

AN OVERWHELMING QUESTION:  
JEWISH STEREOTYPING IN ENGLISH FICTION AND SOCIETY, 1875-1914

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"Streets that follow like a tedious argument  
Of insidious intent  
To lead you to an overwhelming question..."

T.S. Eliot, The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock (1917)

"But what was it? What did everybody mean about them?"

Dorothy Richardson, The Tunnel (1920)

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SUMMARY

This thesis sets out to examine the nature of modern Jewish stereotyping in English society with reference to a wide range of English fiction which, for the most part, has been previously undocumented in these terms.

Instead of a purely literary analysis of the fictional Jewish stereotype, this thesis places the Jewish stereotype in a specific ideological and historical context which is then related to a given writer--or group of writers--and their fiction. Two chapters, moreover, demonstrate the material results of Jewish stereotyping in English society with reference to the internalisation and institutionalisation of Jewish stereotyping by British Jewry and the Anglo-Jewish novel. The variety and impact of Jewish stereotyping is shown to encompass the ideologies of liberalism, social Darwinism, Imperialism, antisemitism, proto-Zionism, Socialism and mainstream versions of sexuality.

The concluding chapter relates the modern Jewish stereotype, which was formed after the 1870s, to a more general ahistorical mythic view of the Jew. In particular, this chapter refers to the links between modern Jewish stereotyping and the traditional Christian view of the Jew. With reference to a wide range of writers, more general questions are raised in this chapter concerning the continuity of Jewish stereotyping and the choice of a given stereotype by a particular social or literary group.

Finally, this thesis demonstrates the ambivalent nature of Jewish stereotyping, especially in relation to the doctrines of liberalism and a parliamentary political consensus. Where this consensus was rejected, then a more rigidly hostile Jewish stereotype was utilised by a given writer. Yet, even within a liberal culture, Jewish stereotyping in both literature and society was a common means of shaping popular perceptions of British Jewry. In this way, individual Jews were invariably regarded as moral symbols of either good or evil in the imagination of both the writer and the political ideologue.

NOTE ON EDITIONS USED

I have tried as far as possible to quote from the latest published editions of the novels under consideration. Where a work of fiction has not been republished in recent years I have, for the most part, quoted from the first edition. Below are the editions of novels--other than first editions--that are quoted in the body of the text. Unless otherwise stated, the place of publication is London.

Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy (Michigan, 1965),  
 Hilaire Belloc, Pongo and the Bull (1924), Arnold Bennett, The Grand Babylon Hotel (1976), John Buchan, A Prince of the Captivity (1949),  
The Thirty Nine Steps (1980), Greenmantle (1981), Samuel Butler,  
Erewhon (1983), G.K. Chesterton, The Flying Inn (1919), Joseph  
 Conrad, Nostromo (1985), George Du Maurier, Trilby (1977), George  
 Eliot, Daniel Deronda (1982), Henry James, The Tragic Muse (1982),  
 James Joyce, Ulysses (1968), Rudyard Kipling, The Day's Work (1964),  
Short Stories: Volume 1 (1979) collects "The House Surgeon,"  
 D.H. Lawrence, The Virgin and the Gypsy (1979), Women In Love (1979),  
Kangeroo (1980), Three Novellas (1985), George Meredith, One of Our  
 Conquerors (Queensland, 1975), Dorothy Richardson, Pilgrimage (1979),  
 George Bernard Shaw, An Unsocial Socialist (1981), Man and Superman  
 (1981), Major Barbara (1984), Anthony Trollope, Nina Balatka (1942),  
Phineas Finn (1949), The Eustace Diamonds (1950), The Prime Minister  
 (1975), The Way We Live Now (1975), H.G. Wells, The New Machiavelli  
 (1978), Tono-Bungay (1978), Leonard Woolf, The Wise Virgins (1979),  
 Israel Zangwill, Children of the Ghetto (Leicester, 1977).

## CHAPTER ONE

### JEWISH STEREOTYPING: A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

Colin Holmes, in his seminal study of "Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939", has correctly argued that:

We need to know far more about such [Jewish stereotypical] images, expressed outside of the heat of battle by those who do not figure as central characters in the history of anti-semitism. By presenting particular images of Jews, whether literary or verbal, writers and artists hoped to achieve an identification with their various audiences and it is through such sources ... that we are able to obtain a glimpse of the more general perceptions of Jews in British society."<sup>1</sup>

It was this conclusion that proved the academic spur for this thesis. However, there have been, in fact, as many as a dozen full-length studies of Jewish stereotyping in English fiction which cover in part, or as a whole, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, the impact of such studies on the academic fields of English literary criticism, literary history, and even the historiography of antisemitism, has been minimal. This is hardly surprising since the nine full length studies and doctoral dissertations written in the last two decades on this area--often on the same authors and periods--do not even refer to each other.<sup>2</sup> Given this state of affairs it is arguable whether, at this stage, the study of Jewish stereotyping in English fiction can be categorized as an academic discipline at all. The primary aim of this Introduction will be, therefore, to bring together these existing studies. By doing this I hope for the first time theoretically to examine the question of Jewish stereotyping from the perspective of an academic body of material on this question. Where relevant, comparative material will also be included in the discussion. In a bid to be comprehensive I will divide the Introduction into three sections which will examine,

respectively, the relationship between Jewish stereotyping and Anti-semitism, Literature and History. In this way I will begin to make theoretical connections between existing academic disciplines and the nascent discipline of the study of Jewish stereotyping. Needless to say, in the absence of any academic debate, my theoretical assumptions should be considered to be merely a tentative first word on these questions. Nevertheless, the last section will conclude with a summary of my particular assumptions which will be applied to the body of the thesis.

### Jewish Stereotyping and Antisemitism

The main reason why it has been possible to produce full-length studies of Jewish stereotyping with the minimum of theoretical consideration is the underlying common-sense assumption in these studies that Jewish stereotyping and antisemitism are, quite simply, synonymous concepts. Anne Aresty Naman, for instance, in her "The Jew in the Victorian Novel" (1980) argues that:

"The presence of a Jewish character in a Victorian novel may well throw a reader, especially one who is sensitively aware of both art and race relationships, into a tangle of confused questioning and ambivalent conclusions. For one finds that one simultaneously encounters two generally separate realms of experience: that of novel-reading and that of anti-semitism."<sup>3</sup>

Whether "novel-reading and anti-semitism" should be considered to be "two separate realms of experience" will be discussed in the next section. However, what is of interest at this point is Naman's seemingly innocent conflation of "the presence of a Jewish character in a Victorian novel" with the realm of "antisemitism." If the broadly accepted definition of antisemitism as "an attitude of hostility to Jews as such" is noted, then one can, perhaps, see how it is possible for studies of Jewish stereotyping to consistently conflate the "hostile" Jewish stereotype in English fiction with "anti-

semitism." It has been, therefore, possible for studies of Jewish stereotyping simply to refer to a centuries old history of anti-semitism as, in itself, a sufficient causal explanation of the hostile Jewish stereotype appearing in modern English fiction. The main sources for this emphasis are Edgar Rosenberg's "From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction" (1960) and Harold Fisch's "The Dual Image: A Study of the Jew in English Literature" (1971). That is, both Rosenberg and Fisch conceptualise the Jewish stereotype as a "myth" generated by a centuries old hostility to Jews. Fisch is most explicit in using this definition:

"...the figure of the Jew in literature, certainly in English literature, is an example of a myth of great power, functioning through stock responses and with the very minimum of reference to contemporary reality... If we were to pursue this point along the lines of a psychological inquiry we might consider the Jew as a kind of Jungian archetype, issuing from the collective unconsciousness of medieval man..."<sup>4</sup>

Rosenberg, in his own word, is less "dogmatic" than Fisch but similarly argues that:

"...the Shylock myth is not a continuous fact of literature, capable of evolving new and complex configurations and relationships, but a stable one, which different generations do not so much reinterpret for themselves as they rehabilitate it."

In this way, Rosenberg similarly endows the Jewish stereotype with "mythic" qualities and, therefore, emphasises: "the massive durability of a stereotype, which is almost, by definition, the least pliable of literary sorts, the one least sensitive to social vibrations."<sup>5</sup> I will critically examine this static and ahistorical conceptualisation of Jewish stereotyping in the following sections. However, at this stage, what is of interest is the circular definition of the Jewish stereotype as a "stock response" whose "massive durability" is, by itself, a sufficient explanation for its appearance in modern fiction. By transferring the Jewish stereotype onto a

timeless antisemitic realm, Fisch and Rosenberg have, thus, made it possible for research to avoid any further conceptual examination of Jewish stereotyping. Furthermore, the mythologising of the subject of Jewish stereotyping has meant that studies have increasingly relied on a model of antisemitism which culminates in the attempted destruction of European Jewry.<sup>6</sup> Alvin Rosenfeld, in a representative article on "literary antisemitism" in England and America, has explicitly argued this position:

"...Hitler showed -- not just in the pages of Mein Kampf but in the streets of Europe -- how, following a programmatic vilification of the Jews, it was possible to proceed from 'literary' Jew-hatred to literal murder of whole communities. It required really only a series of small, manageable steps to do that. He showed that to destroy Jews, in fact, just as to entertain destroying them in fantasy, was not an especially hard thing to accomplish...strong mythic stereotypes have a tenacity of their own..."<sup>7</sup>

In particular, Charlotte Klein has anticipated this argument by predicating her doctoral thesis--which compares German and English literary stereotypes--on a definition of Jewish stereotyping which is equivalent to genocidal antisemitism. For Klein, the "methodical extermination" of European Jewry:

"...involved many thousands of German citizens who must have been in some way mentally prepared to accept it without protest. Was literature able to throw some light on the process of conditioning men so that they would come to see their fellows as sub-human fiends and therefore willingly assist, or at least passively look on, at their wholesale slaughter?"<sup>8</sup>

Unsurprisingly, in terms of these rhetorical questions, Klein is able to arrange more than 900 nineteenth and twentieth century literary works in terms of the degree of animus which she supposes the literary Jew to evoke. As a consequence, her thesis is divided into four large, cumbersome and overlapping sections; no other conceptual framework is necessary. In short, conflating the Jewish stereotype with a mythic antisemitism means that any reference to Jewish stereo-

typing in English fiction need only teleologically refer to the results of Nazism to conceptually justify itself. Thus, Naman writes her study "with the memory of Nazi Germany still fresh" and devotes a chapter of her book on the Victorian novel to Léon Poliakov's "The History of Antisemitism."<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in America, the recent debate surrounding Jewish stereotyping in English literature is whether such "antisemitic" literary texts should be censored and banished from the literary canon. Mark Gelber, in a doctoral thesis on "Aspects of Literary Anti-Semitism" in English and German fiction, has commented on this debate as follows:

"Not only do some problematical formulations found in these attempts to deal with the subject [of "literary antisemitism"] point to the need for more clarity and precision in general in this field, but, furthermore, it seems that a total rethinking of the issue is required at this time."<sup>10</sup>

Gelber's call for a "rethinking" is timely precisely because the conflation of Jewish stereotyping with a genocidal antisemitism has resulted not in a detached academic analysis--as Gelber indicates--but in a sweeping moral condemnation of such "Jew-hatred." Similarly, two English literary critics have, in these terms, delimited discussion of English writers and Jewish stereotyping by relating such writing to the rise of European Fascism.<sup>11</sup> The mirror-image of this moral condemnation is a resulting apologetics by those English and American literary critics or biographers who, not unreasonably, want to distance English literature or their chosen author from the taint of a genocidal European antisemitism.<sup>12</sup> In these terms, it has been possible for Graham St. John Stott to write a doctoral thesis on "The Jew in Nineteenth Century English and American Fiction" which simply denies the "prevalence" of antisemitism in nineteenth century England and America and, instead, "points to literary convention as the primary shaper of prose fiction." In this way, Stott attempts to



deny the very concept of a "Jewish stereotype" in a liberal society.<sup>13</sup> As I will show in the next section, the transference of an analysis of Jewish stereotyping into the aesthetic realm of "literary convention" is the means by which literary criticism avoids any discussion of these issues. However, such a position has been made tenable by the moral, rather than analytical, nature of the debate surrounding Jewish stereotyping thus far.

Another related problem in conceptualising Jewish stereotypes is the fact that the history of antisemitism in liberal societies is still in its infancy. As David Feldman has argued with reference to England, research is only beginning to be:

"...sensitive to the influence of the Holocaust upon subsequent attempts to write the history of antisemitism, with the result that the qualities of this one episode have been taken as a model through which to understand antisemitism at other times and places."<sup>14</sup>

An example of defining English antisemitism in terms of the model of Nazi Germany is Gisela Lebzelter's "Political Antisemitism in England, 1918-1939." Whilst recognising that "one cannot reduce the subject of antisemitism to its German variant alone...", Lebzelter still attempts to:

"abstract from the event of the 'Final Solution' and look at the potentials that lay buried in the ideology as such... An analysis of antisemitism in England, where it was of limited importance, should therefore be regarded as an attempt to comprehend the nature of antisemitism from a theoretical angle."<sup>15</sup>

In these terms, English "ideological" antisemitism can be deemed "potentially" genocidal and Lebzelter's study is, therefore, merely an "abstract" theoretical exercise. Only at certain "historical junctures" does English antisemitism assume the political importance of its "German variant." As with research into the literary Jewish stereotype, Lebzelter's function is a moral one; to warn of the

potentially lethal nature of antisemitism's "ideology." Hence, Lebzelter in her book and subsequent articles, constantly draws parallels between English and German antisemitism.<sup>16</sup> One main reason for this reliance on the model of Nazi Germany is the ahistorical definition of antisemitism in terms of "hostility to Jews as such." As I have noted, such "hostility" can be perceived to encompass both the "presence of a Jewish character in a Victorian novel" as well as the attempted genocide of the Jewish people. Clearly such a definition, without qualification, is too vague for analytical purposes. Even Gelber's study, whilst correctly recognising the need to "rethink" the analysis of Jewish stereotyping, is unable to offer an alternative analytical framework. That is, Gelber defines "literary antisemitism" as:

"the potential or capacity of a text to encourage or positively evaluate antisemitic attitudes or behaviours in accordance, generally, with the delineation of such attitudes and behaviours by social scientists and historians."<sup>17</sup>

However, this definition raises as many questions as it answers when historians, such as Lebzelter, define antisemitism in liberal societies in terms of the model of Nazi Germany.

The need to distance the study of Jewish stereotyping from a model of antisemitism based on hostility can be summed up as follows: that it is necessary to discard the notion that antisemitism—and by extension Jewish stereotyping—is a unique historical phenomenon which is confined to its own particular mythology. Yehuda Bauer, with regard to the Holocaust, has summarised the dangers of a concept of historical uniqueness in these terms:

"...if what happened to the Jews was unique, then it took place outside of history, and it becomes a mysterious event; an upside-down miracle, so to speak, an event of religious significance in the sense that it is not man-made as that term is normally understood."<sup>18</sup>

Hannah Arendt has reinforced Bauer's argument in her Origins of Totalitarianism, by arguing that the mythologising of antisemitism means, above all, that it is perceived as:

"...a normal and natural reaction to which history gives only more or less opportunity. Outbursts need no special explanation because they are natural consequences of an eternal problem."<sup>19</sup>

Thus, as has been noted, the main consequence of defining the Jewish stereotype as part of an "eternal" antisemitism is that no further conceptual explanation of the phenomenon is necessary. The reason for this is that all studies of Jewish stereotyping assume an idealistic--even Hegelian--relationship between Jewish stereotypical thought and antisemitic action.<sup>20</sup> Such is the crude teleology of studies of Jewish stereotyping that the fictional Jewish stereotype is either considered to be potentially genocidal on the one extreme or, simply, lacking in any consequence--because it is clearly not genocidal in England or America--on the other. In opposition to this argument, this thesis will emphasise throughout that Jewish stereotyping has definite social consequences in liberal England. However, in these terms, a mythological antisemitism is merely a tool of obfuscation. Therefore, to conclude this section, I shall now highlight an element in most of the studies under consideration that will enable us to define Jewish stereotyping in a more analytical fashion.

In an important article, John Higham has suggested some "guiding principles" when analysing antisemitism in liberal America which are worth reiterating. Higham argues that it is necessary to:

"...guard against the categorizing tendency that distinguishes too sharply between antisemites and philosemites... most people waver between conflicting attitudes and seldom enjoy an undivided state of mind... Because stereotypes are stylized responses, we too often assume that they are simple ones--either black or white. But a stereotype may express ambivalent emotions... Many Americans were both pro- and anti-

Jewish at the same time."<sup>21</sup>

Although Higham is concerned with America, his conclusions can be applied to England as the predication of Jewish stereotyping on ambivalence—as opposed to hostility—is a central feature of a large number of the studies under consideration. Fisch, for instance, can both draw on the antisemitic "myth" of the Jews as a "deicide nation" and also argue that according to the same Christian "myth": "Jews are also a nation redeemed, and on whose redemption the fate of mankind hangs." Therefore, for Fisch,

"...the image of the Jew in literature is indeed a dual image: he excites horror, fear, hatred; but he also excites wonder, awe and love. The literature about the Jew is a literature which attempts either to abolish one or another of these images, or somehow bring the two into common focus."<sup>22</sup>

Rosenberg, similarly, analyses the sympathetic "Saintly Jew" and "The Jew as Hero" as stereotypes in his study, and Naman has a chapter on the Jewish stereotypes' "Prejudiced Sympathy." In these terms, anti-semitism based on hostility simply obscures the ambivalent nature of the Jewish stereotype which these studies, in fact, emphasise. Thus, Louise Mayo can apply Fisch's mythic framework to a study of Jewish stereotyping in nineteenth century America which utilises literary sources. Mayo calls her study "The Ambivalent Image" and argues that the "basis" of Jewish stereotyping was "a deep ambiguity; a mixture of hatred, fear and attachment." But, in contradictory fashion, Mayo also defines antisemitism as possessing: "a stock of images more deep-seated and protean than does any other form of inter-group hostility known to western man, because it is the summation of self-confirming experience extending over two millennia."<sup>23</sup> These contradictory conceptions of Jewish stereotyping—predicated both on anti-semitism and ambivalence—simply remain unexplained in these works. Esther Panitz, for instance, can argue that antisemitism is

"irrelevant" to her study of the "Images of Jews in English Literature" and, as a result, she usefully analyses sympathetic Jewish stereotypes. However, Panitz still utilizes a mythic view of antisemitism to conclude that:

"Essentially then, while there were some changes in Christian attitudes to Jews in English literature as civilization itself progressed from medieval to modern times, stereotypical thinking concerning Jews still repeated itself with alarming regularity... Just as the ancestors of medieval Jewry were considered representatives of the devil, so in some terrible future yet unborn, their descendants would all coalesce into some universal satanic figure to be called Emanuel Goldstein or by some other comparable nomenclature."<sup>24</sup>

Only Janet Kileen, in a doctoral thesis, conceives of the Jewish stereotype as an ambivalent "Type and Anti-Type" with reference to popular English fiction in the first half of the nineteenth century:

"Whether saint or devil, the Jew is forced to act out a role of categorised behavior: a sense of humanity and normality are denied him. The presentation of 'type' and 'anti-type' can be seen, not as opposites seeking to force opinion in different directions, but as essentially parallel images."

