Carter F. Hanson

Still Here, But Still English

R.E.W. Goodridge and the Performance of Nationality in English Canadian Emigrant Writings

For middle-class English gentlemen who emigrated to Manitoba and the Northwest from 1880 to 1900, performing one's nationality became central to the emigrant's masculinity in a way that it had not for previous generations.[1] Prior to Confederation, class-conscious emigrants from England's middle ranks had sought to reassure themselves of their social superiority by invoking education and gentility, as opposed to nationality. Consider these two statements by Catharine Parr Traill in *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836):

> It is education and manners that must distinguish the gentleman in this country. . . . It is the mind that forms the distinction between the classes in [Canada]. 'Knowledge is power!' (62)

> [A]s a British officer must needs be a gentleman and his wife a lady, perhaps we repose quietly on that uncontestable proof of our gentility. (195)

During the 1880s, however, several influences converged to make the class distinctions crucial to Traill secondary to nationality in the minds of emigrants to Manitoba. In this decade, Canadian-born Manitobans developed stronger forms of regional and national identity that put English emigrants on the defensive. Manitoba's transformation from a Métis settlement into a British-Ontarian society and its disputes with the federal government over boundaries and railroads solidified a distinct sense of provincial identity. At the same time, a wider Canadian nationalism emerged and brought with it a heightened consciousness about the Canadian character. Most varieties of Canadian nationalism in the 1880s held that the culture of Manitoba should be firmly British and not French (Berger 78–108; Morton 234–250); certainly

nativist suspicion was stronger toward Mennonite and Icelandic settlers than British Protestants, yet genteel English settlers were still a visible minority (under 10 percent of the population) that attracted considerable scorn (Friesen 202, 482). Edward ffolkes, an English gentleman who emigrated to Manitoba in 1880, wrote in his letters home that there is "a great prejudice against English gentlemen [here]—they are generally lazy and proud, and do little work" (74).[2] Such condescension toward Englishmen naturally pricked many English settlers' nationalistic pride.

The emigrant preoccupation with nationality was never merely a reaction to Canadian nationalism, but also a sentiment fueled by developments in England. To be sure, emigrating to Canada had always been tricky for Victorian gentlemen. In Catharine Parr Traill's generation, the economic benefits of emigration were offset by the stigma of class failure and the fear of losing one's gentility through manual labour. These anxieties still existed in the 1880s and were discussed endlessly in the press, but with the democratization of the gentlemanly ideal, gentility gradually became seen less as an individual distinction of class and breeding, and more as a masculine icon of nationality, a signature of Englishness itself.[3] Robin Gilmour has argued that the Victorian middle classes so successfully wrested the gentlemanly ideal from the aristocracy and remade it in their own image that by the 1870s any male with a public school education could claim gentlemanly status (Gilmour 5–10). Once he was entrenched in Victorian culture as the embodiment of manliness, the gentleman became inseparable from English conceptions of empire as a civilizing enterprise; as Graham Dawson argues, the "dominant conception of masculine identity—the true 'Englishman'—was both required and underpinned by the dominant version of British national identity in such a way that each reinforced the other" (2).

Emigration posed problems for this model of national and masculine identity, however. In the 1870s, economic depression and a saturated professional job market meant that for many young gentlemen, emigration was the only option. By the 1880s, the steady drain of England's male population overseas fed into fears about a national "crisis of masculinity" that was leading to racial "degeneracy."[4] Though emigration was frequently represented in the public schools as a manly way for a gentleman to serve the empire, Anne Windholz demonstrates that popular British magazines expressed conflicting views of emigration that reveal fears that emigration threatened the gentleman's masculinity, and by extension, England's imperial power (633). If, on the one hand, a gentleman emigrant failed to adapt to condi-

tions in Manitoba and confirmed the popular belief observed by ffolkes that Englishmen were lazy and inept, his failure signified a weakening of English masculinity and imperial resolve. On the other hand, if the emigrant succeeded as a prairie settler, his very success suggested he had lost his gentility and become a vulgar colonist, sacrificing his titles of gentleman and Englishman. These anxieties over nationality and masculinity contributed to the gentleman emigrant's tendency to assert his Englishness and resist assimilation into Canadian culture.

