

HENRY JAMES' REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN'S TRANSITION AND THE POSSIBLE WAYS OF THEIR SOCIAL AFFIRMATION.

Ndeye Fatou, DIOUF

Université Cheikh Anta Diop
ndeyefatoudionf20@yahoo.fr

Résumé

Henry James, dans ses différentes œuvres : The American (1995), Daisy Miller (1984a), The Portrait of a Lady (1999) et An International Episode (1984b), dépeint les mouvements des féministes de différentes manières. Se référant aux réalités des deux côtés de l'Atlantique, James personnifie des phases de la lutte pour la promotion du statut social de la femme. L'objectif de cet article est de démontrer, à travers le style littéraire de l'écrivain transatlantique, les éventuelles formes d'affirmation de la gent féminine. Le portrait des Anges de la maison servant à démystifier la domination patriarcale ainsi que l'avènement de la Nouvelle Femme constituent des tournants de la condition féminine. L'atmosphère créée par la rencontre de ces deux sculptures sociales est le reflet des courants féministes dans leurs dynamiques. Ce qui incite à aborder l'approche documentaire liant les écrits de James aux mouvements des femmes. Cette ouverture sociale qui, selon lui, débute dans les maisons, se poursuit dans les autres sphères de la société telles que l'éducation et les instances de décision, est très loin de prendre son épilogue. Le challenge va au-delà de l'autorité patriarcale.

Mots-clés : *anges de la maison, nouvelle femme, patriarche, féminisme.*

Abstract

Henry James, in his different works: The American (1995), Daisy Miller (1984a), The Portrait of a Lady (1999) and An International Episode (1984b), pictures the feminist movements in their various forms. Based on the social realities on both sides of the Atlantic, James personifies the stages in women's fight for the promotion of their social status. The objective of this article is to demonstrate, through James' literary style, women's possible ways of affirmation. The portrait of the Angels in the house which stands for the demystification of male dominance as well as the appearance of the New Woman constitute the turning points of the perception of female conditions. The atmosphere created by the encounter of these two social sculptures reflects the feminist currents in their dynamics. Something that urges to adopt the documentary approach linking Henry James' works to women's movements. That social openness which, according to the transatlantic writer, starts in houses and sustains in other spheres such as education and decision-making bodies, is far from reaching its peak. The challenge goes beyond the patriarchal authority.

Key words: *angels in the house, new woman, patriarch, feminism.*

Introduction

Talking about women can be seen as a review of the world history since, in every part of the globe, specific dates and periods mark steps in their social consideration from one place to another. The nineteenth century is one of those epochs. During the latter, on both sides of the Atlantic, the question of women's social position stood of actuality. On the one hand, there was the Victorian era in England marked by a sharper definition than any time in history of women's role. Wives and daughters who, in company with brothers or husbands could work on family business, were left at home all day long to oversee domestic duties. That situation was the consequence of the ideology of separate spheres based on the definition of women according to natural characteristics which make them weaker and morally superior to men. Something that is used as an argument to confine them in the domestic circle. Their duties consisted on moral values preservation and also preparing the next generation to carry on that way. This was what they owe the position as Angels in the house.

On the other side, in America, The Gilded Age was characterized by improvements which impacted on the social life and women's sphere was not an exception. The nineteenth century America was marked by the emergence of the New Woman. The latter represented "the new image of womanhood emerged that began to shape public views and understandings of women's role in society" (Rabinovitch-Fox, 2017: 1). The growth of cities enabled them to expand their life. They gained visibility in the social world through evening outings and bicycling activities. Even fashion was not left with more relaxing clothes. That new position shapes their social image as bicyclist, Gibson Girl and so on.

The situation of women, on the different sides, did not seem out of notice, the transatlantic novelist, Henry James depicts both in his works. In *The American*, *The Portrait of a Lady*, *An International Episode* and *Daisy Miller*, James portrays a social environment characterized by the two prototypes of women. In his latter works, he defines their social abilities according to circumstances and opportunities. With his parallel study, James represents women's transition and its possible social manifestations.

In this article, the focus is, first of all, on James' deconstruction of women's social shell in his various portraits of Europeans' female characters standing for the Angel woman. Then, we will see the way in which the introduction of different feminine protagonists, considered as symbols of change, constitutes an approach to feminists' activism. At last, we will analyse how, in women's different social views, James notifies female's affirmation in its dynamics according to age, eras, social class and so on.