These conclusions are reinforced by Esther Chevalier's study of the Jewish stereotype in English fiction (1864-1876) where Chevalier categorises the avaricious Jewish "type" and the Romanticized "anti-type."<sup>25</sup> Certainly historians of English philosemitism have agreed with Kileen that the stereotype of "the Jew," in philosemitic thinking, is "parallel" with its antisemitic counterpart. For instance, Todd Endelman and David Katz have argued that "'the Jews' [in extreme philosemitism] were little more than the personification of some abstract religious idea or feeling, like the negatively charged symbols of the Beast and the Anti-Christ."<sup>26</sup> Comparative studies of Jewish stereotyping have concurred with this conclusion. Moses Debré, for example, with reference to Jewish stereotyping in nineteenth century French literature, has emphasised the "parallel" images in French antisemitic and philosemitic fiction.<sup>27</sup> However,

for every study that emphasises the ambivalent nature of Jewish stereotyping, another will highlight hostility as an organising principle. Thus, Debré's study is contradicted by E.F. Randell's study of hostile Jewish stereotypes in French literature (1880-1920). And, Mayo is contradicted by Louis Harap's study of "The Image of the Jew in American Literature" which concludes that "...the history of the Jewish character in American literature is also a chapter in the history of antisemitism in the United States." Similarly, Michael Dobkowski's recent study of turn of the century American Jewish stereotyping reinforces Harap's conclusions.<sup>28</sup> As has been already noted, both Klein and Gelber--with reference to English and German fiction--predicate the Jewish stereotype on antisemitic hostility, as do the earliest studies of Jewish stereotyping in English fiction. In fact, three pre-war studies by Edward Calisch (1909), David Philipson (1918) and M.F. Modder (1939) hardly differ in these terms from their post-war counterparts.<sup>29</sup>

However, instead of defining Jewish stereotyping in terms of a unique anti-Jewish hostility, this study will emphasise the links between Jewish stereotyping and other forms of political stereotyping. In these terms, the concept of ambivalence is a useful general link between Jewish stereotyping and, in particular, racial, sexual and class stereotyping. Homi Bhabha, with reference to racial and sexual stereotyping, has recently emphasised ambivalence as the defining feature of these forms of stereotyping. And, similarly, T.E. Perkins in a theoretical discussion of all forms of ideological stereotyping--apart from Jewish stereotyping--has noted ambivalence as a central feature.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, studies of German culture--before the political dominance of National Socialist antisemitism--have begun to seriously qualify a conceptual framework which emphasises the teleology of hostility ending in the Holocaust. In particular,

Steven Aschheim's study has emphasised what he calls the "Ambivalent Heritage" of nineteenth century German-Jewish stereotyping. More recently, Henry Wassermann has confirmed Aschheim's conclusions.<sup>31</sup> In short, in a liberal culture stereotypes do not function simply in terms of naked hostility. That is, Jewish stereotypes, as I will argue in the conclusion to this chapter, were also adopted by mainstream liberal culture to promote the dominant social values of the time. It is the capacity of the "Jew" to become a social and moral symbol that is, therefore, of interest in the bulk of this thesis as opposed to the question of gentile hostility towards Jews.

### Jewish Stereotyping and English Literature

As well as relying on a timeless mythic view of antisemitism for a conceptual framework, studies of the literary Jewish stereotype have also relied on a conceptually similar timeless mythic view of literature; especially English literature. The ahistoricity implicit in such definitions of antisemitism and literature will therefore be shown in this section to reinforce each other's reductive view of Jewish stereotyping. When this point has been made, I will once again be in a position to indicate elements in the studies under consideration which break down this view of stereotyping.

In recent years there has arisen what Tony Bennett has described as "a new concept of 'literature', which shifts it from the terrain of aesthetics to that of politics where it belongs." Catherine Belsey has usefully labelled this new concept as Post-Saussurean which, in short, is a critique of a common-sense definition of literature which still dominates literary studies.<sup>32</sup> As Bennett argues, the designation of texts as "'literature' is not a response to a property that is internal or natural to them but a signification that is bestowed on them from without by the practice of criticism."

By attacking aesthetic theories that "seek to establish the specific nature of the aesthetic mode as a universal and eternal form of cognition" recent critical theory has, therefore, aimed to break down the "conceptual boundaries between the 'literary' and the 'non-literary.'" These boundaries, by definition, "abstract literary texts from the social and cultural processes within which they are inevitably contained, severing the connections which link them to other forms of cultural practice."<sup>33</sup> It would seem logical that the study of Jewish stereotyping in fiction would have emphasised the wider "social and cultural processes" within which literature is "contained" and, in this way, challenge the aesthetic common-sense construction of literature. As Bhabha has argued with reference to "colonial representations" and a Leavisite view of literature:

"The crisis in literary and cultural values that would ensue from a reading based on questions of historical, cultural difference and racial discrimination as constituting meanings that we may read as 'racist' or 'culturally imperialist' or 'neo-colonial,' within the Great Tradition, generally throws such a regime of criticism and culture into disarray."<sup>34</sup>

Studies of Jewish stereotyping, however, instead of throwing the "universal meanings" of this conception of literature "into disarray" have, ironically, been complicit in promoting this definition of literature. As has been shown with reference to the studies of Fisch and Rosenberg, Jewish stereotyping has been conceived of in terms of an ahistorical universal myth that an undefined "literature," from time immemorial, is meant to have drawn upon. By abstracting the Jewish stereotype in this way from other "social and cultural processes" these studies have, paradoxically, reinforced the common-sense values that enabled the promotion of such stereotypes in the first place.<sup>35</sup> This state of affairs has arisen precisely because the Jewish stereotype has only been conceived to "constitute meanings," in Bhabha's terms, within a unique myth. This trans-



ference has meant that the assumed "literariness" of literature has remained intact in the studies under consideration. Naman, in particular, is a good example of this point. Here she concludes:

"One becomes uncomfortably aware of any tendency [in literature] to treat the Jewish character unjustly, or to lock him into preconceived patterns, because it seems that in moral terms, literature has treated the Jew no better than society has. This is disturbing because one has come to expect adherence to justice and truth from literature of the highest artistic standards. Although one may recognise the importance of differentiating between the moral and artistic effects of a novel, one expects a compatibility between the two."

For Naman, literature and society are conceptualised as fundamentally opposed. That is, literature is defined as containing "justice and truth" whilst society—reduced to the antisemitic treatment of Jews—is, by definition, its polar opposite.<sup>36</sup> It is in these terms that Naman has predicated her study of Jewish stereotyping on a false "paradox"—"that a Jewish character in a Victorian novel is at once a product of prejudice and of art." Only if "art" is defined as an essentially separate moral sphere from a non-literary "prejudice" does Naman's "paradox" stand up.<sup>37</sup> Unsurprisingly, Naman's study as a whole concentrates on writers of the "highest artistic standards" and, therefore, she tries to gauge when the "moral" sphere of literature is transgressed by society's pernicious prejudices. Rosenberg is less explicit than Naman in his moralizing, but, like her, he defines literature as an essentially separate sphere from society. For Rosenberg, the "Shylockian" Jewish stereotype "involves little more than the knowledge of the prototype"; that is, Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice." In this way, "history" is explicitly expunged from his work: "a study of the Jew in English fiction... is fundamentally a study of the stasis of thought." Thus, a timeless stereotype and a timeless literature are once again seen as mutually reinforcing. Fisch, more radically, emphasises the "psychological and

theological bearings" of a timeless mythic stereotype and, in these terms, eschews completely any reference to the political and historical.<sup>38</sup> In short, what all of these studies emphasise is a closed view of literature where Jewish stereotyping, paradoxically, has no critical connection with regard to a moral definition of literature. At best, such studies present the Jewish stereotype as a momentary aberration in a supposedly humanising body of texts. More worrying, is that by reinforcing an aesthetic-moral definition of literature such studies leave no room for criticism to discuss the question of stereotyping. Bhabha once again usefully sums up this state of affairs with reference to the "colonial":

"This much vaunted concern for the concrete and particular 'words-on-the-page,' the practical criticism of Scrutiny, denies the cultural and historical basis of the literary, the thing it purports to defend. Consequently it denies the grounds on which to pose the question of the 'colonial' in literary representation."<sup>39</sup>

On the rare occasions when mainstream literary critics do refer to the question of Jewish stereotyping in English literature--usually in letters to literary journals--it is to dismiss it. For instance, when George Steiner refers to Hyam Maccoby's articles on Jewish stereotyping, Geoffrey Grigson's response is to call Maccoby "an ass in a company of asses." Or, on the same letters page, Murray Briggs can argue that such criticism is already "too large" and "one is reluctant to add to a literature that has already made too much of too little..."<sup>40</sup> Perhaps the more representative tone and state of affairs with regard to literary criticism is what Bhabha calls its "act of exclusion" with regard to such areas. The recent collection of criticism on T.S. Eliot's 1920's poems--where Eliot's representative use of the Jewish stereotype is to the fore--is a good example, out of many, of this "act of exclusion." Unsurprisingly, the collection is dominated by Scrutiny criticism which is silent on such

questions. However, there is one point in the book where Robert Graves' and Laura Riding's essay--written in 1927--on Eliot's "Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar" is juxtaposed with F.W. Bateson's essay on the same poem--written in 1970. Both are close critical analyses of the poem but Graves and Riding make explicit the Jewish stereotyping, which is central to an understanding of "Burbank," whilst Bateson by contrast does not even name these explicitly Jewish stereotypes as such. This is symptomatic, I would argue, of an increasingly narrow literary criticism--and definition of culture--whose concerns are bounded by ideological aesthetic-moral priorities.<sup>41</sup> What Graves and Riding indicate is that the question of Jewish stereotyping--in the cultural and historical context of 1927--was not a matter of small importance. Literary criticism, however, has written such history out of its agenda and "abstracted" literary texts from the social and political context which formed them. Ironically, as has been seen, a timeless definition of anti-semitism has been complicit in such an abstraction. One of the main aims of this thesis, therefore, is to return the literary text to the social and political context of which it is a part. Therefore, in these terms, culture is not defined merely as the expression of "high" art nor--the other side of the same coin--as the polar opposite of the political or social. As Edward Said has argued with reference to "Orientalism":

"My idea is that European and American interest in the Orient was political according to some of the obvious historical accounts of it that I have given here, but that it was the culture that created that interest, that acted dynamically along with brute political, economic, and military rationales to make the Orient the varied and complicated place that it obviously was in the field I call Orientalism."<sup>42</sup>

For this study, the "brute" fact of antisemitism in English society is, similarly, mediated through English culture in all of its "varied

and complicated" expressions of Jewish stereotyping. This is because culture, in these terms, consistently creates an "interest" in the Jewish stereotype which is utilised politically as will be shown. This is not a question of the individual writer's perniciousness or antisemitism which are the usual terms in which writers are either identified with or distanced from Jewish stereotyping. Nor is it a question of besmirching the "creative genius" of a writer, such as T.S. Eliot, who incorporated the Jewish stereotype into a work of lasting importance. Whether an individual writer believed in the Jewish stereotype or not, in terms of this understanding of culture, is a massive red-herring. As T.E. Perkins argues with reference to stereotyping in general:

"...stereotypes can be 'held' in two ways. They can be 'held' in the sense that they are 'believed in.' And they can be 'held' in the sense that we know that a stereotype exists about a particular group and what its content is, even though we don't necessarily believe it."<sup>43</sup>

All of the writers whom I will examine "held" the Jewish stereotype in the latter sense of Perkins' typology but only a few exceptions "held" it in the former sense.<sup>44</sup> For this reason, the issue of a particular writer's "belief" in the stereotype avoids the key point. That is, that literature is written within a national framework where the Jewish stereotype is already "known" and an established fact of English culture.<sup>45</sup> It is within the limitations of such "knowledge" that a writer's particular creativity operates.

A central feature in the studies under consideration which is worth distinguishing helps to emphasise this idea of culture. That is, the fact that these studies demonstrate that Jewish stereotyping was a universally popular way of perceiving Jews which permeated all levels of society. Unsurprisingly, in these terms, a large number of studies deal with popular fiction. By definition, the earliest

studies of Jewish stereotyping by Calisch, Philipson and Modder do not utilise the contemporary understanding of literature (as fiction which contains aesthetic merit) but rely on the broader nineteenth century understanding of literature (as all imaginative works of fiction). Only recent studies such as those by Naman and Panitz and, to a lesser extent, Fisch and Rosenberg, concentrate on work which is deemed to be "literary."<sup>46</sup> However, studies by Klein, Chevalier and Kileen all indicate the universally popular appeal of Jewish stereotyping by exhaustive reference to popular fiction in their respective periods of study. Therefore, the very act of confining an analysis of Jewish stereotyping to an aesthetic definition of literature is, I would argue, a distortion of the stereotype's popular character and the extent to which it saturated all levels of English culture. If popular fiction is defined as "fiction which is well-liked by many people"--instead of "inferior" writing which is contrasted with "high" art--then a study of popular fiction can usefully challenge a moral-aesthetic construction of literature.<sup>47</sup> In these terms, studies of Jewish stereotyping which cut across both popular and literary writing can in fact break down the, at best, arbitrary boundaries of what constitutes "literature." If the stereotype is the same in, say, the works of George Du Maurier and Henry James or H.G. Wells and T.S. Eliot or Marie Corelli and D.H. Lawrence, as this study will show, then in what sense is the "literary" and "popular" distinct? Or, at least, in what sense can the specifically literary and social elements be usefully distinguished in James, Eliot and Lawrence? Not that this study will ignore what Edward Said, with reference to "Orientalism," has described as "the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous body of texts constituting a discursive formation like Orientalism."<sup>48</sup> In these terms, if Jewish stereotyping in popular fiction is considered to be

an "anonymous" activity then, certainly, the "determining imprint of individual writers" will be distinguished as a matter of course in this study. However, the "imprint" of an individual writer will only be distinguished in the context of the social and historical function of Jewish stereotyping within English culture. That is, James, Eliot and Lawrence, for instance, are not considered to stand outside of their political milieu because of the individual quality of their writing. That milieu, I will argue, informed their writing in exactly the same way as it informed popular writing. Therefore, the "literariness" of a particular writer will be considered throughout to be of secondary importance. In this way this study hopes to bring together the "literary" and "popular" in English culture and not reinforce their arbitrary separation. My criticism, in these terms, hopes to break down the "act of exclusion" which has been associated with mainstream literary criticism and the question of Jewish stereotyping.

### Jewish Stereotyping and History

So far the ambivalent and popular nature of Jewish stereotyping have been identified as concepts that I would wish to develop and apply to this study as a whole. Clearly, my argument has been to emphasise the historical and political terms in which I believe the concept of Jewish stereotyping should be re-defined. Before developing this argument, therefore, I will briefly examine the idea of history that has been thus far applied to the study of Jewish stereotyping. This can be seen most comprehensively in Modder's standard study of "The Jew in English Literature" and Holmes' work on English antisemitism. It is the reaction to Modder's study, especially by Rosenberg, that has led to the ahistorical definition of Jewish stereotyping in his and subsequent works. That is, in his general

survey of Jewish stereotyping Modder argues that:

"...invariably the poet, the novelist, and the dramatist reflect the attitude of contemporary society in their presentation of the Jewish character, and that the portrayal changes with the economic and social changes of each decade."

Modder's view of history is, therefore, naively Whiggish as he believes the growing liberalism of the nineteenth century inevitably entailed a more sympathetic Jewish stereotype in the modern age:

"As the [nineteenth] century progressed, writers began, as we have seen, to turn to life itself for their models, and swayed, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, by the liberal spirit of the age, to inject something of real humanity into these lay figures, to allow them even some virtues, and to view their faults with some degree of tolerance."<sup>49</sup>

For Modder, "life itself" and the Jewish stereotype are perceived to have an unproblematic--even idealistic--relationship with a "liberal" history directly inspiring a "liberal" stereotype. Modder's self-confessed "optimism" on this question can probably be accounted for by the fact that the book was completed before the lethal nature of European political antisemitism became public knowledge. Moreover, it will become self-evident that the period under discussion in this thesis clearly does not conform to Modder's Whiggish history as it entails, above all, a reaction to the idealistic liberalism which Modder espouses. In reaction to Modder, Rosenberg, as has been noted, simply evokes the "massive durability of a stereotype" to counter this "historical" argument. That is, Rosenberg argues that "literary convention" accounts for the fact that the hostile stereotype reasserts itself by the late nineteenth century. However, as has been argued, and as Chevalier's study has shown, Rosenberg in these terms is polemically ahistorical as he replaces what he calls the "argument from social change" with a framework that "relates the stereotypes and conventions to each other" and thereby ignores history. Chevalier is the first study to have tried to synthesise what

she calls Modder's "thesis" and Rosenberg's "anti-thesis"--that is history and myth--with reference to a specific historical period. Nevertheless, history is hardly present in her own well-intentioned study as she throughout confines her discussion of Jewish stereotyping to the closed literary question of "characterization."<sup>50</sup>

In fact it is Colin Holmes' study of English antisemitism that is the first comprehensive attempt to try to historicise English antisemitism and, by extension, Jewish stereotyping. For Holmes, "hostility to Jews as such"--his definition of antisemitism--is made historical if we look at the rational basis for such hostility. That is, he concludes his study by arguing that antisemitic:

"...conflict occurred within a social context in which images of Jews had already been constructed as a result of previous and, in some cases, ongoing social conflict. This total interaction of circumstances needs to be acknowledged and in taking account of all such influences it has been suggested that the roles and activities of both agents within the conflict situation must be considered... An emphasis has not been laid solely upon the activities of the antisemites. The role of Jews and the social structure of the Jewish community have been treated as important for an understanding of the emerging conflict."<sup>51</sup>

Holmes' "interactionist" framework is an important starting point for any historical understanding of the role of Jewish stereotyping in English society. In particular, his study has argued against a scapegoat theory of antisemitism which "treats Jews as innocent recipients of hostility, whose activities and interests were essentially irrelevant to an understanding of such situations." To be sure, in an earlier theoretical study, Bohdan Zawadzki has argued convincingly against the scapegoat theory of antisemitism precisely because it "...explains only the need for a scapegoat which is universal, yet it does not explain the choice of a particular scapegoat which is specific."<sup>52</sup> Holmes' study emphasises the "roles and activities of both agents within the conflict situation" in a bid to



historicise the specific role of the Jews as a particular scapegoat. Peter Pultzer, similarly, with reference to Nazi Germany, refers to the rational basis for antisemitic propaganda as a "grain of truth":

"The 'big lie,' that propaganda technique about which Hitler was so disarmingly frank, would have the most minimal appeal if it were pure invention, if it were a fabrication from beginning to end. To succeed it needs to be a half-truth, difficult to refute without elaborate logical argument and a vast apparatus of evidence." <sup>53</sup>

However, the debate between the Holmes and Pultzer conception of antisemitism as an explainable distortion of objective history and studies that regard antisemitism as a purely irrational displacement is, to date, still unresolved. Sarah Gordon has recently summarised the key elements in this debate with reference to Nazi Germany and argues that at the very least:

"...to point out objective differences between Germans and Jews is not to imply that Jews somehow 'caused' antisemitism and their own annihilation. This is, of course, patent nonsense, because it assumes that objective differences between Jews and non-Jews were not only necessary, but also sufficient causes of antisemitism."

A number of historians in England, it may be argued, have regarded the anti-Fascist role of British Jews in the 1930's as a "sufficient cause" for creating antisemitism in the British Union of Fascists. This has resulted in similarly unresolved polemics around the question of the historical rationality of antisemitism.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, the rational basis of antisemitism and Jewish stereotyping will now be emphasised in a more general definition which will be applied to the thesis as a whole.

#### Towards a Definition of Jewish Stereotyping

In an attempt to define a concept of Jewish stereotyping which will be applied to the thesis as a whole I will begin by synthesising the terms of the debate which have been outlined so far. That is,

the artificial gulf between scapegoating and interactionism; anti-semitism and stereotyping; myth and history; literature and society; are, I will argue, hollow distinctions. By rethinking such distinctions I wish to eschew the moralizing which has dogged much of this area of study and privileged one or other of these binary oppositions.

The key emphasis in this study can be crudely expressed as follows: that Jewish stereotyping is not primarily mythic but historical and that the Jewish stereotype in literature is not primarily literary but political. This concept of history does not reduce the Jewish stereotype to a distortion of objectivity but, above all, wishes to examine stereotyping as a defining aspect of English culture. Thus, to refer to Jewish stereotyping as "mythic" or "anti-semitic" or "literary" is, by definition, to marginalise and abstract a phenomenon which, I will show, saturates English culture. This is not merely a question of emphasis but, fundamentally, a question of how one conceptualises stereotyping in society.

