life; both discussion and reading frequently took place within the family circle" (162). In Clara Morison, all of Clara’s familial relationships, including the one she develops with her future husband, are nurtured through reading and through conversations about books.

When they meet at a boarding-house in Adelaide, Reginald initiates a conversation with Clara by likening the company at the dinner table to the residents of Mrs. Todgers’s boarding-house in Charles Dickens’s Martin Chuzzlewit. This allusion figuratively links Reginald and Clara back to their shared national origins in Britain, but it also transports Clara in a more literal sense, as her visceral response to an admonishment that Reginald is keeping her all to himself suggests: "Miss Morison blushed. She had forgotten the whole company; she had heard voices and laughter, but knew not what had been said, or who had been amused. She had even forgotten that Miss Waterstone was present; she had only felt happy, and was unconscious of anything else" (1: 35). In addition to rendering Clara oblivious to the entire company around her, her discussion with Reginald also temporarily transports Clara back home, to a happier period in her life when she had engaged her father in such conversations. The "little allusion to a book" that initiates their conversation, and indeed, their veiled courtship, has the power of transfixing Clara and Reginald (1: 33), a phenomenon that recurs throughout the novel. The fact that the allusion comes from a domestic novel by Dickens affirms that domesticity and
the practices associated with it—in this case, courtship and marriage—are
transplanted in part through books.

During the period of her servitude, Clara's friendship with Reginald serves to
distinguish her from other educated women who are presumably her betters
with respect to class. When Clara must wait on Reginald as a servant during his
visit to her employer, she elicits his complicity in keeping her identity a secret: "I
must wait on him here for a month . . . and never speak to him, and nobody must
know that we have ever met. He said that our meeting formed a page of his life;
truly it fills a page in mine, too" (1: 105). Represented through the idiom of books
and reading, Clara and Reginald's relationship continues to progress despite her
change in station because she retains her gentility through literacy.

Reading often calibrates with character in other instances in Clara Morison as
well. Clara is easily distinguished from her vulgar and flirtatious travelling
companion, Miss Waterstone, by the latter's reading practices: "Of course Miss
Waterstone had read all the current literature of the day . . . and considered
herself, in her own phrase, a well-read woman; but whatever she read she made a
point of forgetting, so that for those four months Clara had been debarred from
her favourite topic of conversation" (1: 33-4). Miss Waterstone's shortcomings as
a reader distinguish her from characters like Clara, who does more than just
read; she also remembers. By contrast, Miss Waterstone has either failed to read
the books she claims to be conversant with, or she has not understood or retained
any knowledge through her reading. Aboard the Magnificent en route from
Britain to Australia, Miss Waterstone is a source of constant embarrassment to Clara, who loathes to be too closely associated with her cabinmate. Once in the colony, Miss Waterstone refuses to read newspapers, which often create the vital links between Britain and Australia that enable other characters to maintain their ties to their home nation. When the Great Exhibition arrives in London and several emigrants return home to see it, Miss Waterstone is content to hear about it third-hand, from people in the colony who have only read about it: "And after all, I suppose we will see all about it in the papers; though I do hate newspapers, and never read them when I can help it; and there's nobody now to make me read them against my will, which is a great comfort, isn't it, Clara?" (1: 59). Miss Waterstone's adamant resistance to reading characterizes her as a frivolous woman who misinterprets the benefits of colonial freedom.

Miss Withering, who is an emigrant governess like Clara, is similarly judged according to her intellectual habits. Her reading is limited exclusively to an outdated history textbook that the narrator derisively refers to as "a book of chips" (1: 247). The superficial quality of Miss Withering's reading—the chips of history that inform her understanding of the world—underscores the triviality of her nature; her petty conversation and complaints, coupled with her constant attempts to undermine Clara's abilities as a servant, are exposed as desperate pretensions to gentility. In an effort to undercut Clara's intellectual authority over her, Miss Withering admonishes Mrs. Bantam to keep a tighter rein on Clara by insisting that "[t]here is nothing spoils a servant so much as a taste for reading
The old plan was best, to have servants in their proper places; let them learn to wash and scour, bake and brew, and leave reading and writing to their betters. 'A little learning is a dangerous thing'" (1: 101). In her adherence to conventionally rigid distinctions between the stations, Miss Withering reveals her own insecurities and demonstrates her failure to adapt to her new surroundings.

