Educating Ida: Gilbert and Sullivan Among the New Women

Journal:	*Literature and History*
Manuscript ID	LITHIST-2020-0063.R1
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	Higher education, Women, Feminism, Opera, Nineteenth-century Literature and Culture

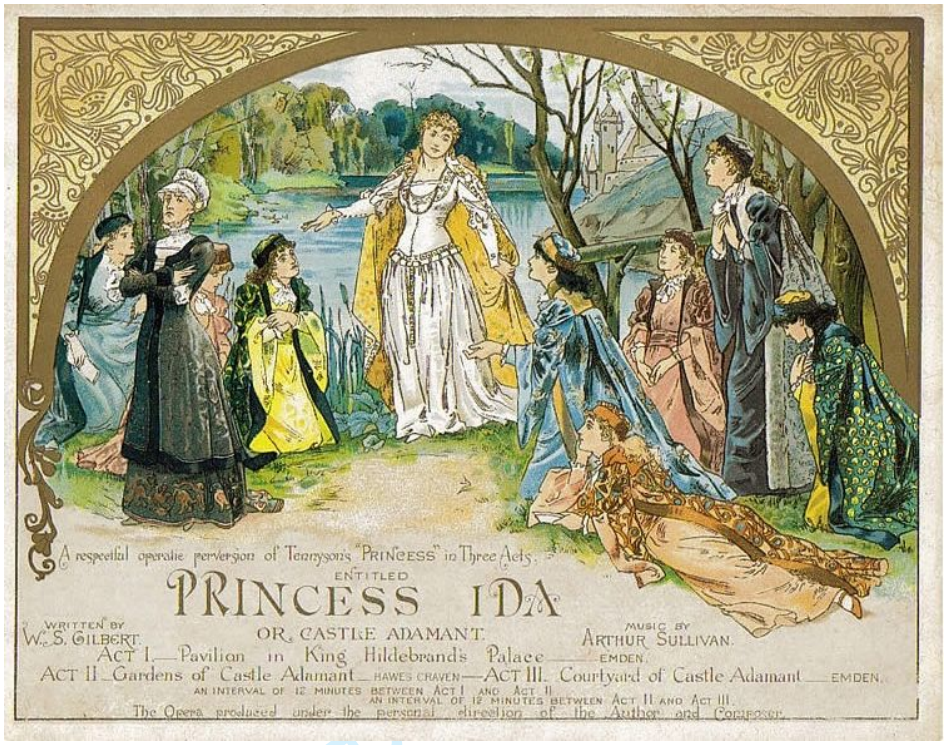

Figure 1. Artist unknown. The second page of the opening night programme for *Princess Ida*. 5 January 1884.
Source: gsarchive.net from the John Sands collection

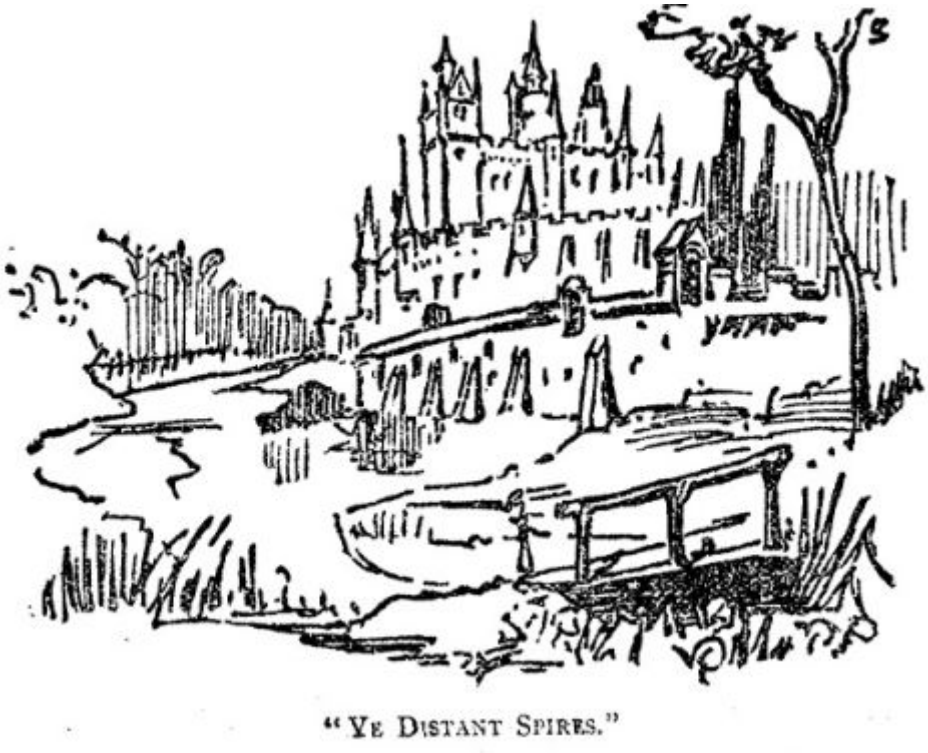

Figure 2. Artist unknown. Illustration for 'The Princess Ida' in *Pall Mall Gazette*. 7 January 1884.
Source: British Library Newspapers

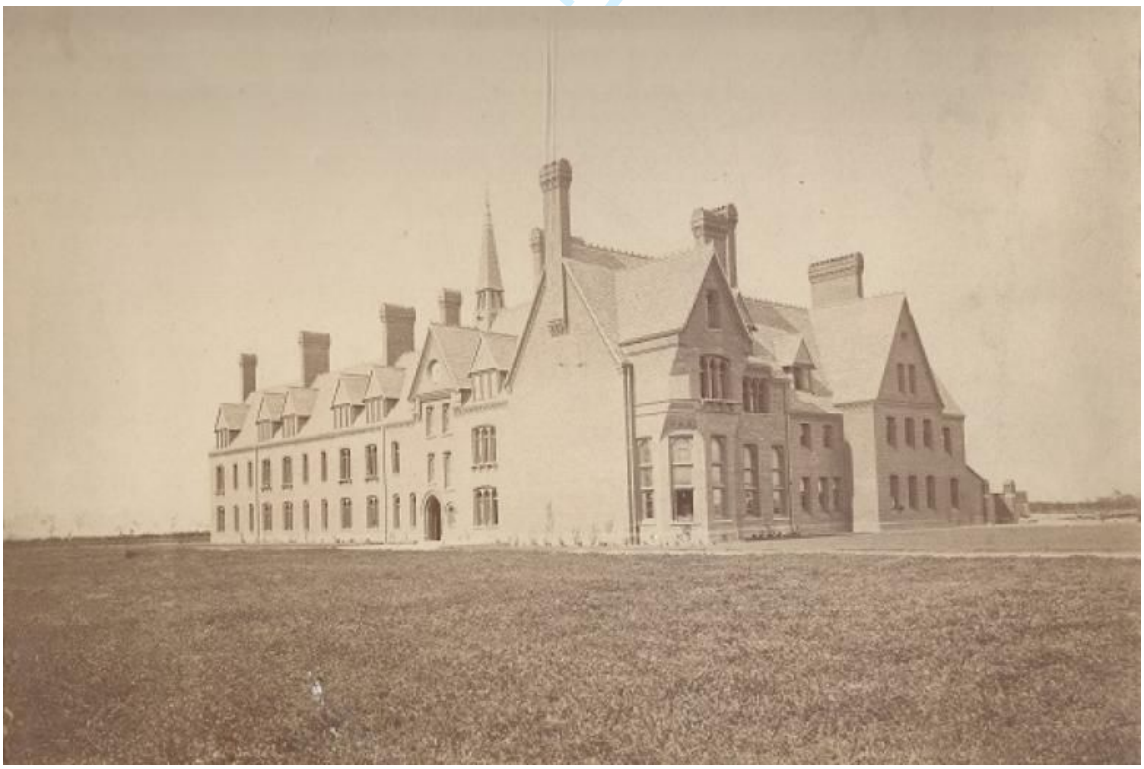

Figure 3. Photographer unknown. The first building at Girton, circa 1873.
Source: Girton College Archive (Ref: GCPH 3/1/5)

