

**British Settler Emigration in Print: Mainstream Models and Counter-Currents, 1832-
1877**

Submitted by Judith Isabel Piesse, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of
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Abstract

During the nineteenth century an unprecedented number of emigrants left Britain, primarily for America, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. Recent historical scholarship has argued that these predominantly Victorian mass migrations belong to an even larger history of “Anglo” migration, characterized by its global reach and ideological investment in settlement. Situating my approach in relation to this wider framework, this thesis argues that Victorian periodicals played a key and overlooked role in both imagining and mediating the dramatic phenomenon of mass British settler emigration. As I argue in chapter 1, this is both owing to close historical and material links between settler emigration and the periodical press, and to the periodical’s deeper running capacities to register and moderate forms of modern motion. While most novels do little to engage with emigration, turning to periodicals brings to light a large range of distinct settler emigration texts and genres which typically work with cohesive spatio-temporal models to offset the destabilizing potentiality of emigrant mobility. Moreover, many now canonical texts originally published in periodicals can be situated alongside them; presenting opportunities to produce fresh readings of works by Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope and others which I incorporate throughout.

My first three chapters focus on settler emigration genres which circulated across a range of mainstream, predominantly middle-class periodicals: texts about emigrant voyages, emigration-themed Christmas stories, and serialized novels about colonial settlement. I argue that these texts are cohesive and reassuring, and thus of a different character to the adventure stories often associated with Victorian empire. The second part of my thesis aims to capitalize on the diversity and range which is a key feature of Victorian periodicals by

turning to settler emigration texts that embody a feminized or radical perspective, and which often draw upon mainstream representations in order to challenge their dominant formations.

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Introduction

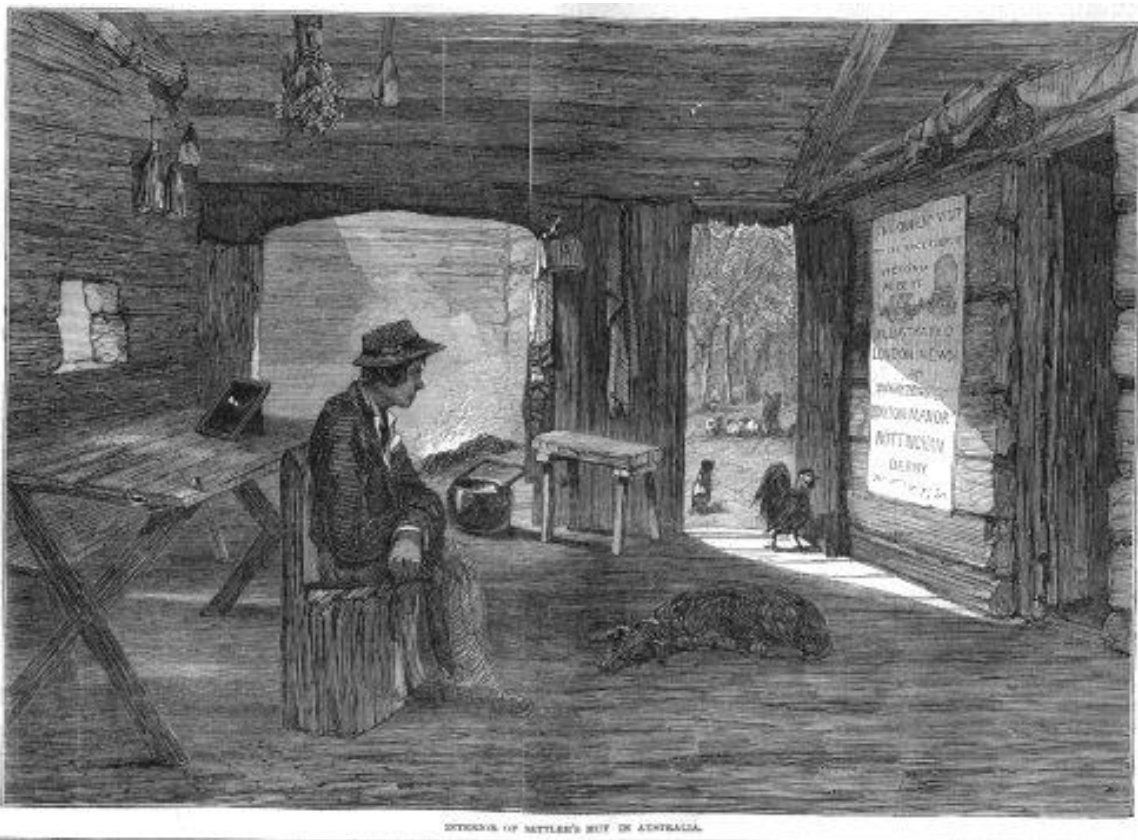


Fig. 1. T. Skinner Prout. “Interior of Settler’s Hut in Australia.” *Illustrated London News* 17 March 1849: 184. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter.

On 17 March 1849, readers of the *Illustrated London News* were afforded this glimpse into the hut of an emigrant settler in Australia. The settler, “a poor shepherd” named Joe, is positioned towards the centre left of the frame, the contours of shadow and light emphasizing the contrast between inside and out. Around him are the signs of a rural and domestic life: rustic wooden furniture, a sleeping dog, a black pot by a bright hearth. Towards the right, however, if the reader follows the shepherd’s gaze, is an apparently

incongruous object—a large printed sheet onto which the light shines. As the accompanying text explains, this is in fact a full page advertisement from a previous issue of the *Illustrated London News* which had announced Queen Victoria’s visit to Joe’s “Midland Counties” home. The text proceeds to outline the artist’s happy discovery of the settlement just as he risked losing his way in “the wild forest,” and frames the whole as the reassuring conclusion to an earlier image by the same artist, “whose pictures on a voyage to Australia the reader will, doubtless, remember.”

This image encapsulates many of the key concepts and relationships which concern my thesis. It points, in the first instance, towards fundamental links between periodicals and mass settler emigration, which are both a matter of historical synergy and, as I shall argue, of deeper running affinities relating to the periodical’s own status as an intrinsically mobile and widely circulating textual form. By focusing on periodicals, my thesis aims to fill a significant gap in the emerging study of nineteenth-century British settler emigration. While often overlooked by migration scholars, not least because British emigration has itself been substantially under studied, I argue that the Victorian periodical press played a key role in both imagining and moderating the often highly destabilizing mass settler emigration booms which rocked and remade the nineteenth-century world.¹ Indeed, unlike most novels, many widely read periodicals aimed at middle and working-class consumers engaged with settler emigration reiteratively and centrally, formulating and disseminating the distinct settler emigration texts and genres which this study brings to light. Rather than fitting the adventure story format most often associated with Victorian empire, the periodical settler emigration texts exemplified by this image of Joe typically combine

¹ Though the chronological range of this study predates the reign of Queen Victoria by five years, most of the texts referenced date from after 1837. For the sake of simplicity, I therefore use the term ‘Victorian’ to refer to the full extent of the period.

overlapping models of home, nation, and settlement with variously nuanced temporalities of a similarly cohesive character: ultimately utilizing such features to reassuringly offset the integral movements and dislocations simultaneously registered. Meanwhile, outside the frame of this particular print, more radical or resistant texts about settler emigration often employ the same characteristic spatio-temporal models to differential effects, giving rise to what I am terming a range of equally interesting counter-currents which draw upon mainstream representations in order to challenge their dominant formations.

Though both kinds of text galvanized acts of real-life emigration and settlement, they also tell a subtler story about how settler emigration was culturally mediated and imagined, as well as endorsed or resisted, within society as a whole, and speak to and of those who never left Britain as well as the substantial minority who did. Moreover, they frequently intertwine with a range of important works of literature which were originally published in periodical form: thus providing opportunities to re-conceptualize well-known texts by Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, Edward Bulwer-Lytton and others in the light of spatio-temporal dynamics which are often obscured when read as single volumes. As such, it is my contention that periodicals provide a rich opportunity to explore a diverse range of metropolitan engagements with the phenomenon of mass settler emigration in both popular ephemeral and canonical modes of Victorian literary culture.

In order to frame my thesis, the following introduction will situate it within the context of recent critical work on the history and culture of nineteenth-century British emigration, incorporating a review of the most relevant literature. It will conclude with an overview of the decisions and methodologies which inform my approaches to the fields of emigration studies and Victorian print culture which the thesis spans.

Histories

The figure of Joe represents just one of the estimated twelve million emigrants who left Britain between 1815 and 1930, and whose historical experience underpins my thesis and requires some early attention (Belich 58).² According to Diana Archibald, this included five and a half million Victorian emigrants leaving Britain between 1837 and 1901 to destinations which primarily lay across America, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, in that order of popularity (1-2).³ While people have always emigrated, the period which incorporates the range of this study undoubtedly saw an unprecedented level of mass migration, with many emigrant destinations themselves only becoming viable from this time: Australia gaining credibility as a non-penal destination from around 1830 with the foundation of Queensland in 1824, Western Australia in 1829, and South Australia in 1836, New Zealand formally annexed in 1840, Natal founded in 1842, and a host of new American territories established on the white man's map from the 1840s onwards, including California, Oregon, Arizona, and much of what would become Nevada, Utah, and

² As Belich notes, emigration statistics “vary substantially” (73), with this relatively modest estimate sourced from Dudley Baines's *Emigration from Europe* (7-9). I draw upon the best available emigration figures from historians including Belich, Baines, N. H. Carrier and J. R. Jeffery throughout my thesis, but do so on the understanding that such figures can never claim to be entirely accurate.

³ For simplicity, I will use the term ‘Canada’ throughout this thesis to denote the regions comprising modern-day Canada, most of which were confederated within the Dominion of Canada under the Constitution Act of 1867, and ‘Australia’ to denote the colonies which became federated in 1901. I use the term ‘America’ to denote non-British regions of nineteenth-century North America, comprising the modern United States and the western regions into which it was in the process of expanding. For more comprehensive accounts of colonial history, federation, and the evolution of nomenclature in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, see Harper and Constantine 11-40, 41-74, 75-110, and 111-35.

Colorado (Belich 83-84, 261-63; Richards, *Britannia's Children* 118-25; McLynn 10).⁴

Those who left included an estimated seven per cent of assisted emigrants, many partially funded by Australian colonies via the auspices of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, others through private charitable organizations such as the Family Colonization Loan Society, and around 27,000 through provisions to aid pauper migrants made within the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Transportation to Australia also continued until 1868, although it was largely discontinued from the 1840s (Richards, *Britannia's Children* 137-39, 124). However, British migration was overwhelmingly made up of free emigrants who left by choice, and with their own funds. As Eric Richards notes, these migrants spanned the social and geographical spectrum, but were primarily what he terms “ordinary folk” of working or middle-class origins (*Britannia's Children*, 11-12, 6). Historians have posited numerous reasons for this new truly mass phenomenon, with the consensus located between a range of ‘push’ factors such as overpopulation, poverty, and unemployment caused by industrial transition, and ‘pull’ factors including the draw of better wages and employment opportunities overseas, the desire to own land, to become independent, or to take advantage of the glittering trails of gold rushes across America and the British colonies, including those in California, Victoria, and Otago. To this must also be added crucial enabling factors such as the technological advancements in steamships and railways that made long distance travel increasingly viable from the 1830s.⁵

⁴ While British emigration was also prevalent at other points in history, earlier peaks were eclipsed in both rate and scale during the nineteenth century. For example, Richards estimates that 210,000 left Britain for America during the exceptional peak period of seventeenth-century emigration between 1630 and 1660, but that 40,642 left for the United States in 1840 alone, rising to 166,570 in the year 1880 (17-90, 53, 121, 179).

⁵ This historical overview is informed by works cited in the General Bibliography by Belich, Baines, Douglas Fetherline, Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, Alex Murdoch, Richards, and Malcolm J. Rohrbough.

Until recently, most historical studies of this field have tended to organize themselves around the question of destination. For example, Charlotte Erickson's work on English and Scottish emigrants' letters in *Invisible Immigrants* and William E. Van Vugt's *Britain to America* afford an invaluable grounding in the history of British emigration to America, while Helen R. Woolcock's *Rights of Passage* takes an even more localized approach in providing an excellent account of Victorian migration to Queensland. Such studies also often comment upon the surprising paucity of historical studies of British or English emigration, as opposed to those focused on Ireland or Scotland. In addition, the study of all nineteenth-century emigration from Britain and Ireland is hampered by what Erickson notes is the difficulty of accessing reliable historical sources. Emigrants and immigrants, as her title indicates, are often tantalizingly "invisible": freefalling through holes in the figures of badly kept port records or parish registers; and disobligingly mute about their personal histories, identities, and ambitions (1-2). Likewise, Carrier and Jeffery note the difficulties of tracing British emigrant statistics from administration carried out under the auspices of the Passenger Acts, which conflates passengers with emigrants, neglects to record cabin class passengers until 1863, and documents port destination instead of intended location of settlement (17).⁶

In recent years, however, a new wave of historical analysis has swept through the academy which both rectifies the relative lack of attention that has been paid to the phenomenon of British emigration, and takes a macro approach to destination which brings to light its scale and impact. Historians in this tradition include Dudley Baines, Richards, Alexander Murdoch, Marjory Harper, and Stephen Constantine, all of whose research

⁶ Passenger Acts collected statistics in order to regulate the number of emigrants that could be safely carried. Six acts were passed between 1805 and 1855 (Porter 77).

underpins this thesis at various points. However, my understanding of emigration history has been most significantly informed by James Belich's influential 2009 study *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*. Belich's primarily economic account of why English-speaking peoples grew so exponentially in population, wealth, and power over this period is underpinned by an understanding of the large extent to which nineteenth-century migration was dominated by the global movement of "Anglo" peoples. This incorporated the migration of predominantly British and Irish people to both America and what Belich terms the "British West" of the Australasian and Canadian colonies, and the simultaneous overland migration of British, Irish, Germans, and Americans across the expanding American West (82-83).⁷ Belich also argues that this migration was significantly distinguishable from other forms of emigration, such as sojourning, forced exile, or indenture, in being a permanent form of elective "settlement" that sought to replicate "Anglo" culture at the point of destination.⁸

Moreover, while Richards had previously argued that British emigrants departed with "astonishingly little framework or ideology," Belich places a strong emphasis upon the important role which *culture* had to play within the subtle range of push and pull factors governing emigration (Richards, *Britannia's Children* 149). He argues that booster literature and emigrants' letters in particular played an important role in promoting what he terms "formal" and "informal" versions of a new ideology of "settlerism" which served to redeem emigration from older negative associations with exile, criminality, and national

⁷ A similar "triangular" conceptualization of historical and cultural relationships between the United States, Australasia, and Britain from the late eighteenth-century onwards is outlined by Paul Giles in his influential 2008 essay "Antipodean American Literature," as part of what Tamara Wagner notes is a growing trend in transatlantic studies to situate the United States within a global or postcolonial framework (Wagner, "Introduction" 7).

⁸ In doing so, Belich enters into a long-running, cross-disciplinary debate about different forms of colonialism. For an overview see Lorenzo Veracini 1-15.

depletion. Though Belich suggests that the “informal” letters and oral accounts of emigration place a stronger emphasis upon independence than the more “formal” propaganda, he characterizes both modes as largely optimistic, often fixated on ideas of abundance, and closely related to the risk-taking, semi-hysterical “boom mentality” which he associates with new settler societies (153-69, 159, 200-06, 200). Belich’s work can also be situated as part of what Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson note is a broader tendency amongst economic historians of empire to move beyond the disciplinary assumption that individuals always act as self-interested “rational agents,” and to recognize the extent to which “economics, like any other form of human activity, is culturally influenced” (13, 13-15).

While Belich’s work on the culture and ideology of settler emigration has some significant limitations which I will address in the section that follows, I draw several important points from his thesis as a means of framing my own. Firstly, I utilize his fundamental conceptualization of a nineteenth-century “Anglo” emigration which operated on an unprecedented, cross-destination global scale; although, as I shall explain below, I try to balance the breadth and range of this approach against an awareness of the importance of particular local and historic contexts, and primarily limit my focus to movements from Britain for the sake of manageability. I also concur with Belich in his recognition and refinement of the idea that the decades of mass settler emigration constituted a specific stage of migration history which is distinguishable from earlier and later epochs. This thesis works on the basis of this distinction, thus disentangling the period of mass settler emigration, which he dates from 1815, from both earlier forms of emigration and that later era of militaristic and consciously expansionist imperialism with which it sometimes

overlapped.⁹ My periodization from 1832 to 1877 is largely an attempt to articulate this differentiation, in commencing with the first major migration boom and peak of public interest in settler emigration, and ending in the year Queen Victoria's title as Empress of India was announced at the Imperial Assemblage in Delhi on 1 January 1877 (Cohen 203). Making this distinction is of course contentious, and I do not mean to suggest that it is possible to draw a clear line between what is often termed "high imperialism" and the discourses which precede and shape it—only to bring more clearly into focus the range of texts and discussions which concern my thesis.¹⁰

Though only a marginal part of his differently motivated study, I also take Belich's emphasis upon the important role played by text within the "Settler Revolution" as a significant invitation to scholars working within other disciplines (9). In particular, it constitutes an invitation to literary scholars to consider a range of imaginative texts which lie outside the parameters of the often elusive sources of historical research, and beyond even the use of those emigrants' letters which Murdoch argues help us access the "human experience" of emigration which "underlies what is commonly presented as a phenomenon of an expanding labour market in an expanding world economy" (127). If, as Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Holland argue in their interdisciplinary study *Migration Theory*:

⁹ This is particularly the case in the American Western context, in which the United States developed an "aggressive, expansionist" policy from the mid-1840s, often associated with a doctrine of 'Manifest Destiny' which stressed the providential right of the white race to possess the whole continent (McLynn 5-18, 9).

¹⁰ A long-running related debate has centred on the extent to which Victorian enthusiasm for empire predates its most obvious onset with the 'Scramble for Africa' in the 1880s. See, for instance John Mackenzie's *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960*, Bernard Porter's *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*, and Elleke Boehmer's *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, which also includes a useful definition of "high imperialism" (29-30). This thesis works on the basis that a transitional date, variously locatable between 1875 and 1885, remains useful as a means of signalling a shift in the nature of Victorian engagements with empire.

Talking Across Disciplines, the way in which a research question “is formulated or framed is dependent upon the discipline” it also presents an opportunity to frame questions about emigration and settlement outside of the usual disciplinary contexts, and to reconsider the subject from the perspective of literary and cultural studies—which are notably absent from their discussion (2). It ultimately presents an opportunity to ask not only about the ways in which this phenomenon operated ideologically “inside [the] heads” of those who emigrated, but about how the phenomenon of mass settler emigration was diversely registered, imagined, and moderated within Victorian literary and print culture as a whole (Belich 133).¹¹ As such, while this thesis draws widely upon historical scholarship and the geographical theorizations which I shall outline below, it tempers its interdisciplinary range with an awareness of the special opportunities afforded by taking a cultural and literary approach to the study of migration and settlement.

Culture and Migration

In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward W. Said influentially argued that narratives have an instrumental part to play in the history of empire, calling for a new “contrapuntal” method of reading which aims to discover “what is silent or marginally present or ideologically represented” in canonical novels such as *Great Expectations* and *Mansfield Park* (66-67,

¹¹ I originally used the term “management” in early drafts of this thesis as a means of signalling how culturally dominant texts interact with the experience of migration, but became uncomfortable with its authoritarian connotations. Though imperfect, I accordingly use the term “moderate” throughout to signal a mode of mediating interaction between text and historical experience that combines a qualified sense of the impulse towards management with appropriate connotations of the desire to ameliorate and render a phenomenon less extreme.

xiii-xv).¹² Meanwhile, working on a similar understanding of the intrinsic links between culture and imperialism, Martin Green has moved beyond the canonical in order to explore a whole range of popular adventure stories in which he locates the impetus that both helped imagine imperial expansion and ultimately played a role in fuelling its actualization. This pivotal link between empire and narrative—both as a tool of reflective conceptualization and, conversely, as a more active galvanizer—informs my approach throughout, and will be outlined in more detail in chapter 1.

However, neither Said nor Green have much to say about settler emigration, and do not distinguish the phenomenon as belonging to a distinct stage of empire history. It is my contention that making the choice to consider it as such brings into focus a whole range of other literature, which is neither as resolutely mute about “strange regions of the world” as Said’s coterie of single volume canonical texts, nor as predominantly fixated on adventure as the narratives explored by Green (xiii). A similar point has recently been made by Lorenzo Veracini in a timely chapter on “Narrative” within his 2010 study *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (95-116). This chapter reiterates the case for the strong links between narrative and empire noted above, while also stressing “the specific differences separating colonial and settler colonial storytelling” (96). Instead of incorporating the trope of return typical of “circular” colonial narratives, Veracini argues that the “linear” settler colonial narrative “operates in accordance with a register of sameness,” which denies the possibility of literal return while simultaneously configuring settlement itself as a return to a known, familiar culture which has been “irretrievably lost”

¹² See also Boehmer 13-57 for a comprehensive account of what she terms empire as “a textual undertaking,” dependent on the use of “migrant metaphors” which borrowed tropes from much earlier literary traditions in order to reassuringly encode new worlds within “a familiar framework of grammatical and symbolic structures” (5, 17).

(96-99, 4). While I have found a similar impulse towards achieving a “register of sameness” within many mainstream imaginative engagements with settlement, my approach essentially differs to Veracini’s in focusing upon what I am terming “settler emigration” rather than “settler colonialism”: that is, foregrounding the act of emigration itself, as well as its inevitable relationship to ideas of settlement, as configured from a metropolitan rather than colonial point of view. As Belich has noted, writing about settler emigration constituted a sea of text upon text which must have numbered in its hundreds of thousands, and constituted “one of the largest genres in nineteenth-century English literature” (153).¹³

While this corpus still remains largely underexplored by literary scholars, especially those working in Britain, it has begun to attract a burgeoning degree of critical attention over the last decade, with several works constituting particularly useful precedents for this study. One of the earliest in the field, Archibald’s 2002 *Domesticity, Imperialism, and Emigration in the Victorian Novel*, provides a rare book-length account of how emigration across various destinations is registered in canonical novels such as *Mary Barton* and *Great Expectations*. Archibald explores how such texts give voice to what she argues are often conflicting but coexistent ideologies of domesticity and imperialism, and suggests that novels had a part to play in informing real acts of migration. In her 2009 work *Antipodal England: Emigration and Portable Domesticity in the Victorian Imagination*, Janet C. Myers has also stressed the domestic quality of emigration literature about Australia,

¹³ It is also worth noting that the metropolitan settler emigration texts and genres studied in this thesis work with the possibility of literal return in more ambiguous and diverse ways than Veracini suggests is the case within settler colonial narratives; a point which will be addressed throughout. Real rates of emigrant return were substantial throughout the period of this study, at what Belich estimates to be “about 25 per cent averaged over the whole of the long nineteenth century,” and perhaps as high as forty per cent for British emigrants in the fifty years preceding 1914 according to Baines (Belich 127; Baines, *Migration* 131).

outlining the ways in which texts of both canonical and non-canonical status promote a “new form of portable domesticity that enabled British emigrants throughout the second half of the nineteenth century to envision and to create the space” which she terms “Antipodal England” (2). More recently still, Tamara S. Wagner’s 2011 *Victorian Settler Narratives: Emigrants, Cosmopolitans and Returnees in Nineteenth-Century Literature* takes the wide-ranging transnational approach to emigration history proposed by Belich in presenting the first edited collection on this theme. Like Myers and Archibald, Wagner places a useful emphasis on “a reconsideration of domesticity in the expanding settler world,” incorporating several essays which stress the domestic and feminine qualities of settler emigration literature, as well as some which, importantly, draw attention to its overlaps with adventure and sensation (“Introduction” 16). This thesis shares all three authors’ interests in the interaction between settler genres and now canonical metropolitan texts, as well as their recognition that literary engagements with settler emigration are often deeply invested in concepts of home and femininity—and thus of a significantly different character to what Green terms the “brothers’ story” of masculine adventure (344).

Meanwhile, without specifically focusing upon settler emigration, Josephine McDonagh makes an important contribution to the field in two recent essays on migration and the novel which also inform my approach. McDonagh argues that increasing levels of internal and external migration during the nineteenth century impact upon the Victorian realist novel through a developing “sense of place” that is textually generated in response to the destabilizing impact of mobility (McDonagh, “Space, Mobility, and the Novel” 50-53). Rather than using the narrower category of the domestic, she borrows from the spatial vocabularies of philosophy and cultural geography in order to explore broader relationships between models of affective, static ‘place’ and concepts of regulatory ‘space’ as they

operate in relation to literary engagements with mobility, arguing that canonical literary texts played a similar role to emigrants' handbooks and letters in attempting to mediate the troubling experience of modern mobility (McDonagh, "Space, Mobility" 53-58; "On Settling and Being Unsettled" 58-61). McDonagh's spatial vocabulary is primarily informed by Marxist geographers such as Henri Lefebvre and David Soja, who argue for a social and political understanding of spatiality which contravenes an essentialist and often conservative notion of human spatial experience across cultures and histories.

While this study is not centred upon the novel or realism, I find McDonagh's use of an interdisciplinary spatial vocabulary, as well as her recognition of key relationships between concepts of place and mobility, a useful means of framing my study of the settler genres themselves. In being broader than either the concept of 'home' stressed by the domestic readings outlined above, the idea of 'settlement' itself foregrounded by Belich and Veracini, or the concept of 'nation' which James Buzard has argued accrued particular significance in the nineteenth-century novel as a means of countering the pull of imperial expansion, the category of 'place' can be usefully applied to all of these overlapping models as they work towards similarly cohesive effects, or are actively dismantled within more radical contexts (Buzard 43).¹⁴ While I also engage with postcolonial critics including Homi Bhabha, Said, Benedict Anderson, and Veracini at pertinent moments throughout this thesis, and continue to find postcolonial conceptualizations of narrative, spatiality, difference, the nation, and indigenous-settler relations useful as a means of theorizing some of the anxieties registered by specific texts and genres, I find an overarching framework

¹⁴ I am also indebted to McDonagh for her introduction to this theoretical and historical terrain on the King's College London MA module "Literature in a Time of Migration," and for her supervision of the MA dissertation which acted as a springboard for this project. See Piesse, "The Moving World in *Household Words*: Patterns in the 'Geographical Imagination.'"

which explores tensions between mobility and the impulse towards cohesion most helpful as a means of conceptualizing settler emigration as configured from a metropolitan point of view, and within the context of the periodical press.

Moreover, a conceptual framework which recognizes the role played by variously nuanced models of place in attempting to “heal” what McDonagh terms “the concealed trauma” of modern mobility serves to foreground the essential uneasiness about migration’s potentially *destabilizing* impact which Belich’s analysis, through its emphasis on concepts of “ease of transfer” and the prevalence of an enthusiastic settler “boom mentality,” tends to underplay (McDonagh, “Space, Mobility” 65; Belich 132, 200). On the one hand, it is true that emigration was often hailed by contemporary commentators such as Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill as the great panacea, which was going to solve any number of “Condition of England” problems, including overpopulation, the potential threat of revolution, unemployment, poverty, and what emigration theorist and pioneer Edward Gibbon Wakefield termed a “want of room” for competition and upward social mobility across all classes (Wakefield 65).¹⁵ This enthusiasm was typically underpinned by a liberal faith in the self-regulating, mobile market economy, which in Adam Smith’s words, relied upon “free circulation of labour and stock, both from employment to employment, and from place to place” (217). Indeed, as Carter F. Hanson has noted, liberal middle-class concepts of work, vocation, and social and self-improvement were important to discourses about emigration in both reality and textual representation, and I will engage with these as they become pertinent throughout my thesis. Below this shift to a surface level of general

¹⁵ The term the “Condition of England Question” is usually attributed to Thomas Carlyle, who used the phrase in his 1839 pamphlet *Chartism* to address those problems of poverty, rapid industrialization, and social unrest which characterized the 1830s and 40s. For a useful overview of the views of Mill, Carlyle and others on emigration, see Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness* 114-20.

enthusiasm, however, ran a range of reservations which often congregated around well-documented contradictory seams in these same mainstream liberal ideologies: that is, as Robert L. Heilbroner puts it, the tendency to find a “source of potential disruption and disorder” in the very forces of “social and spatial mobility” which such a socio-economic worldview essentially valorizes (Heilbroner 151. See also Poovey 25-54). As I shall argue in chapter 1, these issues and contradictions characteristically shape mainstream periodical settler emigration literature, which consistently registers deep anxieties about the consequences of setting certain classes or categories of people into destabilizing motion, concerns about threats to national cohesion, anxieties about a kind of unregulated or ‘rush’ movement which destabilizes concepts of steady progress, and an uneasiness about the disruptive potentiality of new colonial spaces. To this pool of more abstract concerns must also be added the painful separation from loved ones and dangerous long distance travel with which settler emigration was necessarily associated for most of the nineteenth century, as well as a cluster of broader residual anxieties about emigration’s historical associations with exile, criminality, and the depletion of state power; a point that is developed in chapter 2. While these latter anxieties predate the “settler revolution,” they never quite receded at the affective or imaginative level, and continue to surface in even the most affirmative pro-emigration texts in relation to particular contexts and destinations.

Viewed in this way, mass settler emigration and its print culture stands at the crux of a much bigger story about modernity which has been explored by critics such as Marshall Berman, Buzard, and David Harvey: incorporating a tension or interaction between equal and opposite forces of what the cultural geographer Tim Cresswell terms

“fixity” and “flow.”¹⁶ It can ultimately be viewed, at least in its most mainstream manifestations, as a literature of cohesion that struggles to contain an uneasiness about the destabilizing, unruly, and emotionally disorientating acts of migration with which it engages. Accordingly, it is my contention that attempts to conceptualize a dominant ‘settler ideology’ make most sense when paired with an understanding of its relationship to equally dominant liberal ideas about the act of emigration itself. Indeed, this is suggested by contemporary commentators such as Wakefield, who stressed that his own model of “systemic colonization,” put into practice in New Zealand and South Australia, is “not one of emigration, but of colonization and emigration, which itself would deal with the emigration” (65).¹⁷ This study therefore concerns itself with both ideologies of emigration *and* settlement as conceptualized within metropolitan texts: the relationship between the two—and between the related wider discourses of circulation/mobility and spatial cohesion/place which I have outlined—seems to be crucial, at least as it operates within British periodical texts.

The primary contribution of this thesis is thus to build on the insights developed by both the new emigration histories and the emerging work within the field of literature in order to explore how mass settler emigration was both imagined and moderated within the overlooked print terrain of the British periodical press. Much of the existent work on the literary culture of emigration has had a bias towards canonical novels, which as Archibald acknowledges with reference to Canada, “just do not participate in this discourse as frequently as other kinds of texts do” (25). The historical work, as we have seen, has tended to focus on personal letters, forms of “booster” literature which had a primarily propaganda

¹⁶ Berman 13; Cresswell, *On the Move* 23; Harvey 272; Buzard 2.

¹⁷ See also Prichard for a useful edited collection of Wakefield’s writings.

function, or more abstract conceptualizations of narrative pertaining to “settler colonial” contexts. Meanwhile, the valuable work which has been carried out on Victorian periodicals and empire within the last decade has often focused upon both a later period of “high imperialism,” and a geography that gravitates towards India.¹⁸ Periodical literature, therefore, affords still largely untapped opportunities for beginning to understand how Victorian settler emigration pertaining to both the settler colonies and America was registered at a cultural level. As I shall argue in chapter 1, this is both a matter of plenitude—the range and diversity of texts published across titles—and aptitude: the periodical’s generic propensity to register the same forms of modern motion which flow through its heart at historical, formal, and material levels. The periodical press is also distinct in offering a vast textual field which lies somewhere between the booster and the emigrant’s letter in terms of its function and appeal: collapsing Belich’s notion of distinct “formal” and “informal” canons, and instead giving rise to emergent imaginative patterns, tropes, and genres which impact at the affective and personal level of the individual reader, while also being capable of reiteratively patterning and regulating larger social concerns, or splintering off into divergent imaginings which invert dominant forms.

The first part of my thesis, “Mainstream Models,” explores a range of mainstream popular emigration literature published within periodicals which generally embody, or sympathize with, a broadly liberal, middle-class stance.¹⁹ In this section I explore periodical

¹⁸ See Julie F. Codell, *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, and David Finkelstein and Douglas M. Peers, *Negotiating India in the Nineteenth-Century Media*.

¹⁹ I use the term ‘mainstream’ rather than ‘middle-class’ as it both tallies with the concepts of motion and mobility which are central to my thesis, and has the advantage of being applicable to dominant ways of viewing the world which sometimes cut across class boundaries. I use the term popular in this thesis to denote a wide readership rather than as a marker of production by the ‘people’ (although the two senses overlap in the case of the

texts published in metropolitan, predominantly London or Edinburgh based periodicals with broader national, and often transnational, circulations, including the *Penny*, *Chambers's*, *Once a Week*, *Household Words*, *All the Year Round*, the *London Journal*, the *Leisure Hour*, the *Illustrated London News*, and the *Graphic*, as well as the more conservative *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*.²⁰ Chapter 1 expounds upon the nature of the historical, formal and material links between migration and the periodical press. With reference to a range of self-reflexive periodical texts, I develop an approach to periodical form which draws upon existing theorizations of time and space in order to foreground overlooked dimensions of mobility, outlining my understanding of the interrelation of concepts of movement, space, place, and time as intermeshing dimensions in order to argue that the periodical is ideally equipped to dramatize the interplay between forces of fixity and flow which most characterized mass settler emigration, and to mediate historical experience through representation. I use the chapter to both set in place a broad theoretical and methodological framework which informs subsequent chapters, and to explore a significant corpus of texts about emigrant ships and voyages which circulated across periodical titles. Chapter 2 moves on to extend the same framework to a range of popular emigration-themed Christmas texts which utilize concepts of the nation; incorporating closer readings of Dickens's frame stories, including "The Wreck of the Golden Mary," and a range of stories about Christmas in Australia, including Trollope's "Harry Heathcote of Gangoil." Chapter 3 focuses upon a small pool of periodical serialized Bildungsroman novels about settler emigration. It includes a reading of Dickens's *Great Expectations* in

radical publications discussed in Chapter 5). See King and Plunkett 165-69 for a fuller discussion of the various connotations of the term.

²⁰ Lengthy subtitles of periodical titles are omitted throughout, but included in the Appendix.

this context, and touches upon the differences between novels and periodicals in terms of their capacity to register settler emigration.

Each of the first three chapters accordingly incorporates the analysis of a distinct genre of emigration literature as well as the different spatial models which are most pertinent to them: variations of those models of home, settlement, and nation which converge so prominently in the image of settler Joe, and which can perhaps all be understood as variants of that affective, cohesive, and stilling sense of 'place' foregrounded by McDonagh. Significantly, however, such periodical publications, by the nature of their medium, also always have pronounced temporal dimensions which I argue work towards similarly cohesive effects as the spatial. These include the models of synchronicity and antiquity which form important components of the nation-building Christmas stories explored in chapter 2, and the simultaneously progressive and retrogressive dynamics of settler novels which I will argue are predicated upon the process of lengthy and regular serialization. This first section of the thesis accordingly adds up to a broader picture of what I contend to be the periodical press's capacity to sustain an essentially cohesive mainstream settler emigration literature, which tends to cluster disproportionately around the British colonies as opposed to America. Locality, even in a global migratory context, continues to hold particular significance, and my thesis attempts to register this by moving between an awareness of emigration history as it pertains to specific destinations, and the underlying macro-scale historical framework outlined above.

The second part of my thesis, "Counter-Currents," aims to capitalize on the range and diversity of the periodical press in order to access imaginings of settler emigration which ran counter to the mainstream. Chapter 4 argues that periodicals afford the scope for a range of feminized imaginings of settler emigration which invoke dominant Victorian

associations between femininity and place, and masculinity and mobility, to resistant or transformative effects. It incorporates readings of sentimental anti-emigration poetry and stories published in women's magazines and mainstream titles, before moving on to a closer study of how class, gender, and race dynamics interact in *Eliza Cook's Journal*, and an analysis of intersections between feminism and emigration that centres upon the writings of Maria S. Rye. Chapter 5 explores the literature of emigration as it circulated within three leading radical periodicals, the *Poor Man's Guardian*, the *Northern Star*, and *Reynolds's Miscellany*, and incorporates readings of anti-emigration literature, pro-American literature, and a corpus of early Westerns. Both these chapters explore modes of imagining emigration, including anti-settler literature and variants of what Belich has termed "settler utopianism," which sit outside of more mainstream settlerism while often, and intriguingly, engaging its formal and generic tropes (163). This section of the thesis aims to register the impossibility, and undesirability, of identifying a monolithic culture of settler emigration which does not take into account at least something of the diverse range of responses generated, and aims to avoid the exclusive bias towards predominantly pro-emigration liberal middle-class texts which has been a feature of some studies.

Decisions and Methodologies

This thesis has required me to make numerous methodological and theoretical decisions about approaches to both the study of settler emigration and print culture. In a project of this size and scope, it has also been necessary to make omissions in relation to both fields for the sake of manageability and focus. I will attempt to outline these decisions below, beginning with migration, and moving on to consider my approaches to print.

Firstly, while it is informed by Belich’s conceptualization of a global “Anglo” migration, my thesis focuses primarily on engagements with British maritime emigration in keeping with the national bias of the literature I study, although it also follows the lead of the texts themselves in extending this into an analysis of engagements with overland migration across the expanding American West and broader transnational contexts in the final chapter and conclusion. Likewise, my focus is on forms of elective emigration, and only engages with convict emigration in so far as this impacts upon conceptualizations of non-penal modes. It does not incorporate a study of religiously motivated migrations, such as the emigration of missionaries or the 11,000-strong Mormon exodus to Utah, except again in so far as it impacts upon my main analysis (Richards, *Britannia’s Children* 164). While Christianity permeates all Victorian discourses to some extent, Victorian settler emigration, unlike earlier pioneer emigrations to New England or Pennsylvania, was not primarily motivated by religious factors, and produces a largely secular imaginative literature.²¹

The thesis does not engage with the Irish famine, which according to Kirby Miller’s calculations saw a colossal 2.1 million people emigrate, primarily to America, between 1845 to 1855 to escape starvation or poverty after the failure of potato crops. Neither does it tackle the predominantly earlier history of the Highland Clearances, which involved the “removal,” and often enforced emigration, of Highland tenants in order to make room for sheep and deer on modernizing estates between around 1790 and 1855 (Miller 291; Richards, *The Highland Clearances* 3). This is partly for reasons of manageability, but also because both the clearances and the famine have their roots in crisis and exile rather than

²¹ For accounts of the early British settlement of America see Richards, *Britannia’s Children* 33-90.

ideologies of free circulation and elective settlement, and therefore belong to a different albeit connected history, one which has already produced a large critical literature.²² Rather than focusing on Ireland or the Scottish Highlands to any extent, my thesis focuses on the less studied field of emigration from mainland Britain, incorporating England, Wales, and primarily lowland Scotland. My analysis is also focused on emigration as it took place on a national level, rather than in relation to particular countries or regions.²³ This is both in keeping with my decision to work on the basis of a macro approach to emigration history, and the national, metropolitan character of the periodical literature studied.

It is also important to note that this thesis focuses upon settler emigration as conceptualized from a British domestic point of view, rather than from either the perspective of established settler populations or indigenous peoples. In part this is a matter of following the lead of the British texts studied, which, perhaps unsurprisingly, do little to register this history. As Myers notes, aboriginal peoples are “remarkably absent from the accounts of emigration” which she explores, and I have found that indigenous peoples—

²² For a more comprehensive historical account of emigration from Ireland, see Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*. Miller argues that Irish emigrants characteristically “regarded emigration as involuntary exile” and “specifically blamed” this “upon the English government or the English-enforced landlord system” whose indifference to Irish suffering was often cruelly in evidence during the years of the famine (3-4). Miller goes on to complicate this popular conception by situating the famine within a history of Irish emigration which predates the famine by many centuries, arguing that the tendency to conceptualize emigration as exile was in fact “rooted in a traditional Irish Catholic worldview” (556). A good range of literary critical work on the Irish famine can be found in *Victorian Literature and Culture* 32.1 (2004), on the editor’s theme of “Victorian Ireland,” including Brantlinger’s review essay on “The Famine.” For a comprehensive account of the Highland Clearances, see Richards, *The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil*.

²³ For detailed accounts of nineteenth-century emigration from Cornwall, particularly pertaining to the high rates of emigration from mining communities, see Richards, *Britannia’s Children* 116, 132, 191, 203 and 215, and the *Cornish Mining Heritage Programme*, led by Sharron P. Schwartz at the University of Exeter, and including a comparative study of nineteenth-century Cornish and Irish mining migration. See project website listed in the General Bibliography for details.

though notably more visible than in most canonical novels—are nevertheless still ultimately sidelined in the texts I analyse (*Antipodal England* 7). To some extent, this may be because nineteenth-century settler emigration stemmed from domestic economic, social, and political concerns about poverty, social unrest, population, and the need to find new outlets for social improvement and economic competition. Even given the overlap between settler emigration and later stages of imperialism noted above, its motivations were primarily reactive and domestic rather than proactively expansionist and outward-facing, and it makes sense that its bogeymen should more often prove to be variations of the self in transit than people of other races.

However, as Said's analysis has proved, marginalization and absence are themselves important components of dominant narratives, and, in this context, a significant admission of what Veracini and others have identified as the underlying fiction of *terra nullius* and the “*dispensibility* of the indigenous person” which underscored “settler colonialism” as a whole, and distinguishes its power relations from non-settler forms of colonialism (8, 88). Acknowledging the dangerous Eurocentricism of these perspectives remains politically and morally imperative, and my thesis accordingly incorporates an ongoing strand of engagement with issues of race, violence, and contact between settler and indigenous peoples which aims to balance the need to read silences, omissions, and marginalizations against the imperative to return critical attention to what texts themselves “present as central” about empire (Buzard 43). More comprehensive accounts of these issues can be found in Patrick Brantlinger's *Dark Vanishings* and *Rule of Darkness*, as well as within a growing field of cross-disciplinary work on what Veracini has termed “settler colonialism” as a specific historical and cultural formation. For instance, recent works by Annie E. Coombes, Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis serve to bring to light the

appalling litany of abuses which indigenous peoples across the encroaching “Anglo” world faced, including violent extermination, epidemic disease, forced removal from their ancestral lands, and those more insidious forms of “legal imperialism” which saw, for instance, the Maori people dispossessed of their lands via the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi (Stasiulis 24, 1-38; Lerner and Spoonley 42). Such works ultimately emphasize the aggressive connotations of ‘colonization’ which are masked by ‘settlement’: a term whose white-washed domestic front should never be taken at face value, and which, though not the central focus of my thesis, I by no means wish to underplay.²⁴ Choosing to conceptualize settler emigration as a stage of empire history, rather than in terms of the “expansion” outlined in Belich’s economic account, also serves to keep both important overlaps and key differences between its ideology and culture and that of imperialism clearly in view (23).

In terms of my approaches to print, it is firstly pertinent to note that cordoning periodicals off from a wider Victorian print culture has certain drawbacks. It necessitates disregarding, for instance, the large range of other settler emigration literature which was published outside of this context, including guidebooks, private letters, pamphlets, political and economic discourses, memoirs, and some non-serialized volume edition novels and serialized novels not first published within periodicals. It also involves a decision not to attempt to engage with some popular working-class textual and oral formats, including cheap chapbooks and popular ballads. Despite these drawbacks, however, the periodical issue nevertheless remains a strong contender for constituting what Michael Wolff has termed the “basic unit for the study of Victorian print culture” (43). Many popular

²⁴ While recognizing its problematic obfuscations, I use ‘settlement’ and ‘settler’ rather than ‘colony’ or ‘colonizer’ in keeping with my historical focus, the bias of the literature itself, and the often extra-colonial reach of British emigration. However, the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, and I invoke them where pertinent to particular texts and contexts.

periodicals printed a particularly large range of relevant material, achieved unparalleled levels of circulation, and were also the umbrella form for a large range of texts, including novels which went on to be published in other formats and even to become canonical. If not the only print format worthy of analysis, the periodical certainly seems to be a primary and overlooked field for the study of settler emigration. While centring on periodicals, however, I also aim to frame this focus within broader print contexts, and incorporate references to other forms including emigrant's handbooks, Christmas books, novels published outside of periodical contexts, and more official emigration discourses where illuminating. My thesis title utilizes the term 'print' rather than 'periodicals' as a means of signaling this approach, as well as the central importance of periodicals to Victorian print culture as a whole.

My periodization from 1832 to 1877 delineates not only a particular stage of empire history but also a broadly sketched period of Victorian print history which runs from the take-off of mainstream mass-market periodicals through to the beginnings of what is often termed the "New Journalism."²⁵ The not incidental link between this periodization and that which informs my conceptualization of empire history is further explored in chapter 1 and the conclusion. In making selections from the vast range of periodicals published between these dates, I have inevitably been led by practical considerations such as access, as well as by interest—focusing on those titles which contain the most abundant and relevant material. As explained above, I use genre as an organizing category across titles, and focus on texts with an imaginative or literary bias; privileging those magazine formats which published a miscellaneous range of fiction, poems, travel literature, and prints. However, I incorporate

²⁵ For a useful account of the visually-orientated, highly commercial, and often sensational "New Journalism" which qualifies an 1880s start date while still viewing this as the key transitional decade, see Joel H. Wiener's "How New Was the New Journalism?" As Wiener notes, the term was originally coined by Matthew Arnold in 1887 (47).

journalistic profiles and informational texts on occasion, and do not feel that it is necessary to make clean distinctions between journalism and more creative forms of periodical writing for the purposes of this project. Though I do not extensively focus on newspapers, I also include analysis of those mid-century illustrated weekly and key radical newspapers which published so much more than the ‘news.’

While the decision to work with periodicals was primarily motivated by the range of imaginative texts on emigration and settlement which circulated within them, it is important to stress that it is not my intention to fall into what Margaret Beetham has termed the trap of treating them as a “mine” from which “isolated articles” can be extracted (“Towards a Theory” 20). Rather, I seek to read emigration texts as they are embedded within broader periodical contexts, and am consistently informed by the body of dedicated periodical scholarship which has transformed periodical studies into an extensive critical field in its own right over the last three decades, and developed ways of reading periodicals which are sensitive to their formal characteristics and interpretive opportunities. This is a framework which I develop in chapter 1, building on the theoretical approaches to periodical literature established by Beetham, Mark W. Turner, and James Mussell with respect to their relationship to concepts of time, space, place, and mobility, while also emphasizing the importance of genre operating in conjunction with these larger formal features. The historical basis of this project also means that I am necessarily concerned with exploring how periodical texts intersect with historical contexts and wider ideologies beyond the boundaries of the text, a problematic relationship to which I return in the third section of chapter 1, subtitled “Mirror Effects.”

As such, while I remain sensitive to the local histories of particular titles and periodical types, I am primarily interested in taking a theoretically grounded approach to

the form as a whole, grouping certain periodicals together in relation to their similarity of content, ideology, contributors, and readership, and exploring genres which run throughout and across them. Rather than a single-title emphasis, I find Ian Haywood's broader conceptualization of rival liberal and radical impulses in popular print culture a useful way of demarcating a central, though never discrete, division between what I term 'mainstream' texts and genres circulating in titles with predominantly liberal, middle-class leanings, and those of a more radical persuasion (*Revolution in Popular Literature* 218). Taking a broad, cross-title approach to the field is still somewhat methodologically unusual, but feels suited to a study which is more interested in what periodicals have in common as a form than in the detailed histories of individual publications.²⁶ This approach also seems particularly apt as a means of registering a sense of the range and extent of periodical settler emigration literature at an early stage in the development of the field, when very little work has been carried out on the British periodical press at all.²⁷

Periodicals of course also require critics to take numerous practical and methodological decisions about how to make sense of their status as multi-authored, mixed media, multiform texts. In keeping with the periodical's polyvocal format, as well as the early and mid-Victorian periodical's tendency to publish anonymously, this study does not predominantly centre authorship, but instead attempts to explore the interfaces between

²⁶ My approach here is also informed by Turner's recent article on "Companions, Supplements, and the Proliferation of Print in the 1830s," which ends with a call to "privilege the single title less, and shift our attention to consider the messy networks of print culture more" (131).

²⁷ One significant exception is Amy Lloyd's contribution to *Victorian Settler Narratives* on representations of emigration within a range of popular working-class magazines published between 1870 and 1914. Lloyd argues that these later texts are characterized by a heightened interest in masculine adventure, in keeping with much empire-themed literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Due to the chronological range of her study, she does not note whether she finds similar literature in the same journals during earlier decades.

writers, texts, and readers in the production of meaning, as well as those between articles, issues, and runs. Like Turner, I recognize the essential plurality of the periodical form, and build this awareness into both the thesis's two-part structure and my ongoing attempts to only "tease out potential significations" from the archive—patterns which exist alongside many other potential patterns—rather than definitive meanings (*Trollope and the Magazines* 227-40, 235). However, as I explain in chapter 1, I maintain that it remains possible to "tease out" meanings which have some kind of broader applicability through paying attention to recurring patterns of genre, trope, and theme. Indeed, while the periodical's miscellaneous composition seems to have deterred scholars from focusing on genre, I have found that centring it in conjunction with a wider awareness of periodical form not only provides a useful means of beginning to ascertain which models of settler emigration had particular resonance, but has also allowed me to make fruitful links and comparisons across titles, and to gain some kind of necessary traction in what could otherwise prove to be an unmanageably slippery field of endlessly plural texts and readings.²⁸

In terms of tracing recurring generic patterns across titles this project has benefited vastly from the ongoing digital revolution in periodical studies, and I have made full use of

²⁸ The term 'genre' is traditionally used to denote larger formal categories of literature such as the novel, the poem, and the short story, but is also used, for example in contemporary publishing, to denote categories or styles of literature such as 'horror,' 'romance,' and 'the Western.' I use 'genre' to refer to aspects of both as they operate in conjunction: for instance, referring to 'the emigration-themed Christmas story,' the 'serialized settlement novel,' and the 'sentimental emigration poem.' I use the term 'form' to talk about larger characteristic structural elements of novels, stories, poems, and the periodical itself. Though these demarcations are imperfect and overlapping, it is my aim to capture the multiple levels of formal differentiation that characterize the periodical: the overarching form of the periodical, the range of constituent genres published within periodicals, and the subsequent demarcations that can be made between different styles and types of this literature.

electronic resources where available in databases such as Proquest's *British Periodicals*, Gale Cengage Learning's *19th Century UK Periodicals* and *19th Century British Library Newspapers*, and the free online *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition*, an AHRC-funded collaboration between Birkbeck, University of London, King's College London, and the British Library. Such digitized resources have not only enabled me to access materials which I would have been otherwise unable to consult, but have also afforded search techniques to identify relevant materials within and across titles. Electronic searching serves as a useful compass, albeit of admittedly limited precision, when trying to initially locate relevant texts, which can then lead to closer studies of particular titles and issues. Forms of data-mining can also be particularly helpful when trying to gather information about words or phrases which recur, and have provided a useful means of situating specific texts within wider generic contexts. This is notwithstanding the admitted unreliability of search engines, which might, for instance, exclude texts featuring other search terms, provide misleading results which do not meaningfully distinguish between different types of article, or even omit important paratexts such as advertisements and covers.²⁹ However, I am also aware of the desirability of looking at original copies of periodicals where possible, and have accessed these in addition, primarily at the Chris Brooks Collection at the University of Exeter, but also at the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Library of Congress. I have also exclusively used print copies when studying titles which have yet to be digitized, such as *Eliza Cook's Journal* and the *Victoria Magazine*. This hands-on approach can be useful when considering aspects of the text's materiality, such as the

²⁹ The term "paratext" is associated with the literary theorist Gérard Genette. See Claes 198-201.

position of articles on the page and the quality of printed images. It can also counter some of the potential problems of reliability with electronic texts noted.

While keen to register both the broader archival awareness made possible through digital searching and aspects of the periodical's materiality, however, I also attempt to incorporate the close reading of individual texts which is a feature of more traditional literary studies. As Haywood notes, "too often such texts are merely cited but not interpreted," with both the linguistic characteristics and narrative content of individual periodical texts being sidelined as a result (*Revolution in Popular Literature* 4). Finding a balance between close critical analysis, wider archival awareness, and aspects of materiality as arbiters of meaning necessitates a flexible approach, which involves scale shifts between macro and micro levels, as well as between aspects of form and content. Works by Beetham, Catherine Waters, and Sabine Clemm listed in the General Bibliography set useful precedents for how this innately challenging kind of materiality, formally, and thematically engaged periodical scholarship can work at its most successful.

Working within these parameters, my general method has been to start from broad searches and explorations of different periodicals, both online, using digital search techniques, and through more conventional investigations in special collections reading rooms. In both instances, I was also initially guided by comprehensive periodical indexes and reference works such as the *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900*, the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900* and the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, by the range of critical and bibliographic works on Victorian periodicals cited throughout my thesis, and by

initial surveys of the field begun as an MA student writing a thesis on *Household Words*.³⁰ From these starting points I have been able to identify key generic patterns across and within titles, and to locate individual titles and texts which seemed particularly worthy of closer attention, varying my approach to suit the scope and aims of each chapter. Chapter 1 samples texts about emigrant ships and voyages published across titles in order to make broad points about periodical form and emigrant mobility. Chapter 2 moves from a study of emigration-themed periodical Christmas literature, again sampling a larger range, into a closer reading of Dickensian frame stories and Trollope's "Harry Heathcote." Chapter 3 works with close readings of a smaller pool of serialized novels as they were published within their periodical contexts, including a section on *Great Expectations*. Chapter 4 uses digital searching to identify a large corpus of poems about emigration published across periodical titles, before moving into the closer analysis of poetry and prose published within *Eliza Cook's Journal*, the *English Woman's Domestic Magazine*, the *Ladies' Treasury*, the *English Woman's Journal*, and *Victoria Magazine*. Chapter 5 focuses exclusively on three periodicals as representatives of a broader radical tradition, and again combines the sampling of key texts and genres across titles with closer readings of particularly interesting texts: Thomas Martin Wheeler's seminal Chartist novel *Sunshine and Shadow*, and Lawrence Pitkethly's little-known but equally fascinating travel narrative "Emigration: Where to and How to Proceed."