Despite prohibitions issued by Miss Withering and later by Mrs. Bantam, Clara continues to read and write avidly throughout her term of service. At one point, Mrs. Bantam requests that Clara not read in her bedroom by telling a cautionary tale about a former servant who had inadvertently fallen asleep while reading and subsequently set fire to her bed. While she is ostensibly concerned for Clara's safety, Mrs. Bantam is also clearly anxious about the possibility of class transgression. Such an anxiety was common within the budding middle classes in Britain, where "there was a constant unease that 'literary domestics' might be tempted beyond their station" (Davidoff and Hall 392). But Clara's persistence in pursuing her reading and writing suggests that the preservation of her class position depends upon the intellectual work that helps sustain her. After painstakingly sewing a dress for herself, Clara recognizes that while such work may enable her to "keep up appearances," it nonetheless has devastating physical and mental effects on her: "It is right that I have made this dress, but to make another in the same way would kill me, I think. I had better go in rags than have my heartstrings torn up like this. I must read, though I have no face to
look up to when I lift my eyes from the book; I must write, though nobody but myself shall read it” (1: 95). Eschewing the ostentatious gentility of readers like Miss Waterstone and Miss Withering, who enjoy parading their superficial knowledge, Clara pursues her intellectual work without need of an audience.

One activity that Clara performs in private to dispel her loneliness and reconnect herself to her home involves the recitation of her favorite poetry. When the Bantams leave her alone in their home for a fortnight, Clara attempts to recreate the domestic haven she had enjoyed as a young girl in Scotland:

Clara began to repeat what she called her ‘household treasures,’—those pieces of poetry which she had learned in happier times, and which her father used to call for in the twilight, when he sat in his easy chair by the fire, and she was on a low stool at his feet . . . Different as were her circumstances now, and different as the scene was on which her eyes rested, it was surprising how much better she felt in thus making her thoughts and memories audible to herself; poem after poem was gone through in a low, distinct voice while her fingers mechanically endeavored to twine the hair, which she had properly braided on going to service, into the long ringlets she had worn at home. Her kitchen brightened as she stirred the fire and snuffed the candle at intervals; her spirits rose, and life seemed again endurable. (1: 127)

Clara’s "household treasures" are the emblems of portable domesticity that enable her to retain an appropriate relation to the domestic realm, even while she
is presumably degraded by working as a servant in the Bantam household. Yet
the language used to describe these treasures—they are "pieces of poetry" that
make "thoughts and memories audible"—also suggests their materiality. Like
the cabin fittings and domestic objects that were important to the FMCES
emigrants during the voyage out, Clara's prized possessions are material
markers of class status. Unlike the fittings, these treasures do not need to be
displayed for an audience, but they nonetheless lead to a significant
physical transformation in Clara. As she engages in the indulgent reverie
brought on by the recitation of her poetry, Clara's fingers inadvertently twine the
ringlets that signify her leisure and respectability. This act of unloosening her
braids evinces Clara's freedom from the restraints that are imposed on her when
she goes into service—restraints that include her promise of secrecy from
Reginald and her disciplined attempts to master her household tasks.

Clara's ringlets are only one of several signs that foreshadow her restoration to
a respectable station, which culminates in her marriage to Reginald.
Interestingly, although her poetry and sermons inadvertently receive a public
audience on several occasions, only Reginald discovers the secret of Clara's
authorship, a sign of his intuitive affinity for her genteel nature. Other characters
harbor suspicions about Clara, including Minnie Hodges, who is also a frequent
guest of Mrs. Bantam. After Clara recites poetry to her, Minnie guesses that
Clara is not what she seems: "I was much comforted the other night by the
servant Clara . . . repeating poetry so softly and sweetly, that it really felt like a
balm to my ears and nerves, after they had been irritated by Miss Withering's sharp, inquisitive, mischief-making voice. I cannot help thinking that Clara must be a lady, her accent is so beautiful" (1: 162). Here again, Clara's literacy sets her apart from Miss Withering and serves as a sign of her inherent gentility.

Minnie's suspicion is confirmed when Clara discovers that the Ellists, a respectable family of Scotch emigrants who live next door to the Bantams, are actually her blood relations. Shortly after she makes this discovery, Clara’s genteel origins are revealed, and she finds a home with these cousins. The relationship she develops with them, like her relationship with Reginald, is framed through acts of reading and intellectual exchange. Grace Elliot explains to Clara the terms of their co-habitation: "You will tell us how things are done at home . . . without insisting that everything colonial is radically bad. You will read our books, and we shall read yours" (2: 4). Reading one another's books becomes a sign of mutual interdependence and a marker of cultural exchange. In addition, the privileging of literacy suggests one way in which British middle-class values were transplanted to Australia. Given the importance of literacy and its relation to middle-class life, it is fitting that Clara's family ties—and her identity—are revealed and consolidated in Australia through the sharing of books.