Figure 4. Photographer unknown. An effigy of a woman riding a bicycle suspended from the second-floor window of a building on Market Square, Cambridge. 21 May 1897.
Source: camcycle.org.uk

Educating Ida: Gilbert and Sullivan among the New Women

The title role of Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *Princess Ida* (1884) represents a prototype for the New Woman: the cultural icon appears on the Savoy Theatre stage a full decade before the English novelist Ouida gives her a name. Direct references are made in contemporary reviews of *Princess Ida* to institutions and individuals, including Ouida, forever associated with the development of the New Woman type. In the audience at the premiere on 5 January 1884 sat Arthur Wing Pinero, who would help to define the genre of the emancipated woman play.[1] George Bernard Shaw, creator of an archetypal New Woman in his character Vivie Warren, drew comparisons in his music criticism between W.S. Gilbert and Henrik Ibsen, the playwright credited with inventing the New Woman on the English stage by Sally Ledger.[2] And yet, Gilbert and Sullivan's eighth collaboration is not positioned or fully recognised as existing within the same cultural milieu. Instead, *Princess Ida* has suffered from a critical approach that judges the opera and its source texts against the standards of late twentieth- or early twenty-first-century feminism. Carolyn Williams explained *Princess Ida*'s comparative unpopularity by suggesting that, when it premiered, 'the ridicule of higher education for women seemed distinctly out of date'.[3] Williams's explanation is, to an extent, challenged by the evidence presented in this article, which, at the same time, considers the more serious propositions of this comic opera. By reacquainting *Princess Ida* with episodes in the history of women's education, and by putting the pupils of Castle Adamant in conversation with the New Women, both the opera and its cultural contexts might be more fully understood.

Respectful Perversions: accounting for Princess Ida

Princess Ida opened at the Savoy Theatre on 5 January 1884 and ran for 246 performances. Gilbert's script and lyrics were developed out of his own farcical five-act play, *The Princess* (1870), which was itself based on Alfred Lord Tennyson's medley, *The Princess* (1847); *Princess Ida* was described in programmes as a 'respectful operatic perversion' of the work of the Poet Laureate. Like the poem it perverts, *Princess Ida* is the story of two royal families, headed by Kings Hildebrand and Gama. The setting is 'high' medieval. Hildebrand's son Hilarion and Gama's daughter Ida were married in infancy; now, 20 years later, it is the contractually appointed time at which Ida must join Hilarion, otherwise the families will go to war. When Hildebrand and his son attempt to claim Ida, they are informed by Gama that his daughter has exiled herself to one of his many country houses to establish a university for women: 100 students are in her charge at Castle Adamant. If war between the two kings is to be prevented, the castle must be stormed, and Ida captured and convinced to follow less radical ways. The popularity of the seven previous collaborations between Gilbert and Sullivan meant that, according to the *Manchester Courier*'s London correspondent, '[t]he application for seats to witness the first performance last night […] was something enormous; in fact, I hear that about 10,000 seats were applied for'.[4] Tennyson himself and the Prime Minister, William Gladstone, had both been expected to attend.[5]

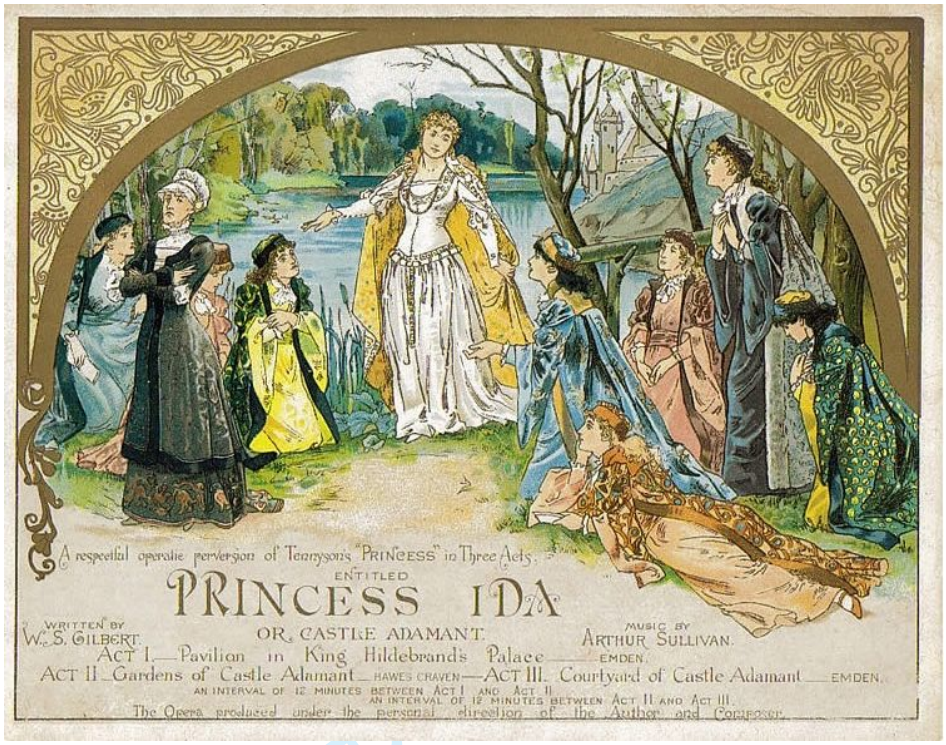

Figure 1. Artist unknown. The second page of the opening night programme for *Princess Ida*. 5 January 1884.
Source: gsarchive.net from the John Sands collection

Reflecting on the opening night of *Princess Ida*, the reviewer for the London *Morning Post* captured something paradoxical about the theme of the opera: 'The claim of women to be considered equal with men forms a subject ever new, though old. According to the Gilbertian philosophy this should be treated in a manner perversely, in speech that is old but called new.'[6] More recently, critics concerned with *Princess Ida* have adopted a comparative approach towards Tennyson's *The Princess*, Gilbert's *The Princess*, and the Savoy opera. Often, these critical perspectives do a disservice to Gilbert's 'operatic perversion'. Gayden Wren takes issue with the prevailing comparative critical attitude. He casts the poem as the more conservative text; after all, Wren writes, '[a]n antifeminist would surely prefer Tennyson's intelligent, kind, and warm men to Gilbert's harsh, implacable, brainless warriors.'[7] Wren sees Gilbert's opera as a far-from-comic exploration of the themes of male superiority and female emancipation:

> *Princess Ida* is not about women's education nor even women's rights. The satire of feminism is no more central than the political satire of *Iolanthe* or *The Gondoliers*. The actual theme lies deeper: *Princess Ida* is the first and best working-out of a theme that was to inform the subsequent *Mikado* and *Ruddigore* – the necessity of young people breaking with the past (and especially with the sins of their parents or ancestors) to achieve the hope of progress.[8]

The fundamental value judgement here is problematic, introducing concepts of sinfulness into the critical approach, and implicitly valorising those who strove to break with the past. More broadly, there is a will to de-historicise Gilbert's opera throughout Wren's critique. The central issue, of course, is why *Princess Ida* cannot be about both the abstract progress of the younger generation towards what Wren might consider a more virtuous future, and a study of a more concrete means of achieving that end: a parodic or perverse representation of current affairs, with a focus on women's education and women's rights. At the very least, it is necessary to explore why that 'best working-out of a theme' that preoccupied Gilbert in his subsequent operas was tested initially within a woman's university: the fantastic setting of Castle Adamant.

A sense of context is also absent from Laura Fasick's comparative analysis of Tennyson's *The Princess* and Gilbert and Sullivan's *Princess Ida*. Conjectures are made about 'sensitive and imaginative' Victorians who Fasick believes 'understood' the description of learning experiences and the learning environment given by Tennyson's narrator.[9] By contrast, as Fasick elides Gilbert and Sullivan as creators of the opera with their characters, their perspective is considered 'far glibber, less interesting, and less insightful'.[10] The focus of Fasick's argument is the reform of women's education in the years between 1847 and 1884; she contrasts the poet and the librettist thus:

> Tennyson appears most deeply interested in what men and women have in common and he strongly suggests that improved education can deepen these commonalities. Gilbert's waspish libretto insists on differences and threatens apocalyptically that to ignore those differences would be to erase human existence.

