TRABAJO FIN DE GRADO

GRADO EN ESTUDIOS INGLESES: LENGUA, LITERATURA Y CULTURA

NEW WOMEN'S LITERATURE: A REFLECTION OF THE FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN. SARAH GRAND'S *IDEALA* AND OLIVE SCHREINER'S *STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM* AS NEW WOMEN NOVELS.

MILAGROS LAQUIDÁIN TIRADO

MLAQUIDAI1@ALUMNO.UNED.ES

TUTOR ACADÉMICO: Dra. Ana Zamorano

LÍNEA DE TFG: Estudios de Género en Lengua Inglesa.

FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

CURSO ACADÉMICO: 2020-21- Convocatoria: ordinaria

Abstract

This paper aims to disclose the relevance of the figure of the New Woman in literature and how it propelled a change in Victorian gender roles. I provide an analysis of the context in which New Women's mentality emerged and how it found a noteworthy medium of expression in literature. I analyse two New Women novels, Sarah Grand's *Ideala* and Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* as representative works, from different positions, of this new ideology that challenged Victorian stereotypes. Finally, I connect them to the principles defended by the suffrage movement. To conclude, I prove that New Women's literature was a potent agent for change that foretold many assumptions and arguments taken by suffragists and suffragettes at the beginning of the 20th century.

Key words

New Women's literature, feminism, Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner, Suffragism.

INDEX

Introduction

Thesis Statement and Justification of the Topic

This paper aims to investigate the relevance of the figure of the New Woman that propelled a significant change in Victorian gender roles and forecasted many of the principles defended by the suffrage movement. Although the emergence of the New Woman was not an only English phenomenon, this paper focuses mainly in the English context, as is the one that the authors I study shared during the most of their lives.

Women during the 19th century were relegated to the domestic sphere of the household: they had a limited participation in public life and were expected to take care of their husbands and children, in a social system "arranged by men" (Grand, *The New Aspect of the Woman Question*). However, by the end of the century, a group of women started to challenge the traditional role assigned to women until that moment, they "were awaking from their long apathy" (Grand, *The New Aspect of the Woman Question*). The main worries of the "Woman Question"[1] were also among the main worries of New Women. These were present, additionally, in their literature. In this sense, literature became a relevant tool to challenge traditional assumptions about women. It was 1894 when Sarah Grand coined the term "New Woman" in the article written for the *North American Review*, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question", acknowledging the emergence of a new ideology that was to be represented in over 100 novels written by and about New Women. As Sally Ledger states in her article, "The New Woman and Feminist fictions", "New Woman fiction became a central and massively popular feature of *fin de siècle* culture" (Ledger).

The new feminism that emerged at the end of the 19th century helped to pave the way for the fight for the vote for women. The suffrage movement found its maximum expression at the beginning of the 20th century. The positions taken by women about the Cause ranged from the one taken by the pacifist and traditional suffragists, led by Millicent Garret Fawcett to the militant suffragettes, headed by Emmeline Pankhurst. In between, many other groups that based their

[1] The "Woman Question" was a debate that emerged throughout the 19th century about the position of women in fields such as education, marriage or financial independence.

support to the enfranchisement of women in their professional activities, without, at least in theory, a direct link to political positions, were founded. This is the case of the Women Writers' Suffrage League (WWSL), founded in 1908, that for the first time professionalised the role of women's writers in England. Among its members, the WWSL counted with relevant women writers of the moment, some of them New Women, for instance Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner or Mona Caird who "used their pen" to support the emancipation of women (Sowon S Park). Their literature was at the service of the Cause.

New Women's literature reflected the worries and anxieties of a generation of women. The shift their literature started to take in order to show women's concerns (not just novels, but also articles, essays, plays, poems…), manifested many signs of pragmatism. This change in literature was to be consolidated in the role it took in order to support the suffrage for women. Sarah Grand's and Olive Schreiner's works reflect New Women's ideology from different angles, and this is why this paper presents an analysis of two of their novels as examples of this movement. I have taken two of their works, Grand's *Ideala* and Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm*, as samples of the psychosocial and political change that was emerging on a larger scale in society. The reason for using these two relevant New Women novels of the moment is that I consider that they represent a faithful reflection of the genre and of what was happening in society.

The study of this period's conceptualization of women and the new approach to what it meant being a woman, is especially relevant within the field of gender studies. It is interesting to identify the relevance that New Women had on society from the point of view of two New Women, and not just from a traditional male view. Sarah Grand and Olive Schreiner were leading figures in literary and intellectual circles at the end of the 19th century. This paper aims to re-discover the relevance and revolution their work triggered and shed light on their influence to the feminist movement.

The same way as New Women challenged and transformed society; New Women's literature challenged and transformed the literary environment of a period that was dominated by an established male canon. This paper will reinforce the idea of New Women as pioneers in the modern feminist history, of

women's rebellion against the predefined roles assigned by society. In this sense, this study is relevant in the field of gender and feminist studies.

Objectives

The first general objective of this work is to prove how New Women literary creations of the end of the 19th century (between the 1885 and 1895) reflected and denounced Victorian women's socio-political and economic status quo and worked as instruments that propelled social change. I have made use of two New Women novels of the period as micro-representations of what was happening on a wider scale.

Based on this first objective, I have established two specific goals, which are as follows:

1. My first secondary objective is to connect the social change propelled by New Women novels to the suffrage movement through the study of specific associations such as the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) and the Women Writers' Suffrage League (WWSL) in the first years of the 20th century.

2. My second specific objective is to show, through the study of Sarah Grand's *Ideala* and Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm*, two New Women and members of the Women Writers' Suffrage League, how their main characters challenged Victorian views about women and exposed social concerns in a revolutionary way. I have analysed the principal women characters in both works in order to show similarities and differences in the approach to important themes of reference about the position of women: marriage, motherhood, relationships, education and economical independence relationship.

Methodology and Resources

I have based this paper on a top-down method. I have first focused on the general context and thoughts about women and after that I have gone on analysing more particularly how these general views appear reflected in two

novels, which at the same time, work as samples of the general change pervading society. For that, I have made use of an extensive bibliographic material found in the databases available at the UNED library such as J-STOR, PROQUEST, Literature online, e-space, Dialnet or Elsevier. In addition, I have used the main search engine of the UNED, ex-libris. I have employed other more general tools such as the ones offered by Google (Google Books, Google Scholar, Google Arts and Culture or Google Search). Searches have been done by using keywords related to the field of study such as "Victorian women", "New Woman", "19th century feminism", "suffrage movement", etc. This initial bibliography also proved to be very useful to discover new sources cited in the books and articles selected. Moreover, as the paper focuses on the study of two New Women novels, a significant part of the work has been concentrated on the close reading of the two primary sources: Sarah Grand's *Ideala* and Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African farm.* I have made use of a Bibliographic Management Application (BMA), Mendeley, in order to systematize all the bibliographic references used in this work.

Concerning the approach to the content of the bibliography, firstly, I have analysed the secondary sources and used the information to give shape to the historical and social context of the work. After that, I have examined the bibliography related to the emergence of the New Woman and the literature generated by and about them. I have analysed the different stances within this movement in order to be able to discover the elements in common in Grand's and Schreiner's novels.

According to Peter Barry, Anglo-American feminism "see reading and explication of individual literary texts as the major business of feminist critics" (126). Bearing this idea in mind, I have done a close reading of the primary sources in order to determine the elements that link the main characters of both novels, *Ideala* and *Story of an African Farm* to the figure of the New Woman. I have also studied Grand's and Schreiner's biographies in order to detect points in common with the concerns of New Women. I have used this information to include a short introduction about the position of both authors. The aim of this introduction is not to be a biography as, in order to do so, I would need another bibliographic revision and it would be outside the scope of study of this paper.

The aim of this part is to show their ideologies about feminist issues present in their novels. After that, I include a classification divided into sections of the main concerns for women at this historical moment. In each section, I have compared the view exposed about each theme in the two novels with the Victorian society and subsequent suffrage movements.

To finish, I include a comparative table that comprises an analysis comparing the Victorian classical view, New Women's stance throughout Grand and Schreiner's works and the WWSL's views.

State of the Question

This paper traces the study of the role of women at the end of the 19th century, their revolutionary role and the suffrage of women. These three main fields of study have been broadly analysed both, from a historical and a literary point of view. As the scope of the paper is wide, in order to reduce and focus it, I have departed from the bibliography included in the subjects related to English Literature and Gender studies of the Degree of English Studies (UNED) and expanded it throughout the mediums indicated in the section above.

In the first place, I have settled the social and political context of the 19th and 20th century with the help of Paul Poplawski's *English Literature in Context*, chapter 5, "The Victorian Age" and chapter 6, "The Twentieth Century". This first approach has helped me to create a first approximation to the historical situation in England that allowed the arousal of the New Woman by the end of the century. Together with Poplaswki's text, I have also found support in articles related to English law innovations during the 19th century. Above all, those related to issues reverberating in the mind of women, as the Contagious Diseases Acts or Education Acts. Instances of these articles are the "Synopsis of the Forster Education Act" or "The People's Charter" from The British Library. The main objective of this part of the study is to establish a historical context that leads to a more complete understanding of the figure of the New Woman and the origin of their main concerns.