Like the Victorian periodicals discussed by Windholz, autobiographical writings of Canadian immigrants also provide a site for reading conflicts of national identity and genteel manliness. The writings of one English gentleman emigrant, Richard E. W. Goodridge, who settled in Manitoba in 1880, reveal a long struggle over national identity (as well as the narrative strategies Goodridge used to perform his nationality). Goodridge was a retired artillery captain from Devonshire who had served in India; he came to Manitoba not to settle himself, but to establish his three sons. Goodridge purchased a farm near Headingley, just west of Winnipeg, and while he suffered setbacks along the way, his residence in Canada was, overall, pleasant and prosperous. Goodridge recorded his experiences as an emigrant, his opinions about Manitoba, and his advice for would-be settlers in two books, *A Year in Manitoba: Being the Experiences of a Retired Officer in Settling his Sons* (1882) and *The Colonist At Home Again; or, Emigration Not Expatriation* (1889). Initially, Goodridge disliked Manitoba's egalitarianism and ethnic diversity, and he rejected any hybrid sense of nationality or home. Subsequently, however, Goodridge developed a strong affinity for Manitoba, and his enjoyment of the province caused him to view his sojourn in Canada as a renunciation of his Englishness and his masculinity as a gentleman. As a result, Goodridge's later text, *The Colonist At Home Again* (1889), becomes an attempt to prove his Englishness, an attempt that unwittingly reveals Goodridge's complex and indeterminate subjectivity as a Canadian settler.

Richard Goodridge's first book, *A Year in Manitoba*, published in London in 1882, has much in common with other settlers' guides written by Victorian emigrants. While it is autobiographical, its author is not the central focus of the text. Goodridge's intent in *A Year in Manitoba* is not to "write the self," but to convey information and impressions about an external object, Manitoba. Goodridge clearly recognized the market that existed in England for reliable accounts of colonial life, and his book is written with prospective emigrants in mind. If *A Year in Manitoba* does not really func-

tion as autobiography because of its subject matter, in other respects it does belong to the genre, inasmuch as Goodridge speaks confidently in the first person. Goodridge embodies the authoritative "Western man" that Georges Gusdorf theorizes first produced the conditions for autobiographical writing. Autobiography takes hold under circumstances where "man knows himself a responsible agent: gatherer of men, of lands, of power, maker of kingdoms and empires" (31). In his preface, Goodridge quickly establishes the masculine ethos of a gentleman by claiming that his "age, antecedents, and associations" give him "authority" to offer his judgments on Manitoba (v). It was to secure for his sons the same self-assured brand of manhood that Richard Goodridge emigrated to Manitoba. Goodridge acknowledges the problem of middle-class masculinity in his preface: "the question of a suitable settlement for the sons of naval and military officers, clergymen, professional men, &c., has long been an anxious one; the system of competitive examinations having practically excluded all but the talented and studious from the prizes in the civil and military services, and professional life generally" (v). Perhaps one or more of Goodridge's sons had failed the military examinations and now faced unemployment. Given the bleak outlook in England, Goodridge comments that "Colonial Life seems the only 'refuge for the destitute' that in most cases offers itself" (v).

Goodridge's decision to seek "refuge" in Manitoba was popular at the time, 1877 to 1882 being the era of "Manitoba fever" that drew thousands of immigrants from Ontario, Britain, and Europe. Consecutive bumper harvests proving Manitoba's excellence as a wheat-growing province, the arrival of the railroad in 1878, and aggressive promotion overseas convinced emigrants like Goodridge that Manitoba had a bright future (Morton 176–98). Goodridge notes that "glowing accounts [of Manitoba] have been . . . broadcast over the United Kingdom, determining many hesitating emigrants to decide in its favour" (vi). Thus, having his three sons to settle, Goodridge writes that he

> determined to take a small farm . . . and there have my boys thoroughly schooled in every detail of husbandry, so as to be fitted for the work of emigrant farmers. . . . Seeing an advertisement . . . of a 'Farm and Cottage' to be let in the neighbourhood of the capital of Manitoba (Winnipeg), I . . . decided to take it as a base of future operations; there after, along with my wife and daughter, accompanying my three sons to the remote west, in order to see the boys fairly started, and then return home. (vi)

Fully intending to return to Devonshire when his sons were established, Goodridge did not consider himself an emigrant in 1880, but rather an

Englishman in temporary residence. It becomes apparent only when reading *The Colonist At Home Again*, written eight years later, to what extent Goodridge's plans altered and how his longer-than-anticipated stay in Manitoba provoked in him a crisis of national identity.

It is not necessary to recount in detail the events narrated in *A Year in Manitoba*. Like most other emigrants who wrote settlers' guides, Goodridge spends considerable time describing the sea and overland journeys that landed his family in Winnipeg on June 4, 1880. Once there, the Goodridges found their "Farm and Cottage" along the Assiniboine River to be in far worse condition than advertised. But with the labour of his sons and some hired help, Goodridge reports that "the seeds planted soon after arrival were developing wonderfully" (44). Based on his account, it is clear that Goodridge was an adept colonist: hard-working, a quick learner, and not easily discouraged. When the family's rented home was destroyed by fire, Goodridge built their new home's interior himself. Agriculturally, Goodridge's first year in Manitoba was a success, and this, along with a firm belief in his superiority as an English gentleman, emboldened Goodridge to criticize Canadian institutions and customs.

