Pandemic and Performance: Ibsen and the Outbreak of Modernism

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In a twenty-year period running from the mid-1870s to the 1890s, a steady flow of increasingly skilled translations, stage productions, and published editions of Henrik Ibsen's plays created shock waves of increasing magnitude in London culture. These waves culminated in "The Ibsen Campaign," an intense but short-lived storm of letters and reviews (c.1891-93) written by devoted Ibsen supporters and countered by outraged detractors, which typically focused on moral judgments of the plots and characters of Ibsen's plays. As translations and critical responses to Ibsen's writing proliferated, the campaign widened and deepened, developing over several decades into "Ibsenism," a series of elite and popular engagements with the figure of Ibsen and his texts, most recently manifested through worldwide celebrations of the centenary of his death in 1906. Theatre historians[1] have written detailed accounts of the gradual infiltration of Ibsen's plays into the London and Paris theatrical scenes, but less attention has been paid to the broader cultural circulation of Ibsenism, the afterlife of Ibsen performances and texts as they interacted with ongoing cultural change.[2] In revisiting the circumstances by which "Ibsen" appeared in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century London, I will argue that the arrival and circulation of his plays not only transformed theatrical practice but sustained a series of counterpublics and counter-discourses aimed at the kind of reforms urged by Ibsen's protagonists.[3] Ibsenism became both a new way of producing theatre for the citizens of London and a stage on which the citizens of London could perform and critique their new lives. As a link between artistic and sociopolitical experiments, Ibsenism offers a case study of how theatre and drama acted as a circulatory system for the surge of western modernism and modernity[4] that appeared in late-nineteenth-century western metropolises.[5]

Ibsen's plays began appearing in England between 1876 and 1888 as both published texts and performances, many of them amateur, and some very loose adaptations, such as Henry Arthur Jones and Henry Hermans's reworking of *A Doll's House*: *Breaking a Butterfly*. Walter Scott published a volume of Ibsen plays, including early translations, edited by

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future sexologist Havelock Ellis, in 1888. The halting appearance of Ibsen's plays in London began to quicken in 1889, when the husband and wife team, Janet Achurch and Charles Charrington, performed William Archer's translation of *A Doll's House* to the acclaim of small but influential audiences. In the same year, T. Fisher Unwin published a limited edition of 115 copies of the translation, together with four photographs from the Achurch/Charrington run, underscoring in material terms not only the importance of the production but also the reinforcing effect of concurrent stagings and printings of the plays.

The critical elements of Ibsenism began to coalesce in this production, beginning with the influence of William Archer, co-director with Charles Charrington. With friends and family in Norway, Archer grew up speaking Norwegian, which he eventually leveraged to secure an introduction to Ibsen and a subsequent agreement to serve as his primary English translator and producer. As Thomas Postlewait has shown, Archer emerged as the public spokesman for Ibsen in England after working for years to make the texts and their productions available to English-speaking readers and playgoers. Alongside his involvement in the Ibsen campaign, Archer was developing himself as a professional drama critic, an emerging literary and theatrical figure who would set the norms for commentary on the new drama supported by independent societies, c. 1880-1920, and later would spearhead the movement to start a National Theatre. Both as head of the Ibsen campaign and as a professional drama critic, Archer anticipated the growing strength of the director and the gradually waning power of the actor-manager in the modern theatre. In both of these roles, he also helped shape a realist aesthetic for the new drama.[6] By exercising control over many if not all aspects of an Ibsen production, Archer encouraged the appearance of a "unified" performance in which language, gesture, and stage objects reinforced the illusion of historical verisimilitude. The tiled Norwegian stove with the "curious Gothic openings," "the plaques by Thorwaldsen on the walls," and the newspaper on the couch used in the set of the 1889 *Doll's House* were each carefully selected to create an overall illusion of reality.[7] The Charringtons' controlled and internalized acting style suggested psychological complexity and depth, a quality gradually substituted during the rise of realism for the traditional star turn, with its moments of highly colored emotional display. Archer insisted on uniform and precise translations and performances, the qualities that favored a realist aesthetic and that he praised in his critical writing.

Archer's insistence on aesthetic and historical consistency in the1889 production of *A Doll's House* broke with the practice of the Victorian

stage and marked the production as new. Clement Scott, the celebrated drama critic for *The Daily Telegraph,* praised the uniformly high standards of the translation, the sets, and the performances, in spite of finding the action and argument of *A Doll's House* implausible and repugnant: "William Archer has done his work so admirably, and those on the stage have so ably assisted him, that it would be a pity if their devotion to their 'master' were not recognised."[8] Another reviewer for *The Daily News* called attention to Archer's "excellent adaptation" of *A Doll's House*, which presented the work "in a pure and unadulterated form."[9] The performers were also praised for reproducing the sense and feel of Ibsen's lines precisely, with a critic from the *Pall Mall Gazette* singling out Janet Achurch's "extraordinary fidelity" as a performer of Nora.[10]

A second factor that established the 1889 *Doll's House* as a model for the new theatre rested on the production's success at rendering characters newly complex through the close attention to their motives and states of mind from the opening act to the close. The throughline uniting these revelations of interiority is a dark secret revealed by the play's final scene—not the situational secret of the well-made play[11] but a hidden truth finally confronted and absorbed by every character, and on the basis of which they must adjust their relations to their own and others' motives. As Gay Cima has described it, the director's and actor's task in this newly realistic literary and performance style was to precede the audience as master decoders of the play, to study and absorb the complete written text—not only their single parts—as a means to discover and understand the secret from each character's point of view.[12] This new responsibility for analyzing a complex and complete text proved exhausting for Janet Achurch, who told an interviewer shortly after concluding her run with the play, "*A Doll's House* has been a great success. But it has taken a great deal out of me, and if it had gone on much longer, I should have broken down. It is the hardest part I have ever played."[13] In the demands it made of the translator, the director, the performer, and the reviewer, the Ibsen plays and the Ibsenism that grew up around them established a threshold of linguistic precision, moral complexity, and emotional reticence that would, by 1912, become associated with another modernist innovation—the "hard" classicism of the Imagists.[14]

A third new feature of this production, also rooted in Ibsen's experiments in narrative, lay in the actors' performances of a growing knowledge of this secret in sympathy with Ibsen's method of retrospective realism—a narrative device by which he opens the action at a moment close to crisis (the discovery of Nora's crime) but includes in its forward movement references to past events that invisibly shaped the conflict

(the "crime" against Nora). In playing Nora, Janet Achurch broke with the conventions of melodrama by replacing the presentational heroine beset by external enemies with an inwardly divided modern heroine acting under the pressure of partially revealed events in the past. As the play's inward and outward action develops, Nora becomes both heroine and enemy to herself.

These aesthetic and technical innovations set the 1889 Ibsen production apart from the familiar melodramas written for and purchased by actor-managers of the day. But while the play's aesthetic surprised audiences, its story bore a close relation to social, political, and legal events occurring offstage. Ibsen's story of troubled middle-class domesticity coincided with social and legal efforts to reform marriage, divorce, and sexuality, especially to benefit women. The secret truth at the heart of *A Doll's House*—the diseased condition of contemporary middle-class marriage symbolized by the "inherited" disease of syphilis—was being documented and confronted slowly and cautiously by British reformers, feminists, and legal authorities in the years preceding and following the play's appearance.

