The New Woman and the Empire

Jusova, Iveta

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NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. The christening of the New Woman in 1894 has been well documented. Various labels were used for the phenomenon throughout the fin de siècle—derogatory or flattering, depending on the writer’s point of view. The term “New Woman” was introduced and popularized in 1894 in a debate between Sarah Grand and Ouida on the pages of the North American Review. While the phrase “New Woman” was introduced only in 1894, as Ellen Jordan has articulated it, “the birth of the New Woman pre-dated her christening by a good many years.” Olive Schreiner’s novel The Story of an African Farm (1883) is generally recognized as the first literary indication of the fledgling movement. Cf. Ellen Jordan, “The Christening of the New Woman: May 1894,” Victorian Newsletter 63 (Spring 1983): 19–21.


3. For an examination of the New Woman movement in the broader context of nineteenth-century British feminism see Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, “Introduction,” The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-de-siècle Feminisms, ed. Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 1–38.

4. In Lyn Pykett’s words, the New Woman and the homosexual were “the most dramatic examples of the crisis of gender definition and representation at the fin de siècle.” Engendering Fictions: The English Novel in the Early Twentieth Century (London: Edward Arnold, 1995), 16.

5. Elaine Showalter, Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle (New York: Viking, 1990); Judith R. Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives


9. Offer, 691.
13. Jurgen Osterhammel defines “informal empire” as “a historical situation of some stability and permanence in which overt foreign rule is avoided while economic advantages are secured by ‘unequal’ legal and institutional arrangements, and also by the constant threat of political meddling and military coercion that would be intolerable in relations between fully sovereign states.” “Britain and China, 1842–1914,” Oxford History of the British Empire, 148. Nineteenth-century China and Latin America are generally considered by historians in these terms.
15. As Robin Moore has pointed out, “[B]etween 1885 and 1913 India took two fifths of Britain’s total exports of cotton goods.” “Imperial India, 1858–1914,” Oxford History of the British Empire, 441.
17. The Census of 1851 indicated that there were 400,000 more women in Britain than men. By 1891 that number had risen to 900,000. Figures adopted from Richardson and Willis (4) and Sally Ledger, The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 11.
19. For instance, Hugh Stutfield charges New Women and their novels with importing the influence of “Ibsenite anarchism,” French decadence, and of all those “communists” who “preach the doctrine that all men are equal, when experience proves precisely the opposite.” “‘Tommyrotics,’” Blackwood’s (June 1895): 842. William Barry likens the “transgressions” of British fin-de-siècle emancipated women to the “excesses”
of the French Revolution and accuses the New Woman of “condemn[ing] law as tyranny” and of “being in complete accord with the anarchist.” “The Strike of a Sex,” Quarterly Review 179 (1894): 293.


24. Ibid., 603.

25. Ibid.

26. In Sexual Anarchy, Elaine Showalter reads fin-de-siècle texts as embodiments of contemporary anxieties over the loss of unified identity defined and fixed by a coherent gender. While tracing how this anxiety surfaced in the male quest romance and how it was there textually interlocked with the fear of racial pollution, Showalter pays virtually no attention to racial issues in women’s texts. Furthermore, women’s texts written at the fin de siècle are regarded by her as secondary to the texts produced by male writers.

27. Ann Ardis’s project in New Women, New Novels (1990) was to bring onto the literary map New Woman writers who had been excluded (on the grounds of aesthetic values) from the attention of literary critics. Ardis emphasized the ideological self-awareness manifest in New Woman novels, which she located mostly in their problematization of sexual (and class) issues.


31. Ware, 119.

32. Ibid, 163.


34. Ibid., 139.
35. Ibid., 146.

36. In Foucault’s words, the modern form of “scientific racism” is “tied to a State that is compelled to use race, the elimination of races, and the purification of the race to exercise its sovereign power.” Foucault quoted in Ann Laura Stoler, Race and Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things (London: Duke University Press, 1995), 86.

37. Stoler, 68, 85.


41. “Evolutionism” is Foucault’s term: “Basically, evolutionism understood in the broad sense, that is not so much Darwin’s theory itself but the ensemble of [its] notions, has become . . . in the nineteenth century, not only a way of transcribing political discourse in biological terms, . . . of hiding political discourse in scientific dress, but a way of thinking the relations of colonization, the necessity of war, criminality, the phenomena of madness and mental illness. . . .” Quoted in Stoler, 85.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Teresa Mangum, for instance, quotes Shaw’s complimentary comments on Grand from Our Theatres in the Nineties: “A terrible, gifted person, a woman speaking for women, Madame Sarah Grand to wit, has arisen to insist that if the morality of her sex can do without safety-valves, so can the morality of the ‘stronger sex,’ and to demand that the man shall come to the woman exactly as he insists that she shall come to him.” Quoted in Mangum, Married, Middlebrow, and Militant: Sarah Grand and the New Woman Novel (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1998), 89.