Another relevant section of the first chapter is devoted to analyse the gender role assigned to women during the 19th century and how it changed by

the end of the century. In order to do so, I have included cites and texts of the period that exemplify the position of women such as Coventry Patmore's renowned idealization of women as the "Angel of the House", John Ruskin's, "Sesame and Lilies" or John Stuart Mill the "Subject of Women". Furthermore, the fact that one of the authors studied in this paper was also a prominent journalist, allows access to articles in which she starts defining this new ideology. Therefore, together with other more theoretical sources, I have made use of some of Grand's articles as "The New Aspect of the Woman Question" or "The Modern Girl", both published by the North American Review Magazine.

Once settled the historical overview of the study and the role of women during the period, I have focused on the main area of study, the literature of the period. To accomplish this, I one more time depart from bibliographic references included in the subject "Gender Studies" of the second year of Degree of English Studies. I have begun rereading Catherine Riley's and Lynne Pearce's Feminism *and Women's Writing: an Introduction* and Elaine Showalter's *A Literature of Their Own*, chapter VII "The feminist novelists" and chapter VIII "Women Writers and the Suffrage movement". Showalter's *A literature of Their Own* has been essential in order to establish the basis of my study. On the on hand, I have based the study of the figure of the New Woman writer, or feminist writer, as Showalter calls her, and on the other, it has been of great help to establish a relationship with the main concerns of suffrage movements. This text, together with the guidance of my tutor, has helped me to identify Sarah Grand and Oliver Schreiner as excellent representatives of New Women's literature and subsequent supporters of the suffrage movements. Showalter's text has also led me to other secondary sources cited by her, about New Women's literature and literary groups. She mentions Grand's and Schreiner participation in the Women Writers' Suffrage League, a group studied in depth by Sowon S. Park in his article "The First Professional: The Women Writers' Suffrage League". Other articles that evaluate the role of New Women writers such as Sally Ledger's from Cambridge University Press, "New Women Fictions" or Marylin Bonnell's articles, from Tulsa University, have been key to identify strategic aspects in New Women's writing.

The theme of suffragism, has been widely studied within the frame of feminist studies. Just a light search in google for "votes for women" gives you

back more than 760 million results or a mere search in ex-Libris of the word "suffrage" gives you around 100.000 results. Therefore, in order to identify the ideology defended by each suffrage movement I have gone to the core information: their foundation pamphlets available at The British Library and The Museum of London[2]. It has not been possible to find the constitutional prospectus of the "Women Writers' Suffrage League", so in this case, I have made use of other sources such as Showalter or Sowon S. Park, to find out their thoughts about different questions concerning the position of women.

As stated above, thanks to Showalter's *A Literature of their Own*, and my tutor's advice, I have included in the paper an analysis of the works of Sarah Grand and Olive Schreiner in order to find elements that:

- Challenge Victorian assumptions about gender roles preassigned to women.
- Represent a general feminist view that starts to question those roles.
- Open the doors to a new way of thinking for women and help to expand a new ideology socially condemned.
- Forecast the ideology pervading the suffrage movements.

As both authors, Grand and Schreiner have been broadly studied as of the second wave of feminism, it has not been difficult to find interesting articles about their works. One of the most interesting works focused on Grand's life and works is Marilyn Bonnell's "The Legacy of Sara Grand's 'The Heavenly Twins'". Another relevant reference is Ann Heilmann's "Sex, Religion, and the New Woman in China: A Comparative Reading of Sarah Grand and Alicia Little". In spite of the amount of information found about both authors, not many works analyse directly *Ideala* as an example of a New Woman novel.

To conclude, the bibliography available about the theme in question, the study of the relevance of New Women and how they opened the path to the suffrage movement is wide, but not many studies are focused on identifying New Women as forecasters of the suffrage movement. Throughout the study of two New Women's writers, I have aimed to highlight this connection.

[2] See Annex 1: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and Women Social and Political Union Pamphlets and Selection of Publications.

Chapter 1: Socio- Political and Literary Context.

1.1. General Context: A Period of Change and Reform

The 19th century was a period immersed in change and reform and is considered one of the most prosperous ages in the history of England. Under the leadership of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), after whom this era was going to be named, the nation turned from an agricultural economy to one of the greatest industrial nations in Europe. Additionally, the 19th century witnessed the period of maximum expansion of the British Empire, something that reinforced the international status of England. Probably, this international atmosphere of change was one of the factors that propelled the emergence of the social change that the position of women was about to undertake.

Industrial innovations, the revolution in communication and transport together with scientific and technological discoveries transformed the standards of life for millions of people (Poplawski 403). The price for this massive industrial revolution was the social consequences for the people who supported it. Poverty, dreadful work conditions, above all among women and children, mixed with an important lack of sanitary conditions. This situation led to the emergence of a new urban working class completely unrepresented in the Parliament.

Change and reform showed the necessity to regulate the new situation originated by industrial transformations. Several bills were passed in Parliament. The Great Reform Act (1832) attempted to improve the electoral system that left thousands of people unrepresented in parliament. The New Poor Law, that guaranteed board and keep in workhouses to poor people, was approved two years after. The People's Charter, presented in 1939, proved to be a turning point in the fight for the reform of the electoral system: it became the ideological basis of the Chartism, that defended the universal suffrage, the secret ballot or the equal representation in Parliament among other matters (*The People's Charter, 1838 - The British Library*). It was 1849 when the Public Health Act, aiming to improve the health system in Great Britain, saw the light. Also related to public health, in 1864 the first Contagious Diseases Act was approved. This law encouraged the arrest of prostitutes in "lock hospitals" for being suspicious of transmitting venereal diseases. No measures were taken to prevent the

transmission of diseases from the other side of the problem: men who made use of prostitution and who were equally porters of these venereal diseases. Together with the Contagious Diseases Act, Education was another great concern for Victorian England. Near the end of the century, in 1870 the “Forster Law” guaranteed for the first time compulsory education for children between five and thirteen (*Synopsis of the Forster Education Act 1870 - The British Library*).

1.2. The Role of Victorian Women and the Fight for the Rights of Women

The general environment of change and reform propelled by the industrial revolution in the 19th century was probably one of the factors that led to question certain roles and attitudes preassigned to women during the 19th century.

On the basis of Victorian conceptualization of women was a separation of society between public and private spheres. The public sphere comprised issues related to political relationships and was a field consigned to men. Men were the leading authorities in government and management of institutions. Since women were considered physically and mentally lower to men, they were not welcomed in public affairs.

Women were expected to remain in the private sphere. Actually, this was not something new. If we look back at Roman law, men were already considered the *Pater Familias* and women and children lived under his authority (Alvarado). This family structure was still pervading Victorian society. The education received at home highlighted their “Godly” aim, which was no other than being the perfect wife and mother. A Victorian woman was expected to be the “Angel in the house”, as Coventry Patmore displayed in his poem published in 1854: “man must be pleased; but him to please is woman's pleasure; down the gulf of his condoled necessities”. Once married, the couple were considered as one person for legal affairs, something that transformed women into shadows of their husbands (Cordea). Women were, in this sense, paralleled to children without the right to vote, to own properties, to sue other people or to hold a job. Consequently, women depended completely on their husbands (Cordea). This situated men in a position of superiority and women above their command.

Purity, innocence and ignorance were some of the virtues expected from a 19th century woman. Before and after marriage. Because of that ignorance, women's sexuality in the period was a central concern for women who related it directly with pain and suffering (Showalter 156). The duality between the private and public sphere had its reflection in the double standard used to judge men and women's behaviours. Sexuality polarised women. Women at home were expected to be innocent "angels". Therefore, when they did not meet those expectations, as was the case of prostitutes, they turned to be considered exactly the opposite, monsters. Sexually transmitted diseases were a great concern during the 19th century as corroborates the Contagious Diseases Acts. These bills reflected one of the most controversial issue of Victorian Society, the double moral standard that measured men and women's behaviours, above all concerning sexual matters.

Furthermore, this expected ignorance to preserve women's sexual innocence, had a wider scope. Women had no access to higher education, at least until the last decades of the century. This matter was considered one of the principal handicaps for the development of social equality between the sexes (Cordea). This lack of higher education was one of the burdens women had to load until the last decades of the century. As Sarah Grand stated in her article "The Modern Girl", "the absurdity of an education designed for the preservation of the ignorance of women" was in the core of the Woman Question (Grand, *The Modern Girl)*. Women's educational institutions during the 19th century focused their training on issues related to the domestic domain aggravating the chasm between spheres.

The separation of the private and public spheres was reinforced by the work of leading English critics of the time such as John Ruskin. In his work "Sesame and Lilies", Ruskin defended the separation of the private and public spheres by asserting that women were not equipped to face public life and were, instead suited to remain in the private territory of the household (Cordea). During the 19th century, women were the protagonists of domestic life and therefore, their power was relegated to this sphere, transforming them into moral authorities at home (Poplawski 415).

Little by little, the position of women started to be denounced. This vindication was soon to be known as the Woman Question. It reflected the worries of many women and men about areas such as education, marriage, legal and property rights, economic independence or suffrage. John Stuart Mill published in 1869 *The Subject of Women*, work that comprised the main women's changings expectations. Mill was a staunch defender of the emancipation of women, as he proved when he (unsuccessfully) presented a bill asking for the suffrage for women in Parliament in 1866. In this work, Mill highlights the relevance of education as the only medium to guarantee "a perfect equality between men and women". The philosophy of this work defends that women must be given the same opportunities than men. Just by giving both the same opportunities, women will be able to show until where they can arrive. He censures marriage and property laws that relegate women to a secondary place, always inferior to men (Cordea). Mill's work represents what a part of society was already vindicating. A vindication that became the root of a harsh strive for the rights of women.