In short, Jewish stereotypes will only be considered in this study in terms of the dominant values of the wider society. That is, stereotypes are not merely a disparate set of images or arbitrary conventions but, as Perkins argues, they "imply knowledge of a complex social structure." In particular, Perkins emphasises the ideological basis of stereotyping:

"Common sense... contains 'scientific ideas' and 'philosophical currents.' So too do stereotypes and our understanding of their location in systematic worked out ideology, in legislation and so on, is essential to an understanding of how they function ideologically."<sup>55</sup>

Thus, this thesis will describe the adoption by fiction of "scientific ideas" and "philosophical currents" which contain the Jewish stereotype. Stereotyping, therefore, is not abstracted from

its cultural milieu as an "attitude" of sympathy or hostility but, on the contrary, it is the cultural milieu that gives stereotypes their meaning and enables them to function ideologically. In these terms, Jewish stereotyping is defined as a perception of the Jew as other in relation to the dominant cultural values of English society. M.J. Echeruo has labelled such stereotyping as "exocultural" as the Jew as other is not a "part of our own culture"--like a whole range of caricatures and conventions one might think of--but represents a "strange and unique moral and cultural environment."<sup>56</sup> The construction of an "other" in relation to western values receives its most comprehensive treatment in Edward Said's Orientalism which argues that:

"Orientalism is premised upon exteriority, that is, on the fact that the Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West. He is never concerned with the Orient except as the first cause of what he says. What he says and writes, by virtue of the fact that it is said or written, is meant to indicate that the Orientalist is outside the Orient, both as an existential and moral fact."

The "representation" of the Jew as other is comparable with the "representation" of the Orient as other in Said's Orientalism.<sup>57</sup> For my purposes, the concept of ambivalence will be utilised in a bid to understand the durability and popularity of Jewish stereotyping. Not that this use of ambivalence will be synonymous with Fisch's mythic dualism nor in terms of the degree of hostility or sympathy which the Jewish stereotype is supposed to evoke. Instead, it will be considered to be the defining principle of stereotyping in general and Jewish stereotyping in particular. As has been noted, this is not a particularly original contention as the concept of ambivalence is central to a wide range of studies on stereotyping, Jewish stereotyping and histories of Jewish self-perception.<sup>58</sup> Thus, in this study, ambivalence is a central concept precisely because the percep-

tion and representation of the Jew as other by English culture is, above all, a way of defining the nation or "national self." As Fisch argues, for Christian society the "Jew" is "something one has to come to terms with before one can come to terms with oneself." Said has, furthermore, emphasised a related point: "Orientalism is never far from... the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying 'us' Europeans as against all 'those' non-Europeans..." Ambivalence is central to this process because the Jew as other is a means of defining the Christian "national self" in English culture. In existentialist terms, the definition of a self in relation to an other means that the self must "fear and love" the other as a force which created but can also destroy the self.<sup>59</sup> Such is the perception of Jewish creative and destructive power which constitutes the Jewish stereotype. However, this is not merely an existentialist notion. In historical terms, the secular ideologies, which have replaced the ascendancy of Christianity in nineteenth century England, will similarly be seen to perceive the Jew as other in a bid to define the transforming power of their own particular Weltanschauung. That is, I will argue that the Christian moralizing of the Jew as Good--that is potential redeemer of mankind--and Evil--that is the anti-Christ--is given a secular ideological form from the 1870s onwards.<sup>60</sup> In short, the timeless, mythic scapegoat will be seen to be historicised in this study. Where the Jew is represented as Good--the English gentleman or liberal economic man--he is identified with creating the social values that are already "known," in Perkins' term. Where the Jew is represented as Evil--the alien financier or devilish revolutionary--he is defined in opposition to those values. The classical Jewish stereotype, in fact, often ambivalently encompasses both of these self-contradictory aspects in one fictional character. It is the ambivalent nature of the Jewish

stereotype--representing both the self and other--which allows it to be popularly and creatively used in English culture without recourse to naked hostility.

However, in trying to synthesise myth and history in this definition of the Jewish stereotype it would be a mistake to lose sight of the fact that the stereotype only becomes historically important in English society after the 1870s. It is not the mythic power of the stereotype that is of importance in this regard but, above all, its political utilisation by English society. This is a crucial point, otherwise the mythic stereotype--in Fisch's and Rosenberg's terms--is assumed to be self-generating and of equal relevance in all times and places. The specific historical moments of crisis when society displaces its various conflicts and inner contradictions onto a Jewish other will, therefore, be emphasised throughout this study.<sup>61</sup>

The final emphasis in defining the Jewish stereotype concerns its political impact on the socialisation of Jews in English society. Holmes' "interactionist" framework is useful in these terms as it notes that the "activities and interests" of Jews are "not irrelevant" to an understanding of Jewish stereotyping. That the period of this study is one of mass Jewish immigration to England should, therefore, not be underestimated. For this reason two chapters of the thesis will examine the internalisation of the Jewish stereotype in the Anglo-Jewish novel and in Anglo-Jewry's official institutions. This will prove to be a salutary perspective as Jewish stereotyping in English culture imposed what Said has described as "limitations on thought and action" on Jewish self-identity. This is particularly relevant to the cultural assimilation of the Jewish immigrant.<sup>62</sup> For British Jewry, however, the self-contradictory nature of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype is sharply focussed by the

Anglo-Jewish novel, as the writer will be seen to struggle with an ambivalent identity which defines him or her as both a good acceptable self and an evil unacceptable other. What "interactionism" ignores in this respect is what Said has described as the "relative strength" in power between, in this case, Jewry and the English state.<sup>63</sup> The ambivalent Jewish stereotype is political and coercive in these terms because the only alternative (for Jews) to the good Jewish self is the evil Jewish other. This concentration on the material results of Jewish stereotyping is crucial because in these terms Jewish stereotyping is not "abstracted" from reality--as literature, myth or antisemitism--but, in its internalisation by Anglo-Jewry and its utilisation by English culture, it is a determining part of reality. That is, in England, as opposed to Germany, a liberal consensus remained stable enough to utilise the Jewish stereotype in its own terms.

To establish the historical and political nature of the literary Jewish stereotype, I have concentrated on the period 1875-1914. The first half of this thesis is, therefore, a chronological account of the modernisation of the Jewish stereotype after the 1870s, chapter two concentrates primarily on the 1870s, chapter three on the 1880s and 1890s, chapter four on the 1900s and chapter five on the period 1911-1914. After this chronological account, the last six chapters of the thesis discuss the period 1875-1914 as a whole. The concluding chapter generalizes from the detailed discussion of this particular period in history and relates post-First World War Jewish stereotypes to their pre-War counterparts. Throughout the thesis, using the example of individual writers, I have also stressed the links between pre and post-War Jewish stereotyping.

## NOTES

1. Anti-semitism in British Society, 1876-1939, (London, 1979) p. 114 to which I am indebted.
2. Studies written in the last two decades on Jewish stereotyping in modern English fiction which I shall refer too are, in chronological order: Edgar Rosenberg, From Shylock to Svengal: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction (California, 1960); Estelle Chevelier, "Characterization of the Jew in the Victorian Novel, 1864-1876" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Emory University, 1962); Charlotte Klein, "The Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama 1830-1933" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1967); Harold Fisch, The Dual Image: A Study of the Jew in English Literature (London, 1971); J.E.M. Kileen, "Type and Anti-Type: A Study of the Figure of the Jew in Popular Literature of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1972); Graham St. John Stott, "Under Gentile Eyes: Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth Century Novel of England and America" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1978); Mark Howard Gelber, "Aspects of Literary Antisemitism: Charles Dickens' 'Oliver Twist' and Gustav Freytag's 'Soll und Haben'" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1980); Anne Aresty Naman, The Jew in the Victorian Novel: Some Relationships Between Prejudice and Art (New York, 1980); Esther Panitz, The Alien in Their Midst: Images of Jews in English Literature (London, 1981). I shall refer to comparative studies, studies of individual authors and of Anglo-Jewish fiction throughout the thesis. Only one article has been written directly on this thesis. This is by David Mirsky on "The Fictive Jew in the Literature of England, 1890-1920" in the Samuel K. Mirsky Memorial Volume: Studies in Jewish Law, Philosophy and Literature (Jerusalem, 1970), (ed.) Gershon Appel. See note 50 for comment on this. Other articles on Jewish stereotyping will be referred to throughout the thesis.
3. Naman, op. cit., p. ix.
4. Fisch, op. cit., p. 12.
5. Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 10-13 and p. 186.
6. For examples of a mythic interpretation of Jewish stereotyping see the work of Hyam Maccoby, most recently, The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt (London, 1982), Chapters 11-13 and Lionel Trilling's "The Changing Myth of the Jew" written in 1931 but only recently published in Commentary (August 1978), pp. 24-34.
7. Alvin Rosenfeld, "What to do about Literary Antisemitism", Midstream, 24, No. 10 (1978), pp. 44-50. For the representative nature of this article see Gelber, op. cit., Chapter 1.

8. Klein, op. cit., p. 5.
9. Naman, op. cit., p. 49 and Chapter 2.
10. Gelber, op. cit., p. 1 and Chapter 1 passim refers to this debate in full.
11. The most extreme statement in these terms is by Max Geltman on "The Poetry and Politics of Hate," Midstream, Vol. 22, No. 6, pp. 57-62. In England John Harrison's The Reactionaries: A Study of the Anti-Democratic Intelligentsia (New York, 1966) discusses W.B. Yeats, Wyndham Lewis, Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot and D.H. Lawrence in terms of the rise of European Fascism. See his Introduction, in particular, for this emphasis. Robert Alter in his "Eliot, Lawrence and the Jews," Commentary (October 1970), pp. 81-86 criticises Harrison in these terms. John Morris in his "Fascist Ideas in English Literature," Patterns of Prejudice, Vol. 13, Nos. 4-5 (July-September, 1979) follows Harrison's emphasis.
12. For references to such apologetics see my discussion of Chesterton, Kipling, Buchan, T.S. Eliot and Pound.
13. Stott, op. cit., p. 11 and Chapter 1 passim.
14. David Feldman, [Historiographical Review (1983), Vol. 26, No. 1] "There was an Englishman, An Irishman, and A Jew... Immigrants and Minorities in Britain," p. 196. For a more comprehensive discussion on this subject see Geoffrey G. Field's "Antisemitism with the Boots Off: Recent Research on England," Wiener Library Bulletin, Special Issue (1982).
15. Gisela Lebzelter, Political Antisemitism in England, 1918-1939 (London, 1978), p. 1. Holmes' work will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.
16. See Field, op. cit., passim for references to Lebzelter in these terms and p. 43 in particular.
17. Gelber, op. cit., p. 19.
18. Yehuda Bauer, The Holocaust in Historical Perspective (Seattle, 1978), p. 31. for a recent account of "Holocaust" as a general category see his "The Place of the Holocaust in Contemporary History" in Studies in Contemporary Jewry (1984), Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 210-224.
19. Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (Cleveland, 1958), p. 7 and Chapter 1 passim.



20. For the complex relationship between (stereotypical) thought and (antisemitic) action see Charles Husband (ed.) 'Race' in Britain - Continuity and Change (London, 1982), Introduction, passim and T.E. Perkins "Rethinking Stereotypes" in Ideology and Cultural Production (London, 1979) (ed.) Barrett, Corrigan, Kuhn and Wolff, pp. 135-159 passim.
21. "Antisemitism in the Gilded Age: A Reinterpretation," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 43 (1956/57), pp. 562-564 and passim.
22. Fisch, op. cit., pp. 13-15.
23. L.A. Mayo, "The Ambivalent Image: The Perception of the Jew in Nineteenth Century America" (Unpublished PhD, City University of New York, 1977), pp. 2-3 and Introduction, passim. See also Rosenberg, op. cit., Chapters 3 and 7 and Naman, op. cit., Chapter 5.
24. Panitz, op. cit., p. 19 and p. 170.
25. Kileen, op. cit., Introduction and Chevalier, op. cit., passim.
26. Todd M. Endelman, The Jews of Georgian England 1714-1830 (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 56 and, similarly, David Katz, Philosemitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655 (Oxford, 1982), p. 244. I owe this reference to Tony Kushner.
27. See Moses Debré, The Image of the Jew in French Literature (1800-1908) (New York, 1970), Chapters 1-3 and 4-9.
28. E.F. Randell, "The Jewish Character in the French Novel 1870-1914" (Unpublished PhD, Harvard, 1940), Michael Dobkowski, "Ideological Antisemitism in America, 1877-1927" (Unpublished PhD, New York University, 1976) and Louis Harap, The Image of the Jew in American Literature from Early Republic to Mass Immigration (Pennsylvania, 1974).
29. Edward Calisch, The Jew in English Literature, as Subject and as Author (Richmond, 1909), David Philipson, The Jew in English Fiction (Cincinnati, 1911) and M.F. Modder, The Jew in the Literature of England, (Philadelphia, 1939) all predicate Jewish stereotyping on antisemitic hostility.
30. See Perkins, "Rethinking Stereotypes," op. cit., passim., and, in particular, Homi Bhabha's "The Other Question..." in Screen, Vol. 24, No. 6 (November-December, 1983), pp. 18-36. Edward Said's Orientalism (London, 1978) is a self-styled "strange, secret sharer of Western antisemitism" (p.27).

31. Steven Aschheim's Brothers and Strangers (Wisconsin, 1982), Chapter 2 and passim. Henry Wassermann, "The Fliegende Blätter as a Source for the Social History of German Jewry," Leo Baeck Institute Year Book, XXVIII (1983), pp. 93-138. See also Geoff Eley's review article on "Holocaust History" in London Review of Books, (3-17 March 1982), pp. 6-9. George Mosse in his "The Image of the Jew in German Popular Literature: Felix Dahn and Gustav Freytag" points to the ambivalent Jewish stereotype in nineteenth century Germany. This is collected in his Germans and Jews (London, 1971), Chapter 3 passim.
32. Tony Bennett's Formalism and Marxism (London, 1979), p. 3 and Chapter 1 passim and Catherine Belsey's Critical Practice (London, 1980) passim are useful summaries of the contemporary critique of "literature."
33. Bennett, op. cit., pp. 10-15.
34. Homi Bhabha, "Representation and the Colonial Text: A Critical Exploration of Some Forms of Mimeticism" collected in The Theory of Reading (Brighton, 1984) (ed.) Frank Glover Smith, p. 102.
35. Ibid., for instance emphasises Leavis' ethno-centric definition of the English language as "formed in a genuinely national culture... rooted in the soil," cited p. 103.
36. Naman, op. cit., p. 206. For a short and accessible critique of the separation of "literature" and "society" see Raymond Williams' "Literature in Society" (his emphasis) collected in Contemporary Approaches to English Studies (London, 1977) (ed.) Hilda Schiff, pp. 24-37.
37. Naman, op. cit., p. 203. For the compatibility of "art" and "prejudice" see George Steiner's Language and Silence (London, 1967) and, more recently, M.J. Echeruo's The Conditioned Imagination (London, 1978).
38. Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 188-9 and Fisch, op. cit., Preface.
39. Bhabha, "Representations and the Colonial Text," op. cit., p. 101 (his emphasis).
40. See the exchange of letters in The Listener from 22 April-24 June 1971, in reaction to George Steiner's In Bluebeard's Castle (London, 1971). Grigson and Biggs wrote on 17 June. Steiner refers to a similar long exchange of letters in the TLS in reaction to John Harrison's The Reactionaries.

41. See 'Prufrock,' 'Gerontion,' 'Ash Wednesday and Other Shorter Poems (London, 1978) (ed.) B.C. Southam, pp. 177-181 and pp. 182-186. Bateson's essay can be considered representative as no contemporary mainstream criticism of T.S. Eliot's poetry explicitly names his Jewish stereotypes as such. See my discussion of T.S. Eliot's poems in Chapter 11. Bhabha, op. cit., makes out the case for aesthetic-moral priorities being "ideological" in these terms.
42. Said, op. cit., p. 12.
43. Perkins, op. cit., p. 145 (my emphasis).
44. The "exceptions" are Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton. For this reason they are the only writers in the thesis that shall be discussed explicitly in terms of political antisemitism. Echeruo's study is relevant in this context, op. cit., p. 14.
45. It should, of course, be stressed that "culture" in these terms is not merely bounded by the written word. However, as Mayo's study demonstrates, for instance, other forms of "culture" simply replicate the Jewish stereotype in their own medium.
46. Raymond Williams' Keywords, (Glasgow, 1976), is a useful account of these distinctions.
47. Ibid. again distinguishes definitions of "popular" in these terms. Examples of popular fiction challenging an aesthetic-moral definition of literature can be found in Stuart Laing's "Making and Breaking the Novel Tradition" in F. Glover Smith (ed.), The Theory of Reading (Brighton, 1984), pp. 223-244.
48. Said, op. cit., p. 23.
49. Modder, op. cit., p. vii and p. 351. H. Butterfield in his The Whig Interpretation of History (London, 1931) first named the idea of inevitable progress as "Whiggish."
50. For a critique of the use of "characterization" in this context see Bhabha, op. cit., passim. David Mirsky's article on the period 1890-1920 also discusses the Jewish stereotype in terms of "characterization" and thereby similarly eschews the historical and political.
51. Holmes, op. cit., p. 231-232.
52. Ibid., pp. 30-31 and Bohdan Zawadzki, "Limitations of the Scapegoat Theory of Prejudice" in The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (Vol. 43, April 1948, No. 2), p. 132 and pp. 127-141 passim.

53. Peter Pultzer, The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria (New York, 1964), p. 15. See Richard Levy's The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties of Imperial Germany (New Haven, 1975), p. 6 and passim for a rejection of Pultzer's interpretation.
54. Sarah Gordon, Hitler, Germans and the "Jewish Question" (Princeton, 1984), p. 44 and Chapter 1 passim. For a discussion of this debate in terms of English history see British Fascism (ed.) Kenneth Lunn and Richard C. Thurlow (London, 1980), passim and Chapters 1, 5 and 7 in particular.
55. Perkins, op. cit., p. 155.
56. Echeruo, op. cit., pp. 12-13 and Chapter 1 passim is useful in these terms.
57. Said, op. cit., pp. 20-21 and 27.
58. See notes 30 and 31 for references to these studies.
59. Said, op. cit., p. 7 and Fisch, op. cit., p. 13. The classical existentialist study of antisemitism is J.P. Sartre's Antisemite and Jew (New York, 1948).
60. See Chapter 11 for a discussion of this theme.
61. See the next chapter, in particular, for this.
62. Aschheim, op. cit., is relevant in this context. See also Said, op. cit., pp. 3-6 and Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis.
63. Said, op. cit., usefully relates political power to a particular stereotype in his Introduction, pp. 1-28.

## CHAPTER TWO

### JEWISH STEREOTYPING AND MODERNITY:

#### ANTHONY TROLLOPE AND THE LATE 1870s

In my introduction to this thesis I have rejected a static concept of stereotyping for a view of stereotyping which I argue can be applied to history and politics. By choosing the years 1875-1914 as the period under discussion--years of major social, political and economic upheaval--I hope to show how the history and politics of a given period do shape and form its stereotypes. Confirming the radical "transformation" which took place in this period, Richard Shannon has argued that during the years 1865-1915, Britain was "transformed more swiftly and more profoundly than in any other comparable era":

"British society became urbanised and suburbanised; secularised and democratised; general assumptions about social relationships and politically legitimate behavior shifted from the basis of vertical hierarchical groupings to stratified classes: in a word, it became 'modern'."<sup>1</sup>

With reference to the question of literature and modernity in this period, Malcolm Bradbury has similarly argued that after the 1870s--with the "increased momentum" of the "industrializing, centralizing and democratizing forces"--it was possible:

"...for men to see themselves as the first waves of the coming human type, living out lives of change, pre-figuring a future in which urban living, expanding national growth, accelerating scientific advance and some sort of collectivist social pattern were part of the logical sequence of events--utopia or dystopia."<sup>2</sup>

It is, in short, the relationship between Jewish stereotyping and modernity that is of concern in this chapter. In other words, I am interested in the association of the Jewish stereotype with a new and changing mass society. In particular, I shall examine the way

that popular modern ideologies utilised the Jewish stereotype to represent Jews as "the coming human type." The reaction to modernity, however, was ambiguous and was commonly expressed, as Bradbury emphasises, in terms of both dream and nightmare; utopia and dystopia. That modernity was consistently perceived in terms of such extreme opposites--as will become self-evident--has been explained by Martin Weiner as "The Janus Face of Modern English Culture." According to Weiner, the social conflict caused by the industrial revolution was "never clearly resolved" by English culture but was: "internalized within the compromise that emerged: a new dominant bourgeois culture bearing the imprint of the old aristocracy." By the late 1870s, the tensions within this compromise "culture of containment"--in Weiner's phrase--was reflected in:

"...anxieties and discontents surrounding the idea of material progress, and in the emotions laden onto the cultural symbol of England as a garden."<sup>3</sup>

The ambivalent Jewish stereotype, I will argue, became a perfect symbol for this continuing sense of crisis with regard to industrialisation and material progress. The Jew could be stereotyped as both the apotheosis of the liberal bourgeois man and, at the same time, the very opposite of an aristocratic rural England. It was this central ambiguity within English culture that made the Jewish stereotype such a potent symbol on either side of the cultural--and political--divide. This I will now demonstrate with reference to Matthew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy.