**Clara Morison: A postcolonial Jane Eyre**

Like her heroine, who is poised between two narrative economies, Spence's
novel can be linked both to a British and an Australian literary tradition. In the remainder of this chapter, I read Clara Morison alongside Jane Eyre, examining intertextual references that suggest Spence both drew on and departed from the conventions associated with the domestic tradition in Britain.\textsuperscript{13} I contend that, like Clara’s “household treasures,” the novel’s status as a material object enables it to circulate both in Britain and Australia as a repository of cultural values that are undergoing redefinition.

There are numerous echoes of Jane Eyre in Clara Morison. Tellingly, Clara has read Brontë’s novel. Spence invokes this intertext when Clara enters into a debate with a group of men about who is more prepossessing, Milton’s or Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s Eve: “You make us so absurdly amiable, and so dazzlingly lovely, that we do not recognize ourselves at all . . . Is not Jane Eyre, who is neither handsome nor what is called good, a much more interesting and natural character than you will find in men’s books?” (2: 59).\textsuperscript{14} Clara’s critique of representations of women in male-authored texts serves as a meta-commentary that highlights Spence’s investments in realistic portrayals of women. But more importantly, this intertextual allusion functions to insert Clara Morison into a domestic tradition dominated by women writers in Britain.

In addition to this overt intertext, there are many conspicuous parallels between the two novels. Most obviously, Clara, like Jane, is an orphaned governess. When Spence’s novel opens, Clara’s father has just died and she and her sister have been left at the mercy of their uncle, who decides to assist Clara in
emigrating to Australia while he retains her sister, Susan, as governess in his own family. Like Jane, Clara subsequently falls in love with a suitor who is unavailable for marriage, both because of differences in station and because of prior commitments. In Clara Morison, Reginald's engagement to an English woman named Julia serves as an impediment to their marriage, paralleling Rochester's secret marriage to Bertha Mason in Jane Eyre. The plots of both novels climax when opportune discoveries of lost cousins lead to the revelation of each heroine's genteel origins. After enduring a long series of "new servitude[s]" (Brontë 99), the protagonists are eventually restored to their appropriate stations through marriage to their previously unavailable suitors.

Along with these parallel plot lines, which suggest Spence's indebtedness to her precursor, the novels also share corresponding thematics. Although they are set in opposite locales, both novels are interested in exploring the impact middle-class domesticity might have as a corrective to the repressive practices associated with emigration and imperialism. By advocating renewed investments in domesticity as responses to the erosion of British identity that is instigated by colonial contact, each novel implicitly critiques the notion that Britain's domestic problems can simply be displaced onto the colonies. In Jane Eyre, such a displacement leads to the disaster at Thornfield, which culminates in Bertha Mason's death and in Edward Rochester's personal and financial ruin. In Clara Morison, it leads to Clara's refusal to return home when her uncle finally invites her to return to Scotland.
Critics of *Jane Eyre* have ably identified some of the complex ways in which domesticity and imperialism intersect in the figure of Bertha Mason Rochester.\(^8\) However, little attention has been paid to how Jane Eyre, like Clara Morison, is herself a locus of anxieties about empire, especially as they relate to emigration. As single women who are also orphans, Jane and Clara are quintessentially "superfluous" women, since they have neither husbands nor fathers and brothers to support them. In a passage from *Jane Eyre* that is rarely discussed by critics, the innkeeper living near Thornfield Hall expresses his disdain for Jane and the role she played in Rochester's demise: "I knew him from a boy, you see: and for my part, I have often wished that Miss Eyre had been sunk in the sea before she came to Thornfield Hall" (475). The innkeeper's wish that Jane had left England and drowned in lieu of coming to Thornfield may stem from a familiar Victorian anxiety about the subversive potential of the governess to destroy the integrity of the British family.\(^7\) Yet the innkeeper's allusion to Jane's imagined drowning might also represent an attempt to displace domestic conflicts onto the colonies, a strategy that is dramatically undercut in both *Jane Eyre* and *Clara Morison*.