Some advances in women's status were seen with the approach of the *fin* de *siècle*, such as The Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 that granted ownership of their properties to married women[3] or the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1878, that reformed the law of divorce (Riley 41). Another important change was to be taken right after the opening of two Colleges in Cambridge for middle and upper class women, Girton and Newnham (1869). The National Union for Improving the Education of Women started in 1871 its activity in order to promote the upgrading of the education that women received. By the end of the century, the institution had promoted the opening of more than thirty boarding schools for women (*Women's Education – Newnham College*). However, there was still a long way to go in order to improve the situation of women and reach equality with men.

[3] Before this Acts, women's properties were automatically transferred to the husband after marriage (Riley 41).

1.2.1. The fin-de-siècle: New Women and Literature

It was 1894 when Madame Sarah Grand, New Woman journalist and novelist coined the term "New Woman" in her article "The New Aspect of the Woman Question". Grand affirms in it: "women are awakening from their long apathy". This statement forecasts the rebellion women had just started to undertake.

The emergence of the figure of the New Woman was not a homogenous phenomenon. What it meant to be a New Woman got different connotations depending on factors like religion, education level or approaches to philosophy. However, what was undeniable was that New Women, in contrast to the "Old Victorian women", were threatening old ideas about womanhood (Buzwell). As Riley states, "as Victorian Britain changed, there emerged new spaces where women could construct and enact new behaviours" (41). The environment of change and reform of the 19th century led a group of women to revolve against the expectations society had printed on them and the role their mothers and grandmothers had adopted during the previous decades. This revolt caused a great breach in society. The figure of the New Woman granted staunch censure among both, men and women who had dominated until then the critical establishment of the period.

The public censure of New Women led to some parts of society to consider New Women as a mere "discursive phenomenon" shaped by the work of novelists and journalists (Collins). As happened with the old Victorian women, the young New Woman was soon stereotyped. As Hughes states, the image of the New Woman included five essential activities: "she smoked, rode a bicycle, frequented women's clubs, read voraciously and wore bloomers" (Hughes). This image was caricaturised by magazines such as "The Punch" providing a body to this abstract New Woman[4]. The main problem that the discursive conceptualization of women entailed was that it did not reflect the heterogeneity of New Women ideology. This led soon to perceive New Women as a menace to traditional institutions and to create a false masculinized view of them. In her article "The New Aspect of the Woman Question", Sarah Grand paraphrases a question resonating in

[4] See Annex 2: The New Woman in "The Punch".

antifeminist circles: “if women don’t want to be men, what do they want?”. This view represents the inability of a large part of society to recognise different ways of being a woman.

However, literature and journalism did not just served as vehicles for stereotyping New Women. They also helped to spread new ideas about womanhood. In this context, Sarah Grand became an icon of the movement as she represented both, the image of the New Woman riding a bicycle and a powerful matriarchal figure with the necessary position to spread her vision of women’s problems in their daily lives (Hanlon). Actually, she was not alone in this task. Other relevant authors, such as Olive Schreiner, Mona Caird or George Egerton were publishing New Women novels, essays, articles or poems that challenged traditional views about women. Between 1883 and 1900 over 100 New Women novels were published (Ledger). This way, literature became a mighty agent for change. The achievement of a better education for women by the end the century is what propelled this involvement of women in literature.

Nineteenth century literature saw the greatest number of women writers until that moment (*Women’s Literature in the 19th Century: Introduction | Encyclopedia.Com*). At the beginning of the century, women’s literary creations were focused on children’s literature, poetry or novels, traditionally considered suitable “feminine genres”. However, with the advancement of the decades, the previous categorization of novels as low-literature, changed. This fact led women novelist to tackle with tough critical reviews, usually made by men that often based their arguments just on the sex of the author (*Women’s Literature in the 19th Century: Introduction | Encyclopedia.Com*). Although some women had already demonstrated their skills as novelists, as Mrs. Fanny Burney, Mary Edgeworth or Jane Austen, it were men who established the standards of literary criticism and who defined what was considered “high-culture”. According to Bonnell, novel writing was at the beginning of the 19th century a “low-culture” activity with as many female writers as men. When the reputation of novel writing increased, literary men aimed to control the genre and codified new rules in order to elevate novel writing to a high-culture activity. This, reinforced by the lack of higher Education of women until the end of the century, put women outside the canon of great novel writers. The critical establishment controlled by men, was

trying to remove the control of the novel from women. The aim was no other than to reserve the art of novel writing for male writers. (*Sarah Grand and the Critical Establishment: Art for [Wo]Man's Sake*). Critical establishment was greatly concerned with gender. In this context, between 1880s and 1890 arose the literature of New Women, which indeed, did not escape this gender margination. The number of women writers achieved the highest records by the end of the century. Actually, the new methods of publication such as the serialization of novels, the circulating libraries and the arousal of publishers led to a new massive reading and writing culture (Poplawski, 431). These new methods of publication fitted better with women's writings and were probably part of what encouraged them to devote their time to this art. What is undeniable is that women's writings had become more than just a leisure activity. It had become a social tool to promote change.

New Women writers from the *fin* de *siècle* adopted different stances about the most debated issues in society, as was the case of sexuality, marriage, education or financial independence of women. The same way the late Victorian feminism was considered a "fractured collective", New Women's literature constituted a dissimilar group. Scholars have represented the feminism of the period as a "network" rather than a standardised movement (Elford). In spite of the stereotyped idea created by publications such as "The Punch", New Women writers differed in their stances. These viewpoints ranged from radical stances demanding sexual parity and sexual freedoms, represented by authors like George Egerton, to other more closed to social purity, that struggled against prostitution and improper male sexuality and its consequences (venereal diseases), as Sarah Grand (Ledger).

In spite of the different approaches to the figure of the New Woman, the general image society had imposed granted harsh social criticism and staunch rivals. One of the most controversial issues was their alleged defence of "free love" and rejection of traditional institutions as was the case of marriage or motherhood. Although authors like Sarah Grand, still defended marriage as the best profession for women, the assumption of anti-feminists, men and women, that New Women were a menace to the institution of marriage was almost impossible to overcome.

Paradoxically and in spite of the fact that the New Women's fiction was represented by a wide number of women writers, the image we preserve today of the New Woman comes to a high extent from the work of male authors as Thomas Hardy or George Moore (Bonnell). Doubtlessly, there was a gender bias in the judgement of New Women's fiction written by women, the same way there was a gender bias in many other social and political aspects of Victorian society.

1.2.1.1 The Literary Ladies

As Hughes states, New Women did not appear spontaneously but they had a prehistory linked to the literary circles. It was 1889 when the "Literary Ladies", a women's writers dining club was founded in London (Hughes). Women's access to male clubs were limited or even completely excluded[5]. Ironically, the club was renamed as "Women Writers' Club" in 1894, when New Women's novels became popular and increasingly belittled (Hughes). The creation of this club was significant in two ways: on the one hand, it showed a claim to be considered equal to men's clubs and on the other, it represented the entrance of women in a, until then, only male's sphere. It was one of the first steps taken by women to enter into the public sphere. Obviously, this step outside the private sphere granted hostility by a significant part of society. A hostility that was going to be present in reactions about the subsequent incursions women were soon going to undertake into the public sphere.

Some of the founders of this woman's dining club became prominent New Women writers like Mona Caird. The most relevant figures of English society were invited to participate, as were the cases of Olive Schreiner, Sarah Grand, Humphrey Ward, Violet Hunt, May Sinclair or Elizabeth Robins, who became president of the Women Writers' Suffrage League in 1909. The club helped to educate society to see women in the public sphere, as would be the case of New Women, and to familiarise with professional women writers' organizations as the Women Writers Suffrage League (Hughes).

[5] "The Society of Authors", a male authors' club limited the participation of women. Other male clubs such as "The Savile" excluded the participation of women (Hughes).

1.2.2. The Fight for the Rights of Women

One of the objectives of New Women's literature was to raise awareness of the critical situation of women in many aspects already present in the "Woman Question". In this context of change and emerging consciousness about the position of women, a group of men and women started to work in what was thought to be the only possible path to get women's access to full rights: their right to gain political power to change laws or what is the same, their right to vote. The First Reform Act took place in 1832, and since then, unsuccessful attempts to enfranchise women took place. In 1866 a large petition signed by more than 1.500 women was again unsuccessfully presented in Parliament with the support of John Stuart Mill, a prominent MP and one of the most influential characters of the English society, and Henry Fawcett, Millicent Fawcett's husband (*What Is the Difference between the Suffragists and the Suffragettes? - The British Library*). In 1884, women were still campaigning to be included in the Third Reform Act. As of then, the vote for women became little by little a central issue for English society. It revolved the country's political and social context and politicized it: detractors such as the anti-suffragist Antis or the anarchistic socialists on the one hand, supporters on the other (Showalter 185). And among the former, women's support was also faced from different angles: on the one hand, the suffragists, the pacifist wing headed by Millicent Garret Fawcett, and on the other, the suffragettes, radical branch that split from the suffragists in order to take a more active strategy. They trusted in "deeds not in words" and were led by the charismatic Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters[6].