³⁰ See Works Cited, General Bibliography, under John S. North, Walter E. Houghton, Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, Anne Lohrli, Ella Ann Oppenlander, and Hazel MacKenzie for full details of the indexes and reference works consulted. I have also used these resources to ascertain details of authorship, circulation or cost as noted. For reasons of manageability, the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* is listed only once in the Works Cited, but details of individual entries are noted in the parenthetical references.

Though my approach is often broad-ranging across titles, I have chosen not to engage with numerous categories of periodical in order to limit my focus. For instance, while all of the periodical texts explored are characterized by a certain topicality and level of historical engagement, I do not engage with national or local newspapers with a predominant interest in reportage. Neither do I explore juvenile periodicals, comic journals, trade journals, Scottish and Welsh publications which did not have broader national circulations, or the small pool of periodical titles which focused on emigration directly and exclusively, such as the *Emigrant Penny* and the *Colonial Gazette*. This is primarily to do with difficulties of access, but also relates to the fact that these periodicals tended to have very short runs and would have reached much smaller audiences than the more widely circulating titles in which I am primarily interested. While one of the contributions to the field made by this thesis constitutes the location and analysis of the range of largely unexplored texts listed in the Works Cited, it is important to reiterate that it cannot attempt referential comprehensiveness.³¹ To suggest as much, in fact, would be to miss that dizzying but exciting sense of overwhelm and multiplicity which is a key dimension of the periodical press. It is to these qualities which my first chapter turns.

³¹ A useful sense of the range of texts published on settler emigration within periodicals can be gleaned from Judith Johnston and Monica Anderson's edited anthology *Australia Imagined: Views from the British Periodical Press, 1800-1900*, and E. M. Palmegiano's bibliography *The British Empire in the Victorian Press, 1832-1867*, which references many relevant texts within the broader context of empire.

Part One

Mainstream Models

1

“A Fountain-of-motion”: Dangerous Currents and Safe Channels

Motion, Mobilities, and the Pursuit of Influence

Amidst the drama of political reform and rural unrest which most famously characterized the early 1830s, two quieter but equally impactful historical developments were on the brink of revolutionizing contemporary life. The most significant of these developments—and of central concern to this study—was the first major boom phase of nineteenth-century British mass settler emigration, following what Belich identifies as a trailblazing but small-scale burst of activity from 1815-19 (89-94). The available statistics suggest that around 420,000 English, Welsh, and Scots emigrated during the course of the 1830s to the three main destinations: nearly 260,000 to America, 115,000 to Canada, and 46,000 to the burgeoning fields of settler Australasia (Carrier and Jeffery 95). These migration statistics mark the tipping point of what one anonymous *Blackwood's* author later claimed was “probably the greatest *exodus* recorded of mankind since Moses led the children of Israel across the Red Sea”—and one which, as numerous historians have argued, has permanently shaped our modern world (“Political and Monetary Prospects” 9; Belich 49-70).³² The second phenomenon which concerns this study is the precisely contemporaneous growth of a popular mass-market British periodical press, often dated back to the launch of Charles Knight’s *Penny Magazine* in 1832, and fuelled by the very same dynamic compounds of population growth, urban expansion, and steam-powered technologies (Bennett 237).

³² See for instance Belich 49-70, and Magee and Thompson, who note that “the large-scale movement of people across state borders during the nineteenth century is widely regarded as a key feature of the making of the ‘modern’ world” (3).

Commenting in *Sartor Resartus* on changes which often felt equally revolutionary at the time, Carlyle compared London's rag-trade hub, the source of a newly industrialized market in cheap paper, to a "Fountain-of-motion" from which "hot-pressed" publications flood (33). Even *Sartor Resartus*'s own respectable and conservative periodical "vehicle" *Fraser's Magazine*, in which the work was first serialized from 1833-34, is associated with such giddy modern movements: "exploding distractively and destructively, wheresoever the mystified passenger stands or sits," and ever "full to overflowing" (6).³³ Despite Carlyle's misgivings about the growth of the periodical press, his metaphors of motion point towards key insights about the nature of the newly ascendant form which are worth pursuing, and which seem to suggest points of deep affinity between popular periodicals and the migratory flows they historically paralleled.

Following these connections through with reference to a series of self-reflexive articles about periodical form and a sampling of texts on emigrant voyages, this chapter will explore in the first instance the periodical's pronounced and arguably unique capacity to represent emigrant mobility in all its dramatic and potentially "destructive" complexity. Just as crucially, however, I will also make a case for the periodical's capacity to moderate the flows it engages, exploring both foundational ambitions for "diffusion" and "influence," and related counter-strategies of spatial order and fixity. In so doing, I aim to establish links between periodical form and content which underpin my approach throughout, and to begin to situate representations of emigrant mobility within a spatio-temporal framework which will be utilized in each chapter.

³³ For a related reading of *Sartor Resartus* in the light of developments in nineteenth-century printing see Erickson 105-12.

The awareness of intimate links between the periodical form and concepts of motion and flow may seem like obvious components of its much-flagged modernity, but have in fact not received much critical attention. One of the most important starting points for recent theorizations of the periodical have instead been dimensions of time, following early establishments of its identity as a quintessentially “date-stamped commodity” by Beetham, and Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lunds’s seminal work on textual temporalities in *The Victorian Serial* (Beetham, “Towards a Theory” 21). Thus, for instance, Turner asserts the following: “Time, however you think about it, is essential to what periodical print media is. By its very definition, periodicals . . . are continually on the move, across time,” shaping a brilliant reading of periodicities which is, however, less focused on its equally interesting parallel assertion: that periodicals are “continually on the move” (“Periodical Time” 183). James Mussell’s *Science, Time and Space in the Late Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press*, meanwhile, offers a complex spatio-temporal reading of the periodical as a composite form defined by its capacity to bring heterogeneous spaces and times together into one textual field. Again, however, despite both opening and closing with a quotation from Carlyle which utilizes “movable types” as a key to the periodical’s material identity (a choice which has inspired my own selection), Mussell’s analysis has more to say about space and time than motion, and deliberately sidesteps attempts to forge links between the periodical’s material spatio-temporal dynamics and any broader cultural conceptualizations of movement, space, or time (x, 208, 1-2). Thus, while strongly informed by the work of Beetham, Turner, Mussell, and others, this chapter also seeks to foreground what appears to be the under-emphasized component of such spatio-temporal readings: those concepts of mobility which I believe constitute an inseparable and equally

definitive formal characteristic of the periodical, and which shape its capacity to engage historical experiences of emigration at the representational level.

As in *Sartor Resartus*, it was in fact commonplace for periodicals to highlight this now overlooked connection between their own form and forces of modern motion in any number of articles on their systems of production, composition, and distribution. Thus the *Penny Magazine* sets one of many precedents in 1833 by publishing a self-reflexive essay on its own moving parts, Charles Knight's "The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine."³⁴ In this four-part serialization, trains of motion are shown to flow through every stage of the magazine's production: from the rags which "might have formed part of the coarse blue shirt of the Italian sailor, on board some little trading vessel of the Mediterranean," through to the water of the paper-mill which "sets the wheels in motion," the "continually travelling" thumb of the compositor who channels "moveable types," or the "perfectly horizontal motion" which is a feature of the mechanical process of stereotyping (28 September: 379; 26 October: 418; 30 November: 467, 470). Once completed, the magazine sets off on its long paths of distribution across nation and globe, sending its stereotyped pages and casts of woodcuts as far afield as America, France, and Germany, and fulfilling ambitions to "direct the popular reading of four great countries into the same channels" (30 November: 471). Two decades later in 1853, *Household Words* was consistently reflecting similarly mobile self-images in articles such as Dickens's and Henry Morley's "H. W."³⁵ In this piece, the journal is conceptualized as the product of several

³⁴ I was first alerted to this article via its inclusion in King and Plunkett's *Victorian Print Media: A Reader*, 126-35. This is also the case for the *Illustrated London News*'s "Our Address," 379-85. See below, p.50 and 65-66.

³⁵ To ascertain the authorship of texts originally published anonymously in *Household Words* throughout this thesis, I have used Lohrli's *Table of Contents* in conjunction with

merging streams: the torrents of correspondence received from unsolicited “Voluntary Correspondents,” “the rapid flowing of the fount of lead between the fingers of the composers,” and the movement of the journal across wide paths of distribution, as issues “travel on detachment to the railway stations, and from the railway stations . . . to the ships” (145-49). In W. H. Wills’s April 1850 *Household Words* article “The Appetite for News,” meanwhile, text is described as having “winged its way from every spot on the earth’s surface” to reach “dwellers in the uttermost corners of the earth” (239).

While such paths are difficult to retrace, it is important to note from the outset that many of the British periodicals which most extensively covered settler emigration do indeed appear to have enjoyed significant circulations throughout the settler world. For instance, Lydia Wevers’s research on the reading practices of a farming community based at the Brancepeth station in Wairarapa, New Zealand, from the 1860s reveals that the station library held long-term subscriptions to the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic*, and the *Edinburgh Journal*, that a “periodical-lending circle” established by local families in the 1860s circulated the *Quarterly Review* and *Edinburgh Review* amongst its titles, and that one farming family kept copies of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* in their private library (Wevers 28, 35, 57-58, 186). Other individual British periodical texts, including many associated with Dickens, travelled via widespread colonial and American practices of both unauthorized and authorized reprinting: digital searching of the *American Periodicals* database shows that “The Appetite for News” is itself a neat case in point in having winged its way to American magazine *Home Journal* on 31 August 1850, marked

only by the small tagline “From Household Words.”³⁶ Moreover, Julie F. Codell makes an important case for this transnational circulation and reception being intrinsically two-way, with many periodical titles and texts also flowing into Britain from the empire and contributing to what she terms the writing of “imperial co-histories” in which “metropole” and “colony” always played an “overlapping and intersecting” role (15-26, 16); an argument which accords with the emphasis recently placed by Wagner upon the importance of “intertextual interchanges” between a whole range of metropolitan and colonial settler emigration narratives (“Introduction” 4, 22). While this thesis focuses upon metropolitan rather than colonial or American texts, contexts, and readers, an awareness of these circulatory paths and transnational intersections will be pertinent to my reading of emigration-themed Christmas stories in chapter 2, *Great Expectations* in chapter 3, and *Reynolds’s Miscellany’s* corpus of settler Westerns in chapter 5; following through into a conclusion which attempts to frame my localized study of British texts and histories in a broader, transnational framework. For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is enough to note that such globe-trotting propensities add an important material dimension to what I am arguing is the periodical’s identity as an inherently mobile textual form.

Indeed, while critics such as Priya Joshi, Tim Dolin, and Wevers have shown that many nineteenth-century novels were perhaps equally migratory in crisscrossing the settler and colonial worlds, images of the kind referenced above point towards other nomadic currents which I would contend are more generically specific to periodicals. After all, the periodical in its most commonly read issue form betrays few of those tendencies towards fixity which Robert L. Patten notes are historically and formally associated with the book

³⁶ See McGill 1-44 for an overview of the extensive “culture of reprinting” which characterized the nineteenth-century American literary marketplace from the 1830s.

or volume as an object “fixed in space—‘fastened together so as to compose a material whole’” and “fixed in time” to a date from which copyright commences (“Dickens as Serial Author” 137).³⁷ As Richard D. Altick observes, it was also the market for cheap, disposable, and ephemeral periodicals, rather than books, which first catered for those pools of migrant readers who left behind their “little shelf of worn and precious books ... passed down through a century or more” in order to discover new ways of reading in rapidly growing cities (94, 318-64). Furthermore, the periodical is at least in part also an intrinsically open-ended *form*, in which meanings themselves remain ever free to evolve outside the usual confines of author-reader hierarchies, and into any number of encounters with readers across the open range of its appropriately named ‘run’ (Beetham, “Towards a Theory” 24-26). Looked at from all angles then—material, historic, and formal—it becomes possible to make a strong case for particularly deep running intertwinements between periodicals and those modes of modern movement which most concern emigration. Or, to invoke Franco Moretti’s interesting assertion in *Atlas of the European Novel* that “*different forms inhabit different spaces*,” the periodical can plausibly be defined as the literary form not only for the urban, as various critics from Walter Bagehot onwards have noted, but more broadly still for the moving and migratory (34). Viewed in this light—and while it also embodies significantly sedentary drives of its own as I shall go on to argue—the periodical becomes capable of admitting movement beyond “place-bound” limits, and stories which novels seem reluctant to sustain (Patten, “From House to Street” 191).

And yet as Cresswell notes in his groundbreaking work *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*: “Movement is rarely just movement; it carries with it the burden of

³⁷ The embedded quotation cites the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

meaning” (6). Making a useful distinction between physical “motion” and that conceptualization of movement which he terms “mobility,” Cresswell argues that mobility is in fact an important but often overlooked dimension of the “social production of time and space,” and thus always subject to “ideological codings” (5, 9). Furthermore, he contends, each society engages in a process of “ordering and taming” what are in fact plural *mobilities*, thus producing certain conceptualizations of motion which fit within dominant spatio-temporal parameters and are deemed “ideologically sound” and others which are deemed dangerous and “suspect” (58). Considered in this way, it is possible to argue that the periodical is a textual space which is not only able to register motion at deep levels, but to transform that motion into different kinds of mobilities—to work through channels both safe and unsound.

Such preoccupations become apparent if one takes time to follow through the implications of the mass-market periodical’s foundational interest in concepts of “diffusion.” A primary aim of the *Penny*’s publisher, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was, after all, to expressly counter and control the proliferation of unstamped radical and sensationalist periodicals seen to be significantly ‘flooding’ the market following the Newspaper Stamp Duties Act of 1819 by seeking to “pour ... as far as we are able, clear waters from the healthy springs of knowledge” into the safe harbours of its own publications (Knight, “A Postscript”).³⁸ While many critics have pointed towards the *Penny*’s eventual ideological failure and collapse, its model of ‘diffusion’ in fact had an

³⁸ The Newspaper Stamp Duties Act was one of the “Six Acts” designed to counter the perceived problem of social unrest following the Peterloo Massacre. It aimed to repress anti-government publications by redefining what constituted a newspaper, thus vastly increasing the range of publications which were liable to pay a “prohibitively expensive” Stamp Duty (King and Plunkett 82). See also Brake and Demoor’s *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* entries under “Unstamped Press” 648, “Cobbett’s Political Register” 130, and “Newspaper Taxes, Taxes on Knowledge, Stamp Taxes” 454.

extremely wide impact, reaching millions of readers through its publications who, as Scott Bennett notes, are hard to discount (250). Furthermore, models of diffusion also directly impacted upon the even more successful second wave of respectable popular periodicals of the 1840s and '50s, which often couch their ambitions in similar metaphoric terms. Thus, for instance, the anonymous author of the *Illustrated London News*'s inaugural "Our Address," writes of "launching the giant vessel of illustration into a channel the broadest and the widest which it has ever dared to stem," while also voicing the desire to "associate its principle with a purity of tone that may secure and hold fast for our journal the fearless patronage of families." Likewise, Dickens's "Preliminary Word" to *Household Words* allies itself with the "high usefulness" of its predecessors, while aiming to "displace" those other unnamed "Bastards of the Mountain": thus enacting its own careful channeling of "books in the running brooks" (2). Even *Reynolds's Miscellany*, the most radical of new mass-market penny journals and prime target of Dickens's attacks, professes the desire to "steer the medium course" and "blend Instruction with Amusement"—an ambition which is borne out by what Andrew King argues is the surprisingly conservative tenor of some of the journal's contents ("To Our Readers"; King, "Reynolds's Miscellany" 73). While such models of diffusion were historically specific and decidedly Whig-liberal in origin, their impacts were felt far beyond the parameters of the middle classes and reverberated throughout succeeding decades—thus pointing towards a longstanding popular receptivity to dominant liberal ideologies which is sometimes underestimated by those who stress the radicalized nature of the Victorian common reader.³⁹ Furthermore, the concept of

³⁹ This is not to ignore important radical counter-currents flowing against the direction of the mainstream, or to side-step the problem of casting the reader in the role of a passive receptor, concerns which I will address both briefly below and more comprehensively in the second half of my thesis.

‘diffusion’ also shares much in common with even broader and more enduring concepts of ‘influence,’ a model which as Andrew King and John Plunkett note, literally means “‘a flowing in,’” and was widely invoked by periodical publications of all political persuasions to denote the power of the press as an instrument of ideological persuasion (35).

Several useful conclusions can be drawn from this brief analysis of what, in combination, might be termed the mass-market periodical’s foundational preoccupation with metaphors of inflow. Unlike the equally intimate metaphor of consumption—that much-debated “Appetite for News” and other popular media which also concerned mass-market periodicals from their inception—concepts of diffusion and influence both point towards serious ambitions to shape social life and private thought which can be underemphasized by critical approaches that foreground the periodical’s commodity-status.⁴⁰ Furthermore, as I have suggested, the textures of these metaphors, concerned as they are with currents and flows, confirm both the mass-market periodical’s foundational preoccupations with directing migratory flows into safe waters, *and* their capacity to simultaneously register an awareness of other dangerous ‘channels.’ As William Chambers observed when he described having “taken into my hands an engine endowed with the most tremendous possibilities of mischief” in his *Chambers’s Journal* “Editor’s Address,” these were channels which even the most respectable periodicals were aware lay historically and formally uncomfortably close to their own, ever-present in those rival impulses towards radicalism and sensationalism which ran through their mass readerships, and in the wayward signifying potential of their own loose forms.

⁴⁰ For accounts of the relationship between popular texts and metaphors of consumption which have informed my understanding see Janice A. Radway and Kelly J. Mays.

While it is inevitably problematic to generalize, it is useful to note at this stage that unsound mobilities within those respectable popular journals which I am terming ‘mainstream’ are broadly speaking those which move beyond forces of either social or representative control. Thus in “A Commercial History,” for example, Knight explores the idea that the compositor must be in possession of sufficient physical control and “moral habits” to produce orderly copy, and ever on guard against the latent dangers of motion spinning into illegibility and chaos; the possibility that words might “derange” (30 November, 467-70). Positive “ideological codings of mobility” in such journals, meanwhile, though equally difficult to summarize, might be understood to broadly cluster around investments in liberal master-models of circulation, of which ‘diffusion’ is perhaps but one tributary (Cresswell, *On the Move* 9). As many scholars have noted, circulation was in fact the dominant mode of ideologically coding mobility in the early and mid-Victorian period: a “single frame of reference” which linked together economics, law, medicine, public health, and literature, and which was consistently designed to counter threats of blockage and overflow via ostensibly free-flowing, but also strategically regulated, motion (Daunton 3; Trotter 3-11; Cresswell, *On the Move* 6-9). Furthermore, while not unique to the periodical, the form is nevertheless again particularly well-equipped to reflect upon and enact this particular production of mobility—materially dependent, after all, on circulation to such an extent that King has termed it “the marker *par excellence* that defines the mass-market periodical” (*London Journal* 81). At even more historically specific levels, meanwhile, most periodicals were also deeply invested in concepts of movement as liberty and progress, most evidently in their widespread endorsement of removing the blockage of the 1819 Newspaper Stamp Duties Act, despite disdain for the inflammatory publications it was designed to suppress. Thus, by way of summary, it becomes pertinent to note, however

broadly at this stage, a general tendency and deep running intimate capacity within mainstream periodicals to channel motion into models of mobility associated with circulation, liberty, and progress on the one hand, and away from ‘mob’ chaos, illegibility, or revolutionary eruption on the other.

Far from being peripheral to my focus upon emigration, the theoretical and historical currents I have taken some time setting into play directly feed into the Victorian periodical’s dealings with the topic, and inform its capacity to both register and moderate the complexity of migratory flows, as I shall show. Indeed, many of the mainstream popular journals most invested in models of diffusion and respectable influence were also foundationally interested in emigration. Thus, for example, the *Penny* contained an anonymous article on “Van Diemen’s Land” in its very first issue, and went on to publish many more on what it deemed this “interesting and important subject”; one which, in 1832, it was significantly reluctant to whole-heartedly endorse (“Emigration to the North American Colonies” 18). Similarly, Chambers’s “Editor’s Address” speaks of his particular desire to “open a continued flow of valuable and correct information” for the “poor man . . . should he be necessitated to emigrate.” *Chambers’s* went on to publish prolifically on emigration, and was so enmeshed with the phenomenon that it produced a monthly colonial edition to correlate with shipping schedules in the mid-1840s (Brake and Demoor, “Distribution” 170-72). Popular mainstream publications such as the *London Journal*, *Leisure Hour*, *Once a Week*, the *Graphic*, *All the Year Round*, *Household Words*, and the *Illustrated London News* also took up the issue extensively, publishing on emigration in their very first numbers in the case of the latter two titles, while many more high-brow quarterlies and monthlies such as *Blackwood’s* also regularly engaged with the theme.

Such an interest is perhaps not surprising, given both the deep historical and material points of parallel which I have noted. Beyond this, however, and at more complex levels, it is also my contention that recurrent concerns with emigration in mainstream periodicals are predicated upon the very same imperatives towards channeling motion into sound and unsound channels which I have outlined. For it is in the troubling grey areas of the periodical's most characteristic productions of mobility—on the very edge of tensions between circulation and overflow, liberty and chaos, legibility and derangement—that emigration was most precariously situated. And it is thus to this point of tension which mainstream journals were both ideally equipped, and ideologically compelled, to return to, to work through, again and again.

“Off, Off and Away!”: Floods, Mobs and Rushes

Not surprisingly given the tendencies I have outlined, emigration is presented most positively and uncomplicatedly within mainstream periodical publications in so far as it can be comfortably channeled within the parameters of those orthodox “ideological codings” of mobility in which they were most deeply invested. As such, the mainstream periodical press and questions of emigrant mobility perhaps meet most comfortably in the metaphor of the “safety-valve,” an image which was often used both within and beyond periodicals to refer to the social function of both.⁴¹ Thus, to cite just two roughly contemporaneous examples, the anonymous author of the *Quarterly Review*'s 1835 “Papers Relating to Emigration” writes in favour of emigration as a means of allowing government to “pour a copious though duly regulated stream of emigrant labourers” into the colonies, countering

⁴¹ See King and Plunkett 35 for an account of its use as a figure for the media.

both the “overflow of Irish wretchedness” into the British mainland, and the blockage of the workhouse, in which men “consume their lives in pacing round yards twenty feet by thirty” (415-18). In this same article, such approved codings of emigrant mobility within overarching liberal systems of apparently free-flowing but paradoxically well-regulated circulation, also fittingly cede into equally acceptable models of movement as liberty and progress. This is particularly evident as the emigrant is seen to move higher up the class scale and to become responsible for his own mobile trajectory rather than in need of what the same article terms “removal”: “... the emigrant labourer of one year after a very few seasons becomes a capitalist and landowner, and is anxious to hire the services of an assistant himself” (419, 422).⁴² In 1834, meanwhile, John Stuart Mill, a firm proponent of emigration as noted in my introduction, claimed in his *Monthly Repository* article “The Taxes on Knowledge” that the “press may be considered as a safety-valve for popular indignation,” an argument that he pithily summed up as: “the more newspapers the fewer rioters” (105; also qtd. in Haywood, *Revolution* 120). Whether applied to the press or to emigration, the safety-valve model, in keeping with master models of circulation, thus denotes the desire to provide those vents for movement which are necessary to avoid equally dangerous mob eruption or contagion-breeding blockage, while simultaneously keeping these same flows regulated and within safely controlled limits.

Such codings of emigrant mobility were widespread in mainstream periodicals, with many texts working the safety-valve motif and representing emigration as an engine of self-help, progress, and controlled social mobility—trajectories most comfortably associated with steady, respectable young men, as I shall explore in my subsequent analysis of the

⁴² I was alerted to this article by its inclusion in Oliver MacDonagh’s *Emigration in the Victorian Age* n.pag.

serialized settler emigration Bildungsroman. And yet beyond these safe limits, emigration is also, and perhaps more intriguingly, rendered consistently problematic, often in the very same texts which eventually manoeuvre it into such ideologically comfortable channels. The root of these residual anxieties, and the nature of the threats which emigration posed to ideologically acceptable models of mobility and those broader spatio-temporal models which are always intrinsically related, can be most fruitfully explored by a closer analysis of the wide range of pieces which mainstream periodicals published on emigrant ships and voyages. Texts on these themes were common in popular periodicals of all kinds from the mid-1830s, perhaps not least in continuation of the close affiliation between the press and the shipping news which adds another dimension to what I have been arguing are the periodical's deep historic and material entwinements with forms of modern motion (Turner, "Time, Periodicals, and Literary Studies" 311). Beyond the realm of reportage, more imaginative texts on this subject included articles on the emigrant ship just prior to departure, journalistic pieces exposing cruelties on board emigrant ships, sensational accounts of emigrant wrecks, short stories, accounts of emigrant journeys which form the first part of longer or serialized texts, snippets of diaries or letters, informational pieces for prospective voyagers, and a range of prints on similar topics. Engaging with the common experience of moving which most significantly underpins emigration and gives it its name—the drive, as one article puts it, to be ““Off, off and away!””—the genre also intersects with many of the individual texts and forms which I will be examining in subsequent chapters, including emigration-themed Christmas stories, sentimental poems,

and serialized novels (Sala 25). For both these reasons, emigrant ship stories therefore seem to constitute a fitting starting point for closer analysis.⁴³

While other emigration genres such as colonial promotional booster literature and emigrant's handbooks also extensively covered leave-taking, shipboard organization, and voyaging, mainstream periodicals, though often having much in common with these other forms and sometimes directly incorporating them, are apparently somewhat unusual in giving ample space to the moving currents of the journey itself. These are, after all, dimensions of the emigrant experience which, as Robert D. Grant notes, were often curtailed by "colonial promoters ... more interested in describing their destinations than in the process of getting there," but which take centre stage in articles such as *Chambers's* anonymous "Life in the Steerage" and "A Passenger's Log," Alexander Mackay's "An Emigrant Afloat" in *Household Words*, or *All the Year Round's* "Aboard an Emigrant Ship," by Sarah Smith (Grant 3). Furthermore, invested with less of an explicitly

⁴³ An indicative search of *British Periodicals* for articles, poems, fiction, letters, and prints featuring the words "emigrant" and "voyage" returns 1292 hits, as of August 2010 (excluding other types of text, notably adverts and publications printed in Ireland). Examples of interesting texts of this kind which have informed my understanding of the genre without being directly incorporated into the closer analysis which follows include: "Voyage in an Emigrant Ship," by "A Young Adventurer" (*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* 1844); "Emigrants at Sea," by "An Old Sailor" (*Leisure Hour* 1867); "Emigration to Queensland" (*London Journal* 1869); "The Emigrant Ship" (*Reynolds's Miscellany* 1869); "First Stage to Australia" (Capper and Wills, *Household Words* 1853); "John Singer's Story" (*Chambers's* 1858); "Incidents Ashore and Afloat" (*Leisure Hour* 1863); "A Steerage Emigrant's Journal from Bristol to New York" (*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* 1848); "A Yarn About an Emigrant Ship" (*Leigh Hunt's Journal* 1851); "A Newspaper Afloat" (*Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 1853); "Far at Sea" (*All the Year Round* 1866); "A Rainy Day on 'The Euphrates'" (Morley, *Household Words* 1853); "Ship's Papers and Captain's Duties" (*Chambers's* 1865); "The Voyage to Australia" (*Leisure Hour* 1852); "Emigrant Ship 'Washington'" (*Chambers's* 1851); "Emigration" (*London Journal* 1848); "Emigration of Distressed Needlewomen" (*Illustrated London News* 1850). For full details of these articles see the Works Cited. Advertisements for emigrant ships and sailings were also published widely across a range of newspapers and magazines during the period of my study, and will feature in my analysis of radical journals in chapter 5.

propaganda imperative to stress smooth passages, and in the light of the deep running preoccupation with darker codings of mobility which I have argued are a generic concern of popular periodicals, many of these articles seem particularly well-equipped to register troubling aspects of emigrant mobility at complex levels of conflicted meaning. Indeed such articles repeatedly register the act of migration as a weak and contradictory point in the very same liberal circulatory systems it appears to most effortlessly fit: a dangerously deregulated moment of egress which threatens both overflow and blockage in the very act of free-circulating transit. This is in addition to an awareness of the very real dangers of emigrant voyages, including death from shipwreck or contagious disease, which continued to haunt the prospect of emigration throughout the early and mid-Victorian period despite the introduction of Passenger Acts designed to improve safety.

Accordingly, one of the most common and intriguing features in such texts is what is often termed a moment of “confusion,” in which, as the word implies, flows become dangerously diverted from safe channels and set into disorderly interplay. Thus, for instance, *Chambers’s* anonymous 1848 “Emigrant Voices from New Zealand” describes embarkation as a moment of “inextricable confusion.” The nature of this “confusion” is explicitly linked to images of compromised circulation, in which both blockage and flood seem simultaneously imminent: decks “crowded and blocked up in all directions” even as emigrant passengers and possessions are “scattered” across the decks, pigs run loose, and general “hubbub” reigns (353). Tellingly, the exact same term, “inextricable confusion,” is also in use eight years later in the *Leisure Hour’s* anonymous “Farewell to Old England” (822). Again, the article foregrounds the threats which emigration can pose to systems of circulation: depicting both a flooded “watery world,” in which “the boat rocks and leaps like a sportive dolphin,” and emigrants prepare to depart in a “torrent” of luggage and rain,

and the imminent danger of blockage on decks “crowded with a mass and multitude of the strangest materials, all conglomerated together” (821-22). Moreover, many similarly themed texts invoke very near-equivalents to this phrase, whether published in the 1840s, ’50s, ’60s, or ’70s: “*Baby-lonish* confusion” (“Emigration.—A Voyage to Australia,” 1849: 41), “a distracting whirl of confusion” (Smith, 1862: 114), or “a scene of hurry and bustle perfectly bewildering” (“Life in the Steerage,” 7 May 1870: 290), to cite just three examples. Meanwhile, such generically recurrent incidents sometimes cede into rather one-dimensionally caricatured threats of ‘mob’ eruption. In “Second Class to New Zealand and Back,” for instance, the respectable cabin passenger is met with unapologetic insurrection when he attempts to remove some usurpers from his quarters: “Cus yer cabin, and you too! ... we’re as good as you are, and a great deal better” (377). In John Capper’s “Off to the Diggings!”, meanwhile, a *Household Words* article about gold rush emigrants awaiting departure, the narrator comes across a “scene of open war” as the ship’s officer—albeit with room for manoeuvre into comic exaggeration—“endeavour(s) to read a sort of impromptu riot-act to a party of cockney warriors who were doing all sorts of violent deeds in a dark smothered up cabin” (409).

As such, emigrant mobility is not only represented as liable to collapse safe circulatory systems into floods or dense blockages, but also becomes directly associated with the very rival currents which the periodical’s ‘diffusing’ impulses were most designed to counter: namely disorder, mob violence, and radical conflagration. Indeed, the fact that the periodical form is able to give ample range to such dynamics is perhaps predicated upon its intimate knowledge of the same, and it is telling that several articles reinforce moments of confusion with motifs of either a specifically multi-vocal “*Baby-lonish* confusion,” as in the above example, or images of compromised legibility. Thus the threat posed to social

order by unregulated mobility merges intriguingly with that posed to representation by the parallel ‘derangement’ of words. For instance, in “Farewell to Old England” a young girl is pictured attempting to write a farewell letter, but is rendered unable to complete the task by “the fever of her mind” as “blots and tears disfigure the crumpled sheet” (823). In “An Emigrant Afloat,” meanwhile, the author simply reminds us: “Let no one dream that the sea, particularly on board an emigrant ship, is the place for reading. It is either too cold ... or too hot: it is too noisy at all times” (Mackay 537).

Read at face value, it seems that such dangerous dimensions of emigrant mobility as represented within mainstream journals might be exclusively traced back to anxieties about social class. As articles such as “Life in the Steerage” suggest, there were certainly heightened concerns attached to the movement of working-class people, misgivings which would have been fuelled by long-running historical associations between mass emigration and the transportation of criminals, the “shoveling out” of both British and Irish paupers associated, as H. J. M. Johnston has shown, with Lord Liverpool’s small-scale state-funded emigration experiments of the 1810s and ’20s, and the emigration of radicals and Chartists in the 1820s and ’30s.⁴⁴ And yet if mass movement is certainly one source of anxiety in such texts—ever threatening to merge into what Cresswell notes are the etymologically closely related currents of the ‘mob’—then it is also apparent that this is by no means the only problem registered (*On the Move* 20). Repeatedly, circulatory systems are not just shown to be threatened by questions of *who* is moving but in relation to *how* they are moving: that is, with regards to dangerous qualities in the rate, range and impact of

⁴⁴ In keeping with wider Victorian ideologies which link mobility with masculinity and femininity with concepts of place, it is also pertinent to note that the act of emigration is often particularly problematic when associated with the movement of women, a point to which I shall return more extensively in chapter 4.

movement which are registered via equally consistent preoccupations with the collapse of interrelated spatio-temporal models. In “Life in the Steerage,” for instance, moments of shipboard confusion are frequently associated with a fast and furtive pace, as emigrants “rushed upon deck” or performed “hasty ablutions” (291). The same article is also fixated upon images concerning the collapse of national space, as a “motley multitude” of nationalities from various countries are “indiscriminately herded together”—and “Babel” predictably reigns (7 May: 289-90; 21 May: 334). Other articles, meanwhile, choose to focus upon images of unraveling place or acute spatial disorientation. Thus *Household Words*’ “An Emigrant Afloat” invokes the popular trope of luggage in motion to point towards the dissolution of domestic order and fixity: “everything moveable in the steerage rolled from side to side on the floor. Pots and pans, trunks, boxes, and pieces of crockery kept up a most noisy dance for the entire night . . .” (Mackay 534). The author of the similar “Aboard an Emigrant Ship,” meanwhile, describes a strange interview with “a helpless woman” found shedding tears onto her luggage before departure: “She is from the country . . . and tells me, weeping, that she is losing her faculties, for she is certain sure that when she came on deck Liverpool was to our right-hand, and now it is to our left. I look, and to my amazement find that her statement is correct; and from that moment I myself am plunged in bewilderment” (Smith 114).

As a means of following these observations through, it is interesting to note that stories of the voyage genre I have been exploring are never more anxious than when concerning themselves with the phenomenon of ‘the rush,’ whether it be to California in 1848, Victoria from 1852, Otago in the early 1860s, or any other destination. As Belich argues, gold rushes can be historically and economically viewed as extreme instances of broader migratory dynamics, rather than separate or causal moments (306-31). It was in

fact mass migration to each respective region that fuelled the ‘discovery’ of gold which had always been recognized by indigenous peoples, and which simply augmented pre-existing booms. Just as Belich suggests that “the golden tip can tell us something about ... the rest of the iceberg” within the socio-economic terms which inform his own analysis, so too might it be indicative of the deeper anxieties which lie beneath (319). For it is in gold rush texts that the general anxieties about pace, space, and place which I have been outlining become most acute in association with a form of emigrant mobility which was deemed especially fast, feverish, and chaotic, and which effected what Malcolm J. Rohrbough has termed a “massive dislocation of traditional personal and spatial relationships” to home and nation (Rohrbough 32. See also Fetherling 3-11). In “Cheerily, Cheerily!”, for instance, Dickens’s protégée George A. Sala describes an extraordinary—and, to borrow Elizabeth Gaskell’s phrase, avowedly “Dickensy”—world of hypnotically feverish motion (Gaskell, Letter to Charles Eliot Norton 534). This sense of movement enters into the very currents of the prose, which opens with a colossal 350 word sentence riddled with repetition, starts, and stops, and taking in everything from the “teeming cargo” of the embarking ship, to the “great voluntary army of exiles ... setting forth,” and the “watery desert” ahead (25). Emigrant mobility in this piece is consistently “pell mell,” “rapid,” “darting”—and quintessentially rushed: “They are all pressed for time, they are all going, cheerily, cheerily; they are all, if you will pardon me the expression, in such a devil of a hurry” (27-30). At the same time, concepts of place as that which is fixed, meaningful and affective are shown to be in a state of collapse, with Irish, English, and Germans chaotically mingling en route to the new international gold fronts, and the relics of lost homes set loose in their wake: “Her ‘things’ have departed from her; an oak chest has been shipped bodily for Montevideo, and three mattresses and a paillasse went out to the best of

her belief in the King Odin” (30). In “Off to the Diggings!”, meanwhile, and alongside the threats of mob violence noted above, images of rush, overflow, illegibility, and collapsed domesticity all converge in one pleasingly economical image of spilt ink, which “flowed in sable streams over bed-clothing, toweling, and children’s dresses, indelibly marking them in all the wrong places” (408).

I will be incorporating the ‘rushes’ into my study of mass settler emigration throughout, and considering Dickens’s emigrant gold rush ship story “The Wreck of the Golden Mary” in greater detail in the next chapter. For now, however, it is sufficient to note that texts such as “Cheerily, Cheerily!” and “Off to the Diggings!” present intriguingly heightened versions of the kinds of anxieties evident within voyage texts more generally, and to begin to explore the implications. Indeed, the repeated emphasis on shifts in time and space which are made particularly visible in the rush pieces, but which are evident in practically all the accounts of shipboard emigrant mobility I have studied, seem to reaffirm Cresswell’s observation that the three dimensions, in so far as they are separable at all, are always mutually implicated. Consequently “any consideration of movement (and mobility) that does not take time *and* space into account is missing an important facet” (*On the Move*, 4). Taking this into account in fact points towards the important recognition that models of mobility as liberal circulation are always intrinsically predicated upon certain spatio-temporal givens which the act of emigration threatens. These include the concept of movement within a limited and “formatted space,” the idea of a fixed centre from which movement flows, and an inbuilt reliance on an even, steady pulse (Trotter 4). Viewed in this way, emigrant mobility becomes problematic precisely in so far as it does damage to those concepts of “formatted space,” central organization and fixed place, and controlled,

progressive, gradualist pace, on which dominant models of motion as well-regulated circulation are always dependant.

While, he does not emphasize the anxieties or problems engendered, this conclusion in fact tallies interestingly with Belich’s “rhythmic reconceptualisation” of settler socio-economic history, which suggests that emigration from Britain operated in sudden starts, booms, rushes, and uneven stoppages throughout the nineteenth century: taking off around 1815, stalling in the 1820s, burgeoning again in the 1830s, variable in the 1840s, rushing in the 1850s—and so on, unevenly in time and space across the different destinations implicated through to a permanent tail-off at the end of the booming 1880s (551, 88-89). Far from operating within the mechanized and steady bounds of the preferred safety-valve model, the spatio-temporal dynamics of nineteenth-century emigration from Britain were in fact more akin to what Belich terms the “roller-coaster”: jerky, fast, and profoundly illiberal, fuelling the sudden mushroom growth of new settler cities in diverse destinations across the globe, and leaving old worlds and places sucked dry in their wake (86). Bearing in mind the class dimensions noted above, and temporarily setting aside the connotations of gender which I move on to explore in chapter 4, it is therefore possible to argue that emigrant mobility becomes problematic in the following capacities: as potentially incendiary mass movement, as rapid or ‘rush’ movement, and as the movement of people from established places into deregulated spaces—all of which characteristics challenge those dominant models of movement as circulation and steady progress in which mainstream periodicals were most deeply invested, and render it ever an uneasy fit.

In the light of this uneasiness, however, it also becomes pertinent to note that the same texts I have been referencing also typically engage a range of representational reinforcements as a means of moderating the flows engaged. As I shall show, these

representative modes are equally deeply, if contradictorily, embedded within the special capacities and characteristics of the periodical form, but require an equivalently detailed analysis of their own in the section which follows.

Representational Reinforcements: Space, Place, Pace

If, as I have argued, the mainstream periodical can be viewed as an innately mobile form, and one, furthermore which is foundationally preoccupied with channeling wayward flows into safe currents, then it is possible to argue that one of its most important ‘influential’ strategies from the outset was an inbuilt thematic and formal counter-investment in models of spatio-temporal order. Indeed, such preoccupations are foundationally evident in the very same set of early self-reflexive articles and addresses explored above, running parallel to and informing their fascination with regulating movement. To return to our earliest example, “The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine,” for instance, Knight accompanies his dynamic exposition on moveable types with a degree of unusually intense spatialization: “A good compositor is distinguished by uniformity of spacing: he will not allow the words to be very close together in some instances, or with a large gap between them in others. His duty is to equalize the spacing as much as he possibly can ...” (30 November: 467). The four-part history is accompanied by several detailed illustrations and tables which demonstrate similar ambitions towards spatial order, along with verbal images of the quintessentially English and “picturesque” paper-mill “situated in some pretty valley, through which the little river glides” (28 September: 379). Similar spatial models are evident in “The Appetite for News,” “H.W.,” and the *Illustrated London News*’s “Our Address,” which while envisaging itself as a “giant vessel” simultaneously describes the

function of illustration in the following spatializing terms: “It has given to fancy a new dwelling-place, to imagination a more permanent throne. It has set up fresh land-marks of poetry, given sterner pungency to satire, and mapped out the geography of mind with clearer boundaries ...” (1).

Rather than just a case of mixed metaphors in isolated articles, this common and recurring emphasis on spatial order and fixity in conjunction with formal and ideological preoccupations with the channeling of motion can in fact be followed through to illuminate broader characteristics of form which substantially underpin the periodical’s capacity to moderate representations of emigrant mobility. For even as the periodical form threatens verbal derangement and semantic open-endedness, so too does it simultaneously operate as a kind of grid stretched through homogenous empty clock-time; its regular issues clearly indicative of what Lefebvre has termed those models of “abstract space” most characteristic of capitalist modes of production: dominated by the “represented” space of grids and maps and precisely associated, as Mary Poovey has noted, with “seriality; repetitious actions; reproducible products” (Lefebvre 38-39; Poovey 29). It is also interesting to note, following Lee Erickson, that the terms “stereotype” and “cliché” which are now applicable to the analysis of any cultural form in fact stem directly from those technical innovations in industrialized printing which enabled the explosion of periodical publications in the 1830s and ’40s—suggesting a particularly deep affinity between the popular periodical and notions of generic regularity and spatial conformity from the outset (27).

At the same time, however, and beyond this level of homogenous abstraction and commodified spatial regularity, periodicals are also foundationally invested in invocations of place as well as space—in the “dwelling-place” as well as the “map,” to invoke the *Illustrated London News*’s revealingly twofold self-image, or the “pretty valley” of “The

Commercial History” as much its “uniformity of spacing.” Indeed, many nineteenth-century periodicals carry forward the older structural containment principles of the eighteenth-century journal as “repository” or “museum” into the ascendant form of the “magazine,” a word which itself means “storehouse” (Beetham, *A Magazine of her Own* 19). So too do many popular periodicals of the 1840s, ’50s, and ’60s directly invoke and enact nostalgic metaphors of homes, places, or nations through insular titles such as *Household Words*, *Home Circle*, *Leisure Hour: An Illustrated Magazine for Home Reading*, or the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*. Rather than being missives of pure spatio-temporal abstraction, then, many early and mid-Victorian periodicals also seem equally deeply associated with what Lefebvre has termed “absolute space” or Foucault “the space of emplacement”: that is, broadly put, with the production of apparently pre-modern models of both place and time which operate alongside newer drives towards abstract regularity (Lefebvre 48-49; Foucault 22). In line with critics such as Peter Fritzsche and Susan Stewart who have stressed the modern origins of nostalgia, McDonagh has recently argued that this sense of apparently antiquated and static place was in fact itself a nineteenth-century invention, generated in direct response to the destabilizing impacts of both internal and external migration as a means of managing increased mobility—an insight which, as noted in my introduction, informs my approach throughout.

Read in the light of these complex and apparently contradictory characteristics, the periodical form can perhaps be best understood to be not so much *exclusively* characterized by dynamics of motion and flow, as by a quintessentially modern *tension* between what Cresswell has termed “a spatialized ordering principle seen by many to be central to modernity and a sense of fluidity and mobility emphasized by others ... fixity, place, and spatial order on the one hand, and a metaphysics of flow, mobility, and becoming on the

other” (16, 23). Such a sense of dynamic tension, active rather than self-cancelling, is perhaps particularly apparent in the case of the popular magazine format, which was not only frequently linked to concepts of hearth and nation from the 1840s onwards as I have noted, but also characterized by the mid-way periodicity of weekliness “situated between the timeliness of news and the more leisured, reflective rhetoric of the monthlies” (Mussell 15). It is just this innate tension—what Beetham, writing in another context, has termed the periodical’s “Janus-like” oscillation between the “open” and the “closed”—which ideally equips the form to not only engage the flows of modern life, as I have argued, but to also set about moderating and absorbing them at their most troubling moments of excess or deregulation (Beetham, “Towards a Theory” 29-30). Furthermore, as I have indicated, the means of moderation is as likely to work through models of place as “abstract space”: utilizing affective models of home and nation alongside more abstract strategies as the means of providing order, cohesion, and meaning in a moving world. While these models and dynamics are much broader than the periodical or any textual form, as McDonagh, Cresswell, and Buzard’s work has demonstrated, it is my contention that they are nevertheless both particularly visible and dynamically active in this context in the light of the deep running historic and formal propensities noted.⁴⁵

It is exactly this capacity for cohesive containment in the wake of opposite and equal forces of flow which many emigrant ship texts appear to invoke. Again, such representational strategies can be followed through at both the micro level of individual articles, and in terms of their broader relation to macro features of form, including the capacity for serialization, the achievement of generic or quite literally ‘stereotypical’

⁴⁵A prototypical version of these conceptual models, as pertaining to *Household Words*, was developed in my MA thesis (Piesse 6-19).

consistency, and the tendency towards editorial ‘balance’ or, in the case of *Household Words*, ‘conduction’ across issues and runs (the terms themselves of course deeply suggestive of organized movement). For the sake of coherence, however, I have found it useful to group such strategies together in terms of space, place, and pace in the analysis which follows; all of which operate in conjunction, but which I have isolated for the purposes of elucidation.

In terms of the invocation of spatial order, it is notable that many of the same articles referenced above follow up their moments of “confusion” with highly detailed accounts of the ship’s spatial arrangements, perhaps most intriguingly expressed via a recurring impulse to both measure and sketch. In “Life in the Steerage,” for instance, the author concludes by writing, “I will now sketch the outline of one day’s proceedings, which may be accepted as a type of our existence throughout the voyage,” proceeding to provide a “faithful picture” of shipboard life (14 May: 310; 28 May: 345). In “Emigrant Voices from New Zealand,” meanwhile, the moment of “inextricable confusion” is succeeded by this curiously flattened image of well-behaved emigrants:

It was a scene which Rembrandt might have embodied in a glorious picture: the gleaming light on the face of the principal figure, partially obstructed by the shadow of his clasped hands; the deep, dense darkness of the background; the dim-discovered forms of the more distant figures of the group; the statue-like, motionless physiognomy of the nearer listeners contrasted with the supplicating earnestness of the speaker ... (354).

Here, the previously chaotic voyage settles into an orderly representation of “discovered forms” in which the movement of the crowd is effectively tamed, and proper relations between foreground and background, centre and periphery, re-established.

Such spatializing propensities are nowhere more apparent than in those periodicals which published prints as well as texts on the theme of emigrant ships. Where prints are incorporated, in fact, they not only work in crucial interdependence with text, but also compound the more general spatializing tendencies I have observed, confirming a consistent preoccupation with picture-making in emigration texts which will recur throughout my thesis. To cite just one example, for instance, the same *Illustrated London News* article which describes scenes of “Baby-*lonish* confusion,” “Emigration.—A Voyage to Australia,” centres around a series of woodcuts by T. Skinner Prout, grouped under the subtitle “Scenes on Board an Emigrant Ship,” and breaks the process down into orderly spatio-temporal units such as “Emigrants on Deck,” “Soup Time,” and “Night—Tracing the Vessel’s Progress” (Fig. 2). A comparable series published as part of the anonymous article “The Tide of Emigration to the United States and to the British Colonies” in 1850 shows similar images: “Scene Between Decks,” “Searching for Stowaways,” and “Dancing Between Decks” (Fig. 3). As can be seen from the titles of the prints and the images reproduced below, these texts are centrally preoccupied with the control of movement, whether via the representation of the generically typical dance on deck, or the more overt invocation of the policing of shipboard space in “Searching.” Furthermore, as in “Life in the Steerage” or “Emigrant Voices,” such images work to organize what Lefebvre might term real “spatial practices” into neat generic ‘types’ of “abstract space”: visual templates and pre-established narrative sequences which are themselves indicative of homogeneity, regulation, and consistency (39). Very similar tendencies are also in evidence in a spate

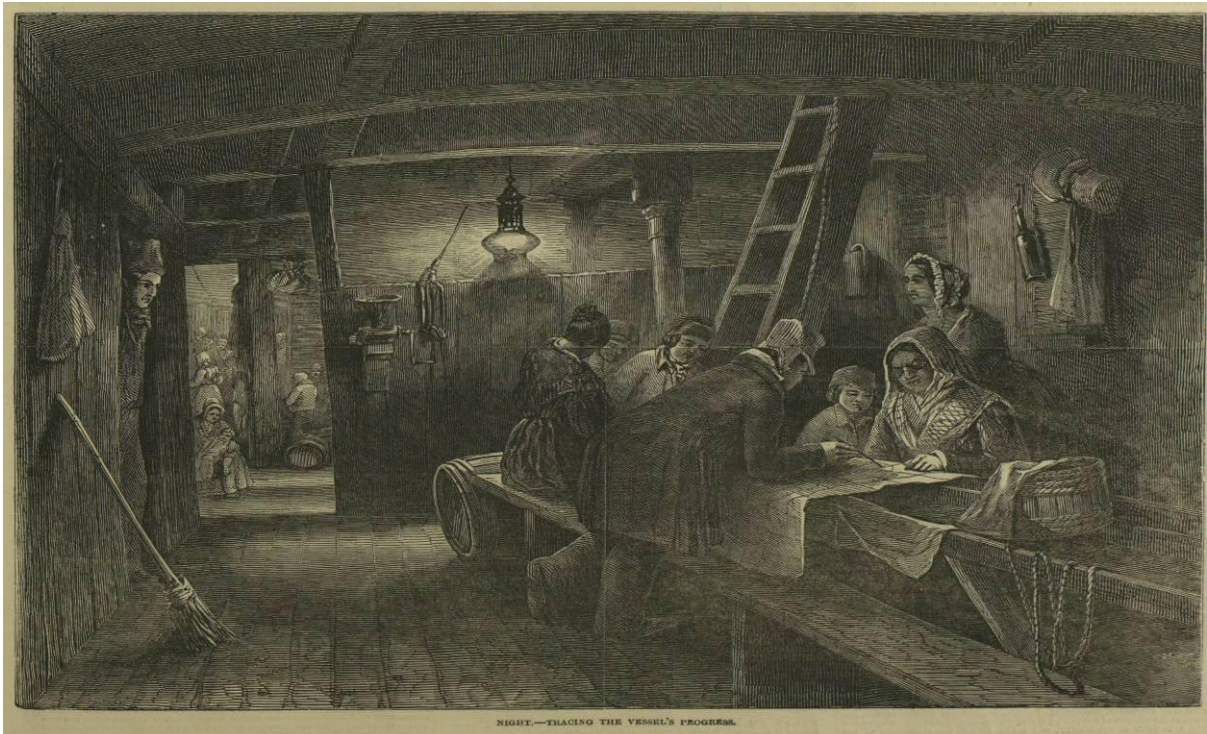


Fig. 2. T. Skinner Prout. "Scenes on Board an Emigrant Ship." *Illustrated London News* 20 January 1849: 40-41. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter.

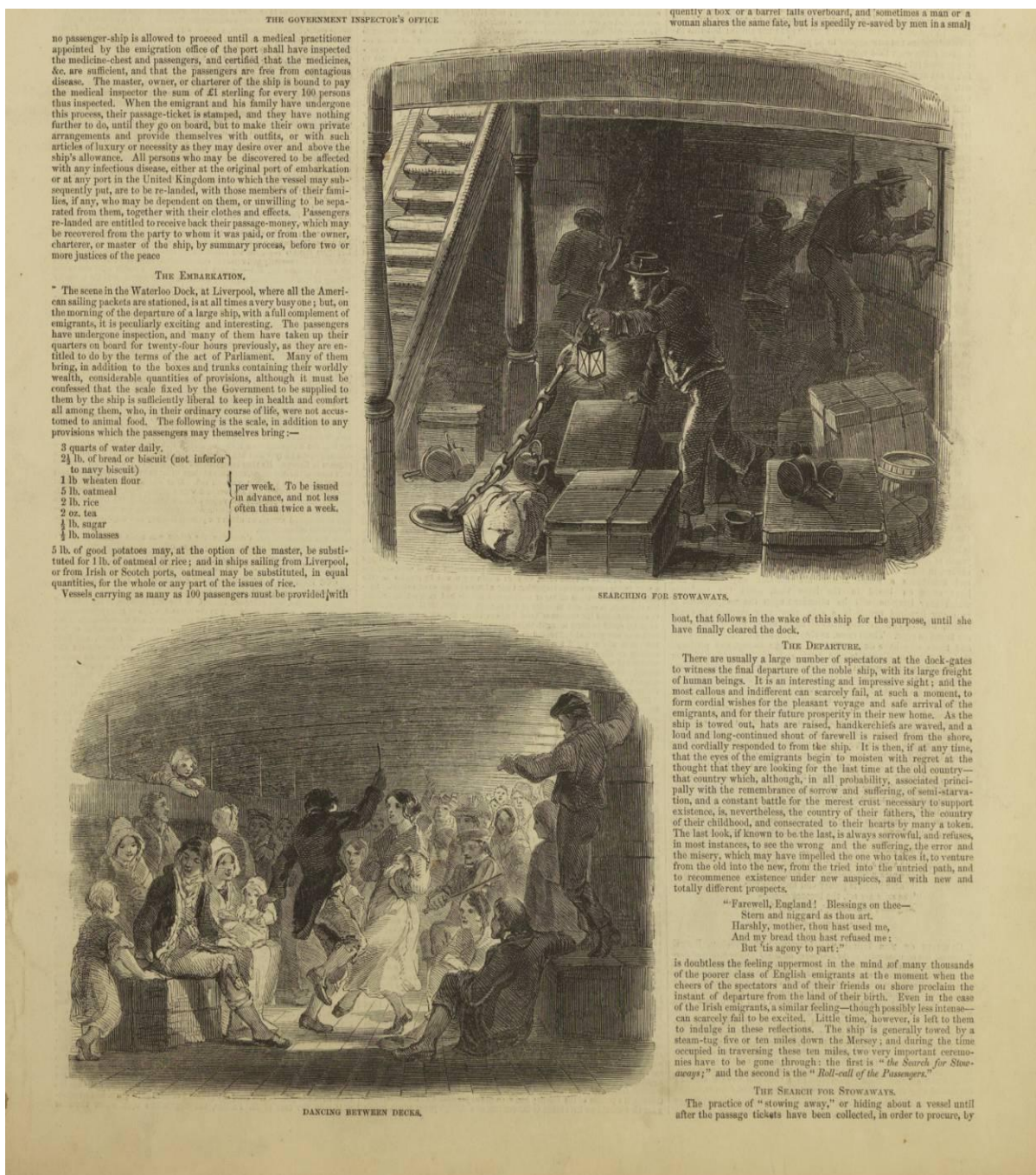


Fig. 3. “Searching for Stowaways” and “Dances Between Decks.” *Illustrated London News* 6 July 1850: 21. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter.