2. The relation between the “social purity campaign” in the 1890s, of which Grand was a part, and the Anti-Contagious-Diseases Acts campaigns in the 1870s is spelled out succinctly by Sally Ledger: “If the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s were predicated on the assumption that it was the female body which was responsible for polluting the larger social body, then the social purity movement which grew out of the Anti-Contagious-Diseases Acts campaigns turned this predicate on its head. It was male sexuality, according to the social purity movement, which most needed controlling, it was the male body which was responsible for social degeneration.” The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 112.

3. “The Strike of a Sex,” Quarterly Review 175 (1894): 289–318. Although Grand was convinced that the author of the article was Mrs. Humphrey Ward, whose Marcella is described in the article as a “genuine work of art,” The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900 attributes “The Strike of a Sex” to William Barry. I am grateful to Mary Jean Corbett for bringing this to my attention.
4. *The Heavenly Twins* was published for the first time in 1893. Six editions of the novel were issued and 36,000 copies sold by Heinemann in one year. Gillian Kersley, Grand’s biographer, notes that Grand became familiar with Josephine Butler’s campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts when she was only fifteen. (The first Contagious Diseases Act was passed in 1864, when Grand was ten.) A club that fifteen-year-old Frances formed to “perpetuate the principles of Josephine Butler, the social reformer,” appears to have earned her an expulsion from school. *Darling Madame: Sarah Grand and Devoted Friend* (London: Virago, 1983), 28.

5. While few (until the Anti-C.D.A. campaigns) had scruples about detaining and forcibly examining any woman (in garrison and dock towns) suspected of being a prostitute, the 1871 Royal Commission Report clearly indicated that to inspect soldiers and sailors for symptoms would be too degrading and unpopular. Cf., for instance, Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side: Toward a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 79.

6. Ledger points out that in 1859, for every thousand men in the army, there were 422 reported cases of venereal disease (111).

7. According to her biographer, Grand used her marriage to McFall to increase her medical knowledge, learning medical facts that she would later use in her writing. Kersley, 35.

8. Mangum, 111.


10. See Mangum again for more on the Contagious Diseases Acts.

11. Kersley, 37. The quote is from Gladys Singers-Bigger’s diary. Ibid., 31.


15. Darwin quoted in Sarah Grand, *The Heavenly Twins* (New York: Cassell, 1893), 1. All subsequent references to *The Heavenly Twins* will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.

16. Grand, *The Beth Book: Being a Study of the Life of Elizabeth Caldwell Maclure, a Woman of Genius* (London: Virago, 1980), 213. All subsequent references to this novel will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.

in 1888, a series of articles debating the reinstitution of the acts in India and England appeared as late as 1897 (167).


24. Ibid., 17.

25. Showalter, 111.

26. For instance, Rita Felski has observed that an inquiry into the texts of numerous women committed to social change at the *fin de siècle* reveals that their commitment was intertwined with what now seem anachronistic or racist, Darwinian and Malthusian, beliefs. *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 33. In her study of New Woman fiction through the prism of eugenics, Angelique Richardson has termed this kind of feminism—infused and directed by the eugenic discourse rewritten from women’s point of view—“eugenic feminism.” *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.

27. The full quote as cited by Grand: “The great leading idea is quite new to me, viz., that during late ages the mind will have been modified more than the body; yet I had not got so far as to see with you, that the struggle between the races of man depended entirely on intellectual and moral qualities.” Darwin’s letter to A. R. Wallace, quoted in *The Heavenly Twins*, 171; Grand’s italics.

28. Grand’s central thesis, expressed in her essays, novels and speeches, was that the future of the English race is in the hands of upper-class women, as the morally and spiritually superior part of the nation. For instance, one of Grand’s characters, Ideala, says: “The future of the race has come to be a question of morality and a question of health . . . And it all rests with us women . . . ours will be the joy of success or the shame of failure.” *Ideala* (New York: Optimus, n.d.), 185. All subsequent references to this novel will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 1


33. Colquhoun is Irish by his mother’s side and Scotch by his father’s, but, as the narrator emphasizes, “much more Irish than Scotch by predilection.” *The Heavenly Twins*, 54.

34. Showalter, 125.


36. “She had owed her force of character to her incessant intellectual activity, which had kept her mind pure, and her body in excellent condition. Had she not found an outlet for her superfluous vitality as a girl in the cultivation of her mind, she must have become morbid or hysterical, as is the case with both sexes when they remain in the unnatural state of celibacy with mental energy unapplied.” *Heavenly Twins*, 350.