The suffrage movement found expression on several women's suffrage societies[7]. Fawcett's followers gathered in the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) founded in 1897. This union comprised by 1913, 448 societies. Their pacifist approach led to a more radical section led by Emmeline Pankhurst to split from this group and found in 1903 the Woman Social

[6] Sylvia and Christabel Pankhurst founded the WSPU together with her mother, Emmeline Pankhurst. Sylvia's position eventually detached from the activism undertaken by the WSPU. This, together with her relation to the Labour Party, eventually led the WSPU to expel her (*What Is the Difference between the Suffragists and the Suffragettes? - The British Library*).
7 See Annex 1: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and Women Social and Political Union Pamphlets and Selection of Publications.

and Political Union (WSPU). They employed radical militant methods to achieve more quickly the vote. They participated in violent demonstrations and incursions in Parliament that led many members of the group, including the Pankhurst to prison[8]. There, they undertook severe hunger strikes that ended up in forced feeding ordered by the Prisoners Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health Act, commonly known as the Cat and Mouse Act. Both groups found a medium of expression in their own journals, founded and edited by their members, "Votes for Women" and "The Common Cause" respectively, since 1909.

As stated above, always within a continuum of stances, from radical to puritan extremes, New Women exposed the relevance of education for women, financial independence, equal morality between men and women. They were concerned with the role of women in marriage and motherhood, their financial independence, the role of religion and their right to achieve political power to change the law throughout their enfranchisement. This new approach to literature was soon going to be materialised in the creation, in 1908 of the first professional association of women writers that, as the NUWSS or the WSPU were aiming to defend the suffrage Cause: the Women Writers' Suffrage League[9].

1.2.2.1. The Women Writers' Suffrage League

The Women Writers' Suffrage League was founded to support the suffrage cause in June 1908 by the playwright Cicely Hamilton and the novelist Bessie Hatton (Sowon S. Park). Although both of them were supporters of the Pankhurst branch, the League was created as an independent group aiming to welcome people from any political preference. It can be considered the zenith of the pragmatic shift that literature started to take with New Women novels by the 1890s. Actually, many New Women writers, the same way as Sarah Grand or Olive Schreiner, lifelong fighters for the rights of women, enrolled in the Women Writers' Suffrage League (WWSL). They used their literature as a political tool to fight for the vote for women. This organization of women writers professionalised

[8] Emmeline Pankhurst was sent to prison on eleven occasions (*What Is the Difference between the Suffragists and the Suffragettes? - The British Library*)
[9] The fight for the vote was a cresol of organizations facing the same problem from different points of view. Consult Annex 3 for a comparative analysis of the main approaches of the NUWSS the WSPU and the WWSL.

for the first time in the British history the role of women writers. They repudiated androcentrism and allowed the membership of women of all classes and political ideologies, something that was highly striking in the Edwardian society of the moment (Sowon S. Park).

Women writing was not something new. What was in fact outstanding was that this League was opened to people, men (as honorary members) and women, from any origin, not just white women from middle or upper classes. The League's criterion of membership was just "the publication or production of a book, article, story or poem for which the author has received a payment" as they stated in their prospectus published in 1909 (Showalter, 178). The WWSL together with other women's organizations that had arisen as a consequence of the suffrage movement, like the Artists' Suffrage League or the Suffrage Atelier, supported the suffrage movement from a collective organization. These groups helped to create a "sense of female agency by giving public voice to communal problems" (Sowon S Park).

The League was mainly engaged in supporting the movement from what is inherent to writers: "the use of the pen" (Showalter 178). However, they did not seek individual success or creating great works of art. This literature was interventionist and pragmatic with a clear function: to educate and support an ideology that would lead to the emancipation of women (Sowon S. Park). Many of their publications, essays and letters, appeared in famous pro-suffrage publications like *The Vote, The Common Cause, The Suffragette, Votes of Women* or *Women's Franchise*.

However, they did not just spread their support to the Cause in journals, but also in literary works as novels, short stories or plays[10]. One of the best known instances of this suffrage literature can be found in Gertrude Colmore's *Suffragette Sally* (1911), a novel that deals with sex and gender and how the involvement of the three main characters in the WSPU affect their lives and relationships (*Suffragette Sally - Broadview Press*). Evelyn Sharp's collection of short stories "Rebel Woman" (1912) mixes fairy tales with the suffrage movement

[10] The WWSL provided plays for the Actresses Franchise League creating an allegiance of communities between organizations (Sowon S. Park).

and displays themes like women's fears within the militant suffrage movement. Plays such as Cicely Hamilton's *How the Vote Was Won* or *A Pageant of Great Women* also exemplified the theme in question. Bessie Hatton's play *Before Sunrise* presents again the "old story" of the dissemination of venereal diseases through the story of a young girl forced to marry a syphilitic man. A preoccupation that was already present in the core of New Women's literature. Elizabeth Robins' play *Votes for Women* is another reference for suffrage literature. However, in this case there are some controversial themes that highlight differences between men and Women. The play was eventually transformed into a novel under the title *The convert*. It shows the controversies that a young suffragette, Vida, has to face. She is forced to have an abortion because her lover rejects to marry her. This question connects with other suffering women like prostitutes or starving working mothers and highlights the difference consequences sex have on men and women. Another principal concern that New Women aimed to denounce in their novels. When, years after Vida's former lover becomes an MP, she blackmails him to support the Cause. Although these were not the modus operandi of suffragettes, the text reflects the sexual combat that the issue represented (Showalter, 180). Although not strictly a member of the WWSL, Christabel Pankhurst text "The Great Scourge and How to End it" (1913) focuses on the denouncement of male vice, following the line marked by the suffrage literature. This work goes back to the feminist ideas already popularised by Sarah Grand's novels in the 1890s (Showalter, 190)

The members of the League, besides writing, also participated actively in public debates held in conservative newspapers. It was a common practice for members of the WWSL to answer anti-suffragists authors' publications. In addition to this, they also participated in matinees together with the Actresses Franchise League. In spite of the huge amount of organizations fighting for the vote of women and the differences in the way they approached the matter, all of them were able to join and work in unison for their shared objective. Even though the WWSL's method was "the use of the pen", they did not renounce to take part in marches, demonstrations and conferences to support the Cause (Sowon S Park). An iconic instance of this collaboration is the participation of all the suffrage groups in the first demonstration organised by members of the NUWSS in June

1908 with more than fifteen thousand participants[11]. Leading figures like Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner or May Sinclair joined them, together with more than a hundred more members of the League (Sowon S. Park).

The WWSL, as all the other pro-suffrage organizations, actively worked for the suffrage cause until the beginning of the First World War, when all their efforts were redirected to help the home front. The Women Writers' Suffrage League was officially dissolved the 24th January of 1919, almost one year after the passing of the new law the enfranchised women over 30 years old. It was not until 1928 when a new act extended the vote to all women over 21.

[11] Consult Annex 3: Comparative Overview of the NUWSS, the WSPU and the WWSL.

Chapter 2. New Women in Literature: Sarah Grand and Olive Schreiner as Iconic New Women Writers

2.1. Sarah Grand and Olive Schreiner: A Reflection of New Women's Ideology

According to Virginia Woolf, "killing the angel in the house was part of a woman writer". This chore already started to be accomplished by New Women writers in their novels by the end of the century. Literature became, in the hands of New Women, a weapon used to fight for their rights.

Sarah Grand and Olive Schreiner, both New Women, wrote some of the first New Women novels. Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* fired the New Women's literature. Sarah Grand *Ideala* was a pioneer work that helped to visualize the injustices women had to face in their daily lives and brought them closer to the common woman. Both Grand and Schreiner were engaged in the feminist communities of the period as the "Literary Ladies", became active members of the Women Writers' Suffrage League in 1908 and staunch supporters of the suffrage cause and methods. Grand's position, closer to the pacifist Fawcett's suffragists and Schreiner's, nearer to the suffragette's, are reflected in their literature.

Their works represent challenging approaches to what had been written from and about women until then. They revolved the social and literary contexts. Both represent new ideas about general concerns of Victorian society: marriage, sex, economical independence, education and the enfranchisement of women. These vindications that were already in the roots of the Woman Question throughout the 19th century, lingered in the voice of the suffrage defenders at the beginning of the 20th century. According to Janine Uttel, from Widener University in Pennsylvania, the Woman Question was particularly concerned about marriage and the role of women in the domestic sphere, education, property or employment. All these, present in Grand's and Schreiner's novels, and are analysed in the subsequent pages.

In order to understand Sarah Grand's and Olive Schreiner's stances as New Women writers and feminists, I include a short information about events of their personal lives that led them to denounce the position of women. The aim of

these two sections is not to be a biography. In order to do so, I would need another bibliographic revision and it would be outside the scope of study of this paper.

2.2. Sarah Grand in her Novels

Madame Sarah Grand, as Showalter states, was a woman who made herself (167). She escaped an unhappy childhood in Ireland by marrying a man much older than her. Years after, she once again escaped a miserable marriage by divorcing him. It was that moment when she decided to change her name from Frances Clarke and became the "matriarch", Madame Sarah Grand, a great novelist, journalist and essayist. She wished to be a teacher for other women. These facts of her live imprint autobiographical traces in her novels. Although not her most autobiographical work, in the eponymous novel, Ideala, as Grand, suffers a wretched marriage and becomes in the end "a great teacher" for other women (ch. XVII). Where she actually reflects her greatest autobiographical anxieties is her third novel, *The Beth Book* (1897) which deals directly with her childhood memories.