Fig. 4. “An Artist’s Notes on Board the ‘Indus’ Emigrant Ship.” Graphic 29 June 1872:

n.pag. *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. *This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.*

of equivalent prints published by *Illustrated London News* rival the *Graphic* in the early 1870s, and incorporating “On Board an Emigrant Ship—Land Ho!” (1871), “On Board an Emigrant Ship” (1871), “An Artist’s Notes on Board the ‘Indus’ Emigrant Ship” (1872, Fig. 4), and “On Board an Emigrant Ship—Last Hour off Gravesend” (1875).

As I have suggested above, however, most emigrant ship texts also pair such instances of intense spatial organization with a parallel focus on the restoration of home and nation-place, often associated with the feminine as in the domestic groupings of “Night.—Tracing the Vessel’s Progress.” Thus in “Off to the Diggings!” the scenes of steerage chaos are absorbed and offset by one shining example of a “plebian family” making exemplary domestic arrangements. The mother places her children “securely on the desk,” positions boxes “so that they could not move,” and sets about “arranging the little clean bed-linen as tidily as a head chambermaid in a first-class hotel” (408). At the same time, her “energetic persevering” husband sensibly endeavors to hang up their cooking utensils, “bidding stern defiance to the heaviest lurches of the ship.” With the benefit of such reinforcements and his wife’s exemplary domestic instincts he is in fact capable of effectively re-channeling the unruly motion of the ‘rush’ back into the safe channels of steady progress, self-improvement, and well-managed circulation, as the narrator’s comments indicate: “This man’s destiny I saw at a glance. His fortune was as good as made. I shouldn’t object to a share in his future prosperity; for it will be steady and lasting . . .” In essence, then, the couple are applauded for investing in those concepts of place-centric fixity which are most threatened by the literal and symbolic “lurches” of the ship, and play an important part in

contributing not only to the “relief” of the author “after seeing so much discomfort about the decks” but to the balance of the article as a whole (408).⁴⁶

To briefly address the temporal dynamics, or questions of pace, which run inseparably alongside those of place and space, it is also notable that many of these articles focus not only on forms of spatial fixity but also upon the parallel reinstatement of steady rhythm. For instance, “Emigrant Voices from New Zealand” compounds models of spatial order with an emphasis upon the birthdays and Christmas festivities celebrated by the emigrants. Its account of the voyage concludes with a series of excerpts from letters which tell a story of settlement in strict, dated sequence. In the two articles I have found which specifically focus on ideal models of emigration, *Chambers’s* “Utopian Emigration” and Dickens’s study of the conduct of Mormons in his “Uncommercial Traveller” essay of July 1863, it is as much the emigrant’s reinstatement of orderly clock-time as their domestic leanings which renders the voyage exemplary: “... they had not been a couple of hours on board, when they established their own police, made their own regulations, and set their own watches at all the hatchways ... I think the most noticeable characteristic in the eight hundred as a mass, was their exemption from hurry” (“Uncommerical” 445-46).

Beyond the parameters of individual articles, these models of spatio-temporal fixity and order also operate in conjunction with the overall balance of issues, and often across different issues as well, enabling the reader to trace similar patterns of disruptive emigrant mobility followed by spatio-temporal models of containment on the macro scale. For example, “Life in the Steerage” is published in four parts over as many weeks—thus subtly working to reinforce its internal reassurance that “an average passage will occupy from a

⁴⁶ An earlier reading of this text which anticipates some elements of this one features in my MA thesis (Piesse 24).

month to five weeks” if good weather holds (336). The *Illustrated London News*’s “Emigration.—A Voyage to Australia” meanwhile constitutes the first stage of a two-part serialization which concludes with the image of settler Joe invoked in my introduction, when the reader is asked to situate the latter images in the context of his remembrance of the earlier (Prout, “Interior”). These are gradualist-progressive and nostalgic-retrospective temporal dynamics which I shall explore in more depth in my study of serialized settler novels in chapter 3. “A Farewell to England,” meanwhile, like many texts on emigration, was published on Christmas Day, and thus enters into a particularly affective nation-affirming spatio-temporal cycle which operates through concepts of synchronicity and spatial cohesion, as I shall argue in chapter 2. Significantly, Turner has argued that cohesive temporalities underscored by such dynamics of regularity and synchronicity are only one possible dimension of the periodical’s range, arguing instead for what he terms a “cacophony of media time” comprised of “competing rhythms” with different meanings attached to them (“Periodical Time” 186, 189). Nevertheless, it is variations of the more steady and cohesive temporalities which seem to be especially important aspects of periodical emigration genres, as readers of particular titles are positioned to experience temporal cohesion even in the midst of that wider fragmentation which was a feature of the periodical press as a whole. Indeed, this tension between forces of “confusion” and “cohesion” at a temporal level can perhaps be cast as an important dimension of the dynamic interplay between forces of fixity and flow which I have suggested characterizes periodical form (188).

Because of the giddy multiplicity of even one periodical issue, let alone a whole run or range of different titles, it is of course impossible to lay claim to any definitive interpretation of the corpus of texts I have introduced. To attempt to do so would itself be

problematically ahistorical, in willfully missing that peculiar sense of overwhelm—of being ‘flooded’ by a diverse and seemingly never-ending stream of print—which contemporary readers such as Carlyle observed. It is true, for instance, that even the most orthodox of voyage texts, as well as others which feature in less mainstream publications, sometimes play with different modelings and “ideological codings” of emigrant mobility to those which I have outlined (Cresswell, *On the Move* 9). These include, for example, glimpses of the open horizon as a site of transformation, as well as more resistant interpretations of emigrant voyages as seen from the woman’s point of view. These are contradictions and counter-currents which I will consider in more detail in the second half of my thesis. For now, however, it is enough to draw from this admittedly limited sampling of emigrant ship texts the possibility of tracing recurring patterns across similar articles and genres within formally and historically parallel journals. It is also possible to begin to sketch out something of their dominant shape. Put into simple terms, the pattern I have identified through my reading of emigrant ship stories involves the attempt to moderate emigrant mobility with the aid of various recurring representational strategies, centring on models of orderly space, fixed place, and steady pace. As Doreen Massey has suggested, this can certainly be seen as part of a much broader association between representation of any kind and modern imperatives to “tame space” in its all its lived dynamism and “multiplicity of trajectories” (54, 118). While this is one characteristic of these texts, however, most evident in their shared fascination with spatial fixity, it is also my contention that the periodical’s characteristic oscillations between openness and closure, “cohesion” and “confusion,” or “fixity” and “flow,” might also permit something more akin to ‘dramatization’ than ‘taming.’ Read in this way, these texts are not only able to engage emigrant mobility and direct it into safe channels with the aid of particular representational

reinforcements, but to reveal something of its dangers in the process, as well as glimpses of alternative “ideological codings” and trajectories.

As I have suggested, these dominant patterns and insights are not only applicable to the emigrant ship stories sampled, but also underpin mainstream periodical representations of emigration more generally, and will inform subsequent chapters. Before proceeding to this analysis, however, it is necessary to engage with one further problem which has implications for my approach throughout.

Mirror Effects

In “Off to the Diggings!” the “enterprising husband” who hangs up utensils is particularly concerned with the positioning of his mirror:

The little square looking-glass, however, was his chef d’oeuvre; he had secured it by nails and white tape, and there was not the least fear of its giving way. He was not quite sure, though, that it was in the centre, and retreating from the cabin until he fell over a whole wagon-load of goods, he took an elaborate survey of its position. He looked at it from all sorts of distances and points; he peeped through both eyes and then through only one; he gazed attentively from the summit of a sea-chest, and then tried the effect of it from one of the opposite cabins (408).

I have invoked this scene in detail not only because it neatly illustrates those recurring preoccupations with spatial fixity outlined above, but because it points towards another

crucial set of concerns which need to be addressed before I can proceed. These are the slippery set of questions concerning mirrors which must be addressed by all studies which attempt to make links between historical events, representation, and reception; or between world, text, and reader. In so far as they impact upon my study, such questions might be sketched broadly as follows. To what extent can a text such as “Off to the Diggings!” be understood to “reflect” the real emigrant experience, particularly in the light of the periodical form’s peculiarly ‘topical’ status? And, furthermore, to what extent can we assume that the reader receives images in the light they were cast? Might there always be processes of inevitable diffraction and slippage—of “giving way”—working against authorial or editorial ambitions for unidirectional ‘influence’?

Beginning with the first question, it is worth noting that assumptions about the periodical’s uncomplicated mimetic capacity have been a feature of critical approaches to the form from their inception. Thus, for instance, Leslie A. Marchand’s 1941 *The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture* signals through its title an enduring critical approach to periodicals which even pioneering scholars such as Wolff were to leave largely intact as recently as the 1970s (Pykett 6). It is still not uncommon for those working in other disciplines to use attractive pictures from the *Illustrated London News* or quotations from the *Times* as a means of apparently directly invoking historical experience, unmediated by any engagement with the text’s own representative strategies or ideological investments. Rather than simply dismissing such approaches as unsophisticated in the light of contemporary theory, however, it is worth noting that they are at least partially justified by the fact that periodicals *do* often seem to quite literally engage with real historical experience, and to make similar claims for their own mimetic capacities. In the articles cited above, for instance, it is common for the authors to invoke their true-to-lifeness as a

point of pride, particularly given the range of unreliable or “booster” information about emigration which was typically seen to proliferate elsewhere. Thus in “Life in the Steerage” the author makes a virtue of producing a particularly “faithful picture” of the “hard facts” (345), while Prout’s sketches for the *Illustrated London News* are accompanied by similar assurances that “we have no artistic invention; they are pictures of what the draughtsman saw daily, and here present to us with truly vivid effect” (“Emigration.—A Voyage to Australia” 39).

Furthermore, such truth-claims are partially borne out by the close points of correlation between periodical texts and the findings of contemporary historical research into shipboard life. As Woolcock shows, voyages to Queensland really were characterized by a particularly tight set of “social boundaries and territorial rights,” by deep concerns for the “integrity of the family unit,” and for the healthful circulation of light and air (102, 90-91). Andrew Hassam’s “Our Floating Home,” meanwhile, stresses that emigrant ships were literally thought to function as domestic, albeit highly regulated and stratified, communities, with much emphasis upon the construction of a shipboard sense of place. Likewise, what Myers terms “portable domesticity” was of course a fundamental component of both shipboard life and the subsequent settlement experience, with many emigrants who embraced this permanent form of relocation swiftly prioritizing the establishment of settled homes which replicated those they had left behind in Britain. Interestingly, at least one handbook aimed at emigrants intending to cross the American West, including those from Britain, printed detailed pictures of “portable camp furniture” which could be carried en route (Fig.5).

These direct links and overlaps between what Lefebvre has termed “spatial practice” or the “lived” space of everyday life and the imagined “representational space” of

Fig. 5. Some of the “convenient articles of portable camp furniture” which feature in Randolph B. Marcy’s *Prairie Traveller: The 1859 Handbook for Westbound Pioneers* (144-50). Special Collections, Library of Congress. *This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.*

the text (both shaped to a large extent by the dominant stratum of “represented” space which finds emblematic representation in the map, grid, or plan) are themselves exciting, and attest to the periodical’s peculiarly live, dynamic, and historically engaged characteristics (38-39). However, my task would be less interesting, or at least produce a different kind of study, if this were the whole story. For while it is true that periodicals by their very ephemeral and topical nature *do* often bear peculiarly close relationships to historical events, the work of a whole generation of periodical scholars from the late 1980s onwards has served to complicate and dismantle the mirror models I have been invoking. Thus critics such as Pykett, Beetham, Laurel Brake, and Turner, while variously informed

by thinkers as diverse as Raymond Williams and Roland Barthes, have all consistently championed approaches to periodicals which give due weight to their capacity to actively inform historical events and construct ideological formations rather than merely passively reflect the world around them.⁴⁷

Indeed, as Belich, Baines, Robert D. Grant, and Bill Bell have all stressed, print played a crucial role in both galvanizing and imaginatively shaping real acts of emigration, and was crucial to the information flows which fuelled the “settler revolution” (Belich 153-58; Baines, *Emigration* 8). Periodical texts in particular seem to have had the power to directly promote emigration, from the large scale of the California gold rush which rode on the backs of newspapers across America and beyond, through to the level of the individual reader by the fireside clipping an advertisement for an emigrant passage out of his favorite journal. Moreover, many periodicals were instrumentally implicated in the promotion of specific emigration schemes and societies, including *Household Words*’ promotion of Caroline Chisholm’s Family Loan Colonization Society, and, as I shall explore in chapters 4 and 5 respectively, the *English Woman’s Journal*’s endorsement of middle-class female emigration to New Zealand and the *Northern Star*’s interest in socialist utopian emigration to America. Leaving aside these direct links for the time being, however, it is sufficient to note at this point that the emigrant ship texts I have been referencing do not so much reflect as actively inform and model ‘real’ historical experiences of emigration. It is in fact often the very *mismatch* between real historical experience, in so far as this can be recovered, and representation which can prove most interesting and which will come to light in subsequent chapters.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Pykett’s deconstruction of what she terms “the reflection model of the media” 5-12 (6) and Turner’s *Trollope and the Magazines* 227-40.

What emerges within mainstream periodicals, therefore, is not a “faithful picture” of real emigration and settlement in all its dislocated, rushed, uneven—and perhaps quintessentially unrepresentable—“roller coaster” trajectories, but a highly mediated and moderated spatio-temporal landscape, characterized not only by those leanings towards certain models of movement which I have traced in this chapter, but towards particular kinds of places and spaces, certain destinations, recurring narrative trajectories and temporal modes. Furthermore, as I have begun to show, these modes of representation are substantially predicated upon the specific formal capacities of the periodical: that is, its capacity to dramatize and “ideologically code” complex currents of motion, and to pattern and model these currents within interrelated networks of space and time. This is not to deny the close points of historical correlation which, as in the case of emigrant ship stories, often exist between periodicals and the world they often claim to faithfully picture, and which their relative topicality affords them to a greater degree than less ephemeral texts. Rather, it is to stress active engagement as well as reflection; mediation and impact as opposed to mimesis.

With regards to the second question I have raised, concerning relationships between text and reader, it is perhaps enough to note, more succinctly, that questions of readership have long been viewed as one of the most “intractable problems” in periodical studies (Bennett 225). Despite the work of scholars such as Altick, Alvar Ellegård, and Jonathan Rose, few reliable details about actual readers or their responses can be recovered from the historical record. Consequently, correlations between ‘implied readers’ and real readers may not be justified.⁴⁸ Working with Bennett’s logic concerning the *Penny Magazine*,

⁴⁸ The term “implied reader” was first coined by Wolfgang Iser. See Terry Eagleton 84.

however, it is perhaps enough to note that we do at least know that real readers continued to purchase certain publications, and to deduce from this a certain receptivity to the ideological formations they quite literally bought into (225). Furthermore the openness of the form permits readerly engagement in the form of letters and other contributions, as well as a certain degree of readerly control through the periodical's inbuilt reliance on regular consumer purchases (Beetham, "Towards a Theory" 30). While the periodical may not be a mirror it is nevertheless, as Louis James notes, a "particularly intimate form of literature" which for all the interpretative dilemmas that beset it is surprisingly well-equipped to register reader response (352). In the analysis which follows I will therefore attempt to incorporate an awareness of the reader's ongoing contribution to the periodical's peculiarly cooperative production of meanings wherever it seems apposite, while also assuming (however imperfectly) a general correlation between the ideological formations evident within given titles and the viewpoints of those readers who continued to purchase them.

With these goals in mind, I wish to conclude by invoking just one final example of what—albeit at a slight stretch—might be termed another periodical emigrant ship story. Trollope's *Lady Anna* was begun during a three-month voyage to visit his emigrant son Frederic in Australia, a voyage undertaken on Isambard Kingdom Brunel's famous SS Great Britain; now fully restored and open to visitors at Bristol harbor. First published in monthly parts in the *Fortnightly Review* from April 1873 to April 1874, the novel does not present a "faithful picture" of the ship or the "spatial practices" of its emigrants, nor does it reveal anything in the way of those maps and regulations which must have secured its path across the ocean. What we do get, however, at the "representational level," and alongside the novel's primary concerns with marriage and divorce law, is the parallel and anomalous tale of radical tailor Daniel Thwaite. As the story progresses, Daniel's plans to marry

childhood sweetheart Lady Anna and emigrate to America even after she seems certain to secure the rights to her long-disputed title and inheritance by marrying her aristocratic cousin do intriguing damage to the spatio-temporal dynamics of the plot. What at first seems certain to be a simple marriage plot attached to the aristocratic world of English country houses in fact threatens to collapse into dangerously radical new spaces and insurrectionary narratives expressly associated with emigration to America. And yet this was not a plot, or for our purposes a modeling of emigration, which even the liberal and educated readers of the *Fortnightly Review* apparently found acceptable. As Stephen Orgel notes in his introduction to the Oxford edition, by chapter 12 readers were writing in to suggest that Anna should marry Lord Lovel instead (ix). While the novel does not deliver this desired outcome, it does nevertheless reign in certain wayward tendencies across the course of a steady serialization which itself has nothing of the real rate of passage within it. By the end of the novel America has morphed into the more manageable prospect of settler Australia, and the dynamics of imminent class insurrection been folded into a more satisfactory parallel ‘settlement’ between Anna and Daniel, whose respectively high and low social paths converge in a middle-class trajectory of self-help and progress. The national centre, meanwhile, remains intact throughout, with no scenes set in Australia, and Lord Lovel eventually permitted to inherit much of the money.

While *Lady Anna* is of course a work of fiction which lays less claim to mimetic veracity than many other periodical texts, it nevertheless illustrates the broader points I have made in this section. In so far as *Lady Anna* might be seen as a ‘mirror’ of real emigrant experience at all, it is not only a distorting and transformative one which patterns and shapes as much as reflects, but a two-way glass into which readers peer. As such it confirms broader tendencies in the other texts studied, as well as neatly illustrating, via its

own unusual circumstances of production, the gap which must always exist between represented and ‘real.’

In this chapter I have introduced several of the thematic, historical, and theoretical structures which will underpin subsequent analysis. I have argued that the periodical is historically, materially, and formally well-equipped to represent emigrant mobility, and, more specifically, to work through ideologically acceptable and suspect manifestations of that mobility. I have shown through a sampling of emigrant ship stories that emigration is rendered innately problematic in seemingly undermining those very master-models of mobility as circulation, liberty, and progress in which mainstream periodicals were particularly invested. With reference to the same set of articles, I have also begun to explore the ways in which periodicals were able to redirect emigrant mobility back into safe channels, with recourse to a range of spatio-temporal strategies centring upon models of orderly place and pace, and which accordingly also pattern historical experience into something more manageable at the representational level. While much of the analysis in this chapter has been necessarily wide-ranging it has nevertheless provided a broad framework for subsequent chapters, in which the concepts developed here will be applied to the closer analysis of particular genres and contexts.

Dreaming across Oceans: Emigration and Nation at Christmas

In chapter 1, I have shown how intermeshing models of place, pace, and space work to offset migration in emigrant ship stories, arguing that these dynamics operate at the level of periodical form as well as the stories' content. In the chapter which follows, I will move on to explore how this same multilayered spatio-temporal interplay between dynamics of fixity and flow operates in another key settler genre: the highly popular emigration-themed periodical Christmas story. I have found literature featuring either emigration or first-generation colonial life within a large range of mainstream middle-class, or middle-class aspirant, periodicals including *Household Words*, *All the Year Round*, *Eliza Cook's Journal*, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, the *Leisure Hour*, the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic*, the *Quiver*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and the *London Journal*, and within both Christmas special numbers or supplements, and regular December and January issues.⁴⁹ Far from being peripheral, such Christmas publications represented the “feverish peak” of the entire periodicals market, as Altick notes, and often achieved colossal

⁴⁹ Examples of other texts of this kind read but not cited in the analysis which follows include: “Seven Trees, or Christmas in the Backwoods” (*Eliza Cook's Journal* 27 December 1851); “Christmas in Canada,” by W. S. (*Belgravia* January 1870); “Edgar's Day-Dream” (*Quiver* January 1873); “Christmas in Canada—Amateur Carol Singing at Longhueil on the St. Lawrence” (*Graphic* 30 December 1876); “Christmas in British Columbia” (*Graphic* 27 December 1879); “A Year of Bush Life in Australia,” arranged by Elizabeth Townbridge (*Sharpe's London Magazine* January 1869); “Under Canvas in the North-West Provinces” (*Chambers's* 23 December 1871); “Keeping Christmas” (*Chambers's* 25 December 1869); “The Happy Valley” (*Chambers's* 25 December 1852); “Christmas in England and at the Cape” (*Chambers's* 19 May 1849); “South American Christmas” (*Household Words* 18 December 1852); “Christmas in the Colonies” (*London Society* January 1864); “A Colonist's Story of Christmas Eve” (*Sharpe's London Journal* January 1852). For an account of Christmas stories in *Reynolds's Miscellany* see below pp.238-39.

readerships which dwarfed those of the better-known Christmas book: compare, for instance, the annual circulation figure of 15,000 for *A Christmas Carol* in 1843, priced at five shillings, with the peak readership of 250,000 for *All the Year Round* Christmas numbers, priced at four pence, in the early 1860s (Altick 363, 384-95). I argue that this little-studied popular emigration literature is essentially cohesive in nature; utilizing the medium of print to activate an affective English national imaginary which served to contain the potentially destabilizing potentiality of migration. Moreover, this national imaginary is consistently articulated through both spatial and temporal frameworks, linking emigrants abroad with distant friends at home as the Christmas moment closes in, and thus combining preoccupations with concepts of nation-place and synchronicity which can be read as generically specific manifestations of that broader interplay between models of mobility, place, space, and pace outlined in the last chapter. The first part of this chapter develops a conceptual framework which builds upon Benedict Anderson's idea of the "imagined community" and draws upon a range of Christmas texts across titles in order to elucidate the relationship between emigration and nation as mediated by print. The second and third sections move on to explore two particularly intriguing subgenres: the festive frame story, with closer reference to Dickens's "The Wreck of the Golden Mary" (1856), and the trend for stories about Christmas in Australia, encompassing a reading of Trollope's "Harry Heathcote of Gangoil."

The idea that print culture might have a special role to play in forming concepts of nationality was first proposed by Anderson, and it is worth reviewing his ideas in brief as a means of framing subsequent arguments. In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* Anderson argues that the nation operates as a kind of "imagined community" which supersedes traditional "face-to-face" social relations (6).

Such modern imaginings are specifically facilitated by advances in print culture, and in particular by the rise of the novel and newspaper, which enact the very epistemological frameworks upon which national identity is founded. At the crux of this argument is the idea that print enables new ways of thinking in what Walter Benjamin termed “‘homogenous empty’ time,” initiating the reader into that very sense of “synchronicity” which is essential to the formation of national consciousness (24-25). Because the nation-state originates within the context of the decline of religious and dynastic systems, however, Anderson argues that it is also characterized by a “strong affinity with religious imaginings”: conceptually bolstered by images of deep, historic time which apparently “loom out of an immemorial past” and obfuscate modern origins (10-11). Notably, the imagined nation is also characterized by the importance of boundaries and limits, as the power relations of “centripetal and hierarchical” dynastic societies shift and realign to accommodate the dynamics of a new “horizontal” field (15).

It is just this model of the nation—boundary-orientated, limited, and apparently steeped in ancient traditions—which mass settler emigration particularly challenged. In part, this can be traced back to earlier lines of thinking which still linked population to state power, and viewed emigration in terms of undesirable exodus and a “loss of national strength” (Johnston 2). As Johnston notes, the first state-sponsored emigration experiments in the 1810s were hampered by just such reservations, and were in fact primarily inspired by a desire to strategically bolster what was then British Upper Canada against the threat of a rapidly expanding United States rather than to relieve pressures of overpopulation. Alongside such patriotic reservations about emigration’s impact upon the nation ran more complex and less concrete anxieties about its effects upon national identity. Indeed, Bhabha places migration at the very heart of those experiences which most challenge “the

impossible unity of the nation” as the one story of coherent narrative: “From the margins of modernism, at the insurmountable extremes of storytelling, we encounter the question of cultural difference as the perplexity of living, and writing, the nation” (Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* 1; “DissemiNation” 311). Though Bhabha is writing about migration in a twentieth-century context and with an emphasis upon colonial rather than British literature, nineteenth-century British accounts of emigration also register much of this sense of “perplexity,” most often registered in terms of threat as I shall show, and consistently work to resist the possibility of new and destabilizing national narratives taking shape within the “insurmountable extremes” of colonial spaces.

As I have previously noted, Buzard has argued that British nineteenth-century novels engage in a defensive centring impulse in response to just such destabilizing forces: countering the pull of imperial expansion and increased global mobility by vigorously reengaging the category of the nation at an imaginative level in an attempt to offset “a moral evacuation or ‘meaning loss’ at the imperial center” (2).⁵⁰ It is within the context of this broader impulse towards national ‘centering’ that I also wish to situate Christmas emigration literature, but with particular regard to unpicking the spatial dynamics implied. For, despite the fact that Anderson’s concept of the nation is underpinned by ideas of limits and boundaries, his original account of the “imagined community” as a temporal structure had, in his own assessment, “patently lacked its necessary coordinate: changing apprehensions of space” (xiv). Furthermore, the vision of abstract national space which Anderson does develop in his supplementary 2006 chapter “Census, Map, Museum,” remains a model which lacks *its* own important coordinate—that sense of conservative

⁵⁰ The embedded quotation cites Jed Esty, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, 23-53.

place which both fills in the emptiness of national space with concepts of meaning, order, and location, and works in alliance with ideas of limits and boundaries to compensate for the loss of dynastic “centripetal and hierarchical relations.” Indeed, recent criticism has drawn attention to the fact that models of homogenous empty nation-space are sustained by concepts of imagined place in much the same way as homogenous empty nation-time is sustained by images of deep antiquity: “Nations might easily be seen as political impositions of rational and abstract space over the specificities of place, but place, too, plays a role in the production of the nation ... For a nation to hold its inhabitants together it must act as a place” (Cresswell, *On Place* 99). Building on the ideas and critical terminology of Pierre Nora, Ian Baucom, Bhabha, and others, this is a line of thinking which Buzard also points towards by arguing for the conceptualization of a kind of “double-space” within the national imaginary which acknowledges the important status of “lieux de memoire” or “special radiant sites”—terms which are significantly both spatial and temporal—in providing meaning, identity, and a sense of order within the otherwise abstract field of the imagined nation (Buzard 54-55).

There was perhaps no more “radiant” a site in the mid-Victorian national imaginary than the idea of Christmas: an increasingly special-status festival during which ideas of the nation might be articulated through just such double temporal and spatial frameworks. Though scholars such as Mark Connelly and Tara Moore have recently emphasized the fact that the Victorians did not invent Christmas as is sometimes claimed, it was certainly substantially transformed from a relatively low-key religious festival into a far more culturally significant, and largely secular, festival from the 1840s onwards (Connelly 1-43; Moore, *Victorian Christmas in Print* 1-7). Central to this transformation was an increasing tendency to utilize Christmas as a means of expressing and consolidating national identity

through the place-centred concreteness of England rather than the relative abstraction of Britain: “Christmas and Englishness were felt to be indistinguishable and the values of one were those of the other” (Connelly 4. See also Baucom 12-14). As Moore and Connelly also note, this model of Christmas, like all national imaginings, was both deeply embedded in and enabled by the growth of middle-class print culture—not only the Christmas books initiated by Dickens’s *A Christmas Carol*, but also the scores of periodicals which filled their pages with Christmas-themed literature every year.

Imaginings of the festive nation in this body of literature were consistently articulated through a particularly heightened sense of place and time which typically coupled myths of the festival’s supposed Anglo-Saxon or Tudor roots with insistent images of the home, the rural, and the nation-place of England. For example, Harriet Martineau’s 1851 article “What Christmas is in Country Places” begins with the injunction that: “If we want to see the good old Christmas—the traditional Christmas—of old England, we must look for it in the country” (8). This is a country Christmas, on the one hand, of immensely ancient traditions such as the pagan practice of dressing up houses with evergreens to warm the spirits of the woods, or of persuading the “darkest man in the neighbourhood” to cross the threshold first on New Year’s Day (11). But it is also a site of national synchronicity in which individuals easily slide into plurals, and people “in every house, far and near” enact the same practices at the same time: “the women” all up before dawn to begin “making something that must be spiced with nutmeg,” just as “the boys” must all run home when the “clock strikes supper-time” (10). Likewise, the *Illustrated London News* published a range of similarly nation-building and place-affirming texts in many of its Christmas double issues and supplements. For example, the Christmas Supplement for 1848 contains a



Fig. 6. “Fetching Home the Christmas Dinner,” by Leech. *Illustrated London News* 23 Dec. 1848. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter.

number of interlinked engravings showing the people of England engaged in festive pursuits at the same time, including “Making the Christmas Pudding,” by Kenny Meadows, “The Christmas Holly Cart,” by Foster, and “Fetching Home the Christmas Dinner,” by Leech (Fig. 6). This sense of nation-building synchronicity is also underscored by the imagery utilized within accompanying texts. The lead article “Christmas Moralities” explores images of “England ... on this, or any other 25th day of December” as viewed by

an eye “far raised above our atmosphere,” and “able to look into its myriad habitations—palaces, castles, towers, halls, villas, cottages, and hovels; whether in hamlet, village, town, or metropolis, all at the same time!” (402). In keeping with this striking image of the nation as a “large and living map” sustained by “multitudinous spots of light,” the supplement as a whole also elaborates on the role played by place within overarching national frameworks by simultaneously foregrounding images of rural Christmas customs, such as the engraving “Carol Singing in the Country,” by Dodgson, on its first page. The two trains of thought combine in J. L. Williams’s well-known engraving “Christmas Tree at Windsor Castle” which contains its national emblems, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, within both a typically bourgeois home setting, and a mock medieval border of fowls, fish, grains, and fruits harking back to England’s Anglo-Saxon prime.

Repeatedly in the Christmas periodicals, a sense of ancient place-time works in conjunction with a sense of national synchronicity after just this fashion. And it is at the very heart of this dense matrix that the experience of emigration was so often securely embedded. In the first instance this works materially, as articles on emigration and Christmas in the settler colonies are positioned within the fabric of the issue as a whole. Thus, for instance, John A. Heraud’s lengthy poem “The Emigrant’s Home” is positioned next to the place-affirming “Christmas Eve in Devonshire” in the *Illustrated London News* 1850 issue, just as “What Christmas is in Country Places” comes close alongside Australian emigration vignette “What Christmas is After a Long Absence” in the 1851 *Household Words* Christmas issue. The conjunction of such pieces works to both bolster a sense of the coherent identity of the English Christmas nation by comparison with its sometimes literally Antipodean opposite, and to contain the disruptive associations of emigration by exploring it within the context of other such nation affirming pieces.

More specifically and subtly, however, the experience of emigration is also absorbed and contained within these issues via the mechanics of *extending* a sense of national synchronicity, coupled with a complimentary invocation of English hearthside location, to the settler colonies. This is apparent in the periodical production of what Tara Moore has termed “the reading moment” (“Victorian Christmas Books” 97): that heightened sense of a simultaneous reading experience which Christmas literature in general enabled, and which, I would add, is even more intensely articulated in the experience of reading ephemeral periodicals, or “one-day best-sellers” (Anderson 35). As I noted in chapter 1, it is possible to piece together evidence that many British periodicals enjoyed substantial readerships across the Anglo settler world, despite a lack of reliable overseas circulation figures. For example, the *Graphic* advertised the option of purchasing a Christmas issue printed on special light paper to cut postage costs, and listed a range of rates for destinations including Australia, Canada, and the Cape—a practice which must have been rendered commercially viable by a significant colonial market. Similarly, Wevers notes that one of the families who co-ran the Brancepeth station in 1860s Wairarapa kept “bound volumes of *Household Words* for 1851/2 (the Christmas Issue)” in their private library, providing some rare verification that Christmas stories such as Samuel Sidney’s Australian emigration vignette “What Christmas is After a Long Absence” had currency and appeal in settler New Zealand (188).

Furthermore, and regardless of actual readerships, emigrant readers constitute a significant component of many of the Christmas periodicals’ constructions of implied and imagined readers. *Illustrated London News* editorials, for instance, frequently incorporate Christmas greetings to readers in the colonies, while colonial Christmas stories across a range of publications often include self-reflexive images of emigrants reading periodicals.

For example, in “Christmas in the Bush of Australia,” the anonymous author tells us that “on the table were a *Leisure Hour* and a *Sunday at Home*”—certainly a puff for *Golden Hours*’s sister-publications, but also an important means of imaginatively situating and containing emigrant readers within the same implied reading space and moment as British readers. Emigrant and home readers were thus literally co-positioned within the context of an overarching, expanded national imaginary: members of one vast implied reading circle around an extended national hearth.

These dynamics are also reflected within the content of many of the stories themselves, as is particularly evident through the recurring trope of the emigrant’s nostalgic vision of England on Christmas Day, often contained within a scene where the emigrant toasts absent friends. These moments enact the synchronicity of national thinking—the stretch of an imaginary which moves beyond the face-to-face and conceives of a “transverse, cross-time, marked . . . by temporal coincidence” (Anderson 24)—while simultaneously filling in these empty structures with deeply affective images of English place and old customs during the special time-zone of Christmas. In the third part of *Blackwood*’s Christmas serial “Wassail: A Christmas Story,” for example, the returnee emigrant sheep farmer tells his English sweetheart that it was remembering home at Christmas that compelled him to leave Australia: “The memory of the old hearth and all around it grew stronger and stronger; until I could think of nought besides” (Hamley 150). *Household Words*’ Christmas publications were also fond of this device, and almost identical moments of wistful toasting feature in Australian emigration stories “Christmas Day in the Bush” and “What Christmas is After a Long Absence.”

Another particularly interesting example of this generically recurrent moment is provided in “The Bent Bow,” the 1874 Christmas number of Christian family journal the *Quiver*, which also focuses on emigrant life in Australia:

‘Let’s see,’ he said, ‘they’ll soon be coming out of church now. What a fool I am!’ he added; ‘they’re not up yet. It’s only two o’clock in the morning in England. Ever so much of my Christmas Day was yesterday with them ... It makes a fellow feel as if he had drifted into another world somehow.’

That he had ever been in England had begun to seem to him almost like a dream, although it was not so very many months since he had left it, and every lichen on the walls of his old home was fresh in his recollection (2).

This excerpt demonstrates the fact that most Christmas issues endorse a form of national-consciousness which is very much defined in terms of the English centre, contracting even as it imaginatively extends. In this instance, the potential for divergence is quite literally absorbed and corrected. Colonial time is consciously reset to match English national time, just as the sense of having “drifted into another world” is brought back within the range of a set of agreed reference points to an overarching English place—those lichens, old homes, churches, and hearths which provide the imagistic vocabulary of so many stories of this kind. It is also worth noting that in both “The Bent Bow” and “Wassail,” as in “What Christmas is After a Long Absence” and numerous other festive periodical emigration stories, the nostalgic dream or toast trope precedes a journey to the English national home at the level of plot. Thus the fictional emigrant is often physically as well as imaginatively

brought back within the parameters of the English hearthside circle, enacting a mode of affective and comforting homecoming which both qualifies Veracini's conceptualization of the archetypal settler narrative's refusal of return, and is intriguingly differentiable from those more problematic colonial hauntings of the metropole which have been uncovered by postcolonial readings of canonical novels.

Indeed, Moore argues that the trope of emigrant return was also extremely popular within Christmas books, and it is worth elaborating on the point that there is something strangely bookish about Christmas periodical literature in form as well as thematic reference ("Victorian Christmas Books" 69-75). Many seasonal emigration stories came out in special Christmas issues which, in containing either one and a half or double the material found in an ordinary issue, were similar in length and size to Christmas books. Very often, such issues contained exclusively, or were heavily dominated by, just one single novella-length work of fiction, as in the case of *Household Words* special issues such as "The Wreck of the Golden Mary," at thirty-six pages and priced three pence, or the *Graphic's* "Harry Heathcote of Gangoil" at around 40,000 words in an issue priced one shilling to the usual six pence. Christmas periodicals also invoked the spirit of the little book more generally by including frequent reviews of Christmas books or by incorporating its gorgeous image into their own narrative textures, as in C. W. S's "Home.—A Christmas Story," also about an emigrant's return from Australia: "It was Christmas-time. The booksellers' shops were full of bright pictures and temptingly-bound volumes; and there were gorgeous displays of beef and mutton in the butchers' shops" (244).⁵¹

⁵¹ For a full account of reviews of Christmas books in the periodical press, see Tara Moore, "Christmas Books and Victorian Book Reviewing."

This leaning towards bookish forms has implications for my argument if one considers the potential differences, as well as the similarities, between books and periodicals as nation-building tools. In his analysis of the link between the novel form and national consciousness, Timothy Brennan refers to the novel as “a composite but clearly bordered work of art”—a form which is particularly well-equipped to articulate and produce a sense of the nation in terms of its preoccupation with limits and order (48). Meanwhile, the Christmas book, a subgenre of the novel as Moore suggests, is even more intensely bordered: a truly “narrow space” or “whimsical kind of masque,” as Dickens termed it in the preface to his collected *Christmas Books* of 1852, and thus a form associated with both a particularly accentuated sense of cohesion and containment and historical links to state affirming traditions of court theatre, as Robert Tracy notes (113). The periodical, meanwhile, as I have previously argued, is formally and historically far less boundary-orientated in constituting a ‘run’ of traditionally anonymous material which flows from issue to issue, with its roots, if this is the right word, in the growth of modern urban mass readerships (Beetham, “Towards a Theory” 24-26; Altick 95). Furthermore, its own generic temporal characteristics are, in Kate Campbell’s terms, potentially disruptive and radical even as they are periodic and conservative: enacting a mode of “writing in time: in the thick of things ... where all life counts towards knowledge and deserves not to be run dry” (43). Read as such, it is tempting to draw an analogy between this vision of the periodical as a wave of “graphic scraps” riding on the crest of the ‘now’ and Bhabha’s conceptualization of an alternative, “performative” national temporality which emerges from “the scraps, patches, and rags of daily life” and undercuts the “continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical” (Campbell 42; Bhabha, “Dissemination” 297). If the bounded novel characteristically provides the “technical means” for the production of

synchronous national identity (Anderson 25), then what would there be to stop the “graphic scraps” of the magazine or newspaper from enabling quite another kind of national consciousness: “repetitious,” “performative,” iterative and on the very cusp of becoming? (Bhabha, “DissemiNation” 297-306).⁵² The fact that mainstream periodicals do not realize this potentiality is a testament to what Beetham terms the periodical form’s equal propensity towards “closure” and conservatism as well as openness and flow (“Towards a Theory” 28). This sense of closure is perhaps nowhere more apparent than at Christmas, when the market achieved its “feverish pitch” before reaching a temporary point of pause in the stoppage point of the bookish Christmas issue. That emigration stories should feature so insistently in this context therefore seems to reinforce their tendency to activate ideas of the English nation as a conservative model of containment.

Emigration in the Frame

This propensity to situate emigration within the context of a deep national space-time accentuated by an unusually cohesive form is particularly visible in the popular Christmas issue subgenre of the Dickensian frame story. Having begun to take shape in 1850 with a series of linked pieces on “Christmas in ...” destinations as diverse as India and the Bush, the form had graduated to a more cohesive frame structure by 1852’s “A Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire,” and continued to run until 1867 in *Household Words*’s successor *All the Year Round*.⁵³ Each of these festive frame story issues featured a number of linked

⁵² The phrase “graphic scraps” is quoted from Walter Bagehot’s essay “Charles Dickens,” originally published in the *National Review* in October 1858.

⁵³ As collaborative texts, frame stories complicate referencing conventions for authorship. For consistency and clarity, I attribute the texts to their editor and primary author, Dickens,

narratives written by different authors who had been briefed on what to contribute within the context of an overarching narrative frame, and additional connecting copy, dominated and orchestrated by Dickens. As I have already noted, *All the Year Round* Christmas issues often achieved enormous audiences, while regular *Household Words* contributor Percy Fitzgerald unreliably, but not improbably, also records a quarter of a million for the *Household Words* Christmas numbers (Glancy 58). These issues also proved to be very influential on the Christmas market more generally, with similar festive frame narratives appearing in other popular journals such as the *London Journal* and *Chambers's*, and inspiring the publication of books such as Gaskell's *Round the Sofa*, containing several stories originally published in *Household Words* (Moore, "Victorian Christmas Books" 117).

One of the common characteristics of many of these stories, and in particular of the original Dickensian versions which this chapter focuses upon, was an intriguing tendency to incorporate stories about emigration into their overarching frames.⁵⁴ In total, seven out of nine of the *Household Words* Christmas frame story issues contained pieces on emigration. Thus Sidney's "Christmas Day in the Bush" of 1850 was followed by his similar "What Christmas is after a Long Absence" in 1851, "The Grandfather's Story" in 1852, and "The Colonel's Story" of 1853. This was succeeded by two Christmas issues which featured emigration particularly centrally—"The Holly-Tree Inn" in 1855, and "The Wreck of the Golden Mary": stories which put, respectively, deciding not to emigrate and emigrating at the centre of their frame narratives. Meanwhile, as Grace Moore and others have noted,

in the Works Cited. However, I also incorporate details of which authors contributed individual framed tales within my general analysis.

⁵⁴ For a non-Dickensian example, see the *London Journal's* "The Old House at Home," in which two emigrants return to their quintessentially English home to share stories of life in Australia and Canada with other returnee siblings.

“The Perils of Certain English Prisoners, and their Treasure in Women, Children, Silver, and Jewels” (1857) reflects upon the colonial disaster of the Sepoy Rebellion or Indian Mutiny, and is set in a “small English colony” connected to the silver mining industry in South America (Dickens, “Perils” 2; Moore 121). Though emigration became a less prominent component of the festive issues of *All the Year Round* after “Tom Tiddler’s Ground” in 1861, casual references continue to abound, as does a related structural interest in travel versus the home (this is also the case in “The Seven Poor Travellers,” the *Household Words* Christmas number for 1854). For well over a decade, then, and for seventeen years less intensively, Dickens’s journals brought emigration into the centre of the Christmas reading experience for hundreds of thousands of readers.⁵⁵ And in so doing, they worked to contain emigration within a particularly dense matrix of national space-time, as I shall show.

In the first instance, it is interesting to note that the frame stories consistently affect a temporal mode which is intriguingly pre-modern in its connotations. In the first *All the Year Round* Christmas issue for 1859, “The Haunted House,” for example, as Ruth F. Glancy observes, the narrator of one ghost story told within the frame, Dickens’s “The Ghost in Master B.’s Room,” sees his image shift in the shaving mirror from his childhood self into that of a young man and finally his father and grandfather (Glancy 64). Such a curiously layered but composite sense of temporality is in fact established from the very inception of the form in 1850, with Dickens’s lead piece for the issue, “A Christmas Tree,” centring upon a pseudo-medieval image of the “pretty German toy” as a tree of life which

⁵⁵ Interestingly, two of the *Household Words* special issues, *A Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire* and *Another Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire*, both edited by Melisa Klimaszewski, were republished for the first time as special gift books for Christmas 2009, suggesting a continuing interest in these stories and their capacity to shape the Christmas experience.

links past to present along the magical contours of its branches: “I begin to consider, what do we all remember best upon the branches of the Christmas Tree of our own young Christmas days ...” (289). Glancy rightly interprets such elements in the context of Dickens’s psychological investment in “memory’s restorative power” and the softening effects of recollecting childhood (57). It is also possible, however, to see this timeframe, in Anderson’s terms, as a vision of just that sense of “simultaneity-along-time” (24) which characterized pre-print temporalities: a once-upon-a-time in which past, present, and future are always mutually implicative and co-existent. While this Christmas temporality is not unique to the periodicals—a more famous example is provided by the three ghosts of *A Christmas Carol*—it is especially striking within the context of the modern, urban journal, and enacted with particular insistence and frequency in the frame story form.

Significantly in the frame stories, this pre-modern temporality is also deeply conjoined to a sense of meaningful, memory-soaked, and coherent place. By introducing a series of stories apparently spoken by narrators, the frame story structure automatically conjures up an impression of lost “face-to-face” relations and communal identity. As Moore notes, the frame narrative, with its frequently supernatural components, also had historic links to eighteenth-century oral ghost story traditions, as modern print culture set about “replacing the oral or ballad tradition with a prepackaged version of a Christmas custom” (*Victorian Christmas in Print* 85). Just as the ghost story was traditionally linked to specific locations, so did the Dickensian frame stories also compound their sense of communality by incorporating an intensely place-centric bias within the framing narratives themselves, which accordingly contain all the individual components within their own overarching structures, be they those of the Christmas hearth, “The Haunted House,” “A House to Let,” or “The Holly-Tree Inn.” Within the context of the polyvocal periodical, this

conservative sense of place as containment is also underscored by a sense of unusual authorial unity, as diverse writers are brought together into one hierarchical narrative community, suggesting “a cohesive relationship among narrator, tale, and audience,” even if Dickens’s letters reveal less than harmonious relations between editor and writers in reality (Glancy 55).

And yet, as we have seen more generally, there is also an overlapping and intersecting framework of nation-space and nation-time at work within these issues. For instance, the stories use representative narrators who could stand in for any of the readers’ own family members: incorporating, for instance, in “A Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire,” Dickens’s “The Poor Relation’s Story” and “The Child’s Story,” and Gaskell’s “The Old Nurse’s Story”; or again, in “Another Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire,” Dickens’s “The Schoolboy’s Story,” “The Old Lady’s Story,” by Eliza Lynn Linton, and “The Squire’s Story,” by Gaskell. Furthermore, the narrative address is often to a plural readership situated in the context of one Christmas reading moment, as in the example from “A Christmas Tree” above, in which the singular easily slides into the plural, and the place-specific story expands to incorporate the greater *Household* readership around the fire: “I begin to consider, what do we *all* remember best” (my emphasis). Many of the frame stories also explicitly stress the collusion between a sense of village or home-place and the imaginary of the English nation. “Tom Tiddler’s Ground,” for instance, is framed by an image of village place which is less truly particular than nationally representative:

The conversation passed, in the Midsummer weather of no remote year of grace, down among the pleasant dales and trout-streams of a green English county. No matter what county. Enough that you may hunt there, shoot there,

fish there, traverse long grass-grown Roman roads there, open ancient barrows there, see many a square mile of richly cultivated land there, and hold Arcadian talk with a bold peasantry ... (1).

As in “What Christmas is in Country Places,” the repeatedly emphasized “there” is very much national, collective, and English, even as it is simultaneously made to feel like a place-specific ‘here’ through bright images of Arcadian peasants, ancient barrows, and other earthy trappings of Anderson’s “immemorial past.”

It is within the context of this deep matrix of national space-time that unsettling emigration stories are repeatedly positioned, as the structures of the frame story work to insist upon an overarching and countering sense of containment and location. In the case of “Tom Tiddler’s Ground,” for instance, the place-centric frame concerning a hermit’s disregard for the sanctity of a patch of land contains the lively but disruptive “Picking Up Waifs at Sea.” Later republished by its author Wilkie Collins as “The Fatal Cradle: Otherwise the Heartrending Story of Mr. Heavysides,” the text recounts the story of two unexpected births on an emigrant ship bound for Australia (Lewis and Gasson 5). Spatial and social disorder soon dissolves into farce after the ship’s stewardess fails to remember which of the babies, “larboard” or “starboard,” belongs to cabin and steerage class respectively. The frame also contains John Harward’s “Picking Up a Pocket-Book,” the story of a young Englishman’s quest across the mid-American prairie, “whitened as it was by the bones of many an emigrant,” and interrupted by violent encounters with the “cussed Redskins” (33, 36). In “The Holly-Tree Inn,” meanwhile, a jilted lover’s plans for American emigration are thwarted after he gets snowed in en route to visit one last sentimental location before sailing. The forward momentum of his travel narrative is

countered by a cycle of stories which stress static place and English national identity: a series of autobiographical, associative reminiscences which focus on the narrator's memories of "wonderful English posting-inns" he has visited in the past, and which graduate to his collection of the other guests' stories (8). The frame story is happily resolved by the narrator's reunion with his lover and an invocation of located English identity to balance the dynamics of dispersal: "And I say, May the green Holly-Tree flourish, striking its roots deep into our English ground, and having its germinating qualities carried by the birds of Heaven all over the world!"(35)

These dynamics are also particularly visible in "The Wreck of the Golden Mary," one of the most well-known *Household Words* Christmas special issue stories, and the first on which Dickens collaborated with Collins in writing the frame component (Trodd 202). Set in the early 1850s, this overarching frame concerns the wreck of a ship on its way to the Californian diggings, carrying both cargo and twenty emigrant passengers, including the gold hungry Mr. Rarx and a fair-haired child passenger nicknamed "the Golden Lucy" who eventually dies after the wreck. The story has been convincingly read by Lillian Nayder as a reflection upon 'The Blue-Jacket' agitation of 1851, in which a group of sailors challenged the draconian powers given to sea captains by the new Mercantile Marines Act, and upon which *Household Words* had previously reflected. According to Nayder, the story is therefore quintessentially about "labour unrest at sea," and uses the idea of "gold rush fever" as a figure for incipient class conflict (71). However, while it is likely that the agitation informs the context of the story, perhaps most particularly in its insistence on exemplary relations between captain and sailors, I wish to conclude this section of the chapter by resituating "The Wreck" within the more central contexts of emigration, Christmas, and the frame story structure, and to accordingly read it as a piece which works

to contain the threat of emigration within the overarching sense of national space-time outlined.

Like many stories of emigrant shipwrecks which preoccupied publications including *Household Words* throughout the 1850s, the wreckage and eventual sinking of the *Golden Mary* is presented by the first of the story's two narrators, Captain William George Ravender, in terms which approach the apocalyptic: "And then the light burnt out, and the black dome seemed to come down upon us. I suppose if we had all stood a-top of a mountain, and seen the whole remainder of the world sink away from under us, we could hardly have felt more shocked and solitary than we did when we knew we were alone on the wide ocean" (6-7). This sense of dislocation and despair is configured in terms of deep spatial disorder and inversion, and in particular via images of ruptured place: "I dreamed that I was back at Penrith again, and was trying to get round the church, which had altered its shape very much since I last saw it, and was cloven all down the middle of the steeple in a most singular manner" (5). When huddled onto the two lifeboats, Long-boat and Surf-boat, the passengers find themselves faced with conditions so dire that Ravender feels compelled to publicly address and dismiss the option of cannibalism, which "must have been more or less darkly in every brain among us" (9). Towards the end of the first section, subtitled "The Wreck," Ravender's narrative ends abruptly after he becomes seriously ill, and is taken over by Chief Mate John Steadiman, who has left his own lifeboat in the charge of another competent sailor in order to man the Captain's.⁵⁶

As such, the story operates as an emigration disaster story, in which the very worst potentiality of the emigrant experience is imaginatively unleashed through the symbolic

⁵⁶ As Anthea Trodd notes, the switch from Ravender to Steadiman also marks that from Dickens to Collins (205).

climax of the wreck. Significantly focusing on emigration to the patriotically questionable destination of California, rather than to the more wholesome bush of Australia which *Household Words* advocated throughout the 1850s, it presents a picture of emigration which is associated with the dissolution of place, radical spatial disorder, and the meltdown of coherent narrative, as well as the flickers of class conflict which Nayder illuminates. It is, furthermore, accompanied by a shadowy ‘uncivilized’ presence configured through the latent threat of cannibalism, and played out to the terrible “Me! me! me! me!” soundtrack of Mr. Rarx, whose irrational lust for gold amplifies the threat emigration poses to social order and cohesion more generally (34).

This might seem like strange fare for Christmas, even given surprising Victorian tastes for the violent and transgressive at this time of year. Nevertheless, it is the way in which these problems are contained which makes the story so emblematic of the models and dynamics discussed above, and which rendered it suitable for the Christmas market. For against the potent threats it invokes, the story painstakingly reconstructs just that sense of double national space-time outlined throughout my analysis; pitching it against the erosion of narrative instigated by the wreck. It is my contention that “The Wreck” operates according to a principle of conspicuous, but ultimately unifying, doubleness: negotiating its path through the ocean by moving between calendrical time/national space and that sense of place-centric antiquity typified by its utilization of the frame story format.

To deal with the first strand of this double narrative tendency first, it is interesting to note that Ravender’s story includes the early assertion that “I am on the second day of this present blessed Christmas week of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, fifty-six years of age” (1). From this point onwards, concepts of calendrical time are consistently woven into the story, and pitched against the “violent shock” of the wreck and its

destabilizing effects. As soon as the crew and passengers are on the lifeboats, Ravender begins to keep count of the passing days, and the narrative is repeatedly punctuated by, and structured around, references to calendrical or clock-time: “Sixteen nights and fifteen days, twenty nights and nineteen days, twenty-four nights and twenty-three days. So the time went on” (5, 10). Far from being a quirk of a logbook keeping captain, this temporality is absolutely essential to the survival of the passengers and the transformation of the emigration nightmare, right up to the point at which they raise their voices “at intervals of from five to ten minutes” in order to attract the attention of a passing ship. It is this same sense of calendrical clock-time which also enables the separated boats to maintain a sense of mutual attachment. Though the passengers on the two vessels cannot always see each other, they are able to retain a sense of connection when most essential by practices such as setting their sails “as nearly as possible about the same time.” The two boats thus retain a sense of unification even when distance comes most between them: “We got out a tow-rope whenever the weather permitted, but that did not often happen, and how we two parties kept within the same horizon, as we did, He, who mercifully permitted it to be so for our consolation, only knows.” The image of the two boats bobbing on the sea, keeping to the same timescale, and to the “same horizon” even when separated by distance and darkness, is an apt figure for that concept of synchronicity which Anderson argues is most characteristic of national consciousness (34, 31, 8).