37. Following Lévi-Strauss’s conclusions about patriarchal societies as being based on the exchange of words and women (in which women do not interfere), and drawing upon Freud’s arguments about the pre-oedipal stage in child development as being dominated by the mother-figure and the oedipal stage as issuing in the “Law of the Father,” Lacan describes a distinction between the real, the imaginary, and the symbolic within human experience. He argues that in order to become a subject, a child needs to enter the symbolic order (language), access to which is preconditioned by the child’s rejection of the mother-figure and by acceptance of the “Law of the Father.” When entering the symbolic system, when learning to speak verbal language, the subject becomes simultaneously limited and spoken by it. According to this reasoning, it is impossible to express a shattering rejection of the symbolic patriarchal order while using the symbolic language since the language is controlled and encoded by the symbolic system. According to this reasoning, women cannot gain access to the symbolic order, and even if they do, they cannot disable it because they become spoken by it. Furthermore, according to Lacan, even the imaginary (the domain of women) is not free of the symbolic law and is instead already under its control. In Lacan’s narrative, in order to be recognized, the hysterical symptoms need to be translated into symbolic speech, which is managed by the “Law of the Father.” The language of hysterical symptoms is, in Lacan’s discourse, controlled by the symbolic system. Cf. Claude Lévi-Strauss, “Structural Analysis in Linguistics and Anthropology,” *Structural Anthropology*, trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 31–54; and Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: A Selection*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Norton, 1977).


39. Kaja Silverman accepts the Lacanian prioritization of the symbolic over the imaginary but replaces Lacan’s notion of the oedipal father with her concept of a powerful oedipal mother who is a speaking subject and who is part of, and an agent in, the symbolic order. Silverman points out that it is the mother (her voice and image) who introduces the child into the symbolic order and who is only later replaced by the paternal figure. *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 125.
40. Showalter, 106.

41. In her examination of Evadne’s hysteria in *The Heavenly Twins*, Ann Heil- 
mann has reached a similar conclusion, arguing that Grand “suggested that, while hys-
teria dramatized the clash between patriarchal law and female experience, thus mark-
ing the transition from internalized conflict to externalized anger, its liberating 
potential was lost unless this externalization did in fact take place.” “Narrating the Hys-
teric: *Fin-de-Siècle* Medical Discourse and Sarah Grand’s *The Heavenly Twins* (1893),” 
*The New Woman in Fiction and Fact: Fin-de-siècle Feminisms*, ed. Angelique Richard-
son and Chris Willis (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 123.

42. Grand’s overall derogatory and conventional representation of prostitutes as 
“polluted” (all characters of prostitutes in Grand’s writing are portrayed with an appar-
ent purpose of providing a foil for the morally upright heroines) distinguishes her from 
Josephine Butler’s more sympathetic approach.

43. McClintock, 184.

44. Supporting this chapter’s arguments about Grand’s preoccupation with purity, 
heredity, and “blood lineage,” Kersley (relying on the correspondence of Grand’s step-
son Haldane) notes the following anecdote concerning the genealogy of the mother’s 
side of Grand’s family: “Sarah’s Sherwood grandparents united in an unhappy marriage 
to prove and perpetuate an ancient curse to the effect that ‘the blood of the Bees put in 
the same vessel with the blood of the Ravens would never mingle.’ . . . This mingling 
of the ‘bees’ and ‘ravens’ led them into the unhappiness predicted by the curse, accord-
ing to Sarah Grand.” Kersley further suggests that “some belief in the continuation of 
this curse could explain, for Sarah, the miserable life of her mother, her own problems 
and those of her son who ended the line (as far as we know).” Kersley, 18.

The “aristocratic” interest in her own family’s genealogy transformed in Grand’s writ-
ing into her characters’ preoccupation with heredity nicely illustrates Michel Foucault’s 
point that “many of the themes characteristic of the caste manners of the nobility reap-
peared in the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie, but in the guise of biological, medical, or 
eugenic precepts,” and that “the concern with genealogy became a preoccupations with 

45. Young, 2.

46. Cf. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* 
(London: Routledge, 1992), 78.

47. Writing on the role played by late-nineteenth-century privileged European 
women in the colonies, Margaret Strobel and Vron Ware have observed that the empire 
provided Western women with a space in which unconventional meanings of feminin-
ity could be explored. Strobel, xi; Vron Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and 
History* (London: Verson, 1992), 120.

48. Young, 2.

49. This choice of setting might also have had biographical significance. Accord-
ing to Kersley, it was in Malta (where the McFalls were probably posted for a short 
period on their way home from the East) that Frances became first disillusioned with 
her husband. Kersley, 41.