One year before *A Doll's House* appeared on the stage, the *Daily Telegraph* of 1888 published a series entitled "Is Marriage a Failure?" in response to Mona Caird's essays critiquing Victorian marriage printed in the *Westminster Review* of 1887.[15] Over 27,000 letters poured in to the *Daily Telegraph* in response to the topic.[16] Caird, a "New Woman" novelist,[17] faulted middle-class marriage for failing to meet even the lowest standards of a private contract: that both members of the marriage should themselves decide upon the conditions by which to become and remain married. In relying on tradition for the terms by which they should live in matrimony, Caird argued that modern men and women were compromising their freedom in the most important area of life.[18] Actress and author Cicely Hamilton argued similarly in her 1909 polemic, *Marriage as a Trade*, that the married woman "exchanged, by the ordinary process of barter, possession of her person for the means of existence."[19] Other contemporary critiques of marriage emerged, including advocates of "free love," those favoring the removal of all strictures or compulsory legal obligations in the marriage agreement; and anti-marriage activists, who argued in 1889 for spinsterhood as a recently affordable and socially viable alternative to marriage.[20]

British legal reform of marriage had recently accelerated under the pressure to recognize the rights of a wife with respect to her property and her children. Traditionally viewed as "private" matters and therefore beyond the regulatory realm of (secular) law, judgments concerning

the fairness of existing marriage laws were coming increasingly under judicial (public) scrutiny. From the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, establishing the legality of secular divorce; to the 1870 Married Women's Property Act, mandating that women could keep their earnings and inherit personal property and small amounts of money; to the Custody Acts of 1873, permitting women to be awarded custody of children up to age 16 and allowing adulteresses to petition for custody, the courts expanded the rights granted to a wife in relation to her husband. Both the Matrimonial Causes Act and the Custody Acts were revised in the mid-1880s in favor of a wife's and mother's rights to divorce and retain custody of their children. The wisdom of continuing to uphold the separation of the public realm of law from the private realm of domesticity grounds the plot of Ibsen's play, in which the heroine's ignorance of the law and her consequently limited understanding of her domestic obligations and rights places her at risk for legal punishment. When the blackmailing Krogstad informs Nora that the law will view her fraudulent signature just as it viewed his own illegal actions, she replies incredulously, "Isn't a daughter entitled to . . . save her father from worry and anxiety on his deathbed? Isn't a wife entitled to save her husband's life? I might not know very much about the law, but I feel sure of one thing: it must say somewhere that things like this are not allowed."[21] Through the terms of Nora's dilemma, the play forecasts an increasing alignment of public regulation and private behavior under the influence of modern, secular legal reform.

Spectators would also have recognized in Nora's entrapment as a doll wife the increasingly contested common law doctrine of 'coverture' "by which a wife's legal personality was absorbed in her husband's."[22] The "great wrong" done to Nora lay in the principle of coverture by which a daughter was treated legally as an extension of her father and a wife of her husband. Aware of Scandinavian feminists' critiques of this and other legal doctrines, Ibsen demonstrates the consequences of this tradition in Nora's failure to develop as an adult woman and the marriage's failure to thrive as a mutual understanding of the husband's and wife's lived realities.[23] As Leonore Davidoff has documented, the practice of passing a woman from her father's household to her husband's, typical of the middle classes in early- and mid-nineteenth-century England, was beginning to be challenged as marriage practices began to transform from property contracts to alliances based upon consumption and companionship.[24] Nora testifies to the need for this transition, unable even to purchase holiday gifts without asking her husband's implicit approval: "I want to show you all the things I've bought" she tells Torvald, "And

so cheap!", while at the same time yearning to live with him as a mature and equal subject: "Eight whole years," she muses, "since we first knew each other—and never have we exchanged one serious word about serious things."[25]

Spectators were struck by the intensely fresh and gripping artistry of Ibsen's play in production, but the questions being debated in the play were familiar: the novel features of artistic modernism, here apparent in Ibsen's precisely compressed prose; refusal of idealism[26] (Nora's "miracle"); and illusion of psychological depth of character overlapped with the familiar questions represented onstage and debated offstage by artists, activists, and intellectuals. Ibsen's questioning of marriage, divorce, and sexuality resembled that of his spectators who discussed these issues in their own middle-class households, clubs, charities, and courts of law, some of them more openly than others. In the shadows of spirited discussions of the marriage contract, muted questions about the nature, spread, and treatment of venereal diseases slowly grew louder. Prostitution rescue societies and venereologists both speculated about the disease, the former under the auspices of Christian charity, the latter under a professional compulsion to heal the sick. Of all the ailments arrayed in the Disease Imaginary at the close of the nineteenth century, syphilis would have appealed to Ibsen precisely because this poorly understood but rapidly spreading bacterium provoked the fear, hypocrisy, and shame of those diagnosed with the disease and triggered the revulsion and condemnation of everyone else. *Treponema pallidum*, the syphilis bacterium, as it was to be identified in 1905, became known as "an imitator" because, like an actor, it manifested itself by mimicking other diseases.[27] As venereologists and lay people came to recognize, it developed in three stages, like the acts of a tragedy, presenting—and then withdrawing—tell-tale symptoms as each act built upon the next, culminating in one-third of cases in a catastrophic destruction of organs and consequent death, but not before the infected had ample opportunities to infect others, who then repeated the same performance. In 1890s England, writes medical historian Lesley Hall, syphilis was "a looming problem" with few solutions.[28] Ibsen scholar Evert Sprinchorn cites data claiming that 16-20% of men in their twenties living in Copenhagen during the period 1876-1895 were infected with venereal disease, one in 55 with syphilis.[29] Sprinchorn notes that Ibsen probably knew the disease and its natural history through the writings of Dr. Alfred Fournier,[30] but his interest in its epidemiology was mythic rather than empirical.

Both the syphilitic Dr. Rank and his disease might appear secondary to the marriage plot in *A Doll's House,* but Rank is Nora's and Torvald's

"best friend" and medical advisor, and the circuits of affection within this family include Dr. Rank at every point. Rank and Nora represent both the potential and the sum loss of heterosexual relations in the middle-class arena of the play. A desperate and *faux naïf* Nora attempts to seduce an already-ruined Rank over a pair of her silk stockings, nearly repeating a performance of her own prostitution, but drawing back in response to his declaration of love; "I can tell you nothing now." "You can do nothing for me now," she tells Rank.[31] Nora is drawn to Rank's candor and cynicism and the possibility that he might offer her money, while Rank is drawn to Nora's beauty and warmth and the possibility that she might offer him sex. Nora's husband, Torvald, occupies the third position in the homosocial triangle, appreciating Rank to the extent that Rank appreciates his wife. Rank never reveals his illness to Torvald, his colleague and rival, but he does confide in Nora, marking their likeness as victims of their father's sins: "Why should I suffer for another man's sins?" Rank asks her, "What justice is there in that?"[32] The black spot on his calling card, by which Rank "tells" Nora he has received fatal medical news, is a spot she already wears, marked by her father as a genetic liar, destined to live as a half-grown woman in a house of dolls.