### Matthew Arnold and the Crisis of Victorian Liberalism

By the 1870s there was what Shannon has called a "general crisis of Victorianism" within the liberal intelligentsia. According to Shannon, the High Victorian liberal consciousness--as it matured in

the 1850s and 60s--had been an "equilibrium or accommodation of contending forces--of religion and science; of aristocracy and democracy; of capital and labour; of city and country; of art and nature; and the belief that these forces would eventually resolve itself into a coherence of true reconciliation and harmony."<sup>4</sup> The crisis of Victorianism can be crudely summarised as the self-evident failure by the 1870s of the achievement of such an equilibrium as postulated by this idealist High Victorian liberalism. Fears of a society splitting apart were reinforced by the growing realisation of Britain's relative decline as a Great Power during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Geoffrey Searle, in particular, has emphasised a loss of confidence in liberal constitutional practice which was first anticipated by "a new mood of doubt appearing during the 1865-1875 period..."<sup>5</sup> This is certainly true of the imaginative literature of this period. It is not insignificant that a whole succession of invasion scare stories, beginning with George Chesney's popular Battle of Dorking (1871), began to express such fears a decade before--and without reference too--mass Jewish immigration into England. In fact, Bernard Porter has identified the 1870s as the beginning of the end of the High Victorian liberal concept of the "right of asylum" for refugees into England.<sup>6</sup> The Great Depression--beginning in 1873--reinforced this sense of liberal uncertainty. And British Imperialism--though still rapidly expanding--was, according to R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, now proceeding from a defensive recognition of waning power as much as anything else. Because of this sense of crisis concerning the liberal promise of inevitable progress, Searle has argued that the 1870s resulted in the first faltering steps to define an alternative theory and practice of government which would promote greater National Efficiency.<sup>7</sup> In short, the 1870s began a radical questioning and restructuring of the

High Victorian synthesis of the previous decades which was to be a central feature of British social criticism and the literature of the period 1875-1914. Moreover, new "homogenizing" and modernizing visions--to accommodate in particular the recently enfranchised of the 1867 and 1884 Reform Bills--were constructed in this period both as a critique of the previous liberal synthesis and as a means by which the new realities of a fully industrialised and urbanised mass society could be comprehended. The utilisation of the Jewish stereotype by such "homogonizing" visions cannot be understood, therefore, without reference to this crisis of Victorian liberalism. That is, the Jewish stereotype was reconstructed in terms of modernity at this time precisely because English culture was itself undergoing this reconstruction. Matthew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy is a key example of this process.

Culture and Anarchy published in 1869 was written in the wake of the 1867 Reform Bill but its impact on Victorian England came with its republication in a popular edition in 1875. It has been described as the "prime social text of the new English ruling class of the later nineteenth century, for it provided more persuasively than anything else the intellectual basis upon which the aristocracy and bourgeoisie could adopt a common style."<sup>8</sup> This "common style" can be crudely summarised in terms of Weiner's "culture of containment." That is, Culture and Anarchy is an explicit attempt by Arnold to synthesise the "Hebraic" bourgeoisie and the "Hellenistic" aristocracy within English culture.<sup>9</sup> Arnold's use of Heine's distinction of the "Hebraic" and "Hellenistic" forces of history (164) in this context is, I think, of lasting importance for the rest of the thesis. Arnold's stereotype of the contemporary bourgeoisie as sectarian, visionless, materialist "Hebraisers" is a label that sticks. In particular, Arnold's association of a Hebraic



"strictness of conscience" (165) and "obedience" to capital (165-166, and Chapter 5) with social "anarchy" is a metaphor that will be utilised by many writers under discussion.<sup>10</sup> It is in these terms that the "Hebraism" of the contemporary bourgeoisie--stemming from Puritanism--was, in Arnold's view, in urgent need of "Hellenization." Only by synthesising the ideals of "Hellenism"--rooted as I will show in the Aristocratic racial character--with a bourgeois "Hebraism" will a truly homogeneous national culture emerge. In fact, in the one passage in Culture and Anarchy where Arnold refers to Jews as a people--as opposed to a historical metaphor--it is to emphasise the "essential unity of man" as symbolised by the racial assimilation of the "Hellenic" English nation of "Indo-European stock" with the "Hebrew people." In other words, for the first time, the Jewish racial other is utilised by Arnold to represent the potential fruits of a modernizing culture:

"Science has now made visible to everybody the great and pregnant elements which lie in race, and in how signal a manner they make the genius and history of an Indo-European people vary from those of a Semitic people. Hellenism is of Indo-European growth, Hebraism is of Semitic growth; and we English, a nation of Indo-European stock, seem to belong naturally to the movement of Hellenism. But nothing more strongly marks the essential unity of man, than the affinities that can be perceived, in this point or that, between members of one family of peoples and members of another. And no affinity of this kind is more strongly marked than that likeness in the strength and prominence of the moral fibre, which notwithstanding immense elements of difference, knits in some special sort the genius and history of us English... to the genius and history of the Hebrew people" (173-174).

Here the ambivalent Jewish stereotype, for the first time, is expressed in a popular and modern vocabulary by Arnold. On the one hand, the dark dystopian side of the stereotype perceives a parochial materialist Hebraism as other to the English racial character--or Hellenism. On the other hand, the bright utopian side of the stereotype emphasises the assimilation of the Jewish racial other into the

English nation so that culture--"the essential unity of man"--can be achieved. To this end, it is worth noting that Arnold believed that only the "aliens" of society could bring about such a homogeneous national culture. In Arnold's view, only "aliens" were "led not by their class spirit, but by a general humane spirit, by the love of human perfection" (146). Arnold's popular appeal to a "spirit" above classes is worth emphasising because of its disillusionment with parliamentary practice and its resultant transference of politics onto "the nation": "it may be truly averred that at the present juncture the centre of movement [for culture] is not in the Houses of Commons. It is in the fermenting mind of the nation..." After the 1870s, whilst the vocabulary of race and nation could utilise the Jewish stereotype in terms of modern antisemitism, it is worth noting, at this stage, Arnold's use of this vocabulary in favour of a progressive liberal state.<sup>11</sup> That is, only the complete rejection of capitalism and modernity--and therefore of Hebraism-- would have resulted in the reconstruction of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype in terms of modern antisemitism.<sup>12</sup> English liberalism, however, was able to reconstruct and accommodate the desirable elements of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype as a powerful symbol of Victorian England's utopian potential.

Samuel Butler's Erewhon (1872) is a good example of this bright-utopian-use of the Jewish stereotype. Butler utilises the mythology of the Second Coming--which associates a Jewish return to Palestine with the Messianic era--to speculate on whether his utopian 'Erewhon' was made up of the "lost ten tribes of Israel awaiting the final return to Palestine" (75). By the end of the novel, these speculations are confirmed. Butler's narrator makes up a "business prospectus" to pay for his trip to 'Erewhon' and he tells us that:

"..I would advise that no mention should be made of the fact that the Erewhonians are the lost tribes. The discovery is one of absorbing interest to myself, but it is of a sentimental rather than a commercial value, and business is business" (256).

In this context, it is significant, as Basil Willey notes, that the Rothschilds are perceived by Butler as "the most astonishing organisms that the world has ever yet seen."<sup>13</sup> Butler in Erewhon therefore argues in 'The Book of Machines' that "none but millionaires possessed the full complement of limbs with which mankind could become incorporate" (224); that is fully evolved. For Butler, obtaining wealth was simply a "higher degree of evolution" and hence the Erewhonians, in Butler's world, could be associated with a biblical Jewry that has racially survived. The association with Jews and national progress was reinforced by George Eliot in this period who explicitly wanted to name the "specific affinities of disposition between our own race and the Jewish" in Daniel Deronda.<sup>14</sup> Rather like Disraeli's self-promotion in his novels, progress itself was being transferred at this time onto the Jewish other. In Eliot's view, political idealism, therefore, lay not within contemporary parliamentary activity but within Jewish nationalism. Similarly, Socialists would associate Jewish assimilation with the appearance of a non-capitalist socialist world state; Imperialists would promote the stereotype of the Jewish financier as a symbol of Empire and world order; Liberals would perceive the Jewish immigrant as the perfect economic man; and Social Darwinists would emphasise the racial assimilation of Jews as a symbol of National Efficiency.<sup>15</sup> The key point to emphasise at this stage, is the extent that the Jewish stereotype by the 1870s was being popularised and modernized as a symbol of morality by a liberal culture that was itself searching for a new vocabulary to understand the modern world.

### The Jewish Stereotype and Modernity: The Political Context

Just as the bright utopian aspect of the stereotype could be utilised in favour of modernity, its darker dystopian aspect was perceived to embody everything that was feared about an industrialised and urbanised society. The Jewish stereotype, in these terms, became the moral opposite of an ordered past which was evoked as a racially prescribed aristocratic rural England.<sup>16</sup> The vocabulary of race and nation from this perspective was utilised to express an inward-looking reaction to a "Hebraised" modernity which was perceived as alien to the "Hellenic" English nation. This is the message, as I will show, of Trollope's novels written in the 1870s. Charlotte Klein is therefore correct to conclude that after the 1870s "we can discern a real transformation of the character" of the dark Jewish stereotype in Victorian fiction:

"The general trend is that up to the 1870s the Jewish antagonist in the end ignominiously disappears from the scene, virtue is rewarded and vice punished and a feeling of security and relief prevails because the villains have been unmasked and triumphantly defeated... There is in the following decades a gradual transformation; either the Jew inflicts irreparable damage to the gentile world before he is with difficulty ejected; or remains victorious in the end."<sup>17</sup>

Certainly there is a direct relationship, in Klein's terms, between the modernization of the dark Jewish stereotype in English fiction and the formation in the late 1870s of modern antisemitism. Jacob Katz has described the years 1873-1879 as "the incubation period of political and social antisemitism" in Europe. Colin Holmes, similarly, has identified 1876 as the beginning of modern antisemitism in England.<sup>18</sup> In particular, Holmes has shown that the dark Jewish stereotype was utilised politically by Liberal opponents of Disraeli's foreign policy. No other question in living memory was said by its contemporaries to have "so deeply excited English people,

moved their passions so thoroughly and produced such profound divisions and rancorous animosity" than Disraeli's Eastern Question of 1876-78.<sup>19</sup> Gladstone's "Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East" sold 200,000 copies in September 1876 and transformed English politics into a moral crusade against Disraeli's support of the Ottoman Empire. According to Robert Blake, "Victorian religious and ethical sensitivity was at its apogee" in this period.<sup>20</sup> As the first English Prime Minister to be born a Jew, Disraeli's refusal to condemn outside of Parliament the Turkish massacres of Bulgarian Christians was met with the stereotype of Disraeli as a "Jew premier" whose "Hebrew flashiness" was leading England into an immoral foreign policy.<sup>21</sup> For instance, Gladstone in this period said in private that "Disraeli was mainly influenced by Judaic sympathies" and that he "hated Christian liberty." In fact, a great many public figures of this time who opposed Disraeli's policies used a similar vocabulary.<sup>22</sup> In particular, by the spring of 1877 the Russians and Turks went to war and with the Russians advancing on Constantinople by the end of that year the likelihood of British involvement against Russia became stronger. In this context, Goldwin Smith, a professor of Modern History and a long standing political enemy of Disraeli, wrote that: "had England been drawn into this conflict, it would have been in some measure a Jewish war, waged with British blood to uphold the objects of Jewish sympathy or to avenge Jewish wrongs."<sup>23</sup> Gladstone's moralizing of English politics meant that the Jewish stereotype could for the first time be popularly utilised in a modern political context as a dark symbol of evil. It was the popular use of the dark dystopian aspect of the stereotype by Disraeli's political opponents that, in these terms, was the legacy of the Eastern Question. After 1878, a popular and radical anti-war rhetoric was established that would utilise the Jewish stereotype at key

moments of Imperial crisis.<sup>24</sup> As Hugh Cunningham has shown, the Conservative Party for its part similarly popularised the vocabulary of race and nation at this time with an organised "Jingoistic" attack on Gladstone and his supporters as "traitors." After the late 1870s, patriotism—in its new form of Jingoism—was, in Cunningham's words, "firmly identified with Conservatism, militarism, royalism and racialism" as opposed to Liberalism.<sup>25</sup> However, Cunningham is wrong to suppose that Conservative Jingoism was automatically antisemitic. In fact, Disraeli's consistent use of the bright utopian aspect of the Jewish stereotype throughout his life—along with subsequent uses of this stereotype by Jingoistic Imperialists—would indicate a more complex assessment.<sup>26</sup> The picture that emerges is not one where the Jew in England becomes universally a symbol of evil as opposed to the "patriotic" Englishman. Instead, I have argued, it is the ambivalent stereotype of the Jew as a symbol of morality—of both good and evil—that is popularised in this period. This is understandable in a liberal culture which itself was radically divided and in need of new moral absolutes. Thus, Disraelian Jingoism could utilise the Rothschilds and subsequent Jewish financiers as a symbol of those that were upholding Britain's Imperial world order in the East and, simultaneously, accuse the Liberals of being "traitors" for opposing these interests. For their part, Liberals were to accuse Disraeli of operating a sinister [that is Jewish] Tory foreign policy deliberately designed to stifle liberty and progress."<sup>27</sup> It is the double-edged quality of the Jewish stereotype as a morality figure which was utilised at this time by those promoting the vocabulary of race and nation on either side of the political divide. It is in this context that the novels of Anthony Trollope will now be examined as an important example of the first English novelist to anticipate the popular

anti-Disraelian rhetoric of the time. However, it is worth recalling for a moment that at the same time as Trollope was writing his novels utilising the dark dystopian aspect of the Jewish stereotype, George Eliot was writing and researching Daniel Deronda which utilised the bright utopian aspect of the same stereotype. What both writers have in common is their use of the Jewish stereotype as a moral symbol whose presence is perceived to represent a power that can transform England for better or for worse.<sup>28</sup>

### From Convention to Modernity: The Novels of Anthony Trollope

As Charlotte Klein has argued, "as far as the Jew is concerned, the novels of Trollope announce a new era."<sup>29</sup> More than any other novelist of his time, Trollope combines a long-standing hatred of Disraeli with an increased willingness during the 1870s to utilise the fictional Jew as a symbol of the evils of modernity.<sup>30</sup> Trollope's fiction spans most of the second half of the nineteenth century. Because of this, the shift in perception--from a conventional to a modern utilisation of the Jewish stereotype--can now be highlighted. That is, by the 1870s, the dark Jewish stereotype is perceived by Trollope to have moved from a conventional and limited social function as "usurer" into the mainstream of society. In particular, in The Way We Live Now (1875) and The Prime Minister (1876), the conventional usurer-figure is represented as something capable of dominating and irreversibly changing the whole of society. In other words, by 1876, Fagin has become Ferdinand Lopez. To be sure, as John Halperin has shown, Trollope's novels are: "full of obnoxious and greedy Jews--most of them moneylenders--from The Three Clerks (1858) to Mr. Scarborough's Family (1880)."<sup>31</sup> However, what I think should be stressed at this stage is not the continuity of such stereotyping but, more importantly, the discontinuity that the

changing social, economic and political circumstances of the 1870s bring in their wake. In general terms, supporting this emphasis, Bradbury has argued that: "what seems to be at the centre of late Victorian intellectual ferment is the conviction that the patterns of nineteenth-century change have produced a new environment needing a different order of analysis."<sup>32</sup> More specifically, Shannon's High Victorian "equilibrium or accommodation of contending forces" in the 1850s and 1860s applies similarly to Jewish-Gentile relations at this time with British Jewry obtaining civic and political emancipation in 1858. However, by the 1870s, the break-down of this High Victorian liberal equilibrium applied equally to Jewish emancipation. In particular, the liberal synthesis that designated Jews as Englishmen of the mosaic persuasion by the late 1870s needed a "different order of analysis." This happened not least because of the increasingly large influx of "unemancipated" Jewish immigrants into England from Eastern Europe whose presence "produced a new environment" which undercut this High Victorian Jewish identity.<sup>33</sup> Certainly, the rise of modern antisemitism cannot be understood without reference to a backlash against Jewish emancipation and the liberal verities embodied in this act.<sup>34</sup> For instance, Goldwin Smith, although himself a political Liberal, was at pains to rewrite the basic assumptions of Jewish emancipation and insist on Jewish racial exclusiveness as proof that "genuine" Jews could not be patriots.<sup>35</sup> The Liberal imperatives of Jewish emancipation--that Jews should at least outwardly assimilate into the majority--were, by the 1870s, being publicly challenged. This is demonstrated by Smith's insistence on a Jewish "race":

"The secret of Lord Beaconsfield's [that is Disraeli's] life lies in his Jewish blood... Certainly a century and a quarter of residence in England on the part of his ancestors and himself has left little trace on the mind and character of Lord Beaconsfield. He is in almost every essential ...a Jew."<sup>36</sup>



To be sure, Smith was aware that his argument was merely a hostile inversion of Disraeli's belief in Jewish racial superiority.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the implications of Smith's attack were that Jews in general--because they were characterised by racial exclusivity--were unassimilable and a threat to British society. This shift in perspective, I will now show, was anticipated in Trollope's fiction.

Whilst it is a chronological over-simplification, it is useful, I think, to regard Trollope's fictional Jews as the literary equivalent of Goldwin Smith's principled attacks on Disraeli as a Jewish racial other. Like Smith, Trollope had been vehemently attacking Disraeli from a Whiggish Liberal standpoint since the 1850s. Moreover, whilst Smith refrained from mentioning Disraeli's Jewishness until after 1870, Trollope's fiction had no such political constraints. In Barchester Towers (1857), for instance, Trollope alludes to "the Jewish family Sidonia"--a clear reference to Disraeli's romantic fictional persona--and refers to the head of this family as "a dirty little old man... He refused to leave until he got paid a bill..." (72). And, in The Bertrams (1858) published in the year that British Jewry were legally allowed to sit in Parliament, Trollope comments bitterly-- "Let the people want what they will, Jew senators, cheap corn, vote by ballot, no property qualifications, or anything else, the Tories will carry it for them if the Whigs cannot." In Trollope's words, political "dishonesty" or "expediency" and Jewish emancipation--"Jew senators"--are for the first time explicitly associated. Halperin's description of Trollope's Whiggish politics as "political liberalism and temperamental conservatism" in this context is particularly apt.<sup>38</sup> However, whilst Trollope in the next decade was frequently to evoke the Jewish usurer-figure in his novels, the physical description of such carica-

tures, by definition, signalled their moral and social limitations.

Thus, Mr. Levy in Can You Forgive Her? (1864) is:

"...a dark man, with sharp eyes, set very near to each other in his head, with a beaked nose, thick at the bridge, and a black moustache but no beard" (628).