50. Unlike in the colonies of “white settlement” (Canadian provinces, Australia,
New Zealand, and South Africa), whose citizens were throughout the nineteenth century claiming and successfully gaining self-government, in Crown colonies (for the most part acquired by Britain through military conquests) executive powers remained in the hands of Imperial administrators of the British Crown. Self-government within the empire was thus reserved for the “superior” race. Andrew Porter, Introduction, The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4–5.


52. As Dobie points out, what was initially represented by the British as a voluntary decision without any obligations for the future became enforced later when the Maltese finally organized their calls for independence. Only in 1964, when the island became strategically less important, was independence finally achieved. Malta’s Road to Independence, vii.


55. This consequence of European colonial wives’ narratives is analyzed in Strobel, 27.

56. While China never became a British crown colony, following its military defeats in the Anglo-Chinese wars of 1840–42 (the Opium War) and 1856–60, its sovereignty became impaired through a series of treaties unfavorable to China. Large coastal parts of China, Jurgen Osterhammel points out, were turned into “uncolonized extension of Empire.” The British-Chinese treaties “guaranteed rights of access to and of residence in a number of major Chinese cities (transformed into ‘treaty ports’), personal security from the alleged ‘barbarity’ of Chinese justice, a uniformly low tariff and a privileged treatment of foreign goods . . . They also opened up China’s rivers and coastal waters to the unchecked activities of foreign shipping companies.” “Britain and China, 1842–1914,” Oxford History of the British Empire, 146.

57. Ideala’s travels in China would be an exception to this rule, although her journey is merely mentioned in the book rather than being depicted in more detail.


59. Ibid., 224.

60. According to McClintock, where skin color as a sign of otherness could not be easily invoked (as in the case of the Irish and other “white negroes”), the iconography of “domestic degeneracy” was often invoked by English nineteenth-century writers to mark off these groups’ presumed cultural inferiority. McClintock, 52.

61. This seems a characteristic feature in Grand’s texts. Not only are Beth’s father and Evangeline’s husband (in “The Yellow Leaf”) orientalized, but Evadne’s first husband Colquhoun has an Irish ancestry on his mother’s side. This model of bonding, wherein the woman’s location on the imaginary evolutionary ladder is higher than her partner’s, is (quite conventionally) repeatedly rejected in Grand’s writing as inadvisable and corruptive both to the women characters and to English culture in general.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 2


63. Grand’s emphasis on Beth’s delicate features might be perhaps also read (along the lines of Heilmann’s argument) in terms of Grand’s effort to market her New Woman by representing her as feminine and distancing her from the masculinized and unattractive caricature publicized by New Woman opponents.

64. Grand, “The Yellow Leaf,” *Our Manifold Nature*, 98. All subsequent references to this short story will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.

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3. *Keynotes* was published by John Lane and Elkin Mathews in 1893. The cover design by Aubrey Beardsley and the marketing strategies used by Lane were to a great extent responsible for its becoming associated with the English *fin-de-siècle* decadence. For many readers the book became synonymous with decadence, the author’s own ambiguous attitude toward decadence notwithstanding. *Keynotes* sold 6,000 copies in its first year and launched Lane’s successful “Keynote Series” of novels and collections of short stories by contemporary authors. Egerton’s second book, *Discords*, published by Lane in 1894 as the sixth volume of the series, was also a success. For an analysis of Lane’s advertising strategies see Rosie Miles, “George Egerton, Bitextuality and Cultural (Re)Production in the 1890s,” *Women’s Writing* 3:3 (1996): 243–59.

4. George Egerton, “A Cross Line,” *Keynotes & Discords* (London: Virago, 1983), 11. All subsequent references to Egerton’s stories in *Keynotes* and *Discords* will refer to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text.

5. After her mother’s death when Egerton was sixteen (but also prior to it), her father, Captain Dunne, became the major influence on her life and, as many scholars have commented, the model for her first two partners. Captain Dunne was proud of his ancient Irish ancestry and in the 1870s became directly involved with Butt’s Home Rule campaign. Stetz, 3.


7. Egerton portrays her life with Higginson in “Under Northern Sky” (*Keynotes*)
and in *The Wheel of God* (1898).

8. The income earned from her writing seems to have never been sufficient to provide regular support for all of the people financially dependent on Egerton: her family and later her first husband.

9. The U.S. consul in Buenos Aires said in the 1890s about Latin America: “The English are in everything, except politics, as intimately as though it were a British colony.” Quoted in Roy Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Longman, 1993), 5. Chile and Brazil had, in the eyes of British investors, a privileged position among Latin American countries because of their relative political stability.

10. According to Holbrook Jackson, Egerton’s was the first reference to Nietzsche in English literature. *The Eighteen Nineties: A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Knopf, 1923), 129.