1. Women's Angel character: A Social Construction.

Just as any society, women's place as homemakers has been indexed under different ways especially through denial of access to some opportunities just like work and higher education. The diabolization of schools and public spheres has been mostly remarkable through sayings which remind girls and wives of their position in society. Quoting Mariama Ba's *So Long a Letter* can help illustrate "School turns our women into devils" (Ba, 1989: 17) but also the famous tag: the place of women is at home. Even if the approaches vary, societies have their own way to keep women on that stage. The Victorian era in England is not so an exception. The suitable woman for the social sphere is veiled in the Angel in the house. The latter is representative of some qualities: "she needs to be meek and submissive wife who glorifies her husband as well as caring mother who entirely devotes herself to her children. The public sphere is not considered as suitable for the angel woman, so she persists solely in the sphere of domesticity" (Alimoska, 2017: 70).

The Victorian women duties accomplishment requires education which fits in it. They were limited as far as knowledge acquisition is concerned. As angels, to create men's paradise, they just needed some skills. For their accomplishment, a knowledge of music, singing, some particular manners just like ways of walking, address and expression are sufficient. To come to that, ideologies against women's higher education were developed through the expression of blue stockings which refers to those who devoted themselves to intellectual pursuit. The latter are portrayed as dried women. Doctors even reported the damaging effects of higher education on female attraction (Hughes: 2014).

The various social constructions, developed to keep women on the domestic stage, are in James' works under different ways represented so as to unveil the socially made environment in which women of that period were. James, in his portrait of the nineteenth century Angel woman, in many ways, demonstrates the latter name as a symbol of social subservience. A situation that some female characters voice their awareness of. The patriarchal society serves a poisoned gift to women in order to keep their stage in society.

Through his diverse characters, ideologies, scenery and also female protagonists' representation as expatriates, James demystifies the basis of such conditions. For him, the Victorian society creates any possible obstacle to come up to such an image of women. Angel is thus the figure behind social repression. In his point of view, circumstances are created to force women's submissiveness and reticence to some social circles. Something he justifies through Mrs Costello's headaches which stand for women's social barrier.

In *Daisy Miller*, Aunt Costello is known for her headaches which can be seen as her social troubles. They constitute her alibi toward getting acquainted to Miss Miller. When her nephew insists, she ends up mentioning an incapacity "I can't my dear Frederick" (James, 1984a: 250). The same headaches are also the hindrance toward attending crowds: "She never dines at the table d'hôte" (James, 1984a: 253). In James' portrayal of her with such an illness, he foreshadows limitation and exclusion. A situation that the lady further reveals to be against her will "I would if I could but I cannot" (James, 1984a: 250). In her expression, she lets perceive that her condition is imposed. This is to say that Victorian women were forced that status of the Angels in the house. Costello's character exemplifies the social constructed role of fragility and obedience women were victim. Just as in her case, the Victorian era established many other barriers to keep the social standards.

If in Costello's case James uses an illness, Mrs Walker's name in *Daisy Miller* is another illustration of women's socially made sphere. The Europeanized American seems to enjoy freedom with her status of married woman and walker. Far from that, she is the figure of women's

social limitation in terms of movement. Her character is the symbol of the ideological construction: she seems free physically but is psychologically bound. Walker's social image is what she owes her mission to reason Daisy when the latter appeared in public with men and also the decision to campaign for her social exclusion. Walker is thus the active representation of the patriarchal society. The little freedom she enjoys is for social sake just as to embark Daisy in Europeans' social norms "do get in and drive with me" (James, 1984a: 275). This is what justifies her use of chariot and wagon which epitomize Europeans' standard of behaviour just as Daisy perceives her invitation "to save my reputation I ought to enter the carriage" (James, 1984a: 275). For the critic Ian Bell, Mrs Walker's name constitutes an ironic reflection of the prison of her spirit with socially prescribed limits (Bell, 1997).