In fact, all of Trollope's fictional moneylending Jews are at least "greasy" or "dark" with eyes that are "too close" together; the "beaked nose," "moustache" and "beard" are usually optional.<sup>39</sup> Because of this, the degree of social acceptance of these figures is firmly circumscribed by the moral values inherent in Trollope's idealised rural England of the 1850s and 60s.<sup>40</sup> In the 1860s, moreover, Trollope fully accepted the liberal imperative that Jews should assimilate into the mainstream. Nina Balatka (1867) is Trollope's first comprehensive story on this theme. Published anonymously in Blackwoods Magazine, Trollope sets his novella in the Prague Ghetto (Prague being a city that he had recently visited).<sup>41</sup> The story concerns the love of a penniless Catholic girl, Nina, for a wealthy ghetto Jew, Anton Trendellsohn, son of a merchant. Anton wished to "show the world around him, both Jews and Christians, how well a Christian and a Jew might live together... and how could this better be fulfilled than by his union with a Christian" (71). It is Nina's "acutely mercantile" and bigoted Uncle Zamenoy who tries to prevent the marriage by fair means and foul--"anything is fair against a Jew" (77). Love, however, overcomes Uncle Zamenoy's unChristian machinations as Anton loves Nina "better than all the world besides." In this way, Anton achieves his aim of "living among Christians as one man should live with his fellow men--on equal terms" (134). Anton's description stereotypes him as "dark and swarthy" with "eyes somewhat too close together" for Christian tastes and whose walk denoted "the movement of a Jew..." (11). Nevertheless, he does behave with

"Christian chivalry to Balatka's daughter till that chivalry had turned to love" (11). Trollope's optimism at this time is such that the Jew--even though a racial other--can behave in a "Christian" manner. This optimism is compounded by the figure of the Jewess, Rebecca Loth, who is described as "dark, with large dark-blue eyes and jet black tresses... who knew herself to be all a queen... with a repellent beauty that seemed to disdain while it courted admiration..." (82-83). As Rebecca rescues Nina from suicide, and eventually befriends her--even though Rebecca herself wanted to marry Anton--Trollope's description proves not to be an exaggeration. In this way, Trollope deliberately utilises the "dark, beautiful" Jewess--a familiar Jewish stereotype--to reinforce the theme of Christian-Jewish friendship and social assimilation in post-emancipated Europe.<sup>42</sup> In these terms, one must qualify Trollope's autobiographical account of Nina Balatka which argues that there was no "English life" in this story and it is therefore not to be related to the bulk of Trollope's fiction.<sup>43</sup> In fact, this novella provided the basis for Trollope's most important and sympathetic account of Jewish assimilation in England by anticipating the figure of Madame Marie Max Goesler.

At the end of Nina Balatka, Anton and Nina "go forth [from the Prague Ghetto] and see if the world was not wide enough to find them a spot on which they might live without the contempt of those around them" (134). The appearance of the Viennese Jewess, Madame Marie Max Goesler, in the second volume of Phineas Finn (1869)--written soon after Nina Balatka--tests out this belief of racial tolerance in Victorian England; that is in the world beyond the continental Jewish ghetto. Like Rebecca Loth, Marie Goesler is described in terms of the stereotype of the sexual Jewess:

"She was a woman probably something over thirty years of age. She had thick black hair, which she wore in curls--unlike anybody else in the world... Her eyes were large, of a dark blue colour, and very bright, and she used them in a manner which is as yet hardly common with English women. She seemed to intend that you should know that she employed them to conquer you... But perhaps her greatest beauty was in the brilliant clearness of her dark complexion..." (II, 25).

In fact, such is the sexual beauty of Madame Goesler that Trollope's pen, at one point, "may not dare to describe the trceries of yellow and ruby silk" which run across the Goesler "bosom" (II, 26). It is the all-conquering power of Goesler's sexual beauty--"unlike anybody else in the world"-- that in Phineas Finn is initially ambivalently perceived by Trollope. That is, fear of the sexual power of Madame Goesler's "dark beauty" is such that it is made problematic whether it is acceptable to assimilate such a racial other into the Palliser circle. In fact, Trollope's representation of Madame Goesler initiates a pattern that will be repeated throughout his later novels. At first, that is, Madame Goesler's very Jewishness is deliberately rendered mysterious and a cause of some concern for England's gentry. Thus, Madame Goesler's "enemies say that her father was a German Jew, living in England" and it is "known" that her first husband was "a Viennese Jewish banker" (II, 30-31). In this way, Madame Goesler's background is purposely made a cause for rumour by Trollope so that her assimilation into the English gentry itself becomes problematic and a matter of some debate. In this atmosphere, Lady Glencora, for instance, can view Madame Goesler as:

"...a thin, black-browed, yellow-visaged woman with ringlet's and devil's eyes, and a beard on her upper lip,--a Jewess,--a creature whose habits of life and manners of thought they all were absolutely ignorant,... an adventuress who had found her way into society by her art and perseverance,--and who did not even pretend to have a relation in the world!" (II, 216).

Exactly these words will be repeated in Trollope's later more pessimistic fiction and will, moreover, prove to be a correct assessment of the "Jewish" threat to the English gentry. However, at this point in time, Trollope is still, in Naman's words, "optimistic that new blood may be good blood and that people know the limits to their rights." Thus, Halperin is only half right when he argues that Madame Goesler, at the end of Phineas Finn, is both "Jewish and sympathetic" because "she is neither a politician nor a novelist nor a moneylender nor a capitalist."<sup>44</sup> The point being that Jewish assimilation, as such, was still viewed positively by Trollope in the late 1860s. Thus, Madame Goesler is shown to have an uncompromising integrity by Trollope in her principled refusal to become the Duchess of Omnium. In fact, such is Madame Goesler's personal integrity that a recent study of Trollope's idea of the "gentleman" has described her as "the most perfect gentleman in Trollope's novels."<sup>45</sup> More cautiously, I would argue that in refusing to marry the Duke of Omnium, Madame Goesler becomes Trollope's ideal model of what should constitute the self-imposed limits of Jewish racial assimilation in a civilised society. In other words, it is Madame Goesler's adherence to Trollope's moral proprieties that means she can be "sympathetically" perceived. It is not insignificant that by the time of the thoroughly pessimistic The Duke's Children (1880) even Madame Goesler is adjudged to have overstepped Trollope's moral proprieties and is therefore, for much of the novel, considered an unsuitable companion for Lady Mary, the Duke of Omnium's daughter.

In fact, Trollope's increased pessimism concerning whether the Jewish racial other will remain within the bounds of his morality is anticipated in The Eustace Diamonds (1872) and Phineas Redux (1873). It should be stressed that Trollope's fears concerning the potential dangers of assimilating the Jewish racial other into the English

gentry are directly related to his more general pessimism surrounding the belief in mid-Victorian liberalism as a constant state of progress. The more Trollope perceives society as a whole as degenerating, the more Jewish assimilation is perceived as a potential evil. The Eustace Diamonds and Phineas Redux, in these terms, are novels of transition. That is they are between the liberal verities of the 1850s and 60s that regards Jewish emancipation as a product of progress and a late Victorian pessimism that represents British Jewry as a symbol of a degenerate modernity. In The Eustace Diamonds, the Rev. Joseph Emilius has replaced Madame Goesler as the Jewish racial other attempting to assimilate into English society. He is introduced towards the end of the novel as the fortune-hunter who aims to marry Lady Lizzie Eustace, the book's anti-heroine. Lady Eustace is not unfairly characterised as "about as bad as anybody ever was... false, dishonest, heartless, cruel, irreligious, ungrateful, mean, ignorant, greedy, and vile " (308); in Shirley Letwin's words the "perfect antipode of the gentleman."<sup>46</sup> In the dark satirical world of The Eustace Diamonds, the anti-heroine is, in short, a product of her times. That is, Trollope explicitly links Lady Eustace's immorality with the corrupt milieu she adorns by suggesting that "private speculation and public opportunism are merely symptoms of one another."<sup>47</sup> It is in this wider context of societal degeneration that Lady Eustace eventually agrees to marry Joseph Emilius. In this way, Trollope uses Emilius to highlight the extent of Lady Eustace's fallen standards of morality. Such are her impressions of Emilius that even though she knows him to be a "Jewish imposter" she still agrees to marry him because he was "not afraid of her":

"The man was a nasty, greasy, lying squinting Jew preacher, ... He was a creature to loathe, because he was greasy and a liar and an imposter. But there was a certain manliness in him. He was not afraid of [her]; and in pleading his cause with her he could stand up for himself courageously... A man,

to be a man in her eyes, should be able to swear that all his geese are swans; should be able to reckon his swans by the dozen, though he have not a feather belonging to him, even from a goose's wing." (II, 314 )

It should be stressed that Lady Eustace's milieu is not, at this time, representative of an overall state of degeneracy in English society. In particular, Trollope uses the last chapter of the novel--"What was said about it all at Matching"--to contrast Lady Eustace's immoral world with the morally commendable Palliser circle. Only by the time of The Prime Minister (1876) has "Jewish" corruption reached the moral heartland of the Pallisers to complete Trollope's pessimism. In The Eustace Diamonds "Jewish" corruption is still strictly delimited both in terms of Lady Eustace's personal dishonesty and, more obviously, within conventional Jewish caricatures. Thus, Mr. Benjamin, a criminal jeweller-fence in the novel, is described as "that greasy Israelite" who "leered and rubbed his hands..." and talked like a "Jew" (II, 99) . In fact, because Benjamin and his partner are eventually convicted of the theft of Lady Eustace's diamonds, Trollope introduces a crucial distinction between the personal immorality of Lady Eustace--a matter of perjury--and the more general criminal immorality of the Jewish racial other. It is this distinction that Trollope underlines in Phineas Redux with reference to the Rev. Emilius, now the husband of Lady Eustace.<sup>48</sup>

Phineas Redux, above all, demonstrates Trollope's growing ambivalence towards Jewish assimilation. On the one hand, the Rev. Emilius is shown to be a Jewish bigamist and a murderer (in stark contrast to "poor little Lizzie Eustace"). On the other hand, Madame Goesler is the figure who proves Emilius guilty of these crimes and in so doing prevents Phineas Finn from going to prison for them. The contrast between Madame Goesler, Phineas Finn and the Rev. Emilius is

a telling one. In Phineas Redux Madame Goesler, significantly, assumes the "role of savior" using her knowledge of Prague to track down the duplicator of the latch-key which proves Emilius the murderer of Mr. Bonteen. Ironically, it is Madame Goesler's very otherness--her knowledge of the back streets of Prague--that is utilised by Lady Glencora on behalf of Finn. In fact, at this time, Madame Goesler is completely accepted by the Palliser household, greeting Lady Glencora like a sister, and sharing the tasks of nursing the ailing Duke of Omnium and proving Finn's innocence. Once again, Madame Goesler reinforces the proprieties which delimit Jewish assimilation in Trollope's eyes by refusing the Duke's jewels and money left to her in his will and yet another proposal of marriage from him. The Rev. Emilius, however, is the extreme opposite of Madame Goesler's moral assimilation into the English gentry. Whilst Halperin is correct to describe Emilius as Trollope's "least appealing and least realised villain," his symbolic function as an evil racial other in Phineas Redux is plain enough.<sup>49</sup> In fact, it is the unmitigated villainous nature of Joseph Emilius that reinforces his role as Madame Goesler's moral opposite. Whereas Madame Goesler fulfils the function of the racial other within the Palliser framework Emilius, by refusing to curb his racial acquisitiveness, becomes the antithesis of everything the Pallisers represent. Thus, in Phineas Redux, Trollope reverts to calling Joseph Emilius "Yosef Mealyus" and in this way linguistically reverses the process of Jewish emancipation in English society:

"'He is true to his colours,' said Mr. Emilius, who had been endeavouring to awake the attention of Miss Roanoke on the subject of Shakespeare's dramatic action, 'and I like men who are true to their colours.' Mr. Mealyus spoke with the slightest possible tone of foreign accent--a tone so slight that it simply served to attract attention to him." (I, 441)



The sham character of Emilius--highlighted by his becoming a fashionable Church of England priest--represents Trollope's most extreme reaction to date to Jewish emancipation. This reversal of Jewish emancipation will be reinforced, as I will show, in his later novels. Emilius's criminal acts mean that he can be represented throughout in purely racial terms as "the Jew," "the Jew clergyman," "that horrid Jew preaching man" or "Lizzie Eustace's Jew." Moreover, the fears and rumours of English society in The Eustace Diamonds--"it was said that he was born a Jew in Hungary... there was a doubt in the minds of some people whether there was or was not any--Mrs. Emilius" (365)--are, by the end of Phineas Redux, proved justified. By contrast, Lady Glencora's fears concerning Madame Goesler in Phineas Finn are, in Phineas Redux, demonstrated with equal conviction to be unfounded. It is, above all, as Robert Polhemus has argued, society's inability to "discriminate between honesty (Madame Goesler) (Phineas Finn) and sham (Emilius)" that is Trollope's main concern in Phineas Redux.<sup>50</sup> In particular, the ambivalent Jewish racial other--assimilating into English society--highlights the difficulties in making such distinctions. However, at this time, Trollope's pessimism is qualified by the imprisonment of Emilius and, more importantly, the marriage of Finn and Madame Goesler which restores a sense of morality to English society. "New blood" is once again confirmed as "good blood" even if it has to marry within its own circle.<sup>51</sup>

After Phineas Redux, according to Polhemus, "Trollope gave up on his society":

"The image of humanity groping for moral balance, sanity and freedom in a confusing new age gives way to a much darker image of people living in a commercial Victorian wasteland filled with dishonesty and impotence. The world of The Way We Live Now and The Prime Minister ...runs out of control."<sup>52</sup>

"The dark new world" of The Way We Live Now (1875) and The Prime Minister (1876) is, in fact, anticipated on one level in Phineas Redux. As Halperin has demonstrated, the wider political context of Phineas Redux is based on Disraeli's first ministry of eleven months (from February to December, 1868). Trollope's fictional leader of the Conservatives--dwelt upon at length--is therefore pointedly called Daubeny--or "Dubby"--to evoke the figure of Disraeli and his famous nickname, "Dizzy." In other words Phineas Redux, unlike The Eustace Diamonds, relates private dishonesty to the public sphere of political "conjuring." Thus, Trollope's Daubeny is described by his fellow Conservatives as "mysterious, unintelligible, dangerous, and given to feats of conjuring" (I, 56). As many critics have noted, this often repeated characterisation of Daubeny is identical to Trollope's discussion of Disraeli's novels in his An Autobiography (1883):

"An audacious conjurer has generally been his hero,--some youth who, by wonderful cleverness, can obtain success by every intrigue that comes to his hand... I can understand that Mr. Disraeli should by his novels have investigated many a young man and many a young woman on their way in life, but I cannot understand that he should have instigated any one to good."<sup>53</sup>

As Halperin argues, "Trollope's political villains are often Disraelian heroes." Moreover, Disraeli is said by Trollope to have "the wit of hairdressers... a smell of hair-oil" just as Emilius--and other dark Jews--are characterised as "greasy." Both Emilius and Disraeli coincidentally "convert to Christianity, marry rich widows and achieve for awhile a certain fashion." In short, in Trollope's view they are both "conjuring" Jewish adventurers. Hence, Trollope's "propensity to see Daubeny as a Satanic emanation--'red from head to foot' (I, 372) or 'the arch enemy'" confirms the public sphere to be as morally degenerate--or as "Jewish"--as the private sphere.<sup>54</sup> In

these terms, it is not surprising that Disraelian politics are described in the same language as financial speculation. Both Daubeny and the speculator are "conjuring" opportunists with an unusually large amount of games metaphors describing their, by implication, insubstantial activities.<sup>55</sup> It is the explicit connection between the corrupt public and private spheres--between political conjuring and financial speculation--in The Way We Live Now and The Prime Minister that distinguishes these works as "a great leap forward in time" in A.O.J. Cockshut's phrase.<sup>56</sup>

Disraeli's first full Conservative ministry (1874-80) is certainly the main factor in Trollope's vision of a dark new world after Phineas Redux. The arch enemy was now the leader of the country. Moreover, the landed gentry--Trollope's moral bastions against corruption--were, by the late 1870s, "in the last fine Indian summer of ascendancy." The Agrarian Depression under Disraeli's ministry had become, according to a contemporary Liberal critic, "a political as well as a social fact."<sup>57</sup> This social fact meant that in the "country house world" of late Victorian fiction, as Raymond Williams has argued:

"...a new and weak form is emerging: the country-house not of land but of capital... People bargain, exploit and use each other, with these houses as the shells of their ambition and intrigue. Money from elsewhere is an explicit and dominant theme."<sup>58</sup>

Thus, the combination of the decline of landed power, money from elsewhere, and a politics that was perceived as degenerate, was the wider social context in which Trollope situated the Jewish racial other after Phineas Redux. For the first time, Arnold's dark vision of social anarchy--predicated on a "Hebraic" society whose only culture is based on capital--is realised in a Victorian novel. The work which describes this dark vision is Trollope's The Way We Live Now.

The central figure of The Way We Live Now is Augustus Melmotte. He is, in John Terry's words, the "motive force" of the novel "the engine to which the ubiquitous drive for power, money and respectability is harnessed." As Trollope wrote this novel to highlight "the commercial profligacy of the age," Melmotte clearly is the central symbol of such profligacy.<sup>59</sup> That is, it is Melmotte—"who could make money as dear or cheap as he pleased" (I, 31)—and not the gentry who has become the moral centre of Trollope's darkened fictional universe. Like Daubeny in Phineas Redux, Melmotte is characterised by a mixture of devilish conjuring:

"People said of him that he had framed and carried out long premeditated and deeply laid schemes for the ruin of those who had trusted him, that he had swallowed up the property of all who had come in contact with him, that he was fed with the blood of widows and children..." (1,75).

Naman is right to point to the implicit connection between such "Jew-devil" imagery and the image of the Jew as vampire in the blood libel accusation.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, as Charlotte Klein has convincingly shown, Melmotte like Daubeny is not explicitly identified as a Jew by Trollope.<sup>61</sup> In these terms, Stott is right to argue that Melmotte is "condemned as [a] speculator, not as [a] Jew in the novel." In this context, it is worth noting the involvement of The Times and in particular Trollope's friend, John Delane, in his campaign against a "swindling Californian, who had ruined a prominent English nobleman..." This incident took place in the same period as Trollope was beginning The Way We Live Now. In fact, before this episode, Trollope's layout of his proposed novel was to make Melmotte an insignificant "great French swindler" without a specific character of his own.<sup>62</sup> By assuming Melmotte to be a Jewish stereotype, Stott however wrongly concludes that "the treatment of Jewish characters engaged [in speculation] was not distinctive..." in The Way We Live

Now. It is worth recalling that Trollope's aim in writing his satire was to go "beyond the iniquities of the great speculator [Melmotte] who robs everybody."<sup>63</sup> Thus, I will now show that around the corrupting figure of Melmotte were a complex series of Jewish stereotypes which highlighted a "distinctive" racial degeneracy in Trollope's dark new world.

Above all, "Samuel Cohenlupe Esq., Member of Parliament for Staines, a gentleman of the Jewish persuasion..." (I, 84) demonstrates the depths to which Melmotte's fallen world has reached. Significantly, Cohenlupe has no other introduction or description as his name--literally translated as Cohen-wolf--emphasises his symbolic function as a dark, barely human, racial parasite.<sup>64</sup> Melmotte, not unsurprisingly, attracts "crowds of dark, swarthy, greasy men" (I, 107) and clearly Cohenlupe, a director of his phoney company, is one of those. At meetings of the Board of Directors "Mr. Cohenlupe would make a little speech in fluent but broken English, assuring the committee that everything was being done after the approved City fashion." Cohenlupe is "all to Mr. Melmotte in the City" (I, 487) and his sinister power is confirmed when Melmotte "whispers" with Cohenlupe before speaking at meetings of his Directors. Cohenlupe's expertise is such that he alone in the novel anticipates Melmotte's financial collapse and adds to his downfall by absconding with the remainder of Melmotte's company funds. Trollope comments with bitter irony:

"Mr. Cohenlupe was meditating his own escape from the dangerous shores of England, and was trying to remember what happy country still was left in which an order from the British police would have no power to interfere with the comfort of a retired gentleman such as himself" (II, 182)

The relatively minor figure of Cohenlupe reappears more centrally as the villainous Ferdinand Lopez in The Prime Minister. Like the Rev.