Some of what Goodridge says is no different from the complaints of earlier genteel emigrants like Catharine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie, or of his contemporaries such as James Seton Cockburn. Like Cockburn, who disparaged the "'free country' rubbish that is talked here" (37), Goodridge is put off by the familiar tone of Canadian society and objects to the "insufferable roughness" of many Canadians who "assume the most perfect equality" (70). More important than this commonplace observation is Goodridge's criticism of Dominion government apathy in improving Canada's infrastructure, for here he reveals his resistance to cultural diversity and the hybrid identities it produces. Speaking on what he feels is the slow development of Manitoba's roads and railways, Goodridge writes:

> Unfortunately, in my observation of Canadians, they take a long time to make a start—they have impressed me as a people more of talk than of action; and hence as peculiarly unsuited, in a pioneer country like this, for the form of government they now enjoy—*self-government*. . . . Among such a number of mixed races—Canadians, Americans, English, Scotch, Irish, French, Mennonites, Icelanders, French and British half-breeds, and these last the most numerous—how can there be any sufficient unity of purpose[?] . . . It is impossible that the natives can for one moment assent to be taxed for improvements which, while indispensable to men accustomed to the conveniences of civilization, can have but slight attractions for those whose associations are still clinging to the wild Indian and the buffalo. With such an incongruity in the elements, how could vigorous action be

> expected? The only hope seems in the future, when the country shall have become sufficiently settled to make the present majority a helpless minority. (59–60)

Goodridge's perception that the Métis comprised an obsolete "majority" in 1881 is telling. Gerald Friesen argues that by the early 1880s, through the fraudulent abuse of Métis land grants, Manitoba had already "ceased to be a Métis community," and by 1886 only 7 percent of the province's population was Métis (201). Given his exaggeration of the Métis influence, it seems the presence of *any* Métis in Manitoba was unsettling to Goodridge, especially when combined with the influx of other ethnic groups. The Métis embody Goodridge's fear, perhaps then unconscious, of the mutability of Englishness—the fear that, in Canada, Englishness may be corrupted by foreign landscape and foreign race. Goodridge's interpretation of Manitoba's landscape and inhabitants is grounded in the desire for ownership and control, which W.H. New identifies as primary European tropes for reading Canadian lands (86–87). For Goodridge, civilization in Manitoba depends on a gradual homogenization into a more English, or at least British, province, along with the taxation of owned property and the disenfranchisement of the nomadic Métis.

In *A Year in Manitoba*, Goodridge displays his confidence that he possesses an uncompromised Englishness. Besides labeling Canadians as slow starters, Goodridge also asserts that Canadians owe their wealth to unfair tariff protection. To "prove" his argument about the folly of tariffs, Goodridge includes an editorial written in favour of protection by an anonymous "British Subject" and the text of his own rebuttal (signed "Another British Subject"), both published in a Winnipeg journal. Besides calling himself a "British Subject," Goodridge also lodges his protest "in the name of an Englishman [and] a staunch Conservative at home," and surmises that his adversary, "though 'a British Subject,' I should conceive, by his ignorance of facts, can never have been outside the American continent" (78). Whereas English law decreed that any persons living in colonies or dominions were British subjects, Goodridge asserts the more exclusive and place-bound identity of Englishman, the implication being that Englishness trumps Britishness. In 1881, Goodridge's position as an English gentleman seems secure, despite the troubling presence of the Métis. Writing only fifteen months removed from the home-place of Englishness, Goodridge easily sees Canadians as other: they are talkers, not doers; they don't deserve responsible government; they cheat at commerce. Goodridge also does not

expect his feelings about Canada to change: while he tells his readers that Canada offers a "better prospect of success than any other country" (100), he adds that "for my wife and myself, we should indeed be very sorry were we compelled to live here always. It is a pioneer country—everything rough, and . . . terribly uncivilised" (97).

Goodridge's hope of soon leaving Canada, however, did not materialize, and by the time his second book was published, he was unable to perform the identity of English gentleman so effortlessly. Prolonged residence in Manitoba altered Goodridge's feelings about home and self, and more specifically, challenged his belief that his Englishness was indelible. As post-colonial critics have observed, England's far-flung empire has confused attempts to locate a pure, undifferentiated form of Englishness. Ian Baucom argues that in the confusion engendered by England's imperial history and the corresponding desire of the English to establish a concrete identity, Englishness, for the past 150 years, "has consistently been defined through appeals to the identity-endowing properties of place" (4). As opposed to the global diversity of Britishness, Englishness has been felt to reside *within* literal and imagined places, such as the country house or cricket field, that confer Englishness on their occupants. Goodridge's extended absence from England and its privileged sites of identity formation undermined his Englishness; the very principle by which Goodridge had asserted his authority over the editorial-writing "British Subject" in 1881—the fact that he lived in England—by 1889 was calling it into question. Moreover, Goodridge's skilful assimilation to colonial life cast doubt on his gentlemanliness. The fact that Goodridge adapted readily to pioneer life in the province he termed "terribly uncivilised" hinted at his own descent into vulgarity. Thus, in 1889, to overcome the anxiety caused by his unstable sense of national and masculine identity, Goodridge used his second book to atone for his residence in Canada, to provide narrative proof of his nationality, and to justify his status as an English gentleman.