Rank is Nora's "soul mate" in the play, and after his disappearance, she prepares for her own. Ibsen's often-quoted "Notes for a Modern Tragedy," written in preparation for drafting *A Doll's House*—"A mother in modern society, like certain insects, retires and dies once she has done her duty by propagating the race"[33]—should trouble any readings of its conclusion as a door-slamming gesture of triumphalist liberation. As Ibsen's notes suggest, the damage done to Nora through the custom of coverture cannot be undone. Her exile is as unmerited as Rank's illness, but both must suffer for "inherited sins." Nora leaves the domestic space to seek the ambiguous "freedom" that comes from understanding the nature of her imprisonment, returning (regressing) to her childhood beginnings, while struggling against the compulsion to repeat the past.

By the conclusion of its 24 performances, the Archer/Charrington *Doll's House* showed signs of becoming a lightning rod for the culture wars of late-nineteenth-century London. Ibsen critics allied him with attacks on British manhood and womanhood, the integrity of the British family, and cultural provincialism, while Ibsen supporters saw in his work a promise for renewing British theatre, for capturing the "dissonances of modern life," and for satirizing habitual beliefs to make way for modern doubt.[34] Two years later, the premiere of *Ghosts* renewed Ibsen's critique of family and gender relations with unexpected ferocity. By this time, the lines in the Ibsen controversy had been drawn, and a growing

number of Ibsen advocates—intellectuals, artists, critics, and literary enthusiasts—were discovering in his texts and productions occasions for clarifying their own rejections of tradition and dreams of a new age.

Ibsen published *Ghosts* two years after *A Doll's House*, noting cryptically, "After Nora, Mrs. Alving of necessity had to come."[35] But just as it took 14 years for *A Doll's House* to receive a professional London production, so 12 years passed before *Ghosts* appeared on the London stage. The 1891 London production accelerated the circulation of Ibsen by an emerging counterpublic sphere with an expanding base both in the experimental London theatre and in allied circles of intellectuals and artists. Further, with *Ghosts*, a circuit of experimental exchange between Germany's "Frei Bühne," Paris's "Théâtre Libre," and now London's newly formed "Independent Theatre Society" was activated. As Kirsten Shepherd-Barr has documented, the flow of Ibsenite influence through theatrical coteries quickly crossed national borders.[36] George Moore, shuttling between Paris and London during this period, reviewed the 1890 Théâtre Libre production of *Ghosts,* including in the review an appeal for a London "Free Theatre" organized on a subscription basis. Within one year, J. T. Grein had organized such a theatre with *Ghosts* serving as its inaugural production. *Ghosts* inspired new forms of theatrical management in part because its scandalous story was sure to exclude it from the repertories of licensed theatres throughout Europe. As a defiant response to the rejection of *A Doll's House* as "immoral," *Ghosts* became a crusade in its own right, the fitting vehicle for the independent theatrical societies forming throughout Europe, many of which used subscriptions as a basis for budgeting and for circumventing official censorship.

In this modern tragedy, frequently dubbed "The Fall of the House of Alving," syphilis functions more openly as a biological expression of fate—not the root cause but the manifestation of a rottenness infecting the whole of the modern West. Among Ibsen's notes written while composing *Ghosts* is a sentence scribbled on the back of an envelope: "The key note must be: the luxuriant growth of our culture, in literature, art, etc.—and by way of contrast: the whole of mankind on the wrong track."[37] Syphilis again appealed to Ibsen for its association with sexual desire, psychic repression, and social shame discovered at the heart of the aspiring middle-class family. Syphilis hides within and is camouflaged by the very secrecy and hypocrisy unveiled in the play. Disease bears down—literally—on these characters, as Edvard Munch's lithographs for the set of *Ghosts* suggest. (See Figs. 1 and 2.) Young Osvald is, as a secondary victim of the tragedy, destroyed by forces put into play before he was born. His mother, Helene Alving, the play's protagonist, historian,

Figure 1. Edvard Munch, "Family Scene" (from Ibsen's *Ghosts*). 1920 Lithograph. © 2007 The Munch Museum/ The Munch-Ellingsen Group/ Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

interpreter, and agent of his fate, is left biologically untouched by the disease, but burdened by its consequences, forced at the play's close to decide whether to murder her invalid son. Osvald is the living ghost of her past whose death ironically would end both her struggle to free herself from the burden of that past and any joy she might take in living. Like Nora Helmer in *A Doll's House*, but more finally, Helene Alving comes to understand the effects of her own misguided conformity—the ghosts she referred to in her reply to Pastor Manders—but too late. Her status as a modern subject lies in the contradiction between her drive towards freedom through introspection and the imprisoning recognition that the introspection brings.

Ibsen could rely on the allusion to syphilis to provoke outrage among the majority of critics who had condemned many of his earlier plays. Coded references to the disease presented audiences with a metaphor for the failures of contemporary middle-class marriage and child rearing. Osvald's illness was caused both by human error and human ignorance, and spread by forms of social control masquerading as virtue—a blind reverence for tradition and a fear of ostracism. In this play, the disease represents both the notion of Original Sin—desire and disobedience—and

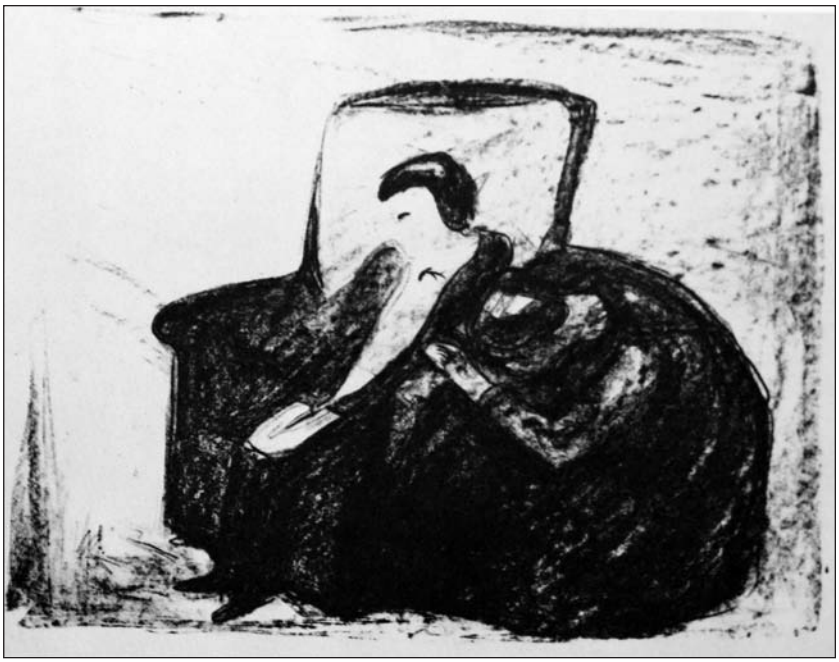


Figure 2. Edvard Munch, "Oswald" (from Ibsen's *Ghosts*). 1920 Lithograph. © 2007 The Munch Museum/ The Munch-Ellingsen Group/ Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

a critique of that notion in the form of Pastor Manders' suppression of desire and his retreat from the modern world. For the playwright, syphilis expresses the dilemma of the middle-class family at the end of the nineteenth century, a family that desperately desires prosperity and its metonymic double, moral health and human freedom (a condition that Osvald has glimpsed during his stay in Europe), but which attempts to purchase that health and freedom with tools designed to destroy it—denial, lies, and hypocrisy.