The two stories, as narrated by Ravender and Steadiman, also significantly overlap at points, as when Steadiman recalls his response to Lucy’s death even after it has been narrated by Ravender. This sense of synchronous temporality is also ultimately allied to an overarching model of English national identity when the passengers in both boats are rescued by “a fine brigantine, hoisting English colours,” and the story strands converge.

Ravender and Steadiman soon decide against staying with the other emigrants at the diggings, and leave California on “the first vessel bound for England”: back to the “house at Poplar” and the West Country respectively. The story thus ultimately overcomes the threat of its own dissolution in order to confirm the validity and centrality of the English national narrative, reducing the destabilizing experience of emigration to a final image of manageable middle-class domesticity as enacted by the two respectable female emigrants, Miss Coleshaw and Mrs. Atherfield, who become “settled in America” with their husbands far away from the mines (35-36).

Meanwhile, however, as I have indicated above, a different kind of temporality and spatiality is simultaneously enacted in the story in support of these synchronous national structures. As the lifeboats chart their way across the oceans, their passengers develop ritual practices which help to bind them together and produce a sense of communal location. For example, Lucy’s mother Mrs. Atherfield sings at particular times of the day, while her daughter is periodically raised up to be viewed by occupants of both boats, and eventually mourned at an adapted form of Christian burial service. Furthermore, and most significantly, “The Wreck” also contains at its core an extensive run of framed stories written by other contributors. These are overtly allied to Ravender’s endorsement of calendrical time and fill out its empty structures in order to bind the community together: “we should have a story two hours after dinner ... as well as our song at sunset ... Spectres as we soon were in our bodily wasting, our imaginations did not perish” Each of these five stories is presented as having been orally delivered by the narrator to a circle of listeners, and a sense of face-to-face relations is an important component of their function: “O! what a thing it is, in a time of danger, and in the presence of death, the shining of a face upon a face!” (9-10). Read collectively, these stories are also all intensely nostalgic for ancient, rural places. The

first, by Percy Fitzgerald, for example, focuses on the village of Ashbrooke, a place characterized by “queer, old-fashioned houses, with great shingle roofs,” “village folk,” “pleasant” Sundays, moss growing over the church, and the “great fireplace” of the Joyful Heart Inn. The second, by Harriet Parr, tells the story of Dick, the son of “a yeoman or gentleman-farmer in Cheshire” who falls in love with his cousin. Meanwhile the fourth text, a ballad by Adelaide Anne Procter, outlines its narrator’s captivity by the Moors, focusing in painstakingly affective detail upon dreams of return to his “dear cottage” (13, 19, 26). Despite their homely references, however, these are surprisingly tragic tales, which are rife with lost loves, acts of violence, unexpected changes, and ghostly hauntings. For example, the peace of Ashbrooke is shattered by a murder committed by the narrator’s master, the innocent country blacksmith “Ding Dong Will,” who has been goaded into the offence by a proud London girl. Likewise, the balladeer finally returns after many year’s absence only to find his wife remarried and child dead, while Dick is compelled to emigrate after causing unforgivable scenes at both his cousin’s wedding to another man and her subsequent untimely funeral.

Yet even as they focus on the trauma of their narrators’ own departures, imagistically centring around a nostalgic sense of lost affective place, the stories also enable the tellers to contain the experience of emigration by forming new communal ties on the boat: a community of face-to-face relations supplementing and stabilizing links to an overarching English nation, as symbolized by the relationship between the two boats and the story’s conclusion. This sense of cohesive doubleness is also compounded by the fact that the stories are recorded as they took place synchronously on both boats. Those written down are presented as only a selection of a number which “circulated among us,” recounted by Steadiman partially from what he heard directly, and partially according to what he

heard from “the remembrance of others” (13). The stories thus represent a moment of collective dreaming as binding as the idea of national synchronicity, and which in fact lend crucial substance and coherence to its otherwise empty structures.

Thus the periodical frame story, as I have interpreted it, presented thousands of Victorians with a uniquely articulated reading experience. Within the dense time-zone of Christmas, it enacted a sense of orality, face-to-face community, and affective location even as it also served to activate models of the nation through concepts of synchronous narration. In its totality, the form’s overriding impulse is towards containment and coherence, a tendency which is structurally pitched against the threat of emigration which it so typically served to mediate.

‘Christmas in Australia,’ or What to do with Difference?

‘You wouldn’t marry any one but a squatter? I can quite understand that. The squatters here are what the lords and the country gentlemen are at home.’

‘I can’t even picture to myself what sort of life people live at home.’

Both Medlicot and Kate Daly meant England when they spoke of home.

‘There isn’t so much difference as people think.’⁵⁷

In this exchange between a courting couple in Trollope’s *Graphic* Christmas story of 1873, “Harry Heathcote of Gangoil: A Tale of Australian Bush Life,” the recently emigrated

⁵⁷ Page numbers are not supplied for references to either “Harry Heathcote” or the texts which featured alongside it, as they are not visible in the digitized issue I have worked from.

Englishman Giles Medlicot tries to reassure his first-generation Australian lover that her birth-country and his are basically the same. By directing Kate and Medlicot's thoughts back towards an English centre articulated through images of "home" and "country," this simple dialogue apparently confirms just that tendency towards containment and national centring which I have suggested most typically characterizes Christmas periodical literature of this kind. Despite the easy assurance of Medlicot's reply, however, and the ways in which the story works as a whole to situate emigration within a sense of overarching English national location, the dialogue also complicates its sense of resolution. For, even as the English national imaginary is stretched and re-contracted to incorporate Australia, a sense of disruptive incongruity shines through the chinks in the narrative and linguistic infrastructures: the "difference" between a squatter "here" and at home for example; or the conceptual gap between Australian spaces and the English places which Kate "can't even picture." While evident across a range of stories about emigration, this sense of a destabilizing gap between 'here' and 'there' is especially visible within the wide range of periodical stories which featured Christmas in Australia, a location which seems to have exerted a particular fascination—posing both site-specific threats to those conservative models of the English nation with which Christmas interrelated, and affording particular opportunities, as I shall show. This section sets out to explore the processes by which a sense of difference is not so much completely contained as transformed and renegotiated, combining a reading of one of the most intriguing Australian-themed Christmas stories, "Harry Heathcote," with analysis of a range of other broadly contemporaneous texts on the same topic.

As P. D. Edwards notes in his introduction to the Oxford World's Classic's edition of *Harry Heathcote*, Trollope wrote about his Christmas literature somewhat disdainfully in

An Autobiography, complaining that most Christmas stories “had no real savour of Christmas about them,” and implying that they were primarily written to meet publisher’s demands (viii). Critics have generally followed Trollope’s lead here, paying little attention to his Christmas stories as a whole, and mostly disregarding their status as periodical texts written for a particular market. One notable exception is Nicholas Birns, who, while not focusing extensively on “Heathcote’s” periodical form, acknowledges both its essential Christmas character and its subtlety. His reading of the text in the light of Bhabha’s “DissemiNation” suggests that the story uses its Australian Christmas setting as a means of emphasizing “the *uncanny* structure of cultural difference” (Bhabha 313), placing it at the forefront of trends in postcolonial writing which invoke “duplications of a colonial original,” in this case Christmas and all its English trimmings, in such a way that “their very sameness generates a disruption that calls attention to the instabilities latent in the colonial relationship” (Birns 15). His argument turns on questions of the extent to which Trollope might be said to invoke “a truly vertiginous instability” of the national sign even as he is apparently most conservative (10).

I wish to build on this reading by foregrounding the text’s periodical form, stressing its engagements with ideas of nationhood in the light of the above discussion on place and time, and linking the story to others in the periodical marketplace which enacted similar dynamics. For, while periodical Christmas texts focused on emigration to destinations as diverse as India and California, they shared a recurring fascination with Christmas in Australia. From my own reading, Australia emerges as the most popular location for such festive pieces, particularly for those which feature an actual settler location rather than only prospective emigration or joyful emigrant return. Thus while “Harry Heathcote” was undoubtedly inspired by Trollope’s own personal experiences of Australia, culminating in a

year-long visit from 1871 to 1872 as Edwards notes, the story can also be read in the context of a range of other texts about Christmas in Australia published from the 1850s onwards (ix). These include many of the texts discussed above, such as “Christmas Day in the Bush” and “Christmas in the Bush of Australia,” as well as a particularly insistent line of articles and stories on the theme from the *Leisure Hour*, to which I shall return: “A Picnic in Australia” (1853), “My First Christmas at the Antipodes” (1857), T. Baines’s “The Explorer’s Christmas in Australia” (1868), “Christmas in Australia” (1872), and C. H. Allen’s “Christmas in Tropical Australia” (1876). There was, in short, something about the dynamics of ‘Christmas in Australia’ that made it particularly suitable for what I have argued were fundamentally conservative and nation-affirming Christmas stories: site-specific attractions which made Australia not only the optimum choice, but also to some extent the necessary one.

Commissioned by the *Graphic* for its Christmas Day number, “Harry Heathcote” tells a story based on the adventures of Trollope’s emigrant son, Frederic, who ran a sheep station in New South Wales (Edwards x, xv-xvi). The story focuses on Frederic’s fictionalized counterpart, Harry, a young emigrant sheep farmer in Queensland who struggles to protect his landed interests from a variety of threats during the fortnight before Christmas. The most significant of these are bushfires lit by disgruntled former employee Nokes in alliance with hostile ex-convict neighbours the Brownbies, but Heathcote’s farm is also under siege by Medlicot’s competition as a “free-selector,” and the unpredictability of the very climate and soil. Read at its simplest level, Heathcote eventually overcomes these threats to enjoy a restored version of the perfect English Christmas. By the concluding Christmas dinner scene, he is looking forward to life as a “young patriarch” of the bush surrounded by a happy, pastoral community of relatives and servants. Most

significantly, his sister-in-law, Kate, is due to be married to his former enemy, Medicot, who has won his friendship by helping to defeat the Brownbies and Nokes in a dramatic nocturnal “bush fight.” As we have seen in the quotation above, the overriding reference points remain English, accompanied by nation-affirming imagery of hearth and home as the emigrant and his wife enact the generically typical toast to “friends at home!” and enjoy their “real English-plum-pudding” in the company of the Oxford-educated English-born policeman who has meted out justice on the matter of the bushfires to Heathcote’s satisfaction. The “pleasant homelike” house itself meanwhile, survives the threats of fire it has faced throughout to remain a bastion of middle-class English norms in the bush: a quintessentially English place in which Mrs. Heathcote can continue to read “a play of Shakespeare or the latest novel that had come to them from England,” or to dress in a manner as “bright and pretty” as she would have “in a country-house at home.”

Compounding this sense of national containment, “Harry Heathcote” is situated in the context of an issue which, like others I have discussed, located its readers within the structures of an extended narrative “imagined community” associated with cohesion and containment even as it presupposes a synchronous reading moment stretching across oceans. While “Harry Heathcote” takes up 21 pages of the issue and occupies the central position within it, the story is flanked by a number of illustrations and articles which reinforce a sense of national identity embodied through images of antiquated, rural place. For example, the text accompanying the supplementary illustration “Grandmamma’s Christmas Visitors,” invites readers to be “carried back a hundred years, to the days when George III was still a young man, and when the United States was still a British colony,” asking them to “follow” the visitors “in imagination into the house; see them seated round a blazing wood-fire ... and hear their merry voices ringing.” These dynamics are compounded by the intriguing

and insistent presence of clocks and calendars in the issue. Advertisements for timepieces such as Bennett's Model Watch—"securing to the wearer the indispensable comfort of perfect time"—and Wainwright's New Registered Clock Barometer run alongside a special full page "Calendar for 1874," featuring organic images of the seasons and the zodiac designed in "the medieval style," as the accompanying text explains, and including "representations of Anglo-Saxon gods." Like other Christmas issues, these nation-building temporalities and spatialities were both literally and implicitly extended to the colonies—both through the availability of the special "thin paper edition," able to be posted to Australia for thirty-two shillings per annum, and advertised prominently on the front cover—and by the presence of the Australian-themed Christmas story within these overarching boundaries.

As such, "Harry Heathcote" is apparently squarely situated within an overarching sense of English nation-place and nation-time at Christmas, in much the same way as many of the other texts I have considered. Furthermore, the text also affects this particular sense of the nation as an expanded but place-centric "imagined community" at its thematic and structural levels. The plot, after all, turns upon Heathcote's transformation from a proud and isolated young man, whose noble instincts are undermined by a sense of "mental loneliness" which leaves him unable to connect with his neighbours, into an integrated member of an English-centred community, represented by his alliance with Medlicot, "the hero" of the bush fight, and of the story as a whole: "Then there came across his mind for the first time an idea that Medlicot might marry his sister-in-law, and become his fast friend. If he could have but one true friend he thought that he could bear the enmity of all the Brownbies." Heathcote's immersion in this community—anchored to England but extended to Australia—is reinforced by a sense of synchronicity within the structure of the story,

which unfolds via a series of complicated narrative overlaps in which the reader must understand that several scenes occurring in different places are sharing one common temporality culminating in the Christmas moment: “All this happened on Christmas Day.” This sense of national community, synchronicity, and containment is compounded by the story’s conclusion, in which Kate’s whispered word of consent to Medicot is said to be understood by all, and part of the same agreed narrative unfolding in the restored domestic centre: “She came up to him, and leaned over him, and whispered one word which nobody else heard. But they all knew what the word was.” Interestingly, Trollope’s New Zealand-themed periodical Christmas story of 1878, “Catherine Carmichael,” ends on a similar note, suggesting that concluding on “one word” understood by all was a significant component of his Antipodean Christmas story structure: “Then he followed her, and, laying his hand upon her shoulder, spoke the one word which was necessary” (239).

And yet despite this ultimately reassuring outcome “Harry Heathcote” also enacts far less settling dynamics, which are again elucidated by the story’s publication history. Though commissioned by an English periodical, the text was simultaneously serialized in an Australian newspaper, the *Melbourne Age*. In fact, while it first appeared in its entirety in the *Graphic*, the first installment of the Australian serialized version appeared in November 1873, lending the text a strange kind of national ambiguity in the border zones of English and Australian literature, as Birns notes, as well as an amorphous formal identity as a concurrently single issue and serialized story (11). If it seemed to fit rather cozily within the contours of the English periodical—achieving a very large circulation if figures of 250,000 for a popular 1874 *Graphic* issue are in any way indicative (Altick 363)—then its serialized Australian version was far less warmly received. As Edwards notes, Trollope’s decision to write about Queensland, a colony he had very little direct experience

of, resulted in a great deal of criticism concerning the dubiousness of his geographical knowledge, accompanied by general annoyance at his less than documentary accounts of “Bush Life”: criticisms squarely aimed at undermining arrogant assumptions of English centrality.⁵⁸ The text was also lampooned in an 1873 Melbourne pantomime, and parodied in the *Melbourne Punch*’s “Harry Hartshorn, of Tinfoil, by Anthony Dollup.” Here, the whole text, author included, becomes a fantastic act of “slippage” which is conspicuously remote from the agreed “one word” with which the original text concludes (Bhabha, “DissemiNation” 292).⁵⁹

It is with a similar set of concerns—questions about the destabilizing potentiality of difference and the cohesion of national identity, narrative, and boundaries—that the text, while ultimately stabilizing, itself engages. Right from the start, Trollope alerts the reader to the fact that he is in a space that is not quite England even as it most closely approaches it: “He was master, as far as his mastership went, of 120,000 acres—almost an English county.” This “almost” England—or “Debateable Land,” as the area between Heathcote and his neighbours is intriguingly named—requires frequent translation, most often affected through the use of quotation marks and short explanations for those words in the narrative which cannot quite be naturalized, such as “ringing,” “the bush life,” and the “buggies.”⁶⁰ Fittingly, the central conflict between Medlicot and Heathcote also turns upon

⁵⁸ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the text’s dubious geography did not preoccupy English periodical reviewers of the 1874 single volume edition, with both *The Athenaeum* and *The Examiner* publishing generally positive and uncontroversial reviews of the text. See the General Bibliography entries under “Harry Heathcote of Gangoil.”

⁵⁹ For full details, see P. D. Edwards’s introduction to *Harry Heathcote* xiii-xv. Edwards cites the pantomime as Garnet Walch’s *Australia Felix; or Harlequin, Laughing Jackass and the Magic Bat*, opening on Boxing Day 1873. See also Moore, “Victorian Christmas Books” 93.

⁶⁰ My approach here is strongly informed by Birns’s account of the instability of new colonial language (11).

an argument about what it means to be English in this new territory, after Medlicot questions the ‘Englishness’ of spying on Nokes, and Heathcote takes offence: “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?” Just as these central concepts are collapsing, so the boundaries of Heathcote’s land are being literally eroded not only by his more respectable neighbour, but also by the actions of arsonists with a heightened sense of class grievance: “I do hate fellows who come here and want to be better than any one about ‘em” (*sic*).

Unleashed from that sense of vertical order and feudal relationship which are associated with a traditional sense of place, the fires lit by Nokes and the Brownbies in the bush represent a dangerous new force of horizontality without its necessary limits, spread and symbolically enabled by the natural combustibility of the parched Australian earth. This sense of threat is particularly evident in the story’s *Graphic* illustrations, which alternate images of domestic containment and composure with those of violent bush encounters or brooding nocturnal scenes, representing the “silence of the bush, and the feeling of great distances, and the dread of calamity.” Thus, for example, the first image of Kate and Mrs. Heathcote preparing vegetables by the fire accompanied by text from chapter 12 beginning, “Has he said anything to you dear?” (Fig.7a.) is followed by another in which farm labourer, Jacko, is shown lighting grass to demonstrate its flammability (Fig.7b.)—transmuting the cheerful flames of a middle-class English hearth into its distorted Australian mirror image, “in which happy land the Christmas fires are apt to be lighted, or to light themselves.”

Against these threats, Heathcote responds by obsessively retracing the boundaries of that

Figs. 7a. and 7b. Illustrations for “Harry Heathcote” in the *Graphic*. 19th Century
*British Library Newspapers. These images have been removed by the author of this thesis
for copyright reasons.*

territorialized nation-building imagination which is most threatened by the experience of living in the bush: obsessing over the limits of his land, and riding along his enemies' fences to watch for flames on a nightly basis.

This sense of destabilizing difference, boundary erosion, and incipient class conflict is also evident in many other stories about Christmas in Australia, and seems to have a particular affinity with the location, as I have suggested above. In most literature of this kind, Australia, viewed after all as England's definitive antipodes, is emphatically the land of 'contraries.' Thus for example in "Christmas in Tropical Australia" the story begins with a discourse on the "blazing sun of Capricorn" at Christmas, encapsulated in a classic image of temporal and spatial inversion: "at twelve o'clock at noon the other day I looked up a kitchen chimney and saw the sun looking down into it. This was a vertical sun with a vengeance, and the heat was in due proportion to the directness of his rays" (Allen 829). A sense of acute Australian spatial difference which is somehow threatening to concepts of English nation-place—invested with a spirit of searing vengeance as in this excerpt—is evident in most of these Christmas pieces even as they work hardest to assert the possibility of importing English Christmas traditions. Compounding this sense of incipient threat and disorder, as in "Harry Heathcote," are shadows of Australia's convict past: images of the Australian colonies as the product of a dystopian nation of English outcasts whose transgressive energies might be unleashed by the vast, unlawful spaces of the bush or the nightmarish streets of new colonial cities. While Christmas literature usually avoids such spaces and histories directly, this legacy nevertheless combines with Australia's sense of essential 'otherness' and unlimited spatial openness to make it a site of particularly potent threat to conservative models of English nationhood, and one to which it makes sense to return repeatedly at Christmas in an effort to mediate and control.

At the same time, however, it is this very sense of destabilizing potentiality which affords another site-specific opportunity for Australian-themed Christmas literature—and one which makes Australia a positive as well as a defensive choice. As Coral Lansbury notes, the idea of a bush “Arcady” in which the English could relive dreams of class harmony based on feudal models became a defining element of the British idea of the Australian colonies from the 1840s onwards, despite the fact that the majority of real emigrants went to Australian cities. Such Arcadian dreaming surfaced in periodicals at all times of year: offering perhaps one of the most vivid forms of place-centred national imagining connected with the settler emigration experience. Thus, for example, Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s novel *The Caxtons*, serialized in *Blackwood’s* from April 1848 to October 1849 and explored in detail in the next chapter, depicts Australia as a rural Arcady in which a diverse group of emigrants, including a former poacher and a radical with Chartist leanings, might settle harmoniously under the guidance of the rather more aristocratic first-person narrator, Pisistratus Caxton: “There is something in this new soil ... that expedites the work of redemption with marvelous rapidity. Take them altogether, whatever their origin, or whatever brought them hither, they are a fine, manly, frank-hearted race, these colonists now!” (September 1849: 284). It is not surprising that these widespread dynamics were particularly evident at the most nation-affirming time of the year, or that nearly all the Australian-themed Christmas stories I have read choose to focus on bush settings rather than cities or the gold diggings. Furthermore, while these pastoral stories often work through ideas of difference, disorientation, and the dystopian collapse of boundaries, as noted above, the sense of a disorientating gap between ‘here’ and ‘there’ is most often ultimately recast as an opportunity for the nation-affirming re-articulation of Old England in new Arcadian terms. In the *Leisure Hour’s* “Christmas in Australia,” for example, the

reader is taken through a catalogue of disorientating incidents, ranging in scale from the unfamiliar positions of stars in the night sky through to the harrowing story of a little child lost forever amongst the “sub-tropical vegetation,” while simultaneously being led to understand that Australia’s essential ‘otherness’ might ultimately present a rejuvenating opportunity when harnessed to a “quiet pastoral mode of life”: “A merry Christmas in England has some serious drawbacks. The song of mirth is often mingled with the wail of sorrow ... We have changed all that in Australia.” (810).

Returning to the quintessentially English household of Harry Heathcote after this brief detour, it becomes possible to argue that relations have not been so much restored as realigned. By the final Christmas dinner scene, Heathcote’s despotic tendencies towards “absolute dominion and power” have softened, and his sense of class distinction relaxed to the extent that he is able to welcome the manufacturing Mr. Medlicot as a brother-in-law. Symbolically echoing these shifts, the residents all sleep in different beds to accommodate new visitors, while the Christmas meal is primarily prepared not by the servant, Mrs. Growler, but by Kate and Mrs. Heathcote, as Heathcote sleeps on—“the very perfection of patriarchal pastoral manliness,” in his wife’s eyes at least, but also to some real degree in his future potentiality as a new “Abraham” in the promised land. The sense of the nation’s boundaries—of what it might mean to be English in the bush, and to contain the bush within what it means to be English—are thus realigned to exclude the real threat of the Brownbies, while flexibly shifting towards a more Arcadian potentiality, which, as in *The Caxtons*, still has a firm role for a “young aristocrat” like Harry and for a sense of feudal order between master and man: “Soon after dinner Heathcote, as was his wont, strayed out with his prime minister, Bates, to consult on the dangers which might be supposed still to threaten his kingdom.”

Another significant change to the Christmas dinner setup, and one worth noting, is the absence of the “villainous Chinese cook” Sing Sing, who has treacherously “absconded” with the Brownbies. This desertion, and the accompanying debate amongst the household about his “wretched” character, is entirely gratuitous from the point of view of the plot, and thus points towards the important role also played by race in transforming and moderating the threat of difference in these stories. Indeed, in nearly all the Australian Christmas stories I have read, racial ‘others’—Chinese and Polynesians in the case of “Harry Heathcote,” but most commonly Australian aborigines—are positioned outside the parameters of the newly articulated imagined community, which increasingly extends its parameters to include men of all classes only at this cost of transference. The Arcadian version of the English imagined community is thus textually defined against the limits of significantly *other* temporalities and spatialities: ‘native’ worlds characterized by dream rather than imagining, by a strangely static zone of timelessness rather than synchronicity paired with antiquity, and by wild spaces rather than homely places, as in this representative example from the same piece cited above, “Christmas in Australia”:

The “Black fellow’s” presence at our festival in Australia is a curious incongruity. There he stands, the type of barbarous antiquity, gazing on the sports of the intrusive White, the exponent of latter-day civilisation. Before our era, he had roamed a free man of the woods ... He will eat our Christmas beef, but his eyes are dreaming while we speak of Christmas faith (812).

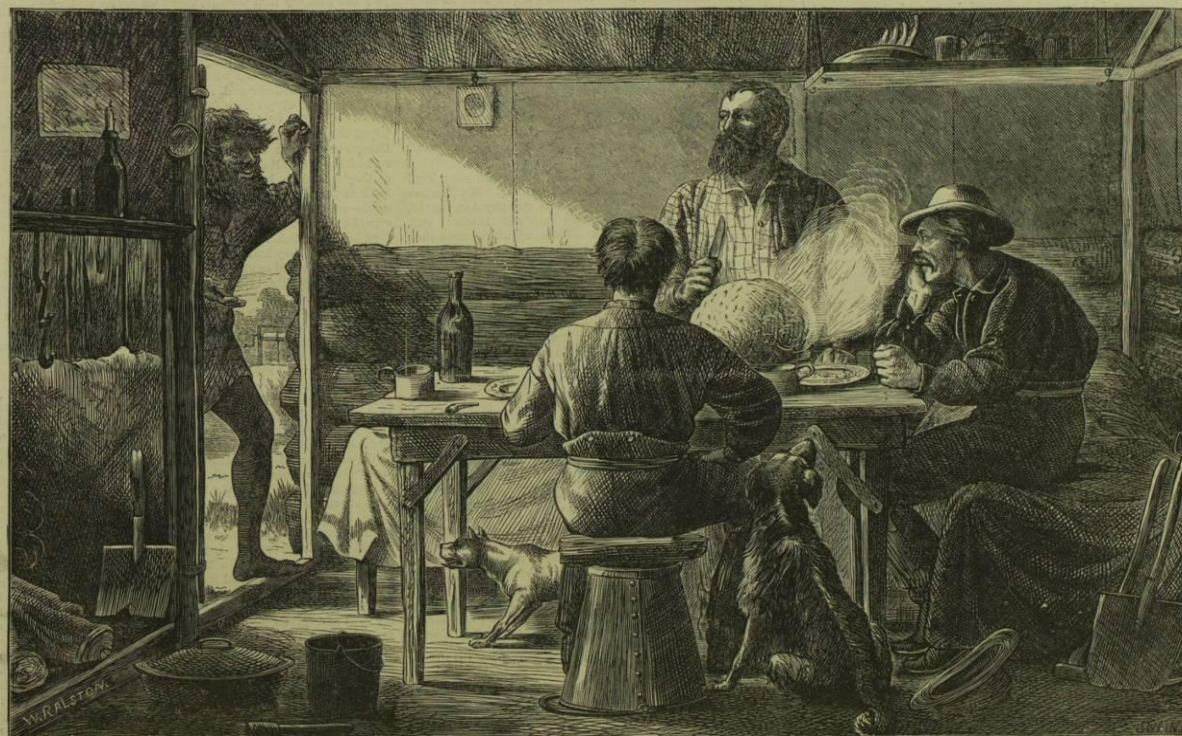
This sense of renegotiated limits is also particularly visible in the two images by

W. Ralston (Fig. 8) accompanying the *Illustrated London News*'s unusual "Christmas in the Australian Goldfields," by Richard H. Horne, one of the few texts of its type I have found with a sustained diggings setting. In "Christmas in Australia: 'Home, Sweet Home!'", two aboriginal men stand outside the parameters of a circle of white gold diggers who are collectively dreaming of their English homes. In "Christmas in Australia: Pudding-Time," meanwhile, an aboriginal man is attracted by the smell of a Christmas pudding about to be consumed in a white man's hut, only to be met by hostile glares and gestures centring around a poised carving knife.

Interestingly, Horne's accompanying story largely eschews the dominant pastoral mode for the conventions of pantomime, containing its somewhat violent plot about marital discord and spatial disorientation on the goldfields within a comic framework replete with stock characters such as 'Mrs. Hang' and 'Bean-Blossom' the dog: "all on a sudden Mrs. Hang—my wife I mean—ups with the frying-pan and gives the dog a flat bang on the top of the skull, just as you see the clown give th'old Pantaloon in a Christmas pantomime ... " It is perhaps just because of the potential anarchy associated with its unusual choice of setting that the accompanying images so firmly insist upon reinstating limits; transferred from unstable stratifications of class onto fixed binaries of race. Strikingly similar dynamics are also enacted in Ralston's subsequent pair of illustrations for the 13 December 1873 issue, "Christmas Day at the Australian Gold Diggings—100° in the Shade" and "Australian Diggers Keeping Christmas Eve—"Old Lang Syne." The images are accompanied by a brief related text, "Christmas Day in Australia," which features what it terms another "useful "darkie": in this instance, the text explains, an immigrant or runaway negro sailor. Though indulged with the last drops of liquor from a digger's empty bottle, he



CHRISTMAS IN AUSTRALIA: "HOME, SWEET HOME!"—DRAWN BY W. RALSTON.



CHRISTMAS IN AUSTRALIA: PUDGING TIME.—DRAWN BY W. RALSTON.

Fig. 8. "Home, Sweet Home!" and "Pudding Time," by W. Ralston. *Illustrated London News* 24 December 1870. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter.

is positioned towards the periphery of the group of resting gold diggers in the first image, and absent from the nation-affirming nostalgic fireside scene below it altogether.⁶¹

While I have been emphasizing concepts of the nation rather than the home, the two models of course overlap, making such images literal illustrations of Myers's recent claim that "British domestic ideology was manipulated in Australia in the service of a collective myth that united white settlers against indigenous peoples" (140).

As I have shown, it is in these popular stories about Christmas in Australia that the idea of the English nation as a coherent imagined community is both most challenged by the experience of emigration, and, paradoxically, most affirmed. Stories such as "Harry Heathcote" register and work through acute anxieties about the collapse of a national narrative and place-centred social structures while ultimately coalescing around a rejuvenated and rearticulated sense of the English imagined community as Arcadian fantasy. These renegotiated imaginative structures are, however, ultimately stabilized only by the imposition of a new sense of limits, in which ideas about the integrity of nation-place become deeply intertwined with those of nation-race.⁶²

⁶¹ See also N. Chevalier's *Illustrated London News*'s engraving "Christmas Day in Australia," and the accompanying text of the same title, for a more conventionally pastoral treatment of the same theme.

⁶² See Baucom 5 for an account which informs this reading.

3

Serial Settlement

As both chapters 1 and 2 have demonstrated, Victorian periodicals are distinct from most Victorian novels in having extensively and directly engaged with the historical experience of settler emigration. While periodicals give ample space to settler emigration genres such as the emigrant voyage texts examined in chapter 1, the emigration-themed Christmas stories analysed in chapter 2, and the sentimental poetry which I shall explore in chapter 4, critics who have attempted to read emigration into the Victorian novel have often had to rely on peripheral or subliminal treatments only. These include the fleeting engagement with Canada that rejuvenates the national centre in *Mary Barton*, the convenient Australian outlet which finally turns up for Mr. Micawber in *David Copperfield*, or the half-remembered history of aboriginal genocide which Elaine Freedgood argues troubles *Great Expectations* (Archibald 25-58; Freedgood, *Ideas in Things* 81-110).⁶³ Furthermore, several critics have argued that there is something *intrinsically* static and home-bound about the Victorian novel, which, as I suggested in chapter 1, would make it as formally, materially, and thematically ill-equipped to sustain engagements with emigration as I have argued the periodical is perfectly suited to do so. Indeed, the book form is not only deeply associated with concepts of fixity, solidity, and the bound, as Patten has noted, but also constituted in

⁶³ Other Victorian novels of canonical standing which engage with emigration peripherally include Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and *Shirley*, Gaskell's *Cousin Phillis* and *Cranford*, and George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*. As McDonagh notes, two "interesting exceptions" of novels which engage more directly with migration are provided by Dickens's part-serialization *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843-44), which features significant settlement scenes in America, and John Galt's lesser-known three-volume novel about Canadian settlement *Bogle Corbet* (1831). McDonagh, "Space, Mobility" 62.

its expensive Victorian three-decker or single volume novel manifestation a particularly “comforting bulk” whose consumers “tended to be engaged, not by the experience of the adventurer ... but rather by the experience of belonging” to those national and domestic centres which feature so prominently in dominant realist plots (Genevieve Griest, qtd. in Feltes 26; Feltes 27). Accordingly, as Moretti puts it: “Only rarely does the novel explore the spatio-temporal confines of the given world: it usually stays ‘in the middle,’ where it discovers, or perhaps creates, the typically modern feeling and enjoyment of ‘everyday life’ and ‘ordinary administration’” (*The Way of the World* 12).

While this conception of the novel has to be squared against more current critical tendencies which stress the form’s portability and wide circulatory range, this chapter maintains that there *does* appear to be an intriguing degree of mismatch between the kind of domestic realist novel which has now most often obtained canonical status and migration.⁶⁴ However, it also argues that re-conceptualizing the Victorian novel as a serial periodical text—the format in which it was, after all, so predominantly originally published—serves to reveal emigration more prevalently and intrinsically in the novel than is usually acknowledged.⁶⁵ As I shall show, challenging the dominance of the novel in its book form manifestation and catching it instead at its most fluid, topical, and ephemeral gives us access to a limited but intriguing range of novels which are directly and extensively about

⁶⁴ See for instance John Plotz’s *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move*, which argues that the novel is an “exemplary portable property” (1), and Priya Joshi’s *In Another Country*, which centres upon the circulation of the British novel in India.

⁶⁵ According to Graham Law, “a significant majority of ‘original’ novels published as books” had first appeared “in monthly or weekly instalments,” with most serialized novels featuring in magazines rather than newspapers until the shift towards syndication in provincial weekly newspapers from the mid-1870s (13, 33). Furthermore, J. Don Vann’s *Victorian Novels in Serial* suggests that the part-issue serialization most famously associated with Dickens was far outweighed by magazine serialization, with only 25 of the 192 novels outlined published in separate parts (15).

settler emigration. These novels work with Bildungsroman narrative structures, and, like other periodical emigration genres, are characterized by a distinctively cohesive interaction of spatio-temporal models; in this case, a fixation on both domestic and colonial homes which operates in conjunction with simultaneously progressive and nostalgic temporalities, predicated upon lengthy serialization. Moreover, as I shall show through my indicative reading of *Great Expectations*, exploring these distinctive periodical settler novels uncovers new ways of reading some of those very canonical novels which seem to have so little to say about the experience.

Serial Settlement in the Newsy Novel

Amidst the plethora of texts on emigration published in mainstream periodicals are a small but intriguing pool of serialized novels about Australian and Canadian settlement which have subsequently either been largely forgotten or relegated to the status of minor classics. The most well-known of these is *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine's* monthly *The Caxtons: A Family Picture* (April 1848-October 1849), by Edward Bulwer-Lytton, which subsequently went into sixteen editions and sold extensively in both Britain and Australia, as Leslie Mitchell and Lansbury respectively note (Mitchell xviii; Lansbury 79-80). Successors to *The Caxtons* include George Sargent's weekly *Frank Layton: An Australian Story* in the *Leisure Hour* (5 January-29 June 1854), and Eliza Meteyard's novella-length weekly *Lucy Dean: The Noble Needlewoman* serialized in *Eliza Cook's Journal* under the pseudonym "Silverpen" (16 March-20 April 1850). Like *The Caxtons*, both of these texts focus on the mid-century hot topic of emigration to Australia, and probably circulated at up to 100,000 and 60,000 respectively (Ellegård 20; Altick 394). In

1861, meanwhile, the *Leisure Hour* serialized *Cedar Creek: From the Shanty to the Settlement. A Tale of Canadian Life*, by Elizabeth Hely Walshe (3 January-27 June 1861), while *Once A Week* ran Louisa Murray's eleven-part weekly *The Settlers of Long Arrow*, subtitled "A Canadian Romance in Thirty-One Chapters" (12 October-21 December 1861). Both of these novels focus on a range of nominally Irish but British-identifying characters, and probably also attracted readerships of 60,000 to 100,000 (Ellegård 20).⁶⁶ Unlike most canonical novels, these five titles all feature emigrant protagonists and central scenes about either Australian or Canadian settler life.⁶⁷ It is also interesting to note that the predominantly sensation-driven novels *Lady Audley's Secret* (1863) and *John Caldigate* (1878-79), which both contain significant subplots about emigration to Australia, were also originally published in periodicals, even if they prove to be ultimately more interested in the dramatic potential of gold rush returnees than settlement in the colonies.⁶⁸ Indeed, as recent readings of both novels have shown, sensation was one popular novelistic mode which did, from the 1860s onwards, occasionally engage with emigration, although this is still usually at a peripheral level not dissimilar to that found in realist novels.⁶⁹ While this

⁶⁶ As Mary S. Millar notes, the English-born Murray herself emigrated to Canada from Ireland in 1844, placing *The Settlers*, like so many periodical texts, in the borders of colonial and metropolitan literatures.

⁶⁷ With the exception of the pseudonymous *Lucy Dean*, all of these novels were originally published anonymously. Their authorship is now either well-known or easily traceable via reprinted editions, or references to other novels written by the same authors on title pages.

⁶⁸ Trollope's *John Caldigate* was originally serialized in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from April 1878 to June 1879. As David Skelton notes, Mary Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* has a particularly convoluted publication history, originally published in *Robin Goodfellow* from July 1861 until the magazine's discontinuation in September 1861, and then continued to completion in the *Sixpenny Magazine* until December 1862 (a three volume edition also appeared in October 1862). A complete serial run then featured in the *London Journal* from 21 March to 15 August 1863, which I have used for referencing purposes.

⁶⁹ See Wagner's "Settling Back in at Home" and Myers's *Antipodal England* 97-112 for readings of *Lady Audley's Secret* and *John Caldigate* in the light of sensation. See also

chapter will engage with sensation where it becomes apposite, it focuses on the earlier, critically overlooked works which are not predominantly sensational, and which are most directly focused on settler emigration. The analysis will therefore centre upon *The Caxtons*, *Frank Layton*, and *Cedar Creek* while also contextualizing my argument by making references out to the broader pool of novels listed.

In the first instance, it is worth noting that all the novels identified emerge out of particularly newsy and topical periodical fields, which makes sense of their engagements with themes of migration, and perhaps gives them a kind of access and proximity to the issues which more artistically consummate and formally remote novels with ‘timeless’ aspirations do not have. Interestingly, the narrator of *Frank Layton* concludes that he aimed to “simply present a picture, or a succession of pictures” rather than “a modern novel” which “might doubtless have been more artistically and excitingly wrought,” while most of the other texts variously refer to themselves as topically engaged “experiments,” “pictures,” “stories,” or “tales” rather than consummate works of literary art (Sargent, 29 June 1854: 406). As such, these texts should perhaps be primarily understood as ‘novels’ in the original sense of the term: that is, as texts of novelty and topicality which share much in common with their journalistic sister form, ‘the news.’⁷⁰ *The Caxtons*, for instance, the earliest and most significant of the novels I will be working from and a template for most of the others, has a particularly newsy moment of inception, beginning in April 1848 in *Blackwood’s*. For the duration of its eighteen-month serialization, the novel shares issue space with the magazine’s two key concerns at this time—the year of revolutions in Europe,

Lloyd for an account of late Victorian and Edwardian serials which feature elements of adventure and sensation.

⁷⁰ See Doug Underwood 20 for a debate on the historical co-emergence of the novel and journalism which informs my argument.

and the “Condition of England” question at home; interlinked debates with which burgeoning public discourse on emigration from Britain was deeply interwoven at this time. Thus the June 1848 instalment of *The Caxtons* appears alongside Archibald Alison’s anonymously published “How to Disarm the Chartists,” a reactionary piece which broods on the 1848 French Revolution’s imminent capacity to “deluge the world with a stream of blood” as it “devastates like a conflagration and spreads its baneful influence over the whole extent of the civilized world” (654). Like other articles of its kind, it supports emigration as a means of safely channelling dangerous flows of people, and is particularly in favour of pauper emigration to Canada, the Cape, and Australia, as well as Irish emigration to the American Far West (668-70). At the same time, however, it registers fears about the very solutions it proposes, concerned that migration outside of the British colonies could lead to the breakdown of older imperial ties; that “soon the bond and the connexion will be dissolved” (672).

Likewise, *Frank Layton*, *The Settlers of Long Arrow*, and *Cedar Creek* are all published alongside a very large range of both predominantly informational and more imaginative literature on emigration and the colonies, from the five-part serial “Australia” to “Zoological Curiosities of Australia” in the context of *Frank Layton*, from Harriet Cawse Fiddes’ “My Arrival in Australia” to “The Deserted Diggings” by “An Old Chum” in *The Settlers*, and from “A Night in the Bush” to “The Log Hut. An Incident in Backwood’s Life” alongside *Cedar Creek*. In fact, there is often a considerable degree of blurring between individual parts of the serialized emigration novel and other forms of periodical text, as when, for example, the entire account of colonial life in Australia is confined to one serial part of *The Caxtons*, or the characters of *Cedar Creek* find themselves periodically

compelled to engage in highly expository small talk about the function of snow-shoes or the exportation of ornamental wood.⁷¹

Like many of the emigration-themed articles which punctuated their serialization, these self-consciously topical novels are all also primarily pro-emigration, in keeping with dominant mid-Victorian endorsements of emigration as a solution to problems of overpopulation, poverty, and unemployment. Thus *The Caxtons* states that “Australia might open the best safety-valve” for the overflow of British populations, while *Cedar Creek*’s protagonist Robert Wynn abandons the search for work in “densely-packed England and Ireland” to find employment, “elbow-room and free breathing” in the more healthily circulating labour markets of Canada West (Bulwer-Lytton, August 1849: 170; Walshe, 3 January 1861: 5). However, as in much of the mainstream settler literature I have explored so far, this endorsement of emigration is often subject to some reservation. For instance, *The Caxtons* is haunted by a powerful homesickness which suffuses the novel’s mood well before the narrator-protagonist, Pisistratus Caxton, departs for Australia. More subtly, the novel also dramatizes anxieties about the dangers of setting certain classes of people into unregulated motion by ensuring that its symbolic triad of secondary emigrant characters, a former Chartist, reformed poacher, and shepherd, emigrate only under Pisistratus’s more gentlemanly guidance; a paternalistic relationship which is paralleled in that between Frank Layton and his faithful companion, Simeon. It is notable that nearly all the protagonists in these novels are of a conspicuously higher class status than those “ordinary” people of working and middle-class origins whom Roberts notes formed the bulk of real British

⁷¹ Though Hanson regards *Cedar Creek* as a juvenile novel in a rare critical engagement with the text, this is one factor which leads me to believe it was more plausibly pitched at that general, family audience which read the *Leisure Hour*. Hanson’s reading also focuses upon a later Religious Tract Society edition of the novel published in 1863 (Hanson 6-8, 35-48).

emigrants—a good example of what I have suggested is the periodical’s broader capacity to engage and shape ideas about settler emigration rather than simply mirror them (6). Likewise, the novels are frequently destabilized by the perceived otherness of colonial spaces and peoples; be it the silence of the vast forest which eerily radiates through *Cedar Creek*, or the the “war-whoop of the wild men” and “howling dingoes” which trouble Pisistratus’s dreams (Bulwer-Lytton, October 1849: 397).

In keeping with the larger pool of periodical emigration literature from which they emerge, these serials can be understood to offset this range of anxieties and disorientations by investing in particularly reassuring models of cohesive place, in this case with a particular emphasis upon the home. While also containing elements of adventure and sensation, as I shall note below, all three texts are best described as forms of domestic Bildungsroman, which tell the stories of their male protagonists’ early development, progress, and subsequent emigrations within the parameters of a largely domesticated framework which is equally concerned with the home left behind and the new colonial settlement to be achieved. *The Caxtons*, for instance, is a self-styled “Family Picture,” in which Pisistratus’s emigration to Australia is not only an act of settlement in itself but also explicitly designed to enable him to eventually reclaim his ancestral family home in England. Likewise, *Frank Layton* cushions the masculine story of Frank’s progress from stockman to farmer in the more domesticated and feminine textures of daily life in the bush, and is particularly preoccupied with the daughters of his employer, Mr. Bracy, and their friends, whose homely pursuits and mild religiosity are self-consciously in keeping with those of the *Leisure Hour*: “Many pretty articles of feminine adornment, and for feminine occupation of leisure hours, were there; and the rightful owners of that snug and comfortable retreat were as far as need be imagined from the rude, rough, clumsy demi-

savage amazons which seem associated in some minds with the denizenship of the bush.” Ultimately, it is Frank’s courtship of one of their number which eventually enables him to consolidate the “domestic bliss” he has also “striven, and struggled, and hoped” for since arriving (Sargent, 2 March 1854: 132; 15 June 1854: 370; 29 June 1854: 406).

Similarly, *Cedar Creek*, as its subtitle suggests, is centrally preoccupied with the “future house” which Robert Wynn sees in the “fragrant timbers” of the cedar swamp, and which he finally achieves in the form of a “dazzling white” country cottage fit for his mother and his devout sister, Linda (25 April 1861: 259; 2 May 1861: 275). Far from being incidental, as Myers has recently shown, this dazzling whiteness is also indicative of the way in which these texts explicitly construct domesticity in relation to the violent exclusion of indigenous peoples (*Antipodal England* 137-44). Thus in *Cedar Creek*, Robert’s claims to the maple-tapping land exist in tension with those of the ‘Indian’ neighbours he is prepared to tolerate on ‘his’ property, while in a particularly shocking episode in *Frank Layton* Mr. Bracy recounts how a group of aboriginal men were shot after symbolically demonstrating their prior claim to one of his farm buildings: “I know that the savages first of all tried to force open the door; and when they found that too stiff work, they mounted the roof and began to strip off the bark ... For a minute or two nothing was heard but the most frightful howlings, while the whole party ran back from the hut, expecting, perhaps, another discharge”(2 February 1854: 68). Likewise, the former Chartist Miles Square in *The Caxtons* is shown to redeem himself by having “defended” his “comfortable log homestead” against “an attack of the aborigines, whose right to the soil was, to say the least of it, as good as his claim to my uncle’s acres” (June 1849: 644).⁷²

⁷² In *The Caxtons* it is important to note that attitudes towards indigenous peoples are also shaped by a burgeoning endorsement of pseudo-scientific racial theories, and a related

Whether set in Australia or Canada, these novels also echo the explicitly domestic settlement ideologies of mid-century emigration pioneers associated with Australia. Both *The Caxtons* and *Frank Layton* directly invoke those visions of ideal class relations, “Wives Wanted in the Bush,” and anti-urban dreams of the “real pastoral settler’s life” which were most influentially outlined in Samuel Sidney’s bestselling *Sidney’s Australian Hand-Book* of 1848 (22, 51).⁷³ It is interesting to note that the idealized domesticity which is so problematically achieved by white settlers in all of these texts finds fullest expression in images of the flower garden, a symbolically resonant site which recurs in emigration texts of all kinds as a means of dramatizing the relationship between cultivation and wilderness, native and foreign, chosen and reviled. Robert rails off “a few feet of garden” in the bush for “the fragrant Canadian wild-rose; yellow violets, lobelias, and tiger-lilies” to flourish under the “gentle care” of his green-fingered sister Linda, a woman who “never could get on without her flower beds,” as illustrated below in one of the novel’s many scenes of courtship (Fig. 9). Likewise, *The Caxtons* is suffused with images of horticultural growth throughout, while a flower garden, filled with “herbs and blossoms which taste and breathe of the old fatherland” is one of the first sites portrayed in the novel’s account of Australia (September 1849: 277). Similarly, Frank Layton is heartened by the “horticultural and floricultural taste” on display at his employer’s homestead (12 January 1854: 21), while imagery of flowers and planting run centrally through *Lucy Dean* and inform both its conservative tenor and more radical feminist bent, as I shall argue in the

interest in migration as a means of enabling the providential expansion of the white races. As such, while clearly arising out of settler emigration debates of the late 1840s, the novel also gives voice to the more aggressively racialized and expansionist ideas which intensified during a later stage of high imperialism, and thus attests to those moments of overlap noted in my introduction.

⁷³ See Lansbury 60-75 for a fuller account of Sidney and the *Hand-Book*, including its influence on *The Caxtons*, which has informed my understanding.

Fig. 9. "An Unwelcome Suitor." Cedar Creek 6 June 1861. British Periodicals. This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

next chapter.

And yet, as these collective images of slow growth, care, and endurance indicate, it is as much the *temporal* dynamics of these novels as long-running serials as their spatial investment in models of homes and gardens which enables the consolidation of their particular mode of settler domesticity. Debates about the impact and connotations of serialization have long concerned critics and practitioners of the Victorian novel, and tend to fall into two camps, as follows. In the first instance, and more traditionally, serialization has been cast in a somewhat negative light by those who have stressed its commercial imperatives and adverse impact upon the more organic rhythms of the creative process. Thus, for instance, Trollope writes about the problems of “the rushing mode of publication to which the system of serial stories had given rise,” while Dickens famously complained when writing *Hard Times* for *Household Words* that “the problem of space is CRUSHING” (qtd. in Don Vann 5; qtd. in Myers and Harris 126). Informed by a traditional emphasis upon the author’s role in text production, many critics have followed suit by stressing serialization’s reliance on the kind of suspense-generating tactics which J. Don Vann notes afforded it “special suitability for the sensation novel,” but which by implication proved only a hindrance to ‘serious’ literary writers with less interest in generating “thrilling endings” and excitement (12). More recently, however, Hughes and Lund have led the way towards a more “positive view” of the serial which is less focussed upon the author and more upon the ways in which the temporal dynamics of serialization might be said to be finely “attuned to the fundamental tendencies in the age” (13, 8). Underpinning their analysis of the serial form’s capacity to harmonize with a whole range of dominant capitalist, domestic, and liberal ideologies, is an encompassing claim that its primacy was linked to an intrinsic concordance with “the gradual nature of change and progress that is

key to Victorian thought and literature” (172). As such, rather than being “rushing” or “crushing,” the serial, when viewed from both the reader’s point of view and that of a wider cultural perspective, becomes marked by quite converse dynamics of gradualism, progress, steadiness, and intimacy, in which readers are asked to delay gratification and to persevere until the next instalment on ‘Magazine Day’ across lengthy periods of reading time, and texts inscribe these very same gradualist values at the level of plot and theme (1-14).

Rather than seeing these two dynamics as mutually exclusive it is worth noting in the first instance that suspense and gradualism often run concurrently in the same serial texts. *The Caxtons*, *Frank Layton*, *Cedar Creek*, and *The Settlers* all incorporate their fair share of cliff-hanger endings: be it the dramatic “groan” which “broke” from Pisistratus’s Uncle Roland’s lips as he suspects his long-lost son to be the abductor of Pisistratus’s aristocratic love-interest Blanche at the end of the June 1849 instalment, or the dramatic “It was as he feared— the forest was on fire” which ends the 9 May 1861 instalment of *Cedar Creek* (293). From the 1860s onwards, as noted above, these dynamics also begin to be intriguingly paired with treatments of some of the most troubling and dramatic forms of emigration, notably the gold rush and transgressive female mobility. Both *Lady Audley’s Secret* and *John Caldigate* utilize substantially sensational plots centred upon bigamy to work through their protagonists’ ill-considered migrations to the goldfields, and to dramatize the behaviour of conspicuously mobile women. Most notably the solitary migration of the sexually transgressive Eustacia Smith in *John Caldigate* “to earn her bread” in Australia deeply destabilizes those widespread conceptions of emigration as a predominantly masculine undertaking which accord with wider Victorian “ideological codings” of mobility and place along gendered lines, and which were also fuelled by historical associations between emigration and the transportation of prostitutes (May 1878:

524; Cresswell, *On the Move* 8-9; Richards, *Britannia's Children* 47, 58).⁷⁴ Likewise *The Settlers* reserves its most sensational dynamics for the representation of a series of romantic tragedies and sexual traumas surrounding an impoverished young indigenous woman, who in the spirit of sensation, eventually turns out to be aristocratic and French. Nevertheless, while such elements are present in most of these novels, it is in fact the second, more gradualist conceptualization of serialization which shapes them most deeply. Thus, while Turner has significantly added to the debate on periodical temporalities by suggesting that this tendency towards regularity and cohesion must be balanced against the “confusion” which could result from the “competing, overlapping cycles” of the periodical press in its diverse entirety, I will accordingly work on the basis that readers pursuing particular novels within individual titles did experience a sense of temporal continuity and cohesion (“Periodical Time” 188). And, setting aside the differences in meaning which can be attached to weekly or monthly serialization forms for the purposes of this argument, it is my contention that it is the overarching sense of the gradual and continuous identified by Hughes and Lund as a key feature of serialization which works to steady the emigration novel’s engagements with disruptive mobility.

The significant role which this specifically *gradualist* sense of serial pace plays in shaping the settler novels is in fact overtly registered in *The Caxtons* from the outset, as part of the highly self-conscious debate about print culture signaled by Bulwer-Lytton’s decision to make his central characters the probable descendants of printer William Caxton.

⁷⁴ Intriguingly *Lucy Dean*, which focuses on a female character and portrays her movement less problematically, was also published in a particularly female-centred periodical, *Eliza Cook's Journal*. While similar to the other settler novels in many respects, I will therefore explore it separately in the next chapter. See also Archibald 8 for an account of the contradictions between domestic and imperial ideology which has informed my understanding of how gender operates in all of these texts.