The Colonist At Home Again; or, Emigration Not Expatriation (1889) is a very curious book, one that bears little resemblance to other books by English emigrants in Canada, or to the large number of Canadian promotional books and pamphlets written about Manitoba, such as E. Hepple Hall's *Lands of Plenty in the New North-West* (1880) or Clarke Cliffe's *Manitoba and the Canadian North-West* (1884). One thing that makes *The Colonist At Home Again* singular is that it is very difficult for the reader to decipher what the book is about. Historians W. L. Morton and Patrick

Dunae have looked to Goodridge's text for its commentary on Manitoba. The majority of the book, however, has nothing directly to do with Canada at all. Most guidebooks written by emigrants or visitors to Manitoba and the Northwest, like Robert Christy's *Manitoba Described* (1885) or the letters of Herbert and Richard Church, entitled *Making a Start in Canada* (1889), presented themselves in a straightforward fashion. Readers could expect to find observations on geography and climate, the work of a farm, social conditions, and tips on pioneer life. That *The Colonist At Home Again* does not follow this formula causes no confusion in itself; rather, the reader's puzzlement occurs because Goodridge gives a clear précis stating that he will address conditions in Manitoba, but then veers off course and writes a travel book about England. The English/Canadian duality of the book is perhaps partly due to the fact that, like many emigrant texts, it was published in England and Canada, indicating two distinct audiences, the Canadian one presumably interested in learning about England. Eva-Marie Kröller's *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851–1900* demonstrates the wide popularity of Canadian travel books on England in Europe in Goodridge's day. Goodridge himself is thoroughly inconsistent with regards to audience; he frequently switches between addressing his readers as English, Canadian, or both simultaneously, and it becomes difficult, when Goodridge refers to "here" or "this part of the world," to tell which side of the Atlantic he means. However, Goodridge assumes his readers are English often enough to suggest he had other motives for writing about England than simply to entertain Canadian readers.

The text's undecidability—is it a book about Canada or about England?—is suggested by its title. The "colonist" of the main title is an inhabitant of Canada, but his "home" is England. At the same time, however, "colonist" also implies membership—one who is a member of a colony. In *A Year in Manitoba*, for instance, Goodridge never refers to himself as a colonist or emigrant, terms he would have considered misnomers. He was, properly, an "Englishman in Canada." But by 1889, after his extended residency, the term "colonist" seems undeniable. The subtitle, "Emigration Not Expatriation," provides the best clue as to what Goodridge really wanted his book to be about, but he only discusses the idea of expatriation in one paragraph in the book. If the subtitle was an afterthought, it nevertheless gives the reader some insight and the book a semblance of coherence. Essentially, the book's main title is meant to prove the validity of the subtitle; the fact the "colonist" has gone "home again" demonstrates that "emigration" and "expatriation"

are not synonymous. To be an emigrant in Canada does not require the renunciation of one's Englishness.

Like the book's main title, "Emigration Not Expatriation" also has exclusive and inclusive connotations. In one possible reading, the emigrant who is merely an inhabitant remains thoroughly English; in another, the emigrant who becomes a colonist experiences a convergence of nationalities and feels "at home" in both parent and adopted nation. A more disturbing possibility, which Goodridge seeks to foreclose, is that the emigrant finds that England no longer feels like home, even though no conscious expatriation has occurred. In her book on Canadian Prairie literature, *Making it Home*, Deborah Keahey writes that "it is entirely possible (and often actualized) to be not 'at home' at home. That is, there is often a strong disjunction between an actual experienced home and the abstract idealized home" (11). It is the tension between the possible meanings of home that Goodridge attempts to negotiate in his book. While the book's title suggests home is England, the narrative proper renders home ambivalent. Because Goodridge's *de facto* home is in Manitoba and because he has come to feel "at home" in Manitoba, it becomes necessary for him to clarify his use of the term. For instance, in a discussion of Irish self-rule, when Goodridge writes, "when one looks at the present state of things both at home (England) and abroad" (123), the parenthetical is required to avoid the assumption that "home" really means Manitoba. So while it becomes evident in the text that Goodridge is a colonist who has in fact experienced a convergence of nationalities, the book functions as his attempt to deny that transformation and to insist on the purity of his Englishness.