11. Egerton translated Knut Hamsun’s *Hunger* from Norwegian and Ola Hansson’s *Young Ofege’s Ditties* from Swedish.


13. Ibid., 62.


16. “Man is something that shall be overcome. What have you done to overcome him? All beings so far have created something beyond themselves; and do you want to be the ebb of this great flood and even go back to the beast rather than overcome man? What is the ape to man? A laughing-stock or a painful embarrassment. And man shall be just that for the overman.” Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, *The Portable Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: Penguin, 1968), 124.


18. Nietzsche’s endorsement for the recovery of instinct is emphatically expressed in *The Twilight of the Idols*: “To have to fight the instincts—that is the formula of decadence: as long as life is ascending, happiness equals instinct.” *The Portable Nietzsche*, 479; Nietzsche’s italics.


20. Carol Diethe has pointed out that Nietzsche “was virulently opposed to the education of women because he felt that his system . . . depended on the fact that women would stay in the home (as in Ancient Greece) and rear the new generation.” “Nietzsche and the New Woman,” *German Life and Letters* 48:4 (October 1995): 433.


22. Nietzsche here rejects categorically the principle of the “taming” of human bodies through morality. While his objections to the concept of breeding are expressed
less vigorously, thereby exposing his fascination with the notion of regulation of human populations, his rejection of the intrusions of the state and church power upon individuals implies that the ideal regulation of populations, as conceived by him, would be executed on a personal level; it would rely on the discretion of individual couples. *The Twilight of the Idols*, 505.

23. This was the last story in Egerton’s *Discords*.

24. Egerton dedicated *Keynotes* “To Knut Hamsun. In memory of a day when the west wind and the rainbow met, 1892–1893” (vi). Her relationship with Hamsun is rendered in “Now Spring Has Come” (*Keynotes*).

25. Compare this passage with Zarathustra’s speech: “It was the sick and decaying who despised body and earth and invented the heavenly realm. . . . I know these godlike men all too well: they want one to have faith in them, and doubt to be sin. . . . Listen rather, my brothers, to the voice of the healthy body.” *Thus Spoke Zarathustra, The Portable Nietzsche*, 146. Also, compare Nietzsche’s comments on “bad conscience” (called by him a deep-seated malady resulting from interiorization of instincts), on sin (“the priestly version of bad conscience” utilized for the purposes of organized religion), and asceticism (“an ascetic life is really a contradiction in terms”) in *The Genealogy of Morals*.


27. In her autobiographical comments, “A Keynote to *Keynotes*,” Egerton spoke thus about her creative goals: “There was only one small plot left for [woman] to tell: the terra incognita of herself, as she knew herself to be, not as man liked to imagine her.” “A Keynote to *Keynotes*,” *Ten Contemporaries: Notes toward Their Definite Bibliography*, ed. John Gawsworth (London: Folcroft, 1972), 57–60; Egerton’s italics.

28. Compare also Egerton in “A Keynote to *Keynotes*” on this issue: “I recognized that in the main, woman was the ever-untamed, unchanging, adapting herself as far as it suited her ends to male expectations; even if repression was altering her subtly. I would use situations or conflicts as I saw them with a total disregard of man’s opinions. I would unlock a closed door with a key of my own fashioning” (58).

29. Chrisman has insightfully pointed out the “linkage of European femininity with an (implicitly racialized) ideology of savage primitivism” in this passage (46).


32. Stutfield, 838.

33. Ardis, 100.


35. *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, 178.

36. At the time of writing “The Spell of the White Elf,” Egerton still believed (was told by doctors) that, like the character of the English woman writer in the story, she could not have children. Her later pregnancy at age thirty-six came as a surprise.
37. Anne McClintock has examined this plot in Schreiner’s *Man to Man* (1926), where the character of a white mistress, Rebekah, adopts her husband’s illegitimate daughter of mixed race while the black mother (a servant) is represented as uncaring and unfit to take care of her child. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 273.

38. “She-Notes. By Borgia Smudgiton,” *Punch* 62 (March 17, 1894): 129. Owen Seaman was the author of this anonymously published article.


41. “She has gathered her cream-colored mittens about her wrists; the contrast at once strikes him; in the subdued evening light he can see that her hands are unwashed.” “She-Notes. By Borgia Smudgiton,” *Punch* 61 (March 10, 1894): 109.

42. Stoler, 123.

43. Ibid., 105.


45. In fact, when Clairmonte’s illegitimate child was born in 1898, an outcome of Clairmonte’s brief stay in England, it was Egerton who, although destitute herself, offered what money and help she could to the child’s poor mother, while Clairmonte denied paternity. Egerton divorced Clairmonte in 1900. Stetz, 82.

46. Stetz, 90.

47. While David Fitzpatrick notes that Ireland’s place within the British imperial system differed both from white settler colonies (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa) and from Crown colonies, he acknowledges “Britain’s enduring disposition to govern Ireland like a Crown Colony.” *Ireland and the Empire,* *Oxford History of the British Empire,* 500.