Ibsen's explicit treatment of syphilis provoked a by now well-rehearsed and quaint-seeming outcry by critics that raised spectators' curiosity about the play and probably helped sell tickets. Over 500 articles appeared following the 13 March 1891 performance at London's small Royalty Theatre,[38] in response to a relatively obscure private subscription society production. Clement Scott's hysterical response to the play has been quoted *ad nauseum*, but it is worthwhile looking at for the way it invokes the specter of disease, accusing the author, producers, and performers of "infecting the modern theatre with poison after deliberately inoculating

themselves and others."[39] Scott accused the Ibsenite degenerates not only of having become infected themselves but of maliciously intending to infect others using the theatre as a laboratory for transmission: "Even the Lady of the Camellias," wrote Scott, "that hectic harlot—coughed her frail soul away with some external propriety; but Ibsen's patients expectorate . . . in public, and air on the stage matters that a blind beggar would hide under his patches."[40] By Ibsen's "disease" or "poison" Scott seemed to mean the customary tilt of intellectual skepticism with which Ibsen energetically attacked social conformity and philosophical platitudes. But Scott's critical attacks faulted specific positions uttered by characters like Nora ("It's all self, self, self! This is the ideal woman of the new creed; not a woman who is the fountain of love and forgiveness and charity"),[41] themes he found distasteful ("You want a Shakespeare, or a Byron, or a Browning to attack the subject-matter of *Ghosts* . . . It might be a noble theme. Here it is a nasty and a vulgar one") and plot outcomes he judged mistaken, wondering, for example, "[W]hy Rebecca West chose such a man as Rosmer for her helpmate and soul-companion, and having got him into her toils . . . why she should refuse the marriage which it was her original object to attain."[42] Freud would famously answer this question with his 1916 essay, "Some Character-Types Met with in Psycho-Analytic Work," noting that "Rebecca's feeling of guilt has its source in the reproach of incest," a taboo indirectly suggested in the play, and, according to Freud, indirectly admitted by Rebecca even before learning of its fact in her life. "She stood under the domination of the Oedipus complex," Freud continues, "even though she did not know that this universal phantasy had in her case become a reality." She has "gotten rid" of the wife and mother, so that she might take her place with the husband and father.[43]

Two additional plays published and produced in London between 1883 and 1893 use metaphors of disease and infection to convey the dilemma of individuals and communities suffocated by the weight of tradition and self-interest. *Rosmersholm* reached London in 1891 in both print and stage form, lasting for only two productions at the Vaudeville Theatre with Florence Farr in the starring role of Rebecca West. Designed as a complex struggle between the powerful forces of enervated tradition and bracing innovation, between guilt and joy, puritanical fear and passion, the play takes place in a largely mental space as the anti-traditional Rebecca West struggles with the traditionalist, Kroll, to win over the heart and mind of Rosmer, the last male heir to a dying aristocratic family. The family as an emblem of traditional privilege and power here teeters on the brink of collapse, as Rosmer's first wife, Beata, has committed

suicide following a childless marriage. When Rosmer proposes to Beata's former nurse, Rebecca, she is compelled to refuse, having become aware through the jealous Kroll that her supposed foster-father and lover, Dr. West, was in truth her biological father. Shamed by this newly discovered incest, and certain that she contributed to Beata's suicide, Rebecca is compelled to refuse the happiness she thinks a marriage to Rosmer might bring. Family and sexual ties have become badly twisted under the weight of tradition, guilt, and jealousy. Rosmer, too, admits to having loved Rebecca, but not passionately. In this play, passion belongs to the women; Rosmer is appalled by sexual excitement, recalling with disgust his wife's "wild fits of sensual passion . . . which she expected me to respond to."[44] The childless marriage may well have resulted from Rosmer's disgust for the body, which may, in turn, have echoed a debate underway in Scandinavia similar to that in London on the subject of consummated and unconsummated marriage.[45] By the play's close, the lure of guilt, shame, and remorse—the psychological and mythic energies associated in Ibsen's plays with resistance to the new—draws both Rosmer and Rebecca to the same millstream that drowned Beata where they jump together to their deaths.

Critics widely disparaged this play for its understated, enigmatic dialogue, its subtly drawn characters, its dark "nihilistic" conclusion, and its open hinting at both marital infidelity and incest. But the play also drew grudging praise, with critics noting its "great power of fascination" and its "atmosphere of doom from first to last."[46] One of the most psychologically dense of Ibsen's plays, its dialogue made maximum use of suggestion and reduced to partial phrases and incomplete thoughts the characters' inner struggles with their private demons. The secret at the center of Ibsen's drama coincided for Freud with the secret at the center of his modernist invention of the human psyche—incest craving.

Two years after the controversial *Rosmersholm*, Herbert Beerbohm Tree appeared in the leading role of Dr. Stockmann in the 1893 Haymarket production that the usual Ibsen detractors found refreshingly transparent and morally familiar.[47] Both at the time of its London premiere and since, *An Enemy of the People* has been considered by Ibsen supporters to be one of the thematically most underdeveloped and baldly didactic of his plays. But perhaps for this reason, it reveals with unusual clarity Ibsen's dramatic design by which modernity threatens a conservative community in the form of a protagonist acting as an agent of change. The source of disease in the play, initially claimed by Dr. Stockmann to be the public baths contaminated by a local tannery, transforms with each act, eventually emerging as the townsfolk themselves, whose

interlinked personal, professional, and commercial interests convince them to cover up the polluted condition of the baths and to punish the accuser, Dr. Stockmann. As a scientist, Stockmann introduces a critical and devastating reassessment of the town's primary resource—its now lucrative public baths whose ironical promise of healthful rejuvenation is drawing increasing numbers of tourists to the town. To make the baths genuinely healthful would require enormous amounts of public tax support, a consequence the naïve and idealistic Stockmann has not fully considered. By the play's close, all except his wife, children, and one or two friends have rejected his findings and called for his exile.[48] But Stockmann, incurably idealistic, resolves to open a school to teach disadvantaged children his dubious new moral discovery: the strongest man is one who stands alone.

Most importantly, Ibsen's Stockmann is not immune from the disease he has diagnosed any more than Mrs. Alving is immune to hypocrisy; his growing belief in standing alone against a hostile community is the opposing term in a binary that includes its opposite. In order to achieve his fantasy of independence, Stockmann needs the diseased community against which to define his salutary isolation, just as the community needs Stockmann to set an outer limit to the consensus it will demand of its citizens. Stockmann's qualified heroism (or health) positions him at the border of modernity. He dares to expose illness—false beliefs, corrupt local custom, and the traditional constellation of power—in his town, but he has no credible alternative to take the place of the polluted community arrangements he rejects. Habit and custom come under assault by a spirit of critique in this play, but a new alternative path into the modernizing future remains hazy and clouded by Stockmann's idealism.