Her husband's job as a doctor allowed her to live for a while in Asia and Malta, an experience that allowed her to get in contact with other reformist communities. This gave her a basis to compare the western feminism with other representations of womanhood (Heilmann). As Grand did, Ideala also spends some time in China. In both cases, this travel is physical, but also spiritual. It speeds the maturity process needed to understand the feminist movement and become an example for other women.

Also due to her husband's job, she lived very closely the reality of "lock hospitals", designed to isolate prostitutes infected with venereal diseases. This reality made her very conscious of the double moral that the Contagious Disease Act represented (Grand, Sarah, 1854-1943 - Literature Online - ProQuest). This consciousness makes her write broadly in her novels about the issue, always from a puritan point of view. In *Ideala* (1893), men's adultery and its consequences are morally condemned. In her best known work, *The Heavenly Twins* (1893) the three heroines, Evadne, Edith and Angelica, have to face the double standard that measures the behaviour of men and women in relation to

marriage and sexuality and how the lack of education is in part to be blamed. This fear to venereal diseases, particularly syphilis, that was transmitted directly to wives and children, was one of the factors that led some feminist writers, like Grand to “battle to change and elevate the sexual morality of men” (Showalter 154).

Grand was a staunch defender of the rights of women from a social puritan feminism. As a novelist, she wrote eight works with the objective of bringing closer the social problems women had to face to other women far from the literary clubs in which she participated. She was not a radical feminist. She has even been considered old-fashioned on many of her viewpoints and criticised for the moral and allegedly “non realist” approach of her works (Bonnell). Despite this, she was engaged in breaking the “conspiracy of silence” that surrounded society about the situation of women. The activism she performed in her novels was more descriptive of the current situation than prescriptive of radical reactions against them (*Victorian Fiction Research Guides: Sarah Grand*). In her mature years, she became a supporter of the suffrage Cause, participated in the Women Writers’ Dinner club, the Women Writers’ Suffrage League and presided the Tunbridge Wells branch of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies, led by Millicent Garrett Fawcett.

Despite the harsh critics she received because of the poor syntax and alleged unrealistic approach, she went on fighting to represent the position of women in her novels. She was deeply engaged in writing something morally authoritative that became useful to other women. She aimed to write something that represented real women and real problems from the point of view of a woman (Bonnell).

2.3. Olive Schreiner in her Novels

Olive Schreiner, South African who spent the greatest part of her life in England, became after the publishing in 1883 of her novel *Story of an African Farm* a relevant figure of English intellectual circles. Her personal life, as her literary one was loaded with paradoxes and confusion. She was a feminist who hated being a woman, a writer who developed writer’s block and published just one novel during her lifetime, a maternal spirit whose only child died while being

a baby (Showalter 165). As Showalter affirms, Schreiner reflects the confused ambitions of the feminists of the moment (159). Her personal dissatisfaction with her condition as a woman pervades her *Story of an African Farm.* Lyndall tells Waldo she does not want to be a woman and is obsessed with the idea of finding a man that wishes to be one. Schreiner shows her discontent with her nature by a wise use of symbolism. Her women are morbid to the point that they became monsters. As the author's, Lyndall's baby dies, a fact that displays some of Schreiner's most personal fears. Schreiner unifying thread in *Story of an African Farm* is woman's pain. This is the resource she uses to connect with other women and provoke men's reactions in the novel.

In 1926, another novel in which she worked compulsively during her life was posthumously published, *From Man to Man*. In this one, she focuses once again on sisterhood and motherhood. She deals with adultery, prostitution and venereal diseases throughout the story of two sisters, Rebekah and Bertie and their personal mishaps (Showalter, 164).

Since very young, Schreiner read John Stuart Mill and Darwin, an influence that was to be present in her novels the same way the Calvinist doctrine learned from her missionary parents (Showalter 163). Mill's defence of women's rights is certainly embedded in Schreiner's feminist views in their novels. Lyndall is considered the first serious feminist hero in English novel (Showalter 163). She received a strong religious education. However, the death of a younger sister when she was nine years old led her to develop internal conflicts about it (*Schreiner, Olive, 1855-1920 - Literature Online - ProQuest*). These conflicts are present in *Story of an African Farm*, not just from the point of view of Lyndall but also from Waldo's, her lifelong friend, approximation to spiritual and Christian matters.

Lyndall shows in the novel her unsuccessful attempt to revolve against society when she elopes with her lover. In the same way, Olive Schreiner's literary life resulted equally ineffective and fruitless. Apart from these two novels she could just finish an allegorical collection of short stories, *Dreams, Dream Life and Real Life* (1893) that became especially inspiring for the activists in the fight

of the vote for women *(Schreiner, Olive, 1855-1920 - Literature Online - ProQuest*).

Schreiner's feminist aspirations found expression in her participation in the Men and Women's Club and, as Sarah Grand, the Women Writers' Suffrage League. Schreiner's work was read by the suffragettes in Holloway Prison (Showalter, 162) and this raised her as a relevant figure in suffragettes circles. An image of her relevance in literary circles is the invitation she received to preside the inaugural dinner of the "Literary Ladies" in 1889. Due to health reasons she could not attend and was substituted by Mona Caird, but the mere invitation meant a social recognition (Hughes). For Schreiner, it was "on the social and not on the political platform that the real fight was to be fought".

2.4. *Ideala* and *Story of an African Farm*

2.4.1 Introduction to the Main Characters

"I am a poem, if you read me aright" (Grand ch. I)

Innocent, absent-minded and self-forgetful, Ideala is depicted as "one of the weary women of the 19th century" (ch. I). Grand explores throughout the novel the consequences that a marriage to a dissolute man can have for a young woman. The novel is narrated from the point of view of a typical 19th century man and friend of the protagonist, Lord Dawne. He is a homodiegetic narrator that actively participates and tries to influence Ideala's thoughts. Since the very beginning, Lord Dawne sees Ideala as Coventry Patmore explained in his poem, as an angel, a spiritual being. Using him as a narrator conditions and imposes certain male views over Ideala that are eventually challenged by her behaviour. "I am a poem, if you read me aright", states Ideala at the beginning of the story. In fact, Lord Dawne's reading of her proves to be not as accurate as expected. Also as a poem, Ideala's attitudes may have different interpretations and meanings. An initial depiction of a woman with specific Victorian traits is challenged throughout unexpected opinions about education, marriage, love and independence. Humour and irony are central in the representation of Ideala's alleged naiveté and allows Grand to denounce typical Victorian attitudes. She falls in love for the first time in her life to Dr. Lorrimer, but instead of succumbing

to the temptation of following her feelings, she overcomes the situation in order to avoid suffering and social judgements to him. She undertakes at that moment a spiritual (and physical) journey that conducts her to become a woman devoted to help other women. Ideala becomes a New Woman in the course of the novel.

On the other hand, Lyndall, main character in Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* seems to have in her DNA the New Women's ideology since the very beginning of the novel. Ideala is introduced as a young lady without providing a context of her childhood. Little we know about her infancy apart from certain references to her early education, which according to Ideala is to be blamed for not having taught her to think. In contrast, Lyndall is initially introduced as a child, by an omniscient heterodiegetic narrator and grows both physically and intellectually throughout the novel. She is the non-conformist, rebel young girl that does not take for granted what is told to her and revolts against injustices. These attitudes appear even more highlighted in contrast with Em's, her cousin, submissive attitudes.

As happens in *Ideala*, Lyndall's relationship to men are going to define and redefine her throughout the novel. Ideala has to deal with a damaging relationship with her husband, a patronizing over-protective friend, Lord Dawne and a frustrated affair with a lover, Dr. Lorrimer who is trapped in his work and conventionalities of the 19th century society. Lyndall copes with Waldo's friendship, her soul mate, the trickeries of Bonaparte Blenkins, the goodness of the German overseer and finally with her lover, whose identity remains a mystery.

Both Ideala and Lyndall, from their very different personalities, are fighting the social conventions of women by the end of the 19th century by pursuing their beliefs. Lyndall tries to escape established expectations about what she should do to follow her own values: despite her pregnancy she rejects to marry the man she loves, father of her child, because of what marriage means for her: a mere "profession for women" and a challenge to love. As Lyndall, Ideala does not believe in marriage (without love) and sees it as a contract. In addition, the same way as Lyndall, she follows her ideals and ends up becoming a spiritual guide for other women. She finds her salvation in helping others. In this case, the closure of *Ideala* leaves a positive message to feminists: if you fight to do good to others,

you will get a complete and a fulfilled life. However, the closure in the *Story of an African Farm* displays a bitter ending. Despite following her principles, Lyndall does not succeed. She teaches her lesson by showing female suffering.