Understandably, Goodridge begins *The Colonist At Home Again* by trying to account for the fact that he is still in Canada. Goodridge explains that "from the outset" he had planned "to remain three years" (11) in Manitoba establishing his sons, but that after three years, "Something always . . . occurred to postpone" the "return home" (41). What occurred, Goodridge explains, was the crash of the Winnipeg Land Boom, a sixteen-month frenzy of real estate speculation that began in 1881 after the CPR syndicate agreed to run its main line through Winnipeg. In 1882, Goodridge bought a second farm in the Qu'Appelle district and had planned to sell his first, but the Boom's collapse rendered the original farm nearly valueless and Goodridge was forced to sell the second at a loss. Goodridge writes that it would have been "unfair to leave the boys to combat alone a condition of things brought about by no fault of their own"; this situation "necessitated

my remaining on so long a time in Manitoba, *and has practically constituted me,—though I disclaim it as a fact, clinging still to my native country—a Canadian settler*" (13; my emphasis). Goodridge, then, accounts for his continued residency in Canada by saying it is a matter of parental necessity, never mentioning that he himself began a second career as a cashier and bookkeeper in Winnipeg.[5] The reader is led to believe that had there been no economic collapse, Goodridge would have gladly returned to England. Goodridge acknowledges that his long stay has "practically constituted" him a "Canadian settler," though he asserts this status is of a conditional nature, not one of "fact" because he clings still to his "native country." While this disclaimer is crucial to Goodridge as a means of insisting on his Englishness, his disavowal of his settler identity as situational and undesirable is contradicted by his obvious attachment to life in Canada and his respect for Manitoba's progress.

After explaining his presence in Manitoba, Goodridge offers a rationale for his second book. "It has often been suggested to me," he writes, "'Why don't you write another book on Manitoba, re-casting the first, and embodying the changes, local, social and political, that have taken place in the interval?'" (13). For a short while, Goodridge sticks to this purpose, and while he does, he gives Manitoba such a glowing report that his claim of staying solely out of necessity becomes highly suspect. The "terribly uncivilised" province of 1880 has by 1889 undergone a dramatic transformation, and aspects of Manitoban society that Goodridge disparaged in his first book are now praiseworthy. Goodridge writes that "in short, the pioneer character of the entire country is rapidly disappearing; and, so far as . . . Winnipeg itself, in the city may be obtained today every luxury that money can procure, as in any city of the Old World" (14). Whereas Goodridge decried the deficiencies of Canadian railroads at length in *A Year in Manitoba*, in *The Colonist At Home Again* he praises the CPR train cars as completely equal to English cars and even includes a CPR dining car menu to demonstrate Canada's high level of sophistication. Goodridge also recommends Manitoba for its economic vitality and invigorating climate. Moreover, he makes no mention of the "insufferable roughness" of Canadian settlers that annoyed him early on. Beyond attesting to Manitoba's cultural maturity in order to attract emigrants, Goodridge's account validates his gentility and hence his masculinity as a gentleman. Had Manitoba remained uncivilized, as doubtless many English readers imagined it to be, Goodridge's increasingly permanent status as a "Canadian settler" would have compromised

his gentility. As with Baucom's argument that Englishness was felt to reside within particular locales, gentlemanliness was also produced at specific sites—the public schools—and nurtured by institutions like the church and the gentleman's club. Long-term absence from such institutions, combined with the manual labour of farming, threatened an emigrant's good breeding. Thus, unlike Catharine Parr Traill, Goodridge does not "repose" on the "uncontestable proof" of his gentility (Traill 62); through his description of railcar refinement or praise of Manitoba's abundance of good schools, Goodridge earnestly offers proof that Manitoba is a gentility-producing, gentility-preserving locale. Goodridge's testimony also demonstrates that he was fully acclimatized to life in Manitoba, that he felt an attachment to the province, and that his desire to leave it had weakened, all of which caused him considerable unease.

Only when Goodridge had no other choice did he actually return to England in the summer of 1887, just at the time of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. After discussing Manitoba for less than a third of the book, Goodridge writes that "finally, we were left no option—business matters there [England] . . . made it imperative that . . . we must return at once" (41). From this point on, the book consists of Goodridge's narration of his sightseeing in England and briefly in France. Only in the final chapter, when Goodridge returns (home?) to Manitoba, does the book come fully back to the subject of Canada. Given the title *The Colonist At Home Again*, it is perhaps not surprising that Goodridge describes his trip to England, but it is nevertheless perplexing because he provides no rationale for the shift from Canada to England. Unlike the travel books examined by Kröller, Goodridge's work never announces itself as a travel narrative. England, in short, seems to be almost randomly included in the text. The reader could surmise that Goodridge intends to use the chapters on "home" to continue his comparisons between England and Canada, and while Goodridge does make a few such comparisons, they form no cohesive thread through the narrative. In fact, the book's ending seems to elide England altogether; in his final sentence, Goodridge writes as if he had not even mentioned England: "To impress facts; and more, the actual possibilities of the future here [Manitoba] has been the object I have had in view" (160). Goodridge's book was undoubtedly poorly conceived, but assuming he was not simply a terrible writer, which his first book seems to disprove, the question remains of what to make of the large part of *The Colonist At Home Again* that is not set in Canada.