Joseph Emilius, both Cohenlupe and Lopez are taken for "gentlemen"--Cohenlupe even sitting in Parliament. Such are the evil consequences of "a new social hierarchy based on money alone [which] threatened to replace the old social hierarchy based on 'blood' and land."<sup>65</sup>

In contrast to Cohenlupe is the figure of Ezekiel Breghart, Melmotte's banker and business partner. Breghart, once again, emphasises Trollope's ambivalence towards Jewish assimilation in a society which now lacks any moral proprieties to delimit the impact of Jewish intermarriage with the aristocracy. Breghart is described as a "good natured man" (II, 90) and Cockshut is perhaps only slightly overstating his case when he describes Breghart as "the only genuinely honest man in the book."<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, Trollope's description of Breghart--like the equally sympathetic Anton Trendellsohn--is in exactly the same terms as the Jewish usurer-figure in Trollope's earlier works:

"He was a fat greasy man, good-looking in a certain degree, about fifty, with hair dyed black, and beard and moustache dyed a purple colour. The charm of his face consisted in a pair of very bright black eyes, which were, however, set too near together in his face for the general delight of Christians" (II, 91).

Breghart is engaged to marry Georgiana Longestaffe, the elderly daughter of the impoverished Squire of Caversham. By stereotyping Breghart as a racial other Trollope can, therefore, generalise from the inevitable social conflict caused by his engagement to Georgiana. In this way Trollope associates the "degeneracy of the age" with Jewish racial assimilation into the aristocracy:

"[Breghart] was absolutely a Jew; not a Jew that had been, as to whom there might possibly be a doubt whether he or his father or his grandfather had been the last Jew of the family; but a Jew that was. So was Goldsheiner a Jew, who Lady Julia Stuart had married, or at any rate had been one a very short time before he ran away with the lady. [Georgiana] counted up ever so many instances on her fingers of 'decent people' who had married Jews or Jewesses. Lord Frederic Framlinghame had

married a girl of the Berrenhoffers; and Mr. Hart had married a Miss Chute..." (II, 92).<sup>67</sup>

As Breghart himself argues, "fifty years ago whatever claim a Jew might have to be as well considered as a Christian, he certainly was not so considered. Society was closed against him... But that has been altered" (II, 271). Whilst Breghart is clearly defending his own right to marry a non-Jew, the underlying message of Trollope's novel is articulated by the bigoted Lord Longestaffe whose only "real opinion" is that in "admitting the Jews into Parliament... the glory of England was sunk forever" (II, 93). As Melmotte manages to obtain a seat in Parliament--with Cohenlupe--this opinion is reinforced throughout the novel.<sup>68</sup> Ironically, the fact that Breghart is sympathetically conceived by Trollope means that his personal integrity will not allow him, by the end of the novel, to marry Georgiana Longestaffe when he realises that she wants to marry not from love but merely because she was "determined not [to] be poor, not [to] be banished from London, and not [to] be an old maid" (II, 94). Like Madame Goesler, the degree of sympathy afforded to a "Jewish" character by Trollope is directly related to the character's ability to delimit his or her intermarriage with the English aristocracy. By contrast, to emphasise Breghart's Trollopian proprieties the second half of The Way We Live Now is suffused with the question of who is a Jew in upper class society. Thus, the hypocritical Mr. Alf is rumoured to be a "German Jew" and uses his editorship of "The Evening Pulpit" to "accuse" Melmotte of being Jewish. In turn, the stereotypical Jewishness of Marie and Madame Melmotte is dealt with at length by Trollope as is the question of Georgiana Longestaffe's marriage to a Jew. Moreover, various nefarious characters such as Melmotte's Mr. Squercum are similarly "accused" of being Jewish-- "what evil will not a rival say to stop the flow of grist to the mill

of the hated one?" (II, 71). In these terms, Trollope has finally placed the mysterious Jewish racial other at the centre of his dark new world. It is in The Prime Minister that Trollope most explicitly relates the degeneracy of the modern world with the unremitting encroachment of the Jewish racial other into upper-class England.

The central figure of Ferdinand Lopez in The Prime Minister is Trollope's most comprehensive stereotype of the dark Jewish racial other who takes advantage of a degenerate English society. Unlike Madame Goesler, as Shirley Letwin argues, Lopez "no sooner appeared in London than he was accepted in the highest circles." It is the immediate acceptance by Lopez into "the world of gentlemen" that represents, in Trollope's perception, "the most insidious threat to gentlemen." The ambivalent Jew has the power to "skillfully use the outward marks of a gentleman to violate what [he] promised" and Trollope devotes virtually the whole of The Prime Minister to demonstrate this point.<sup>69</sup> Significantly, the first chapter of the novel looks askance at Lopez's acceptance as a "gentleman" by "this most precious rank" (22). Only Mr. Abel Wharton, Q.C., "a man of old fashions" (37), opposes Lopez because he "is not the son of an English gentleman" (43) and wants to marry Emily Wharton, his daughter:

"...it was monstrous and out of the question that a daughter of the Whartons, one of the oldest families in England, should be given to a.... Jew" (46).

In these terms, Lopez is variously dismissed by Wharton and his Herefordshire circle—as a "swarthy son of Judah," a "Jew-boy about the streets," a "Portuguese Jew," a "nasty Jew-looking man" and, finally, "a greasy Jew adventurer out of the gutter" in increasing degrees of wrath. By the time of The Prime Minister, as Charlotte Klein has argued, "the open antagonism between Jew and gentile,



described in terms borrowed from warfare... is shown as political, social and, for the first time, racial and sexual."<sup>70</sup> Lopez, thus, succeeds in marrying Emily against her father's wishes--or "prejudices"--confirming the fallen age: "Peers' sons were looking only for money. And, more than that, peers' daughters were bestowing themselves on Jews and shopkeepers" (86):

"The world as it was now didn't care whether its sons-in-law were Christian or Jewish; --whether they had the fair skin and bold eyes and uncertain words of an English gentleman, or the swarthy colour and false grimace and glib tongue of some inferior Latin race. But [Wharton] cared for these things..." (134).

Whilst, in the first half of the novel, Wharton's diatribes can be described by Emily as "the prejudices of an old man" (91) they are, significantly, proved correct by the end of the novel when Lopez is revealed as an uncompromising villain and financial swindler--a "destroying angel" or "dreadful incubus" (506/630). In this way Wharton's "prejudices"--like those of Mr. Longestaffe in The Way We Live Now--are in fact vindicated as Lopez destroys all who came into contact with him from the lowly Sextus Parker to his wife, Emily, whom he bullies for her father's money. By the second part of the novel, Lopez's impact on two of "the oldest families in England" is not unfairly described as a "terrible two years, in which the happiness of the Wharton and Fletcher families had been marred, and scotched, and almost destroyed forever..." (530). However, more worrying from Trollope's point of view, is the impact Lopez makes on Plantagenet Palliser, The Duke of Omnium, and the novel's Prime Minister.

Trollope describes Palliser in his Autobiography as "a perfect gentleman" and in the novel, significantly, he is "the very model of an English statesman" who falls from power because he is "too honest to become involved in the social and political insincerities required

of a Premier who would stay in office."<sup>71</sup> Palliser's morality and political inexpediency contrasts starkly with Lopez's--and Daubeny's--immorality and political expediency. That is, Palliser's politics are reduced by Trollope to "simple patriotism" (65) whereas Lopez, at the other extreme, wants a seat in Parliament for purely selfish financial reasons: "it would be of the greatest possible advantage to me. It enables a man to do a great many things..." On one level Lopez, like Melmotte, is simply an immoral financial speculator whose stock exchange dealings--like his politics--are "a sort of gambling" (45). Like Melmotte, Lopez is "endowed with the power of creating belief" (54) and it is this Daubeny-like conjuring power that enables Lopez to be invited to Lady Glencora Palliser's social gatherings at the not inappropriately named Gatherum Castle. Glencora is described in Trollope's Autobiography as "by no means a perfect lady" and her social gatherings are dismissed in the novel by Palliser as "vulgar."<sup>72</sup> It is Glencora's "wild impulses and general impracticability" (160) that causes her to befriend Lopez and sponsor him against Palliser's wishes as an M.P. in the Duke of Omnium's traditional rotten borough of Silverbridge. When Palliser discovers Glencora's indiscretion he distances himself from Lopez who, in turn, forces Palliser to pay his electoral expenses. This involvement by the Duke of Omnium in his traditional rotten borough is deemed "unconstitutional" and the resulting Lopez Affair causes more political "interest" in the novel than "had the taxation of the whole country for the next year been in dispute" (495). In this way, Trollope demonstrates that the "age is so bad"--in Palliser's words--that a figure such as Lopez--Palliser's moral opposite--can have a serious impact on the Prime Minister and the country. Long after the affair is over, Palliser is observed to "shiver and shudder" because "he is thinking of Lopez" (540). Even during the affair Palliser

contemplates resigning from office because of Lopez (chapter 51). Such is Trollope's moral pessimism during Disraeli's ministry that the conventional dark Jewish stereotype is transformed into the embodiment of immorality which not even the most perfect gentleman in England can easily withstand. In these terms, the Wharton and Palliser episodes--juxtaposed in the novel--clearly complement each other. Using the sexual stereotype of the Jew as rapist, Trollope describes Lopez's disruption of the Wharton family as a "robbery of his daughter... The man had destroyed all the plans of [Wharton's] life, broken through into his castle, and violated his very hearth" (389).<sup>73</sup> By transferring this episode onto the wider social and political arena, Trollope thus makes the ambivalent assimilated Jew the dark symbol of a degenerate modern England, breaking down its aristocratic castle walls. That Disraeli was the Prime Minister of England at the time is clearly no coincidence.

The Prime Minister was in fact written many months before Disraeli's Eastern Crisis although, unsurprisingly, Trollope played a prominent part in Gladstone's campaign against Disraeli.<sup>74</sup> However, what is interesting from this point of view is the extent that Trollope's fiction--and especially The Prime Minister--anticipated the modernized Jewish stereotype used against Disraeli during the Eastern Crisis. In my discussion of Hilaire Belloc's fiction I shall again have cause to examine the extent that the Jewish stereotype in a cultural context can anticipate the utilisation of the same stereotype in a political context. More generally, the categories that Trollope's fiction introduced into English culture remain applicable throughout the twentieth century. Thus, the fiction of Wells and Belloc, for instance, continues to identify the decline of the Aristocracy with the decline of England. In these terms, Jewish intermarriage with the Aristocracy and an identifiable Jewish pluto-

cracy were, therefore, utilised as symbols of England's decline. From a different perspective, George Eliot, Buchan and Ford all highlight the reverse--bright utopian--side of the ambivalent conjuring Jew as a powerful mysterious presence at the centre of England's destiny, whilst DuMaurier's Svengali--the "incubus" preying on the beautiful English Trilby--is, surely, anticipated by the "incubus," Ferdinand Lopez. And, finally, T.S. Eliot's use of grotesque animal imagery to symbolise the Jewish parasite is, to some extent, pre-figured by Trollope's Cohenlupe. By placing the Jewish racial other at the centre of a racially proscribed Christian England Trollope earns the dubious status of the first Victorian writer to modernize an age-old prejudice.<sup>75</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Richard Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915 (London, 1976), p. 11 and passim.
2. Malcolm Bradbury, The Social Context of Modern English Literature (Oxford, 1971) pp. 46-7 and Chapter 3, passim.
3. Martin J. Weiner, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980 (Cambridge, 1981), p. 10 and Chapter 1 passim. See also Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (London, 1975) Chapter 21 for the cultural symbol of England as a garden in the modern age.
4. Shannon, op. cit., p. 269.
5. Geoffrey Searle, The Quest for National Efficiency (Oxford, 1971), p. 6 and Chapter 1 "The Reaction Against Gladstonianism" to which I am indebted.
6. Bernard Porter, The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics (Cambridge, 1979), p. 219 and Chapter 7 passim examines the 1870s in these terms. I.F. Clarke's Voices Prophesying War 1763-1984 (London, 1966) passim and "The Battle of Dorking, 1871-1914" Victorian Studies (June 1965, Vol. 8), pp. 309-27 is the standard work on invasion scare stories in late Victorian England.
7. Searle, op. cit., p. 11 cites R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians (London, 1961), Chapter 15, passim.
8. Shannon, op. cit., p. 34.
9. See Terry Eagleton's Criticism and Ideology (London, 1976), pp. 104-110 and Raymond Williams' Culture and Society (London, 1958), pp. 110-129 for a discussion of Arnold in these terms.
10. See my discussion of H.G. Wells' fiction and Rudyard Kipling's view of Jews as "begetters of disorder." Chapter 11 will in general examine the Christian legacy and modern Jewish stereotyping with Arnold's popular distinctions in mind.
11. Arnold defined the modern liberal state as a vehicle for the attainment of idealism. See Williams, Culture and Society, Chapter 6 for this.
12. For a discussion of modern German antisemitism in these terms see Peter Pultzer's The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria (New York, 1964). For the ambivalent Jewish stereotype in nineteenth century German culture see George Mosse's "The Image of the Jew in German Popular Literature" in his Germans and Jews (London, 1971), Chapter 3.

13. Cited in Basil Willey, Darwin and Butler (London, 1960), p. 70. See Butler's Alps and Sanctuaries (1881), Chapter 9 for further references to the lost ten tribes of Israel. For a comment on Butler's belief by George Orwell see Orwell's Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters, Vol. 4, 1945-1950 (London, 1968), pp. 290-291.
14. George Eliot, Impressions of Theophrastus Such (Edinburgh, 1879), p. 172. For a fuller discussion of Eliot in these terms see Chapter 8.
15. See my discussion of Socialist, Imperialist, Liberal and Social Darwinist dimensions of Jewish stereotyping below in Chapters 9, 4, 6 and 3.
16. See Weiner, op. cit., Chapter 1 and Williams' The Country and the City, op. cit., Chapter 21 for a discussion of this. I am thinking of Arnold's unscientific racial definition of the English aristocracy.
17. Charlotte Klein, "The Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama, 1830-1933" (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of London, 1967), p. 143 to which I am indebted.
18. Jacob Katz, From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933 (Harvard, 1980), p. 247 and Chapter 20 and Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939 (London, 1979).
19. This was said by Lord Salisbury in 1878. Quoted in R.W. Seton-Watson, Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question (London, 1935), p. 2.
20. Robert Blake, Disraeli (London, 1966), p. 600 and Chapter 26 passim.
21. Cited in Holmes, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
22. Ibid. and Blake, op. cit., pp. 600-601 cites Gladstone's comments.
23. Holmes, op. cit., p. 11 for this quote.
24. For a general discussion of radical liberal critics of empire in this period see Bernard Porter, Critics of Empire: British Radical Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa, 1895-1914 (London, 1968) passim. I will discuss the utilisation of the Jewish stereotype by radical liberal critics of Imperialism with reference to the Boer War and the outbreak of the First World War in Chapters 4 and 9.
25. Hugh Cunningham, "The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914" in History Workshop (No. 12), pp. 9-33 for this argument and p. 24 in particular.

26. Chapter 4 has detailed examples of bright Jewish stereotyping by Jingoistic Imperialists and discusses the impact of the Disraelian stereotype. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 24 wrongly assumes all conservative Jingoism to be crudely antisemitic.
27. Shannon, op. cit., p. 135 and note 26.
28. See Chapter 11 for a general discussion of the Jewish stereotype as a moralizing symbol in English culture. Also my comparison of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda and Anthony Trollope's The Prime Minister in John Morris' (ed.) Stereotype Characters in English Literature and Society, 1840-1940 (forthcoming).
29. Klein, (unpublished PhD.), op. cit., p. 20.
30. For an up to date account of Trollope's life-long hatred of Disraeli see John Halperin's Trollope and Politics (London, 1977), pp. 11-12 and passim to which I am indebted.
31. Ibid., p. 160.
32. Bradbury, op. cit., p. 44.
33. For a discussion along these lines see Chapter 7.
34. Pultzer, op. cit., passim is important for this theme. For the English context see Bernard Porter, The Refugee Question, op. cit., Chapter 7 and Chapter 5 of this thesis.
35. Holmes, op. cit., p. 12 discusses Smith in these terms.
36. The Fortnightly Review (April-June, 1878).
37. In the same article he argued "Lord Beaconsfield is the most remarkable illustration of his own doctrine of the ascendancy of Hebrew genius in modern Europe..."
38. Halperin, op. cit., p. 16 and Chapter 8 passim for Trollope's dislike of Disraeli's "dishonesty" and political "expediency."
39. Anne Aresty Naman, The Jew in the Victorian Novel (New York, 1980), pp. 119-121 for a discussion of this. Bradford Booth's Anthony Trollope (London, 1958), p. 30 argues that Trollope "introduces the Jew conventionally as a usurer... since so many of his plots turn upon or at least involve a 'bit of paper,' the usurer is a familiar type in the novels." Mr. Solomon Aram in Orley Farm (1862), for instance, is a sharp-practising solicitor "of the Hebrew persuasion" who might almost pass for an English gentleman, but for the fact that "his eyes were closer than is common with most of us, and his nose seemed to be somewhat swollen about the bridge." Thus, "when one knew that he was a Jew one saw that he was a Jew."

40. For references to Trollope's idealised mid-Victorian rural England see Williams' The Country and the City, op. cit., pp. 213-214.
41. Trollope's An Autobiography (London, 1980), pp. 204-05 relates his novella to his Prague visit.
42. See Chapter 10 for a discussion of the sexual Jewess.
43. An Autobiography, op. cit., p. 206.
44. Halperin, op. cit., p. 160 and Naman, op. cit., p. 106.
45. Shirley Robin Letwin, The Gentleman in Trollope: Individuality and Moral Conduct (London, 1982), p. 74 and Chapter 5 passim.
46. Ibid., p. 104.
47. Halperin, op. cit., p. 159 and Chapter 6 passim.
48. Lady Eustace reappears in The Prime Minister (1876) where she entertains Ferdinand Lopez--a character based on the Rev. Emilius--but rejects his financial machinations (Chapter 54).
49. Naman, op. cit., p. 116 and Halperin, op. cit., p. 160.
50. Robert M. Polhemus, The Changing World of Anthony Trollope (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 179-180.
51. Phineas Finn is a new Irish M.P. and a Roman Catholic and as an outsider to English society he is, therefore, mistrusted. In Phineas Finn (1869) he is even labelled, at one point, a "Jew." See Naman op. cit., pp. 106-7 for a discussion of this.
52. Polhemus, op. cit., p. 186 and Chapter 8, "The Dark New World."
53. An Autobiography, op. cit., pp. 259-60.
54. Ibid. Also Halperin, op. cit., pp. 159, 169 and 174. For references to Jew-devil imagery see Chapter 11.
55. Halperin, op. cit., p. 185.
56. A.O.J. Cockshut, Anthony Trollope: A Critical Study (London, 1955), p. 204.
57. Arthur Pollard, Anthony Trollope (London, 1978), p. 26 and Shannon, op. cit., p. 111 cites the contemporary Liberal critic, P.W. Clayden, England Under Lord Beaconsfield (London, 1880), p. 539.