2.4.2 The Position of Women

"There is a great deal to be said in favour of placing the sexes on an equal footing" (Grand ch. I)

Both, Lyndall and Ideala, independently of all the differences they hold as character and as women, are highly interested since the beginning in the "Woman Question"·. According to Lord Dawne, "this question of the position of women in our own day occupied her a good deal" (ch.II). Ideala reflects deeply about the position of women and somehow throughout these reflections she ends up foreseeing the type of women she will become at the end of the novel. A woman with a "desire to do good" that has besides, found the way to do it. By expressing her thoughts, she mixes different opinions and points of view allowing readers to feel empathy and find their own thoughts in what Ideala says. For instance, in chapter II, when she speaks about the different types of women that exist in society, she identifies, firstly, the political revolutionists, which "struggle for political power" and "have done so much to unsex" women. She is making a thorough allusion to the suffrage supports, probably to the Pankhursts' suffragettes, the most radical and violent branch. This reference, with negative connotations, about the "unwoman" or "unsexed woman" was a constant in society and in Grand's texts. New Women were accused of aiming to be men the same way suffragists and suffragettes were deemed to wish to be "like men". Secondly, she identifies these women "who spend their time and talents on the production of cleverly written books of the most corrupt tendency". This is a quite ironic mention as it is clearly a self-reference to Grand as an author and all the other women writing this socially "irreverent" literature. Thirdly, she identifies those women in which their hopes rest, those willing to do good. It seems as if within this broad depiction of women, she is trying to engage with all kinds of public. She aims to help readers to open their eyes to what women are working for and why they do it with the only objective of "placing the sexes on an equal footing" (ch. II).

The same way as Ideala passionately reflects about the Woman Question, Lyndall forthrightly tells Waldo about the position of women: “it is the only thing about which I think much or feel much” (ch. 2.IV). She affirms women are “cursed” since they are born, just for being women and defends that society is to blame for this. Lyndall deepens on this theme: “I once heard an old man say, that he never saw intellect help a woman so much as a pretty ankle; and it was the truth. They begin to shape us to our cursed end” (ch. 2.IV). These reflections about the position of women were nurtured by her disappointing experience at the boarding school for women where her expectations of becoming a clever and wise woman were frustrated. She was not taught what she was expecting to learn since a child. Moreover, although we do not know yet at that moment of the novel, her own experience with love and sex will reinforce her disappointment with her condition as woman. In this same chapter, she reinforces her feminist approach to the situation of women by comparing it to the situation of women in other cultures, as was the case of the Chinese foot binding. Lyndall is not the only one worried about how other women were dealing with their status quo in other cultures. As Lyndall, Ideala also compares western and Asian women communities, in her case, after a personal experience in China.

2.4.3 Marriage, Motherhood and Relationships

> ***“Marriage for love is the beautifulest external symbol of the union of souls; marriage without it is the uncleanliest traffic that defiles the world”*** (Schreiner ch. 2. IV)

Marriage was a central concern and a debated issue throughout the 19th century. Once married, women lost their possessions[12] and were relegated to the private sphere of the domesticity of the household. In both novels, marriage and relationships between men and women, including sex and its consequences are central themes and define the principal characters’ attitudes.

On the one hand, Ideala, married for eight years to a man who turns out to be a licentious man, holds an idealistic conceptualization about marriage. For her, “your husband isn't properly your husband if you don't love him, love being the

[12] Until the Marriage Property Acts of 1870.

only possible sanctification—in fact, the only true marriage" (ch. XI). Her alleged innocence is not disrupted by her personal situation. She does not allow her personal "mishap" affect her opinion about marriage. As happens with many of her opinions, she departs from a virtuous position trying to attract the reader to empathize with her situation. Once there, she charges with "naïve" remarks attacking the institution and proposing improvements in legislation. According to Ideala "marriage laws might be improved" (ch. XVII). Nevertheless, the lack of women's political power to change legislation inequality will paralyse its improvement. This is exactly the same struggle the suffragettes and the suffragists are facing: the lack of women's political power to change law and society.

Grand's approach to feminism, as remarked before, departs from a social puritan stance. The same way, does Ideala's. Her virtuous position is enhanced by her opinion about marriage as "the only perfect state, the most sacred bond of union between man and woman and the perfect place for women" (ch.XI). This argument dismantles typical expectations of those against New Women and feminism and tries to make it easier to empathize with Ideala's position. However, a marriage without love, for her, is not a marriage. This leads her to discard her marriage as a proper marriage. She differentiates between the marriage without love which is "a mere legal contract" (ch. XXIV) and the moral contract you are obliged to undertake by accepting the first one (ch. XXV). It is striking how she assumes that her considerations about marriage are right and explains them in the presence of the bishop, whose opinions directly clash with Ideala's (ch. XXI). This is another instance of the position of the church and of Christianism about an institution that leaves women defenceless in cases of lack of moral behaviour on the side of the husband.

Furthermore, this conceptualization of love and marriage drives Ideala to look for advice about her marriage "contract" in a stranger, someone "who would be disinterested and unprejudiced" (ch. XXIII). Dr. Lorrimer is General Adviser in a Health Hospital and is depicted as an integral and interesting person. He shares with Ideala her "ideal of marriage" which "is a high one" (ch. XV). This, together with his general charm and the fact that Ideala feels listened for the first time leads her to fall in love with him. She finds in him for the first time the solace of a

real partner. It is throughout these last chapters when Ideala's behaviour defies Lord Dawne's expectations about her. She seems convinced to leave her husband to be with Dr. Lorrimer, something that shocks Lord Dawne and makes him feel frustrated and furious about her feelings. Actually Lord Dawne's attitude in this passage leads the reader to think that his feelings are not those of a mere friend, but profoundly deeper. He is convinced he has to "help her", relegating her again to the innocent angel-woman. However, Ideala overcomes this situation in isolation, displaying the fact that she is powerful enough to face her own dilemmas and challenging social expectations. She eventually decides not to divorce her husband and to grow apart from Dr. Lorrimer, both physically and spiritually by undertaking a journey to China. This journey turns to be a mystic experience for her and gives her "a plan and a purpose" in her life, which is not other than "make women discontented". Help them to "use their influence steadily and all together against that of which they disapprove" (ch. XXIX). She now is wiser and is able to understand that "unwomanly women" are suffering; there is "a great grief in the bottom of the problem" (ch. XXIX). Her purpose in life in the end is no other than to fight for the rights of women, as suffragists and suffragettes do.

Ideala's conceptualization of marriage as the best receptacle for love between a couple is completely reversed in the case of *Story of an African Farm*. Actually, the former is full of ironic and paradoxical approaches to the institution of marriage. There are no examples in the novel of marriages based on love. Firstly, Tant Sannie, Lyndall's and Em's aunt, uses marriage as a mere guarantee of her financial well-being. For her, women's moral and social duty is to marry: "if the beloved Redeemer didn't mean men to have wives what did He make women for?". Ironically, she is so devoted to marriage that she marries three times. Her views could be classified as those socially accepted in the 19th century. Secondly, Em, Lyndall's cousin, approaches marriage from a less pragmatic point of view. For Em, marriage should be based on something deeper than social conventions. She likes Gregory Rose, a young handsome man who arrives at the farm by the end of the novel. They both feel physical attraction but Gregory goes further, confuses it with real love, and harasses her until she accepts to marry him. Em just accepts him because she feels overwhelmed by his alleged feelings and it is

what is expected from a young woman. However, at some point in their relationship, she decides to defy such conventions and reject him. Although he had affirmed that he was completely in love with her, his attraction was not based on real love and it is proved by his immediate infatuation with Lyndall. Em's attitude to marriage is half way between Tant Sannie's and Lyndall's. Thirdly, Lyndall shows the most controversial view about marriage of the three women. After an experience of four years in a boarding school for women, she comes back to the farm. At that moment, she is pregnant, although we do not know it yet. Surprisingly, she decides to ask Gregory Rose to marry her. Maybe in an attempt to find personal and social stability. She does not love him but plays with his feelings for her wellbeing. Soon after that appears in the farm her real lover, the man she loves and the father of her future child. He wants to marry her, but paradoxically, she rejects to marry the man she loves because she finds this is a threat to her freedom. She does not want to marry her lover because she feels threatened: "once you have me you would hold me fast. I shall never be free again" (ch. 2.IX). For her, the real freedom is not physical but spiritual. With Gregory Rose, she would lose her bodily freedom but not her mental one because she does not love him. With her "stranger", she was sacrificing both of them. Also ironically, she does not reject her happiness. She wishes to be with her lover and does it in a socially punished way; she elopes with him. She puts first her values and ideals and challenges the social expectations for a woman in her situation. She decides to choose a life of grief and suffering before succumbing to an ideal of life in which she does not believe. She does not elope unaware of the consequences. She knows what she is doing and knows it is not going to be easy. Actually, in the end she ends up advising her cousin Em to marry Gregory Rose, in spite of not loving him, probably to prevent her from suffering as she did. Contrary to Ideala, Lyndall does not believe in marriage as a sacred union between men and women who love each other. She just shares with Ideala her view of marriage as a contract. Both analyse the idea of "marriage as a profession for women" and in both cases, this social view of marriage does not meet their ideas about it. All these views about marriage exemplify the arising new ideology of New Women and challenges expectations of a 19th century woman, who were taught than their sacred work in life was to grow up, marry and have children.