50. According to Stetz, Egerton considered William Butler Yeats “a fraud” (97).

51. As their response to the Anglo-Saxonist stereotypical portrait of the Irish as culturally and racially inferior (perhaps best exemplified by *Punch* cartoons of Paddy with his pig), Synge and Yeats created idealized pictures of the Irish peasant as the repository of Irish virtues and spirituality. Synge, in his portrayal of peasants from the Aran Islands, idealized the Celtic “wildness” and vitality, dying (according to him) in more “civilized” cultures. Thus he celebrated those presumably innate Irish attributes that the English had ridiculed (Watson, 41 and 71). Yeats, in his attempt to dodge the (for him) unpalatable aspect of the peasants’ Catholicism, created idealized peasant Ireland of pre-Christian folk and fairy.

52. Watson, 28.

53. As Stetz notes, Captain Dunn (1837–1901) “traced his ancestry back to the O’Dunns of Leinster, one of the noblest Irish families” (1).

54. Egerton’s biographer describes her religious convictions in the 1890s as a
“peculiar” mixture of deism, spiritualism, and pantheism. Interestingly, Egerton’s son was baptized, although, as Stetz notes, Egerton took no interest in the ceremony (76).

55. Isaac Butt was the founder of Home Rule (1870). Although he himself belonged to the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and initially was a unionist, Butt gradually lost confidence in the Union, developed into a conservative Irish nationalist, and worked to reconcile Irish Catholics and Anglo-Irish Protestants. His plan was to establish an Irish government that would have jurisdiction over local resources while Westminster would retain authority over colonial affairs, foreign policy, and imperial defense. By 1876, Irish nationalists had lost their patience with Butt’s conservative tactics, and they gave their support to the more radical Parnell (McCaffrey, 75–92).

In 1873, Captain Dunne backed a bill for 800 pounds for Butt who was his friend. When the bill was not met, Dunne was sent to the Marshalsea prison, leaving his five children and pregnant wife in Dublin (Stetz, 3).


57. The various plots in the story are not integrated, and most of its characters are merely incomplete sketches. Stetz uses the following accurate metaphor to describe “Oony”: “‘Oony’ was like a badly packed trunk hauled down from the store-room of the author’s memory: fascinating bits of jumble, with no relation to each other, were always spilling out of it” (94).

58. Egerton, “Oony,” Symphonies (London: The Bodley Head, 1897), 118. All subsequent references to “Oony” will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.

59. Curtis, 2.

60. If Egerton’s feelings toward Ireland were ambivalent, her distrust of the English was relatively persistent. Since Irish Americans supported financially the Irish Home Rule cause, they provided Egerton with an acceptable social group (certainly more acceptable to Egerton than the English) for censuring the Irish peasant lifestyle.

61. “The word degenerate, when applied to a people, means . . . that the people has no longer the same intrinsic value as it had before, because it has no longer the same blood in its veins, continual adulterations having gradually affected the quality of that blood. . . . He, and his civilization with him, will certainly die on the day when the primordial race-unit is so broken up and swamped by the influx of foreign elements, that its effective qualities have no longer sufficient freedom of action.” Arthur de Gobineau, The Inequality of Human Races, trans. Adrian Collins (New York: Howard Fertig, 1967), 25.

62. Gobineau, 212.


64. Cf. Hankins, 144.


66. Egerton, The Wheel of God (London: Grant Richards, 1898), 226. All subsequent references to the novel will refer to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text.
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1. Robins was born in 1862 in Louisville, Kentucky, and raised (mostly by her paternal grandmother) in Zanesville, Ohio. Her mother’s mental health seriously deteriorated when Elizabeth was still a young girl, possibly aggravated by marital difficulties and frequent births. In 1881, against her father’s wishes, Elizabeth went on stage, traveling across the United States with O’Neill’s touring company and later acting with the Boston Museum Theater. In 1888, Robins arrived in London, where she became one of the most successful Ibsen actresses. Although she frequently visited the United States afterwards, she spent most of the remainder of her life in Britain, where she died in 1952. Cf. Joanne E. Gates, *Elizabeth Robins, 1862–1952: Actress, Novelist, Feminist* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994); and Angela V. John, *Elizabeth Robins: Staging a Life. 1862–1952* (London: Routledge, 1995).


4. Tracy C. Davis has pointed out that when in the late nineteenth century, actresses became oversupplied, middle-class women were better prepared to survive the surplus; working-class actresses could not compete with their educated language and drawing-room manners demanded by the bourgeois audiences. *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), 13.


7. Elizabeth Robins, *Both Sides of the Curtain* (London: Heinemann, 1940), 169; Robins’ italics. All subsequent references to this book will refer to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text.