In staging topical debates about print influence, Bulwer-Lytton suggests that most of the novel's characters are intimately shaped both by the content of the texts they read *and* their particular modes of publication. Thus Pistratus's father is intrinsically a "bookman," given to "breathing libraries" and preoccupied with writing a "Great Book" which takes decades to complete (April 1849: 435; April 1848: 516), while Roland reads only "poetry and books of chivalry." The novel's twin discourses on textual influence and emigration ultimately converge when Pistratus's emigration is predicated upon the conspicuous repudiation of his scholarly father's "book life," while simultaneously requiring him to pursue an alternative to the path of his unsteady Uncle Jack, a publisher who is associated with both emigration to America and the pursuit of ever-escalating periodicities which culminate in his ruinous launch of a daily. Significantly, it is not only Jack's fast turnover of titles but his escalation towards faster rhythms, culminating in the daily, which end up spelling his ruin: "Think ... of the march of mind—think of the passion for cheap knowledge—think how little quarterly, monthly, weekly journals can keep pace with the main wants of the age" (April 1849: 430; September 1848: 325).

Fittingly, it is the somewhat steadier sequential pace of the monthly serial text embodied in its own form which *The Caxtons* indicates is the most suitable means of modeling successful emigration and settlement in print. The form of Bildungsroman narrative which the novel produces and which encompasses Pistratus's eventual departure for Australia is resoundingly gradualist, progressing through Pistratus's youth and education in incremental steps which avoid those revolutionary eruptions which so concerned *Blackwood's* in 1848. As Pistratus remarks: "I seemed to myself to have made a leap in life when I returned to school ... the long-envied title of "young man"—always seems a sudden and impromptu upshooting and elevation. We do not mark the gradual

preparations thereto.” It is exactly this sense of gradual preparation, this willingness to let a life “healthily, hardily, naturally, work its slow way up into greatness,” which ensures Pisistratus’s success in Australia and enables him to return to England sufficiently matured and enriched to fulfill the goal of restoring Roland’s dilapidated ancestral castle as a home for the entire Caxton family (May 1848: 537; April 1848: 524). More broadly, the novel’s repeated thematic and imagistic pairings of emigration and print no doubt reflect an awareness of those material points of connection which I have noted elsewhere, and which were apparently obvious to a novelist writing in 1848: it seems particularly fitting that the most successful novel about Victorian emigration should be so centrally concerned with the explosion in print culture which substantially enabled it.

Although *Frank Layton* and *Cedar Creek* do not make their reliance upon gradualist serial pace as explicit as *The Caxtons*, they are both self-consciously temporal texts, which incorporate and reflect the gradualist rhythms of serial publication at the level of narrative structure and theme. Both are set slightly in the past, and use a steadying retrospective distance to provide a sense of balanced reflection upon the moments of migration, disorientation, and struggle initially depicted. The narrative structure of *Cedar Creek*, for instance, is consequently shaped with recourse to a range of steady temporal sequences, from the overarching frameworks of seasons across years to the importance of Sunday meetings within weeks, thus rectifying the spatio-temporal “confusion” which it observes is liable to run through “the calendar of the settler ... owing to the uniformity of his life and the absence of the landmarks of civilization” (21 March 1861: 180). As lengthy serial narratives, these novels are all also particularly well-equipped to work with generic plots which transform the initial migrations of their protagonists into the most culturally acceptable trajectories of movement as steady progress and liberty, underscored by those

appropriate class and gender credentials which a character such as Eustacia Smith so clearly flouts. All also combine elements of the Bildungsroman working across serial timescales, as exemplified by *The Caxtons*. For instance Frank Layton is a “young man of honest intentions and industrious habits” whose “perseverance and courage” enable him to work his “way upwards, step by step” from stockman to landowner, while Robert Wynn enjoys a similarly “gradual growth from poverty to prosperity” and is eventually hailed as the founder of a new town (Sargent, 6 April 1854: 210. Hely Walshe, 14 February 1861: 99).

Interestingly, it is also possible to argue that even the more definitively sensational periodical serials *John Caldigate* and *Lady Audley's Secret* are built upon underlying steadier temporal frameworks which work towards settling the emigration themes engaged. Thus John Caldigate maintains contact with the English centre from the mines by sending letters to his father “regularly, month by month” and then “not only from month to month, but from year to year, till at the end of three years from the date at which the son had left Folking, there had come to be complete confidence between him and his father” (July 1878: 3-4). Likewise, *Lady Audley's Secret* works with the similarly gradualist dynamics of a nascent detective plot, in which Robert Audley, in “advancing every day some step nearer” towards the revelation of the secret, is ultimately able to bring the two disjunctive strands of Lady Audley's past lives to a point of convergence centred on a well-travelled bonnet box with overlapping labels (9 May 1863: 299; 30 May 1863: 344). Similarly, the life stories of these novels' initially misguided male migrant characters are ultimately redeemed by being redirected into the safer channels of progressive, gradualist plots. Thus, in *Lady Audley*, it is the fact that George Talboys “toiled on steadily to the end” that sees him achieve fortune and moral redemption in the gold mines, while John Caldigate redeems the discordant

dynamics of the rush which almost destroyed him by learning to behave like a “steady well-to-do man of business” (Braddon, 21 March 1863: 188; Trollope, August 1878: 161). Both novels also end on a domestic note, as Caldigate fulfils his desire to “settle down and live in the old place,” and *Lady Audley’s Secret* ends up reaffirming “the glorious old place” that was originally threatened by its Australian subplot, while simultaneously permitting its hero Robert to join his new wife in “a fantastical dwelling-place of rustic woodwork, whose latticed windows look out upon the river” and which, though in England, is remarkably reminiscent of an ideal settler’s home (21 March 1863: 185; 15 August 1853: 104).

It is thus through the joint operation of gradualist serial pace and domestic place that all of these novels, but particularly *The Caxtons*, *Frank Layton*, and *Cedar Creek*, produce their particularly cohesive brand of settlement: a realized process of “gradual growth” through which gardens eventually flourish, homes are consolidated, and new towns achieved. In this way, they perfectly exemplify that sense of “endurance” and “patience” which Hughes and Lund have attributed to serialized engagements with domesticity more generally (16). And yet, if the colonial home and garden grow *forwards* in the slow, steady timescale of serial pace as I have suggested, then it is equally pertinent to note that they also appear to be moving simultaneously *backwards*. As Hughes and Lund’s analysis suggests, serial time enables not only the advance trajectory of gradual progression but also a continual and oscillating retrograde movement through memory across long periods of reading time (15-58). Upon closer analysis, then, these narratives are characterized not only by the interaction of progressive gradualist time and domestic place, but also by a series of converse movements back towards original domestic centres in which real readers are implicated. Pisistratus is continually dreaming of that moment when he might “come home

“for good,” and inviting the reader to travel with him in both time and place: “canst thou not remember some time when, with thy wild troubles and sorrows as yet borne in secret, thou has . . . come back to the four quiet walls, wherein thine elders sit in peace . . . ?” Likewise, Robert Wynn’s white cottage bears a deliberate “resemblance to the lime-washed houses of home,” while Linda grows strawberries in her new garden just as she used to—the roots of which simultaneously spread outwards and forwards into the settled colonial future, and inwards and backwards into the remembered country gardens of the past (Bulwer-Lytton, June 1848: 685, January 1849: 33; Hely Walshe, 2 May 1861: 273-74).

Between these two characteristic spatio-temporal narrative trajectories—the movement forwards realized by the new settlement, and the movement backwards to the old place left behind—there is in fact very little room left for depicting the actual movement which underpins the novels’ central narrative transitions. Thus for instance *The Caxtons* relegates its emigrants’ voyage to the gap between serial parts, after which Bulwer-Lytton opens the next installment with the telling imperative “Settle yourselves, my good audience” (September 1849: 277). Meanwhile, *Frank Layton* cuts out the emigrant’s journey altogether, and shows a marked reluctance to include it in its account of the subsequent emigration of Frank’s poorer relatives: “Don’t be alarmed, dear reader. We so little like the sea, that we have no mind to charter you for a five months’ voyage to the antipodes, with its storms and its calms, its hair-breadth escapes and its indescribable tediousness” (25 May 1854: 322). Likewise, *The Settlers* is mainly interested in the onshore life of its emigrants, and begins with their arrival. In fact, for all their apparent interest in emigration these novels embody a curious sense of stillness, compounded not only by their fascination with domesticity and colonial settlement but also by their preoccupation with, and frequent self-identification as, what *The Caxtons* terms “home

pictures” (Bulwer-Lytton, October 1849: 395). Whether illustrated or not, these texts all tend to use pictorial language to describe their narrative trajectories and utilize pictures at key moments in their plots. Thus *Cedar Creek* begins by stating that “Robert had a whole picture sketched and filled in during half an hour’s sit in the dingy coffee-room; from the shanty to the settlement was portrayed by his fertile fancy ...” and concludes with Linda receiving a picture of her old home in Dunmore as a gift from a suitor who has visited Britain (3 January 1861: 5). Meanwhile, the non-illustrated *Caxtons* strongly identifies as the “Family Picture” incorporated into its subtitle, and frequently uses pictorial tropes to encapsulate a sense of the precious stability and reassurance of the domestic; its recurring “pictures of family life and domestic peace” (January 1849: 46).

What in fact clarifies in all these novels by the point of their conclusion is not only a vision of colonial settlement achieved over time, but an almost perfectly aligned impression of the old place activated through memory. Intriguingly, all the novels end on simultaneous acts of settlement and a largely unproblematic form of literal return, which is comparable to that found within the Christmas stories. Thus while his companions remain in Australia as settlers, Pisistratus is finally permitted to return to his “dear circle of home”: “The New World vanished—now a line—now a speck; let us turn away, with the face to the Old” (December 1848: 681; October 1849: 391-92). Similarly, both *Frank Layton* and *Cedar Creek* end not only with the settlement of a new home, but with the simultaneous restoration of the old one, as the protagonists are joined by most of their immediate family circle. In *Frank Layton*, the secondary emigrant character Percy Effingham also embarks on a concluding literal return voyage, carrying an array of letters bound for “the English village which is Frank Layton’s birthplace” (29 June 1854: 402). In their oddly self-cancelling movements backwards and forwards through time and place, denial of difference

between new and old homes, and simultaneous enactment of settlement and return, what these novels appear to offer is the nostalgic's dream of a perfectly realizable form of the past in the future—a nostalgia which overcomes its own sense of longing to ultimately achieve the longed-for joining of fractured parts into wholes.⁷⁵ *The Caxtons* encapsulates this sense of spatio-temporal nostalgic realization perfectly in its account of Pisistratus's final return to "that nook of earth which bounds our little world." After its serial adventures, *The Caxtons* ultimately comes to rest at a kind of embodied point of origin, an instance of what Stewart terms "absolute presence" which is both explicitly infantile and almost claustrophobically complete: "'Your arms, mother. Close, close round my neck, as in the old time ... Oh joy! joy! joy! home again—home till death.'" (October 1849: 397; Stewart 24). The scene prefigures his Uncle Roland's "hope that no gulf shall yawn between" himself and his own dead son "when the Grand Circle is rounded, and man's past and man's future meet where Time disappears" (407).

That this comforting mode of realized nostalgia is not without those dangerous political connotations noted by Stewart, however, is also evident in the curious way in which these novels work to erase and forget the violent attacks on indigenous peoples which they outline. Over the course of serialization, and in keeping with those forms of "extinction discourse" which Brantlinger has shown so deeply infused Victorian conceptualizations of colonization, indigenous peoples are said to fade away in inverse proportion to the progress of their white usurpers (*Dark Vanishings* 1). For instance, the aboriginal character Dick Brown in *Frank Layton* is introduced with the proviso that he is "one of the *tame* specimens of a race which, in less than a hundred years, will probably be

⁷⁵ For an account of nostalgia which informs my reading, see Stewart 23-24.

known only by tradition or in history,” just as his master Mr. Bracy explains that he has ultimately forgotten the most pertinent details of the violent clash outlined above: “to this day I have never remembered exactly all that took place ... We need not talk about that now ...” (2 February 1854: 66-68). *The Caxtons* goes one step further by incorporating a fascinating and lengthy scene of no apparent narrative purpose, in which a “dark thing—a much bigger thing than I had expected” and “very black indeed” crawls down Pisistratus’s neck; a suggestively blackened presence which can only be confronted after a process of figurative transformation and sublimation: “Grim unknown! I shall make of thee—a simile! ... One has a secret care—an abstraction—a something between the memory and the feeling, of a dark crawling cr, which one has never dared to analyse” (Bulwer-Lytton, October 1848: 395-96 *sic*).

On the one hand, what can be discerned in these novels is thus a version of what is by now a rather familiar interaction between models of space and time as a means of moderating the initially disruptive potentiality of migration which these texts also register. In the case of these novels in particular, I have argued that these dynamics work across long periods of reading time to generate characteristic plot sequences and temporal dynamics which operate in interaction with domesticated models of place, are characterized by a propensity towards pictorial stillness, and resolved with recourse to simplistic models of realized nostalgia. And yet, it is worth noting that these texts also perhaps admit even less movement than other periodical forms such as emigrant ship narratives and Christmas stories, and all ultimately work towards establishing levels of particularly intense kinetic and affective composure which are redolent of their more canonical counterparts. Indeed, like many now canonical Victorian novels, these more topical ephemeral versions are still ultimately concerned with the domestic, whether in the form of the colonial settlement or

the home left behind. Likewise, these texts also begin to conceal what the periodical press tends to engage more directly: to interiorize, sublimate, or forget, as I have indicated with regards to their engagements with violence and race. It ultimately becomes possible to argue that these texts are ultimately less interested in settler emigration than in settlement alone: both through the literal process of realizing a home, and in the emotional sense effected by their nostalgic conclusions. In this respect, the settler novels have much in common with those more canonical novels, which, through her reading of *Bleak House* in “On Settling and Being Unsettled,” McDonagh has suggested are more tangentially preoccupied with mirroring colonial settlement and reinstating concepts of emotional belonging in the context of mid-century migration (51, 59).

It is just such a “Great Book” which *The Caxtons* ends up self-reflexively affirming through the resolution of its own extended debate about print culture. While seeming to self-reflexively suggest that serialization is an important tool in moderating and engaging migration in novel form, it is actually the “Great Book” which is shown to symbolically supersede the serial, and which is finally published by Pisistratus’s father at the point of his nostalgic return. Indeed, *The Caxtons* seems to suggest that its entire engagement with emigration in serial form has been geared not only towards the nostalgic restoration of the domestic home but also of the Great Book which is its symbolic counterpart, and which is the very condition on which Pisistratus accepts a loan from his father to enable him to emigrate: “Let me hold it as a trust for the Great Book; and promise me that the Great Book shall be ready when your wanderer returns” (June 1849: 644). Running through the heart of this dated, newsy novel is thus in fact an emerging vision of the Great Book as perfect whole—“*totus, teres, atque rotundus*” rather than published in “little parts in order to sell”—which acts as the serial’s own point of stoppage, just as *The Caxtons* itself was

subsequently published in volume form and succeeded by a series of novels about the same characters' lives in England (October 1849: 397). Accordingly, the British serial emigration novel, in so far as it manages to exist at all, might ultimately be understood to function as a necessary experiment—a temporary means of direct engagement with emigration which works through its destabilizing implications before ultimately affirming the pre-eminence of another kind of novel: the Great Book, the 'Novel,' the still and timeless volume. For settled texts which apparently begin at the point of composure these newsier novels work to obtain.

“Ever So Many Partings Welded Together”*: De-Composing *Great Expectations

I stood with my lamp held out over the stair-rail, and he came slowly within its light. It was a shaded lamp, to shine upon a book, and its circle of light was very contracted; so that he was in it for a mere instant, and then out of it.
(Dickens, *Great Expectations*. 11 May 1861: 145).

At the same time as *The Settlers of Long Arrow* and *Cedar Creek* were running in *Once a Week* and the *Leisure Hour*, Dickens was publishing the far more enduring *Great Expectations* in his comparable weekly journal *All the Year Round* (1 December 1860-3 August 1861). Predominantly read in single volume form today, the novel is a very good example of a “Great Book” in the sense outlined above, and has been consistently praised for its unity, psychological depth, and timelessness. Equally, however, and as many critics have likewise acknowledged, *Great Expectations* is also characterized by a residual sense of uneasiness which troubles its composure: by what Roger D. Sell terms “something odd

and unsettling about the book's general mood" (2). This has been variously linked not only to the novel's evident concerns with issues of class and guilt, but also to those more residual preoccupations with Australian history and colonial return which Said has argued become powerfully if only "marginally visible" in so many "great canonical texts"—a scenario quite literally encapsulated in Magwitch's tantalizingly intermittent materialization in the shadows of Pip's book (62-67). While acknowledging and building upon these lines of interpretation, I wish to use this section of the chapter to show how re-conceptualizing the "Great Book" as a periodical, serial text might in fact serve to cast a less "contracted" and intermittent light on its engagements with empire history, as well as to offer a fuller understanding of its deep running tensions between unsettlement and composure. Working backwards from the stoppage point of the mythic "Great Book" along the printier paths of original serialization, I shall demonstrate how *Great Expectations* might in fact be read as a subtler version of the novels of serial settlement it was originally published in company with: a novel which engages strategies of serial pace and domestic place to moderate migration in comparable ways, while also ultimately achieving differently nuanced and more enduring solutions. This section thus aims to work with periodical form to explore how an important novel might be said to encode the drama of its own settlement, while simultaneously presenting a method of reading which could potentially be applied to other canonical works originally serialized in periodicals.⁷⁶

As a "Great Book" of huge reputation, *Great Expectations* has of course already attracted extensive readings by both critics interested in empire and Australia, and scholars

⁷⁶ For example, preliminary research carried out towards my MA degree suggests that it may be possible to produce readings of settler emigration in Gaskell's *Cranford*, serialized in *Household Words*, and *Cousin Phillis*, serialized in the *Cornhill*, by taking a similar approach.

whose primary concern is with publishing history. Thus, to cite just two of the most interesting recent examples, Freedgood has explored the ways in which the novel deploys Negro-head tobacco as a means of both tacitly acknowledging and forgetting its intertwinement with the history of aboriginal genocide, while Philip V. Allingham's article on the novel's authorized appearance in the American *Harper's Weekly*—unusually, one week prior to its publication in *All the Year Round* for the first nine installments—extends work carried out on the novel's manuscript and publication history by Edgar Rosenberg, Anny Sandrin and others (Freedgood, *Ideas in Things* 81-110; Allingham 117). Despite this wealth of engagement, however, it is notable that few, if any, of *Great Expectations*' numerous critics appear to have paired a material conceptualization of the novel which takes into account its original publication format with what are the generally more theoretically-orientated approaches associated with postcolonialism and studies of globalization. In using the novel to open *Culture and Imperialism*, Said cites a publication date of 1861, and does not note that it was originally serialized at all. Likewise, Freedgood's brilliant approach to objects in texts is less concerned with treating the text itself as material object, or in exploring how this might inform the distinctions made between that "journalistic writing" which she acknowledges contains a "massive chronicling" of Australia and aboriginal genocide, and those more circumspect or absent-minded works of enduring Victorian fiction which ultimately "found more suitable arrangements" (85, 98). While my analysis will draw upon these critical insights, and ultimately confirm Freedgood's conclusions, it is nevertheless my contention that a differently nuanced reading of *Great Expectations*' engagement with colonial history can be achieved by combining it with a more expansive material conceptualization of the text which takes into account its periodical publication format and serial identity.

One of the first fruits of such an approach is that we immediately find references to empire, colonization, transportation, and globalization not only in the margins, silences, and sublimations of the novel's serial parts themselves, but in the noisy conversations which run between them. During the eight month period of *Great Expectations*' publication, *All the Year Round* can hardly keep quiet on these issues, pursuing particularly topical lines of engagement with life in America in the build-up to the Civil War and the demerits of the Australian transportation system in articles such as "A Scene in the Cotton Country" (2 February 1861) and "A Dialogue Concerning Convicts" (Beard, 11 May 1861) while frequently darting as far afield as China, Africa, and India, with many detours into the processes of getting there—and as just a brief selection of article titles suffices to illustrate: "Episcopacy in the Rough" (a serial article about British Columbia running from 1860-61), "American Sleeping Cars" (12 January 1861); "Chinamen's Dinners" (19 January 1861); "American Street Railroads" (6 April 1861); "Cattle Farmers in the Pampas" (Harvey, 11 May 1861); "Life in Africa" (6 July 1861); "The Englishman in Bengal" (23 February 1861); "Some Railway Points" (Hollingshead, 26 January 1861); "Chinese Slaves Adrift" (8 June 1861).⁷⁷ While *All the Year Round* of course published on a whole range of topical themes during the course of its serialization of *Great Expectations*, it is no exaggeration to claim that the experience of being on the move across the globe is an essential and primary component of its identity both during and beyond this period, as one article, the intriguingly named "Wandering Words" suggests: "Changeable and uncertain creatures are words; always roaming about from country to country, disguised under all sorts of masks" (140).

⁷⁷ Details of *All the Year Round* authors, where available, are sourced from Oppenlander's *Descriptive Index and Contributor's List* and *Dickens Journals Online*. Palmegiano's *The British Empire in the Victorian Press* has also proved useful in identifying some relevant titles I might otherwise have missed (68-71).

Read in this light, it is possible to argue that Pip quite literally grows up in a moving world—and to begin to be curious about the extent to which movement might be said to shape the course and texture of his story.

As the titles I have cited indicate, the range of these globally-orientated conversations is by no means limited to discourses on emigration and settlement. Nevertheless, it is notable that a good range of articles published during the course of the novel's serialization do engage with these issues directly, as when for instance the "home-sick voyager" returns from the gold diggings in the long narrative poem "Forgiven" (252), "Earliest Man" depicts the "pale face" as a "settler" who seeks to "build his homestead" on "fertile land" (368), "Two Friends from Texas" describes two "perfect specimens of the American frontier settler" on board an emigrant ship from Liverpool to New York (205), or "A Two-Year-Old Colony" reflect on the progress of settler Queensland. Likewise, "The Englishman in Bengal" celebrates those "pioneers in the bush, or diggers in the mines" who had established the primacy of British colonization, and ends with a call for emigration to the early 1860s hotspot of British Columbia, proudly proclaiming that: "While the French organise, arrange, plan, and systematise, *we* settle" (468-69). The novel can also be read in the context of articles published prior to and after its serialization, including "Footprints Here and There: Australian Milk and Water" (1861-62), about Australian aborigines, "New Zealand" (1861-62), "Aboard a Emigrant Ship" (1862), discussed in chapter 1, "Settled Among the Maoris" (1863), and "Far at Sea," about a steerage emigrant passenger en route to New Zealand (1866).

Reading the novel alongside this range of co-texts, as well as in company with those other contemporaneous serialized settler emigration novels studied above, accordingly not only reveals a different and more tangible route into understanding its engagements with

empire, but also foregrounds the fact that it is taking shape at a more specific stage in empire history than is usually acknowledged: a period of settler emigration which is at once more expansive and extended than the particular concerns with transportation which the novel most clearly invokes, and slightly differentiated from and prior to the era of high imperialism which succeeds it. As I have observed above, it is fascinating to note that the characters in *Great Expectations* themselves quite literally migrated into the pages of *Harper's Weekly* at the same time as they featured in *All the Year Round*, a process which puts Bidly into a “decidedly 1860s American “poke-bonnet”” in the accompanying illustrations, while similarly transforming Orlick into “a Western villain in a high-crowded, wide-brimmed ‘Western’” and Joe from an English blacksmith to an “American artisan of the entrepreneurial, ‘owner-operator’ class” (Allingham 129). Read in this way, it is possible to argue that migration is an essential component of the novel’s identity from the outset: intrinsically present in its material identity as a dialogic, fluid, and globally circulating periodical text.⁷⁸

In the first instance, viewing the novel in this light serves to illuminate a range of engagements with emigration which are usually overlooked or not critically integrated into anything more meaningful. Indeed, references from the wider textual field seem to seep into the serial parts themselves, entering into its thematic and imagistic range as well as its amorphous material fabric. The novel is in fact peppered with casual references to emigration beyond its more obvious engagement with Magwitch’s story: Clara’s father is involved in the “victualling of passenger-ships” (6 April 1861: 28 *sic*); Herbert talks of buying a rifle and going out to America to hunt buffalo (20 April 1861: 73); Herbert and

⁷⁸ For a broader-ranging account of the unauthorized reprinting of Dickens’s works in America, with reference to his own support for international copyright, see McGill 107-40.

Pip dine in a “Geographical chop-house” full of “maps of the world” (15 June 1861: 265); Magwitch finally attempts his escape down the river alongside “two emigrant ships” (13 July 1861: 362); and Miss Havisham stubbornly sits out what Rita S. Kranidis argues is the fate of the “redundant woman” left behind who cannot “escape” into Compeyson’s colonial “Elsewhere” (130). Pip himself is twice compared to an emigrant “wanderer,” the first time before he has even decided to leave for Egypt: “I felt like one who was toiling home barefoot from distant travel, and whose wanderings had lasted many years” (3 August 1861: 434). Likewise, the text is haunted by imagistic echoes of the migratory process, as when Pip finds himself lost amidst the “old hulls of ships” in the Rope-Walk (8 June 1861: 244), or the perhaps not incidentally pale-faced “pale young gentleman” lays violent claim to a decaying wilderness of semi-exotic garden, full of frames for those cucumbers and melons which might grow in a settler’s garden, and defended by Pip in the guise of a “savage young wolf” (12 January 1861: 317-18). Though several critics have recognized that both violence and gardens play key roles in *Great Expectations*, few, if any, seem to have recognized their interrelation with the imagery of settler emigration in particular.⁷⁹ This is despite the fact that the novel’s culminating garden scene in a significantly “cleared space ... enclosed with a rough fence” was famously composed following the advice of none other than Dickens’s old friend Bulwer-Lytton, who, by 1861, had not only written *The Caxtons* but been recently instrumental in the foundation of both British Columbia and Queensland during a brief spell as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1858-59 (3 August 1861: 436; Mitchell 213-14).

⁷⁹ For an interesting exploration of Christian and post-Darwinian resonances in the novel’s treatment of gardens, see Alan Fischler’s “Love in the Garden: “Maud”, *Great Expectations* and W. S. Gilbert’s *Sweethearts*.”

Given the insistence of the migratory dynamics flowing both around and directly through the novel, what is perhaps initially most striking is its relative composure and degree of indirectness. Unlike the more ephemeral novels I have looked at, *Great Expectations* sticks squarely to the domestic and national centres these novels only end up affirming, and contains no scenes abroad. Indeed, it edits out all episodes in Egypt and Australia, and firmly returns the narrative to England with Pip's return. Likewise, the novel does not enact the obvious solution of Pip migrating back to Australia with Magwitch, and shows little interest in life beyond the limits of the nation, as when Pip describes Magwitch's geographical options in the following terms: "the place signified little, so that he was got out of England" (29 June 1861: 361). *Great Expectations* also goes much further than novels such as *The Caxtons* in sublimating the anxieties associated with migration which it does engage, and speaks the language of interiority and symbolism as fluently as that of topicality. Thus for instance, it is intriguing that several characters have markedly geographical psyches in which the drama of movement, separation, and longing are played out in code: "Deep ... as Australia," in the case of Jaggers, or "thousands of miles away from me" in the case of Pip's conceptualization of Estella (9 March 1861: 509; 6 April 1861: 26). Likewise, Pip is frequently tumbling into dreams, sometimes and intriguingly at the end of serial parts, in which he is troubled by "fantastic failures of journeys" in which coaches go to the "wrong places," or by the sense of being a "brick in the house-wall, and yet entreating to be released from the giddy place where the builders had set me" (16 February 1861: 438; 27 July 1861: 409). It is only through this haze of "dream or sleep-waking" which so often diffuses Pip's all-encompassing first-person consciousness that familiar shapes can be made out at all: recognisable images, casual references which recur like verbal ticks, flashes of violence at one remove, fears of that

shadowy “darkness beneath” from which Magwitch initially appears (16 May 1861: 170; 11 May 1861: 145). Reading the novel in volume form, and outside of its original publication context, it is therefore not surprising if modern readers should miss these references altogether. The book itself becomes a tight textual knot, which quite literally binds those streams of print flowing through it: the novel’s unconscious; the space of Pip’s dreams.

It is no doubt this capacity for sublimation and relative containment which at least partially explains the novel’s endurance, and renders it capable of performing that “steady, almost reassuring work” which Said suggests canonical Victorian novels effectively survive to perform (72). And yet this is not the whole story either, for as Said also suggests, and I have noted above, *Great Expectations* is as much a novel of discomposure as composure. Indeed, in *Victorian Writing About Risk*, Freedgood has argued that “enduring” texts might achieve greater “historical reach” not only due to their capacity to transcend or sublimate the topical problems which “shorter-acting” ephemeral texts are better equipped to engage, but precisely because they also offer more complex and qualified models of reassurance which simultaneously admit and conceal; an insight which she subsequently applies to the more specific context of *Great Expectations* in her account of its partial metonymic remembrance of genocide (83). As I shall show, however, the sense of troubled wholeness which so deeply characterizes and distinguishes *Great Expectations* is perhaps as much a response to those streams of movement which flow directly through it as to the more specific concerns with transportation or race which concern Said’s and Freedgood’s analysis. *Great Expectations* is thus, on the one hand, a very good example of one of McDonagh’s tangentially reflective novels which speak of both “settling” and “being unsettled,” and these dynamics can of course be traced without recourse to its periodical

publication format (“On Settling” 48). Nevertheless, it is my contention that catching the novel at this stage—both literally shot through with movement, as I have shown, and caught up in the dynamics of serial settlement which also run through the more overtly emigration-themed novels—affords an illuminating and tangible means of recovering and understanding how these abstract counter-dynamics shape the book which remains.

Read as such, the “unsettling” elements in *Great Expectations* long noted by Sell and others can be clearly situated alongside those broader anxieties about movement which I have argued periodicals are so well-equipped to dramatize. In the very opening scene Pip is famously and unexpectedly turned upside down by the convict who suddenly “started up” from the sea and makes the church jump over its own steeple. While of course dramatizing anxieties about criminality, transportation, and colonial return, the insistent spatialization in this scene is also deeply indicative of the broader threat posed to “native place” by migration: coming, as it does, at the very point when Pip is stabilizing a sense of the “identity of things” in his environment. Magwitch is in marked conflict with this sense of place from the outset, “cut by flints, and stung by nettles, and torn by briars,” and aggressively demanding that Pip should “Pint out the place!” where he lives (1 December 1860: 169; 3 August 1861: 433). From this point onwards, in fact, the very concept of home and place become both threatened and threatening in the novel: warped into an uncanny and disorientating version of itself in which files, bread and butter, pies and hearths all become foreign objects; as troubling and de-familiarized as luggage set adrift on an emigrant ship. These dynamics established from the outset, the same spatio-temporal patterns are in fact played out repeatedly, as the novel intersects a catalogue of poignant leave-takings with a series of meditations on the difficulties of going home in a moving world, a concept which Pip worries into impossibility after receiving Wemmick’s note of warning about his pursuit

by Compeyson: “Don’t go home ... it became a vast shadowy verb which I had to conjugate ... Do not thou go home, let him not go home, let us not go home, do not ye or you go home ... I may not and I cannot go home; and I might not, could not, would not, and should not go home ... ” (8 June 1861: 241).

It is this interplay between departure and the depletion of the place left behind which dominates the novel’s mood and structure: Pip’s departure from the old forge kitchen for Satis House, for London, for Egypt; Magwitch’s departure for and from Australia; Estella’s departure for France and Shropshire; Wemmick’s symbolic “little place besieged” (16 March 1861: 530). In this novel, furthermore, the greater acts of migration are always implicated in the smaller internal movements. The passage to Australia secretly shapes the course of Pip’s story; rendering him a puppet, with movements not his own.

In the light of these dynamics, the novel’s elements of sublimation and composure can be viewed as the endpoint and realization of a series of deeper textual workings towards settlement which run parallel to those operating in the more directly emigration-themed novels studied above. Indeed, while there still seems to be a lack of critical interest in acknowledging it, *Great Expectations* is a resoundingly serial text, consistently advertised in the overtly sequential journal *All the Year Round* not as a novel at all, but a “Serial Story,” and expressly one which “IS CONTINUED FROM WEEK TO WEEK UNTIL COMPLETED IN AUGUST, IN ALL THE YEAR ROUND” (“The New Serial Story”). Given this fact, it is not surprising to note that the novel is highly conscious of temporality, and particularly marked by the steady dynamics of weekliness that literally shaped its composition. Thus, just for example, Miss Havisham asks Pip to “come again after six days” (29 December 1860: 268), while Pip reflects that “Five more days, and then the day before *the* day” of his leaving Joe will “soon go” (9 February 1861: 413). More

generally, Pip describes his encounters with Magwitch in terms of “the regularly recurring spaces of our separation,” while the novel often reaches out to readers to ask them to enter the same serial timeframe: “Why did you who read this, commit that not dissimilar inconsistency of your own, last year, last month, last week?” (20 July 1861: 388; 15 June 1861: 265). It is this sense of steady interval, “continued from week to week until completed,” which works in conjunction with the novel’s overarching Bildungsroman format to shape Pip’s story into some kind of order, over and against the destabilizing dynamics that threaten its cohesion. The novel is clearly ordered into three separate “stages,” while Pip’s “road of life” (20 April 1861: 75) is set back on track after he learns to “come at everything by degrees” like Joe (27 July 1861: 410), to learn from Herbert’s “ever cheerful industry and readiness” (3 August 1861: 436), and to make sense of the dreams which haunt his feverish rest: “These were things that I tried to settle with myself and get into some order” (27 July 1861: 409). In fact, by the end of the novel, Pip, like Frank Layton or Robert Wynn, is taking part in a culturally sanctioned form of migration as steady, masculine, and progressive: “Within a month, I had quitted England, and within two months I was clerk to Clarriker and Co., and within four months I assumed my first undivided responsibility” (3 August 1861: 435); dynamics which work in tandem with the processes of gradual serial pace to redeem it from all traces of the criminal, sudden, and deviant version with which the novel began.

Perhaps most revealing, however, is the way in which the novel also works with what I have identified as the more retrograde capacities of serial pace in conjunction with concepts of place to achieve a deeper sense of affective as well as spatio-temporal settlement. Like all its newsier counterparts to some extent, *Great Expectations* is a historical novel, beginning in the first decade of the nineteenth century and tracing half a

century through to the present of its reflective autobiographical narrator in the act of writing. As Sandrin notes “*Great Expectations* is a novel that of necessity reads backwards as much as forwards,” and like the other emigration novels I have examined, it uses these retrospective dynamics to effect what Nicholas Dames in *Amnesiac Selves* has described as a kind of nostalgic remembering akin to “useful” forgetting (Sandrin 50-51; Dames 3-4). This mode of remembrance not only helps smooth Pip’s own story into productive shape over time, but also serves to edit out what Freedgood argues are the novel’s trace recollections of aboriginal genocide. What has been less extensively explored, however, is not only the way in which these temporal dynamics work with serialization, but how they also operate in conjunction with movement and place, and in particular as a response to the historical reality of migration and settlement with which I have suggested the novel engages. Over time, in fact, the novel, like life itself in Joe’s eyes, quite literally becomes a series of “ever so many partings welded together” (23 March 1861: 555); crystallizing around a vision of nostalgic place which grows deeper and brighter as the novel proceeds.

From this point of view, Magwitch’s arrival in the first chapter can be seen to trigger not only a dislocation and disruption of a sense of place, but a simultaneous reevaluation of what that originally “bleak place overgrown with nettles” might be said to ever have constituted (1 December 1860: 169). Over time, the story about the limits of a real place—the “dark flat wilderness” of the marshes (1 December 1860: 169), the restrictions of a life spent “either up-town or down town” (3 August 1861: 434), the fearful “rampagings” of Mrs. Joe—becomes softly subsumed by another story about nostalgic place as a solution to the pain of parting which features so deeply in both Pip’s little migration from the village and the wider migrations which ripple around it like the sea: the realization, that “after all”—and the temporal qualifier is significant—“there was no fire

like the forge fire and the kitchen fire at home” (20 April 1861: 73). Even by the midway point of Mrs. Joe’s funeral the features of real place have begun to blur and soften beyond recognition: “It was fine summer weather again, and, as I walked along, the times when I was a little helpless creature, and my sister did not spare me, vividly returned. But they returned with a gentle tone upon them that softened even the edge of Tickler ...” (20 April 1861: 75). Likewise, even Pip’s love for Estella is described as curiously place-bound and nostalgic, paradoxically intertwined with a longing for the village place she caused him to disavow: “You have been in every prospect I have ever seen since—on the river, on the sails of the ships, on the marshes, in the clouds, in the light, in the darkness, in the wind, in the woods ...” (1 June 1861: 221). By the novel’s conclusion, and after a symbolic return to childhood during a period of fever in which there seems once again to be no division of time or experience “betwixt two sech” as himself and Joe, Pip is in fact ready to make an attempt at just that kind of nostalgic realization which I have argued characterizes *The Caxtons* (27 July 1861: 412). As Pip returns to the forge with a view to marrying Biddy, the marsh mists miraculously part to reveal only the more pastoral glow of “delicious” June weather, and “many pleasant pictures” of the Arcadian life to follow. It is at this point that Pip feels himself to be that wanderer “toiling home barefoot from distant travel,” towards a “future-past” in which the man becomes the child (3 August 1861: 434; Stewart 23).

While this explicitly infantile and simplistic form of nostalgic return is ultimately denied, a point to which I shall return below, it is significant that the novel, like other emigration serials, does conclude with both a version of actual settlement realized by Herbert and Clara’s Egyptian home, and a simultaneous return to England. As such, it is notable that Pip’s reconciliation with Estella takes place in a garden which is at once a vision of colonial settlement, as argued above, and an “old place” or “native place,”

transformed by the light of nostalgic memory, to which Pip the “wanderer” returns. In the “softened light” which is perhaps more attributable to Pip’s eyes than Estella’s, those originally sinister marsh mists which have been clarifying throughout the novel are finally transformed into something resoundingly “silvery” and “tranquil”; explicitly equipped to show only “no shadow of another parting” (3 August 1861: 436-37). As in other settler serials, the forward momentum of gradual growth and development finally intertwines with the more retrograde dynamics which have been quickening in the text for so long, and it does so, typically, within the borders of the garden. The effect, again, is curiously stilling: creating one of those “indelible pictures” in which Pip’s evolving and regressing nostalgic memory deals, from the reference to photographs in the novel’s second paragraph onwards (20 July 1861: 388). It is significant that the garden scene and the “still” figures which reside there feature as actual pictures in both the original *Harper’s* version of the novel, illustrated by John McLenan (Fig. 10.), and the subsequent British Illustrated Library Edition, illustrated by Marcus Stone. In these concluding images, as Allingham notes, both artists choose to edit out the “traumatic” features of the past, and to depict only quiet visions of “Pip and Estella, renewed and reunited in the green world” of the garden (134). Although it is beyond the scope of Allingham’s focus to make the claim, these images could plausibly portray two emigrant settlers, thus reifying the settlement dynamics with which I have argued the written text deals.

Nevertheless, while *Great Expectations* does echo that form of simplistic nostalgic realization which concludes other serialized emigration novels, particularly in its Lytton-inspired ending, it would be insufficient to claim that it does so without qualification. As Beth A. Boehm has recognized, *Great Expectations* is in fact as much about “the problems of nostalgic longing” as its temptations, and resists not only Pip’s return to childhood and

*Fig. 10. John McLenan's "I saw the shadow [of no parting from her]." Harper's Weekly 3 August 1861: 494. Harpweek. This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.*⁸⁰

⁸⁰ I was first alerted to this image after seeing it reproduced in Allingham 159.

the pastoral, as we have seen, but also what Boehm suggests is Magwitch's own project of nostalgic reconciliation in England (6). The novel is in fact haunted throughout by a sense of longing which its published ending belies, and which several critics have argued is more properly realized in Dickens's original unpublished conclusion—in which no garden features, and the lovers must part. It is perhaps significant in and of itself that the novel offers not one ending, but two: not a sense of perfect wholeness, after all, but of internal fracture and division; a more complex nostalgia which recognizes the impossibility of reunion even in the attempt. Through the gaps that remain, the pain of departure and homesickness which surface in response to the historical process of emigration and settlement continue to seep: audible in Pip's account of Joe's "dear old home voice" (27 July 1861: 410) or his memories of the "old village time" (15 June 1861: 267); and not so much effecting a sense of "ever so many partings" firmly "welded together," as a fragile composure which is barely sustained.

Considering the ways in which *Great Expectations* is similar to less enduring serials about settlement thus ultimately also provides a means of shedding light on its evident differences. Read in the light of Freedgood's analysis, *Great Expectations* can indeed be understood to recognize the anxiety which so often surrounded emigration while simultaneously partially sublimating it: repressing it not only into those "fetishistic" objects which carry the memory of racialized violence, however, but also into a pervasive spatio-temporal disorientation which conceals its own historical triggers, and an accompanying mood of troubled nostalgia (83). Conversely, then, it is not so much the novel's "steady and reassuring work" which ensures its continuing resonance, as the interplay between this imperative and its partial acknowledgement of the *unsteady* and displaced. And yet it is only by going back to the text as material object, as well as the material objects in the text,

that we can both fully localize and concretize the nature of these tensions; remember what and how it is that the “Great Book” contains.

*

In the first part of my thesis, I have explored periodical texts and genres which tell a mainstream story about settler emigration from a broadly liberal, middle-class metropolitan perspective. As I have shown, many emigration-themed periodical texts and genres utilize parallel cohesive spatial and temporal models, be they within measured tales of the emigrant voyage, nation-affirming emigration Christmas stories, or domestically-orientated novels of serial settlement. Furthermore, many now canonical texts can be situated in relation to these genres, providing opportunities to reevaluate works such as *Great Expectations* and “Harry Heathcote of Gangoil” from a fresh, more materially grounded perspective which reveals concealed preoccupations and overlooked spatio-temporal dynamics. Albeit through the use of broader and overlapping spatial categories of home, nation, and settlement, and by considering the cohesive effects of the temporal as well as the spatial as they interrelate with concepts of mobility, my findings thus broadly accord with those of Wagner and Myers, who have both recently emphasized the dominance of domesticity within representations of settler emigration. Whether by establishing white cottages in the Canadian forest or extending Christmas to Australia, these texts all also attest to Veracini’s emphasis upon the importance of a “register of sameness” within settler narratives. However, it is intriguing to build upon Veracini’s findings by observing that both metropolitan Christmas stories and serialized settler novels do not so much refuse the idea of literal return as mobilize it as an affective, nostalgic trope which works in tandem

with settlement's essential investments in permanence and cultural synonymy. It is also interesting that both genres fail to substantially engage with the historically prevalent incidence of unsuccessful emigrant return; a trope which features more prominently in some feminized and radical accounts.

The next part of my thesis will move away from the mainstream in order to explore engagements with settler emigration which lie outside of these dominant frameworks. Capitalizing on the diversity and openness which I have suggested throughout this thesis is a feature of the periodical's range and form, this section will incorporate an exploration of settler emigration from a feminine and emergent feminist perspective in chapter 4, followed by an exploration of emigration from a radical point of view in chapter 5. In chapter 4, I will show how a range of emigration literature associated with a female point of view remodels settler domesticity in order to both critique it and imagine new ways in which women might be empowered through the experience of emigration. In chapter 5, I will continue this emphasis on remodeling and revising dominant models by showing how three radical periodicals critique mainstream settlerism by inverting its dominant tropes and imagining alternative utopian possibilities.

Part Two

Counter-Currents

4

Feminine Perspectives

As my readings of settler emigration novels in the last chapter indicate, many mainstream emigration narratives not only utilize models of cohesive domestic place, but also do so in a way which is characteristically gendered. The homes and gardens which are so important within novels such as *Cedar Creek* and *Frank Layton* are significantly associated with female characters, just as female emigrants were also widely perceived to have an important civilizing and stabilizing role to play within real-life settlement processes (Wagner "Introduction," 9). Meanwhile, the act of *emigration* itself is least problematically associated with male characters, again in line with broader positive cultural associations between masculinity and mobility which Archibald estimates saw four men emigrate to every one woman, as well as the formation of organizations such as Chisholm's Family Colonization Loan Society, which was significantly geared towards protecting single emigrant females (Archibald 10).⁸¹ Representations of female engagements with emigration as opposed to settlement are thus typically fraught with anxieties, compounded by emigration's historical associations with prostitution and the kind of dangerously vagrant female sexuality represented by Eustacia Smith in *John Caldigate*. However, while many periodical texts do enmesh settler emigration in the same gendered spatial patterns which ran through the very heart of Victorian culture and society more generally, this chapter argues that periodicals also simultaneously afforded scope for some differential imaginings of settler emigration as envisaged from a more female-centred point of view. As I shall

⁸¹ Exact statistics for the period are unfortunately unavailable, with Carrier and Jeffery's indicative figures on the sex of British emigrants dating only from 1877 (47).

show, this resulted in a range of distinctive modes of imaginative engagement throughout the 1850s, '60s, and '70s, which both explore settler emigration's intersections with feminine domesticity to some surprisingly resistant ends, and incorporate counter-cultural links between female emigration and concepts of mobility, independence, and work.

Though Victorian periodicals were largely edited and written by men, and often tacitly assumed masculine readerships, they simultaneously afford opportunities for exploring settler emigration from the woman's point of view for three reasons which will be pertinent to this chapter. In the first instance, as we have seen throughout, mainstream periodicals are consistently shot through with women's voices, often working in alliance with traditionally 'feminine' forms such as sentimental fiction and poetry, and sometimes enabled by the practice of anonymous publication which was commonplace until the later decades of the nineteenth century. This strong feminine presence is particularly evident from the 1840s onwards, when the general expansion of the periodical press to cater for new classes of readers entailed a move towards capturing female readerships also. New family journals such as *Chambers's* and *Household Words* were substantially aimed at both sexes, while contemporaneous but cheaper publications such as the *London Journal* and *Eliza Cook's Journal*—the latter also, and not uniquely, edited by a woman—attracted a significant working-class female readership (Ballaster et al 77; Beetham, *Magazine* 10; Fraser, Green, and Johnston 1-25). In addition, periodicals underwent another significant stage of diversification during the 1850s with the establishment of a new range of affordable titles aimed specifically at middle-class women. This was initiated in 1852 with the publication of Samuel Beeton's two pence monthly the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, which was soon to circulate at 60,000 and inspire other popular rivals such as

the *Ladies' Treasury* (Beetham, *Magazine* 59-88). While Cynthia L. White's pioneering critical assessment of such magazines dismissed the majority as "insipid, limited in scope and lacking all mental stimulus," more recent scholarship by critics including Beetham and Kathryn Ledbetter has done much to point to the particular opportunities which they afforded, arguing, for instance that women's magazines constitute a "closed, gendered physical space wherein women readers are at the center of power" (White 35; Ledbetter 15). Thirdly and finally, meanwhile, the 1850s also saw the emergence of an English feminist press, beginning with the foundation of the *English Woman's Journal* as an organ for the activities and writings of the Langham Place group in 1858, and following through into direct descendents such as the *Victoria Magazine*. Given the overlap between some of the writers contributing to domestic and feminist titles, and what Beetham and others have recognized as the "radical potential" of women's magazines from the outset, there is a strong case for seeing these two broadly contemporaneous developments as interrelated rather than oppositional, an understanding which informs my approach throughout (Beetham, *Magazine* 3).

These three aspects of the periodical press—the presence of the thriving feminine voice within mainstream periodicals, the magazines aimed specifically at women, and the emergence of a new feminist press—provide the basis for my analysis of settler emigration from the woman's point of view. It is within these parameters that we find some of the most interesting and divergent imaginative engagements with the topic: imaginings of emigration which not only centre the otherwise obscured experience and viewpoints of both the female emigrant and the woman left behind, but which also frequently challenge or re-articulate the dominant spatial patterns within which emigration often becomes enmeshed by subtly questioning the comfort and closure of settlement, engaging with powerfully

feminized vistas in the colonial imagination, or radically re-visioning ideas of place and mobility with an eye to finding alternative feminist spaces and outlets for women's work. Far from being discrete, these modes of engagement are frequently overlapping and to be found running through and across the same set of journals in sometimes contradictory ways, also working in significant cross-alliance with categories of race and class. I have tried to take this degree of complexity into account throughout, tracing three modes of imaginative engagement with settler emigration which strike me as being especially representative, intriguing, and significant, but which are not presented as definitive or exhaustive. Against this sense of overlap, diversity, and contradiction, I have attempted to provide cohesion and focus by consistently working with the genre of emigration poetry which has emerged as an important interconnecting element throughout, while also offering closer readings of the particularly rich material in *Eliza Cook's Journal* and the writings of proto-feminist emigration pioneer Maria S. Rye.

Modes of Domestic Resistance

If I am suggesting that periodicals afford opportunities to explore settler emigration from the woman's point of view, then it is important to stress from the outset that I am not implying that women's perspectives always differed from men's, or that they necessarily challenged androcentric norms. In many cases, women writers fully endorsed the idea of female emigrants as place-makers and settlers, and imagined the experience of female emigration in ways which were entirely concordant with dominant gendered spatial patterns. In addition, many of the mainstream texts I have examined were authored by women, including the novels by Murray and Hely Walshe explored in chapter 3. Similarly, in

Household Words' "Pictures of Life in Australia," the imaginative horizons of Chisholm and her Dickens-backed co-writer Horne join apparently seamlessly in focusing on the importance of feminized settlement through the story of an Australian emigrant who has everything but the wife: "Yes, this spot of beauty, to make it a delightful happy home, required, what one of our favourite poets and the poet of nature, calls nature's "noblest work"—woman" (310). However, while many periodical articles written by women reflect exactly these dominant dynamics, other texts engage dominant generic formations—in particular, correlations between place, home, feeling, and the feminine—to less affirmative effects. As I shall show, such texts often utilize these generic spatial and affective models as a means of resisting, rather than endorsing, the dominant mid-Victorian "picture" of emigrant settlement, and often dwell on themes of exile, resistant return, and a sense of the incommensurable difference between metropolitan and colonial models of home which are less evident in mainstream accounts. It is to these more discordant voices which I now wish to turn.

The genre of poetry, invoked fleetingly within "Pictures of Life," plays a particularly significant role in this respect and is worth exploring in some detail. Arguing against the conventionally dismissive attitudes towards the form demonstrated by the *Wellesley Index*, which excludes poetry on the grounds of its frequent obscurity and predominant sentimentality, Hughes has stressed that poems in fact constituted an extremely significant component of most periodicals, often occupying central positions on the page, and highly valued by editors, readers, and writers seeking outlets for their work ("What the Wellesley Index Left Out.") Building on these lines of argument, Ledbetter has shown that poetry was also often viewed as a significantly "feminine genre" in the mid-nineteenth century—linked to concepts of private emotion and moral refinement which, as

in “Pictures,” were often ideologically concordant with models of idealized womanhood (16). As a result, she notes that sentimental or emotive poetry came to play a particularly important role in women’s periodicals, with most journals publishing “amazingly large quantities” on topics such as domesticity, motherhood, and Christian devotion, and often emphasizing the power of place by working “through tropes of nature and memory to affect emotive attachment to the home” (3, 25). In line with critics such as June Howard, who have worked to salvage sentimental fiction from the dismissive and sometimes misogynistic tendencies of some modern critics, and Isobel Armstrong, who has argued that apparently simple and conventional poems by women in the “affective mode” were often used for double and “unexpected purposes,” Ledbetter argues that such ostensibly conservative verse was not without its challenging or counter-hegemonic potential (Armstrong 324). Indeed, she suggests that sentimental poetry often affected “a radical democratization within a gendered space where women can speak to one another without being criticized,” while also serving important “emotive, connective purposes” (13, 7). While she focuses on the many poems which appeared within women’s periodicals, it is also worth noting that sentimental poetry written by women also features very widely across periodicals in general, both opening up small feminine spaces within the more masculine mainstream of journals such as *Blackwood’s* and *Macmillan’s Magazine*, and congregating in popular family magazines such as the *London Journal*, *Bow Bells*, and *Household Words*.

Within the parameters of this broad range of feminine, domestic sentimental verse are a very significant number of poems about emigration. Ledbetter touches upon this subgenre in her analysis of one 1847 *Lady’s Newspaper* poem, “The Emigrant” by F. B., but owing to the different focus of her study does not pursue the fact that the poem is

representative of many others, often written by women, which emphasize the emotional experience of emigration and frequently foreground moments of leave-taking or homesickness (109). My own survey of mid-century periodicals has revealed hundreds of poems of this kind flourishing primarily from the 1840s onwards, not only within women's magazines themselves such as the *Lady's Newspaper*, *Le Follet*, and the *Ladies' Treasury*, but also, to a larger extent, across a range of mid-century periodicals such as the *London Journal*, *Chambers's*, the *Leisure Hour*, *Eliza Cook's Journal*, *Blackwood's*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, *Household Words*, *Sharpe's*, and the *Cornhill*. To give an indication of the range and extent of this poetry within mainstream publications, searching the *British Periodicals* online database for poems specifically featuring "emigration" or "emigrant" between the years 1840 and 1875 brings up a slightly disappointing but still significant 101 poems, of which, on closer analysis around half focus centrally on the theme. However, a further 965 poems come to light by searching under the more mood-appropriate keywords "wanderer" and "exile." While some of these prove to be irrelevant on further investigation, hundreds do specifically address the experience of emigration from Britain. Many other poems are about "settlers," the experience of life in specific colonies, or the gold rushes. This is to say nothing of the inordinate range of sentimental poems published about swallows during these decades, apparently providing the perfect metaphor through which to explore trajectories of migration and return, as in the case, for example, of *Chambers's* mournful "The Emigrants," which apparently conflates the fates of men with the birds it describes. Other poems about emigration such as E. Letherbrow's "Homesick" and A. L. B.'s "After Ten Years," both published in the *Cornhill*, feature none of the key search terms mentioned above, but have surfaced from my general reading. From even this cursory survey, then, it is possible to conclude that sentimental or affective poetry on the theme of

emigration was a well-established subgenre during the decades of Victorian mass settler emigration, and featured across a range of periodicals. Furthermore, if such poems do not appear in every issue of every journal, or even, subsequently, within every volume, it is interesting to speculate that they might have occurred at much the same rate that news of the emigration of acquaintances, friends, or relatives seeped into the general flow of readers' lives: entering into the fabric of everyday experience by persistent and reiterative increments.