The innkeeper's condemnation of Jane is only one of several instances in the novel where emigration is imagined as a potential solution to the problem of Jane's dependency. Even as a young girl at Gateshead, Jane is attuned to the dangers associated with emigration as she imagines that the elves she has read about in fairy tales "were all gone out of England to some savage country" (28). The first instance when the possibility of emigration is offered to Jane occurs
when John Eyre writes a letter to Mrs. Reed, intimating that he wishes to adopt
Jane and have her join him in Madeira; the second occurs when Rochester
claims to have found Jane a position as a governess to a family with five
daughters in Connaught, a remote region in the west of Ireland; and the third
occurs when St. John urges Jane to emigrate with him to India as his wife and
fellow missionary. Despite these very different opportunities, Brontë resists the
cultural imperative to banish her heroine from Britain. Jane's successive
displacements from one British family or institution to another, however, are
powerful reminders of her cultural instability as a figure who has no "home"
within the nation. Although Brontë rejects emigration as a potential fate for her
heroine, the problem of Jane's dependence is eradicated only through the
inheritance of a colonial fortune, a resolution that nonetheless foregrounds the
problematic relationship between domestic life in Britain and imperial practices
abroad.

The dangers of displacing domestic problems onto the colonies are obviously
central to the conflicts that structure the plot of Jane Eyre. Rochester's emigration
to the West Indies serves as a means of alleviating the anxiety created by the
system of primogeniture that renders him powerless in Britain. Yet as a strategy
for escape, emigration in Brontë's novel continually fails. After Mr. Mason's
arrival at Thornfield, which brings to the foreground the negative consequences
of Rochester's emigration, Rochester nonetheless fantasizes about escaping with
Jane to an island where they could be free from "trouble, and danger, and
hideous recollections" (229). Yet he is mocked by this fantasy when his hopes for
domestic regeneration are blighted by the series of events leading up to the
destruction of Thornfield Hall. After learning that he has survived this disaster,
Jane imagines emigration as a merciful fate for Rochester: "It seemed I could hear
all that was to come—whatever the disclosures might be—with comparative
tranquillity. Since he was not in the grave, I could bear, I thought, to learn that
he was at the Antipodes" (473). Brontë's refusal to allow Rochester such an
escape, but rather to seclude him at Ferndean (where he endures a very limited
existence prior to Jane's arrival), suggests her condemnation of his role in
designing Bertha's fate.

Although Jane remains in England in spite of several opportunities to
emigrate, emigration to the British colonies was a viable option for nineteenth-
century governesses, as I have shown previously. This was especially true
after mid-century when the Australian gold rush and the efforts of emigration
advocates lessened the stigmas associated with emigration and made Australia a
popular destination for middle-class Victorians. In Spence's novel, Clara's
emigration is figured as a means of displacing the domestic problems associated
with dependent women onto the colonies when Clara's uncle shirks his own
responsibility for his niece and merely passes her on to an unwitting friend in
Australia. Clara regards this act as banishment, insofar as she summarily sent
away (with very little money) and separated from the sister she loves. Like Jane
Eyre, who is banished from Gateshead only to be reclaimed into the family by
her uncle, Clara is effectively exiled until her uncle invites her to return home to Scotland. By that point, however, Clara has acclimated to Australian life and is as reluctant to leave the colony as many of her friends who are long-standing colonists. Whereas Clara’s cousins, who have been residents of South Australia for many years, fervently identify themselves as "colonials," Clara always occupies a more liminal status that dramatizes the impossibility of an effortless transformation. Despite the fact that she gradually adapts to colonial life by adjusting to the more relaxed social standards of the colony, she is nonetheless described late in the novel as "not quite colonial" (2: 65).

Clara’s liminality underscores the fissures that disrupt the relationship between home and colony as a result of attempts temporarily to displace domestic conflicts. Her simultaneous alignment with the novel’s white elite (by virtue of education) and with the Aborigines (by virtue of her position as servant) highlights the nexus of contradictions that are raised by her position in the colony. Like Jane’s colonial fortune, Clara’s dual alliances are indicative of her ambivalent relation both to Britain and to Australia. Such ambivalence is dramatized in *Clara Morison* when Miss Withering offers Clara one of her old gowns: "How Clara longed to refuse it! But she swallowed down her proud heart, and heroically said, 'thank you,' determining to give it to the first black woman who might come to chop wood" (1: 167). Miss Withering’s gift emphasizes Clara’s subservient relation to the members of the white elite, regardless of her education, while Clara’s urgency to dispose of the gown by
passing it on to "her acquaintance, Black Mary" underscores the uncomfortable alliance she shares with Aboriginal servants, as well as her need to reinforce her own superiority over them (1: 167). These uneasy identifications are foregrounded later in the novel when Clara is left alone for a fortnight while her employers are away. Desperate for companionship, Clara bribes Black Mary by offering one of her own gowns in exchange for a story about the Aboriginal woman's history (1: 212). In choosing to abandon the British poems that give her solace during periods of homesickness in favor of Black Mary's oral history, Clara is temporarily poised between two narrative economies.²¹