Apart from the symbols of the patriarchal society, Daisy Miller's death can be seen as another illustration of the socially constructed environment women evolved. It reveals the effort and determination of the society to restrict women into a narrow and strictly defined sphere. At the moment when Daisy's inflexibility surpasses interventions, the Roman fever acts in its turn to stop her. The first allusion to the fever was when Daisy decided to go alone to the Pincio. That could so be seen as an alarm of the social agents which dictate laws in some extreme situations. At a period when Mrs Walker and even Winterbourne's remark could not stop her, the Roman fever plays the final part and eliminates Daisy from the society where she defies social rules particularly those which establish lines to girls' ability. This was in some way to remind women's barrier in a society where men have the ultimate control over females lives. Miss Miller's death was firstly the consequence of the enforcement of the conservative norms upon women.

Furthermore, the use of Winterbourne as observer of Daisy Miller's ways cannot be neglected while talking about women's conditions. Daisy's behaviour is seen on a masculine perspective through Winterbourne's perception. A way for James to highlight the representation of women according to the patriarchal view since Winterbourne is the very epitome of the masculine world Europe typified. First of all through the environment he grew up. Geneva, the metropolis of Calvinism stands as reference in his evaluation of Daisy's attitudes. Then, his two relatives

Costello and Walker and also his perception of Europeans' standards come to reinforce his character. For Teddy Duncan, all conditions make of *Daisy Miller* a study of patriarchal perception: "with Winterbourne as observer it is not so much Daisy Miller that is depicted, nor her actions but Winterbourne's attitudes regarding her actions *as a woman*. James assembles Winterbourne as a consolidation of characteristics that constitute patriarchal masculinity and consequently that subordinate femininity" (Duncan, 2020: 4).

Besides *Daisy Miller*, women's portrait as bearer of the social power is illustrated in other novels such as *The American*. In the latter, Countess Claire de Cintre overtly directs attention to her social environment while justifying her acts and deeds. In her words, making reference to her situation, she points out women's passivity. For her, they are just the result of the social sculpture. Circumstances do not give them a choice "I was made to do gladly and gratefully what is expected of me. (...) I can't change" (James, 1995: 251).

If James, in his different works, recurs to symbols, devices and so on to bring to light women's plight. In *The Portrait of a Lady*, Madame Merle stands for women's voice. She draws attention to females' conditions in general. As an American abroad, she not only designates their position as expatriates but also as women. Serena Merle deplors the way they are seen as subordinate mostly in the Europeans' circle: "There are great many of us like that, in these parts, and I must say I think we are a wretched set of people. You should live in your own land; whatever it maybe you have your natural place there. If you we're not good Americans, we're certainly poor Europeans, we've no natural place here. We're mere parasites, crawling over the surface, we haven't our feet in the soil. At least one can know it and not have illusions. A woman perhaps can get on; a woman, it seems to me have no place anywhere, wherever she finds herself, has to remain on the surface and crawl" (James, 1999: 237).

At that same time James depicts the physical, psychological and social restriction women are victim, he introduces female protagonists who, in contrast to Europeans' standard of women behaviour, value independence, free spirit and social communion. The example of Isabel

Archer and Daisy Miller is enough for James to typify feminists' activism. That prototype of women is not without effect on men's perception of the female character. Daisy's attitude constitutes a puzzle to Winterbourne so that he either sees her as unscrupulous, deucedly sociable, common or even categorizes her ways as inconduite. Isabel Archer, on her side, makes Ralph question the future intention of such a woman: "What was she going to do with herself? With most women one had no occasion to ask it. Most women did with themselves nothing at all; they waited, in attitudes more or less passive, for a man to come that way and furnish them with a destiny" (James, 1999: 88). Thus Isabel Archer just like Daisy's introduction represents another form of women's transition.

2. The New Woman: James' approach to Feminists' activism.

James, while introducing Daisy Miller, Isabel Archer or even Bessie Alden in *An International Episode* in the Victorian society, portrays a phenomenon of women unknown in the conservative circle. The Gilded Age constitutes thus an example worth paying attention to since its favourable circumstances in terms status give women a social power, something that may not leave indifferent the angels if such conditions happen there. The different female protagonists constitute the various facets of the New Woman: "The New Woman represented a contemporary modern understanding of femininity, one that emphasized youth, visibility and mobility as well as demand for greater freedom and independence" (Rabinovitch-Fox, 2017: 1). That New Woman is not James' invention but a social reality.