8. Robins, *Under the Southern Cross* (New York: Frederick Stokes, 1907), 216. All subsequent references to this work will refer to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text.

9. Robins met George Parks while working with the Boston Museum Theater. Although she did not want to marry him and was supported in this decision by her grandmother, they did marry in 1885. Parks, who was evidently jealous of Elizabeth’s career and her literary ambitions, committed suicide in 1887. Gates, 16–21.


11. Although the name was coined in 1911, the symptoms of schizophrenia were well known to Victorian physicians.


13. Robins, *The Open Question: A Tale of Two Temperaments* (London: Harper Publishers, 1899), 336. All subsequent references to the novel will be to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text.

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161:975 (Jan. 1897): 110.
18. Ibsen’s wife Suzanna as well as her influential step-mother, the writer Magdalen Thøresen—both of them described by Meyer as the first “new women” that the playwright ever met (Meyer, 126)—were among the most enthusiastic followers of Kierkegaard. It was through their (one would expect prowomen) interpretation that Ibsen knew the philosopher’s work.
20. William Archer summed up the English critics’ assessments of Ibsen’s characters as mentally deteriorated in several articles, for example, in “Ghosts and Gibberings,” Pall Mall Gazette (8 April 1891): 3; or in “The Mausoleum of Ibsen,” Fortnightly Review (July 1893): liv, 77–91.
24. Clement Scott is an example of a critic who, although hostile to the ideology presented by Ibsen’s plays, frequently expressed his surprised fascination with their productions. In his (unsigned) review of the 1891 production of Rosmersholm, he confesses: “Say what we will about Ibsen, he unquestionably possesses a great power of fascination. Those who most detest his theories, his doctrines, his very methods of art, confess to a strange and absorbing interest.” Daily Telegraph (24 Feb. 1891): 3; reprinted in Ibsen: The Critical Heritage, 167. In his later (unsigned) comment on Robins’ production of The Master Builder, Scott similarly wrote: “There is, indeed, something almost intoxicating in the very vagueness of the playwright’s utterances—in the feeling that each spectator can be his own interpreter.” Daily Telegraph (21 Feb. 1893): 3; reprinted in Ibsen: The Critical Heritage, 270.
27. Cima, 40.
28. Cf. Michel Foucault’s comments on the commonly accepted perception today that truth/confession is freedom and his arguments that the obligation to confess is rather the “effect of a power that constrains us” and that the production of truth is
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30. Ibid., 29.
32. Cf., for instance, Robins’ objections to interpretations of her Hedda by male critics such as Clement Scott. *Ida and the Actress* (London: Hogarth, 1928), 16, 32.
34. Quoted in Gates, 1.
35. Robins, “Woman’s Secret,” *Way Stations* (New York: Dodd & Mead, 1913), 4. All subsequent references to this essay will refer to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text.
36. Robins’ experience with the London theatrical establishment controlled by actor-managers, known for being easily intimidated by strong roles for women, might have been responsible for her decision to keep her most seditious character from being presented on the stage.
37. Robins, “The Silver Lotus,” quoted from the manuscript in the Fales Library, New York University, II:38–39. All subsequent references to this play will refer to this manuscript and will be given parenthetically in the text.
41. I am grateful to Margaret Stetz for bringing this analogy to my attention.
42. Robins, *The Convert* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), 59. All subsequent references to the novel will refer to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text.
43. In the second half of the nineteenth century, in Ohio, where Robins was raised and went to a private seminary, public schools were bilingual: English and German. Victor Villanueva, Jr., *Bootstraps: From an American Academic of Color* (Urbana, IL: NCTE, 1993), 46.
45. Ibid., 138.

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1. Amy Levy was born in Stockwell (not Clapham). I am grateful to Levy’s grand-niece, Katharine Solomon, for this clarification.

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3. In 1879 Levy became the second Jewish woman to enter Cambridge (Beckman, 35), attending Newham College until 1881. Interestingly, none of Levy’s four brothers (all her juniors) received a college education, possibly because of the economic downturn the family experienced in the 1880s.


8. Katharine Tynan and Harry Quilter, quoted in Beckman (3).


20. Scheinberg, 177.


22. Scheinberg, 192.

23. Twelve copies of the poem were printed for private circulation. New, 554.

24. Levy, “A Ballad of Religion and Marriage,” *The Complete Novels*, 404. All subsequent references to this poem will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.