58. Williams, The Country and the City, op. cit., p. 298 and Chapter 21 passim.
59. An Autobiography, op. cit., p. 353 and Chapter 20, passim for a discussion of Melmotte in these terms and John Terry's Anthony Trollope (London, 1977), p. 239 and pp. 233-243.
60. Naman, op. cit., p. 130. See also Colin Holmes, "The Ritual Murder accusation in Britain" in Ethnic and Racial Studies (July 1981), pp. 265-288 and note 54.
61. Charlotte Klein, "The Portrait of the Contemporary Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama from 1830-1930" (Unpublished, University of London, M. Phil., 1963), pp. 239-247. Melmotte, significantly, does not fit the racial stereotype of the Jew which Trollope had been promoting since the 1860s. See note 39 and the description of Melmotte in Chapter 4 of The Way We Live Now. Melmotte's name, moreover, derives from Charles Maturin's popular Melmoth the Wanderer (1828) reprinted throughout the nineteenth century but only implicitly referring to the stereotype of the Wandering Jew.
62. For the layout of Trollope's proposed novel see Michael Sadleir, Trollope: A Commentary (London, 1944), pp. 426-7 and for The Times campaign, ibid., p. 239. Halperin, op. cit., p. 212-13, Terry, op. cit., p. 238 and James Pope Hennessy, Anthony Trollope (London, 1971), p. 318 also refer to this campaign. Graham St. John Stott, "Under Gentile Eyes: Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth Century Novel of England and America" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1978), p. 102 and Chapter 4 puts Melmotte in the context of late Victorian hostility towards the financial "speculator."
63. An Autobiography, op. cit., p. 355 and Stott, op. cit., Chapter 4.
64. H.G. Wells and T.S. Eliot both utilise this stereotype. For a discussion of Eliot in these terms see John Morris, "T.S. Eliot and Anti-Semitism", Journal of European Studies (1972)2, 173-182 and Chapter 11 of this thesis.
65. For a discussion of this in terms of The Way We Live Now see Ruth Roberts, Trollope Artist and Moralist (London, 1971), pp. 166-7.
66. Cockshut, op. cit., p. 211.
67. Mr. Hart appears in Rachel Ray (1863) and Mr. Scarborough's Family (1880) as a "veritable Jew," "a most complete Hebrew" and the conventional usurer-figure. The "absolutely" Jewish Bregbart clearly refers to him. For actual Jewish intermarriage into the English aristocracy see Chaim Bermant, The Cousinhood (London, 1971).

68. For the technique of an author distancing himself from a European unEnglish "antisemitism" by putting such views in the mouth of a spurious "bigot" who is nonetheless "sympathetic" and proved right in the end, see the discussion of Belloc's fiction in Chapter 5.
69. Letwin, op. cit., pp. 248-49 discusses The Prime Minister in these terms.
70. Charlotte Klein (unpublished PhD.), pp. 20-21. The warfare imagery is confirmed, for instance, in Trollope's labelling Lopez's marriage to Emily as a "surrender" (the title of Chapter 23).
71. An Autobiography, op. cit., p. 361 and Halperin, op. cit., p. 225 and Chapter 8 passim.
72. Trollope, op. cit., p. 361.
73. See Chapter 10 for a discussion of the stereotype of the Jew as rapist.
74. Gladstone, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Bryce and Thomas Hardy were amongst those that heard Trollope speak on the Eastern Question in 1876. Trollope's speech is reprinted in the "Eastern Question Report of the National Conference at St. James Hall, London, 8 December, 1876." Halperin, op. cit., p. 118 and p. 295 cites references to this speech and Trollope's political involvement with the Eastern Question.
75. See my discussion of Belloc, Wells, George Eliot, Buchan, Ford, DuMaurier and T.S. Eliot below. Also notes 15, 26, and 28.

## CHAPTER THREE

### JEWISH STEREOTYPING AND SOCIAL DARWINISM:

### FORD MADOX FORD AND THE AGE OF EVOLUTIONISM

Bertrand Russell has written of the period, 1880-1914:

"Evolutionism, in one form or another, is the prevailing creed of our time. It dominates our politics, our literature, and not least our philosophy. Nietzsche, pragmatism, Bergson, are phases in its philosophical development, and their popularity far beyond the circles of professional philosophers shows its consonance with the spirit of the age."<sup>1</sup>

Social Darwinism--or "evolutionism"--more than any other ideology of its time, permeates the literature under discussion and characterises, as Russell suggests, "the spirit of the age." It is this popular "spirit" that I shall now examine in the 1880s and 90s before applying it to the fiction and philosophy of Ford Madox Ford. Social Darwinism is defined as the "substitution [of] natural, scientific processes for God as the guarantor of social equilibrium." In these terms, it becomes clear why this ideology should have made such an enormous impact. As Greta Jones has argued, by "removing God" from mankind's evolution social Darwinism "secularised the notion of order and design in nature" and, thus, "reinstated the idea of order, equilibrium and hierarchy, this time in a social context."<sup>2</sup> Unsurprisingly, therefore, virtually every modernizing philosophy and political ideology adopted the vocabulary of social Darwinism so that they could represent themselves as bringing "order" and "equilibrium" to a society in crisis. Noting this fact Gertrude Himmelfarb has argued, that with so many political ideologies utilising the vocabulary of social Darwinism "the entire edifice of social Darwinism threatens to collapse under the weight of contradiction, complication and paradox":

"Laissez-fairism and socialism, racism and anti-racism, segregationism and desegregationism, militarism and pacifism,

imperialism and anti-imperialism, Marxism and evolutionary socialism, social engineering and eugenics--surely they cannot all legitimately claim descent from the same ancestor."<sup>3</sup>

Yet, as Himmelfarb shows in her discussion of the "Varieties of Social Darwinism," all of these contradictory ideologies do incorporate the vocabulary of evolutionism into their world views. Himmelfarb's paradox, however, can be explained partially by the fact that modernity itself was perceived in a radically ambiguous fashion at this time. That is, modernity was understood in terms of both evolutionary optimism and evolutionary pessimism. As Malcolm Bradbury notes:

"Evolutionary theories could lead to a joyous sense that progress was taking place; but equally despair could come when it seemed that the graph of industrialization was an independent graph. So 'fin-de-siècle' decadence and 'aube-de-siècle' joy began to abound."<sup>4</sup>

In fact, by the 1870s, evolutionary theories themselves were beginning to be radically divided in terms of their moral optimism or pessimism. Thus Lamarckianism, which put forward the idea that changes in heredity occurred through the efforts of an organism to adapt itself to changed conditions in its environment, was often in direct contradiction to the ethically neutral notion of the neo-Darwinian "survival of the fittest." Lamarckian evolutionism, that is, could allow the possibility of an accumulated evolutionary progress where the "survival of the fittest" meant the survival of the ethically best.<sup>5</sup> Whereas the "survival of the fittest," from an orthodox Darwinian perspective, meant merely the survival of the fittest in any given environment--not necessarily a progressive one.<sup>6</sup> Samuel Butler, in particular, attacked what he called the "dismal creed" of a "mechanistic" mindless Darwinism and insisted on a "creative impulse" within mankind's evolution. Butler's Lamarckian optimism was taken up by George Bernard Shaw and other eugenic

socialists in the newly formed Fabian Society (1883) and Eugenics Education Society (1907). As with Butler's Lamarckianism, Shaw's evolutionary optimism was incorporated into his art where he attacked the ethically neutral orthodox Darwinists:

"What hope is there then of human improvement? According to the Neo-Darwinists, to the Mechanists, no hope whatever, because improvement can come only through some senseless accident which must, on the statistical average of accidents, be presently wiped out by some other equally senseless accident."<sup>8</sup>

However, it was but a short step from a "mechanistic" Darwinism to the belief that a late Victorian society in a relative state of economic decline was, in fact, racially degenerating. In these terms "Darwinian modes of argument strengthened the prevailing view of the Great Powers as competitive trading units engaged in a desperate struggle for economic, and thus for national, survival."<sup>9</sup> By 1880, such a mood of evolutionary pessimism was articulated in scientific terms by E. Ray Lankester in his Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism (1880). This line of argument proved influential in the last two decades of the nineteenth century as it reinforced what has been called, in a recent study of this period, "The Climate of Decline."<sup>10</sup> With the publication of the English translation of Max Nordau's Degeneration in 1895 the implications of a postulated racial "degeneration" were examined in terms of the wider fin-de-siècle cultural decadence of the 1890s. Trollopian moral pessimism, for the first time, was to be given a popular "scientific" rationale. To be sure, Nordau's work is professedly a "scientific" study and is, significantly, dedicated to and influenced by the Italian criminologist, Cesare Lombroso.<sup>11</sup> However, the popular cultural impact of Degeneration should not be underestimated with seven impressions of the English translation published between February and August, 1895.

In short, I have argued that social Darwinism should be regarded, above all, as a child of its age, reflecting the radically ambiguous perceptions of modernity which characterise this period. It is in these terms that the vocabulary of evolutionism could utilise the ambivalent Jewish stereotype on all sides of its manifold contradictory perspectives. Thus, for instance, John Garrard has argued that social Darwinism "provided a major part of the intellectual framework" which influenced political opinion surrounding turn of the century Jewish immigration. That is, if Britain was perceived to be racially degenerate then the Jewish immigrant could well be blamed as a factor in this general deterioration:

"...if we continue to export our best, and to receive the worst of other countries, it would not be long before the quality of our own people would be seriously impaired and deteriorated."<sup>12</sup>

Yet, on the other hand, it was possible to focus political opinion on the "alternative stereotype of the Jew... his competitive nature, his social mobility, and his industry" and, in this way, "defend him, with equal fervour, within the intellectual confines of social Darwinism":

"Even if we view the question from the most material standpoint, the British race must gain by this assimilation... as it stands to reason that the wealth and stability of a country must exist in relation to the moral and physical qualities of its inhabitants, the Israelite is proving himself to be a regenerating force, and a most useful acquisition to our citizenship."<sup>13</sup>

The Jewish immigrant, in these terms, could be stereotyped both as a cause of England's racial degeneration and also as a regenerating force--a model British citizen.<sup>14</sup> The extreme ambivalence with which evolutionary theories could utilise the Jewish stereotype was often apparent in individuals influenced by social Darwinism. Arnold White, for instance, a prominent anti-alienist and eugenicist was

characterised by the Jewish Chronicle as "sweet and bitter in a breath."<sup>15</sup> He could proclaim Dreyfus as a "hero... [in a] long line of Jewish worthies whose annals adorn the history of the race" and urge that "Britons emulate the dedication of Jewry in pursuit of British values." On the other hand, he warned that Jewish immigrants, as racial others, threatened to replace the "fair-haired and blue-eyed English peasantry" and that racially exclusive Jews controlled the press and, if unchecked, could destroy the British Empire.<sup>16</sup> Significantly, Thomas Huxley, the foremost champion of orthodox Darwinism, puts such ambivalence in a nut shell:

"Even in the time of the first Caesars the Jew appears to have become for good and evil exactly what he is now--marvelously vigorous and tenacious physically and morally; of an acute and broad intelligence; at its best a noble and gracious embodiment of as high an ideal as men ever set before themselves; at its worst, monstrously, shamelessly base and cruel..."<sup>17</sup>

Many evolutionists echoed White and Huxley's ambivalent stereotyping and Shaw, following Butler's example, translated this ambivalence into literary terms.<sup>18</sup> In fact, the bright--Lamarckian--version of social Darwinism was distinct enough for Jews to be prominent members of the Eugenics Education Society and, in 1913, this society formed a Jewish Committee to "enquire into various questions directly connected with the Jews." In these terms, Jews were perceived as a "model of what eugenicists were seeking to establish: a closely knit community, which had identified religion with a sense of racial destiny..."<sup>19</sup> Such was the evolutionary bright--utopian--stereotype, already present in Daniel Deronda (1876), that Benjamin Farjeon, a late Victorian Anglo-Jewish novelist, can represent Jews in his novels as both "the survival of the fittest" and, at the same time, model citizens.<sup>20</sup> However, given the radically ambiguous nature of social Darwinism, it is no surprise to discover that a more hostile writer could use the same stereotype for a different purpose. Thus,

Lucy Kane-Clifford, writing at the same time as Farjeon, portrays the otherwise benign Mr. Cohen in Mr. Keith's Crime (1885) as aggressively revealing his true colours by boasting that as the first man on earth was a Jew, so the last will be a Jew too, "a triumphant proof of the survival of the fittest" (20). With reference to the hostile stereotype, Charlotte Klein has argued that by the 1880s a fear of Jewish racial superiority had combined with social Darwinism to "explain" the ascendancy of a perceived Jewish power:

"Under the harsh, competitive conditions of the industrial age, life was often seen in terms of a struggle for the survival of the fittest and it was feared that the Jew fought with arms against which the Gentile had no chance. A vulgarised Darwinism ran in many heads."<sup>21</sup>

To be sure, ever since the publication of Arthur de Gobineau's Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines (1853), English racial theorists have maintained that the "Nordic race"--which in these terms makes up the "white races" of Europe--was "degenerating" as a result of intermarriage with "alien" racial stock.<sup>22</sup> An ethically neutral social Darwinism could reinforce such fears by postulating that the acquisition of wealth was inevitably the product of "natural selection" but may result in the "wrong sort" of millionaire. Raymond Williams has recently cited Thorstein Veblen's The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899) in these terms:

"May not our social system be selecting altogether the wrong human qualities--for example, shrewd practice, chicanery, or low cunning? ...May not the social system be producing precisely the wrong emphases, and giving success and power to the wrong human types?' This argument was very much developed around the turn of the century."<sup>23</sup>

In this context, the language of social Darwinism could be utilised if--like Trollope--a writer wanted to relate the rise of a Jewish plutocratic elite with the decline of the English aristocracy and, by implication, the end of civilisation. In particular, apocalyptic or



dystopian fantasies, which are a feature of this period,<sup>24</sup> could utilise the dark Jewish stereotype and social Darwinist theory to imagine a future ruled by a malignant "Jewish aristocracy." No writer captured this theme more completely than Ignatius Donnelly's Caesar's Column (1890) which, although an American novel, quickly went into three English editions.<sup>25</sup> Donnelly's novel, set in the year 1988, predicts the end of a degenerate industrialised civilisation which, in the language of the novel, had become "Semitized" (103). In generic terms, Caesar's Column can be read as a "key document in the history of fin-de-siècle biological ideas" of which H.G. Wells' The Time Machine (1895) is the best known example. However, whereas Wells' dystopia is a general "devolution that retraverses the path of evolution backward to a fin du globe," Donnelly firmly identifies such a devolution with the dark Jewish stereotype.<sup>26</sup> Thus, Donnelly situates the symbolic "Darwin Hotel" in the centre of his novel's world and, at the same time, tells the reader that "the aristocracy of the world is now almost altogether of Hebrew origin" (37). When asked how this has happened, the author replies "it was the old question of the survival of the fittest" and, in these terms, Caesar's Column provides the reader with a Darwinian pseudo-history of the racial evolution of Jewish power:

"Christianity fell upon the Jews, originally a race of agriculturalists and shepherds, and forced them, for many centuries, through the most terrible ordeal of persecution the history of mankind bears any record of. Only the strong of body, the cunning of brain, the long-headed, the persistent, the men with capacity to live where a dog would starve, survived the awful trial. Like breeds like; and now the Christian world is paying, in tears and blood, for the suffering inflicted by their bigoted and ignorant ancestors upon a noble race. When the time came for liberty and fair play, the Jew was master of the contest with the Gentile, who hated and feared him. They are the great money-getters of the world. They rose from dealers in old clothes and peddlers of hats to merchants, to bankers, to printers. They were as merciless to Christian as Christian has been to them" (37).

Klein is perhaps overstating her case when she argues that Donnelly's "apocalyptic fantasy constitutes a climax [of antisemitism] not again reached in an English (sic) novel."<sup>27</sup> In fact Donnelly, as Louis Harap has shown, held much the same ambivalent stereotypes as other prominent evolutionists at this time. Donnelly crudely summarises such views: "...there are Jews and Jews. There are Jews that are an honour to the human race, and there are Jews that are a disgrace to it..."<sup>28</sup> And, in his The Golden Bottle (1892), Donnelly imagines the restoration of a Jewish state in Palestine in a consciously bright--utopian--novel where a Jewish plutocracy utilises Zionism for the good of mankind and a "millennium of peace."<sup>29</sup> Caesar's Column, however, is the obverse of The Golden Bottle, projecting the worst contemporary fears of Jewish financial power into a nightmare future:

"The real government is now a coterie of bankers, mostly Israelites; and the Kings and Queens, and so-called presidents are mere toys and puppets in their hands... The world today is Semitized" (103/4).

The only force opposing this all-powerful Jewish plutocracy are the revolutionary Jewish "Brotherhood of Destruction" who bring about the end of the world. The contemporary relevance of such stereotypes is emphasised by Donnelly's reference, in another context, to "Karl Marx the Jew reformer facing Rothschild the Jew plutocrat."<sup>30</sup> Thus, for Donnelly, the only "racial struggle" worth examining in Caesar's Column is the clash between Jewish controlled revolutionaries and the Jewish plutocracy. The leader of the "Brotherhood of Destruction" is a nameless "old and withered" Russian Jew whose description--in terms of grotesque animal imagery--emphasises this vicious "racial struggle" for existence:

"One hand seemed to be shrunken, and his head was permanently crooked to one side. The face was mean and sinister; two fangs alone remained in his mouth; his nose was hooked; the eyes were small, sharp, penetrating and restless; but the expanse of brow above was grand and noble..." (169)

However, as the less popular The Golden Bottle illustrates, the impersonal forces of "natural selection" can, conceivably, be utilised for the good of mankind. Donnelly, perhaps, hints at this ambivalence in his reference to the "grand and noble brow" of the Jewish revolutionary who, in other terms, is a devil-figure--"two fangs alone remained in his mouth."<sup>31</sup>

To be sure, it was Donnelly's ethically neutral understanding of social Darwinism that many writers adopted when crudely applying evolutionary theories to British Jewry. Thus, Mrs. Humphry Ward, in her popular Sir George Tressady (1896), portrays in a supposed "realistic" fashion the impact of one generation of Jewish immigrants on London's East End. Mrs. Ward had gone so far as to tour London's East End with a factory inspector and Lord Rothschild's secretary before writing the novel. But, clearly, it was a popular social Darwinism and not the novelist's London tour that was of paramount importance in her description of the "conquering" Jewish East Enders:

"Here are the groups representing the thrifty, hard-working London Jew of the second generation--small masters for the most part, pale with the confinement and 'drive' of the workshop--men who are expelling and conquering the Gentile East Ender, .. so, clearly are they and their 'hands' alike the victims of a huge world-wide struggle that does but toss them on its surge" (302/3).<sup>32</sup>

Here, a Darwinian "world-wide struggle" between Jews and Gentiles is deemed to account for Jews "expelling and conquering the Gentile East Ender." Similar accounts of the perceived economic ascendancy of immigrant Jews in terms of a Darwinian racial struggle for existence were, in fact, frequently postulated by English social theorists in the 1890s. Beatrice Potter's work on London's East End and J.A. Hobson's radical social criticism are two well-known examples that have been associated with this phenomenon.<sup>33</sup> Greta Jones has stated generally that after the 1870s "social Darwinism shifted

towards an emphasis upon moral, cultural and intellectual evolution." In this climate J.A. Hobson, for instance, in his Problems of Poverty (1891) could argue that the Jewish immigrant:

"...is the nearest approach to the ideal 'economic' man, the 'fittest' person to survive in trade competition. Admirable in domestic morality and an orderly citizen, he is almost devoid of social morality."<sup>34</sup>

Hobson deplored competitive individualism and the whole notion of laissez faire capitalism and therefore, in this context, was able to utilise the dark Jewish stereotype.<sup>35</sup> However, pro-Alien Liberal thinkers, using the same stereotype of the Jew as an "ideal economic man," could ally "Samuel Smiles and Charles Darwin" and idealise the Jewish immigrant as a "veritable symbol of self help, hard work, self denial... deferred gratification" and, above all, upholders of laissez faire capitalism.<sup>36</sup> It was in this ambiguous scientific, political and literary social Darwinist framework that Ford Madox Ford was to provide us with the most comprehensive utilisation of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype in this period.