Near the end of the book, Goodridge suggests the rhetorical purpose of his English travelogue and relates his return "home" to the idea of expatriation:

> The impediments to emigration are no doubt very largely connected with the imagination. There is a natural repugnance in most minds to *expatriation*, the final—as supposed—severance of all direct association with persons and places, with which, perhaps, our very earliest days have been identified. The idea is that everything is distant, foreign, unhomelike; and therefore out of sympathy. But, when people are made to see with their own eyes a *fac simile* of things existent in all respects much as at home . . . that aversion becomes removed, and it is the very object of this little volume to accentuate this, and to show that Colonial life is . . . not essentially different from Home life. (143)

Goodridge's defence of emigration begins to reveal how his conceptions of emigration and national identity are linked. Goodridge asserts that "Colonial life" in Canada is essentially no different from "Home life" in England, a view he definitely did not hold when he wrote *A Year in Manitoba*. Nor was Goodridge alone in making such statements. J.G. Moore, for example, told prospective emigrants in *Fifteen Months Round About Manitoba* (1883) that in Manitoba "Above your head still will float the Union Jack of England, the same old language will meet your ear [and] English hands will grasp yours" (28). Even though Manitoba was known for its British character, as Morton has shown, Goodridge's and Moore's claims are nevertheless exaggerations (177, 245). For Goodridge, however, these claims are not just attempts to promote emigration but a crucial assertion of his Englishness. Goodridge's ability to declare himself English depends on a reading of emigration that does not require expatriation. Stephen Slemon has pointed out that Second-World settler identity is characterized by the subject's ambivalent and "internalized" sense of self and otherness, and it is this ambiguous form of identity that Goodridge feels compelled to resist (30–41). Since Goodridge insists in both his books that he is an Englishman and plans to return "home" to England (which, in fact, he did not do until after 1900), emigration is only acceptable if he can remain English while living in Canada.[6] Emigration becomes a threat to Goodridge-as-Englishman if his cultural preferences and sense of home shift in favour of Canada, which, as his text exhibits, was precisely what was occurring.

Walker Connor's distinction between the terms "state" and "nation" is useful for delineating Goodridge's uncertain Englishness. Praising Canada as a political entity, as an emerging industrialized state is not the source of Goodridge's anxiety. Goodridge could safely approve of Canada as a state because as a firm believer in the Empire, he, like Imperial Federationists of

the Canada First movement, considered Canada part of a larger British imperial state (Berger 49–77). Goodridge's anxiety about hybridity hinges rather on the cultural sense of national belonging. Nation, Connor notes, is notoriously hard to define, but its essence is a self-defined "psychological bond that joins a people and differentiates it, in the subconscious conviction of its members, from all other people in a most vital way" (36). *The Colonist At Home Again* shows that Goodridge's "subconscious conviction" of his own Englishness has been disturbed; he is consciously doubting whether he is still a "member" of the English nation, an anxiety which helps explain his motive for writing to English readers about their own country. In order to feel secure in his nationality, Goodridge needs to have it validated according to English standards; in other words, by English readers living on English ground. Thus, in all its confusion, the travelogue serves as Goodridge's attempt to prove to himself and to his audience that his Englishness had not become hybrid.

In his narrative, Goodridge describes numerous exhibits of the Queen's Jubilee, and his family's visits to the countryside and to France, but he also addresses social issues like poverty and Imperial Federation. Much of what Goodridge writes seems, at first glance, to be aimed at satisfying Victorian interests in travel and exhibitions, and not at the construction of any particular self-image. The text, like many travelogues, has a loose, meandering feel that resists topical organization. Goodridge proves a close observer of military processions and public gatherings, but he also foregoes any attempt at objectivity. Goodridge plays the role of reviewer more than recorder, passing judgment on spectacles and social ills. While Goodridge bases his authority on the claim of having no party loyalties that would taint his objectivity, his viewpoints are nevertheless crafted to appeal to a conservative English readership. I am not maintaining that Goodridge's opinions are insincere, but rather that he takes every opportunity to display them, to show that he thinks as an English gentleman should think.

Goodridge uses two methods of self-representation to enact his Englishness, either devoting entire chapters to various social questions or digressing from his travelogue to give opinions on matters relevant to his location. In London, for example, at the heart of the Empire, Goodridge espouses imperial, non-democratic government as the best "that human nature can devise" (82). Kröller points out that for many Canadian travellers, especially imperial loyalists like Robert Shields, visiting London was an act of patriotic duty.[7] Travellers expecting to find London the epitome of

civilization, however, were often disappointed at the poverty and social inequality they witnessed and came away affirming Canada's egalitarianism (Kröller 93). Goodridge, though, echoing his first book, maintains again that colonial self-government is inefficient and more liable to corruption than oligarchical rule: "it will be a woeful day for . . . the British Empire—when its destinies are controlled by a pure democracy" (124).