26. Beckman, 141.
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29. Levy, “Xantippe: A Fragment,” *The Complete Novels*, 358. All subsequent references to this poem will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.
31. Levy, “Griselda,” *The Complete Novels*, 461. All subsequent references to this short story will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.
32. Levy, *The Romance of a Shop*, *The Complete Novels*, 190. All subsequent references to this novel will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.
33. Levy, *Miss Meredith*, *The Complete Novels*, 351. All subsequent references to this novel will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.
34. Beckman, 154.
35. As her own comments concerning *The Romance* suggest, to shock middle-class readers was not Levy’s purpose here. She wrote in a letter that the novel “aims at the young person” and that “I have purposely held in my hand.” Quoted in Beckman, 155.
38. Speaking of the novel’s conformity to the conventions of nineteenth-century realism, Beckman has similarly observed that Levy engages these conventions in such an exaggerated way that they appear comical (157).
40. Hutcheon, 2.
41. Ibid., 37.
42. Irony “can be used either to undercut or to reinforce both conservative and radical positions.” Ibid., 27.
43. Ibid., 31.
45. Ibid., 82.
46. Beckman, 185.
48. Ibid., 40.
49. Ibid., 115.

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50. Ibid., 39.
51. Ibid., 82.
52. I am grateful to Linda Hunt Beckman for this insight.
55. Beckman reminds us that Levy’s novel’s rebuke of the Jewish community’s materialism needs to be viewed in the broader context of the Victorian novel’s critical treatment of the materialistic values within the whole British middle class (170).
58. Quoted in Rochelson, 315.
59. Gilman, 76.
60. Ibid., 12.
61. I agree with Beckman’s perceptive assessment of Levy’s narrator as shifting and erratic, sometimes reliable, other times unreliable: “Although narrated in the third person, *Reuben Sachs* lacks an omniscient point of view. The story is told either by one narrator whose perspective keeps shifting and who is a kind of ventriloquist (able to speak in several social dialects) or by divergent voices that are not explicitly differentiated from one another.” Beckman, *Amy Levy*, 165.
63. Beckman, *Amy Levy*, 162. Bryan Cheyette’s similarly favorable approach to *Reuben Sachs* is also illuminating. Reading it as a text that pioneered a new genre of the Anglo-Jewish novel of “revolt,” he considers Levy’s exaggerated use of stereotypes as being driven by her refusal to “engage in literary apologetics on behalf of Anglo-Jewry’s version of morality” (260) and idealize her portrayal of the Anglo-Jewish community. The Anglo-Jewish novel of “revolt” refused to continue the tradition of the postemancipationist novel (applauded and encouraged by the *Jewish Chronicle*), whose major objective was to “present Jews sympathetically as ideal ‘good citizens’” (Cheyette, 254).
64. Beckman argues that “the relationship between the narrator and the narrative is slippery because Levy wants the reader to understand that it is impossible to establish the truth about the Jews” (*Amy Levy*, 163). Scheinberg observes that “in general, it is almost impossible to determine whether the narrator [in *Reuben Sachs*] is Jewish or not” and argues that Levy in her novel “attempted to construct a ‘neutral’ narrator.” She continues: “Such a persona would be unreadable in Christian culture which functions under the assumptions of essential Jewish identity: one either is, or is not, a Jew” (181).
65. The narrative uses terms such as “spurious” (276) and “veneer” (281) when speaking of Lee-Harrison’s Judaism. Also see the statement on page 236: “Needless to
say [Bertie] was completely out of touch with these people whose faith his search for the true religion had led him, for the time being, to embrace.”


68. George Eliot, Daniel Deronda (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 270. All subsequent references to this novel will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.


70. Levy, “Middle-Class Jewish Women of To-Day,” The Complete Novels, 525.


72. Rochelson, 319.

73. Ragussis, 38.


75. Ibid., 124.


77. Quoted in Cesarani, 86–87.

78. Palestine was a province within the Ottoman Empire until 1918 when it officially entered “Britain’s sphere of influence.” Edward Said, The Question of Palestine (New York: Times Books, 1979), 19.

79. Ibid., 88.

80. Ibid., 68–69.

81. Ibid., 65.

82. Mordecai speaks of Palestine as a land that needs to be “redeemed” by the Jews from its “debauched and paupered conquerors,” and he makes stereotypical references to “the despotism of the East” (595). Cf. Said’s analysis of Mordecai’s speech (64).


84. Cheyette, Between “Race” and Culture, 253.

85. Levy, “Cohen of Trinity,” The Complete Novels, 478. All subsequent references to this short story will refer to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.

86. Gilman, 154. In 1888, Jean Martin Charcot, for instance, stressed “that nervous illnesses of all types are innumerably more frequent among Jews than among other groups.” Quoted in Gilman, 155.

87. “It is a most effective bit of narrow and close photography,” the (non-Jewish) reader for Macmillan stated about the novel. Quoted in Beckman, Amy Levy, 168.

88. Hutcheon, 11.

89. Beckman, Amy Levy, 6, 208.
NOTES TO CONCLUSION