James' portrayal of women in such a way is not fully a fruit of imagination. He bases on the atmosphere they create due to the opportunity the Gilded Age comes with. Some female figures of that period and their commitment to social activism and charitable work constitute references. Margaret Oliva Sage is one of them. After her husband's death, she gave away 45 million dollars out of 75 million of her inheritance to support women's causes, educational institutions and so on. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller helped create hotels for women and solicited funds to create the New York Museum of Modern Art. (History of the Gilded Age: 2018)

That social atmosphere in which women left houses to devote themselves to activism is what James, through his different characters in Europe, shows a possible manifestation of women's social affirmation. Just like the two figures in America, women did not all consecrate themselves to the same field. That is to say that the image of the New Woman cannot be a fixed one. They have the same goal which is to better their conditions but approaches differ.

For that, James' protagonists in Europe are depicted in different ways so as to characterize women's variety of gates to emancipation. The first one is through his theme of displacement. Most of his female characters left America for Europe: Daisy Miller, Isabel Archer, Bessie Alden, Kitty Westgate and so on. Women's mobility at that period constitutes the first point for him to show the turn in their status. From houses, to prohibited public spheres, James drives them to the other side of the Atlantic. Displacement is so his way to symbolize the social transition of females' status from mere housekeepers to social figures.

The physical movement is not enough for James in his representation of women's new social approach, each of them has a fixed motive to move. For that, every character in his works stands for a social cause. He thus portrays the various identities of the New Woman. Daisy Miller's one is social communion. The character of Daisy is equipped to personify women's fight for social inclusion, first of all, through her particular interest in society: "there is not any society; or if there is, I don't know where it keeps itself. Do you? I suppose there is some society somewhere, but I have seen anything of it. I'm very fond of society. (James, 1984a: 246).

Miss Miller can be seen as representative of women's social integration. She is the epitome of their fight for attendance of public spheres just like men. Daisy's sociality is firstly a means to impose her position: she dresses splendidly, goes out unchaperoned and attends diners. Apart from the physical presence, Daisy stands for the moral representation which consists on their freedom to act. For this, she imposes barriers between her actions and social norms: "I have never allowed any

gentleman to dictate to me, or to interfere with anything I do” (James, 1984a: 272).

If Daisy Miller’s character stands for women’s transition through dress and refusal of standards, Mrs Miller, her mother exemplifies the fight for equal responsibility. Mrs Miller is the archetype of the masculine figure. Alone, she left America for Europe with her two children. At the moment when children are under their father’s authority just like in the example of Pansy who is under her father’s control and also Ralph who lives with his. Mrs Miller’s character figures out the turn patriarchal responsibility can take.

At that same time, Bessie Alden in *An International Episode* comes to stand for women’s right for education. Beside the perception as blue stockings which denotes discrimination women are victim in terms of education, Bessie is portrayed in a way that contradicts every idea about the bad effects of higher education on women especially in terms of attraction. Despite her graciousness and attractiveness that did not even leave indifferent the Lord, Bessie is a well-read intellectual from Boston. The latter place, considered the centre of culture and learning, tells everything about the young American girl’s instruction. The combination of seductive and intellectual aspects in Bessie’s character is enough for James to illustrate women’s commitment to education as an aspect of their social challenge. Apart from that, the American girl’s particular interest in novelists, writers and introduction as a travel novelist by her sister comes to confirm the cause she symbolizes.

Next to Bessie Alden, the character of Isabel Archer is symbol of social commitment on women’s side. Isabel’s self-education, freedom of spirit and sense of independence are the mask James puts on women as bearer of social changes. Different from the image of the Angel, Isabel inspires female leaders. Miss Archer’s privilege of her freedom over marriage “I don’t wish to marry till I’ve seen Europe” (James, 1999: 271) and the fact that she has refused two marriage proposals among which that of the Lord make her cousin question her future plan. Her attitudes, ways, opinions and perceptions piqued Ralph’s curiosity in such a way he decides to put a little wing on her sail. Her inheritance is, for James, a test of women’s abilities. An opportunity Isabel took, first of all, to see

the world and display her sense of freedom then, on her turn, chooses to marry Osmond.

Henrietta Stackpole is also among the female characters who play a determinant role in James' approach to feminism. The newspaper lady stands, first of all, for women's right to a profession. She can be seen as the character Virginia Woolf, in *Profession for Women* (Woolf: 2009), sees as the killer of the Angel in the house. Her work helps her not only be an active woman but also assures her financial stability. Henrietta provides financial support to herself and her three nieces through her writing of newspaper. James' final description of Miss Stackpole as a married woman closes the debate of his conception of women's ability to be all social. Henrietta is the only lady who enjoys herself in a love alliance despite her other different social status. Her character is a means for James to unveil the social opportunities women profession represents and their ability to combine it with their social life.