The upshot of drawing these comparisons is that 'instead of the straightforward progression in attitudes towards women's education that one might expect – or hope – to be the case, just the reverse is true, with Gilbert and Sullivan's parody being far more conservative and unsympathetic to the woman's cause than Tennyson's poem.'[11] Fasick reaches these conclusions without explicitly connecting either *The Princess* or *Princess Ida* to historical evidence. When addressing the poem, Fasick fast-forwards to Charles Kingsley's 1874 essay 'Health and Education', and makes passing reference to John Killham's careful study *Tennyson and The Princess: Reflections on an Age* (1958). But the opera is left to flounder in a peculiar no time and space of cultural history. In interview, Williams has taken on critics of Gilbert's apparently chauvinistic attitude towards his female characters:

> Too often, Gilbert is blamed for employing stereotypes—when that is the whole point. Only by making the received views, the stereotypes, and the cultural absurdities of the Victorian period show up in high relief could he launch a critique. Gender roles, relations, norms, assumptions, and patterns of socialization—all are subject to this critique.
>
> The surprising thing is: seen through this lens, the comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan turn out to be not at all as conservative as many people have thought.[12]

The function of Gilbert's stereotypes is appreciable if their models and the context in which they were produced are adequately examined. *Princess Ida* may not turn out to be less conservative than critics such as Fasick have thought hitherto, but it is nonetheless an important marker of (changing) attitudes towards the emancipation and education of women.

'these Girton days': women's education in the popular view

There is no mention of *Princess Ida* in Ellen Jordan's article 'The Christening of the New Woman: May 1894'. Surveying the cultural landscape within which the New Woman appeared, she writes:

> As an ideal of womanhood, the New Woman was born in the 1880's [sic.], and it was the second generation of English feminists, those women who had profited from the

> educational and vocational opportunities won by the pioneer feminists of the sixties, who acted as both parents and midwives.[13]

In Jordan's extended metaphor, 'the bad fairy of the christening' appears first in 1890, 'when scoffing denigrators of the movement' began to publish 'grotesque' caricatures in papers such as *Punch* and *The Saturday Review*: these toonish New Women smoked cigars, proposed marriage, and rivalled men at sports. Whether or not this timeline of media appearances is strictly correct, Jordan influentially asserts the role played by the educationalists of the 1860s in shaping the identity of the New Woman. Critics of *Princess Ida* were similarly interested in explaining the behaviour of Gilbert's girl graduates through reference to recent transformations in higher education for women and, more specifically, to Girton College, Cambridge. The correspondent for the *Freeman's Journal* offered his own ideas as to why Gilbert's first attempt at adapting Tennyson's *The Princess* had been less than successful:

> The public had not yet begun to appreciate the wit of Gilbert, and most of it went over their heads. And the second fact is that the college with girl graduates, which was but a fantastic creation of Tennyson's and Gilbert's grotesque imaginings, is now translated into solid fact in the shape of Girton College, Cambridge.[14]

The reviewer for the *Times* was less than impressed by the appearance of the girls themselves, and expressed his criticism through a backhanded compliment that slighted both the production and the students of Cambridge's two women's colleges:

> Neither do the gowns of the lady students dispel the illusion of a gay court. They are beautifully designed and grouped together, form a perfect bouquet of harmonious colour; they will, we seriously apprehend, cause a revolution at Newnham and Girton, but they certainly do not suggest the severity of academic discipline.[15]

Focusing on Ida's attitudes towards marriage, and again with references to Gilbert's earlier version of *The Princess*, the reviewer for the *Observer* put it neatly: 'The Princess, it appears, scorns all thought of marriage, and "rules a woman's university with full hundred girls who learn of her" – a feminine career much more remarkable fourteen years ago than it seems in these Girton days'.[16]

In March 1883, the *Girton Review* reported that Tennyson had donated a copy of his complete works in seven volumes to the college library.[17] Today, Girton's library catalogue still includes a copy of *The Princess* owned by founder Emily Davies.[18] It is unsurprising that a poem such as Tennyson's *The Princess* had a special resonance for the founders of Girton and that the college library was (and remains) proud of its associations with her creator. Research into the history of the college has demonstrated how the complex and contents of buildings which opened to students in 1873 on the Huntingdon Road site had been strategically designed and curated to improve not only women's prospects in higher education, but also the image of women's higher education in the popular consciousness. Girton's rooms had been carefully furnished under the management of founder Barbara Leigh Bodichon and, according to Petra Clark, sympathetic journalists covering the college in the Victorian periodical press cultivated images of 'Girtonian women living in buildings and rooms that more resembled houses than the other colleges of the day'. In so doing, they were able to 'subtly combat fears about the masculinizing effect of university education'.[19] When it came to the scenery for *Princess Ida*, there were no interiors for designers to imagine. Instead, reviewers enjoyed the beautifully rendered gardens of Castle Adamant – echoing, perhaps, the Arts and Crafts influences in Gertrude Jekyll's borders for Girton – and the opportunities for pretty tableaux – prefiguring, perhaps, the fanciful arrangements of young women in Sir Noel Paton's poem 'A Girton Girl' (1893).[20] The correspondent for *Reynold's Newspaper* wrote effusively of 'almost fairy-like stage pictures, the most perfect grouping of this kind, and graceful spectacular detail carried to the point of perfection'.[21] Meanwhile, in describing the opening scene of the first act, the *Pall Mall Gazette*'s reviewer appreciated: 'a chorus of undergraduates in round caps and silk and brocade gowns. Even a doctor of music in all his glory cannot compare with the least of these'.[22] Backdrops also displayed architecture that, for same reviewer at least, satirised the 'pointed "new buildings"' of the

University of Oxford': a sketch accompanying the article captioned 'Ye Distant Spires' shows a castle replete with turrets, steeply-pitched rooves, towers, and battlements.[23]

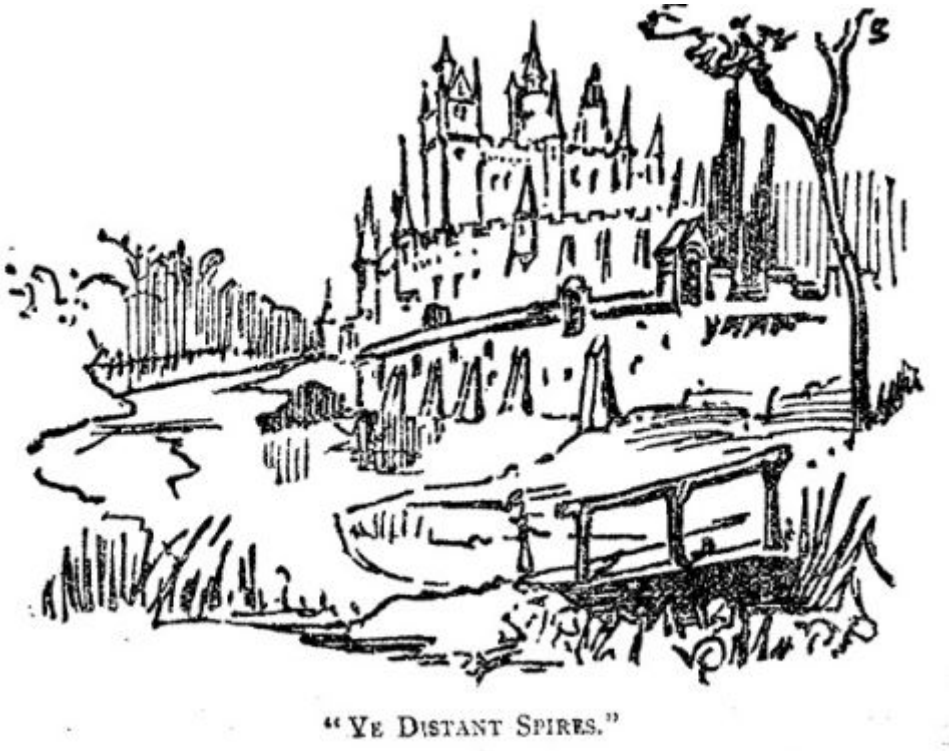

Figure 2. Artist unknown. Illustration for 'The Princess Ida' in *Pall Mall Gazette*. 7 January 1884.
Source: British Library Newspapers