It is, of course, not practicable to offer detailed readings of hundreds of poems, and I have therefore chosen to focus on a small sampling of those, in both the women's magazines and mainstream periodical press, which serve to give a representative impression of this significant settler emigration genre, while also leaving aside those many verses which tackle the historical experience more indirectly. Significantly, as for sentimental poetry more generally, there is a high proportion of female authorship even beyond the context of the women's magazines, including contributions from Mrs. S. C. Hall, Mrs. Alfred Munster, Mrs. Busby, Isabella Fyvie Mayo, Mrs. Mainwaring, Mrs. Crawford, Mary C. F. Monck, Eleanor F. Cobby, Harriet Nokes, Eliza Cook, Adelaide Anne Procter, Camilla Toumlin, Eliza Griffiths, Mrs. Gore, and 'Coralie.' Many other poems were published anonymously or under initials only, suggesting the strong possibility of female authorship in numerous cases. Where it has become subsequently possible to identify authorship via Lohrli's work on *Household Words*, the author of two out of the three poems I have studied has proved to be a woman.

Such poems were not only frequently written by women, but also often address emigration from a woman's point of view, either telling the story of the woman left behind by male emigrants, or of the female emigrant's own departure and subsequent experiences

overseas. In the first case, for example, “A Maiden’s Farewell to her Emigrant Lover,” published in *Pawsey’s Ladies’ Fashionable Repository*, begins on a generically typical note of painful farewell, as the young woman bids her lover goodbye: “How shall I say farewell to thee? / ... How shall I school my trembling lips / That fatal word to speak?”(Nokes 1, 5-6).⁸² Conversely, Marie J. Ewen’s “The Wanderer’s Return,” published in *Chambers’s* in 1855, focuses upon the joyful return of a male emigrant’s to his sister’s family home. Meanwhile, those poems which actually focus on the female emigrant often foreground the departure of an innocent girl or young woman, as in the case of one of the earliest poems I have found, T. W.’s “The Emigrant’s Bride” of 1839, which begins with the dramatic “She is going! / Gaze thy last on that sweet face, fond mother” (1-2), or the *Ladies’ Treasury’s* “The Emigrants” which follows its “poor exiles” down to the shore as they prepare to depart in a “melancholy band” (3, 27). This particular poem is accompanied by an illustration, reproduced in Fig. 11, which centralizes the role of the emigrant mother featured in the verse, who is positioned towards the foreground of a brooding shore side scene. Interestingly, the smaller range of emigration poems which are clearly attributed to male authors often also work with a central female subject position or focal character, as in the case of John Stuart Blackie’s “The Emigrant Lassie” or “The Emigrant’s Song to his Wife” by J. E. Carpenter Esq., and can therefore also be situated within the parameters of this predominantly “feminine genre.”

Those poems which focus on the former settler’s return are broadly positive in tone, as are verses which describe working-class emigrants escaping poverty, such as

⁸² The poem is listed as “date unknown” in *Nineteenth-Century UK Periodicals*, but appears in Harriet Nokes’s 1857 collected works *The Home Wreath*. I would therefore speculate that it dates from around the mid-1850s, and certainly from after 1837, when the *Ladies’ Repository* changed its title to incorporate *Pawsey’s*. All parenthetical references for poems quote line rather than page numbers, which are given in the Works Cited.

Fig. 11. "The Emigrants." *Ladies Treasury* February 1859. 19th Century UK

Periodicals. This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

W. H. Adams Davenport's "The Emigrant Girl" in the *London Journal*. More characteristically, however, and particularly as such verses feature within middle-class publications most invested in idealizations of domesticity, the mood is melancholy, often compounded by a simple ballad form and focus on departure. Furthermore, while many poems gain particular emotional impact from the experience of Irish or Highland emigrants

during the potato famine, including “The Emigrants” and “The Emigrant Lassie,” the mournful tone both predates and extends beyond the specifics of these historical tragedies to focus more broadly on a sense of ruptured attachment to feminine place, in keeping with the sentimental poem’s wider domestic affiliations.

“The Emigrant’s Bride,” for instance, thus sets the tone for many later poems by stressing the pain of breaking those “thousand links” of memory and emotional attachment which connect the bride to the “charities of home,” exchanging them for “stern exile o’er the ocean’s foam”—and a typically predictable rhyme (21-26). As noted above, the word ‘exile’ in fact resounds significantly throughout this genre’s lexicon, thus countering the general ascendancy of ideas of the ‘settler’ noted by Belich through his analysis of the *Times* digital archive (150-52). While many stories, journalistic profiles, and serialized novels about emigration also give ample voice to this sense of painful departure and separation from the mother-country, what often differentiates feminine sentimental poetry of this kind from the other emigration genres studied is exactly this frequent refusal to admit the possibility of settlement in either space or time—suggesting instead that there can be no real resolution across the “ocean’s foam.” Rather, new homes frequently pale in comparison with memories of the old, leaving exiled emigrants to die under strange skies or to drown in a nostalgia which is less reassuringly realized than in either the serialized settler novels analysed in chapter 3, or the emigration Christmas stories explored in chapter 2. Indeed, these recurring, short, non-serialized, poems might be viewed as constituting puncture points in the more cohesive spatio-temporal tissues woven by other settler emigration texts, through which unassimilated memory and feeling seeps. Any reassurance or pleasure they did provide contemporary readers was perhaps ultimately afforded by a combination of catharsis and that sense of formal, linguistic, and thematic generic

predictability which now unfortunately too often detracts from their power and impact for modern readers.

Sentimental emigration poems published in *Household Words* in the early 1850s, for instance, all focus on just such disruptive moments, thus departing from the journal's many pro-emigration pieces about successful settlement as well as its ultimately cohesive Christmas emigration stories. Procter's anonymously published "The Settlers," for instance, despite its title, speaks only of the impossibility of settlement for its "Two stranger youths in the Far West" (1). As the emigrants speak into the silence of the forest about their lovers back home, oblivious to the fact that one has proved unfaithful and the other died, the forest itself seems to refuse their attempts at place-making, remaining unresponsive and alien throughout:

But silent still was the ancient forest,
 Silent were the gloomy trees,
 He only heard the wailing sound
 Of the summer breeze,
 That sadly played around
 The acacia trees! (49-54)

A similar impression is conveyed by Frances George's "An Emigrant's Glance Homeward," also unsigned, which focuses on being "Far, far from those whose tender watchings bred me; / Far from the hedge-row haunts which pleased my / youth;" (1-2). While the poem ostensibly affirms the possibility of comfortingly transferring memories of home to new settlements, George's decision to repeat the first stanza as the poem's last

suggests that the “hedge-row haunts” themselves become problematically haunting, just like the plaintive keyword “far” with which the poem concludes (44).

“An Emigrant’s Glance,” along with poems such as “The Emigrant’s Bride” and many others, is also generically representative in gaining a particular emotional charge from the trope of motherhood, in this case referring to the lost mother’s voice “which may no more call me dear” (11). Many poems about emigration focus centrally on this theme, using it as a means of invoking a potent sense of ruptured domestic and emotional attachment. “The Emigrant Mother to Her Children,” for instance, published in *Sharpe’s* in 1850 by Mrs. Traill, focuses upon the mother’s mournful memories of her former home. Though spoken from her new Canadian settlement, the mother’s voice conjures up no comforting pictures of a happy logwood home, but only images of a lost irreplaceable place: the ghosts of daisies which once lifted “their starry eyes”; the memory of a “ ... sweet low violet ... / Unseen amid the grass.” (4-8) As in *Household Words*, the poem thus resists the possibility of nostalgic resolution to end on a note of refusal and despair:

But oh! that loved and blessed land
 Thy mother ne’er will see,
 Where the dark woods wave must be her grave,
 ‘Neath the lonely hemlock tree. (25-28)

Ultimately, the reader is left with an impression of loss which cannot be bridged by what Veracini has argued is settler colonialism’s characteristic investment in a “register of

sameness,” and of memory which cannot be constructively channeled or contained; except, perhaps, through the familiarizing comforts of predictable versification itself.⁸³

Beyond the parameters of poetry, a comparable strand of domestic anti-emigration literature which stresses the incommensurability of metropolitan and settler homes by claiming the preeminent authority of the former also surfaces in prose published within the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* and *Ladies' Treasury*. Though neither of these intrinsically domestic magazines covered settler emigration as a focal issue, they nevertheless demonstrate a consistent, if sometimes sideways, engagement with the topic during the 1850s, '60s, and '70s, perhaps not least, as their letters pages reveal, because it so evidently affected the lives of both their British and colonial readers. Amidst chatter about the advisability of emigrating to New Zealand, the use of Australian parrot feathers in fashionable hats, and the announcement of births, deaths, and marriages throughout the colonies, these magazines published a number of stories which invoke similar dynamics to those seen within sentimental emigration poems, working to resist the pull of emigration by revealing its incompatibility with models of feminine place. In keeping with the domestic profile of these periodicals in general, however, such texts are often invested in concepts of place as specifically manifested within the boundaries of the middle-class family home. At the most prosaic level, this is voiced in terms of emigration's tendency to tempt good servants from the household, thus leaving mistresses stranded and houses unkempt. *Ladies' Treasury* short story “Rosa's Certificate,” for instance, speaks of emigration as a “fever” which compels the eponymous servant to move to Philadelphia—a “‘nowhere’—where her

⁸³ Similar evocations of a powerful attachment to a lost home are also sounded in several poems published in the *New Monthly Magazine* in the 1850s and '60s, including Mrs. Alfred Munster's “The Emigrant Girl,” “The Orphan of the Wreck,” and Mary C. F. Monck's “The Emigrant's Thoughts.”

acquaintances were *not*” (42). Other stories and articles such as the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine’s* “Colonial Servants” and the *Ladies’ Treasury’s* two-part “Janet’s Experiences in Housekeeping” also stress the threat migration poses to the order of both domestic and colonial homes. In “Colonial Servants,” for instance, a slatternly emigrant servant is accused of having tendencies to steal her mistress’s ribbons, suck the juice out of oranges, and refuse to clean the pans—or, in short, to fail to acknowledge the importance of what the naïve housekeeper Janet eventually learns in the second part of her experiences: the necessity of having “*a place for everything ... and everything in its place*” (July 1865, 210).

This vein of domestic resistance is also expressed in several short stories which combine journalistic and fictional modes. If the women’s anti-emigration poetry is broadly speaking sentimental in tone, then these short stories are often tinged with its sister-mode, the sensational, demonstrating a dramatic interest in death, disorder, and domestic dissolution, and often laced with a good dose of gothic horror to boot. In “Died from Exhaustion: A True Tale of Melbourne Life,” for instance, the story begins with a snippet from a newspaper article about an unknown man found dead in Melbourne, asking: “Was it not strange and horrible? How did it come to happen, and whose fault was it?” (87) The story, told by a “returned colonist,” goes on to imagine the history of a hopeful, well-educated man and wife who emigrate to Australia with the intention to “settle” (87). Disadvantaged due to their lack of local connections, however, the couple drift into poverty, and are soon forced to live in “a room six feet by ten, up two flights of stairs, in a dark lane” (89). Eventually, the wife feels compelled to seek employment as a governess “up country,” thus succeeding in putting “miles of desolate bush country and days of silence” between herself and her husband, who consequently descends into the ranks of “hopeless,

broken-hearted wanderers” who swell the streets of Melbourne (88, 90). Significantly, the tale ends by shifting dramatically to the perspective of the wife, who is finally revealed as being the very same “returned colonist” who read the original newspaper cutting with which the story commenced: “The pretty sitting-room I was in when I took up the paper filled with a black darkness. For a moment I saw nothing, felt nothing, but a great sob within me that seemed as if it would tear my soul out from my body. Then before my mind arose those fields by the Yarra that look so lonely and forsaken ...” (90). The trajectory which permitted the lonely banks of the Yarra to threaten the sanctity of the “pretty sitting-room” is only partially mitigated by the implication that the colonist herself has since at least returned to England. Similar visions of dismantled homes and failed settlements flicker throughout the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, with contemporaneous stories “Over the Snowy Mountains” and “Three Australian Stories,” both serialized in 1870, also focusing on the threat which migration poses to domestic sanctity and order. In the first part of “Snowy Mountains,” for instance, the narrators stumble across the ruins of a Scottish settler’s hut in which a whole family suffocated when trapped by heavy snow. Driven mad by the sight of his dead wife and daughters, the surviving father is incarcerated in a prison, but escapes to complete the process of utter domestic dissolution by hanging himself from the rafters of his now “desolate home” (51).

The *Ladies’ Treasury* also occasionally published short stories of this kind, the most intriguing of which is “The Colonial Appointment: A Sketch from Real Life,” a remarkably frank piece about the perils of emigration from the woman’s point of view published in 1857. The story begins by attacking the current “monomania for emigration,” if not for the working classes, then for those middle-classes whose young men, it claims, are all too often duped by an “unsettled state of mind” into “seeking their abode in some far-off clime.”

Worse still, “the mischief is not limited to themselves, for once these youth-errants have decided on leaving their country” they succeed in enticing “many a fair girl” away from their “English home” and into a homesick future (310). The story illustrates its point through the case of Florence Gordon, an “accomplished, amiable, intelligent” orphan who is wooed and won by trainee lawyer Alfred Saville. The closure of marriage is soon complicated, however, by Alfred’s decision to forsake his prospects as a lawyer for a “minor colonial position” as a magistrate in an unnamed colony which appears to be somewhere in Australia. Though Florence tries to dissuade him, Alfred succeeds in persuading her to enter into the role of a generic settler’s wife, begging her not to “doom” him to “go forth *alone*,” and promising her a garden which she might “cultivate” (311). Soon after their wedding, Alfred produces “maps of the country to which they were bound, and even a plan of the town in which their locality was fixed,” thus co-opting Florence into his orderly vision of emigration, in which colonial space might be safely managed, and domestic settlement achieved (312).

Yet, as the cynical narrator remarks in a caustic aside, “anything looks well upon paper,” and the story subsequently works to dismantle the authority of Alfred’s master spatial models before reinstating the primary power of the metropolitan feminine household, as championed within the papery parameters of the *Ladies’ Treasury* itself. Upon arrival, the destination town of “D_____” proves to be still largely unbuilt: a placeless place, with “stragglng huts placed *anyhow*, without an attempt at order or regularity” along the “so-called street” (312). While Alfred demands, in a state of disbelief, to be driven to the town he has seen in the plan, Florence “comprehended in a moment the state of the affairs” and leads them to a better spot, though still one sadly incongruous with her husband’s original visions: “The river, which formed so noble a feature *in the map and the plan*, had dwindled

to a narrow stream, which crept sluggishly through the plain.” Though Florence does her best to “fix on the fittest spot whereon to pitch their tent or house,” the ironically italicized new “*locale*” is in fact a vast wilderness, which the generic sowing of European seeds in the settlers’ new garden can do little to redress: “in the extreme distance loomed mountains, whose indistinct outline mingled with the haze that floated around. Above her was a cloudless sky, which is far more pleasant in imagination than in reality” (312).

Things take a turn for the worst when Florence finds herself pregnant and unaided—their only servant having abandoned them at port, and Alfred working away. Somewhat indecorously for the *Ladies’ Treasury* Florence gives birth to a son alone “in the desolate wilderness,” recovering only to find herself obliged to go out and seek her missing husband, who is found wandering in a state of fever. Though the story ultimately portrays Florence in the heroine’s roles of indefatigable nurse, home-maker, and survivor, it ultimately refuses to cast her as the bush angel who was implicitly hovering in the background of Alfred’s “map and plan,” rather choosing to demonstrate the utter lack of commensurability between this settler colonial landscape and the primacy of metropolitan domestic place.⁸⁴ After Alfred wakes from his delirium, asking “Florence, darling Florence, where am I?”, he comes to the conclusion that he is in fact effectively nowhere, and must immediately “quit . . . the place which had so nearly proved fatal to him.” The strange tale fittingly concludes with the Savilles’ “delightful homeward voyage,” and future lives as “occupants of a pretty cottage residence,” in which memories of emigrant life pale to the insubstantial status of a “fearful dream” (313-15).

⁸⁴ For a related discussion of the role of “angels in the bush” within Victorian fictional treatments of emigration see Archibald 93.

Though supportive of the same gendered alliances between place and femininity which characterize dominant imaginative engagements with settler emigration, it can thus be argued that women's poetry and short fiction frequently utilized these models to quietly resistant affects. Rather than the comfort of settlement, or the easy order of "the map and the plan," stories like "The Colonial Appointment" and "Over the Snowy Mountains," along with the large range of sentimental emigration poetry discussed above, serve to question the possibility that mobility might be moderated, that settlement might be achieved, or that metropolitan domestic place might prove ultimately translatable to the colonies in any easy enactment of Veracini's "register of sameness." Such modes of engagement thus frequently serve to re-articulate gendered concepts of place to the woman's advantage—subtly remodeling the emigrant experience in the light of this feminized perspective.

Eliza Cook's Fertile Fields

Twists of this kind are also intriguingly apparent in *Eliza Cook's Journal*, a mid-century title which circulated at 50,000 to 60,000 in its first year of publication, 1849-50 (Altick 394).⁸⁵ Though not identifying as a woman's magazine, the fact that the journal contained a substantial range of articles aimed primarily at women, not least large quantities of sentimental verse by poet-editor Cook and others, has led to scholarly disputes about the extent to which it was primarily aimed at middle-class women as opposed to artisans of

⁸⁵ I have had access to most of the journal's 1849-54 print run, via the following privately purchased volumes: 1-8, covering the period from October 1849 to April 1853, and vol. 11, covering April to October 1854.

both genders.⁸⁶ Most fruitfully for my purposes, Johanna M. Smith has drawn upon both lines of argument to show how the journal utilizes modes of at least “double address,” writing for and to both “working-class autodidacts and their bourgeois employers,” and working-class as well as middle-class women (51-55). Across the wide range of texts it published on emigration, the journal thus provides a fascinating window onto settler emigration from the woman’s point of view as it intersected with different class positions and political trajectories; drawing upon both the middle-class, domestic, sentimental lineages explored above, as well as more radical artisan affiliations in order to open up fertile new vistas in the spatial imagination within which the power of ordinary women might be realized.

A brief look at the type of emigration poetry *Eliza Cook’s Journal* published serves as a useful way into this web of intriguing cross-alliances, and an apt means of beginning to explore how the title engaged with emigration more generally. Such an approach is particularly apposite in the case of this title owing to the key role poetry played. Not only did the journal conclude every issue with one or more full pages of poems, including pages of Cook’s own reissued verses from November 1850, but other articles also often frequently reflected upon the role of poetry in relation to the journal’s defining spirit and brand. In her inaugural “A Word to my Readers,” for instance, Cook makes a direct link between her earliest poetic endeavors and the mission of the new journal: “My young bosom throbbed with rapture, for my feelings had met with responsive echoes from honest

⁸⁶ Sally Mitchell has argued that the readership of the journal was mostly “mature single women,” while Fraser et al stress that its affordable one and a half pence price attracted an artisanal readership which was not as “rigidly” divided by gender (Mitchell 28; Fraser 95). To add just one small piece to the puzzle, the volumes I have worked from are inscribed in flowing fountain pen by a Miss Sykes. She leaves no real evidence as to the journal’s original readership, but only a trail of pressed leaves and notes; making her a typically elusive but intriguing periodical reader.

and genuine Humanity, and the glory of heaven seemed partially revealed, when I discovered that I held power over the affections of earth. The same spirit which prompted my first attempts will mark my present one.” This foundational faith in the power of feminine, embodied feeling ensured that the journal occasionally published poems, including Nokes’s “A Mother’s Farewell to her Emigrant Daughter” and Cook’s own “On Seeing Some Agricultural Emigrants Depart,” which seem to dwell on the emotional impact of emigrant leave-taking after much the same fashion outlined above. The latter, for example, focuses on the pain of parting from a feminized perspective, foregrounding not only the viewpoint of the feminine narrative persona—all of Cook’s poems are signed—but also the impact of separating “For ever from a mother” and one’s native land and home (40 *sic*). “A Mother’s Farewell,” meanwhile, gains double emotional impact by combining the pain of a female emigrant’s forthcoming separation from home with that of her mother’s sense of loss as she recounts her daughter’s infancy. Both verses are also broadly in keeping with the tone and thematic range of many other sentimental poems published within the journal, such as Cook’s own autobiographical “I Miss thee, my Mother!”, in which motherhood, home, and memory form a near-sacred alliance of attachments which cannot be ruptured.⁸⁷

Despite these sentimental domestic alliances, however, both poems ultimately come out in favour of emigration. By the final stanza of “A Mother’s Farewell,” the mother owns that “These words are wild: thou must depart” (29), while “On Seeing” unequivocally states: “You are right to seek a far-off earth,— / You are right to broadly strive” (5-6). Here, as more generally in the journal, the trauma of leave-taking is offset by an awareness that the

⁸⁷ See Ledbetter, especially 4-5, 47-52, and 110-113, for accounts of Cook’s poetry and poetic philosophy which inform this chapter throughout.

working-class emigrant has in fact been denied his right to belong to the land in the first place: “And you’ll never forget the harvest sheaves, / Though the wheat was not for you” (15-16). A fortnight prior to Cook’s poem, William Duthie’s “Whether and Whither” states the case even more frankly:

Whether, with toil-drops sodden,
 In reeking dens to burrow like the slave,—

 Or, in a stalwart vessel
 To follow the track of mighty seas. (1-2, 9-10).

Needless to say, the poem urges the reader to go “Whither—across the waters,” to where “New Zealand blossoms like a charmed land” or “golden grains lie bedded” in Australia’s “sullen sand” (46, 38-41). Despite the journal’s feminine domestic affiliations, in fact, it is this same pro-emigration note which strikes the dominant chord across the range of emigration poems published, several of which breezily focus on the joys rather than sorrows of setting forth, including Lucinda Elliott’s June 1852 “The Emigrant Ship” and William Duthie’s November 1852 poem of the same title. Even Albert J. Mott’s “The Gold Finders” drowns out its moral message about finding gold in “human hearts alone” with the rallying cry of “Go, thirsty souls!” (115-19). Overall, in fact, the journal is far more positive about both the California and Victoria gold rushes than other contemporaneous family-orientated journals such as *Household Words* and *Chambers’s*.

The specific character of the journal’s pro-emigration stance can be best understood by restoring these emigration poems to their position alongside the range of other verses

published. For instance, in addition to the feminized sentimental domestic poetry outlined above, the journal also printed a range of poems which link sentimental visions of home to emerging dreams of empire. Cook's own "England" makes this connection very clear. Not only does the poetic persona state that "My soul is linked right tenderly to every shady copse," but it makes a leap from this sense of affective connection to endorse England's rightful dominion over the world: "I gaze upon our open port, where Commerce mounts her throne, / Where every flag that comes ere now has lowered to our own" (5-6). Poems by other authors such as Henry Frank Lott's "What Shall Our Nation's Anthem Be?" also frequently add a racial dimension to the belief in English supremacy by reflecting on the natural character and leadership capacities of the "Saxon." As Ledbetter notes, these poems are very much in keeping with a journal which was as much "unselfconsciously nationalistic and imperialistic" as domestic (112-13), and which thus frequently attests to the overlaps between settler emigration ideologies and those more expansionist, racialized discourses which intensified after 1880. Interestingly, as her initial "Word to My Readers" suggests, there also seems to be something of an imperial impulse in the very scale and emotional intensity of Cook's desire to "hold power over the affections of the earth" through both poetry and journal.

Cook's own self-reflexive writing on poetry also points towards another important poetic strand in the journal, however, when she writes of "People Who Do Not Like Poetry" that "they know not that it is poetic instinct which prompts a Washington to free his country, and calls the tear of repentance in to the felon's eye, as he wakes from a dream of green fields and his mother" (40). As well as the sentimental images of the mother and weeping felon, the nod towards American republicanism foregrounds Cook's personal interest in concepts of political liberty, as well as a particular commitment to working

people's God-given rights to the land—in this case the image of “green fields” which surface in the labourer's dreams. As Solveig C. Robinson has argued, many of Cook's poems work to validate the labourer's spiritual and moral ownership of the soil, in keeping with Chartist poems which stress that “reconnecting with the land—either literally or imaginatively—is the first step in self-emancipation” (“Of ‘Haymakers’” 236). For instance, in Cook's “They All Belong to Me” the title refrain is repeated in each verse as the labourer reflects upon a kind of ownership which transcends title deeds:

While there's beauty none can barter
By the greensward and the tree;
Claim who will, by seal and charter,
Yet ‘they all belong to me.’ (33-36)

These three poetical and political trajectories—the sentimental affiliation with the domestic and feminine, the burgeoning interest in ideas of empire as an extension of domesticity, and the often radical interest in labour and land—not only inform how we should read the journal's emigration poetry, but how the journal sets about imagining settler emigration more generally. If the imaginative patterns and spatial models which arise from this powerful patchwork of affiliations are not the same models of domestic resistance explored above, then neither are they always directly akin to the more androcentric vision of settlement evident in the serialized novels, or within the radical visions of utopian emigration which I explore in chapter 5. Instead, across its range, *Cook's Journal* provides ample ground for the merging of all of these influences in new combinations, enthusiastically re-imagined from a feminized point of view.

From its very inception, *Cook's Journal* signals that it intends to engage with the topic of emigration for working women as well as men. Thus, in “The Swarming of the Bees,” published in the journal’s second issue and designed to “introduce the subject to our readers,” the author writes:

emigration to Australia opens an avenue for the relief of the toiling classes of women ... We know there is a delicacy which hinders female emigration; but it is a matter for serious consideration whether this ought not to be struggled with and overcome, when the objects to be contended for are so laudable—honourable industry, useful employment, competence, and independence. (18)

The article opens the gates, as promised, for dozens of articles, works of fiction, and poems focused on the emigration of working people to a wide range of destinations, including, to name but a selection, “New Zealand,” “Auckland, in New Zealand,” “The Far West,” “Natal,” “From Liverpool to New York” (by “A Steerage Passenger”), “The Otago Colony,” and “The Australian California.” Like “The Swarming of the Bees” many of these pieces make a point of discussing female emigration, while others, like “Young Women in the Colonies” address the topic exclusively and even provocatively: “Emigration heretofore has been too one-sided. It has been held up as a means by which young *men* might get on in the world, and lay the foundations of good fortune” (241). From “The Swarming of the Bees” onwards, then, the journal not only published articles which directly addressed women’s emigration, but which also invited its significant female readership into the full range of articles written about emigration in general.

Looking more closely at these critically neglected pieces, it thus becomes interesting to note that they open up some of the most unqualifiedly enthusiastic visions of emigration I have come across. Rather than focusing on the act of settlement, *Cook's Journal* repeatedly imagines emigration in terms of open spaces, mobility, and becoming, sometimes combined with an interest in America which is underrepresented in less radical periodicals. "The Far West," for instance, in lead position within the issue like many articles of its kind, is typical in presenting the reader with visions of superlative expansiveness. Following the path of a pioneer settler, the article not only romanticizes the American internal migrant, sympathetically portraying those "unsettled settlers" of the "roving class" who push ever westwards, but also extends its vision of romantic mobility—encapsulated in the very "undulating waves" of the rolling prairies themselves—to "the famishing millions" back home, who are urged to go west too (402-03). It is in these new "boundless prairies," in fact, that the dispossessed British labourer, might, like the American migrant, become "lord of all he surveys," and able at last to enact the kind of spirited connection with the land which Cook endorses in poems such as "They All Belong to Me" (401). In keeping with this republican slant, the journal also published the four-part serial "A Battle for Life and Death," the story of a poacher's wrongful disinheritance from home and land: attachments deemed "stronger by far than the tyrannous laws inflicted by man." Though accused of "seditious and revolutionary language" and transported to Sydney, the story works to affect his escape and return to England, where he succeeds in outwitting the police by tying them up in poaching nets before emigrating with his family to America (17 January 1852: 185). Here, at last, he finds a place where "the tillers of the soil are its owners too, and the land is open to tens of thousands more, would they but come" (24 January: 195). Like "Far West," the article suggests new possibilities of

command for the formerly disempowered, enabled through a romantic colonization of superabundantly fertile soil: “The earth seems to call out, ‘Till me, put the seed into me, and the harvest will be great.’” (24 January: 195).

Such visions of space, mobility, fertility, and the reversal of power relations consolidated through settler emigration were not, however, limited to radical visions of America. Published between 1849 and 1854 as it was, the journal printed many more articles on Australia, as well as several on New Zealand. In “The Emigrant in Port Philip,” for instance, the same vision of open fertile space abounds: “there is a fertile land of almost boundless capabilities of supporting life, waiting for his occupation” (193). “The City of the Antipodes,” meanwhile, extends this spirit beyond the parameters of the Arcadian, reveling in the flow of movement which brings settlers to Sydney, in which “new buildings are rising up ‘like an exhalation,’ and new settlers are flowing into the colony with such rapidity, that in little more than twenty years, its population may be more than double” (202). Primarily enthusiastic about movement and the potentiality of open space rather than settled place, such visions are nevertheless characterized by extremely nationalistic overtones, configured less predominantly through visions of domesticity than via images of the emigrant’s expansionist racial destiny. Thus in “Natal,” for instance, the article begins: “It seems to be the destiny of Britain to colonize—to plant nations—to Saxonize the world. No people, either in ancient or modern times, has thrown out so large a number of healthy shoots, containing in them the germs of so much life, and energy ...” (80). Along with many of the journal’s emigration articles, including “The Far West,” “The Australian California,” “New Zealand,” and “The Otago Colony,” “Natal” consolidates this sense of colonial empowerment by utilizing the trope of the view from above, in which the formerly disempowered emigrant is afforded a high vantage point which permits him to symbolically

master the open spaces that surround him: “Such a combination of the majestic and sublime, of wood and water, hill and dale, is rarely to be met with ... a scene on which the eye feasts with delight” (82).⁸⁸

To some extent it is possible to argue that the journal’s female readers are invited into the range of these empowering new perspectives only indirectly, effectively gaining access to what Sara Mills has termed a “seemingly masculine sublime position” by virtue of the re-negotiated power structures which characterize colonial contexts (134). Some emigration articles, such as “City of the Antipodes,” do explicitly address the reader in the masculine, referring to the “youth” who must “make a home for himself in this world,” and admitting women, if at all, solely on the grounds of a supposed shared racial superiority: “... there are fertile lands beckoning you to ‘come over’ ... These are the inheritance of your race—They belong to man; to whoever tills and subdues them” (200-01). However, while this notion of indirect admittance is in itself of interest, and certainly chimes intriguingly with the fact that Cook often assumed a masculine persona through cross-dressing, the fact that women readers are not generally marginalized in this way points towards alternative interpretations (Robinson, “Eliza Cook”). Indeed, as I have noted above, most articles do not exclusively gender the emigrant as male, and often do address the subject of female emigration directly. “Natal,” for instance, reflects on the fact that: “There is already a great demand for active young women as servants; those who have landed in the colony have immediately been engaged, at wages of from £20 to £30 per annum; and the demand is not supplied” (83). Despite the “delicacy which hinders female emigration” observed in “The Swarming of the Bees,” there is also notably no suggestion here, and very

⁸⁸ See Pratt 136 for an account of the importance of sight and the “panoramic view” in nineteenth-century travel narratives about Africa which informs this reading.

little within the journal as a whole, that female mobility might be morally dangerous, or that being “active” is anything other than beneficial and natural. As one of the journal’s numerous articles on female employment, “The Vocations of Women,” puts it: “Nothing is more energetic and more vigorous than a woman” (61). Furthermore, most of the journal’s emigration articles are flanked by others which, like this one, seem directly aimed at female readers. To follow through the example of “Natal,” for instance, the very next article is Anna Maria Sargeant’s romantic short story “Aunt Jessy,” about a maiden aunt’s unexpected marriage, while both also share issue space with Cook’s “England.” By extension, then, even those articles which do code emigration as predominantly male are situated within the context of a journal which more consistently acknowledged the presence of female readers.

Far from just admitting women into androcentric perspectives on emigration—the range of the eye which roams and “feasts”—it seems evident that the journal’s strong acknowledgement of female readerships and women’s issues actively colours and shapes what it sees. Despite its endorsement of a proto-imperialistic racialized expansionism, the journal is nevertheless very much against modes of colonization which are viewed as aggressive, militaristic, and androcentric.⁸⁹ In “Life in India,” for instance, the apparatuses of empire are exposed as cruel and unjust, a dangerously masculine affair concerning “our ambitious young men.” The article shows prescient anxiety about the treatment of the Sepoys, deploring the fact that the “attitude of the British in India is that of conquerors,” and lamenting the impression left on the land: “Wherever we have gone, devastation and desolation have marked our track. Provinces once tilled and fertile have become desolate,

⁸⁹ Several well-aired debates about differences between men’s and women’s experiences of empire and colonization inform this analysis. See Mills 125-6, McClintock 1-18, 35-36, and 352-9, and David 1-26.

and abandoned to beasts of prey. Villages have been deserted, towns depopulated ...” (369). Instead, as a similar article suggests, it is the duty of the “English race” to “civilize as well as colonize the world,” and to do so via the feminine qualities of “systematic culture and superior moral discipline” (“Education in the Colonies and in India” 124). Similarly, Cook’s own poems about indigenous Americans, “Song of the Red Man” and “Song of the Red Indian,” show a comparable anxiety about the violence of a masculinized mode of colonialism which is akin to penetration, focusing upon the plight of an indigenous girl who falls victim to the white man’s wiles in the case of the former, and feminizing the indigenous man in both instances.

It is significantly against this model of penetration and denigration that the journal pitches its own dominant conceptual model: a form of fertile *planting* in which the processes of emigration and settlement are coded as dynamically feminine and maternal rather than either aggressively masculine or meekly domesticated after the more conventional function of female settlers. Thus repeatedly in these texts, as in “Natal,” the feminine is coded not only as the “long strip of fertile country” that constitutes the land, but also, and doubly, as the dynamic European civilizing force which plants these “thriving colonies of the Mother Country” (“Natal” 81-83). Such articles thus chime not only with the journal’s residual interest in working-class empowerment through ownership of the land, but also with the conflicted proto-feminist elements of articles like “The Vocation of Woman,” which remain invested in traditional alliances between woman and home while also seeking to extend the sphere of “energetic and vigorous” women by pointedly asking: “what fields lie open to them?” (60). In articles such as “Natal” the answer to this variously reiterated question is literalized with recourse to the fertile fields of the colonies, in which

female readers are invited to trample the boundaries of the generic settler wife's garden to find vast new spaces for female engagement.

These dynamics are particularly apparent in Eliza Meteyard's novella-length "Lucy Dean: The Noble Needlewoman," serialized from March to April 1850 under her pseudonym "Silverpen." The narrative follows a Cornish seamstress's penurious London life and subsequent emigration to Australia, thus drawing upon contemporary concerns about the distressed needlewoman highlighted by Henry Mayhew's *Morning Chronicle* series and Sidney Herbert's Fund for Promoting Female Emigration, which targeted women of this class in the early 1850s (Sally Mitchell 29; MacDonald 8). After going to sell her beloved songbird to raise much-needed funds, Lucy is advised by the kindly shop owner to consider emigration, and later hears similar advice being read out of a "cheap weekly paper" in the workrooms of her unscrupulous Jewish employers. Lucy's luck changes when she meets the author, Mary Austen: a young middle-class philanthropist who is committed to promoting the emigration of chaste, domesticated women who "will as a moral certainty, become wives, if not mothers" (23 March: 329). Under "the pure and blessed influence of this noble woman," Lucy emigrates to the mines of Southern Australia with her sister's illegitimate child. Here she is soon not only employed as a housekeeper but also able to "introduce something like order into the little settlement" by overseeing the building of dormitories, before marrying her former employer and becoming a mother (13 April: 377-78). She is eventually joined by her fallen sister Nelly and Mary herself, who also both marry.

Drawing upon the stock characters of the needlewoman and fallen woman who are redeemed by becoming colonial wives, domestic settlers, and mothers, the story admittedly draws upon a very conventional set of ideas about female emigration at this time, and also

prefigures predominantly later debates about roles for “redundant” women following census returns which revealed an apparent surplus of women to men. So too does the story draw upon conventional Arcadian dreams about the prospects of Australia as a settlement for the urban poor, foregrounding Lucy’s liberation from the city via the portal of Mary’s “quaint old cottage” on the outskirts, near which the “fields lay far and wide” (23 March: 329). The first installment is in fact flanked by an extremely favourable review of *The Caxtons*, which hails the novel as a “great work” (“Notices of New Works” 317). More broadly, Catherine Gallagher argues that the story can also be read as a “domestic didactic tale,” typical of a range of contemporaneous fictions about seamstresses which worked to contain and resolve latent class conflicts by focusing on de-politicized private relationships (137, 137-44).

While arising from this conservative set of reference points, however, the story ultimately imagines women’s emigration in surprisingly empowering terms, and is substantially more radical than might initially be apparent. Most obviously, unlike *The Caxtons*, it centres a female character’s point of view, and, furthermore, that of a working woman who emigrates to a mining district rather than the Arcadian bush.⁹⁰ Rather than meekly following an aristocratic Pisistratus, Lucy is presented as a “heroic-souled” woman with a “strong, self-reliant heart,” and, like the prospective emigrants of “The Swarming of the Bees” she is never less than industrious, competent, and independent. Her engagement with settler emigration is thus one of active personal empowerment rather than passive feminine acquiescence. As in the articles which flank the novella, Meteyard affords Lucy the privilege of the view from above from the start, when the vista from her attic window

⁹⁰ Written before the Victoria gold rush commenced, the story generally references copper, but also presciently predicts other “vast mineral resources, which will yet make Australia ... a wonder amongst nations” (6 April: 362).

foreshadows the sublime, empowering perspective that emigration will afford: “through the gully of a narrow street, the Thames, off Lambeth, could be seen; and now on this, the broad light of the splendid wintry moon ... showed clearly upon the surface a little boat or skiff ... urged by one rower up against the tide” (16 March: 313). In order to realize this vision, Lucy takes guidance from the equally heroic Mary, a character who reads like a cross between Chisholm and Cook—that is, if Cook’s readers had wrapped her emigration articles in “silver paper” as Mary’s reverential male admirers do, or bowed to her “genius” for linking “soul to soul” with quite their breathless enthusiasm (30 March: 341).

If women are the active agents in this story, accruing an enormous amount of power in the process, then this trope is fully realized through the concept of colonial motherhood. It is through motherhood that the working woman might concretize her ownership of the land, stake her claim, and realize the powerful vistas that opened up before Lucy’s attic window. As Lucy holds her sister’s child, the narrator observes that “a Raphael would have seen within their earnest, bending faces, new graces for a New Maternity ... the sign of woman’s great prerogative, as Mother of the World” (23 March: 331). In keeping with the journal’s interest in supposed Saxon racial superiority, the term has what might retrospectively be viewed as strong and unsavoury eugenic connotations, also compounded by Meteyard’s deeply anti-semitic portrayal of Lucy’s former employers. Within the story’s own terms, however, such a form of maternity is presented as being significantly dynamic and empowering, enabling working women access to the full range of new colonial horizons. In order to fulfill her destiny as a “Mother of the World,” for instance, Lucy crosses the ocean fearlessly, enjoying one of *Cook’s Journal’s* unproblematic and exhilarating female voyages: “A happy and prosperous voyage was made, with fair winds and flowing sails.” With her, Lucy carries the story’s two chief motifs of expansive settler

fertility, birds and flowers, in the form of the chicks of the bird she originally sold and the baby niece, or “little flower,” which she has agreed to “plant . . . in new soil” (6 April: 361-62).

Both sets of imagery come to fruition in Australia, as Lucy raises Nelly’s child and the birds flourish into a “little golden family chirping and singing in the gladness of the sun . . .” (13 April: 378). This vision of settler emigration as feminine, powerful, and expansive is finally realized for Lucy too when she is afforded another view from above which immediately precedes the marriage proposal of her employer in the valley at dawn: “gaining the summit of a lovely acclivity looking towards the limitless plains, she sat down upon the fragrant turf, which, enriched by the opening glory of the early sun, was tinged with softest, yet with glorious light” (20 April: 394) Though it is marriage followed by motherhood which consolidates Lucy’s claim to these “limitless plains” and her stake in the colony—as it also does for another thirty women emigrants who are simultaneously married on a feast day of Biblically fertile proportions—she remains powerful and independent to the last, forestalling marriage until she has visited England to further the cause of female emigration. Before she is ready to return, Lucy has rescued Mary from encroaching poverty, been reunited with her estranged sister, and obtained funds for a settlement programme for pauper, working-class, and middle-class women. The story’s ongoing preoccupations with female empowerment, sisterhood, and cooperation all strikingly coalesce in its concluding image of Lucy and Mary. In this final dramatic moment, it appears that sisterhood ultimately trumps even the bonds of marriage, and that Wakefield’s remark that “it is of little importance what colonial fathers are in comparison with what colonial mothers are”—one of the story’s epigraphs—has been taken to somewhat radical conclusions:

one evening, sitting hand in hand on the broad sands, against which swept the mighty ocean, their infants couched upon one shawl beside them, the spiritual faith of both seemed to have a voice and say, -- Flow on thou mighty ocean, and tell the myriad oceans of myriad worlds, that what is boundless in them, what is deep, or what is pure, has prototype and likeness in the SOUL OF WOMAN! (20 April: 395).

In view of this, Smith has made a plausible case that the story, like others in the journal, might in fact afford a “lesbian narrative space,” focused around “moments of romantic, even passionate, friendship” which may have chimed with Cook’s own ambiguous sexuality (60).

Whether or not this is substantially the case, it seems evident that the emphasis upon sisterhood as well as motherhood confirms a proto-feminist slant which is apparent in both this novella and the journal as a whole. Indeed, Meteyard, like Cook, was not only interested in labour reforms, but also in questions of women’s social and economic position, serving for instance, as Fred Hunter notes, as a member of Douglas Jerrold’s radical Whittington Club from 1846, in which men and women discussed social issues on equal terms. As women of their generation, however, both Elizas, separated by only four years in age, were ultimately attracted to what Martha Vicinus has termed a “moderate” and emergent form of feminism which was content to “work within the traditional definitions of women’s duties”—seeking to expand domestic models to incorporate a wider range of influence rather than to substantially question the validity of separate spheres altogether (“Independent Women” 15). The vision of settler emigration which opens up in Meteyard’s

story, as within the journal as a whole, is thus radical and conservative in equal parts: invested in traditional models of home, place, and motherhood even as it extends towards new imaginative horizons. The extent to which these boundaries could be pushed was to be explored via a more sustained feminist engagement with settler emigration from the late 1850s, which I shall now examine.⁹¹

“Openings without Limit”

The good ship in the river lay
 On the day that we went down;
 Just on the skirt of that grey cloud
 Which hovers o'er the town (1-4).

So begins the *English Woman's Journal's* only emigration poem, “The Voyage of the John Duncan from Gravesend to Dunedin,” written by founding editor Bessie Rayner Parkes in 1863 to mark the safe arrival of her colleague Maria Rye in New Zealand. As well as being a prolific journalist associated with the feminist Langham Place group, Rye was the committed secretary of the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society, and had set forth on a voyage to New Zealand with one hundred of the women emigrants whose passages she had organized. Like many poems published in *Eliza Cook's Journal* on a similar theme, Parkes's verse nods towards the sentimental pain of parting while being ultimately celebratory, casting Rye in the role of a brave “pilgrim” going forth to “distant pastures” (7,

⁹¹ Interestingly, Brake and Demoor note that Meteyard also became an occasional, although apparently anonymous, contributor to the *English Woman's Journal* at a later point in her career (“Meteyard, Eliza (1816-1879),” 410).

14). Despite the fact that domestic servants substantially outnumbered the eight governesses who accompanied her, Rye was less interested in finding fertile fields for working-class emigrants than in using her tour of New Zealand to investigate options for single middle-class women, and with an eye to their prospective employment rather than marriage and motherhood. I wish to use the trajectory of Rye's involvement with both feminist journals and domestic women's magazines during the late 1850s and early 1860s as a means of foregrounding a broader moment of overlap in the histories of settler emigration and liberal feminism.⁹² During this moment, emigration became intriguingly implicated in the imagining of spaces beyond the confines of the middle-class home, and in new conceptualizations of feminine mobility and identity which appropriated contemporary ideas about women's redundancy to emancipatory effects. Following what Parkes later termed Miss Rye's "adventurous path" through the periodicals thus opens up a route into understanding a mode of imaginative engagement with emigration from the woman's point of view which often radically diverges from the mainstream ("Last News of the Emigrants" 183). Accordingly, while Rye's practical schemes only ever helped a few hundred middle-class women to emigrate in reality, she helped to initiate a mode of engagement with settler emigration which had a much broader imaginative reach; inviting thousands of female middle-class readers to entertain, however unrealistically, the prospect of colonial lives in which "the openings are almost without a limit" ("Stray Letters on the Emigration Question," December 1861: 241).

In exploring the relationship between feminism and female emigration, the general scholarly tendency has been to stress the "stark contrast" between radical proponents of

⁹² Details of Rye's life, above and throughout, reference Diamond's *Emigration and Empire* as well as Charlotte MacDonald, particularly 26-51. For references to Parkes's poem, see Diamond 94.

women's rights and those promoters of female emigration, who, like William Rathbone Greg in his famous anonymously published 1862 article "Why Are Women Redundant?", were interested in solving the apparent contemporary problem of female 'redundancy' by transforming 'surplus' women into portable and commodified wives and mothers for the colonies (Kranidis 29). In "Feminism and Female Emigration," however, A. James Hammerton usefully conceptualizes the relationship between his two subjects as "uneasy" rather than oppositional, exploring significant links between the emerging feminist movements of the late '50s and the work of the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society (70). Likewise, in his earlier book-length study *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, Hammerton foregrounds the liberating potential of female emigration by incorporating a study of the feminist writer Mary Taylor, who in emigrating to New Zealand discovered that "much greater scope for women's ambitions and enterprise could exist in the colonies than in Britain"; themes also explored by Myers in her work on letters written by Rye's emigrant women (Hammerton 71-91; Myers, "Performing the Voyage Out" 81). Given the strong associations between Rye, the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society, and the *English Woman's Journal*, as well as Taylor's extensive contributions to the *Victoria Magazine*, it is however surprising that very little attention has been paid to the content of the periodicals themselves in this respect, particularly as they formed one of the primary outlets for, and access points to, feminist thought of the time.⁹³

⁹³ One notable exception is Clare Midgley's chapter on "Feminism, Colonial Emigration, and the New Model Englishwoman" in *Feminism and Empire*. Here, Midgley focuses on the *English Woman's Journal's* interest in "promoting new employment opportunities for women through the imperial project," including Rye's promotion of emigration. My approach largely accords with Midgley's, but emphasizes the journal's engagement with a specific mode of settler emigration, and focuses more comprehensively on its links to domestic women's magazines and other feminist titles (131, 121-46). While I also comply with Midgley's recognition of the journal's investment in concepts of racial superiority,

As Marian Diamond has noted, however, it was in fact the rather more conventional *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* which launched Rye's journalistic career and brought her to the attention of the Langham Place group. Part of her significance thus lies in the extent to which she succeeded in "bridging the gap between the Langham Place group and the generality of less committed women" (Diamond, "Maria Rye" 36; Midgley 128-29). While her writings for the *Queen* were anonymous and untraceable, those for the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, for which she continued to write until 1863, were mainly published under "M. S. R." and run prolifically and intriguingly alongside a range of more orthodox pieces from the mid-1850s.

Diamond's extensive work on Rye has brought to light a range of her contributions to the domestic magazines, including "The Domestic History of England," a book-length social history of England which was serialized between 1861 and 1863 and frequently stressed women's contributions ("Maria Rye" 8-10). An equally interesting but critically underexplored earlier serialization, however, was "The Englishwoman in London," an overview of obscured or hidden spaces of the city which can perhaps be read as the spatial correlative of "The Domestic History's" feminization of time, and which certainly serves as a useful starting point for exploring how women's emigration intersected with an emerging feminist spatial imagination. Serialized between April 1859 and March 1860, the series often takes shape by positioning its imposing and occasionally insulting roving female narrator as a kind of tour guide in charge of more naïve middle-class women readers. In the July 1859 installment "Those Who Never Go Out of Town," for instance, the implied readers are fleshed out as country-girl caricatures "Lucy Meadows" and "Amelia Stony,"

these aspects of Rye's writing on emigration seem less central than the engagements with class explored below.

whom the narrator asks to “condescend, for once, to go round with us while we thread our way through the slums” (117-18). In the previous installment, meanwhile, the reader is taken on a tour of “The South Kensington Museum,” “within whose far-stretching galleries, corridors, and ateliers” Rye uncovers a haven for female art students (70). Just as the museum’s collections “came together simply because space was provided for their reception,” Rye also implies that the Kensington training-school was realized in direct response to space being made available for its students, concluding by observing: “that ten years ago they were—where? And the echo answers, Where?” (70, 72). Straight after this haunting “where” comes a little filler about how to make cowslip vinegar, followed by serializations such the *Cranford*-esque “Aunt Margaret and I,” and monthly regulars “The Fashions and Practical Dress Instructor” and “The Work-Table”—in this instance dedicated to patterns for a hand-screen:

This being an article of ornament admitted into the most elegant drawing-rooms, will, we feel sure, be acceptable to many of our subscribers ... The shape of the flowers must next be cut out in white velvet and laid on to the crimson circle, being slightly tacked down at the edge in their proper places ... (Roche 94).

Situated as such, the more searching and disruptive tone of “The Englishwoman” often runs in intriguing counterpoint to the overall textures of the journal, which, in the same spirit as this hand-screen design, regulated women’s relationships to time and space according to more prescriptive domestic patterns.

As I have noted, it is within the context of the “Englishwoman’s” focuses upon alternative spaces beyond the “elegant drawing room,” freedom of movement, and re-conceptualizations of feminine “work” that Rye’s interest in female emigration begins to take recognizable shape. In the August installment, subtitled “Working Hours, for Working Women,” for instance, Rye writes that along with the opening out of new professions and trades to women, emigration has been “most wonderfully overlooked” as an alternative to “lamentable over-hours, underpayment, and their consequent evils,” and demonstrates her case by incorporating the success story of a woman who found employment for herself and six children by emigrating to New Zealand (141-42). While the article broadly supports the idea that “the wife’s first place and duty is at home” (142), and focuses on working rather than middle-class women, its conceptualization of women’s work is already notably diverging from that found in other articles in the same issue, including the latest “Cookery, Pickling, and Preserving” column and “The Work-Table” pattern for a tea-urn stand. The next installment, “Women and Workhouses,” meanwhile, returns to the same theme, asking: “What time and what money, we should like to know, would it take to provide by emigration for all the young girls now in all the unions in England? Here we have Canada, Australia, New Zealand, stretching out their hands and crying out for us to help them ...” (178).

If, on the one hand, the “Englishwoman in London” seems to highlight the conservatism of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* as a whole, then, conversely, its very presence also attests to what I have indicated was its capacity to sustain more radical voices as well. Indeed, while the magazine was often resistant to emigration, as argued above, it was also simultaneously open to alternative perspectives, which portray emigration more positively in relation to concepts of freedom, mobility, and active

employment. In the early 1870s, for example, one thread of discussion in correspondence pages “The Englishwoman’s *Conversazione*” ran between a prospective emigrant and an enthusiastic New Zealand settler, A. M., who writes of walking and riding for miles, claiming that “it would be utterly impossible to be tight-laced and do work” (296). Similar variations are also apparent within the *Ladies’ Treasury*, whose 1862 story “Self-Helpfulness is True Heroism,” for instance, focuses upon a widow woman’s successful foundation of a colonial school which thrives through her “intense activity” (82).

Nevertheless, it was within the pages of the *English Woman’s Journal* that a more overtly and consistently feminist engagement with specifically middle-class female emigration began to shape, and to which I now wish to turn in more detail before returning to my focus on Rye. Emerging at a time when, as Vicinus notes, “the whole of England was ringing with the achievements of Florence Nightingale,” and many middle-class women seemed to be “looking further abroad than teaching in the local church school,” the shilling journal founded by Nightingale’s illegitimate and unacknowledged cousin Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and her friend Parkes was a trailblazer for middle-class liberal feminism, championing married women’s property rights, female employment, and education through a host of politically engaged articles, as well as poetry, reviews, notices, and letters (Vicinus, “Independent Women” 11; Lacey 3). Despite its small circulation—peaking at 1000 plus 250 back-copies in January 1860—the periodical was nevertheless, as Parkes observed, “an enormous Power,” which “threaded separate parts of the movement . . . together,” and acted as the communications hub for related political organizations such as the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (SPEW), and, informally, the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society, which became a separate organization in 1862 (Parkes to Mary Merryweather

1857, qtd. in Diamond, *Emigration* 35). Furthermore, even though it folded in 1863, the journal's ethos carried through into two more vigorous descendants: the *English Woman's Review*, edited by *English Woman's Journal* contributor and SPEW president Jessie Boucherett, and the *Victoria Magazine*, edited by former *English Woman's Journal* journalist Emily Faithfull and circulating at what Ellegård estimates as a far more respectable 20,000 in 1865 (Rendall 137; Ellegård 18). As Pauline A. Nestor argues, the *English Woman's Journal* not only "launched the women's movement on the stormy sea of print" but also provided it with a substantially continuous voice from 1858 to 1880 (11). It was thus via the medium of these journals that women readers, in increasing numbers, were able to gain access to emerging feminist viewpoints by subtle increments, as Parkes astutely observed: "It is not this or that number of a magazine, this or that article from a given pen, which does the work; it is partly the effect of repetition—line upon line—and partly the knowledge that there is in the world a distinct embodiment of certain principles."⁹⁴

Significantly, the *English Woman's Journal* was also actively linked to the foundation of new institutional, social, and economic spaces for women beyond the boundaries of the middle-class home. Based initially at Princes Street, London, and subsequently at Langham Place, the journal's offices themselves became an informal drop-in centre for like-minded women and those seeking employment. In June 1859, the offices also became host to what was billed in the journal's "Advertiser" supplement as a "Ladies' Reading Room," in which, for one guinea per annum, subscribers enjoyed "commodious" surroundings and a range of periodicals, including *Blackwood's*, the *National Review*, the

⁹⁴ From Parkes's "The Uses of a Special Periodical," printed in the original but ultimately short-lived *English Woman's Journal* successor the *Alexandra Magazine and Englishwoman's Journal* (258). For more on the *English Woman's Journal*'s publication history, see Rendall 112-38, from which subsequent details are drawn unless otherwise indicated.