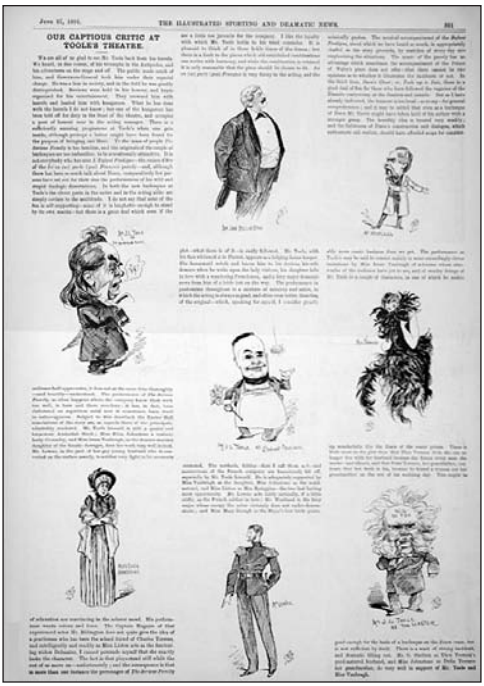
Ibsen used metaphors of disease and pollution to signal the urgent need to break with the past and prepare for a new future. What his critical detractors called Ibsen's "disease" or his "unhealthy" preoccupation with the sick and distressed appears in the action of his plays as the dismantling of tradition in preparation for coming change—a great clearing away in advance of a new age. In Ibsen's *Brand*, Einar accuses the hero, "You're sick!" to which Brand replies, "No! / I'm strong and fit as the mountain pine, / As the wild juniper on the hill. / It is our generation needs a doctor."[49] Ibsen's tools for understanding modernity—skepticism, demystification, and critique—would become the tools used by the counterpublics attending, reading, and performing his plays, from Fabian Socialists to sexologists to Suffragettes, all urging the need to break with a crippling past in anticipation of a vital future.

Hostile critics (the majority from the 1880s to the 1890s) claimed a mimetic link between Ibsen's fictional characters, the performers per-

sonating them, and the audiences watching the personation. Ibsenism was contagious. As Tracy Davis has demonstrated,[50] critical attacks apparently aimed at Ibsen included certain audiences attending his plays (typically bohemian audiences without clear class affiliations), claiming that their physical appearance resembled the moral condition of the depraved characters on stage. As shown in Figure 3**,** the "Captious Critic" from *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* for 7 March 1891 accompanied drawings of "the Ibsenites" with descriptions of their illness: "Never before, except at an entertainment for the mentally and physically afflicted . . . had I encountered so many deformed faces; so many men and women pale, sad-looking, white-lipped. It was like an assemblage of out-patients waiting for the doctor. I seemed to feel in the midst of unhealthy, chronic feebleness of the body, which could expect no help from the brain."[51]

The women who flocked to see performances troubled cultural guardians not the least because they were joined by devoted actresses, translators, and intellectuals, who went to extraordinary lengths to secure permissions and funds to place Ibsen's work on the London stage. As Maria DiCenzo's essay in this issue also notes, Ibsen moved with lightning speed through circles of activist women such as Eleanor Marx, daughter of Karl Marx and common-law wife of Edward Aveling, who was among the first translators of Ibsen's *An Enemy of Society*, *The Wild Duck*, and *Lady from the Sea*. Marx plotted (unsuccessfully) with the actress Janet Achurch to produce *A Doll's House*. These first translators of Ibsen, including Catherine Ray and Henrietta Francis Lord, were joined later by Elizabeth Robins who taught herself Dano-Norwegian so that she might translate and secure the rights to his plays for herself and her colleague, Marion Lea. In a desperate competition to secure the rights to *Hedda Gabler*, Robins and Lea borrowed 300 pounds in 1891, using their jewelry and personal possessions as securities to raise the funds to purchase the rights to *Hedda Gabler*, resulting in a definitive production that established Robins (playing Hedda) as the premiere Ibsen actress on the London stage.[52]

Activist women not only pioneered early efforts to produce Ibsen through translations and critical essays about the playwright but also shaped the reception of his plays, filling up the theatres at afternoon matinees designed precisely for unescorted female audiences eager to witness performances in the company of other women. As Susan Barstow has documented, eight of the eleven Ibsen plays that premiered in London during the 1880s and 1890s were produced as independent matinees, often by actresses, to audience acclaim sufficient to move several of them to the



OUR CAPTIOUS CRITIC AT TOOLE'S THEATRE.

Figure 3. The "Captious Critic" from *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 7 March 1891, 893.

more prestigious evening bill.[53] To read Ibsen and attend his plays was to engage in a kind of public identity construction. If, as Michael Warner suggests, "the discourse that constitutes [a counterpublic] is not merely a different or alternative idiom but one that in other contexts would be regarded with hostility or with a sense of indecorousness,"[54] then the women who performed, translated, and attended Ibsen performances deliberately distinguished themselves from the majority of public opinion that viewed Ibsen as diseased, degenerate, and unseemly. Ibsen wrote a script for late Victorian and Edwardian women eager to construct a counterpublic identity, and, in this way, to ally themselves with the dilemma of Ibsen's beleaguered protagonists. These female spectators and readers did not succumb naively to the mimetic power of the stage but rather demanded a mimetic relation to the stage fiction, claiming Ibsen's dramas as a cultural tool for shaping the new woman and the new family who would break with older forms of domesticity.

In the 1890s, women in theatres, bookshops, reading circles, and political alliances eagerly took up Ibsen's plays as vehicles for pleasure

and for instruction, using the printed texts and performances to focus and amplify their private and public critiques of marriage and sexuality at the century's end. Their circles began to overlap with future sex reformers Havelock Ellis and Edward Carpenter, both of whom responded to Ibsen as a fresh new voice for candor and honesty in describing the human subject as both rational and sensual. A young medical student in the late 1880s, Havelock Ellis was introduced to Ibsen by feminist Olive Schreiner and her friend Eleanor Marx, who welcomed Ibsen's dissection of modern marriage and felt it "a real duty to spread such grand teaching as his" far and wide.[55] In 1888, the 29-year-old ex-medical student Ellis wrote a Preface to the Camelot Series of Ibsen's plays that eventually sold an unprecedented 14,000 copies during the next 5 years.[56] Ellis' aesthetic appraisal of Ibsen's art, his praise for its honesty, its dark solemnity, and above all for Ibsen's candid treatment of both men and women in failed marriages, would inform his later writings on sexology by encouraging the candid and tolerant exploration of variant forms of human sexuality. Ellis included his introduction to the Camelot edition of Ibsen's plays in his collection entitled *The New Spirit*, published in 1890, the same year in which Fabian Socialist G. B. Shaw would confront "the Ibsen Question," first with a lecture, then a published essay commissioned by the Fabian Society entitled *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*.

The Ibsenism of Shaw's Fabian lecture and subsequent essay began as an open attack on the "idealist" socialists—the anarchist Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League—whom Shaw accused of putting Marxist ideals before socialist practice.[57] As he revised and expanded his original lecture for publication, Shaw strategically avoided exposing divisions among the socialists, but paid careful attention to the Ibsen plays (such as *Enemy of the People* and *Wild Duck*) in which impractical idealists were exposed as ineffectual dreamers rather than clear-headed activists. Fabian Ibsenism began as Shaw's opportunistic contribution to "The Ibsen Campaign," but, together with the Ibsen phenomenon, it grew and transformed to become an ironical orthodoxy, raising the visibility of the so-called "social problem play" of Ibsen's middle period and relegating to the shadows the earlier poetic dramas and the later mythic works.