Another significant theme explored in both novels is related to Ideala's and Lyndall's experience as mothers. Both protagonists suffer the loss of a baby child. In both novels, the death of the child is a factor that detaches them from their lovers. Ideala blames his husband for her loss, as he was who "forced" her to stop nursing the baby when he was just six weeks old, a common Victorian custom. The baby died of diphtheria sometime after. This event causes a harsh resentment in her towards her husband. "As the milk slowly and painfully left her, her last spark of affection for her husband dried up too (ch. V). In the case of Lyndall, she does not place the blame of the death of her baby on her lover, and assumes it as her own fault. This is what eventually kills her. She cannot stand it because her soul, the one she was trying to protect when she rejected to marry her lover, was completely lost with love to her baby child. Actually, it can be said that her rejection to meet the expected social attitudes such as marrying her lover, is what leads to her fatal end. She follows her beliefs until her end. The loss of recent born babies in Victorian society was a quite common concern. This theme touches one of the greatest worries of the period, and somehow highlights how social conventions jeopardize the wellbeing of women and children.

In the core of Ideala's faulty relationship with her husband is the loss of her son. However, the fact that "he lied to her without hesitation" (ch. XIII) and his licentious life is what eventually ends up with any hope of happiness in their marriage. There are also hints of mistreat and physical abuse to Ideala. She shows her spiritual fortitude in the way she deals with this relationship to the point of being presented almost as a martyr. We also know that she is not the only one suffering such abuses from her husband. At one point in the novel, when she is coming back home from the train station she is assaulted by a "tawdry, painted, dishevelled" woman and urged to go with her to a house where there is a girl dying, who needs to tell her something before she dies. The girl is no other than her husband's former lover, who after getting tired of her, when she gets the scarlet fever, is sent by him to a doubtful reputation house to die. The girl just wants to warn Ideala about her husband's behaviour. Ideala was completely aware of the situation. "It was the old story, the old story aggravated by every incident that could make it more repulsive—and her husband was the hero of it" (ch. XIX).

This episode reflects a great Victorian concern that polarised women between angels and monsters. Prostitution as a reflection of the double moral of Victorian society, a great concern of the period, is a recurrent theme in Grand's novels. Grand faces the problem of the double moral for men and women from different angles. In Ideala, the double standard to judge in society her husband's activities has nothing to do with the rules applied to her. He mistreats, lies and constantly abuses Ideala and he receives no social punishment. Meanwhile, Ideala's potential affair with Dr. Lorrimer is considered both, a moral and social outbreak. The act, according to Lord Dawne, lowers her and makes her a hateful example for other young women. In other novels, Grand faces this double Victorian standard from a more forthcoming sexual angle. Grand's personal experience in "lock hospitals" led her to hold a firm position against the social treatment of venereal diseases and its consequences. In her most known novel, *The Heavenly Twins*, two of the protagonists suffer the consequences of the dissolute lives of their husbands. Evadne and Edith are direct victims of their husband's lives. On the day of her wedding Evadne discovers the licentious past of her husband and refutes to consummate the marriage with him. Edith, ironically, daughter of a bishop, is less fortunate and marries a promiscuous man without knowing, following the traditional romantic track of young Victorian women (Mouton). She has a child infected with syphilis and eventually dies, also infected, leaving an abhorrent child in the world. The repetition of this theme in Grand's works reflect the concern for the wellbeing of women and children. For Grand, the moral purity expected from women, had to be shared on equal basis by both, men and women.

2.4.5 Education

> ***"There is nothing helps in this world," said the child slowly, "but to be very wise, and to know everything".*** (Schreiner ch. 1. II)

Related with many of the problems presented in the novels, as those related to marriage and their approach to social relations, we find another central concern for both protagonists: Education. They are obsessed with reading, something not far from the reality of the 19th century society. The new Education

Laws of the end of the century allowed the emergence of a huge new public for novels, among which women were leading the ranks of novel readers.

Both novels present critical views about women's education, including formal and moral education[13]. On the one hand, Ideala states that the education she has received is to be blamed for conditioning her aptitudes in the world:

> She always blamed her early education, or rather want of education, for it "If I had been taught to think," she said, "when my memory was being burdened with historical anecdotes torn from the text, and other useless scraps of knowledge, I should be able to see both sides of a subject, and judge rationally, now. As it is, I never see more than one side at a time. (Grand ch. I)

It is her education what makes her unaware and unable to understand many events in her life. Her faulty education is what makes her "innocent" and "ignorant", two very valued qualities in a Victorian woman. Therefore, Grand is indirectly pointing out that education is the greatest weapon for women to fight for her rights.

In *Ideala*, we additionally find a clear denouncement of social conventionalisms that places women's capacity for receiving a complete education under men's. "They say that our brains are lighter, and that therefore we must not be taught too much. But why not educate us to the limit of our capacity" (ch. XXIX). As John Stuart Mill argues in *The Subject of Women*, women must be given "the chance to try" (Cordea). These words aim to give new arguments to the commonly marginalization of women in education and are highlighting the handicap that the thoughts about women's abilities entails. In addition, these words directly defy antifeminists by accentuating the fear that educating women causes them. Ideala's argument departs from these antifeminist's arguments that defend women's inferiority to suddenly veer and challenge them: "why, if we are inferior, should there be any fear of making us superior? We must stop when we cannot go any further" (ch. XXIX). However, Grand's critical scope goes further. She does not remain in the criticism of women's education but she also includes harsh criticism to the education men receive. In several moments of the novel, Grand accentuates the lack of "higher education of men" (in the sense of moral more than formal education). As she

[13] Moral education here makes reference to the education received at home.

states in her article “The New Aspect of the Woman Question” she shows a maternalist view about the necessity of educating men to increase their moral purity (Heilmann). The idea behind this vindication is the necessity of equating moral pureness with those expected by women, something that seems to have been lost by many dissolute, men.

On the other hand, Lyndall’s views on education, although probably more radical than Ideala’s, follow the same critical approach to the education women receive in contrast to men. Lyndall’s main concern since being a child is to “be clever” (ch. 1.II). She firmly believes that education is the only thing that can help her in the world where she lives. Both Lyndall and Waldo, her boy best friend and soulmate, show an exceptional interest in literature. In this sense, literature and knowledge are presented as the only hope for Lyndall’s and Waldo’s spiritual and physical development. On the contrary, Em’s approach is stunningly different. When Lyndall affirms she intends to go to school Em is astonished, showing a common Victorian reaction. For Lyndall, contrary to those Victorian expectations, education is linked to richness, both in a physical and in a divine way: “there will be nothing that I do not know. I shall be rich, very rich; and I shall wear not only for best” (ch. 1.II). As Em is already the prospective owner of the farm, she does not have to worry about her future in the same way.

Lyndall’s plan to “know everything that a human being can” (ch. 2. IV) is not eventually fulfilled. As she planned at the beginning of the story, she leaves the farm to study in a boarding school for women. There, she finds the sad truth of the education given to women in those institutions. According to her: “they are called finishing schools, and the name tells accurately what they are. They finish everything but imbecility and weakness, and that they cultivate” (ch. 2, IV). Ironically, although her experience has been fruitless, she is accused by Gregory Rose of behaving as superior to other women just for having been in a boarding school. This exemplifies the short view of society about women’s education. Contrary to the effect that boarding schools usually had on Victorian young women, who were used as receptacles of the gender roles preassigned to women, Lyndall is completely disappointed about the educational system. Lyndall’s experience leads her to rebel and take a radical feminist position about

education of women (*Olive Schreiner's "Story of an African Farm" As an Early New Woman Novel*).

Education is a matter in the core of Victorian gender roles. The limited and male biased education they received refrained the change of gender roles. Actually, the advancements in education are what eventually helped to free women from such stereotypes and charged them with a powerful weapon to go on fighting for their rights.

2.4.6 Property and Economic Independence

"She has not anything in the world but a poor fifty pounds".
(Schreiner ch. 2.V)

Until 1870, married women automatically lost their properties when they got married. In this year, The Married Women's Property Acts changed this pattern and allowed women to keep the ownership of their properties after marriage (Riley 41). However, there still existed high inequalities concerning hereditary laws and the property of women.

This preoccupation about economic and financial issues is present in both novels. On the one hand, Lord Dawne's role as narrator brings the reader, not always accurately, the idea that Ideala is not able to understand the value of money. One of Ideala's main worries, according to Lord Dawne, is not to give others what they expect (ch. I). With this statement, Grand is reinforcing the theme of social expectations for women and how they condition women's behaviour about almost anything in their lives. These expectations, therefore, are in addition present in financial matters. Lord Dawne recalls how one day Ideala tried to oblige a cabman to take ten shillings for a half-crown fare[14]. Another interesting reference to Ideala's incapacity to understand the value of money is made when Mr. Lloyd recalls the episode when she went to ask him, the director of a Bank, to lend her five shillings. Mr. Lloyd's reaction represents women's economic constraints in the period: "Ladies have no business here" (ch. I). When she explains to him that she has given her purse to a beggar and kept just the

[14] A half-crown is equivalent to two shillings and sixpence.

sixpence she was going to give him, he astonishingly decides to go with her to the train to make sure she arrives at home safe. What is interesting here is the image of the necessity of protection that Lord Dawne and Mr. Lloyd project about Ideala, once again disguising her as the angel-innocent Victorian woman. The image of Ideala's independence and autonomy changes along the novel. She becomes a mature self-conscious woman, able to understand the situation of women.