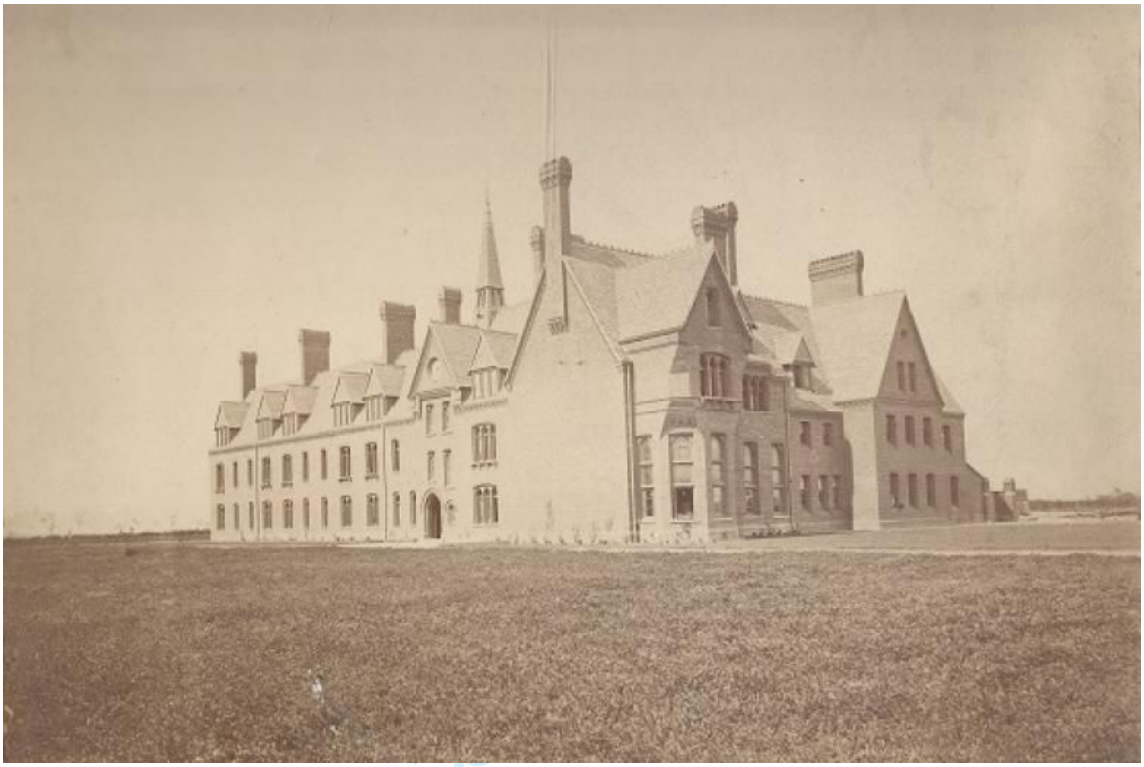

Figure 3. Photographer unknown. The first building at Girton, circa 1873.
Source: Girton College Archive (Ref: GCPH 3/1/5)

As the painted women's college exhibited all the features of nineteenth-century Gothic architecture, it was very much in keeping with current trends in civic design. William Whyte notes with reference to late nineteenth-century periodicals how, at this time, Gothic 'evoked education itself […] it was an approach seen to be "rich in a sort of learned ease", and by the 1860s it was noted that nearly all schools were now built in the "Collegiate Gothic"'.[24] But in the more specific references to Oxford's 'new buildings' in the *Princess Ida* review, one might reasonably assume that the critic is here referencing the Gothic structures and polychromatic brickwork of Keble College, designed by William Butterfield and opened to students in 1870. The reference here would be entirely in keeping, since Keble also had an access agenda of a kind: the mission of the college was to diversify the exclusively male student body by making an Oxford education more affordable. Butterfield's version of Victorian Gothic seen in Keble has much in common with the designs for Girton made by Alfred Waterhouse. Both buildings are, then, singularly appropriate reference points within

Princess Ida, Gilbert's second attempt at adapting Tennyson's *The Princess* for the stage. In a sense, these buildings serve as alternative histories, taking students and academics back to an imagined moment in the past at which they might redirect the course towards the future. *Princess Ida* exhibits that same potential: within the opera's parallel universe, women's education might have been much longer established, were it not for the sacking of Castle Adamant and the surrender of its residents.

In reality, at the end of the nineteenth century, the women of Cambridge were subject to renewed assaults on their right to an education. As W.S. Gilbert was preparing the latest edition of *The Bab Ballads with which are included Songs of a Savoyard* (1898), a motion was proposed to the Senate of the University of Cambridge in 1897 that female members of the institution should be granted the right to obtain degrees. This right was enjoyed by their male peers, and also by women at other universities.[25] Until that point, women had been admitted to Cambridge to follow degree programmes and won the formal right to sit examinations in 1881, but their work was not recognised with the conferral of official honours. Male undergraduates revolted *en masse* to the proposal; the logical next step towards equality in education at Cambridge. Aggressive and threatening protests were staged in the streets; the protestors' targets were the students of the first Cambridge colleges for women, Girton and Newnham, which were founded in 1869 and 1871 respectively.[26] A photograph taken on voting day (*Figure 4*) shows an effigy of a woman on a bicycle – wearing a divided skirt and riding astride brazenly, rather than adopting the side-saddle position – suspended from a window in the city's central Market Square, as if executed by hanging. Beneath her, young men congregated and waved banners daubed with slogans such as 'Get you to Girton Beatrice Get you To Newnham Here's No Place for You Maids Much Ado About Nothing'. The effigy was dragged to the ground, decapitated and torn to shreds by the victorious, hostile crowd after the Cambridge Senate rejected the resolution to grant

women degrees. Her remains were then stuffed through the railings of Newnham College. It was not until 1948 that women were granted degrees by the University of Cambridge on an equal basis with their male peers.[27]

Figure 4. Photographer unknown. An effigy of a woman riding a bicycle suspended from the second-floor window of a building on Market Square, Cambridge. 21 May 1897. *Source*: camcycle.org.uk

One of those 'Songs of a Savoyard' that would feature in the 1898 edition of *Bab Ballads* was 'Girl Graduates', lifted from the libretto *Princess Ida*.[28] The trio – performed in the opera by Cyril, Hilarion, and Florian – successfully conveys, in the most odious of attitudes, that the education of women and its consequences are ridiculous. The domina of this jolly silly 'Univsersit-ee' have all sorts of absurd notions that are stressed metrically with shrill disbelief – 'To get sunbeams from cu*cum*bers', for example. These women are delusional in their pursuit of impossible ends, which, it is inferred, might only be achieved by

unnatural practices. The comedy of the song depends upon the increasing hysteria of the singer, panicked finally by his own disquieting notion that affording women access to education will result in changes to the status quo not only so far as gender is concerned, but also race. Moreover, intellectual endeavour has an impact upon a woman's appearance and prettiness is put at risk as fashion is forsworn, and celibacy is enforced at this particular institution where Man, too, is repudiated. In the lyrics of 'Girl Graduates', we therefore get a clear and unforgiving sighting of a prototypical New Woman.