Westminster Review, *Household Words*, *Chambers's*, and *Punch*. Meanwhile, from 1860 the journal was strongly associated with several new establishments for female employment, including a bookkeeping school started by Boucherett, the female staffed Victoria Press launched by Faithfull which went on to print both the *English Woman's Journal* and *Victoria Magazine*, and an all-female law stationer's office run by Rye herself (Diamond, *Emigration* 8, 46).

Not surprisingly, the journal itself demonstrated a similar sense of questing for alternative outlets for feminine work, community, and intellectual engagement, resulting in an intriguing reworking of the conventional gendering of concepts of place, space, and mobility. In the anonymous 1858 leader "Domestic Life," for instance, the author makes it clear, apparently in response to a reader's letter, that the journal is expressly focused on matters which lie beyond traditional domestic confines: "this periodical was chiefly instituted to discuss those very difficult problems which are *extra* to the household" (75). Furthermore, the journal also consistently reworks conventional associations between femininity and stasis, masculinity and movement. Thus in "The Disputed Question," which argues for women's rights to work outside the home, the anonymous author stresses that: "The progress of women, so often declared to be a Utopian idea, must change places with the popular idea of their everlasting stationariness" (362). This position, reiterated throughout the journal, was clearly founded upon the Langham Place group's investment in what Jane Rendall and others have noted was a distinctly liberal brand of feminism, characterized by the desire to extend middle-class philosophies of progress, liberty, and market freedoms more usually associated with men to women (Rendall 131-32)⁹⁵

⁹⁵ It is also important to note that both the Langham Place group and *English Woman's Journal* were characterized by a significant degree of variance as well as consistency. As

Given the journal's reworking of conventional spatial frameworks, in which the barriers of feminine place are dismantled and opened outwards and concepts of mobility break free from gendered associations with the masculine, it is perhaps not surprising that it demonstrates a marked receptivity to the promise of emigration for middle-class women from the outset. Thus in the lead article in issue one, "The Profession of the Teacher," for instance, the writer applauds in verse "the adventurous *she* / Who in the first bark dared the unknown sea" by seeking alternative outlets for work, and asks: "To what ends then must we hope to see the intelligent female labour of this Anglo-Saxon race directed, and how is the current to be turned into new channels?" (10-11). While not addressing emigration directly, this article paves the way for the journal's many subsequent engagements with the topic. Indeed, emigration for single middle-class women, in apparently rather neatly answering the question posed above, touched the chords of many of the issues which engaged the journal most deeply: issues of female redundancy, employment, economic empowerment, and social class; quests for new spaces beyond the limits of the home, and for visions of femininity which incorporate mobility and the right to self-determination.

Following these early interceptions, as well as one more orthodox engagement with the idea of "Emigration as a Preventative Agency" against working-class crime and prostitution by Isa Craig in January 1859, the journal began to address the issue of emigration for respectable middle-class single women more centrally from 1860. This shift appears to have been galvanized by both the activities of Rye, who was increasingly interested in emigration for middle-class rather than working women, and a broader

Rendall notes, Parkes differed from many of her colleagues in being increasingly against married women working outside the home, while Boucherett diverged from Rye and Parkes's stance on female emigration in seeking to promote male emigration as a means of opening up opportunities for female labour at home (124).

impetus to transform the employment prospects of the “redundant” middle-class spinster: a close cousin of the older but still very much extant distressed needlewoman, and amongst whose numbers both Rye and her predominately unmarried colleagues at Langham Place could certainly be counted. Accordingly, between 1860 and 1863, and at a time when such concerns were at their peak following the census returns of 1861, the journal published a spate of articles which addressed the topic directly, as well as many shorter notices and interjections in the regular “Open Council” and “Passing Events” pages. If Greg used debates about female emigration triggered by the crisis of redundancy as a means of ultimately reaffirming women’s connections to place and home, then, as might be expected in line with its generally divergent modes of spatial imagining, the *English Woman’s Journal* did something different.

Of the articles published during this period, at least five were authored, edited, or co-authored by Rye, of which the second, the first installment of “On Assisted Emigration” in June 1860, proved a framework for subsequent pieces, and now makes a useful starting point for analysis. The article begins by lamenting the fact that assisted passages offered by the colonies were aimed exclusively at the working classes, thus rendering middle-class women the “one exception, excluded from seeking a fresh field wherein to exercise its energies and support life.” Against this, Rye proposed the formation of a society which would focus on enabling “educated women of limited incomes” to emigrate, also arguing for access to the same loan systems available to working-class emigrants bound for Canterbury, New Zealand (235). In seeking admission to what she termed these “fertile plains,” however, Rye makes a significant departure from the stance of *Cook’s Journal* by refusing to envision female emigration primarily in terms of marriage or domesticated settlement (240). While such an approach is deemed appropriate for domestic servants—

whose presence might well serve to “make the hut of the solitary shepherd ... blossom like the rose” and “the wilderness ... become a pleasant place”(236)—the very suggestion of sending “educated” women out as prospective wives is dismissed abruptly:

What then would we propose? To ship a cart-load of educated and polished women, of wives in fact, for the gentlemen of Sydney and Victoria? By no means, but we would assist to the colonies, to the same extent that household servants have been assisted, such women as those who have been accustomed to serve in light businesses and the few who form the daily increasing class of ladies who are not ignorant of or ashamed to join in the household management and duties pertaining to large families (236).

In making this shift of emphasis from domestically orientated settlement to a kind of permanent labour migration for middle-class women, Rye thus performs some interesting and sometimes contradictory class and gender manoeuvres: appropriating the lower-class woman’s right to work—and interestingly re-visioning the home as a site of labour rather than leisure in the process—but also, more fundamentally, extending a more masculinized liberal vision of freedom of movement to middle-class women.⁹⁶ Rye’s lady emigrants would not function as commodified future wives, but as freely circulating agents of their own mobility, able, as she puts it, to “carry their labor to the best and readiest, because the least supplied, market” (237). In an extension of the ethos of “The

⁹⁶ For a related analysis of the relationship between social class and spinster emigration see Kranidis 30-31. My argument is also informed by MacDonald’s distinction between female settler and labour migration in New Zealand, as well as her claims about the primacy of the latter in the 1860s (15-16).

Englishwoman in London,” the emigration of middle-class women as envisioned by Rye and her colleagues in fact primarily focused upon finding active new spaces for women’s energies and employment beyond the boundaries of the home. It is not incidental that the keyword “openings” was often used in this context to imply both new spatial freedoms, and opportunities for work. Thus the overriding image in this article is not of the “household management” fleetingly referenced, but of women setting out to “work their way up the bush” to establish schools, or offer medical support: “There in the open country they might remain settling and establishing way-side schools ... passing from house to house, they might act as accoucheurs to those who from distance and circumstances might require doctor and nurse combined” (237). Visions of static domestic place are in fact markedly contrasted with those of self-directed mobility and active engagement, as in the case of women “skilled in cutting out and contriving” whom Rye suggests might forsake the “houses of our country gentry” for something far more independent in New South Wales or New Zealand, “with everything around fresh, bright, and abundant” (237).

The frequent references to New Zealand are also indicative of a broader interest, realized by Rye’s own decision to travel there, which is worthy of further attention. As broadly concurrent discussions in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* also indicate, New Zealand exercised a certain hold over the imagination when it came to engagements with female emigration, and in particular with emigration for middle-class women. Given the radical outlook of the Langham Place group, it is at least possible that Rye was attracted by something of the imaginative promise of being at “the furthest frontier of the British Empire” in a colony which was often used as “metaphor for distance,” or associated in art and literature with a questioning and anterior perspective (Dalziel 573). As Rye’s own comments in “Assisted Emigration” indicate, however, the truth was probably less romantic:

“If we were asked to which colony such a class of women might be sent most advantageously, we should most unhesitatingly answer New Zealand, because it is a class station; there the preponderating proportion of the people is an educated proportion; order, and an established church, and collegiate schools are there ...” (238). As Rye’s remarks suggest, then, New Zealand played an important role in visions of middle-class women’s emigration because it was associated with both a requisite level of gentility, and a related femininity which saw it frequently promoted as a suitable colony for women. Having been settled in accordance with Wakefield’s theories of “systematic colonization,” as well as the activities of the Church of England and Free Church of Scotland at Canterbury and Otago, it seemed respectable, orderly, and Christianized, and was, before the 1861 Otago gold rush at least, tainted by none of the associations with convicts and gold diggers which marred Australia (Harper 79).

For all its commitment to utilizing emigration as a means of re-visioning women’s prospects, this interest in New Zealand points towards the fact that there were substantial class limits to the journal’s horizons. In so far as it did occasionally publish articles about working-class women’s emigration, it proved fairly conventional. Thus L. N’s “Our Emigrant,” a story which traces the progress of one Anne. S., who came to the journal’s attention via the Society for Needlewomen, portrays Anne as less the agent of her own liberal mobility than the victim of foolish commodity urges: a good but silly girl apt to fritter away earnings on fashionable petticoats. The journal is also dismissive of the promise of the goldfields, stating for instance in one 1862 article that the middle-class woman would find herself “quite out of place” on the diggings of Victoria and New South Wales, which are dominated by coarse men “herding together in mere cabins” (“Middle-Class Female Emigration Impartially Considered” 77). On class grounds at least, then, the

journal proves less radical than *Eliza Cook's Journal*, envisaging less empowerment through emigration for Anne S. than Meteyard does for Lucy Dean, and often imagining pauper women's prospects in line with fairly conventionally gendered spatial dynamics: "the girl is adapted by nature for a home," "On the Education of Pauper Girls" states, while the boy "loves to roam" (323). The inconvenient truth with which Rye and her supporters had to creatively contend, as Charlotte MacDonald notes, was that it was in fact domestic servants of marriageable age whom New Zealand really required and were prepared to financially assist in the 1860s (192). Though the successful female middle-class emigrant as accomplished governess or businesswoman certainly did exist, therefore, she was, in fact, more a figment of the imagination than a colonial reality.

Nevertheless, and even to the extent of denial, the journal continued to foreground its interests in specifically middle-class women's settler emigration during the early 1860s, and to replicate the same patterns of imaginative engagement established in "Assisted Emigration." The unsigned article "Middle-Class Female Emigration," for instance, also operates by blurring class distinctions to the middle-class woman's advantage, stressing that it is *working* middle-class women who are wanted, but retaining middle-class liberal privileges of freedom of movement: "We want self-reliant useful women. Those who will quickly find out their work and learn to do it ... But we want at the same time refined and educated women ..." (74). Repeatedly, it is suggested that such women are not to be viewed as commodities, wives, or prospective home-makers, but as the independent agents of their own freely circulating labour: "To send out women for whom there is no certain occupation, would truly be 'mere transportation under the name of benevolence,' for it would be to put them up to sale, to make marriage a necessity to them ..." (77). Tapping into burgeoning debates about redundancy like most of the journal's articles on emigration

“Middle-Class Female Emigration” in fact directly intersects with Greg, dubbed an “able writer in the *National Review*,” but resists his marital and domestic focus, instead entertaining the possibility of female emigrant physicians, composers, clerks, shop workers, and printers (73). Likewise, in the similar “Emigration for Educated Women,” which mainly comprises an article by “a lady long resident in New South Wales,” the emphasis is less on homemaking than on work opportunities for women as teachers and governesses, as well as on the foundation of new female institutions in the form of “first-rate” schools which might operate as “head-quarters” for women educators (3-4, 9).

Visions of such alternative spaces for middle-class women’s work and energies are also frequently accompanied by positive images of travel and movement, as throughout the two-part “Stray Letters on the Emigration Question,” compiled by Rye and Parkes. Thus in part two, one woman writes of a voyage, which, while dangerous and at times unruly, was also immensely liberating:

Sometimes the slanting rays of the sun shining through the light spray caused beautiful rainbows to dance along between the waves. In fair weather, I have spent hours almost daily in looking at it; when it was too rough to stand or sit, I tied myself by a strong rope ... I have often been the only person on deck except the sailors, and have caught several waves as they dashed over. I could not stay down stairs. I enjoyed the voyage exceedingly (April 1862: 114).

These images of open horizons are underscored by an equally breezy certainty of finding openings for employment upon arrival: “I believe I shall have no difficulty in getting a

good situation as soon as I decide to take one” (115). While the journal was frequently alert to the moral dangers of movement for some, exploring, for instance the need for “*a most extreme caution* in forming intimacies with other passengers” in “Emigration for Educated Women” (8), it is ultimately confident in the capacity of mature middle-class women to control their own mobility, transforming the potential moral chaos of the journey into a more streamlined vision of self-directed labour migration—not least via the endeavours of superior “Emigrant-Ship Matrons” proposed by Rye in her article of that title. Another “Stray Letter” focuses on the joys of cantering across wide open spaces in Natal, while Rye’s own speech on “Female Middle-Class Emigration,” given to the Association for the Promotion of Social Science in June 1862 and published by the *English Woman’s Journal* in September, utilizes very similar images of governesses “scampering across the plains on horseback with their young charges and companions, or busily engaged in some out-of-door cheerful occupation ...” (24-25)

Even after Rye left for New Zealand the journal continued to trace her progress keenly, enabling the reader to follow her “adventurous path” across the ocean and beyond. Thus in “The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies” Parkes writes: “While these lines are being read, may those who read them remember that even now the John Duncan is steadily ploughing her way over the deep waters towards the other side of the earth, and breathe a prayer for the safety and success of the little band of emigrants ...” (264). Having followed the voyage imaginatively, the reader is led to acknowledge Rye’s safe arrival through Parkes’s poem, and to keep up with her progress in articles such as “The Last News of the Emigrants,” which reprinted the first of a number of letters Rye wrote to the *Times*. Though Rye’s own journalistic career ended in 1863, a wide range of periodicals in both England and New Zealand continued to comment on her endeavors and publish her letters. During

the 1860s and '70s, in fact, as Diamond notes, Rye became something of a household name, lauded by the *Times* in October 1869 as “the most successful of the priestesses of emigration” (*Emigration*, 210, xiv).

More to my purpose here, however, is the fact that the particular mode of liberal feminist imaginative engagement with women’s settler emigration which Rye helped initiate continued into the next generation of the feminist press. If this was not substantially the case within the *English Woman’s Review*, given the views of Boucherett noted above, then it was markedly so within the *Victoria Magazine*. In the first instance, the journal continued to follow Rye’s path almost obsessively, with many issues peppered with references to her work.⁹⁷ In July 1866, for instance, the journal published notice of Rye’s return from Australia, while in August 1866 it noted that she was due to send out one hundred working women to Australia. This positive engagement with Rye’s work continued throughout the 1870s, even as it shifted exclusively to the less radical, though notably still labour-focused, interest in emigration schemes for pauper girls, particularly in Canada, for which Rye is now controversially remembered. Alongside references to Rye, the magazine also continued to sustain the more radical visions of emigration and colonial space as an outlet for women’s work, mobility, and liberal freedoms developed in the *English Woman’s Journal*, albeit now less exclusively focused on the middle classes. Issue one, for instance, published Meredith Townsend’s “The Career of the Englishwoman in India,” “Social Life in America,” and notice of the formation of The National Colonial Emigration Society, including a cross-reference to Rye’s work for the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society (“Social Science” 91). Other articles and works of fiction turn the focus

⁹⁷ I have been able to access vols. 1-23 (1863 to 1876) at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

to Australia—including Lucy Anna Edgar’s serialized novel *Among the Black Boys*, the now deeply unpalatable story of one family’s attempt to ‘civilize’ aboriginal boys as told by the daughter—as well as more informational pieces such as “The Employment of Women in Australia.” More broadly, the magazine’s editor Emily Faithfull was deeply interested in America as a space for the realization of women’s political, economic, and social freedoms, publishing a series of “Letters from America” which include accounts of her tour of exciting new feminine institutions such as Vassar College, in April 1873.

Perhaps most notably, however, the magazine was also able to realize something of the *English Woman’s Journal’s* most treasured hopes for female middle-class emigration through the writings of one of its leading contributors, the returnee New Zealand emigrant Mary Taylor. Taylor, a childhood friend of Charlotte Brontë, had been a pioneering emigrant to Wellington in 1846, and as the owner of a successful dry goods store had first-hand experience of forsaking the limits of middle-class domestic place for the exhilarating independence, liberal freedoms, and self-directed employment which Rye and her colleagues had subsequently envisioned for so many others. After Taylor’s return to England in 1865, a decision apparently inspired only by her desire to become part of a literary community, her experiences seem to have acted as imaginative fuel for a series of powerful feminist essays focused on woman’s economic situation which were first published in *Victoria Magazine* between 1865 and 1870, and subsequently reprinted as “The First Duty of Woman” in 1870.⁹⁸

These essays, and other articles published by Taylor in *Victoria* until 1876, serve as an interesting coda to this chapter, if not in so far as they extensively address the topic of

⁹⁸ Details of Taylor’s life are drawn from Janet Horowitz Murray, Joan Stevens, and Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen* 71-91.

female emigration—which, disappointingly, they do not—then because they are consistently characterized by a radical re-visioning of gendered spatial patterns enabled by what one article terms “breadth of view” (“What Am I to Do?” 219). It is from this new vantage point, informed by the experience of emigrant mobility and colonial freedoms, that Taylor is apparently able to shape her wider thinking, repeatedly questioning the idea of a woman’s “natural place” (224), and utilizing a spatialized vocabulary which stresses the need to move beyond “limits,” “conventions,” or “boundaries,” to find new “horizons,” “loopholes,” or “outlets.” Thus, in “Feminine Work,” an article on the “useless employment” of needlework, Taylor writes about the need to break through those “narrow limits” which dictate concepts of women’s work, and treats Dickens’s famously lampooned female colonial philanthropists in *Bleak House* to a substantially more sympathetic appraisal: “Through this loophole they have crept out of prison, and though they move in fetters yet they move ... We all know Mrs. Pardiggle and Mrs. Jellaby, but few who have not borne it know the pain, of the pressure from within that forces natural activity into such distorted motion” (408, 413, *sic* 411).

Repeatedly Taylor’s writings also share issue space with articles on emigration or the promise of America, signaling a rich, multi-layered awareness of the possibility of alternative spaces which informs the journal’s broader endorsement of freedoms for women. Thus, for example, the September 1872 issue publishes Taylor’s “Plain Sewing,” a critique of the over-emphasis on sewing in girls’ education which serves to reinforce that “narrow circle which fences women round” (393). Against this, Taylor asks: “Could they not learn geography? It would at least give them an idea that other countries are in the world besides their own ... The truth might lie dormant in their minds for years, but in some cases it might leaven the hopeless inertia” (388). The same issue also publishes notice of Faithfull’s

forthcoming departure to New York and a favorable report of Rye's "Emigration Home for Destitute Little Girls." Indeed, the journal often admits these various strands of engagement into each issue, utilizing the prospect of female emigration and new colonial horizons to galvanize its broader vision of liberal feminist freedoms.

As I have shown, debates about female emigration from the late 1850s onwards significantly intersected with emergent feminist thought. Writers such as Rye and Taylor are remarkable in having actually chosen to test these horizons for themselves, and to represent their experiences in writing. My focus on Rye, however, also points towards a broader mode of imaginative engagement which took shape within the feminist press and, to a lesser extent, domestic women's magazines also. During the 1860s in particular, such periodicals often intersect with debates about redundancy and settler domesticity in order to transform them, dismantling traditional concepts of what constitutes a woman's place in the world in order to build new feminist spatial frameworks for middle-class women, in which female emigration was significantly implicated.

5

Radical Rewrites

In this chapter, I will continue to examine alternative imaginings of settler emigration which differ to the mainstream by picking up on a working-class radical trajectory which we have already begun to see in *Eliza Cook's Journal*. This focus seems particularly apposite at this point in the development of the emerging field of nineteenth-century settler emigration studies. As I have previously noted, recent years has seen the publication of several significant works on settler emigration which foreground the importance of middle-class liberal engagements and suggest the dominance of domesticity as its *modus operandi* in related literature. I have traced a comparable trajectory through my own exploration of emigration genres in the mainstream press in chapters 1, 2, and 3. In turning to the nineteenth-century working-class *radical* press, then, I wish to acknowledge an overlooked but also significantly popular counter-current which ran against the mainstream, and imagined and modeled emigration very differently. As I shall show, this is a literature which works within the framework of both dominant periodical spatio-temporal models and specific settler genres in order to distort and transform them, giving rise to visions of emigration which are characteristically caught between impulses towards abject refusal and uneasy utopianism, and which consistently gravitate towards America rather than the British colonies.

Exploring the radical press means turning towards a range of more overtly political and topical periodicals which are usually classified as newspapers, but which in fact printed a whole range of literary and discursive forms as well as 'the news,' and little in the way of what we might now term straight reportage. As this is a huge field in itself, I will focus on

three key weekly titles: the *Poor Man's Guardian* (1831-35), the leading illegal unstamped periodical of the 1830s, which circulated at an estimated 15,000; the *Northern Star* (1837-52), the most significant and widely read of the Chartist newspapers, circulating at 43,000 at its 1839 peak, and *Reynolds's Miscellany* (1846-69), a magazine aimed at working and lower middle-class readers which, according to Brake and Demoor, achieved huge peak circulation figures of as high as 300,000 in 1855 ("Reynolds's Miscellany," 539-40).⁹⁹ Though variously associated with reform agitation, trade unionism, Chartism, and a populist dilution of this legacy in the case of the more commercial and relatively conservative *Reynolds*, these three titles nevertheless afford the scope to trace an evolving but also significantly continuous radical trajectory across the period of my study. Indeed, the titles are literally linked through the individuals involved in producing them: James 'Bronterre' O'Brien, the Editor of the *Poor Man's Guardian*, went on to contribute to the *Northern Star* and to become a leading Chartist activist, while Reynolds was a significant player in the Chartist revival of 1848 who was frequently written of approvingly in the *Northern Star* (Haywood, *Revolution* 174-76). As H. Gustav Klaus notes, terms such as working-class, radical, and even socialist, share a "co-habitation" which is less "a matter of confusion than an indication of the ambivalent and multi-layered character of much of the material itself" (1). Like Haywood in his important work *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics and the People, 1790-1860*, I also use the term 'radical' as a slightly unsatisfactory catch-all term to denote both a wide range of political positions which were all fundamentally concerned with establishing a more equitable distribution of

⁹⁹ It is also important to note that circulation figures for the *Northern Star* and *Poor Man's Guardian* are not a sound indication of extent of audience, due to the fact that such journals were typically read collectively in public spaces. See Brake and Demoor's entries on both periodicals for further details (459-60; 500-01). Circulation figures also cite this source.

power or wealth to benefit the working classes and an associated print culture which ran outside but significantly alongside the liberal mainstream throughout the period of my study. To turn to the radical press, in fact, is to turn to the inverse and equal of the liberal press: a precisely contemporaneous mirror world complete with its own alternative models of diffusion and influence and its own subtly differential periodical temporality and spatiality. Within this mirror world, one finds not only intriguing re-imaginings of settler emigration genres, as I shall show, but also new modes of representation and emergent actualization.

Counter-Currents and the Literature of Refusal

In chapter 1, I argued that mainstream periodicals were foundationally preoccupied with channeling emigrant mobility into safe ideological currents associated with circulation, liberty, and progress, in accordance with wider projects of diffusion. And yet, as I also noted, these same mainstream journals were also profoundly aware of radical counter-currents running closely alongside their own, and of the perceived need to pitch their own models of moderated mobility and responsible influence against those of chaos, revolution, and derangement associated with the radical and unstamped press. This section of the chapter will explore how this sense of proximity ran both ways. With respect to the radical press's engagements with settler emigration, I shall show how this results in a particular mode of rewriting which self-consciously reworks, adapts, and revises dominant genres and spatio-temporal models to represent emigration in an overridingly unfavorable light.

To trace this current securely, it makes sense to return to the early 1830s, where this thesis began. For, at the very point at which the *Penny* was establishing itself as the prime

font of useful knowledge and diffusion, the unstamped press was taking a parallel stance in the *Poor Man's Guardian*, the most popular of the illegal newspapers which flouted the Newspaper Stamp Duties Act. Indeed, as Haywood notes, though politically at odds with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the unstamped press was equally preoccupied with “responding to the acknowledged link between print popularity and ideological influence,” shared a similar interest in exerting social control over mass readerships, and can arguably be viewed as having “pioneered the mass-circulation periodical” in place of the SDUK publications which have historically been credited with having done so (*Revolution*, 118-19).

Thus, for instance, in the May 1832 article “To the Women of England,” author M. A. B. acknowledges archly that she writes from the heart of “the rabble, the mob, and the populace” which the liberal press found so alarming, while also outlining an alternative model of textual influence by calling upon readers to persuade others of their acquaintance to study the *Poor Man's Guardian*, William Cobbett's *History of the Reformation*, and the writings of Thomas Paine—all of which, she argues, “contain more useful knowledge than half the books that were ever printed.” Similarly, “A Last Warning on the Accursed Reform Bill” (14 April 1832) writes against the “seductive language and barefaced villainy of the *fourth estate*, that is the *stamped newspaper press*” (358), while “Character of the Stamped Press” (20 June 1835) rails against the *Times* and calls upon *Poor Man's Guardian* readers to give “every possible aid in the diffusion” of a series of political pamphlets which countered arguments against stamp duty repeal (569). Intriguingly, each one of these diverse but representative articles—primarily about trade unionism, political reform, and stamp duty respectively—engages emigration as a key issue and linchpin of its argument, establishing just that connection between projects of diffusion and influence and a

preoccupation with moderating emigrant mobility which I have made in chapter 1. For instance, “A Last Warning” notes the extent to which the stamped press is preoccupied with preaching “*that you are too numerous—that you must emigrate—that you must leave the land of your birth*” (358). Likewise, “To the Women of England” rails against “starvation, emigration, transportation, and the most ignominious of deaths, depopulating the land,” while “Character of the Stamped Press” condemns those behind the stamped press as a “confederacy of villains” who are “exhorting the poor of England, who they could not get rid of by emigration” to fight in unnecessary wars (568-69).

Several useful points can be drawn from this representative cluster of self-reflexive articles. In the first instance, they point towards the simple fact that emigration was a key concern for the radical press—a powerful, emotional, and central issue which was embedded in many topical debates, and which runs through my three indicative periodicals almost as extensively as it does through the mainstream press from the early 1830s onwards, even if it is sometimes dismissively referenced rather than more extensively explored. To read these titles is to read about emigration reiteratively across a whole host of articles, news reports, poetry, and works of fiction. Furthermore, and to an even greater extent, to engage with this field is to experience a real sense of the historical liveness and porosity of the periodical as a medium for both registering and informing real emigrant experience, due to the unusually large quantity of readers’ contributions which such titles relied upon and the heightened sense of topical engagement which characterizes their tone and stance. Thus, even as early as 1832, the *Poor Man’s Guardian* was publishing advertisements for emigration pamphlets such as “Rare News for Labourers, or England and America Contrasted.” Likewise, the *Northern Star* floats most weeks upon a significant pool of emigration advertisements, while *Reynolds* publishes a fascinating range of replies to a

large number of ‘Intending’ and ‘Would-be’ emigrants with an apparently insatiable appetite for emigration advice—“such as we cannot possibly devote adequate space to”—in its weekly “Notices to Correspondents” (9 September 1848).

Secondly, and as the *Poor Man’s Guardian* articles also serve to illustrate, it is equally evident that the radical press channels this capacity for extensive engagement with emigration into a predominantly *anti*-emigration editorial stance which attempts to exert influence in equal but opposite degree and proportion to the mainstream press. Writing from the very heart of the supposed “rabble,” “mob,” or “populace,” the radical press is ultimately less concerned with exercising its own influence against forces of unruly motion, than in writing against the idea of coerced movement or forced removal as perceived from the point of view of the poor. As such, the *Poor Man’s Guardian* typically and primarily conflates free emigration with transportation, not least because transportation was literally the punishment faced by trade unionists and printers of illegal newspapers during the 1830s, including several of its own contributors: “As to Emigration,” writes one contributor in 1835 with reference to pauper emigration advocate and MP George Poulett Scrope, “the bare thought sickens. What Mr. Scrope calls emigration, we call *transportation*; and as to the fit parties to be transported, we are wide asunder as the Poles” (“Friends and Fellow-Country Men” 647).¹⁰⁰ This basic stance of resistance to emigration can in fact be traced consistently from the mid-1830s, when the *Poor Man’s Guardian* was reporting on the transportation of the Tolpuddle martyrs, through to the era of Chartism, when many radicals became political exiles in America, and into the predominantly post-Chartist

¹⁰⁰ For more on Scrope’s pro-emigration views, see his 1832 pamphlet *Extracts of Letters from Poor People Who Emigrated Last Year to Canada and the United States*, which argues that emigration is a “sure and easy relief to redundancy” and makes a case for Canada over the United States (Scrope iv). See also Martin Rudwick’s *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry.

territory of *Reynolds*, which, in June 1848, was still arguing that “we do not *recommend* emigration, which we look upon as nothing more nor less than voluntary transportation” (“Emigration”). This politically informed anti-emigration stance is itself worth attention, particularly as it is sometimes overlooked by an emerging critical debate which primarily stresses the popularity of predominantly pro-emigration liberal domestic settler literature. Perhaps most significantly for the argument which follows, however, is the way in which these articles also point towards a certain *angle* of engagement with emigration, which stems out of the larger sense of operating within a print tradition which is both analogous to the mainstream and significantly outside of its parameters. It is in fact this method of working from the outside in, of deliberately running alongside but counter to mainstream models, which produces the special and characteristic quality of popular radical anti-emigration literature as it appeared across these three widely read periodicals.

In the first instance this operates at the level of a self-reflexive and parodic rewriting of key elements of mainstream emigration genres, in keeping with what Haywood has noted is the more general tendency of radical literature to operate through “assimilating polite cultural forms into its own popular traditions” (*Revolution* 145).¹⁰¹ Indeed, Haywood has led the way in arguing for an inherent quality of self-awareness and intertextuality

¹⁰¹ Regenia Gagnier’s study of working-class autobiographical writing in *Subjectivities: A History of Self-Representation in Britain, 1832-1920* has demonstrated that this characteristic mode of active engagement with dominant narratives is also a feature of working-class textual forms beyond the parameters of either radical writing or the periodical press. Though focused on the latter, this chapter is informed by Gagnier’s recognition of the diverse ways in which working-class writing operates through modes of interaction with “master narratives” which are as much characterized by “participation” in dominant forms and tropes as by differential “antagonism” (6). More broadly, the term “alternative participatory articulations” which Gagnier uses to describe working-class engagements with “middle-class narratives of self” could be applied to both the radical settler emigration texts explored in this chapter, and those resistant feminized engagements studied in chapter 4; both of which, I have suggested, are characterized by an active engagement with dominant liberal formations even when most resistant to them (54).

within Chartist fiction, characteristics which have subsequently been explored by Rob Breton and Gregory Vargo in their readings of the *Poor Man's Guardian* and the short fiction of Thomas Cooper respectively. Furthermore, each of these critics has also intriguingly suggested that radical periodicals not only demonstrate this mode of self-conscious assimilation through the texts which they incorporate, but also enact it through their divergence from the expected spatio-temporal rhythms of the appropriated bourgeois periodical form itself. Rather than primarily working with the steadying capacities of serial pace, or even the commercial rhythms of sensation, for instance, Haywood has argued that writers such as Reynolds pioneered a form of highly porous and “interruptible” seriality which was particularly “permeable to politics,” while also suggesting in a later article that periodicals enabled radicals to appropriate “chronological time” for a new form of historicism characterized by what Walter Benjamin has termed “the presence of the now,” and the “mobilization of history” as a “source of identity, hope and continuity” (*Revolution*, 176; “Encountering History,” 70). This radical vision of history is focused upon the transformative possibility of the moment in moving towards a revolutionary future, and thus differs significantly from liberal concepts of history as essentially evolutionary and gradualist. Breton, meanwhile, has argued that the *Poor Man's Guardian* is characterized by a form of “rapid response” journalism which reacts to ongoing political events with a sense of urgency that frequently erupted into calls for violence (25). Likewise, instead of modeling spatial order in conjunction with domesticity, the radical periodical becomes what Haywood has termed “a dynamic circuit of exchange between speech and writing, action and reportage” which reflects the practices of collective public reading rather than bourgeois hearthside circles (*Revolution* 180). If we add to these differential temporal and spatial dynamics the alternative modeling of mobility already noted—that sense, as the

author of “To the Women of England” puts it, of modeling alternative concepts of diffusion from the very heart of the perceived “mob”—then we in fact find ourselves in an intriguing print terrain which is not only deeply preoccupied with the experience of emigration, but also equipped to radically refashion its popular representation on multiple levels.

We begin to see the seeds of this taking shape in the *Poor Man's Guardian's* open suspicion of emerging ideas about settlement as a solution for social and economic problems in the 1830s. In the 1835 article “Friends and Fellow-Country Men” referenced above, the author goes on to follow up his anti-emigration remarks by significantly rejecting and reconfiguring the idea of ‘settlement’ and all its implications: “Softly, softly Mr. Scrope. We will never allow this, where there are parties at home who earn five hundred times 5s., or 6s. a week, without doing any work at all; and these the very parties, too, by whose instrumentality ... the Hand-loom Weavers have been sacrificed. We shall have a settlement, at least, with these fellows before we go” (647). From the outset, the *Poor Man's Guardian* in fact consistently refuses to entertain that thesis of “portable domesticity” which Myers has shown to be so central to burgeoning middle-class debates about settlement, and reserves national and domestic attachment firmly for the native land. This is clearly stated by Chairman of the Hand-Loom Weavers' Central Committee, Jeremine Dewhurst, as part of further dialogue between the *Poor Man's Guardian* and Scrope in 1835: “our native shores we leave not, though bullets fly, and bayonets bristle all around us. Here we will die, here we will live. So find another scheme” (Dewhurst 621). The *Northern Star* continues with this reorientation of dominant emigration tropes and vocabularies in pieces such as “Emigrate! Emigrate! Emigrate!”, a virulently anti-emigration article which inverts conventional images of the populous British nation as a

hive, such as those invoked in *Eliza Cook's* "The Swarming of the Bees," by recasting the "idle" rich as the drones who should leave, and collapsing models of safe circulation into accounts of forced movement, asking: "Will any man emigrate from choice? And is it just that he should emigrate from coercion?" (3). Rather than modeling measured movement which is further stabilized by the safe achievement of a happy colonial home, the emigrant in this article becomes a "houseless wanderer," while the rallying cry of "EMIGRATE! EMIGRATE! EMIGRATE!" is itself inverted and transformed into the analogous but differential call of "AGITATE! AGITATE!! AGITATE!!!" (3).

These early re-workings of emergent mainstream settler emigration ideological formations and generic tropes are subsequently extended and developed in the larger range of emigration-themed serial fiction and poetry published within the *Northern Star* and *Reynolds*. In the 1842 two-part serial "The Emigrants," one of a series of "Tales Written Expressly for the Northern Star," for instance, author "Chartius" tells the story of Richard, a poor man of "independent mind" (22 October 1842) who emigrates to America after his daughter is seduced by a rich man and his son transported for becoming a poacher—a symbolically loaded figure in radical anti-emigration literature who, as we also saw in "A Battle for Life or Death" in chapter 4, serves to emblemize emigration's proximity to key radical debates about land ownership, class, and unequal wealth distribution. The story predominantly focuses on Richard's painful departure from his "native land" and reluctance to be "transplanted into a foreign soil," concluding on a note of uncertainty rather than a comforting vision of the consolidated colonial home: "after the perilous voyage is past where shall they seek comfort if they find it not in the land of their promise—if they who have been ruined here ... are deceived there?" (22 October 1842). After a similar fashion, Edwin Roberts's six-part serial "The Life of a Labourer: Or, Six Episodes of Emigration,"

published in *Reynolds* in 1848, shows emigration arising out of class conflict between a baron and his employee, Stephen Gwyn. Unjustly treated by his employer, Stephen's decision to emigrate is directly fuelled by his unabashed awareness of social inequality: "Accursed be the lips which create one law for the rich and another for the poor ... Accursed be your conventions and your whole order!" (9 December 1848: 346). His own emigration from an ironized "*merry England*," while ultimately more successful than Richard's, is redeemed primarily by the eventual pleasure of "becoming a master" and seeing his former employer as a convict in Australia (23 December 1848: 377).

As I have noted above, the re-appropriation of generic conventions and tropes typical of such anti-emigration pieces is often also compounded through a reworking of the periodical's regular bourgeois spatio-temporal rhythms. For instance, both the *Northern Star* and *Reynolds* published anti-emigration material in the build-up to Christmas, including "The Life of a Labourer," while *Reynolds* carries the only example I have found of an American-themed emigration Christmas story, Roberts's 1852 "The Three Christmas Trees," which turns upon the emigration to New York of a profligate son who wanders as a "stranger in a strange land" before eventually returning to his family home in the third and final serial part (17 January: 407). Though working with the trope of joyful emigrant return, both the choice of an extra-colonial location and the eventual refusal to frame emigration as a solution to the story's backdrop of artisanal suffering and political turmoil trouble the expectation of reassuring containment associated with mainstream festive emigration stories (24 January: 7). Even the more generically typical account of 'Christmas in Australia' provided within G. W. M Reynolds's own "Pictures of Christmas" slightly bucks the trend of the more affirmative Christmas stories explored in chapter 2 by predominantly focusing upon reassuring those who will be "sending many an anxious mental glance across

the vast expanse of ocean” (10). Likewise, both “The Emigrants” and “The Life of a Labourer” work against the expectation of gradual progress which I have previously suggested is a key feature of mainstream emigration serials, and are instead characterized by elements of urgency, inversion, and surprise. Thus “The Emigrants” ends with news that Richard’s English farm had been “immediately let” to a new tenant, counteracting the consolidation of a homestead which concludes other settler stories, and dwells instead on the “novel dread and sickness” which must face all emigrants. Similarly, “The Life of a Labourer” ends by urgently stressing that “we cannot think of the dreadful destitution existing *now* among the poorer classes” without hoping that a truly mass “*emigration on a gigantic scale*”—however questionable a solution the story has shown it to be—might have a role to play in “ameliorating the condition of *all men*” (395).

One of the most intriguing and sustained examples of this broader method of rewriting can be found in Thomas Martin Wheeler’s *Sunshine and Shadow*, published serially in the *Northern Star* between 31 March 1849 and 5 January 1850 while its author was resident at O’Connorsville, one of the new Chartist settlements created by the Chartist Land Company, of which Wheeler was secretary from 1846-47.¹⁰² Amongst the most well-known and accomplished of Chartist novels, the narrative serves as a fictional account of the rise and fall of Chartism as experienced by Arthur Morton, a young man who becomes involved in the movement at every stage of its development, and whose life story is plotted alongside that of his middle-class school friend Walter North, whose sister, Julia, he grows to love. Unsurprisingly for a novel emerging out Chartism and the *Northern Star* at this point in history, the text is consistently concerned with the possibility or necessity of

¹⁰² Biographical details are sourced from Haywood’s introduction to *Sunshine and Shadow* in *Chartist Fiction* 65-66.

emigrating, and Arthur in fact attempts to emigrate to America twice during the course of the novel, before finally seeking exile in Europe after the rejection of the third Chartist petition. In the first instance, Arthur tries to emigrate in order to escape wrongful persecution for arson, but his boat is shipwrecked in the West Indies, leading to a prolonged stay alongside the unattainable Julia, who had been coincidentally sailing on the same ship with her boorish new nobleman husband. On the second occasion, when Walter goes to America in search of work, his voyage succeeds, but his stay is short.

While the novel has been read by Vicinus as an elegiac account of Chartism's failure which primarily works with those elements of romance and melodrama which are evident from even these brief elements of plot synopsis, it has also been more recently interpreted by Haywood, within the larger parameters of the analysis outlined above, as a subtler work of fiction which self-consciously appropriated and "proletarianised" the Bildungsroman (Vicinus "Chartist Fiction"; Haywood *Revolution*, 156). Furthermore, it can also be situated alongside a broader range of contemporary radical narratives which Regenia Gagnier has identified as a significant subgenre of working-class autobiography, and which often engage with the bourgeois form of the Bildungsroman in order to reframe the hero's individual developmental arc in terms of a more socially contingent "quest for political power" enacted against the central conflict of "class warfare" (151,160).¹⁰³ Informed by Gagnier and Haywood's insights, and focusing on *Sunshine and Shadow*'s still largely overlooked engagements with emigration, I wish to use this novel as a means of both elucidating how the type of rewriting method I have been outlining worked at its most

¹⁰³ Examples of the broader range of narratives of this kind analysed by Gagnier include Thomas Hardy's *Memoir* (1832), Samuel Bamford's *Early Days* (1848-49), and William Lovett's *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett in his Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* (1876). See Gagnier 159-64.

sophisticated, while also using the text to point towards those other radical models of emigration which concern this chapter.

As Haywood's analysis has suggested, *Sunshine and Shadow* operates by closely appropriating the bourgeois form of the Bildungsroman which it ultimately works to destabilize. If we compare it with *The Caxtons* or *Great Expectations*, then we see the same basic plot trajectory, concerning a young man's development from boyhood to adulthood, and incorporating his childhood friendships and education, early employment and move to London. Furthermore, like both of these novels, *Sunshine and Shadow* also appears to sustain its overarching plot dynamics with recourse to that gradualist, sequential sense of time which I have argued concords with lengthy serialization, and often works with the thick nostalgia which I suggest can be the steadying correlative of this forward-moving drive: "Oh! who does not look back with delight on his boyish days, when life was all enchantment ... Time! what boyish dreams of fairy land hast thou destroyed ..." (31 March 1849: 3). The novel also contains the same gendering of spatial relations which feature in both these novels, as evidenced in the domestic scenes which follow Arthur's eventual marriage to his second love, Mary: "she soon rendered Arthur's home what home ever should be—a pleasant retreat from the cares of business ... a heaven where all is peace and love ..." (20 October 1849: 3). As if to compound these points of parallel, Wheeler quotes a large quantity of Bulwer-Lytton's poetry throughout the novel, and directly situates his own writing about the "sons and daughters of toil" alongside the output of both Lytton and Dickens: "Oh, that those who see and dwell amongst them had but the pen of a Bulwer or a Dickens to record these strange truths ..." (20 October 1849: 3).

At the same time, however, and in keeping with both Haywood and Gagnier's analysis, the novel also consistently registers an awareness of the gap between this

mainstream print tradition and its own status as a Chartist text published within the *Northern Star*. Unlike Pisistratus Caxton, Arthur Morton is not so much the heir to print as its disinherited son: significantly unable to find work as a printer in London after his apprenticeship ends, and soon aware that mainstream media only “teemed with calumny and misrepresentation” about his own political convictions (15 December 1849: 3). It is in this gap between the forms which the novel echoes and its equally insistent sense of differentiability that *Sunshine and Shadow* achieves its own characteristic identity as a self-consciously “proletarianised” version of the Bildungsroman which, as Haywood notes, not only focuses upon a working-class character, but also interrogates its assumptions about the relationship between history and the individual. If we add to this an awareness of the novel’s similar relationship to larger features of periodical serial form as well as genre, then it also becomes apparent that it is less characterized by the type of gradualist progressive serial time which I have argued shapes *The Caxtons* and *Great Expectations* than by something more historically contingent, uneven, and future-orientated. For instance, the novel works with several giant leaps which transcend the incremental, such as the many years which summarily “rolled by” between Walter and Arthur’s childhood friendship and next meeting (21 April 1849: 3). At other times, it transforms serial progression into a web of social determination, in which historical contingency trumps individual will: “What a tangled web of arbitrary arrangements do the affairs of this world appear ... Cause and Effect seem to have abandoned their unity, and the whole to be composed of vast fragments of one mighty chapter of accidents” (17 November 1849: 3). Even more frequently, the novel plunges its readers out of the day-to-day of the reiterative real in order to orientate them towards a more significant future still in the process of unfolding: “Ye legislators ... the day will yet come when you will, indeed, be thrown on your own resources, and then

will the mysteries that you have inflicted on others, have to be endured by yourselves”
(28 April 1849: 3).

Within these intriguing parameters, then, it is not surprising that the novel models emigration in ways which are strikingly different from the type of serial settlement Bildungsroman novel which it self-consciously references, and in which, I have argued, plots work towards a domesticated form of settlement compounded by the dynamics of serial pace. Firstly, as would be expected, the novel is broadly anti-emigration, and ultimately refuses emigration as an option for Arthur on both occasions it is attempted. As within the wider radical print terrain to which the novel belongs, however, this has nothing to do with those fears about mass movement which are common within the mainstream press. Rather, it serves to register a contempt for coerced removal and transportation, describing even America as a “refuge for the world’s criminals and the world’s unfortunates,” and Arthur as a “fugitive flying from the terrors of the law” (9 June 1849: 3). Like other radical emigration rewrites, and in keeping with Wheeler’s direct involvement in Chartist settlement projects at home, it also appropriates, dismantles, and redeploys the ideas of nationalistic pride and domestic attachment which are so important to mainstream settler genres and ideologies. In keeping with the short fiction referenced above, the novel forecloses the possibility of enacting Myers’s idea of “portable domesticity” by firmly situating the settlement instinct exclusively within the context of the exile’s attachment to his native land—thus clearly attributing Arthur’s decision to return from America to the promptings of that “mystic tie that ever binds the heart to the land of its birth” (22 September 1849: 3). Furthermore, the novel also registers its suspicion of the forms of middle-class domestic ideology in which more mainstream emigration narratives were so often couched, by quickly questioning the plausibility of its apparently idyllic scenes

between Mary and Arthur, whose “once happy home” is soon overcome by “a look of dulness” in the wake of a severe economic downturn (27 October 1849: 3 *sic*). Rather than successful settlement, the novel goes on to end upon a note of uncertainty which harmonizes with its broader interest in contingency and futurity rather than the inevitability of gradual progress and closure. As Arthur concludes his story in a similar state of exile in Europe to that experienced by his Chartist allies in America, the narrator only informs us that “his fate is still enveloped in darkness, what the mighty womb of time may bring forth we know not” (5 January 1850: 3). A perfect example of the “*in medias res*” ending which Gagnier identifies as a common feature of working-class autobiographical writing, this is in marked contrast to the more famous conclusion of the contemporaneous middle-class pro-emigration novel *Mary Barton* which ends with Mary and Jem’s idyllic situation in a “long low wooden house, with room enough and to spare” (Gagnier 43; Gaskell 379).

Sunshine and Shadow can accordingly be read as a prime example of the method of rewriting which I have outlined: a narrative which utilizes both dominant genres and periodical spatio-temporal dynamics in order to self-consciously dismantle them. In terms of its treatment of emigration, as I have argued, this involves the engagement and then re-appropriation of key features of settlement narratives, particularly as they play out in the serial Bildungsroman. And yet, alongside this, the novel also points towards aspects of imaginative engagement with emigration which lie outside of this general stance and methodology of refusal. Indeed, the novel affords a strikingly unusual account of Arthur’s first attempted emigrant journey, which not only registers zero investment in the kinds of domestic or spatial order seen in other accounts of the emigrant voyage, but is also positively excited by the sense of potentiality attached to that experience. To move in Wheeler’s novel, in fact, is to go “bounding o’er the billows as though instinct with life and

motion,” or to contemplate, as a shipboard Arthur does in rapturous soliloquy, the wonders of transformation which seem attendant to the experience of open space: “Oh! thou sublime, majestic ocean! ... Oh! he who hath not gazed on thee hath not seen the sublime portion of nature’s kingdom, and can form no adequate notion of intensity or space” (16 June 1849: 3). Likewise, after his subsequent successful voyage to America, Morton registers an enthusiasm for the continent which complicates both his more general disavowal of emigration and that burgeoning contempt for American capitalism which Gregory Claeys has argued was the growing feeling amongst formerly pro-republican radicals from the 1840s onwards: “Though Arthur could not but view the defect of American institutions with the bitterness of regret, yet he saw no cause for despair. America, he reasoned, was still in the transition state—still contending with the evils implanted by European settlement ... They have the germ, the power within them, for all improvement ...”(Claeys “The Example of America”; Wheeler, 15 September 1849: 3). This same passage also describes the way in which those disillusioned with the republican dream have sought “in other climes, to establish that *regime* of which the model exists yet but in imagination, but which, when realized, will throw into the shade the dreams of Plato, and all the visions of the Utopians.”

Interestingly *Sunshine and Shadow* thus typifies not only the mode of radical rewriting which I have discussed above, but also registers two more positive but equally alternative modes of engagement with emigration. These concern, firstly, a residual enthusiasm for America which seems to have figured just as prominently as the growing disillusionment noted by Claeys, and, secondly, an appropriation of emigration for that aspect of the utopian impulse defined by Fátima Vieira as “an aspiration to overcome all difficulties by the imagination of possible alternatives” (7). While developments of the

concept of utopia were, as Vieira suggests, always intrinsically connected to the old world's 'discovery' of the new from the Renaissance onwards, it is worth noting that most mainstream Victorian emigration literature, at least as it featured within periodicals, does not appear to have been explicitly utopian in this sense. Instead, and as we have already seen, Victorian imaginings of emigration often seem concerned with a replication and recovery of established social relations which is perhaps more aptly designated as Arcadian, and which, as Lansbury's work has shown, was often literally termed so in relation to emigration to Australia.

These overlapping concerns with America and utopianism can be traced across all three of the titles I have studied alongside the more general stance of refusal noted. As such, these publications afford access to a popular strain of pro-American settler emigration literature which is significantly underrepresented within the mainstream press. Perhaps as a result of this underrepresentation, emigration to America in the nineteenth century constitutes what Murdoch terms a curiously "hidden history," despite the fact that, as he notes, it was receiving as much as eighty percent of all British emigrants by 1851 (99, 107). As it surfaces within the radical press at least, the literature relating to this colossal but under-examined historical experience is far less interested in domesticated models of settlement than in independence, whether on the land, in the city, or even gold rush California. As one *Northern Star* writer put it in 1841: "If [emigrants] go to Canada, or Australia, they meet with branches from the blasting, blighting, destroying Upas tree, which has driven them from house and home" but "if they go to America they at once become their own masters" ("Emigration," 8 May 1841). Likewise, *Reynolds*, despite its 1848 reservations, went on to publish a range of such pro-American emigration literature. For instance, 1851 article "The Backwoodsman" incorporates a letter from a Scotch settler who

is representative of *Reynolds*' successful emigrants in having found freedom from "the tyranny of landlordism" in America. The accompanying print depicts him proudly surveying the land which he now owns, and has significantly rather less interest in the shadowy hut sketched to the right of the central tree (Fig. 12).¹⁰⁴

Similarly, the broader interest in the utopian possibilities of emigration can be traced equally extensively across these periodicals from the 1830s onwards. For instance, as part of what J. F. C. Harrison notes was a moment of wider overlap between Owenism and trade unionism in the early 1830s, the *Poor Man's Guardian* repeatedly engaged with Robert Owen's vision of 'The New Moral World,' a conceptual framework which was directly associated with his earlier experiment with communitarian settler emigration in New Harmony, Indiana, and published much original correspondence between Owen and editorial staff in the early 1830s (Harrison 209-15). Even "The Horrible Sentence!", an 1834 article which definitively maps the direction of the radical press's stance against emigration in view of its condemnation of transportation in the iconic case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, finds time to engage with Robert Owen and the preacher Edward Irving, whose brand of utopian pre-millenarianism was similar to that which characterized several nineteenth-century experimental American settlements: "with an absolute power over the law," the article concludes, "there is no system of society, from Owenism to Irvingism, that we might not protect, if not establish" (58; Powell 148-52; Stewart J. Brown).

It was, in fact, on the cusp of this tension between refusal and latent receptivity, as I shall show, that radical periodicals published some of their most interesting and imaginative material on emigration: texts which both utilize the dominant mode of

¹⁰⁴ See also, for instance, the anonymous late 1840s articles "Trade and Wages in the United States," "Emigration to the United States," "The Emigrant's Prospects in the United States," "The Working Man in America," and "California, or the Land of Gold."

Fig. 12. “The Backwoodsman.” *Reynolds’s Miscellany* 12 July 1851. *British Periodicals*. This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

rewriting outlined, while simultaneously dreaming of new utopian spaces and futures typically associated with America. In what follows I will present two case studies, firstly focused on the *Northern Star’s* intriguing engagements with socialist utopian emigration projects during the 1840s, and secondly concerning *Reynolds* fascination with the American West in the 1850s and ’60s.

Uneasy Utopias: The Case of Pitkethly

On 12 December 1840, the *Northern Star* published a page of advertisements which usefully encapsulates both the sense of intimate differentiability which I have been arguing was a broad feature of the radical periodical's identity, and points towards how this would impact upon its engagements with emigration in the succeeding decade. On this page, we find a notice for "THE CHARTER ALMANACK for the Year 1841," including lists of current Chartist prisoners, nestling alongside an advertisement for a gift book to mark the "Approach of Christmas"; so important to mainstream periodical print cycles, as we have seen in chapter 2 ("Lee's Penny Forget-Me-Not"). Likewise, we find repeated references to Manchester, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, and Leeds (where the *Northern Star* was based until 1844) rather than to the metropolitan centre of London which implicitly shadows most mainstream periodicals, as well as advertisements for co-operatively produced clothes and gifts which are indicative of the periodical's own "relatively autonomous" commercial identity (Brake and Demoor, "Northern Star" 459; Haywood *Revolution*, 280). It is significantly alongside such notices, then, that we also find one of the *Northern Star's* numerous advertisements for emigration to America, occupying a prime position in the central column, and in this case advertising Fitzhugh and C. Grimshaw's "AMERICAN SHIPS, sailing from Liverpool for New York ... *Every Week or Ten Days throughout the Year*" (Fig 13). As I have noted above, masts of ships such as these are prevalent in the *Northern Star* advertisement columns, appearing at similarly regular intervals, and, though sailing against the *Star's* generally anti-emigration stance, indicating just how seriously its readers must have entertained the option. Slightly less visibly, the same page features a range of advertisements for recently published and reprinted books and pamphlets available

Fig. 13. “Fitzhugh and C. Grimshaw.” *Northern Star* 12 December 1840. 19th Century British Library Newspapers. This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

from W. Strange’s establishment on Paternoster Row, and including not only Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man* and Shelley’s “Queen Mab,” but also “Paradise Within the Reach of all Men, by Etzler,” a now largely forgotten popular treatise on the possibility of abolishing both poverty and the necessity for labour itself through harnessing the natural forces of wind, tide, and sun, and promoting mass emigration to large-scale high-tech cooperative communities in America (W. Strange). It is out of this patchwork of interesting affiliations and characteristics—the self-conscious differentiability, the live and topical interest in America overlapping with the more dominant tendency towards disavowal, and the engagement with contemporary socialist utopian schemes—that the *Northern Star* was to

build an alternative vision of emigration which flickered briefly but brightly during the 1840s, achieving a broad imaginative reach across its evidently interested readership, as well as a more modest capacity to shape real acts of emigration.