A bit later, in Somersetshire, Goodridge argues that large country estates, and by implication, the gentry class who inhabit them, should be permanent features of the English landscape:

> To how many hundreds year by year does the noble ancestral estate minister the highest enjoyment; where excursionists and picnickers . . . wander freely around. . . . There is nothing anywhere comparable with them [historic estates], and may their shadows never diminish in my day. Very certain I am that none of the children of Great Britain, our Colonies . . . would desire anything but their perpetuance. (90)

Goodridge's need to negotiate his settler and native identities is revealed in this passage where he attempts to represent his colonial experience while still speaking as an Englishman. Goodridge declares all British colonies and colonists (like himself) are loyal to the landed gentry, but tries to erase his own status as a colonist by speaking of "our Colonies" from the English perspective of paternal ownership—the colonies are "our children." Interestingly, the country estate itself, which Goodridge uses to express his Englishness while suppressing a wider imperial identity, embodies the very identity conflation he finds so problematic. The country estate has long been an icon of Englishness, redolent of noble lineage and well-ordered tradition. But as Edward Said argues of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* in *Culture and Imperialism*, the sustenance of country estates, like Sir Thomas Bertram's, were often "supplied by the wealth derived from a West Indian plantation" (92). The estate as signifier of nationality, then, becomes ambiguous; the supposed singular Englishness of the estate is underwritten by a larger colonial Britishness and history of exploitation. It is precisely this emergent Britishness as a Canadian settler that Goodridge attempts to contain.

Occasionally, Goodridge puts aside his travelogue altogether to discuss social questions of the day. In one chapter, Goodridge addresses Irish Home Rule, the state church, and the alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy. Moving from topic to topic without transitions and seemingly without reason, this chapter seems designed to prove that Goodridge was conversant

with contemporary Victorian debates. Claiming to be perfectly unbiased, Goodridge declares the Irish unfit for self-government because "have they not given all reasonable evidence that their régime would be one of the most degrading despotisms ever known to the civilized world?" (123). Goodridge also displays his patriotism in another chapter by denouncing "socialists and other malcontents" that he observes speaking out against the Queen in London's parks, saying that he "immediately checked their disloyal ebullitions of seditious language" (76–77). While Goodridge is highly self-congratulatory in this section, his statements are not intended to differentiate him from his assumed middle-class reading audience. Rather, his defence of Victoria is a request for inclusion; it is offered so that other English gentlemen may affirm that Goodridge, like Joseph Conrad's Jim, is "one of us" (391).

I have described *The Colonist At Home Again* as a bewildering text with no apparent centre. It is a text ostensibly about place, and is loosely organized thus, going from Canada, to England, to France, to England, and back to Canada, but where the text returns continually is to its author, Richard E. W. Goodridge. This is not necessarily all that surprising. Since Said's *Orientalism*, scholars of postcolonial theory have generally agreed that writing the "other" is an act of self-revelation (Said 1–12). A text (such as travel narrative) that seeks to represent some external "object" inevitably reveals more about its "subject." While Goodridge's text can certainly be classified as travel writing that contains this sort of self-revelation, its particular value lies in the way it reveals the anxiety of gentlemen emigrants. Whereas travel writing generally constructs its object as "other," in this case it is Goodridge himself who fears that he has become the "other" by adopting a hybrid English Canadian subjectivity. Thus, Goodridge represents England not in order to write the "other," but in order to write his way back to a unified self. In other words, he writes in order to be able to say, "I am an Englishman."

NOTES

1 Based on figures from the U.K. Board of Trade, Brinley Thomas estimates that approximately 45,000 British gentlemen emigrated to Canada from 1876 to 1900. See *Migration and Economic Growth*, 59–62.

2 Similarly to ffolkes, Mrs. Cecil Hall writes in *A Lady's Life on a Farm in Manitoba* (1884) that "the last servant [my brother] had in this house was the son of a colonel in the English Army, who was described as 'a nice boy but very lazy'" (27).

3 On the conflation of gentility with national identity, see Julian Wolfrey's analysis of Trollope's *The Prime Minister* (1876) in *Being English* (1994). Of the character Abel Wharton, Wolfreys writes, "for Wharton, a 'gentleman' and an 'Englishman' are one and the same, the questions of breeding, heredity, and national identity being linked inextricably" (169).

4 Numerous authors have written on imperial degeneracy and the crisis of masculinity. See, for instance, Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*, 131–160; Robert Macdonald, *Sons of the Empire*, 16–17; Misao Dean, "The Construction of Masculinity in Martin Allerdale Grainger's *Woodsmen of the West*," 76.