One of Shaw's most vivid (if indirect) defenses of Ibsen appeared five years later in a letter he wrote and later revised as *The Sanity of Art*. In this letter, Shaw defends Ibsen against the attacks of Max Nordau in his 1892 book *Degeneration.* Nordau grouped Ibsen prominently with modern degenerate writers of the fin-de-siècle, all suffering from the "impotent despair of a sick man," who "feels himself dying by inches."[58]

The classics of literature and art would provide Nordau's antidote to the "anarchism" of Ibsen and his "mystic obsessions." Shaw defends Ibsen and his mentor, Georg Brandes, against Nordau's claims by forthrightly claiming passion to be not only a healthy and innate human good but also the "steam in the engine of all religious and moral systems."[59] Shaw's writings on Ibsen rhetorically ally him with the body, with health, and with realism over against sickness and idealism. In defending the Norwegian, he repeats the Ibsenite gesture of repudiation—not only of the middle-class doctrine of marriage and domesticity but of all forms of idealism.

By the early 1890s, then, Ibsen and Ibsenism were coursing throughout overlapping circles of writers, translators, publishers, actors, managers, journalists, New Women, feminists, Socialists, and soon-to-be sexologists in London's metropolitan culture, not to mention thousands of readers of his published texts. His work was also circulating throughout Scandinavia, Berlin, Paris, Chicago, and New York. It was seen on stages and read in the pages of pirated and legal editions and translations. Thomas Postlewait has estimated that over 30,000 volumes of Ibsen's plays were in circulation by 1892 from one publisher alone—Walter Scott.[60] Ibsenism circulated not only in the rhetorical guise of an earnest crusade but just as powerfully in the form of self-reflexive parody, with an outpouring of comic prequels, sequels, farces, adaptations, burlesques, and permutations, many written by Ibsen admirers, both mocking Ibsenism and testifying to its ubiquity as a feature of "the new age." *Punch* magazine took on Ibsenism by running a series of Ibsen parodies by "F. Anstey" (pseudonym for satirist Thomas Anstey Guthrie) illustrated by Bernard Partridge. Anstey published the parodies as a separate monograph in 1893 under the title *Mr. Punch's Pocket Ibsen*, with a new frontispiece by Partridge showing Ibsen in the likeness of the Punch mascot, Pulcinella, shown in Figure 4. The parodies fuelled Ibsenism, repeating the most absurd plot elements of several plays in a condensed form described on the title page as "[a] . . . revised, and slightly re-arranged" collection "for the benefit of the earnest student."[61]

The *Punch* performance of urbane Ibsenite comedy coincided with the angst-ridden accusations of disease and tonic as one of several strategies for negotiating Ibsenism during the turbulent arrival of modernity. The parodies gave artists and their audiences a way to write back to Ibsen and to one another, both claiming and revising his work through imitation and mockery, domesticating and familiarizing his Nordic exotica through the leveling tool of British humor, creating a British register for an outsider's voice.

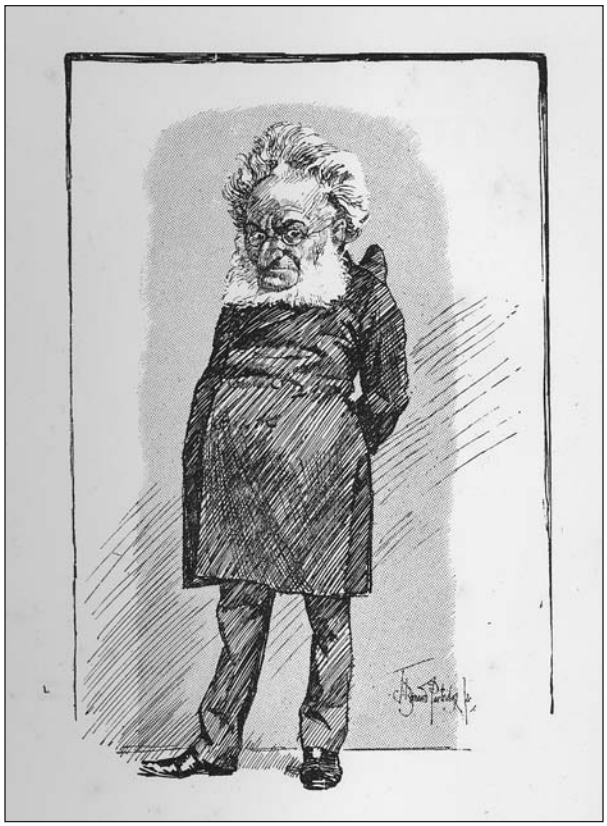


Figure 4. Frontispiece by Bernard Patridge from F. Anstey's *Mr. Punch's Pocket Ibsen.*

The Ibsen contagion navigates the divide between the fin-de-siècle and 1910, when, Virginia Woolf tells us, "human character changed," and the world began to look like a Post-Impressionist painting. Ibsen's female protagonists provided Woolf with a prototype for her elaboration of character "from within." She looked back to Ibsen's realist/mystical expressive power, through which "the paraphernalia of reality . . . at certain moments . . . become the veil through which we see infinity."[62] Ibsen had seen "the fin in the water" that skims the narrative surface of her novels. Before Woolf, Ibsen's break with the past inspired Stephen Daedalus, the artist-narrator of James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, whose gesture of "flying by the nets" of language, nation, and religion mimics Ibsen's heroes navigating their way around the snares of custom and habit. The young Joyce's admiring essay on Ibsen's *When We Dead Awaken*[63] proclaimed the Norwegian as an outsider and a

leveler, both roles Joyce would come to play as a writer. Ibsen became a stepping stone—artistically and personally for the young Joyce—a path out of Ireland and into a larger world where exile and denial cleared the way for escaping Irish provincialism. More recent playwrights such as Arthur Miller, Tom Stoppard, Frank McGuinness, Elfriede Jelinek, and Judith Thompson have reworked Ibsen's dramas during the last half of the twentieth century, haunted by plays they have recast in the shadow of ongoing social, sexual, and political confusion.