Stern Philosophies: Ida as New Woman

On opening night at the Savoy, the correspondent for the *Freeman's Journal* delighted in the setting of the second act and the appearance of 'Princess Ida and her fellow amazons':

> when the curtain rose some two score 'Girl Graduates' were discovered reclining on the stage. This was one of the prettiest pictures of the play, the gowns were rich velvet and brocade, and the graduates were, or at least looked, as pretty an assemblage as any male intruder might wish to encounter.[29]

Clark explains that, '[b]ecause outsiders' visual and physical access to Girton was restricted, there was consequently a great deal of interest in the college and its students, set apart as they were from society and the usual realms of young women.'[30] Gilbert is as keen to parody this voyeuristic appetite for glimpses of the sanctified space of women's higher education as he is women's higher education itself. The comparative lack of interest in the portrayals of male characters in *Princess Ida* is the flipside of a habit exhibited by today's critics – both academic and popular – of Gilbert and Sullivan that Alan Fischler accounts for in his reappraisal of contemporary productions of the Savoy operas. Addressing the handling of the many and various problematic, if not downright negative, portrayals of women, Fischler notes 'there is not much evidence of twenty-first-century directors rushing to revision when the figures of such mockery are male'.[31]

It is well-documented how certain elements of the periodical press of the late nineteenth century were at once titillated and repulsed by the figure of the New Woman. A 'Character Note' published in *Cornhill Magazine* in 1894 described her 'somewhat aggressive air of independence which finds its birth in the length of her stride'; she was 'always manly' and the product of a 'cheap education'.[32] The first mention of Ida at the opening of act one imagines a rare moment of cross-dressing in a Savoy opera: men are almost mistaken for women. King Hildebrand and his courtiers anxiously watch King Gama approach the family palace:

> *Hild*. Ha! Is the Princess with him?
> *Flor*. Well my liege,
> Unless her highness is full six feet high,
> And wears moustachios too – and smokes cigars –
> And rides *en cavalier* in coat of steel –
> I do not think she is.
> *Hild*. One never knows.
> She's a strange girl, I've heard, and does odd things![33]

The audience is set up for Ida's 'strangeness' immediately through this potential gender switching. Florian's facetious suggestion that Ida *might* be approaching the palace under a masculine guise is not beyond the realms of possibility, given the rumours about her habit of doing 'odd things' that Hildebrand has heard. But the six-foot cavalier seen on the horizon by Hildebrand and his entourage is not Ida. Her absence is explained by Hilarion, who divulges that she has supposedly isolated herself in an intellectual nunnery:

> *Hil*. Alas, my liege, I've heard
> That Princess Ida has forsworn the world,
> And, with a band of women, shut herself
> Within a lonely country house, and there
> Devotes herself to stern philosophies! (p.136)

Hildebrand responds with the punch-line: 'Then I should say the loss of such a wife / Is one to which a reasonable man / Would easily be reconciled.' What is imagined in this conversation is an early sketch of the New Woman: the figure who could be Ida rides astride like the lady cyclist dangling above Cambridge Market Square; they sport armour like the

military volunteer famously imagined in the *Punch* cartoon 'Donna Quixote' (1894); and they smoke cigars like Vivie Warren of Shaw's *Mrs Warren's Profession* (1893). Ida's rebelliousness is perceived by those men who look unfavourably upon her mission at Castle Adamant as strange or delusional. Pioneering women in fiction and in fact were subject to the same dismissive, derisive and disabling criticism. Philanthropist, educator and Scottish Suffragist Dame Louisa Lumsden was among the first five students of Benslow House, Hitchin: the women's higher educational establishment founded by Emily Davies in 1869 that would become Girton College. 'Going up' by train on one occasion, Lumsden found herself in a carriage with a clergyman who announced as they pulled into Hitchin: 'Ha! This is Hitchin, and that, I believe is the house where the College for Women is: that infidel place!'[34] In so disdaining the College for Women, the clergyman implies faithlessness and deviance in a number of senses, and these implications are racialised through that pejorative term 'infidel'. Various crusades are suggested in this further example of the correspondences between contemporary racial and gender prejudices.[35] Infidels, and infidel places such as Benslow House and Castle Adamant, are there to be conquered, corrected, and converted.

Lumsden is commemorated in the College song 'The Girton Pioneers' as one of three women to take the Cambridge University Tripos Examination in 1873:

> Some talk of Senior Wranglers,
> And some of Double Firsts,
> And truly of their species
> These are not the worst;
> But of all the Cambridge heroes
> There's none that can compare
> With Woodhead, Cook and Lumsden,
> The Girton Pioneers![36]

The phrase 'Senior Wrangler' is peculiar to Cambridge and refers to the highest performing undergraduate in the Mathematics Tripos. Principal Ida's lengthy monologue at the start of Act Two confirms the centrality of mathematics to the syllabus at Castle Adamant, and to the mission for this women's college overall. Ida seeks to inspire her students with the rallying

cry that Woman leads the way in every field. Notably, Man will first be conquered in mathematics, thanks to some creative accounting on the part of the simple home economist:

> In Mathematics, Woman leads the way –
> The narrow-minded pedant still believes
> That two and two make four! Why we can prove,
> We women – household drudges as we are –
> That two and two make five – or three – or seven;
> Or five and twenty, if the case demands! (p.145)

The suggestion in this extract is that the excellent Woman mathematician makes sly use of her numeracy skills. But in the real world of current affairs beyond Gilbert's opera, those who championed the cause of intellectual freedom and equality believed that mathematics might serve women a purpose other than cooking the pantry account books. By the late nineteenth century, mathematics as both subject and potential occupation had achieved special significance for those who believed in equality and intellectual emancipation for women. The Cambridge Tripos examinations became something of a public spectacle, chiefly because of the outstanding achievements of women undergraduates. In 1890, Philippa Fawcett of Newnham College beat all her male competitors to become the Senior Wrangler. In this way, Fawcett materially advanced the cause for women's higher education and, according to the Dictionary of National Biography, 'naturally gave her mother the greatest satisfaction.' Her achievements inspired Shaw as he wrote *Mrs Warren's Profession*: the story of Kitty Warren, a madam, and her Cambridge-educated daughter, Vivie.

Vivie is drawn in Shaw's stage directions as the typical New Woman:

> *She is an attractive specimen of the sensible, able, highly-educated young middle-class Englishwoman. Age 22. Prompt, strong, confident, self-possessed. Plain business-like dress, but not dowdy. She wears a chatelaine at her belt, with a fountain pen and a paper knife among its pendants.*

Her intellectual accomplishments also associate her with the type, but on a complex basis. Vivie has achieved the rank of Third Wrangler in mathematics as a student of Newnham College simply to win £50 from her mother, the prostitute and brothel-owner. She is

disaffected by her own success and dissatisfied with the levels of remuneration those engaged in the academic profession might expect to receive. This is revealed in an exchange with her mother's friend, the architect Praed, who commends the girl's magnificent achievements: 'a thing unheard of in my day,' he says.[37] But Praed is taken aback by Vivie's strident opinions about the value of her time and intellect. She ascribes no moral, ethical, or symbolic value to her education; only financial – and she has been short-changed. 'It doesn't pay,' Vivie says, 'I wouldn't do it [that is, work so hard] for the same money.'[38] In her view, her investment in study and subsequent achievements were worth closer to the mark of £200. Vivie has settled upon a career in actuarial accountancy that fulfils her New Womanly requirements: 'I like working and getting paid for it. When I'm tired of working, I like a good comfortable chair, a cigar, a little whisky, and a novel with a good detective story in it.'[39] Jill Davis suggests that the play's final image of Vivie – not reading in a comfortable chair, but working at her desk, in her office – both confirms 'the New Woman's economic independence and signifies the continuation of capitalism.'[40] But where this professional New Woman serves capitalism, her academic prototype, Princess Ida, has the potential to disrupt the workings of that machine. Ida's speech beginning in praise of women's natural ability in mathematics ends with the summoning of Chaos, and with the imagined dissolution of those old male loyalties signified by London department-store partnerships: Swan secedes from Edgar, Gask from Gask, Sewell from Cross, and Lewis from Allenby. Educational zealot Ida's ultimate goal is to seriously upset the market. What is more, having already flouted the contract by which she was engaged in infancy to Prince Hilarion, she proposes to effect the dissolution or cessation of more than just established and familiar business partnerships. Marriage conventions will be the collateral damage of her intellectual pioneering.