As the vehicle for the representation of Clara's ambivalent position, Spence's novel is itself between narratives. This liminality is most evident when comparing the endings of Jane Eyre and Clara Morison. Both represent liberatory possibilities for women, even within the context of marriage, by resolving the issue of female dependence through marriage to heroes of a higher class. Yet unlike Jane Eyre, Clara Morison dwells on new colonial models of domesticity that are made possible in part through adaptation to the architecture of the Australian bush house. Clara's marriage, together with the promise of her sister's emigration, situates the portable family at the center of colonial life. In addition, the suburban cottage that Clara's cousin, Margaret Elliot, shares with her brother represents an alternative model of domesticity—and an alternative ending to the marriage plot—that includes a desirable future for a single, independent woman.
Taringa, the Australian bush house that becomes Clara's home after marriage, is characterized by visibility and openness, whereas Jane's home at Ferndean is trooped through images associated with decay and darkness. Rochester retreats to this manor house injured and blind after the destruction of Thornfield, and he endures a "dark, dreary, hopeless life" until Jane arrives (486). Like Thornfield — which Rochester alternately describes as an "insolent vault" and a "narrow stone hell" (338)—Ferndean becomes a prison cell or tomb. Appropriately, Jane's first question when she sees the manor house is "[c]an there be life here?" (479). Indeed, because of its location "deep buried in a wood" on an "insalubrious site" (478), Rochester had once deemed Ferndean an unfit location for Bertha's captivity. Given these multiple associations of the manor house with death and decay, Ferndean is an ambiguous site at best for Jane and Rochester's attempts at domestic regeneration. For this reason, critics who read the ending of Jane Eyre as an egalitarian solution to the anxieties about oppression that dominate the novel are nonetheless troubled by the ominous overtones associated with Rochester and Jane's retreat.\(^{22}\)

Yet despite Ferndean's remote location, I contend that Jane's "aspirations after family ties and domestic happiness" equip her to transform Ferndean into a viable home (432). Despite St. John's persistent attempts to inspire Jane with what he considers are loftier goals, domestic ambitions are privileged within the context of the novel's closure. As Susan L. Meyer has argued "[c]reating a clean, healthy, middle-class environment stands as the novel's symbolic alternative to
an involvement in oppression" ("Colonialism and the Figurative Strategy" 264). The act of "cleaning house" is thus freighted with symbolic meanings. Just prior to her arrival at Ferndean, Jane consolidates her newly discovered family ties by engaging in an act of domestic fervor: she "cleans down Moor House from chamber to cellar" (435), recreating a home for her cousins that is "a model of bright modest snugness" (437). The hyperbolic nature of Jane's housekeeping, which suggestively culminates in an elaborate Christmas dinner (the test case for domestic competence), presumably prepares her for the domestic challenges Ferndean presents. Indeed, when she arrives at the manor house, Jane immediately takes control of domestic affairs and begins to restore order to the carelessly maintained household. Her insistence that Rochester share a meal with her (despite the fact that he has ceased to take supper) represents her first attempts to reinstate the essential rituals that structure domestic life (485).

This restoration to order is also coupled by Jane's efforts to "rehumanize" Rochester (484), who has begun to assume the mantle of insanity. The innkeeper tells Jane that after her departure Rochester "grew savage — quite savage on his disappointment: he never was a wild man, but he got dangerous after he lost her" (475). In her discussion of Jane Eyre, Meyer suggests that anxieties about oppression are centered around Jane Eyre prior to Bertha's entrance into the novel about a third of the way through. By the same token, I contend that after Bertha's death, such anxieties are displaced onto Rochester, who begins to take on features, like his seeming madness, that had typically been associated with his
wife. In passages evoking visual imagery previously linked with Bertha, Rochester is described as having a "cicatrized visage" and "shaggy black mane" (485-6). Jane likens Rochester's hair to eagles' feathers and his nails to birds' claws (484-5), analogies which also echo his own descriptions of Bertha as an animal or beast. Such imagery is also repeated in several instances when Jane compares Rochester to an eagle that has been caged and rendered impotent. In a dramatic reversal, after he ceases to be Bertha's captor, Rochester, who has earlier compared both Bertha and Jane to caged birds, is imprinted by the "taint" of his colonialist enterprises and symbolically imprisoned through his isolation at Ferndean.