In order to understand the specific nature of the *Northern Star*'s interest in utopian emigration at this time, and to situate it alongside those elements of refusal and disavowal which I have already shown to be the main feature of its predominantly anti-emigration position, it is instructive to follow this page of advertisements through into a fuller engagement with the work of the German socialist philosopher and inventor John Adolphus Etzler. As Claeys notes, Etzler's extraordinary visions of mass migration in *Paradise Within the Reach of All Men*, first published in 1833, were in fact partially realized through his formation of what was the "largest socialist emigration scheme in Britain ... in this period": the Tropical Emigration Society, established by Etzler while resident in London in 1844 ("John Adolphus Etzler" 351).¹⁰⁵ Following the publication of Etzler's later pamphlet *Emigration to the Tropical World and Two Visions of John Adolphus Etzler*, the 7,000 strong society appears to have turned its attention from North to South America, and went on to initiate a small-scale emigration experiment to Venezuela in 1845 which stalled in Trinidad due to a mismanagement of funds. Though the failure of this project and the death of several emigrants involved resulted in the eventual collapse of Etzler's reputation, he was both well-known and influential during the 1830s and '40s, and reached a particular peak of popularity amongst radicals between 1842 and 1845, when both Chartists and Owenites were experiencing a period of "chaos, indecision and loss of will" (Claeys 357). Furthermore, as Claeys also notes, it was in fact the *Northern Star* rather than the Society's

¹⁰⁵All references to Etzler's biography and the Tropical Emigration Society reference this article, which also alerted me to Stollmeyer's letters, discussed below. For the full title of Etzler's *Paradise*, see the General Bibliography.

own small-circulation specialist journals which played the key role in popularizing Etzler's ideas about emigration during these years. This was through the medium of texts including letters from Etzler himself, multiple advertisements for Etzler's writings similar to that published on 12 December 1840, and reports on meetings of the Tropical Emigration Society.

Perhaps the most indicative and interesting of these texts is a series of letters by Etzler's British champion and colleague C. F. Stollmeyer which was published in the *Northern Star* from 1843 to 1844, and explicitly designed to promote and elucidate Etzler's schemes and inventions. Indeed, Stollmeyer consistently demonstrates a clear understanding of the role which print could play in modeling and galvanizing this new vision of emigration, in acknowledging that the *Northern Star* provided a "valuable and popular" outlet for discussing Etzler's ideas "with a view to carry them out practically," and noting from the very first paragraph of the first letter that Etzler's utopian spirit of invention is itself akin to "Guttenberg's invention of moveable types and ... the ART OF PRINTING" (Stollmeyer, 21 October 1843; 22 July 1843). Stollmeyer's letters introduce Etzler's alternative visions to a broader readership, including his essential thesis of harnessing the powers of perpetual motion to unleash the earth's natural state of superabundance and of providing "rapid" relief from "poverty, misery and agitation" through the establishment of giant emigrant communities which would negate the necessity for excessive individual labour: "The next movement of the people will be for material liberty, for ease, for comfort; it will be a movement for A GENERAL HOLIDAY" (Stollmeyer, 6 January 1844; 16 September 1843). Just as this vision of migration runs counter to the emphasis upon hard work underpinning many mainstream settler emigration narratives, these letters also collapse orthodox investments in promoting national or

domestic attachment by specifically asking *Northern Star* readers to “arouse” their “minds ... from the narrow views of locality” and to extend their imaginative horizons: “the simple inventions ... are, I most sincerely hope and believe, destined ultimately to change the swamps and deserts to beautiful gardens, to cover the sea with floating islands ... to make our rich but much neglected mother-earth a most delightful Paradise ...” (9 September 1843; 22 July 1843). Here, as in *Paradise* itself, the garden imagery which recurs in all kinds of emigration literature floats free from nostalgic, nationalistic, or domestic tethers, and speaks only of the new order to come.

What we see, then, in this popularization of Etzler’s work is evidence of a radical receptivity to an alternative modeling of emigration which has nothing to do with domesticity, gradualism, and replication of the old, and everything to do with utopian possibility, rapid relief, and the formation of new social orders. Likewise, and as noted above, this literature is decidedly live and contingent—engaging with unfolding events, incorporating the topical as soon as possible within the limits of weekly periodicity, and readily fostering the possibility of direct action stemming from print. It is in the context of this upwelling of interest in utopian emigration of a decidedly socialist flavour during the 1840s, as well as the more general anxieties noted above, that the *Northern Star* published its most direct and extensive engagement with the possibility of emigration in the form of Lawrence Pitkethly’s fascinating serialized travel journal, “Emigration: Where to and How to Proceed.” Including the three linked articles on tips and cautions for prospective emigrants which immediately follow the main account of the tour as “Emigration: Observations Connected with Mr. Pitkethly’s Tour,” this ran between 15 April 1843 and 29 July 1843 (where it appeared alongside the second of Stollmeyer’s letters), and also went on to spark a longer-running range of related debate, as well as the consolidation of a new

radical emigration society, The British Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society.¹⁰⁶ Despite being one of the most extensive and impactful Chartist works on emigration, and perfectly illustrating the tension between utopianism and refusal which I have suggested was so characteristic of radical emigration literature, this text has apparently received no critical attention other than passing references in Ray Boston's *British Chartists in America* and Lewis S. Fuer's 1966 article on the influence of American communist colonies on Engels and Marx. It therefore seems worthy of further investigation.¹⁰⁷

At its simplest level, "Where to and How to Proceed" follows the path of Pitkethly's own journey across the United States and a portion of Canada as he investigates the possibility of emigration from the Chartist point of view. As Boston notes, this is a journey which Pitkethly, a Chartist and leader of the anti-Poor Law movement in Huddersfield, really undertook over the course of four months in 1842, arriving in New York on 6 August 1842 and spending time with exiled Chartists such as the physical force proponent Peter Bussey during the course of his tour of the states noted in the lengthy full title referenced in the Works Cited (39-40). Rather than recording this experience mimetically, and despite the emphasis upon "actual observation" which the fuller title incorporates, "Where to and How to Proceed" operates more subtly and self-consciously through the techniques of appropriation and rewriting which I have already outlined. The narrative utilizes elements of an instructional emigrant's handbook crossed with a more general travel narrative, and is organized according to the stages of voyage and arrival, followed by an exploration and

¹⁰⁶ In the analysis which follows I address both "Where to and How to Proceed" and "Emigration: Observations Connected." However, I have created two Works Cited entries to clarify where the first serial ends and Pitkethly's related observations begin.

¹⁰⁷ Though Boston and Fuer refer to 'Pitkeithly' and 'Pitkeithley' respectively, I will use 'Pitkethly' throughout in accordance with the attribution in the *Northern Star*.

comparison of various destinations.¹⁰⁸ However, it presents within these boundaries an extremely atypical account, which, for instance, has no interest in the tropes of confusion, safe circulation, and eventual domestic containment which typify the accounts of the emigrant voyages explored in chapter 1. Rather than good emigrants tethering down their belongings or forming onboard communities, Pitkethly depicts an almost parodic version of such journeys in which it is only the tyrannous captain whom passengers have to fear, the ambiguous stock figure of the black cook seen in Fig. 4 proves to be “excellent and kind,” and the sailors’ laborious construction of an inadequate wooden “privy” takes centre stage over images of snug cabins. Even Pitkethly’s lost luggage, a common trope in emigrant ship texts as we have seen, becomes an incidental component of the narrative which bears no particular symbolic or ideological weight. Likewise, the description of the journey is more extensive than that found in many mainstream accounts, and focuses in detail upon features of the weather, marine life, and shipboard incidents.

Such elements of rewriting are also evident when Pitkethly lands. Rather than focusing upon the necessity of prompt settlement, for instance, the entire text is shaped as an exhilarating and fast-paced journey by rail, in which the writer sometimes steams through several destinations in the course of one paragraph:

Thursday, 22nd. – I left Rochester by the seven o’clock morning train. The

¹⁰⁸ Emigrants’ handbooks tend to follow a formulaic, informational structure, including details of who should consider emigrating, the voyage or overland route, distances, outfit or equipment required, an analysis of different destinations and their advantages, instructions about the formation of settlements and camps, and facts about wages and the cost of living. A good collection of original and reprinted handbooks can be accessed at the Library of Congress: see entries under Capper, Hall, Marcy, Ware, and *The Emigrant’s Guide to New South Wales* for details of some interesting titles consulted.

first station was BRIGHTON ... which is a small and clean village. We next proceeded to CANANDAGUA, which is situated in a fine country, with beautiful ridges and much heavy timber. We next arrived at WATERLOO, containing a population of 3,000. Next SENECA FALLS, with a population of 1,500. At no great distance we passed SENECA LAKE on our way to AUBURN (17 June 1843 *sic*).

This sense of rapid movement is compounded by the text's lack of interest in utilizing the gradualist and sequential possibilities of serialization, which seems to have little impact on the pacing of the writing or the presentation of key events, despite the overarching journal format. Rather, the text seems to model that more interruptible form of seriality which Haywood argues is exemplified by Reynolds, and is peppered with references to related correspondence, most notably from Thomas Bewley of the recently formed British Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society, as well as, on one occasion, an interjection from the editor on the subject of a perilous emigrant journey experienced by a Leeds correspondent (Haywood, *Revolution* 176; Pitkethly, 1 July 1843).

Even when Pitkethly does encounter settler homesteads of the kind often found in more Arcadian emigration literature he does not indulge in any extensive domestic settler imagery, choosing instead to present a more qualified and realistic account of emigrant abodes before moving on: "The forests are rather numerous; yet there are many openings with neat houses and log huts. The crops are in general good and heavy; though the whole is much damaged by smut" (20 May 1843). It is also worth noting that indigenous people make a more insistent appearance in these settings than is often seen in more domesticated accounts of settler emigration. For instance, in the following scene there appears to be not

only an acknowledgement of a native population which is anything but thin and fading, but also perhaps at least some hint of Chartist identification with their disinheritance from the land:

To the westward as far as the eye could reach those habitations were visible, and in some parts they were very crowded. Numbers of these natives were to be seen strolling along the beach, of different ages and of varied dress; some most fantastic, some plain, some smart, and adorned with jewels, and others quite the reverse. I was sorry that none of them could speak a language to be understood, as we had to stay about five hours taking in firewood (3 June 1843).

Such passages thus problematize the myth of “terra nullius” on which both radical and mainstream accounts of emigration so often depend, and harmonize with an interest in indigenous rights which sometimes flickers through the *Northern Star*’s colonial news reports.¹⁰⁹

Like *Sunshine and Shadow*, Pitkethly primarily gears this method of rewriting towards giving voice to his strong anti-emigration tendencies, not least because of his close knowledge of emigration as a form of Chartist exile. Indeed, he assumes a degree of natural reluctance and resistance as a starting point for his investigations, stressing in the full title that he is exploring only “the desirability, or otherwise, of emigration” and often noting, as in his “Observations” of 29 July 1843, “that in principle I am opposed to Emigration.” The

¹⁰⁹ See, for instance “Judicial Slaughter in South Australia,” which sympathetically outlines the case of two indigenous men who were executed after killing a settler (2 November 1839).

narrative also pointedly distinguishes and distances itself from mainstream accounts of emigration: “The knowledge that hundreds have been induced to leave their father-land, in consequence of what Chambers and others have published in this over-coloured way, has induced me to lay the reality before my readers, and leave them to take their own course” (“Emigration: Observations Connected,” 29 July 1843). Working on this basis, for example, the tour concludes with an unusual account of the return journey in which the narrator sails in company with a range of disappointed returnee emigrants who have been unable to find employment in America; thus foregrounding an emigrant experience which is significantly absent from many mainstream accounts of settler emigration, despite its prevalence in real life.

Beyond this, and as we also see in *Sunshine and Shadow* to a lesser degree, however, we also find a residual and growing enthusiasm for the potentiality of emigration as means of enacting social change which sits in tension with this stance of refusal. This is, in part, enabled in relation to the particular potentiality of America already noted. In place of visions of settler homesteads, for instance, Pitkethly maps out a radical vision of republican space, frequently darting off to visit Chartist friends or to experience various encounters with “the most independent people in the world” (20 May 1843). Likewise, it is the American Day of Independence rather than any Christmas or birthday which Pitkethly observes on board ship, while the account of his subsequent journey across America is peppered with acknowledgements of where “the remains of the immortal Paine” lie near New Rochelle, or where it was that “Washington raised his defences in the night, which drove General Gage and the British army out of Boston” (29 April 1843; 22 April 1843).

In addition however, Pitkethly’s growing receptivity to the possibility of emigration also seems substantially informed by the specifically socialist forms of

utopianism which I have argued were a significant feature of the *Northern Star's* broader engagements with emigration during the early 1840s. In fact, Pitkethly is evidently intrigued by the same kinds of alternative emigrant communities which, as Harrison notes, also inspired Robert Owen, and is particularly enthusiastic about his visit to a Shaker village at New Lebanon, recorded in the 6 April 1843 installment (Harrison 53-57). As with Owen, the religiosity of this community is of less interest and relevance to Pitkethly than its capacity to live in impressively productive communitarian units, into which conventional models of the family are subsumed. Though Pitkethly stresses at a later point that he is not himself an Owenite, and does not appear to be in favour of the shared ownership of all property, the language of Etzler is suggestively traceable in these scenes, as when for instance it is noted that “the place looks very like a paradise,” full of “delightful” gardens and abundant yields. A community of Zoarites is later described in similarly approving terms, despite the fact that Pitkethly does not pay a direct visit: “their gardens are also large and kept in the best possible order, abounding with fruits of the richest description” (10 June 1843). By the time he comes to write his “Observations,” then, it is not conventional settlement which Pitkethly feels compelled to recommend, but “the advantage” of a qualified form of utopian emigration to the “Far West” (29 July 1843)—at this stage including Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, and Iowa—which sits uneasily alongside his overarching reluctance:

Could I but discover one dawn of hope ... my paper, pen, and ink would instantly lay unused ... but I hold no communion with the monsters in human shape who are ever ready to devour our species. Therefore I shall proceed to carry forward my views for the benefit of the deserving few, in

the anxious hope that my information and experience may in some measure conduce to their happiness (15 July 1843).

Furthermore, and in keeping with the porosity and topicality of the *Northern Star* as a whole, Pitkethly not only recommends this mode of emigration, but uses his “paper, pen and ink” as a means of creating and constructing it in the real world: acting as the focal point around which a whole cluster of correspondence, direct action, and planning takes shape. By the 15 July installment of the “Observations,” Pitkethly is in a position not only to outline his views on emigration to the Far West but to do so in relation to those of The British Emigrants’ Mutual Aid Society, which though formed in the previous September of 1842 in Halifax, seems to have galvanized around Pitkethly’s narrative and the related correspondence from Thomas Bewley which interpolates the journal’s serialization in the *Northern Star*. Pitkethly concludes his extraordinary journey with the publication of further related correspondence from Bewley and a full citation of the Society’s forty-one rules. According to these rules, the purpose of the Society was to “purchase . . . a tract of unappropriated land in the State of Wisconsin, or other Western State” and to use this to form a “colony of settlers from this country, upon a principle of mutual assistance.” As a vision of settlement, this colony is remarkably indifferent to the rules of spatial order and domesticity common to many mainstream accounts. Instead, the new colony is to follow “the natural undulations of the country, and bendings of rivulets shall be accommodated to the greatest advantage, not adhering to straight lines.” While not communitarian in terms of advocating shared property and wealth, the intended settlement is nevertheless heavily focused upon visions of public space and equality of provision, including town buildings which are the “joint property of the Society,” equal sized houses, a public school, foot paths

“left free for public use,” and the assurance that “the whole length of the township (eight miles)” will be available “for the exercise and health of the inhabitations.”

Intriguingly, the British Emigrants’ Mutual Aid Society did apparently go on to experiment with just such a settlement through the foundation of a community in Des Moines, Illinois, in 1845. According to research made available through the family history website *The Ship’s Lists*, this was apparently founded when ninety-four passengers set sail from Gravesend to New Orleans under the direction of Bewley, although the community appears to have been relatively short-lived, with residents moving to nearby cities in subsequent decades (Swiggum and Kohli). Though frustratingly ill-documented, the enterprise nevertheless points towards the power of print to galvanize emigration, and to the two-way relationship between ink and actualization.

Following the conclusion of Pitkethly’s own observations, broader debates also continued to ripple around his publications, including several letters from Thomas Bewley, articles on issues such as “Emigration to Canada, or the United States,” reports on the “Democratic Co-Operative Society, for Emigrating to the Western States of North America,” and several adverts for the British Emigrants’ Mutual Aid Society itself. And yet, just as Pitkethly’s own writing speaks of refusal as well as endorsement, this conversation was always shadowed by a current of unease. As early as 22 July 1843, for example, the *Northern Star* was writing as follows in response to a Samuel Davies of Birmingham, and after a manner which also indirectly attests to the extent of wider interest stimulated:

We cannot admit any discussion in the columns of the *Star*, as to the merits or demerits of the “Emigrants’ Mutual Aid Society,” further than the bare

setting of their “rules and objects” in Mr. Pitkethly’s Observations on his Tour. All criticism must be addressed to those immediately concerned in its management. The scheme is not one of ours. We do not, nor do we intend to identify ourselves with it (“To Readers and Correspondents”).

By 20 March 1847, the *Northern Star* had progressed to denouncing the British Emigrants’ Mutual Aid Society as a “swindling scheme” (“Emigration”). Over the same period, it was also to come down against Etzler, first by noting that “We cannot afford room for the address to Mr. Etzler” in the “To Readers and Correspondents” notices of 30 November 1844, and then by astutely observing in response to enquiries from “A Poor Man” correspondent that “we should certainly like to have the inventions tested HERE, on the spot” before going to Venezuela on “the plans of a machine-inventor” (“To Readers and Correspondents,” 21 Dec. 1844). Finally, in April 1847, and following the failure of Etzler’s experiments in South America, the *Northern Star* denounced them as “mad and wicked schemes” which it had been right not to fully countenance: “The emigrants to that South American paradise Venezuela have for the most part died like rotten sheep; the remainder are living in misery in that land which was to be to them an El Dorado” (“Emigration to Texas”).

What we see then in the *Northern Star* between the early and mid-1840s is a moment of alternative utopian dreaming which ran against its longer-standing anti-emigration policy. Rather than mapping domestic settlement, like many other periodicals of the period, this vision turned upon ideas of America and the communitarian, of technological advancement and utopian possibility. Though ultimately brief, this mode of engagement did, as we have seen, have lasting effects in inspiring the enactment of real

settlement projects in both Venezuela and the American West. It is to this latter destination that I wish to turn next at greater length.

The Romance of the West

If Pitkethly's journal is indicative of a wider radical interest in America not seen as predominantly in more mainstream periodicals, then it also points towards a recurring fascination with one particular American emigrant destination, the West. The West was of course in the first instance a real destination for innumerable nineteenth-century British as well as overland American migrants: overland migration from Eastern to new Western states in fact formed what Belich terms "the fourth great component of the Anglo diaspora," and included hundreds of thousands of British and European emigrants as well as an estimated twelve million originally born in America (65). Indeed, according to data published in Frederick C. Luebke's *European Immigrants in the American West* there were over three million English, Scots, and Welsh first and second-generation migrants in the American West by 1900 (x-xi). Just as significantly, however, the West also functions as a romantic idea: a mythic, mobile, and apparently quintessentially American landscape which, from Frederick Jackson Turner onwards, has often been viewed as having provided "the dominant iconic frontier for an entire culture" (Lyon 2). Like Pitkethly on his Westward-bound train journey, this mythic West is a space into which one can keep moving, always pressing forward as the frontier advances; transforming Far Wests into Old Wests within the space of a generation. This section of the chapter will explore how this ongoing fascination with the West played out in the hundreds of early Westerns published within *Reynolds* during the 1850s and 1860s. Through reading a selection of these sketches, stories,

and vignettes, I aim to show how the format of the popular Western reads somewhat differently within the context of the radical engagements with settler emigration to which I have suggested *Reynolds* was the populist heir. More broadly, by looking at overlaps between British and American genres and texts in the journal, I also aim to enter into a burgeoning critical conversation about how the Western might be situated within a broader framework of transnational settler emigration literature which looks beyond the notion of American exceptionalism so often attributed to both ideas of the Western frontier and its popular literature.¹¹⁰

As Christine Bold notes, Westerns were one of the most popular genres to arise out of the development of mass publishing in mid-century America, adapting the subtler template provided by early pioneers of the form such as James Fenimore Cooper to suit the more formulaic requirements of 1860s dime novels, which presented simplified versions of Fenimore's central concern with "the confrontation between wilderness and civilization" and "the trials of the Western hero caught between these contending forces" (xi). This formula also grew out of a longer-running tradition of writing about the West, from the letters of early expedition-leaders such as Lewis and Clark in 1804-06, a quotation from which still features on the obverse side of one of the two commemorative coins issued within the Westward Journey Nickel Series issued in 2005, through to the countless rugged narratives featuring fur-trappers, missionaries, 'mountain men,' and miners (*United States*

¹¹⁰ For instance, Dorice Williams Elliott argues for points of parallel between the ranch setting of *Harry Heathcote of Gangoil* and the Western frontier in "Unsettled Status in Australian Novels" (23). More broadly, Paul Giles has led the way in calling for attempts to "remap American literature within a global compass" which takes into account the "triangular" relationship between Britain, the United States, and Australia in the late eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries (24, 28).

Mint).¹¹¹ Such narratives inevitably found their way to Britain, and I have encountered numerous frontier narratives and Western tales across all kinds of mainstream periodicals: from *Blackwood's* publication of George Frederick Ruxton's *Life in the Far West* in 1848, to the arduous prairie crossing which is framed within Dickens's "Tom Tiddler's Ground," the range of articles interpolating *Great Expectations*, or *Eliza Cook's Journal's* romantic endorsement of "unsettled settlers" in 1849 article "The Far West." By the early twentieth century, as Amy Lloyd notes, "the west had become the foremost destination for emigrant characters destined for the United States" across the range of later popular periodicals which form the basis of her study (93).

While emerging out of these broader trends, it nevertheless remains the case that we find a notable concentration of this type of material in *Reynolds*. For instance, searching the digitized version of *Reynolds* available within *British Periodicals* as of April 2012 brings up the following admittedly only broadly indicative results: 1100 results are returned under "Indians" (those which prove to be about India are far outnumbered by those referring to indigenous Americans); 146 surface under "prairies" (the more ambiguous search term "plain" or "plains" yields over 2,400 results of which a good number prove to be relevant upon closer inspection); 180 feature "West" and "America"; 96 feature "West" and "United States"; 58 feature the phrase "Far West"; 226 feature "California"; 130 feature "Buffalo" or "Bison," and 37 "Rocky Mountains." Numerous other texts surface in relation to more

¹¹¹ More domestic forms of Western settler literature with a realist bent also circulated in the nineteenth-century, including Caroline M. Kirkland's *A New Home, Who'll Follow?* However, Edgar Allan Poe's comments on Kirkland's 1839 book suggest that its domesticity was an unusual innovation: "to Mrs. Kirkland . . . we were indebted for our acquaintance with the *home* and home-life of the backwoodsman." Qtd. in Zagarell xi.

specific search terms, including “Oregon,” “Illinois,” “Kansas,” or “Nevada.”¹¹² These results include a range of editorial “Notices to Correspondents”—itself an interesting indication of the extent to which the American West interested *Reynolds* readers—but also a large quantity of fiction and traveler’s tales. While most of these pieces feature disproportionately from the 1860s, they begin to occur from mid-century onwards, and suggest an early receptivity to the emerging Western format which significantly predates the popular peak for such literature as indicated by Lloyd. Indeed, the stories and vignettes published in *Reynolds* from the 1850s onwards draw upon a wide range of the earlier frontier and expedition narratives, while demonstrating a burgeoning receptivity to the emerging popular Western fiction formula which follows on from it.

Thus, for instance, we find John Richardson’s “The Bison” as early as 1850, a short text which outlines a tale of Hudson’s Bay Company clerks engaging in the robust and masculine pleasures of bison hunting. Likewise, “The ‘Bad Lands’ of Wisconsin” introduces 1853 readers to the “high prairies” of Wisconsin as seen from the perspective of the traveler. Later 1850s stories include E. W. Dewee’s “The Prairie Waif” (1855), “A Thrilling Adventure” by a “Colonist of the Far West” (1856), “Adventure with a Buffalo Bill” (1857), and “A Night of Peril” by a “Traveller in the Far West” (1859). As the titles indicate, these stories work with many of the key western tropes which would develop into the more consolidated popular Westerns of the 1860s, and all centre upon conflicts with wild animals, ‘Indians,’ or the inhospitable climate and geography of the Western landscape itself, often accompanied by elements of the supernatural. Thus, for example, “A Thrilling Adventure” tells the story of a “perilous crossing of the plains,” which leads to the

¹¹² It is worth noting that the items returned by one search also often resurface within another.

“colonist” and his party becoming trapped in a cave by Indians whom they have to outwit in order to escape. “A Night of Peril,” meanwhile depicts a dreadful flood which threatens to wash away the “comfortable log hut” at which the Western traveler had sought leave to spend a dark and gloomy night.

By the 1860s, these earlier stories merge into an even more formulaic Western literature, which also features a fascination with outlaws. For instance, “Lynch Law; or, Vigilance in the Far West,” is accompanied by an instantly recognizable Western image (Fig. 14.), and tells the story of a Montana town run by criminals, in which a self-appointed “Vigilante Committee” must risk everything to reinstate order: “Dastardly murders occurred almost every day; many feared even to lift the head of a man lying wounded in the street, lest he should whisper to them the name of the assassin.” While these stories appear regularly throughout the 1860s, 1866-68 appears to mark their peak, with a selection of titles published at this time including “A Western Adventure” (1866), “The Redskins and the Panther” (1867), “A Prairie Picnic” (1867), “A Prairie Adventure” (1867), “The Haunted Cabin on the Prairie” by “A New York Lawyer” (1868), “Terrible Adventure on a Dakota Prairie” (1868), “Old Ben, The Trapper” (1868), by Henry Chester, “The Renegade White: A Western Ghost Story” (1868), by H. Howard, and “The Maid of Wabash” (1868).

In the first instance, it is significant to note that many of these texts seem to belong to America in terms of their literal provenance as well as generic leanings. Of those which are traceable, a large range are American imports, and announce their national credentials through references to author or original source. For instance, “Terrible Adventure on a Dakota Prairie” is taken from the *St Paul Pioneer*, “Haunted Cabin on the Prairie” is by a self-announced “American lawyer,” and “Adventure with a Buffalo Bill” by a Co. Dunlap of the United States Army, whose intimate first-person address is emblematic of the

Fig. 14. "Plummer Shoots his Messmate." *Reynolds's Miscellany* 9 August 1868: 167.

British Periodicals. This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

exciting conversational tone and tall tale stance which characterizes many of these narratives: "You cannot form any idea of how I felt. I cannot tell it; but I tell you I can remember it ... I felt sure that in a few minutes at the furthest I should be tossing, a mangled, helpless mass upon the monster's horns" (46). Indeed, several of the *Reynolds* stories are directly sourced from texts later included in Henry R. Wagner's definitive bibliography of nineteenth-century American Western tales, *The Plains and the Rockies: A Critical Bibliography of Exploration and Travel in the American West, 1800-1865*. "The American Prairie Wolves" is an excerpt from Edwin James's "From Pittsburgh to the

Rocky Mountains,” “Adventure with a Buffalo” (1853) from George Frederick Ruxton’s *Life in the Far West*, and “Hunting the Bison” and “Snowed Up Among Wolves” (1861) by Western fiction writer Emerson Bennett.

This proliferation of American texts and voices in the British periodical press is itself of keen interest, and a point to which I will return below. However, it is the broader and less obvious *transnational* “Anglo” dimensions of these texts which I wish to foreground in the analysis which follows. For upon closer analysis many of these apparently staunchly American texts also reveal less nationally coherent reference points or authors: the “colonist” of “A Thrilling Adventure,” the “traveller in the Far West” of “A Night of Peril,” the “Settler out West” who pens wilderness horror story “The Wolves and the Panther” in 1865, the “husky but unmistakable English voice” which emanates from the titular traitor of Henry Howard’s “The Renegade White,” or the specifically “English Hunter in America” who runs into some very un-English difficulties after becoming frozen inside the corpse of a bison in 1862’s “A Tale of the Western Prairies” (Howard 198; An English Hunter in America). If we zoom out to the macro level of periodical issue and run, then such stories are also embedded in a whole range of broader settler emigration debates geared towards a British audience. For instance, “A Tale of the Western Prairies” is situated next to the latest article on “Emigration Intelligence,” with news on Australia taken from the *Melbourne Argus* and an article about British Columbia. Similarly, typical *Reynolds* Western-themed text “The Apaches Tribes of Red Indians” shares issue space with the Scotch settler of pro-emigration story “The Backwoodsman,” explored above.

In the light of these hybrid vocabularies and contexts, the *Reynolds* Westerns become a porous point through which the two concurrent streams of the “Anglo-World” settler history outlined by Belich might be said to flow. Rather than exclusively belonging

to the kind of American exceptionalist narrative outlined in *The Plains and the Rockies* or reified within the Westward Journey Nickel Series, these texts thus also reveal their relationship to a far broader settler literature which opens them up to new interpretations and resonances. When read in this way, it is striking to note the extent to which the texts are preoccupied with the same fundamental ingredients of movement and settlement that concern all settler literature; albeit via wagon rather than ship. Indeed, stories of migration and perilous settlement such as this one could belong to any rural settler locale:

When I and your grandmother, children ... first came into this region to settle, there were but very few inhabitants about us. For a circuit of at least ten miles there were not over a dozen families, and they were scattered so far apart that they could hardly call themselves neighbours. The nearest settlement to us was some two miles to the north-west – that of ... an old friend who had emigrated hither some two years before we did.”

(“The Redskins and the Panther” 356).

And yet, despite these similarities, it would be misguided to co-opt these texts into the category of the cohesive or domesticating settler literature which I explored in the first three chapters of my thesis. Indeed, it is the differences between this subgenre of the literature and the more domestic stories of settlement which circulated in the mainstream press which makes their recurrence within *Reynolds* particularly interesting. Most obviously, it seems that the appeal of these stories to a *Reynolds* readership must have resided in their primary identity as variants of the tales of melodrama, sensation, and mild titillation for which—despite the more serious political elements which I have so far

stressed—*Reynolds* is perhaps best known. For instance, “The Redskins and the Panther” involves a gloriously unrealistic scene in which the grandfather settler recalls a lucky escape from a panther, just as he and his wife are in the process of escaping a tribe of murderous Indians: “The next moment, and before I could raise my hand with the intention of re-priming my piece, the monster raised itself on its haunches to give the fatal spring. With a cry I made a motion to start forward; but at that moment there came a vivid flash of lightening that seemed to scorch my very eyeballs, and I knew no more” (357). Unlike many of the other stories I have looked at, these Westerns accordingly fit most closely into the classic mode of masculine adventure stories outlined by Green, and typically work with casts of male heroes who must strive against the various challenges outlined above, be they wild animals, ‘savages,’ bad weather, a hostile frontier landscape, or an inflammatory combination of all four. Likewise, the stories also share a particularly visible interest in racial violence, perhaps in keeping with the actively aggressive expansionism which was rife in the American context in association with the doctrine of ‘Manifest Destiny.’ If, on the one hand, I am suggesting that the Westerns belong to a much broader emigration literature, then it is also evident that they constitute a particularly adventurous branch of that literature which not least serves to throw the more domesticated bowers of other settler texts and genres into clearer relief.

More subtly, however, and beyond the appeal of adventure and sensation, it is also possible to make a case for a *radical* appropriation of the Western in *Reynolds* which accords with the trajectories I have been tracing in this particular chapter, and to which the genre’s early appeal in this context might equally be attributed. Just as we saw in the first part of this chapter, these stories frequently embody those elements of domestic dismantlement and inversion which I have argued characterize the radical rewriting

methods of Wheeler and the *Northern Star*. While often utilizing the language and conventions of middle-class settlerism, these texts frequently engage with domestic imagery and ideology only to ultimately challenge it. In “A Night Peril” (1859), for instance, the traveler takes refuge in a “comfortable dwelling” owned by “a genteel looking woman” and her beautiful daughter, Julia, only for the story to subject the imagery of settlement to pulverization during flash floods. First the water causes the “whole building to tremble and shake, as if it were to be wrenched from its foundation, torn asunder, and shattered in fragments.” Then the visitor has to dive through the submerged house in order to rescue his hostesses: “I plunged boldly downward into some four feet depth of water, and went knocking about in the deep darkness among the different articles of furniture.” Though the story does eventually end with the removal to a new settlement and the narrator’s marriage to Julia, this is only after the house has been literally uprooted: “there came a louder creaking and groaning—then a crashing as of some breaking timbers ... for we were already afloat, and in the grasp of the angry flood!”

Many other stories fail to offer even the tacit domestic reassurance which concludes this story. “A Prairie Picnic,” for instance, shatters its promises of bucolic courtship when a young man is scalped and murdered in front of his betrothed, causing the young woman to go mad. Both “Old Ben the Trapper” and “The Maid of Wabash” feature central characters whose wives and children are murdered by Indians who break into what the latter text terms the “bright home” which has been established (341).¹¹³ Similarly, “The Tribe’s Revenge” ends with a whole camp of men, women, and children being slaughtered by Indians, leaving only “the charred remains of their wagons, and the scalpless corpses of the

¹¹³ In “The Maid of Wabash,” the supposedly murdered daughter proves to have been captured, and resurfaces as the titular maid.

massacred settlers.” “The Haunted Cabin on the Prairie” takes this fascination with deserted, desecrated, or dismantled homes into the realm of the supernatural, by telling the tale of a cabin which becomes haunted after the outlaw who resides there accidentally kills his beloved wife in place of the intended victim.

Moreover, if these stories have little time for domestic settlement and often fail to present a reassuring or comforting conclusion, then it is notable that they are instead often characterized by a degree of fascination for the wide open spaces of the prairies. Over and above the equally iconic Western frontier of the Rocky Mountains, it is the tale of the prairie or plain which seems to have particularly resonated in *Reynolds* from the outset. Thus, in “A Prairie,” an early 1852 vignette culled from a source referenced as *America Described*, the prairie offers just that vision of transformational open space which animates Arthur Morton on the ocean or Pitkethly on his westward-bound train journey: “One of the most novel as well as enchanting scenes in nature is the prairie, or delta, extending to a distance of many miles between the two great rivers. It is for a considerable portion of the year one sea of flowers, one wide region of fragrance . . . Not a tree is to be seen except upon its outer edge, and the blue horizon meets it everywhere.” In “The Renegade White,” meanwhile, the narrator enjoys the exhilarating freedom of a ride across the plains:

So anxious was I to be away from the busy world, and so strong had become my desire to be on the plains, that I allowed my companion no rest till I stood upon the verge of one of the most extensive prairies in that part of the country. Behold me, then, no slave to the pen, daily bestriding my sprightly Mabel, and caracoling over the herbage of this extensive grass wilderness, at times at a walk, at times at a break-neck gallop (197).

Furthermore, the prairie is a space through which a variety of independent characters wander, including trappers, miners, hunters, fishers, and outlaws. In “The Renegade White,” for instance, the “companion” noted above is the enchantingly “reckless” trapper, Tom, who has taken to the “wild existences of the wilderness” (197), while “Old Ben, the Trapper,” in the story of that title, is described as one of those “strange characters” whom “a person travelling through the great West . . . is bound to meet” (277). In the context of *Reynolds*, in fact, these familiar Western heroes begin to look slightly different: independent types whose expansive enjoyment of the open spaces around them and rugged appropriation of the hunting practices often associated with the aristocracy in Europe is at least suggestive of a possible relationship to the radical poachers and dispossessed of the land who feature in the radical texts about emigration to which *Reynolds* was heir. For instance, M. Silingsby’s “Fishing in the Far West” describes a group of disparate mobile men heading from the East, and begins as follows:

After divers wandering in the far West—fording rivers, crossing prairies, camping in the open air—we found ourselves, on a lovely June day, in that region of country known as the Sweet Water Valley. Why we were *there*, so far away from the haunts of civilization, leading, as the reader may infer, a roving, vagabond existence, is a question of secondary consideration. We were there, and we regard this fact as a sufficient introduction to that which is to follow.

Notably, in this passage, there is no real need for the accented *there* to become a ‘here’—that is, no investment in those concepts of settled domesticity and affective place which

characterize other settler emigration literature. At times, this respect for independence and freedom in the land is even extended to indigenous characters, who, though admittedly more often functioning as one-dimensional and demonized ‘savages,’ are in other stories afforded the dignity of the dispossessed. In “The Tribe’s Revenge,” for instance, the story begins with an Indian chief’s oratorical address to his people which conveys much of the radical rhetorical style of the *Northern Star*:

Many of ye burn for revenge, for the murder of our brother, the Red Bird, by the white men; they who are gradually taking from us our land; they who would deprive us of our meat; they who are murdering our race inch by inch, and who laugh in our faces when we demand satisfaction! ... Brothers, shall these things be done before our eyes without a struggle for ourselves?

This, then, is a literature which is not only far more interested in adventure and sensation than more mainstream domestic settler literature, but which can also be interestingly situated in relation to the longer radical and utopian traditions to which *Reynolds* is heir. Rather than upholding visions of settled place, these stories press at the limits of the domestic as I have shown, and often collapse its security altogether. Instead, they reserve their affective affiliations for concepts of independence, free movement, and the romantic appeal of open space. More broadly, reading the Western as a form of transnational “Anglo” settler literature serves to both elucidate points of parallel which are usually overlooked, and, conversely, to delineate the differences between this adventure settler genre and the more cohesive settler texts explored in the first part of the thesis. It is

towards these broader points which I wish to direct my thoughts in the conclusion which follows.

Conclusion

Transnational and Local

In resituating *Reynolds's* Western tales as a form of hybrid Anglo-American settler literature, my last chapter reemphasizes those transnational dimensions of much periodical emigration literature which I noted in my introduction and first chapter. As I previously observed, British periodical emigration literature often begins to blur with other national emigration literatures, with texts circulating fluidly between colonial and metropolitan titles and contexts. For instance, running a story such as Dewee's "A Prairie Waif" through the *American Antiquarian Society Historical Periodicals Collections* reveals the same story featuring in *Peterson's Magazine* in May 1855, just prior to its appearance in *Reynolds* in July of the same year. Such a line of enquiry also leads to another cluster of relevant stories in the same publication, such as "The Young Emigrant Girl," by the Rev. G. W. Rogers, and A. F. Adams's "The Emigrant's Song." A little more speculative searching through the online database *American Periodicals* confirms that this movement is also often two-way, with, just for example, Frances George's anonymously published *Household Words* poem "An Emigrant's Glance Homewards" turning up in *Littell's Living Age* on 15 May 1852, a periodical which Meredith L. McGill notes was exclusively comprised of reprints, or Blackie's "The Emigrant Lassie" featuring in the *Christian Advocate* in 1875 (McGill 23).

Indeed, from the image of settler Joe in my introduction onwards, I have been finding texts which consistently register the pull of their own circulatory paths, and which in many cases exist in a kind of hinterland between metropolitan and colonial, or British and American, identities and readerships. Thus, as we have seen in chapter 2, it becomes

possible to situate “Harry Heathcote” in both the *Melbourne Age* and the *Graphic* simultaneously, and to accordingly view it as a gateway between British periodicals and a vast Australasian periodical literature about emigration which this thesis has not touched upon. Searching within the *Trove* online database of Australian newspapers and magazines for the years 1870 to 1875 reveals 13,987 texts classified as ‘articles’ or ‘literature’ which feature the term ‘emigrant,’ and 6,793 which feature the term ‘English immigrant.’ Likewise, as I have shown in chapter 3, *Great Expectations* has one foot surprisingly planted in the West: a brief glance at the *Harper’s Weekly* version of *Great Expectations* in fact reveals articles such as “In a Slough on A Prairie” and “The Growth of the West” running alongside chapter 13, and “A Texan Ranger” keeping company with Pip and Joe in chapter 12 (Fig. 15). Similarly, as my work in chapter 4 suggests, it would be possible to follow Maria Rye’s path into the New Zealand periodical press, or to attempt, if it proved methodologically feasible, to trace the circulation of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* back to the colonial readerships it so often interacts with via the letters pages. As we have seen throughout, this split transnational identity also often operates at the level of authorship, with the Anglo-Irish Murray publishing *The Settlers* in an English periodical after her emigration to Canada, and other texts such as Caroline Kirkland’s *A New Home, Who’ll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life* circulating in both American periodicals and British journals the *Athenaeum* and the *London Literary Gazette* (Zagarell xi).

If we also take into account the likelihood of there being similar links, overlaps, and connections between Australasian, American, and Canadian emigration literatures, then we are in fact faced with what appears to be a vast, Anglophone world literature, in which the periodical, owing to its intrinsic mobility, wide circulatory paths, and tendency to operate

Fig. 15. “A Texan Ranger” keeps company with Pip in *Harper’s Weekly* 6 July 1861.

Harpweek. This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

through modes of reprinting, might be said to act as a particularly porous point between national boundaries. On the one hand this confirms the validity of Belich’s recognition of

an “Anglo” rather than British framework at the cultural as well as the socio-economic level, and opens up the possibility, as I have suggested through my introduction of the idea of the Western as a plausibly transnational genre, of exploring under-examined links between what are usually perceived to be discrete national literatures. Indeed, over the three years it has taken me to complete this project, a transnational comparative framework has become an increasingly strong component of scholarly approaches to the culture of nineteenth-century migration and global interaction, as is evident in both works by Wagner, and Magee and Thompson, and through the activities of interdisciplinary, international dialogue hubs such as the *Global Circulation Project* edited by Gagnier, and the Leverhulme-funded network *Commodities and Culture in the Colonial World 1851-1914*.

On the other hand, however, and as I have done in the British context throughout this thesis, it becomes equally viable to continue to work in smaller local or national contexts, by both noting how the overarching transnational framework is registered at the local level, and carrying out work which could be situated in a larger, comparative field.¹¹⁴ My study accordingly makes a potential contribution to broader ongoing work on transnational settler emigration literature both by having explored how British emigration texts and genres operate in tension with the sense of dispersal which characterizes their

¹¹⁴ My awareness of debates about framing localized studies of empire and migration within global or transnational contexts has been informed by participation within the three-day *Commodities in Motion* workshop held at King’s College London as part of the *Commodities and Culture in the Colonial World* network in July 2010, as well as by attending presentations held in association with the *Global Circulation Project* over the last three years at the University of Exeter. I also gleaned comparable insights from attending the launch of the book history project *Printers on the Move: Transnational Migration, Identity and Printing Skills Transfer in the English Speaking World* at the University of Southampton in October 2010. For a good overview of burgeoning critical approaches to the study of an ‘Anglophone’ nineteenth-century literature which crosses national boundaries, see Wagner’s introduction to *Victorian Settler Narratives*.

theme and form, and by having carried out research which could be situated alongside other localized studies of Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, or American emigration.

In addition to making a feasible contribution to this broader ongoing work on transnational migration literature, what I have achieved in this particular study of British periodical literature is primarily significant as follows. Firstly, I have brought to light a little-studied but often very widely read periodical literature pertaining to a particular period of empire history which has also been underexplored. This has both enabled me to identify distinct emigration texts and genres which are significantly different from those associated with the period of “high empire” in working with cohesive categories of home, nation, and settlement, and to resituate several now canonical texts in periodical contexts in order to reveal obscured dynamics. Despite some of the limitations previously noted about extracting periodicals from the other forms of print culture with which they often intertwine, my focus on this form has also enabled me to trace broader dynamics of migration and settlement particularly closely and effectively, for the reasons argued throughout concerning the periodical’s capacity to register forms of modern motion, and to moderate these with recourse to recurring spatio-temporal patterns that mediate, ameliorate, and control. This has involved developing a method of reading periodicals which draws upon existing spatio-temporal theories of the form in order to foreground overlooked dimensions of mobility. Furthermore, as I have shown in the second part of my thesis, exploring periodical literature has enabled me to access counter-cultural or differential engagements with settler emigration, which include modes of feminized domestic resistance and feminist endorsement, and of radical refusal and emergent utopianism associated with America. In the periodical press, I have argued, lies access to the story of British settler emigration

where it was perhaps most often and most diversely told, most frequently read, and most widely impactful upon other literary forms.

Chronologies

This study has been organized in terms of theme and genre rather than chronological order, but it is with chronologies that I wish to conclude as a means of completing the situation of my project within the broader historical framework I began to outline in my introduction. As I argued earlier, settler emigration can plausibly be viewed as a distinct period of empire history which predated that of high imperialism. Within the large timescale my study incorporates, certain historical periods of course correlate with even more particularized modes of imaginative engagement, and I have tried to indicate this throughout in relation to particular texts, tropes, and genres. Thus, as we have seen, novels such as *The Caxtons* and *Sunshine and Shadow* engage with “Condition of England” debates which were particularly prominent in the late 1840s, radical utopian engagements with emigration cluster around the early to mid-1840s, and feminist engagements with settler emigration reach a peak in the early 1860s alongside debates about female redundancy. Beyond such distinctions, however, considerable consistencies exist across the decades in terms of settler emigration literature’s investments in concepts of home, nation, and settlement, or, in the case of the radical and women’s writings I have examined, the pointed dismantlement and re-articulation of these same categories.

By the end of my period, however, it is possible to argue that both the character of emigration and wider debates about empire had begun to shift. While mass emigration from Britain continued into the 1880s, and in fact peaked during this decade, it began to tail off

from the 1890s and to be joined and in some cases surpassed by other giant migrations, including those of Southern and Eastern Europeans to the United States and Latin America, and Chinese to Manchuria (Belich 502). By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, improvements in steamship technology had also made British emigration both a substantially less arduous and momentous affair, and a less predominantly permanent one (Richards, *Britannia's Children* 3, 177-80; Baines, *Migration* 77-80). Rates of return, always substantial as noted in my introduction, increased significantly in relation to these improvements, reaching an “exceptionally high rate” in the 1890s according to Baines (*Migration* 59). Likewise, towards the end of my period, the periodical texts I have been exploring begin to significantly intertwine with that burgeoning militaristic expansionism which is sometimes termed the ‘New Imperialism.’ For instance, the latest novel referenced in this thesis, Trollope’s *John Caldigate* (1878-79), is serialized alongside a range of highly empire-conscious texts including “India and Afghanistan” and “The Zulu War” which are quite distinct in character from those debates about the colonies as a potential “safety-valve” which interpolate earlier novels such as *The Caxtons*. Interestingly, in fact, one of Bulwer-Lytton’s sons went on to become Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India, and was present in this capacity at the Imperial Assemblage of 1877, at which Queen Victoria’s title of Empress was announced to the Indian nation; thus signifying, at a generational level, the broader shift from settler emigration to a later expansionist imperialism which underpins my periodization (Cohen 202-06). As I have already noted, this is notwithstanding the seeds of imperialist discourse which run through Bulwer-Lytton’s novel and many of the other texts studied.

Towards the end of my period, several important books were also published which signaled a more systematic shift towards ways of thinking about British colonial and

American settlements as a consolidated strategic, cultural, linguistic, and racial unit, rather than as the convenient solution for Britain's domestic problems. Charles Wentworth Dilke's *Greater Britain* (1868) is often considered the first book to explore the "Anglo-World" as a unified whole, and to assess the overall impact of half a century of intense British settlement across America, Canada, Australasia, and South Africa.¹¹⁵ Framed as an epic journey across these destinations, Dilke writes of having "followed England round the world," finding everywhere that he is in "English-speaking, or in English-governed lands" and that the "grandeur of our race" prevails over that of what he terms the "cheaper races" (ix). John Robert Seeley's popular *The Expansion of England* (1881) works along similar lines in promoting the idea of Britain as a "transoceanic state" which would ultimately accrue enhanced military power (Richards, *Britannia's Children* 229). Similarly, in 1887 James Anthony Froude's *Oceana; or England and her Colonies* actively calls for a "United British Empire" comprised of the settler colonies, which would be sustained by a combination of British nationalistic feeling and racial pride (393). These books are important articulations of what Belich and others have argued were intensifying ideas about the value of a close racially, culturally, and often militarily binding relationship between Britain and her "dominions" which survived into the 1960s (472).

As I have argued throughout, differentiation between particular stages of empire history becomes important as a means of bringing into clearer focus the forms of cultural expression associated with them. Between the early 1830s and late 1870s, as I have shown, mass settler emigration was new and dramatic, at once a potential panacea and a cause of anxiety and unease; a phenomenon that I have argued was typically couched in

¹¹⁵ Brantlinger notes that earlier examples of this trend in thinking can also be found in Herman Merivale's *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, first delivered between 1839 and 1841, and Goldwin Smith's *The Empire* (1863). *Victorian Literature*, 6.

characteristically cohesive models of home, settlement, and nation at the representational level while also giving rise to more resistant and adventurous branches. As such, my thesis engages with a period of empire history and a related kind of settler emigration literature which predates both ideas of “high imperialism” and the roughly contemporaneous conception of what Belich terms “Dominion Britonism,” while often informing and anticipating elements of both (473). Beyond my admittedly diagrammatic cut-off date of 1877 lies the entire terrain of imperial literature most often characterized by tales of what Green identifies as masculine adventure. While finding most famous expression in the writings of Rudyard Kipling, Ryder Haggard, and Joseph Conrad such tales of course also flourished within the late nineteenth-century periodical press, with its development of a “New Journalism” which gave voice to evolving visions of empire, as well as the flourishing of an extensive imperialistic juvenile literature associated with publications such as the *Boy’s Own Paper* from 1879 (Boehmer 72). As critics such as John Mackenzie and Paula M. Krebs have suggested, this periodical literature centrally engaged with deeds of empire in much the same way that I have argued earlier periodicals registered, galvanized, and sometimes also resisted, settler emigration (MacKenzie 6, 18; Krebs 8-12).¹¹⁶

In exploring an earlier period of both empire history and print culture, however, this thesis has aimed to tell a portion of an even less acknowledged story of congruence. Crisscrossing both nation and globe, the texts and genres I have studied open routes into understanding how nineteenth-century mass settler emigration was variously imagined and mediated at a cultural level. They speak of the anxieties or hopes that lie behind facts and

¹¹⁶ See also Andrew Griffiths’s PhD thesis “The Wildest Oriental Romance,” which argues that the “discourse of empire” between 1880 and 1914 was “a composite of fiction and New Journalism” (2, 5-35).

figures, and of how settler emigration changed not only the geographical face of the modern world, but also its textual terrain.

Appendix: List of Periodical Titles Referenced

The following appendix presents a list of the full titles of all periodicals featured in the Works Cited. Where more than one title is given, this indicates that texts have been referenced from a periodical which changed names. Fuller publication details can be found in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor's *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (see General Bibliography, below).

Alexandra Magazine and Englishwoman's Journal

All the Year Round

Athenaeum, London Literary and Critical Journal

Belgravia: A London Magazine

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

Chambers's Edinburgh Journal/Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts

Christian Advocate

Cornhill Magazine

Court and Lady's Magazine, Monthly Critic and Museum

Eliza Cook's Journal

The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine

The English Woman's Journal

The Examiner

Golden Hours: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Family and General Reading

Good Words

The Graphic: An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper

Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization

Home Journal

Household Words. A Weekly Journal. Conducted by Charles Dickens

The Illustrated London News

The Ladies' Treasury: An Illustrated Magazine of Entertaining Literature, Education, Fine Art, Domestic Economy, Needlework and Fashion

The Lady's Newspaper and Pictorial Times

Leigh Hunt's Journal

The Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation

Littell's Living Age

The London Journal; and Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art

London Society: An Illustrated Magazine of Light and Amusing Literature for the Hours of Relaxation

The Monthly Repository

The National Review

New Monthly Magazine and Humorist/New Monthly Magazine

The Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser/The Northern Star and National Trades' Journal

Once a Week

Pawsey's Ladies Fashionable Repository

The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge

Peterson's Magazine

The Poor Man's Guardian: A Weekly Newspaper for the People, Established Contrary to the 'Law' to try the Power of 'Might' against 'Right'

The Quarterly Review

Quiver: Designed for the Defence of Biblical Truth and the Advancement of Religion in the Homes of the People

Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art

Sharpe's London Magazine/Sharpe's London Journal

Tait's Edinburgh Magazine

Victoria Magazine

Works Cited

I have separated the Works Cited into two sections, the first of which cites nineteenth-century periodical texts, including novels read as serials, and the second of which is a General Bibliography citing all other texts referenced. This should enable readers to locate items more easily, and serves to convey a sense of the range of periodical literature which this project has brought to light. As periodical texts are multiform, often serialized, and frequently anonymous or co-authored, they present some challenges to standard bibliographic practices. Taking these complicating issues into account, I have used MLA style throughout, but made some small adjustments. In keeping with MLA style for magazines and newspapers, I do not include volume or issue numbers, but do include them for serialized texts as recommended. However, long serialized novels are referenced by first and last volume and issue numbers only for the sake of manageability: details of the individual parts from which quotations are taken are given in parenthetical references. In cases where I have accessed both print and online versions of a text, I have cited the details for the print version only, which will have been used for referencing purposes. In cases where I have noted that a text has been accessed in both the original and a subsequent edited anthology, details of the original only are cited. Anonymous texts with the same title are listed chronologically. Where the text was originally published pseudonymously or under initials but full details of authorship are now known, entries are amalgamated under the full name for ease of location. Where no other author details are available, texts are listed by the informal or pseudonymous names given in publication and noted in the thesis. Shortened titles of periodicals are used throughout: see the Appendix, above, for a list of periodicals referenced which cites full titles.

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