Men Versus Girls: staging and scoring comic resolution

When Leonora Braham appeared on stage for the first time as Princess Ida in January 1884, her costume created a striking contrast with the fine robes of the chorus of girl graduates. Braham wore 'bridal costume […] gay in white satin and a crown, not in academic costume at all' (see *Figure 1*).[41] There are various possibilities to consider when assessing the intended effect of this pointed distinction. Ida might have appeared to audiences like a secular Mother Superior: not a bride of Christ, but a servant of Athena, goddess of wisdom. Or perhaps the seriousness of her resolve was undermined by a costume suggesting that she was, in fact, wedded to social convention; a costume which foreshadowed the (inevitable) failure of Castle Adamant. In either case, education causes extremes of maidenly reserve in *Princess Ida*. The convent-like Castle Adamant is an entirely self-sufficient, separatist community of women, where, we are told, even the cockcrowing is performed by an accomplished hen. Girls are expelled for having wooden chessmen in their possession and for shamefully drawing not just perambulators, but *double* perambulators in rare idle moments (p.144). Ledger isolates sexual inversion as one of the main sources of panic caused by the fictional New Women written by male novelists of the 1890s: 'the very real fear that she may not be at all interested in men, and could manage quite well without them.'[42] That fear is first made light of in Gilbert's libretto in the course of Gama and Cyril's conversation:

> *Hild*. Where is she now?
> *Gama.* In Castle Adamant,
> One of my many country houses.
> She rules a women's University,
> With full a hundred girls, who learn of her.
> *Cyril*. A hundred girls! A hundred ecstasies!
> *Gama*. But no mere girls, my good young gentleman;
> With all the college learning that you boast,
> The youngest there will prove a match for *you*.
> *Cyril*. With all my heart, if she's the prettiest!
> (*To Flo.*) Fancy a hundred matches – all alight! –
> That's if I strike them, as I hope to do!
> *Gama*. Despair your hope; their hearts are dead to men.
> He who desires to gain their favour must
> Be qualified to strike their teeming brains,
> And not their hearts. They're safety matches, sir,

And they light only on the knowledge box –
So *you've* no chance! (140)

There is an undercurrent of serious concern that reflects the world outside *Princess Ida*'s setting. Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis use the census returns of 1851 – when 400,000 unmarried women were registered – to underpin their suggestion that these 'surplus' women 'posed a considerable if inadvertent threat to separate-sphere ideology: uncontained by spouses they risked spilling out into the public sector, becoming public and visible.'[43] In Gilbert's libretto, the men ensure that the only women to leave the walls of Castle Adamant are married women, thereby eliminating the threat of Ida's principles becoming public.

The reporter for the *Edinburgh Evening News* described the setting of the last act in the original production, 'where the ladies, with helmets on their heads, glittering battle-axes in their hands, and silver chain armour over their frocks, sing a martial chorus lapsing comically into verse', before '[t]he gates are opened, the girls mount the battlements, the soldiers rush in, and the two choruses of women and warriors are cleverly intermingled'.[44] Williams has demonstrated how an operatic chorus, divided into male and female cohorts characterised as stereotypical opposites, was especially useful in allowing both Gilbert the writer and Sullivan the composer to emphasise their thematic concerns with gender.[45] In the case of *Princess Ida*, the women's chorus consists of studious, staid pupils and the men's chorus belligerent, impetuous courtiers. Ensemble pieces are scored for 'GIRLS' and 'MEN': verses are sung together, to two different melodies. In this way, there is an opposition established in words and music between feminine brains and masculine brawn – albeit of a fairly ineffectual variety. An ensemble piece performed as the castle gate is breached is a fine example of how a divided chorus might be used to convey distinct gendered perspectives:

GIRLS.	MEN.
Rend the air with wailing,	Walls and fences scaling,
Shed the shameful tear!	Promptly we appear;
Walls are unavailing,	Walls are unavailing,

Man has entered here!	We have entered here.	
Shame and desecration	Female execration	
Are his staunch allies,	Stifle if you're wise,	
Let your lamentation	Stop your lamentation,	
Echo to the skies!	Dry your pretty eyes!	(p.161)

Williams has written that, in general, this structuring principle of a split chorus has been oversimplified by critics who consider it a means of merely reflecting the 'reductive gender stereotypes prevalent in the Victorian period'. Instead, she believes that these divisions expose their absurdity, 'revealing them to be the repetitive and parodic stereotypes they are.'[46] In the verses supplied above, there are classical echoes in the wailing and lamentations of the girls' part which conveys the contemporary anxiety regarding the preservation of female purity. Ida's girls, who have enjoyed something of a classical education, might be associated with those women violated in ancient myth, not necessarily in the sex act of rape, but in the transgression of sometimes sacred geographical boundaries: Diana and her nymphs, for example, or the Sabine women.

Despite their helmets, armour, and glittering battle-axes, the pupils of Castle Adamant come quietly in the end, forsaking Principal Ida and their principles. Even Lady Psyche conforms to convention and accepts a proposal from Cyril; she will only return to the celibate, studious life if her husband '[d]oes not behave himself' (p.172). The college is pillaged for its finest natural resource – its women – and Ida is corrected to fulfil her contractual obligations of marriage, and converted to satisfy generic and social conventions. Her deserted intellectual empire is left to the quietly ambitious, secretly resentful old dame Lady Blanche. Among Ida's final lines is the concession: 'I have been wrong – I see my error now' (p.172). The ending is, on various levels, deliberately dissatisfying. Williams wonders whether the suddenness of resolution (which is common to both the play *The Princess* and the opera *Princess Ida*) is perhaps meant to be funny.[47] But on the strength of this ambiguous and untrustworthy ending, *The Taming of the Shrew* might be added to the list of

Shakespearean source texts compiled by Gayden Wren, and Ida's kinship with Katherine suggested.[48] Although, like Kate, Ida is compelled to recognise that her lances are but straws, an audience might question her sincerity in memory of her rebellious potential – a memory which might be exciting, or disquieting.

Ida in Earnest: the seriousness of comic opera

Along with reviewers for the *Observer*, the London *Morning Post*, and the *Edinburgh Evening News*, the correspondent for the *Pall Mall Gazette* queried the topicality of Gilbert's treatment of his subject in *Princess Ida*:

> The chaff about ladies' colleges is rather outworn, and the metaphysics of the very comic Blanche (Miss Brandram) are less amusing than Mr. Lewis Carrol's [sic.] feminine Hegelianisms in 'Phantasmagoria'. Lady Psyche has learned her classics at Ouida's feet, or Mrs Malaprop's. She sings about 'crossing the Helicon', probably half mindful that the Rubicon was a river and quite forgetful that Helicon (can the Helmund enter into the muddle?) is a hill.[49]

These analyses of Ida's deputies are compelling. The first English translations of Georg Wilhelm Hegel were published in the 1850s; by the 1870s, the philosopher's significance was confirmed and widely acknowledged by key contemporary thinkers such as George Lewes, who devoted a lengthy chapter to Hegel in the fourth edition of his *Biographical History of Philosophy* (1871).[50] Here, the reviewer makes passing reference to Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1807) via Carroll's poem. The Hegelian concept of geist has surprising resonances, surely beyond the intentions of the reviewer, within this discussion of the social and cultural relevance of *Princess Ida*. When Gama mistakes the masculine rider for Ida, the description generates a bizarre echo of Hegel's famous impression of Napoleon Bonaparte as he exited the city of Jena in October 1806:

> I saw the Emperor – this world-soul (*Weltgeist*) – riding out of the city on reconnaissance. It is indeed a wonderful sensation to see such an individual, who, concentrated here at a single point, astride a horse, reaches out over the world and masters it…this extraordinary man, whom it is impossible not to admire.[51]

Hegel's *Weltgeist* was a force, embodied within individuals, capable of advancing history. To substitute the idea of Ida on horseback for Napoleon is, then, to admit the power and the potential of her own ambitions for Castle Adamant, and of all those women upon whom she is based. Some of those ambitions were established realities by 1884, so much so that Gilbert's parodying of them was considered as 'outworn' 'in these Girton days'.[52] Another Hegelian concept thereby becomes relevant. In the *Science of Logic* (1812), Hegel introduces the principle of the negation of the negation: anticipating basic principles of semiotics, a thing is defined by what it is not, but the negation of the negation takes place when that thing incorporates, or sublates, its other. The reviewer for the *Pall Mall Gazette* considered Gilbert's options when it came to adapting Tennyson's poem:

> Now, the Princess of the Laureate lives in a noble and poetical world of topsy-turvy, a medley of all ages and styles and fancies. How was the genius of comic inversion to deal with what was already inverted?[53]

Princess Ida is seen as an inversion of Tennyson's already inverted Princess: a comic rendition of the serious possibility of women's higher education. A straightforward satire might have been amusing in the moment of its pre-text, Gilbert's burlesque *The Princess*, but some of the humour is diffused by the time of *Princess Ida* when, it would seem, the shocking proposition of admitting women to university had been partially absorbed, at least by some. There were many, though, who remained unsympathetic in the extreme, if not demonstrably resistant, to the idea of a women's college and refused to see educated women as marching ahead with the spirit of progress, as the Cambridge protestors made violently clear in 1897. Earlier, the nineteenth-century popular novelist Ouida made a blistering attack on what she saw as the 'hardening and deforming' effects on women of a college education in her definitive essay 'The New Woman' (1894).[54] It is, then, supremely ironic that *Princess Ida*'s opening night reviewer for the *Pall Mall Gazette* supposes that Lady Psyche has learnt her classics at Ouida's feet a decade before.

In her capitulation, Ida the prototypically New Woman aligns herself with the fallen woman, as the type is characterised by Heather Anne Wozniak in her discussion of Arthur Wing Pinero's plays. Paula Tanqueray and Agnes Ebbsmith, ambivalent heroines of *The Second Mrs Tanqueray* (1893) and *The Notorious Mrs Ebbsmith* (1895) respectively, are both 'infus[ed] […] with New Woman attributes', but ultimately acknowledge themselves as fallen women, 'accepting the conventional system of morality, and displaying [their] utter deauthorization – one dead, the other maimed'.[55] Pinero, who attended the premiere of *Princess Ida*, would witness Gilbert's heroine transition through the same process, albeit with less physically-damaging consequences. The psychological impact of Ida's departure from Castle Adamant, however, remains unclear. Wozniak analyses Henry Arthur Jones's own summary of the themes of his play *Saints and Sinners* (1884), stating despondently that: 'The notion that the woman is brought back to a "better self" is wholly illusory, for in returning to her former identity she can only remain trapped in the system of double-standards that either exposed her to corruption or inspired her to revolt.'[56] Disappointed audiences might have the same concerns for Princess Ida, or they might entertain a third possibility: that Ida might re-enter the system she escaped, and subvert it.

Surveying the interrelationship of characterisations of the New Woman and the developing new drama movement during the 1880s and 1890s, Jan McDonald comments that 'the issues raised by these men [the new dramatists] were felt to be relevant to the intelligent women of the period'.[57] The new dramatists, McDonald contends:

> in presenting for scrutiny what they perceived to be the social inequalities of their time, posed questions to their audiences rather than proffering solutions. In dealing with the 'woman question', one of their greatest innovations in terms of dramaturgy was to move the female character into prominence as the real subject of the play – to give her an active rather than a passive role.[58]

We see, in *Princess Ida*, this same act of recognition taking place in a different theatrical genre and at an earlier moment: Gilbert and Sullivan together crafted a role, in both words and music, that is, according to Fischler, 'the grandest soprano part in all the Savoy operas'.[59] Fischler is particularly impressed by the 'strong serious and noble music' written by Sullivan for Ida's two arias – indeed, he goes so far as to state that:

> For Gilbert, Ida's educational project is merely a matter for mockery and, while she herself is portrayed as sincere and even courageous, she is also enough of an 'airhead' to need a reminder, in the final scene, that total isolation of the sexes from one another would spell the end of the human race.[60]

In taking such a hard line on Gilbert's libretto and on his interpretation of the original source texts (misogyny, says Fischler, is 'ratcheted up with each recension'), the critic leaves little room for the possibility of irony and fails to acknowledge the profound and subduing sense of doubt that Ida and her story has the power to leave audiences in.[61] The reviewer for the *Times* felt that Sullivan as composer had been more sensitive than Gilbert as librettist in capturing the fact that the source material – Tennyson's poem – 'is, as we said before, a tragedy in spite of its "happy ending"'.[62] The trouble for this critic stemmed from the fact that Gilbert had been too faithful, in his view, to Tennyson: 'he would have done better to avoid Tennyson altogether and rely upon his own imagination for a type'.[63] In striking a more original note, Gilbert might have created a heroine who was 'more than a commonplace modern damsel, with whom education is the fad of an idle day, and whose little life is rounded by quiet flirtations and milliners' shops'.[64] There is something in this review that suggests serious potential in the idea of Princess Ida, if not serious intent on the part of her creator. The London correspondent of the *Manchester Courier* wrote more simply: 'The opera contains dramatic interest and much of that topsy-turvy and subtle humour which we have become accustomed to in his [Gilbert's] former works, but the fun is not so striking, and the laughter-provoking qualities are not so apparent.'[65] The correspondent for the *Freeman's Journal*, meanwhile, did catch a sombre note in the text: 'The play winds up in subdued words and

tones, and though this gives a certain tameness when briskness is perhaps more desirable, the music is very beautiful, and conveys excellently the subdued wail that is usually the background to the moments of profoundest joy'.[66] The audience, or at least the critics, sought to qualify the success of Princess Ida, recognising in the eighth collaboration between Gilbert and Sullivan a new departure in the genre that might effectively be described as English tragicomic opera.

Echoing Carolyn Williams, Fischler concludes that:

> The reason *Princess Ida* is not fundamentally funny is that the combination of women and university education is not a blending of incompatibles, although Gilbert meant them to be seen as such, and the very suggestion that the twain should never meet is obviously offensive.[67]

The weariness of those reviewers discussed earlier in this essay who considered the subject of the opera to be outdated in the 'Girton days' of 1884 lends a longstanding credibility to Fischler's argument. But his criticism of Gilbert here gives pause for thought. *Princess Ida* is, in the end, not simply unfunny, but uncharacteristically solemn: Gayden Wren has shown persuasively that 20 of the opera's 34 songs are serious in tone.[68] Might it not have occurred to Ida, as she performed her admission of defeat in order to satisfy the demands of the buffoonish men who pursue her, that here lay an opportunity – a chance, as Sarah Grand triumphantly put it, to 'hold out a strong hand to the child-man, and insist, but with infinite tenderness and pity, upon helping him up'?[69] As Ida abandons her mission and agrees to marrying Hilarion, she – like Shakespeare's Katherine before her – pre-empts Grand's famous parting shot, that: 'The Woman Question is the Marriage Question, as shall be shown hereafter.'[70] That final subordinate clause might better read: 'as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be.'

It is in this way – in thinking carefully and inventively about how the scene might be played out and in investing Ida the character with a cynical sense of humour that sits

comfortably with all her earnestness and ardour – that the concerns of comic opera directors such as Shawna Lucey might be assuaged. Fischler records that when Lucey was asked to direct a 'pro-feminist' *Pirates of Penzance* for Skylight Music Theatre in Milwaukee, USA in 2016, her initial reaction was: 'How am I gonna make these silly girls feminist?'[71] Given the original context and subject matter of *Princess Ida*, that question is all the more pertinent and urgent for any company looking to revive the eighth Savoy opera and make it newly relevant today. It would seem that the easiest, perhaps the only way to do that is to return to the text itself and to find those spaces within it where Gilbert is inviting, if not permitting, interpretation. The comedy of comic opera need not, necessarily, derive obviously from satire or mockery; more subtle ironies might be at work in this world of topsy-turvy, where what lies beneath the surface of the text might be brought to the surface effectively through patient and cognisant reading – and watching. Ouida stated that, '[f]or the New Woman there is no such thing as a joke.'[72] Conversely, if the New Woman's contemporary critics have not recognised the serious potential of English comic opera until now, perhaps that's why Princess Ida has never been admitted to the sisterhood.