As the example of Ibsen in China (See Fig. 5) documented by Kwok-Kan Tam[64] reveals, what Ibsenism "was" shifted as his work moved from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries through the trade routes of translation, publication, and interpretation. Ibsenism consistently has been used in both the West and the East to inaugurate a rejection of tradition and a celebration of the individual's struggle to gain "freedom" through understanding the conditions of entrapment in psychological and social structures. Ibsen's formulation of the classical, liberal conflict between the desire for freedom and entrapment by a thwarting environment, described and critiqued by Raymond Williams,[65] has proven resilient and portable, accommodating the resistances of counterpublics who carry with them a reading of Ibsen that repudiates orthodoxy. In addition to the many Chinese productions of Ibsen by various groups of progressives at critical moments in twentieth-century Chinese history, his plays were favored by the Japanese feminist Hasegawa Shiguré in the first decade of the twentieth century,[66] and continue to be reworked today in Japan, as in Mitsuya Mori's 2005 Japanese production of *Double Nora*,[67] a Kabuki revision of *A Doll's House* that refashions the play's conflict between the traditional and the new in the form of two Noras, one performed in Kabuki costume and gesture and the other in western dress and movement. Ibsenism has not disappeared in the twenty-first century, but takes the form of parodic recastings of the original plays, hybrids of modernist and postmodern intertextuality, as in Tom Stoppard's *The Real Thing*, a rewrite of *The Master Builder*, or Elfriede Jelinek's 1979 Marxist-feminist rewrite of *A Doll's House*, *What Happened after Nora Left her Children, or, Pillars of Society*, and Canadian playwright Judith Thompson's revision and performance of *Hedda Gabler.*

We can best understand how Ibsen traveled throughout nineteenth- and twentieth-century culture by recognizing in his work and its appropriations what Raymond Williams has called a "structure of feeling," "the deep history" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and beyond that have emerged as the bourgeois has begun to recognize and critique its own forms of life.[68] That critique alarmed cultural guardians

Figure 5. *A Doll's House.* Performed by Shanghai Theatre Academy, 1962. Photographer: Liu Minghou, Shanghai Theatre Academy.

who read it as a decadent appeal to a diseased counterpublic, but it resonated with Ibsenites as a powerful weapon for curing the false relations of middle-class domestic life. Ibsen's plays, as translated, revised, and parodied, have been staged by and for metropolitan subjects living the contradictions of modernity. Ibsenism became a thoroughfare for crossing the public concerns of political progressives with the private concerns of sexologists, feminists, and artists, using a new aesthetic of compression to fly by the nets of traditional writing and performance. Not only poets like Ezra Pound but also suffragettes, Fabian reformers, and sexologists recognized in Ibsen's conflicts a call to live, write, and think critically at the opening of the twentieth century: "Ibsen was a true agonist," wrote Pound, "struggling with very real problems. 'Life is a combat with the phantoms of the mind'—he was always in combat for himself and the rest of mankind. More than any one man, it is he who has made us 'our world,' that is to say, 'our modernity'."[69]

NOTES

1. See Thomas Postlewait, *Prophet of the New Drama: William Archer and the Ibsen Campaign* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986) and Kirsten Sheppard-Barr, *Ibsen and Early Modernist Theatre, 1890-1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), for detailed historical accounts of Ibsen's plays in London and Paris.

2. See, for example, Michael Egan's estimation of the intensity and duration of the Ibsen controversy: "Despite its scope and intensity . . . the Ibsen wrangle was of relatively short duration. . . . For three or four years, say between June 1889 and June 1893, the argument was genuinely bitter and in the balance. Thereafter, . . . it died away until by the turn of the century Ibsen's genius was universally acknowledged." Michael Egan, *Ibsen: the Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 3. I am suggesting that Ibsenism developed beyond the campaign, taking shape and circulating as an expression of metropolitan modernity.

3. "A counterpublic," writes Michael Warner, "maintains at some level, conscious or not, an awareness of its subordinate status. The cultural horizon against which it marks itself off is not just a general or wider public but a dominant one." Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 119. Warner's notion of a public as a "crowd witnessing itself in visible space" is part of what is meant here by counterpublic, but Warner's distinction between a public that comes into being only in relation to a text versus a theatrical public tends to blur in the case of Ibsen's text and performance publics, which overlapped and influenced one another.

4. Multiple and oppositional definitions of modernism and modernity have emerged in recent years. For this essay, I will adopt the familiar understanding of modernism as a series of aesthetic responses to the chaos of cultural change in the West, c. 1880-1930. I will use modernity to refer to the historically longer series of social, political, and technological innovations developed in response to an Enlightenment privileging of reason, system, and order. For a full discussion of these terms and their variant and often contradictory meanings, see Susan Stanford Friedman, "Definitional Excursions: the Meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism," *Modernism/Modernity* 8, no. 3 (2001): 493-513.

5. For a thorough reconsideration of antitheatricality as applied to Ibsen's modernity, and for a fresh look at Ibsen in his Scandinavian context, particularly in relation to his rejection of idealism in favor of skepticism, see Toril Moi's *Henrik Ibsen and the Birth of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), especially chapter 7.

6. As the introduction to this issue suggests, many commentators have aligned the impulse towards theatrical realism with a conservative political agenda countered by the "progressive" avant-garde rejection of mimesis. Bertolt Brecht's "anti-realist" dramaturgy of the 1930s and beyond is usually enlisted to support this alignment. But Raymond Williams offers an alternative understanding and genealogy of modern dramatic style in the West: "the driving force of the great naturalist drama was not the reproduction of rooms or . . . conversation on the stage. It was a passion for truth, in strictly human and contemporary terms. . . . [The naturalist revolution] is one of the great revolutions, in human consciousness," which is, Williams argues, still underway, and in which *both* Ibsen and Brecht have participated. (*Drama from Ibsen to Brecht* [London: The Hogarth Press, 1987], 334.) The squabble between defenders of "realism" and champions of "the avant-garde" has either missed or denied the point of Williams' long revolution, in which a variety of dramatic styles have been used to supplant a metaphysical understanding of human history with a material one.

7. From an unsigned notice headlined "Henrik Ibsen in English," *Daily News* 8 June 1889, 6, reprinted in Egan's *Ibsen the Critical Heritage*, 104.

8. Ibid., 103.

9. Ibid., 103.

10. Ibid., 124.

11. The "well-made play" (*la pièce bien faite*) was a nineteenth-century genre of bourgeois domestic drama, codified by Eugene Scribe, that favored a tightly constructed plot turning on the logic of cause and effect and often culminating in the revealing of a secret. See John Elsom, *Post-War British Theatre* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), chapter 3, for a full discussion of its uses by Ibsen and later British dramatists. William Archer praised Ibsen for "surpassing" the well-made play in "Ibsen's Apprenticeship" originally published in the *Fortnightly Review* of January 1904, and reprinted in *William Archer on Ibsen*, ed. Thomas Postlewait (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), 79-80.

12. Gay Cima, "Discovering Signs: the Emergence of the Critical Actor in Ibsen," *Theatre Journal* 35, no. 1 (1983): 9.

13. Egan, *Ibsen the Critical Heritage*, 124.

14. In "A Few Don'ts by an Imagiste," *Poetry* I (March 1913): 200, Ezra Pound urges the new poet to write simply and concretely about experience, to minimize and compress poetic expression, and to avoid descriptive writing. Pound may have recognized that the imagist aesthetic was anticipated by the newly compressed dramatic dialogue and understated performance style inaugurated by Archer's productions of Ibsen. For Pound, Ibsen was the original maker of modernity (see also note 68).

15. For an analysis of the *Westminster Review* exchanges on the subject of marriage, see Sheila Rosenberg, "Encounters in the *Westminster Review*: Dialogues on Marriage and Divorce," in *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*, eds. Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 119-37.

16. Joan Perkin*, Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 1989), 225; and Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 81.

17. Before and while they were being mythologized by the daily press, New Women were historical female intellectuals, like Olive Schreiner and Eleanor Marx, who took up questions of sex and gender as the most pressing issues of the late nineteenth century. For an overview of the New Woman and the circles in which she traveled, see the opening chapter of Ruth Brandon, *The New Women and the Old Men: Love, Sex, and the Woman Question* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990).