5 With his sons remaining on the 340-acre farm in Headingley, Goodridge and his wife Adelaide bought a smaller farm east of Winnipeg in 1882, and he began working in the city. In *Henderson's Gazetteer and Directory of Manitoba and Northwest Territories*, Goodridge is listed in the Winnipeg Business Directory as chief cashier for H.B. Co. general stores in 1884 and then as bookkeeper for Dick Banning and Co. in 1890.

6 Goodridge remained in Manitoba probably until 1893 and then moved to Chicago, living there at least until 1900. He is listed as a bookkeeper in *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago* in 1900 (743), but does not appear in the 1905 directory. Although Goodridge left Manitoba, electors rolls from the Rural Municipality of Springfield show that he kept his farm in the village of Sunnyside (Section 28, township 11, range 5E) until at least 1916. In 1909 his residence is listed as Lupton and in 1916 as Coleraine, which are small towns in Michigan and Minnesota, respectively. Records from the Itasca County Recorder in Minnesota show that Goodridge bought land in Coleraine in 1909 and sold it in 1923.

7 In *My Travels: Visits to Lands Far and Near* (1900), Shields asserts his "loyalty as a British subject" by marking his "arrival on English soil" with "a journey to Windsor Castle. Why should a loyal and patriotic Canadian not do so?" (15, 12).

WORKS CITED

Baucom, Ian. *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999.

Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1970.

Christy, Robert Miller. *Manitoba Described: Being a Series of General Observations Upon the Farming, Climate, Sport, Natural History and Future Prospects of the Country.* London: Wyman, 1885.

Church, Alfred, ed. *Making a Start in Canada: Letters from Two Young Emigrants.* London: Seeley, 1889.

Cliffe, Clarke. *Manitoba and the Canadian North-West as a Field for Settlement: A Plain Statement of Facts for Intending Emigrants.* Brandon, 1884.

Cockburn, James Seton. *Canada for Gentlemen: being letters from James Seton Cockburn.* London: Army and Navy Co-operative Society, 1884.

Connor, Walker. "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a. . . ." *Nationalism.* Ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994. 36–46.

Conrad, Joseph. *Lord Jim: A Romance.* 1900. Garden City: Doubleday, 1921.

Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities.* New York: Routledge, 1994.
Dunae, Patrick. *Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier.* Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981.
ffolkes, Edward. *Letters From a Young Emigrant in Manitoba.* 1883. Winnipeg: Manitoba UP, 1981.
Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1987.
Gilmour, Robin. *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981.
Goodridge, Richard E.W. *The Colonist At Home Again; or, Emigration Not Expatriation.* London: William Dawson; Montreal: William Drysdale, 1889.
—. *A Year in Manitoba. Being the Experiences of a Retired Officer in Settling his Sons.* 2nd ed. London: W & R Chambers, 1882.
Gusdorf, Georges. "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography." Trans. James Olney. *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical.* Ed. James Olney. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980. 28–48.
Hall, Cecil, Mrs. *A Lady's Life on a Farm in Manitoba.* London: W.H. Allen, 1884.
Hall, Edward Hepple. *Lands of Plenty in the New North-West: a Book for All Travellers, Settlers, Investors in Manitoba and North-West Territory.* Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1880.
Keahey, Deborah. *Making It Home: Place in Canadian Prairie Literature.* Winnipeg: U of Manitoba P, 1998.
Kröller, Eva-Marie. *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851–1900.* Vancouver: U of British Columbia P, 1987.
Moodie, Susanna. *Roughing It in the Bush, or, Life in Canada.* 1852. Ed. Carl Ballstadt. Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1988.
Moore, J.G. *Fifteen Months Round About Manitoba and the Northwest: a Lecture by J.G. Moore.* Stratford-upon-Avon: G. Boyden, 1883.
Morton, W.L. *Manitoba: A History.* 2nd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1967.
New, W.H. *Land Sliding: Imagining Space, Presence, and Power in Canadian Writing.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997.
Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage, 1993.
—. *Orientalism.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.
Shields, Robert. *My Travels: Visits to Lands Far and Near.* Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1900.
Slemon, Stephen. "Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World." *World Literature Written in English* 30 (1990): 30–41.
Thomas, Brinley. *Migration and Economic Growth.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1954.
Traill, Catharine Parr. *The Backwoods of Canada.* 1836. Ed. Michael A. Peterman. Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1997.
Windholz, Anne. "An Emigrant and a Gentleman: Imperial Masculinity, British Magazines, and The Colony That Got Away." *Victorian Studies* 42 (1999/2000): 631–58.
Wolfreys, Julian. *Being English: Narratives, Idioms, and Performances of National Identity from Coleridge to Trollope.* Albany, NY: SUNY P, 1994.