On the other hand, property is a remarkable subtheme in *Story of an African Farm*, but it is addressed from a completely different angle than in Grand's novel. Tant Sannie, Em's and Lyndall's aunt and owner of the farm at the beginning of the novel, inherits the farm when her husband, Em's father, dies. Due to inheritance laws, she can just keep it until Em turns sixteen. Not by chance, Tant Sannie decides to remarry exactly in that moment. Ironically, although she affirms that the best occupation for a woman is marriage, she just does it when she is very close to losing her property. After her marriage, she leaves the farm, and it becomes Em's property. Em does not depend on marriage to subsist and this gives her more freedom to take her decisions. In this sense, property is connected to women's freedom. Lyndall's situation differs from Em's or Tant Sannie's in the fact that she has no properties. As Gregory Rose affirms, "she has not anything in the world but a poor fifty pounds" (ch. 2.V). This statement reduces the value of a person to what she possesses. She is aware that accepting money from others gives her a value that does not belong to her and consequently, makes her lose her independence (the same way she believes marriage would steal her freedom). When, in the end of the novel she becomes very sick, despite her lack of physical strength, she goes on rejecting to accept money from others. Her mysterious lover, aware of Lyndall's thoughts about this, sends money (once again fifty pounds), anonymously to the guest house where she is lodged. This shows how in spite of Lyndall efforts to live independently, this independence does not depend just on her.

The same as education, economic independence reduces women's opportunities to grow and change stereotypes. Not by chance in 1928, almost four decades after the publication of these novels, Virginia Wolf stated in her *essay A Room of One's Own* that "a woman must have money and a room of her

own if she is to write fiction" (Woolf ch.1). This statement can be applied to the fight New Women undertook by the end of the 19th century when money was, as Woolf stated, directly connected to freedom.

Conclusions

The study and analysis of Victorian Women's gender roles, New Women's contribution to change and how it became an engine that propelled subsequent women's movements, have been key in the accomplishment of the three objectives established for this paper.

My general objective was "to prove how New Women literary creations of the end of the 19th reflected and denounced Victorian women's socio-political and economic status quo". In order to achieve it, I have:

a. Settled the historical and social context of Victorian society and the role women played in it and defined the figure of the New Woman.

b. Analysed the literary environment of the period to be able to understand the change literature undertook at the end of the century. I have taken as study subjects two New Women novels, Grand's *Ideala* and Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm.*

The study of the novels has brought into light how Victorian old expectations about women were challenged in literature. The wide numbers of women readers allowed a wide dissemination of this new ideology about the position of women in education, economic matters, marriage and motherhood among other questions. The social outbreak that this literature brought is one of the factors that proves the scope it reached.

Departing from this general objective, I initially established two secondary objectives. One was "to connect the social change propelled by New Women novels to the suffrage movement". In order to fill it out, I have:

a. Investigated the framework in which emerged the fight for the rights of women focusing on the suffrage movements led by Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1929), Millicent Garret Fawcett (1847-1929) and the

implications of organizations such as the Women Writers' Suffrage League in the first years of the 20th century.

b. Study the methods and ideology present in the WSPU, the NUWSS and the WWSL in order to extend the literary context to other feminist environments[15].

c. Made emphasis on the WWSL as the first professional organization for women writers as receptacle of some of the most relevant suffrage literature of the period. This has led me to demonstrate that many of the themes present in New Women's literature were present too in WWSL's.

My last specific objective was to show through the study of two works of Sarah Grand and Olive Schreiner how their main characters challenged Victorian views about women and exposed social concerns present in suffrage literature in a revolutionary way. For that, I have analysed the principal women characters in Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* and Sarah Grand's *Ideala* in order to show similarities and differences in the approach to important themes of reference about the position of women, namely marriage, motherhood, education and economic independence. I have compared in each section the positions adopted from the main characters about each theme and how they broke with general expectations about women.

Finally, I include[16] a comparative overview of the main ideologies about the position of women in Victorian England. I compare in it how these ideologies were challenged by New Women's novels, *Ideala* and *Story of an African Farm,* and other texts written afterwards by members of WWS. The aim is to show a quick overview and comparison of the approaches to relevant issues of the period.

To conclude, the development of this paper has been insightful to understand the role New Women played by the end of the 19th century in the creation of a new femininity and to situate Sarah Grand and Oliver Schreiner as relevant pioneers of the feminist movement of the period. By disclosing the daily lives and worries of women, they became leading feminist authorities. In the

[15] See Annex 3: Comparative Overview of the NUWSS, the WSPU and the WWSL.
[16] See Annex 4: Comparative Overview of Victorian's, New Women's and the WWSL's Ideologies Throughout their Literature.

foreword of *The Heavenly Twins* Grand states, “I broke silence, as one breaks silence at any time, on the impulse to speak, or rather, in my case, and to be exact, on the urgency to write which comes to the writer who has something to say”. Without any doubt, New Women writers had something to say.

Abbreviations Index

NUWSS	National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies
WSPU	Women’s Social and Political Union
WWSL	Women Writers’ Suffrage League
WFL	Women’s Freedom League

Bibliography

Alvarado Escudero, Alicia. “VII CONGRESO VIRTUAL SOBRE HISTORIA DE LAS MUJERES.” *VII Congreso Virtual Sobre Historia de Las Mujeres, 2015, Págs. 23-32*, Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Jaén, 2015, https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5347169.

Barry, Peter. Beginning Theory, an Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory, 4th print. ed., Manchester University Press, 2017.

Bonnell, Marilyn. “Sarah Grand and the Critical Establishment: Art for [Wo]Man’s Sake.” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature*, vol. 14, no. 1, JSTOR, 1995, p. 123, doi:10.2307/464251.

Collins, Tracy J. R. *Athletic Fashion, “Punch”, and the Creation of the New Woman*. no. 3, 2010.

Cordea, Diana. “Two Approaches on the Philosophy of Separate Spheres in Mid-Victorian England: John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill.” *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 71, Elsevier BV, Jan. 2013, pp. 115–22, doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.01.016.

Elford, Jana Smith. “The Late-Victorian Feminist Community.” *Source: Victorian Review*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2015.

Grand, Sarah, *1854-1943 - Literature Online - ProQuest*. https://search-proquest-

com.ezproxy.uned.es/lion/docview/2137957128/8446CD547F7D4682PQ/1?accountid=14609. Accessed 28 Nov. 2020.

---. *The Modern Girl, by Sarah Grand, THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW - The Unz Review*. https://www.unz.com/print/NorthAmericanRev-1894jun-00706. Accessed 30 Nov. 2020.

---. "The New Aspect of the Woman Question." *The North American Review*, vol. 158, no. 3, Mar. 1894, pp. 270-.

---. *Ideala*. The Project Gutenberg, 1888, http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6855/pg6855.html.

Heilmann, Ann. "Sex, Religion, and the New Woman in China: A Comparative Reading of Sarah Grand and Alicia Little." *Source: Victorian Review*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2011.

Hughes, Linda. "A Club of Their Own: The 'Literary Ladies,' New Women Writers, and 'Fin-de-Siècle' Authorship." *Source: Victorian Literature and Culture*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2007, https://about.jstor.org/terms.

Ledger, Sally. "The New Woman and Feminist Fictions." *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin De Siecle*, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 153–68, doi:10.1017/CCOL9780521850636.009.

Mouton, Michelle J. "Taking On Tennyson: Sarah Grand's The Heavenly Twins And The Ethics Of Androgynous Reading." *Source: Victorian Review*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1997, https://about.jstor.org/terms.

Olive Schreiner's "The Story of an African Farm" As an Early New Woman Novel. https://victorianweb.org/victorian/authors/schreiner/diniejko.html. Accessed 1 Apr. 2021.

Park, Sowon S. "The First Professional: The Women Writers' Suffrage League." *Modern Language Quarterly (Seattle)*, vol. 58, no. 2, 1997, pp. 185–200.

Poplawski, Paul. English Literature in Context. 11th print. ed., Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Sarah Grand and the Critical Establishment: Art for [Wo]Man's Sake on JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/464251?seq=1. Accessed 15 Mar. 2021.

Victorian Fiction Research Guides: Sarah Grand, https://victorianfictionresearchguides.org/sarah-grand/. Accessed 7 Mar. 2021.

Schreiner, Olive, 1855-1920 - Literature Online - ProQuest. https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.uned.es/lion/docview/2137933246/7C5DB78D70ED4AB3PQ/1?accountid=14609&segment=LitCur. Accessed 8 Jan. 2021.

Schreiner, Olive. *Story of An African Farm,* The Project Gutenberg, 1883, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1441/1441-h/1441-h.htm

Showalter, Elaine. *A Literature of Their Own : British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontë to Doris Lessing*. Virago Press, 2009.

Suffragette Sally - Broadview Press. https://broadviewpress.com/product/suffragette-sally/#tab-description. Accessed 8 Apr. 2021.

Synopsis of the Forster Education Act 1870 - The British Library. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/synopsis-of-the-forster-education-act-1870. Accessed 15 Mar. 2021.

The People's Charter, 1838 - The British Library. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/people-charter#. Accessed 15 Mar. 2021.

Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own*. Project Gutenberg Australia, 2002, http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks02/0200791.txt

What Is the Difference between the Suffragists and the Suffragettes? - The British Library. https://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/suffragists-and-suffragettes. Accessed 6 Apr. 2021.

Women's Education – Newnham College. https://www.newn.cam.ac.uk/about/history/womens-education/. Accessed 9 Jan. 2021.

Women's Literature in the 19th Century: Introduction | Encyclopedia.Com. https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/womens-literature-19th-century-introduction. Accessed 9 Jan. 2021.