18. Mona Caird, "Marriage," *Westminster Review* 130 (August 1888): 186-229.

19. Cicely Hamilton*, Marriage as a Trade* (Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1971), 17.

20. Perkin surveys the history of marriage for working and middle-class women. See chapter 13 of *Women and Marriage*, "The Battle of Jericho," for an overview of middle-class marriage reforms during the century. For accounts of a late-nineteenth-century advocacy of spinsterhood, see J. A. and Olive Banks, *Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964), 111-12.

21. Henrik Ibsen, *A Doll's House,* vol. 5 of *The Oxford Ibsen*, ed. and trans. James W. McFarlane (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 229.

22. Leonore Davidoff, "The Family in Britain," in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, vol. 2, ed. F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 78.

23. Joan Templeton has provided the fullest and most scholarly account of Ibsen's relation to the contemporary Scandinavian feminist movement in *Ibsen's Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). This essay attempts to understand the relationship between the British production and reception of Ibsen and modernist debates about marriage and sexuality.

24. Davidoff, "The Family in Britain," 99.

25. Ibsen, *Oxford Ibsen*, vol. 5, 203; 279.

26. Toril Moi argues that critics' dismissals of the social realist plays as "pollution, infection, pestilence" amounted to dismissals of Ibsen's (modernist) skepticism towards the trilogy of idealist values: truth, beauty, and goodness (see chapter 7).

27. Lesley A. Hall, "'The Great Scourge': Syphilis as a medical problem and moral metaphor, 1880-1916" <http://homepages.primex.co.uk/~lesleyah/grtscrge.htm>.

28. Lesley Hall, *Sex, Sin, and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870* (Studies in the Social History of Medicine), eds. Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall (London: Routledge, 2001), 122.

29. Evert Sprinchorn, "Syphilis in Ibsen's *Ghosts*," *Ibsen Studies* 4, no. 2 (2004): 194.

30. Sprinchorn, "Syphilis in Ibsen's *Ghosts*," 195.

31. Ibsen, *Oxford Ibsen*, vol. 5, 245.

32. Ibid.

33. Quoted in Michael Meyer, *Ibsen: A Biography* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), 466.

34. These references can be found in Egan, *Ibsen the Critical Heritage* 100; 106; 107-8; 110; 112; 311.

35. Ibsen, *Oxford Ibsen*, vol. 5, 477.

36. Kirsten Shepherd-Barr, *Ibsen and Early Modernist Theatre*, 7-15.

37. Ibsen, *Oxford Ibsen*, vol. 5, 468.

38. Postlewait, *Prophet of the New Drama*, 62.

39. Egan, *Ibsen the Critical Heritage*, 189.

40. Ibid., 191-92.

41. Ibid., 114.

42. Ibid., 168; 188.

43. Sigmund Freud, "Some Character-Types Met with in Psycho-Analytic Work," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey with Anna Freud, vol. 14 (1914-16) (London: Hogarth Press, 1957), 330.

44. Ibsen, *Oxford Ibsen*, vol. 6, 324.

45. Janet Garton, "The Middle Plays," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ibsen*, ed. James McFarlane (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1994), 109.

46. See critical commentary in Egan, *Ibsen the Critical Heritage*, 167; 173.

47. Ibid., 298-302.

48. In this play (w. 1883), Ibsen locates corruption not in the nuclear family but in the larger community. The nuclear family appears to be surviving social rejection at the play's close, but at the cost of sealing itself off from all contact with a larger group. The marriage remains intact at the cost of Mrs. Stockmann's own and her children's inheritance, the family's physical comfort, its relation to others, and her common-sense instinct for practicality. Ibsen exposes the folly of Stockmann's idealism by pointing up its cost to his family.

49. Ibsen, *Oxford Ibsen*, vol. 3, 89.

50. Tracy Davis, "Ibsen's Victorian Audience," *Essays in Theatre* 4, no.1 (Nov. 1986): 25.

51. The "Captious Critic," *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* (London: George S. Maddick, 1891), 7 March 1891, 893.

52. Angela John, *Elizabeth Robins: Staging a Life 1862-1952* (London: Routledge, 1995), 56-58.

53. Susan Torrey Barstow, "'Hedda Is All of Us': Late-Victorian Women at the Matinee," *Victorian Studies* 43, no. 3: 387-411.

54. Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 19.

55. Havelock Ellis here quotes from a letter written to him by Eleanor Marx in his essay, "Eleanor Marx," *The Modern Monthly* Sept. 1935, 288.

56. Michael Meyer, *Ibsen: A Biography*, 626.

57. Katherine E. Kelly, "Imprinting the Stage: G. B. Shaw and the Publishing Trade, 1883-1903," *The Cambridge Companion to George Bernard Shaw* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 32-34.

58. Max Nordau, *Degeneration*, trans. from 2nd German ed. (New York: Howard Fertig, 1968), 2-3.

59. George Bernard Shaw, "Sanity of Art," in *Bernard Shaw Major Critical Essays XIX* (London: Wise & Co., 1931), 316.

60. Postlewait, *Prophet of the New Drama*, 51.

61. F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), *Mr. Punch's Pocket Ibsen: A Collection of Some of the Master's Best-Known Dramas*, with Illustrations by Bernard Partridge (London: William Heinemann, 1893), n.p.

62. Virginia Woolf, *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942), 168.

63. James Joyce, "Ibsen's New Drama," *Fortnightly Review* 1 April 1900, reprinted in *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, eds. Mason Ellsworth and Richard Ellman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959), 47-67.

64. Kwok-Kan Tam, *Ibsen in China, 1908-1997: A Critical-Annotated Bibliography of Criticism, Translation, and Performance* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2001).

65. Raymond Williams, *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht*, 335-36.

66. Hasegawa Shiguré, *Wavering Traces* (1911), introduction and translation by Carole Cavanaugh, in *Modern Drama by Women: An International Anthology*, ed. Katherine E. Kelly (London: Routledge, 1996), 254-68.

67. Mitsuya Mori, *Double Nora*, adapted and directed by Kuniyoshi Ueda and Mitsuya Mori, featuring Reijiro Tsumura, Yu Mizuno, Noboru Yasuda, and Hiroshi Murakami. Produced at Natori Theatre, Tokyo, August 9-10, 2005. This adaptation of Ibsen's *A Doll's House* combines Noh theatre and traditional European drama by presenting two Nora characters. "Noh-Nora is constantly observed by the modern Nora; the one suffering from a feeling of surveillance, the other learning unexpected things about her own life. Soon they discover that they are one and the same." Quoted from *Ibsenfestivalen* 2006, <http://www.ibsenfestivalen.no/-mwlnW2u.ips>.

68. For Williams, this structure of feeling emerged first in early naturalist dramas, but, in concert with changes in history and human consciousness, it gave rise to other styles that accommodated the alienated condition of middle-class subjects reflecting on their condition of entrapment. See *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht*, 337-38.

69. Ezra Pound, "Mr. James Joyce and the Modern Stage," *The Drama* 6, no. 2 (February 1916): 123.