But if Rochester's connection to Bertha transforms him and leads him into madness, Jane has the power to restore his sanity. By placing a premium on "domestic endearments and household joys" as "the best things the world has" (436), Jane consolidates British middle-class values and succeeds—at least superficially—in covering over the colonial ties both she and Rochester share. Reflecting back on her life with Rochester at Ferndean, Jane idealizes the marriage and regards any traces of their former inequality: "I know no weariness of my Edward's society: he knows none of mine . . . All my confidence is bestowed on him, all his confidence is devoted to me; we are precisely suited in character—perfect concord is the result" (500). As a corollary to her efforts to maintain such domestic harmony, Jane also ensures that Adèle acquires "a sound English education" that effaces the traces of her foreignness and molds her into a
"docile, good-tempered, and well-principled" young woman (499-500). That the novel ends with St. John's impending death in India indicates that Jane's efforts to shore up the domestic realm over against the empire are only partially successful, since news from the colonies continues to infiltrate the haven she has attempted to create.

In Clara Morison, Clara's marriage to Reginald involves similar investments in an idealized domesticity. In a parody of the domineering husband (perhaps even a parody of Rochester's controlling fantasies about his future with Jane), Reginald describes the demands he will place on his wife:

And now, loving you incomparably more and better than ever I loved [Julia], I feel that I shall be an exacting husband. I shall want a very great deal of your time and attention; I shall tell you every thought as it arises, without asking myself if it is likely to be agreeable to you; I shall insist on your going over old reading and thinking ground with me; I shall bore you with the price of wool, with the health of my sheep, and the conduct of my shepherds; and all because I love you so very much. (2: 265-6)

Having broken off his engagement with his English fiancée, a woman who had balked at the idea of relinquishing her social engagements and living in the remote Australian bush, Reginald explains how comparatively effortless his relationship with Clara will be. Although he envisions a future that involves the mundane routines of life on a sequestered sheep station, Reginald also describes an egalitarian relationship in which Clara's intellectual life will be supported.
Interestingly, he does not distinguish between the home and the workplace, or between leisure and business. Instead, Reginald’s description of his future with Clara suggests that their marriage will involve compromises between old and new practices; in the bush, reading and thinking about British literature will be coupled with the quotidian concerns and activities typical of life on a sheep station.

This absence of a distinction between what have typically been referred to as the “separate spheres” of Victorian culture is due in large part to the spatial arrangements of an Australian station house. As Diana Archibald has argued, station houses in the bush utilized spatial patterns unlike those found in a British town house or country home, thus necessitating new cultural practices and domestic routines. Australian bush houses were typically linear in layout, with three adjacent, enclosed rooms surrounded by a veranda on three sides. Speaking about the domestic arrangements at a bush house in Trollope’s *Harry Heathcote of Gangoil*, Archibald identifies the ways in which this architecture required adaptations to alternate domestic paradigms:

The house at Gangoil itself poses certain impediments to the establishment of British-style domesticity . . . The compartmentalization of activities into separate rooms in the London home is impossible in the bush. The veranda, instead, serves as sitting room, receiving room, library, and smoking room. The ladies and gentlemen do not separate after dinner; all go out together to the veranda, where it is not quite as hot and stuffy as the
indoor parlor where they eat meals . . . On the veranda also, women's work and men's work mingle: Mary's sewing machine shares the same space as Harry's business papers. Furthermore, there is no nursery at Gangoil.

Children and adults live together. (234-5)

Representing a new model for structuring domesticity, the bush house allows for a more egalitarian and unified conception of family life. At Trollope's Gangoil, the hero's wife enjoys the company of her husband, her children, and her sister. Likewise, after moving to Taringa, Clara gains the companionship not only of her husband, but also of her sister. And because the veranda functions as a communal space where men and women intermingle and where work and leisure are inseparable, the camaraderie Reginald describes when he envisions his life with Clara—which includes sharing intellectual and commercial concerns—seems possible within this new domestic space.

Despite its remote location in the bush, Taringa is represented as "a palace of a sheep-station" that is greatly improved by Clara's presence (2: 249), just as Ferndean benefits from Jane's. When Margaret visits Taringa shortly after Clara's marriage, she discovers that "whitewash and paper-hangings had quite divested Taringa of the gloomy appearance Reginald used to ascribe to it. It was really a cheerful, pretty place; the garden was thriving, and under Mrs. Duncanson's able management, the sheep-station began to look like a comfortable farm-house, for the domestic animals were her pride and her pleasure" (1: 271). The cheery interiors, the garden, and the domestic animals
that Clara and her Scottish servant introduce into Taringa contribute to the project of "whitewashing" that transforms the stereotypically remote and uncivilized bush house into a home that resembles those found in the British countryside. Although Reginald's station house displayed many of the trappings of middle-class domesticity even before Clara's arrival, including "books, pictures, fire-irons . . . a pretty cat and two handsome dogs for company" (2: 249), Clara's efforts make the home more appealing and comfortable, adaptations that mark the success of portable domesticity.