Apart from the different characteristics James embodies in his protagonists to show the various female social causes, their concern about marriage is worth mentioning. The female approach of marriage in *The Portrait of a Lady* constitutes another point in which James announces the steps toward women's social affirmation. Marriage has, in a lot of works, been defined and also analysed on a male or social perspective. Mostly women's duties and the injustice they undergo are underlined. In *The Portrait of a Lady* James, through different characters, gives females' perceptions of it. The feminine view at a personal level is among symbols of their rise from a domestic corner to a wider social universe, from mere victims to partners.

The new conception of marriage is seen on their different opinions. Isabel as well as Henrietta perceive marriage as a duty but they denounce the conditions of women in the latter. As for them, it is a jail where there is no out door. In their point of view, marriage is a must but this does not mean that everything about women's life turn around it. Women can have other means of enjoyment, other goals in life. For them, marriage plans should not be hindrance toward other lives' opportunities just like education, work and so on. Their education are not to be limited to the domestic spheres. These ideas are what James conveys through their

different lives' itinerary. Isabel's rejection of two suitors while admitting her independence leads to think about a misconception on marriage but once in wedlock, despite the difficult conditions, she honours her vow till the end. In her character, James foreshadows women's determination that surpasses the conditions if only there is personal dose in their lives. Henrietta's itinerary, her work, freedom to come and go and her social stability, on the contrary, constitute a fundamental element in her association. Her various attributes strengthen her social status as partner. In this, a new conception of marriage constitutes a possible focus for the new women.

James, in his different works through characterization mostly, has traced the various steps toward women's liberation. From bicyclist, he foreshadows the New Woman's characteristics through leadership, activism, partnership and education. Even if the social causes are unanimous, James announces different conditions of women's fight.

3. Eventual forms of female Affirmations

Women's movement, just like any history of revolution, cannot happen in a twinkling of an eye. Depending on the social and historical contexts, emerge some evidence of their new social approaches in acts and deeds. James, while announcing the New Woman with her plural identities, alerts on the different ways women can manifest their commitment. Based on the social and historical environment, James portrays their possible means of expression in many ways. For this, he pictures a wide range of situations and characters distinct in terms of social status, age and origin so as to highlight the dynamics of females' transition. In this, one can say that he raises awareness to the different feminist currents.

The misrepresentation of the masculine figures in *The American* and *An International Episode* is illustrative of the emergence of a female movement. In the latter novels, James portrays two aristocratic families where the male figures are absent. In this, he makes women bear a responsibility only authorized for men at that period. This was, for him, to show their challenge to their position which was imposed and claim their right as women and citizen. As the social conditions were not favourable for them, James pictures different situations created by woman so as to

legitimate that position. In *The American* Madame de Bellegarde knowing the risk of an overt challenge in the aristocratic circle, takes advantage of her husband's sickness to help him die. Her passivity as far as the control of her children is concerned annoyed her. She then decides to put an end to the life of the Duck.

Lady Lambert, in *An International Episode* recourse to her husband's incapacity. She declares an illness in order to be able to exercise control on her life. In these situations, James shows women's determination in their fight. Their eagerness to overturn patriarchal responsibility is linked to disappearance of the masculine figure in its different forms through death and incapacity.

Apart from Lambert and Bellegarde, Mrs Touchett stands for another female character engaged in social change. Lydia Touchett, on her turn, manifests her commitment through denial of motherhood. She left the matrimonial responsibility to her husband. Far from the typical mother and wife of the Victorian period, Lady Touchett favours her personal freedom and her own social plans. She spends around ten months in a year abroad leaving her husband and son alone. Her son's remark about his relationship with her and his father is an illustration "his father, as he has often said to himself, was the more motherly; his mother on the other hand, was paternal, and even, according to the slang of the day, gubernatorial" (James, 1999: 58). In Lydia Touchett's character, James shows a possible affirmation of gender equality through the lens of refusal of maternity. Something that her further remark to Isabel constitutes an illustration "Go and thank God you've no child" (James, 1999: 667).