NOTES

[1] 'Gilbert and Sullivan's New Opera', *Freeman's Journal*, Monday 7 January 1884, n.p.

[2] George Bernard Shaw, 'Gilbert and Solomon' (1891), in *Shaw on Music*, ed. Eric Bentley (New York and London: Applause, 1983), pp.203-9 (p.204); Sally Ledger, 'Ibsen, the New Woman and the Actress', in Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, eds, *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fine-de-Siècle Feminisms* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp.79-93.

[3] Carolyn Williams, *Gilbert and Sullivan: Gender, Genre, Parody* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p.244.

[4] 'From Our London Correspondent', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, LX: 8471 (Monday 7 January 1884), n.p.

[5] 'Gilbert and Sullivan's New Opera', *Glasgow Herald*, 6 (Monday 7 January 1884)

[6] 'Savoy Theatre', *Morning Post* (London), 34801 (Monday 7 January 1884), n.p.

[7] Gayden Wren, *A Most Ingenious Paradox: The Art of Gilbert and Sullivan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.145.

[8] Ibid, pp.140-1.

[9] Laura Fasick, 'The Reform of Women's Education in Tennyson's *The Princess* and Gilbert and Sullivan's *Princess Ida*', in *Gender and Victorian Reform*, ed. Anita Rose (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp.26-43 (p.30).

[10] Ibid, p.26.

[11] Ibid, p.27.

[12] 'Carolyn Williams on Gilbert and Sullivan', *Columbia University Press Blog*, 30 March 2011 < http://www.cupblog.org/?p=3340 > [accessed 6 September 2016].

[13] Ellen Jordan, 'The Christening of the New Woman: May 1894', *Victorian Newsletter*, 63 (Spring 1983), pp.19-21 (p.19).

[14] 'Gilbert and Sullivan's New Opera', *Freeman's Journal*, Monday 7 January 1884, n.p.

[15] 'Princess Ida', *The Times*, Monday 7 January 1884, n.p.

[16] 'Savoy Theatre', *Observer*, Sunday 6 January 1884, n.p.

[17] 'Glimpses of Girton: In the Spring', <https://www.girton.cam.ac.uk/news/glimpses-girton-spring> [Accessed 8 October 2021], para. 8 of 10.

[18] 'Glimpses of Girton', para. 9 of 10.

[19] Petra Clark, 'The Girton Girl's "Academical Home": Girton College in the Late Victorian Periodical Press', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 52: 4 (Winter 2019), pp.659-687 (p. 663).

[20] Noel Paton, 'A Girton Girl', *Atalanta* 6 (April 1893), p.467.

[21] 'Last Night's Theatricals: Savoy Theatre', *Reynold's Newspaper*, 1743 (Sunday 6 January 1884)

[22] 'The Princess Ida', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5877 (Monday 7 January 1884), n.p.

[23] Ibid

[24] William Whyte, *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.160.

[25] The University of London, the alma mater of W.S. Gilbert, became the first higher education institution in the United Kingdom to admit women to its degrees in 1878. 'A Brief History – University of London', <www.london.ac.uk>, para.10 of 27 [Accessed: 5 September 2016].

[26] Pam Hirsch and Mark McBeth, *Teacher Training at Cambridge: The Initiatives of Oscar Browning and Elizabeth Hughes* (London and Portland, OR: Woburn Press, 2004), p.192.

[27] I discussed this photograph in my broadcast essay, 'Educating Ida', which was recorded at SAGE Gateshead during the 2018 Free Thinking Festival and aired on BBC Radio 3 on 15 March 2018. The broadcast essay has since been included in the audiobook *Instant Expert: 100 of the Best Ideas from New Generation Thinkers* (Penguin, 2021).

[28] W.S. Gilbert, 'Girl Graduates', in *The Bab Ballads* (London and New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1902), pp.106-8.

[29] 'Gilbert and Sullivan's New Opera', *Freeman's Journal*, Monday 7 January 1884, n.p.

[30] Petra Clark, 'The Girton Girl's "academical home": Girton College in the Late-Victorian Periodical Press', p.660.

[31] Fischler, p.41.

[32] 'Character Note: The New Woman', *Cornhill Magazine*, ns, 23 (1894), pp.365-8 (p.365).

[33] W.S. Gilbert, *Princess Ida, or Castle Adamant*, in *Original Plays: Third Series* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1924), p. 134. Hereafter, all references to this edition are given in the main body of text.

[34] Quoted in Rita McWillians Tullberg, *Women at Cambridge*, revd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.57.

[35] Lady Psyche's song in Act Two of *Princess Ida*, 'The Ape and the Lady', should be read in this context.

[36] 'The Girton Pioneers by Several Students at Hitchin' (1873), archived from the original in 2010 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20120424033219/http://www.girton.cam.ac.uk/about/college-history/college-songs/girton-pioneers/> [accessed 6 September 2016].

[37] Bernard Shaw, *Mrs Warren's Profession*, ed. Brad Kent (London: Methuen, 2012), p.7, l.144.

[38] Ibid, l.149.

[39] Ibid, p.10, ll.214-6.

[40] Jill Davis, 'The New Woman and the New Life', in Vivien Gardner and Susan Rutherford, *The New Woman and Her Sisters: Feminism and Theatre, 1850-1914* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp.17-37 (p.24).

[41] 'The Princess Ida', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5877 (Monday 7 January 1884)

[42] Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) p.5.

[43] Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, 'Introduction', in Richardson and Willis, eds, *The New Woman*, pp.1-38 (p.4).

[44] 'Gilbert and Sullivan's New Opera', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 3323 (Monday 7 January 1884), n.p.

[45] Williams, *Gilbert and Sullivan*, pp.22-3.

[46] Ibid, pp.18-19.

[47] Ibid, p.235.

[48] Wren, *A Most Ingenious Paradox*, pp.154-6.

[49] 'The Princess Ida', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5877 (Monday 7 January 1884)

[50] J.H. Muirhead, 'How Hegel Came to Britain', *Mind*, 36:144 (October 1927), pp.423-447; Isobel Armstrong, 'George Eliot, Hegel, and *Middlemarch*', *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 29 (2020) <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.1992> [Accessed 9 October 2021]

[51] Hegel's letter to Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer (13 October 1806) is quoted in translation by Terry Pinkard, *Hegel: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.228.

[52] 'Savoy Theatre', *Observer*, Sunday 6 January 1884, n.p.

[53] 'The Princess Ida', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5877 (Monday 7 January 1884)

[54] Ouida, 'The New Woman', *The North American Review*, 158:450 (May 1894), pp.610-619 (p.614).

[55] Heather Anne Wozniak, 'The Play with a Past: Arthur Wing Pinero's New Drama', in *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 37:2 (2009), pp.391-409 (p.395); (p.393).

[56] Wozniak, 'The Play with a Past', p.397.

[57] Jan McDonald, 'New Women in the New Drama', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 6 (1990), pp.31-42 (p.32).

[58] Ibid, p.41

[59] Alan Fischler, 'The Modern Major Remodelling of the Gilbert and Sullivan Operas', p.38.

[60] Ibid, p.38.

[61] Ibid, p.38.

[62] 'Princess Ida', *The Times*, Monday 7 January 1884, n.p.

[63] Ibid

[64] Ibid.

[65] 'From Our London Correspondent', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, LX: 8471 (Monday 7 January 1884), n.p.

[66] 'Gilbert and Sullivan's New Opera', *Freeman's Journal*, n.p.

[67] Fischler, p.44.

[68] Wren, *A Most Ingenious Paradox*, pp.140-1.

[69] Sarah Grand, 'The New Aspect of the Woman Question', *The North American Review*, 158:448 (March 1894), pp. 270-276 (p.273).

[70] Ibid, p.276.

[71] Shawna Lucey quoted in Fischler, p.40.

[72] Ouida, 'The New Woman', *The North American Review*, 158: 450 (May 1894), pp.610-619 (p.611).