While Taringa is figured as an idealized colonial space, other models of middle-class domesticity are also depicted in the novel, including the all-female household created by the conditions of the gold rush that Clara briefly shares with her cousins as well as the suburban cottage that Margaret Elliot shares with her brother, Gilbert. The latter, which is in Adelaide, is a haven where the siblings can pursue the study of law together. For Margaret, the cottage serves the purposes Virginia Woolf would later associate with "a room of one's own," insofar as it provides her with the financial security and the space necessary to pursue the work that fulfills her. Margaret, who has declined several offers of marriage, is contented to live as a single woman and to forsake the security and convenience of marriage in favor of independence and intellectual freedom. The narrator's description of Margaret's complacency with her single state offers a liberating alternative to the marriage plot: "So, after spending some weeks with those happy married people . . . Margaret settled herself down with her brother
in their cottage, and studied with all the energy of her active nature; without ever fancying that such a home was in store for herself, or that she ever could be anything but an independent old maid" (2: 271-2). Rather than elaborating on the domestic interiors of the cottage, Spence focuses on the intellectual work Margaret does there, deliberately shifting the locus of attention from the traditional domestic roles of women and wives to a focus on female middle-class professionalism.

Roughly fifty years after the publication of Clara Morison, Ellen Joyce, herself a professional woman and an advocate for female emigration, was able to assert that the colonies were "little more secluded than the Yorkshire village from which Charlotte Brontë flooded the reading world of the fifties" (quoted in Hammerton, "Out of Their Natural Station" 150). Although one FMCES emigrant claimed in a letter to Lewin that Australia and its people were "verily the Antipodes of home" (Clarke 114), the transplantation of the domestic novel to colonial Australia suggests that the relationship between Britain and Australia was more synergistic than oppositional. Spence’s postcolonial rewriting of Brontë’s novel indicates how this transformation in the way Britons regarded the settlement colonies by the end of the nineteenth century might have taken place. Clara Morison is fascinating for its dramatization of how domestic narratives circulated in various ways in Australia, thereby influencing how emigrants negotiated the tensions between retaining their ties to Britain and creating a unique set of domestic ideals and practices in the Australian bush.
Notes

1 Such propaganda is evident in the following passage from S. W. Silver & Co.'s Handbook for Australia and New Zealand, which represents marriage in the colonies as a process of inevitable transition: "The constant changing of single women into the ranks of the married makes room for new hands at service, in the house, or shop. It may appear paradoxical to say, though it is none the less true, that there is often a readier opening for young female immigrants in the old settled Colony, than in places where, from their scarcity, women may be thought to be more required" (97).

2 Through an analysis of Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre as well as feminist campaigns aimed at improving opportunities for female education and employment, Mary Poovey argues that the British governess highlighted the contradictions inherent in Britain's domestic ideals, specifically those associated with the ideology of separate spheres. Poovey writes that because the governess was positioned by virtue of the work she did between the middle-class mother and the working-class woman, "[she] belongs to both sides of the opposition: in her, the very possibility of an opposition collapses" (147). In her analysis of Victorian governess novels, Helena Michie explores images of the governess that show her wavering between the bodies of the leisure class lady and the female worker, thereby dramatizing the contradictions within her position. Michie argues that the role of the governess is actually figured in fiction as a disguise
that must be penetrated by the hero and the reader. "Underneath the subdued costume of the governess," Michie writes, "is the delicate and sensitive body of the leisure-class heroine" (*The Flesh Made Word* 48).

3 Annie Hunt, one of the few FMCES emigrants to Australia who was not a governess, exhibits a characteristic class bias when she alludes to the stigmas associated with needlework: "Fortunately I am not bound to this one means of getting a living [Law Copying] and have already found employment with my needle—this, however, will have its disadvantages because if I follow this for a living I could not stay in the Home on my present footing and I would not mix with the Dressmakers and Needlewomen here" (Clarke 122).

4 The records of the FMCES are housed in the Fawcett Library in London. Citations from the FMCES letters are taken from Patricia Clarke's *The Governesses*.

5 By the time of her death in 1910, Spence was widely known as the "grand old woman of Australia" (Thomson ix).

6 Poovey discusses the governess primarily in terms of her perceived status as a social problem, while McClintock focuses on the colonial governess' status as an abject figure. In her discussion of *Jane Eyre*, Michie alludes to a more positive reading of the governess, arguing that "Jane's ambiguous bodily position is both potentially transformative and dangerous" (*The Flesh Made Word* 50).
7 For the terms of this debate about "superfluous women," see William R. Greg's 1862 essay "Why Are Women Redundant?" and Francis Power Cobbe's "What Shall We Do with Our Old Maids?"