Madame Merle also is a character James uses to picture another facet of women to manifest their feminist penchant. Merle, introduced as a villain in James' *The Portrait of a Lady*, materializes all her plans while using Osmond as a scapegoat. Having been his long term partner, she even directs Osmond's love affair. Something that she uses to enrich herself financially. Merle is the figure behind Osmond's marriage to Isabel Archer. In James' depiction of her relation with Osmond, he shows how women, to value their image, smear the patriarchal one.

These different ladies, in James' works are the characters engaged to overturn the patriarchal figure. Despite their same goal, they could not materialize it in the same way due to their social circumstances. They were so to take advantage of the social opportunities. They constitute in James' perception the different faces women's fight for equal right can have according to the social and historical realities.

Besides these prototypes, James, through Isabel Archer, Henrietta Stackpole and Bessie Alden, pictures another wave of women with egalitarian perspective. The three ladies favour balance in terms of social opportunities. Isabel Archer represents women's ability for free choice. For her, in everything people should have an option. Her choices of self-education instead of schools and Osmond in place of the Lord are examples. For her, women are to discover and interpret the world on their own perspective. That ideology is what directs each of her social steps since her final purpose is "so as to choose" (James, 1999: 93).

Henrietta, on her side, stands for equal opportunity in terms of work and social responsibility. An idea that her work as newspaper lady symbolizes. Writing, seen as a means of expression is also that of liberation. Henrietta's mission of writing about Europeans' life at the same time she is in charge of her nieces constitutes a call to women's equal chance. As the last of the threesome, Bessie Alden's withdrawal from the European's circle is symbol of her concern about women equal right. Bessie, once in England, discovers that she cannot just like men, on her own will visit some places, frequent some kind of people and enjoy herself as she plans. She then decides to withdraw because of the discrimination she is victim in a society where her status as foreigner and above all as woman do not favour her "I don't see why I should regard what is done here" said Bessie Alden why should I suffer the restriction of a society of which I enjoy none of the privilege" (James, 1984b: 367).

At the same moment James announces some movements having specific goals with different approaches, he portrays a radical affirmation of women through the characters of Daisy Miller and Claire de Cintre. For him, in the same way some can be concentrated on a definite aim maybe due to social circumstances, some radical ways of affirmation can be expected. Daisy and Claire are the images of that ideology. Claire can be

seen as a reformist in the Victorian society. Seeing no possible opportunity and considering herself unable to change the way things are, she recurses to renouncement. Countess Claire gives up her status as Aristocrat and all her advantages to consecrate herself to religion. A decision people in her circle associate to death. "Madame de Cintre is buried alive (...) the door of the tomb is at this moment closing behind her" (James, 1995: 267). Her choice of social death, in place of her position as Countess with her privilege, is for James a way to express her disagreement with the way women's life is settled during the Victorian era.

As far as the character of Daisy Miller is concerned, she stands for a stricter radicalism since her character is linked to disobedience, Daisy tried to force change in the European's circle. She goes everywhere prohibited to women, breaks any laws imposed on them and uses "I don't care" (James, 1984a: 293) as slogan to express her fearlessness of laws. She, in return, imposes her laws. When she is informed of the ruled out attitudes she retorts "Well it ought to be then" (James, 1984a: 275). Her death is the result of her sharp contradiction to everything that limits women's ability.

Conclusion

James, in his novels, pictures many female' characters standing for Europeans' and American prototypes of women at a given period. The European female figures are representative of the Angel Woman in the Victorian era while the American ones are the New Women of the Gilded Age. Both social sculptures help him in his portrait of women's transition. In his depiction of the Angels, James not only unveils women's conditions through social, psychological and social limitations they are victims but also highlights their consciousness of such a situation. The demystification of the patriarchal scheme, some passively bear while others voiced, is for James a step forward in women's consideration from mere victims to subordinates conscious of male social power on them.

At the same time, the New Woman from America is pictured to stand at a different level. Women, in that side of the Atlantic left the stage of

consciousness to that of action. With the use of displacement as a motif in their portrait and also a specific goal for each protagonist' movement, James presents obvious signs of women's transition from housewives to social activists. Women's conversion is not without evidence in the social atmosphere James gathers both. The different ways in which each female character shows out her abilities constitute a representation of female's movements in their dynamics according era, social class and circumstances.

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