8 For a more detailed account of the formation and development of the FMCES, see Chapter 5 of James Hammerton's *Emigrant Gentlewomen*.

"Such class consciousness is everywhere evident in Rye's letters, which often include similar allusions to "the right set of girls" (The Times, June 21, 1862) and "women . . . of a class very superior to those now sent" (The Times, April 7, 1862).

10 For an important critique of how the development of the female as individualist in the age of imperialism often occurs, as it does in this instance, at the expense of the native female, see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

11 Clara's predicament is echoed by several FMCES emigrants who indicate that their letters of introduction are useless, as are their British teaching credentials. One governess laments that "Our Cook has £10 more than I do and I hold an English Certificate, [which] is as much value as waste paper here" (Clarke 120).

12 A similar thematics is evident in Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne* (1861). After she is presumed dead, Lady Isabel Vane adopts a disguise and returns to her former home where she becomes a governess to her own children. Although her identity is at issue after she assumes the persona of the governess, Madame Vine, her gentility is always evident in spite of her disguise.
Spence comments in her *Autobiography* on the strategic negotiations she engaged in as a colonial writer seeking also to appeal to an English audience: "If stories are excessively Australian they lost the sympathies of the bulk of the public. If they are mildly Australian, the work is thought to lack distinctiveness" (quoted in Thomson xi).

At the level of plot, Spence answers this self-reflexive question by allowing her hero to choose Clara over Julia, the quintessentially "lovely, accomplished English wife" (1: 60).

In a provocative reversal, Clara comes into her true identity when she finds her cousins, the Elliots, at the parallel moment when Jane Eyre begins assuming an alias—Jane Elliott—that is also suggestive of an intertextual dialogue between the two novels.

For discussions of these intersections, see Spivak's seminal essay, as well as Susan L. Meyer's essay and Deirdre David's *Rule Britannia*, Chapter Three.

Interestingly, after Jane learns about Bertha's existence, the language of awakening to her position is figured in terms of drowning: "The bitter hour cannot be described: in truth, 'the waters came into my soul; I sank in deep mire: I felt no standing; I came into deep waters; the floods overflowed me" (331).

This possibility resurfaces later in the novel when Mr. Briggs, the lawyer, suggests that were John Eyre well, he would urge Jane to accompany Mr. Mason to Madeira.
The undesirability of this solution is evident in the very names associated with the position: the reader is obviously not meant to question why Jane resists going to Mrs. O'Gall of Bitternutt Lodge.

For a relatively optimistic reading of Brontë's resolution, see Deirdre David, Chapter Three. David reads the ending as "a fantasy of rehabilitated wealth," arguing that although both Rochester and Jane's wealth is acquired through the practices of colonialism, "it may still serve to fashion a chastened colonial governance" (84).

Clara's conventionally racist response to Black Mary's history nonetheless quickly reinstates her alliance with her own British traditions, as they relate both to the requirements of realism and to domesticity: "It was uninteresting enough, but yet it did not seem true, so that it was unsatisfactory in all respects . . . and when she told Clara about the pickaninny she had had many moons ago, who had wasted away and died, she did not weep as an English mother would do, nor did her voice sink to sorrowful pathos; but she talked of it with indifference, till she had finished her recital" (1: 212).

For readings that address the seemingly contradictory impulses of the novel's ending, see articles by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar and by Susan L. Meyer.

The trope of darkened skin signifying the taint of colonialism is prevalent in innumerable instances in Victorian novels. For a nuanced reading of how this
tropes is employed in *Jane Eyre*, see Meyer's "Colonialism and the Figurative Strategy of *Jane Eyre*," pp. 259-261.

24 When she first encounters Rochester at Ferndean, Jane uses this metaphor to describe him: "in his countenance, I saw a change: that looked desperate and brooding—that reminded me of some wronged and fettered wild beast or bird, dangerous to approach in his sullen woe. The caged eagle, whose gold-ringed eyes cruelty has extinguished, might look as looked this sightless Sampson" (479).

25 Compare Reginald's speech to Rochester's banter after he has proposed to Jane for the first time: "But listen—whisper—it is your time now, little tyrant, but it will be mine presently: and when once I have fairly seized you, to have and to hold, I'll just—figuratively speaking—attach you to a chain like this . . . Yes, bonny wee thing, I'll wear you in my bosom, lest my jewel I should tyne" (303).
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