#### Ford Madox Ford, Social Darwinism and the Ambivalent Jewish Stereotype

With the Boer War (1899-1902) "public discussion of alleged racial, physical, moral, sexual and literary degeneration reached obsessive proportions in England..."<sup>37</sup> By 1900, in the context of this wider imperial crisis, this strand of social Darwinism, which had been popularised in the 1880s and 90s, had the force of prophecy:

"What seemed particularly disturbing was the probability, increasingly accepted during the first decade of the new century, that in the very near future the British fitness to survive would be put to the test by an adversary even stronger and better armed than the Boers and if the British military capacity could be stretched to breaking point by the Boers, how could it cope with the Germans...?"<sup>38</sup>

Ford Madox Ford, in particular, internalised this "regressive view of Darwinian evolution" in a "dark view of history" which culminates in the Boer War:

"And then came the Boer War, which appears to me like a chasm separating the new world from the old. Since that period the whole tone of England appears to me to have entirely changed. Principles have died out in politics, even as the spirit of artistry has died out among the practitioners of the arts."<sup>39</sup>

To be sure, Ford's world view and pessimistic evolutionism was not particularly original. On the contrary, as H.R. Huntley has noted, it was a "part of [the] common stock of late Victorian and Edwardian intellectual thought."<sup>40</sup> In fact, it is Ford's representative quality that is of significance for this chapter. Thus, Ford can explicitly associate a "new" degenerate England with the Jewish plutocracy who made their fortunes in South Africa which was a common equation at this time:

"It was undoubtedly the Rand millionaire who began to set the pace of social life so immensely fast. And the South African war meant the final installation of the Rand millionaire in Mayfair, which is the centre of English--and possibly of European and American--social life. The Rand millionaire was almost invariably a Jew; and whatever may be said for or against the Jew as a gainer of money, there is no doubt that having got it he spends it with an extraordinary lavishness, so that the whole tone of English society really changed about this time."<sup>41</sup>

Ford's adoption of the dark Jewish stereotype in the context of the supposed corrupt metamorphosis of English society after the Boer War is reinforced in his second novel, The Inheritors: An Extravagant Story (1901).<sup>42</sup> In general terms, The Inheritors can be directly related both to H.G. Wells' The Time Machine and to late Victorian "fin-de-siècle biological ideas" of which, I have argued, Wells' science fiction was a part. However, written in the wake of the Boer War, The Inheritors combines such pessimistic evolutionism with political satire. Thus, The Inheritors postulates a contemporary English

society which is about to be "inherited" by a ruthless species from the "Fourth Dimension" (a direct reference to The Time Machine<sup>43</sup>). In this way, the contrast between traditional English values and the "changed national psychology" which Ford perceived to have emerged after the Boer War is given a pseudo-evolutionary framework in The Inheritors. As Huntley has shown "throughout [the novel] there are suggestions of a larger national process at work, a process that explains in crude evolutionary terms the mechanism of the psychological changes now taking place in England."<sup>44</sup> In fact, The Inheritors is described by Ford as a "political work" and as the politically expedient "Dimensionists" are meant to be satirical representations of, among others, "Joseph Chamberlain who made the [Boer] War," one can see why.<sup>45</sup> Ford's distinction between the "old and new worlds" after the Boer War is reinforced by Granger, the novel's hero, who is torn between the old aristocratic ideals of honour and altruism and the opposite modern unscrupulous values which the "Dimensionists" employ in their pursuit for power. To emphasise this conflict, Ford arranges that Granger falls in love with the "Dimensionist" anti-heroine who in turn tries to destroy the world which Granger represents. Granger's irrational love and resulting impotence in the face of the "Dimensionist" threat highlights his role as a "quaint, vestigial, and doomed" figure in comparison with the evolutionary march to power of the "Dimensionists". In these terms, as Paul Wiley notes, The Inheritors begins "Ford's long study of the decline of a ruling class standard in the face of modern corruption."<sup>46</sup> It is significant, in this context, that the "Dimensionist" anti-heroine of the novel is described as being "...of some race, perhaps Semitic, perhaps Slav--of some incomprehensible race" (7). The contrast between an all-powerful sexual Jewish other and a weak corrupt society was, in fact, already popularised in George DuMaurier's

Trilby (1894) and—surely a direct influence on The Inheritors--The Martian (1897).<sup>47</sup> After The Inheritors Ford's fiction, therefore, charts the inevitable rise to power of the Jewish racial other on the crest of a degenerate Darwinian evolution. In Ford's words:

"...there is an east of London population which is small, dark, vigorous and gentle. In the natural course of things this eastern population will rise in scale, will cross London, will besiege the palaces, will attain to the very frames of mind of these tranquil giants."<sup>48</sup>

As I have shown, the use of Darwinism to "explain" the rise of the East End Jew--"small, dark, vigorous and gentle"--to the heights of the aristocracy--"those tranquil giants"--was a common feature of the 1880s and 90s. Ford repeated the neutral social Darwinist doctrine that "the nation that will best survive the struggle for existence is the nation that shall contain the largest number of individuals... fitted to deal with the peculiar circumstances of that age" and, like many commentators, applied this notion to the Jews. Thus, although Ford states he "does not like Jews" and even, in his letters, frequently abuses his literary agent--J.B. Pinker--as a "Jew," he nevertheless is prepared to cast the "Jew" in the role of an evolutionary force that will "help England to muddle through."<sup>49</sup> Ford can, therefore, stand at the London Docks and observe the "many Jews from Odessa" arriving amongst other immigrants and comment:

"...it is not impossible that one of the children of one of these adventurers may be, like Disraeli, the man who will help England to muddle through."<sup>50</sup>

Ford's politics were consistently Tory--whether "Tory anarchist" or "Tory paternalist"--and the Disraelian bright stereotype of the Jewish plutocrat saving a corrupt British Empire was clearly consistent with Ford's view of social Darwinism. This view led him, inevitably, to a life-long support of political Zionism and to his novel, Mr. Fleight (1913).<sup>51</sup> This is Ford's most comprehensive

fictional account of ambivalent Jewish power being utilised by a racially degenerate England to help her "muddle through."

Although written in 1913 Mr. Fleight to quote Huntley, "signals a return to the general theme of The Inheritors (1901)." However, instead of relating the changing mood of English psychology to an invasion of alien beings from the Fourth Dimension, Mr. Fleight applies Ford's evolutionary pessimism to the Jewish plutocracy who represent a more convincing usurping political force.<sup>52</sup> In these terms, whilst The Inheritors can be rightly dismissed as a "roman à thèse," Mr. Fleight is now recognised as "Ford's most ambitious and successful [novel] before The Good Soldier (1915)."<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, Ford's attempt to absorb into Mr. Fleight his underlying evolutionary theories is only partially successful. His main protagonists, the Jewish Mr. Aaron Rothweil Fleight—"a little dark man" (1)—and the aristocratic Mr. Blood—"a heavy, grey man of ferocious aspect" (1)—are too obviously racial types which Ford imaginatively associates with the future evolution of England. Mr. Fleight, as his name suggests, is a rising Jewish plutocrat who argues that "society being what it is I feel I ought to be Prime Minister or Privy Councillor at least" (3).<sup>54</sup> By contrast, the aristocratic Mr. Blood, with the equally symbolic name, is the "last mastodon" (14) whose heritage stretches back to the middle ages and who "a hundred years ago would have represented the Englishman and the gentleman" but today is an "anachronism; and an inactive one at that" (8). In such terms, Mr. Fleight is "the modern man" who, in Mr. Blood's words, is "the child of the age, if you're not yet certain to be the father of the age to come" (18). Ford's impressionistic evolutionary schema is such that "the physical contact between the two [protagonists] is the visual symbol of England Past and England Future looking out on England Present."<sup>55</sup> Clearly, on this level, Mr. Fleight can be reduced to



the "small, dark, vigorous" population of East London that will "besiege the [West End] palaces" of the doomed, vestigial "tranquil giants" represented by Mr. Blood.

What gives Mr. Fleight its ironic tension is that the Jewish plutocrat and English aristocrat are not merely symbolic opposites as in Trollope's fiction. On the contrary, it is the impotent Mr. Blood who, paradoxically, has the power to assist Mr. Fleight in his political ambitions and does so, perversely, as a means of hitting back at a degenerate society. In Ford's terms, England is characterised as an unassailable mixture of the aristocratic and plutocratic worlds and society, significantly, is deemed unable to survive without the latter:

"The appearance of the Jew in our society means that the Jew is an unrivalled soldier of fortune. He isn't part of our country; he hasn't got our morality, but he's extraordinarily able as a ruler. So our side [the Tories] takes him up and uses him. It doesn't matter to him which side he's on, because he can't begin to understand our problems or our ethics or our morality or our way of looking at things" (213).

This perception of the "use" of the Jewish racial other refers back, I think, to the Arnoldian cultural synthesis of the "Hebraic"--plutocratic--and "Hellenistic"--aristocratic--historical traditions as well as the bright--Disraelian--stereotype.<sup>56</sup> In fact, Ford had already examined in general these Arnoldian assumptions in An English Girl (1907) and, in another context, he could even speculate whether in Edwardian England "the Jew... is being absorbed by us. Is this greatest of all race problems solving itself?"<sup>57</sup> As Mr. Fleight is peopled by "racial hybrids" (216)--with the sole exception of Mr. Blood--Ford clearly thought the Jewish "race problem" was "solving itself." Thus, Mr. Fleight is born of a Scotch mother and Jewish father.<sup>58</sup> And Wilhelmina and Augusta Macphail--as their names indicate--are a mixture of German-Scots ancestry, whilst Cluny Macpherson

is "half-Armenian, half-Greek." However Mr. Blood, significantly, associates such "racial absorption" with England's degeneracy:

"Mr. Fleight continued seriously... 'if you come as a sort of hybrid from a couple of races, that don't matter, like Greeks and Armenians, or any sort of Central American republic, you'll just be chattering enough and imbecile enough and romantic enough and sufficiently utterly useless to be the typical Englishman of today...' 'And that,' Mr. Blood confirmed amiably, 'is why this country is rotting away'" (226).

Ford, like many racial theorists of his day, associated such perceived "racial absorption" with plutocratic corruption and, it is no coincidence, that after the publication of Mr. Fleight Mr. Blood became Ford's public persona.<sup>59</sup> The novel's satiric irony centres around the fact that Mr. Blood--knowing society to be racially degenerate--is still willing to engage in "bribery on a wholesale scale" (192) to get Mr. Fleight elected as an M.P. In fact, he decides to help Mr. Fleight "climb in three months to a position that, normally, it takes ten years to attain to" (194) precisely to show how corrupt society has become. For Mr. Blood, "life" in these terms, "is a disgusting affair... more foul than it ever conceivably was..." (194). Such a viewpoint is emphasised at the beginning of the novel where Ford gives the reader a concise summary of the financial strings that Mr. Fleight will have to pull to become a "pillar of society" (294):

"My dear man,' Mr. Blood said, 'if you're going to go up at all fast as a climber it's going to cost you £150,000 a year for sheer bribery. You'll have to take up politics, and the party funds will cost about £140,000 every two or three years--every time there is a general election, at least. You will have to run a daily paper in order to boom yourself with the general public, and you can't lose less than £60,000 a year on that. You will have to run a serious monthly or weekly to advertise you to thinking people--another £5,000. You will have a constituency with a solid 2,000 majority, and that will cost you about £2 per vote per annum--say £7,000. You will have to have an expensive wife for the social side of things; her establishment charges will run you into at least £12,000 if you do the thing at all decently'" (21).

It is the unravelling of these events that constitutes the novel's plot. The "commercially profligate" world of Trollope's later fiction is perceived by Ford to characterise Edwardian life in a decade that might well be called "The Age of the Plutocrats."<sup>60</sup> Ford's Mr. Fleight refers back, I think, to Trollope's rather stuffy Mr. Carbury of Carbury Manor in The Way We Live Now (1875) who despises the plutocratic Melmotte from the distance of his aristocratic country seat.<sup>61</sup> Mr. Blood's country seat is called Corbury but, unlike Mr. Carbury, he tells the Jewish plutocrat that even though he will not "ask you down to Corbury, I shouldn't refuse to chat with you if I met you in Pall Mall" (6). Ford's world has moved exclusively to Pall Mall where a Mr. Blood would "chat" with a Mr. Fleight. Such is the ever-evolving degeneracy of the age.

In fact, the only means by which Mr. Fleight's ascendancy can be undermined is by a sexual scandal. Ford, significantly, viewed the Dreyfus Affair as:

"...perhaps the most important affair of the modern world; possibly it was the most beneficent, since it shook up the moral values of the whole of thinking human society..."<sup>62</sup>

The view that such "affairs" were the only means of preserving "moral values" was an important theme in Hilaire Belloc's fiction at this time and, in general terms, was anticipated by H.G. Wells' The New Machiavelli and the "Greenland Scandal" in The Inheritors. Significantly, the "Marconi Scandal" (1911-14), perceived by Belloc's circle as England's Dreyfus Affair--started two years before Mr. Fleight was published and was, in these terms, an important influence.<sup>63</sup> For instance, Mr. Fleight is described by Mr. Blood as "a Scotsman, a Jew, a barrister. You know you are really leader of the House of Commons by your triple birthright: And rich, too!" (7). This is a reference, I think, to Sir Rufus Isaacs, a protagonist in the

"Marconi Scandal," a Jewish barrister, wealthy, and a member of the Liberal Government's cabinet who, like Mr. Fleight, underwent a court case. However, Mr. Fleight succeeds in his election as an M.P. by a kind of deus ex machina--the last minute death of a political opponent--and, by implication, continues his irrevocable rise upwards. In fact, by the end of the novel, Mr. Fleight is described as "a natural force" and "not a human being... like a wind or a rock or a chain of mountains" (243). It is as if some unseen evolutionary "law" has been evoked by Ford making Fleight's march to power possible by striking the opponent dead who unwittingly strayed into the path of this "natural force." In these terms, Mr. Fleight is perceived as an impersonal victim of a racially degenerate Darwinian evolution. Unlike Trollope's vulgar, aggressive, social climbers, Mr. Fleight's "modest" (306) ascendancy had been pre-determined by a "scientific" evolutionism. In this way, Mr. Fleight comprehensively enacts the popular evolutionary theories of the 1880s and 90s which, more than any other ideology, gave a "scientific" credence to a stereotyped fear of Jewish power.

#### NOTES

1. Bertrand Russell, Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy (London, 1914), p. 11. Cited in Tom Gibbon's Rooms in the Darwin Hotel: Studies in English Literary Criticism and Ideas, 1880-1920 (Sydney, 1973), p. 2 to which I am indebted. For the general impact of social Darwinism on English Literature see Leo J. Henkin, Darwinism in the English Novel (London, 1940) especially Chapters 12 and 14.
2. Greta Jones, Social Darwinism and English Thought: The Interaction Between Biological and Social Theory (Brighton, 1980), Preface, p. xiii.
3. Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Varieties of Social Darwinism" in her Victorian Minds (London, 1968), p. 327.
4. Malcolm Bradbury, The Social Context of Modern English Literature (Oxford, 1971), p. 61. See also Chapter 2, above.
5. For a recent discussion of Lamarckianism in these terms see Jones, op. cit., p. 78 and Chapter 5 passim. See also Richard Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915 (London, 1976), p. 272 and Chapter 12 passim for the distinction between a pessimistic orthodox Darwinism and an optimistic Lamarckianism. I am thinking of the work of Herbert Spencer in this period who was the main opponent of orthodox Darwinism from an "ethical" Lamarckian perspective. See G.R. Searle's Eugenics and Politics in Britain, 1900-1914 (Leyden, 1976), pp. 6-7 for a discussion of Spencer in these terms.
6. Shannon, op. cit., Chapter 12. T.H. Huxley's Evolution and Ethics (London, 1893) is the classical text for this argument.
7. For G.B. Shaw, the Fabian Society and Social Darwinism see Chapter 9. For the Eugenics Education Society see Searle, op. cit., passim. Shannon, op. cit., p. 272 cites Butler's Evolution, Old and New (London, 1879). See also Chapter 2 for references to Butler.
8. G.B. Shaw, Preface to Back to Methuselah (1921), p. xvii cited in Jones, op. cit., p. 90.
9. G.R. Searle, The Quest for National Efficiency (Oxford, 1971), p. 11. T.H. Huxley, in particular, argued in these terms that evolution was not "a constant tendency to increased perfection... Retrogressive is as practicable as progressive metamorphosis" in his Social Diseases and Worse Remedies (London, 1891), p. 17.
10. See The Decadent Dilemma by R.K.R. Thornton (London, 1983), Chapter 1 passim and pp. 10-11 for references to Lankester. See also Gibbons, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

11. For the influence of Cesare Lombroso (1836-1909) and the continental "degeneration" thesis on English social Darwinism see Gibbons, op. cit., pp. 34-38.
12. Henry Norman, M.P. for Northampton, in Hansard, 4S H (133) 112-3, 25 April 1904 cited in John A. Garrard The English and Immigration 1880-1910 (Oxford, 1971), p. 18 to which I am indebted.
13. Charles Rolleston, The New Liberal Review (March 1904) cited in Garrard, op. cit., p. 9.
14. For the Jew as "model British citizen" see Chapter 6. For the Jew as the cause of England's racial degeneration see Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939 (London, 1979), Chapter 3 passim.
15. The most comprehensive discussion of Arnold White in these terms is in S.G. Bayme "Jewish Leadership and Anti-Semitism in Britain 1898-1918" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1977). See especially Chapter 5 "The Ambivalence of the Tories," pp. 136-147 passim and p. 140 for the Jewish Chronicle quote. For White's eugenics see Searle, Eugenics and Politics passim. For a discussion of eugenics as a product of social Darwinism see Searle, ibid., p. 4 and Chapter 1 passim and for White in the context of English antisemitism see Holmes, op. cit., passim.
16. Cited in Bayme, op. cit., p. 138, p. 145, p. 144 and pp. 145-146 respectively.
17. The Huxley Papers, XLVIII, pp. 146-147. Cited in Charles S. Blinderman "Thomas Henry Huxley on the Jews," Jewish Social Studies (Vol. XXV, No. 1, 1963), p. 60 and pp. 57-61 for a comprehensive discussion of Huxley in this context.
18. See Searle, Eugenics and Politics, op. cit., pp. 40-44 for further examples of ambivalent perceptions of Jews by eugenicists. G.B. Shaw will be discussed in these terms in Chapter 9.
19. Searle, Eugenics and Politics, op. cit., pp. 41-42 and p. 127 for references to this committee. To the extent that Jews were willing to accept such "race-thinking" about themselves it is worth noting that both Cesare Lombroso and Max Nordau were openly Jewish.
20. For a discussion of Benjamin Farjeon in these terms see Chapter 6.

21. Charlotte Klein, "The Jew in Modern English Literature" in Patterns of Prejudice, Vol. 5, No. 2 (March-April, 1971), p. 25. I am indebted to this article for references to Lucy Kane-Clifford.
22. See Martin Woodroffe, "Racial Theories of History and Politics: The Example of Houston Stewart Chamberlain" in Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914 (ed.) P. Kennedy and R. Nichols (Oxford, 1981), Chapter 8 passim for Arthur de Gobineau's philosophy in a modern context. See also G.L. Mosse, Towards The Final Solution (London, 1978), Chapter 5, "Britain Lends a Hand."
23. Raymond Williams, "Social Darwinism" in his Problems of Materialism and Culture (London, 1982), p. 95 and pp. 86-102 passim.
24. For a discussion of these themes in this period see Bradbury, op. cit., passim.
25. By 1899, significantly, an estimated 230,000 copies were sold in the U.S. whilst 450,000 copies sold in Europe. For the importance of Caesar's Column in an English context see Gibbons, op. cit., Preface, p. ix.
26. Darko Suvin, Metamorphose of Science Fiction (California, 1979), p. 225. It should be noted that Wells was a student of T.H. Huxley and a lifelong friend of E. Ray Lankester. For a sympathetic Wellsian portrait of Lankester as Sir Rupert York see The World of William Clissold (1926). For the influence of social Darwinism on Wells' Edwardian fiction and perception of Jews see Chapter 9.
27. Charlotte Klein, "The Portrait of the Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama, 1830-1933" (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, London University, 1967), p. 59.
28. Cited in Louis Harap, The Image of the Jew in American Literature: From Early Republic to Mass Immigration (Philadelphia, 1974), p. 430. For a discussion of Donnelly in terms of his "ambivalence" see ibid., pp. 419-433.
29. Ibid., p. 429. For the stereotyping of Zionism in these terms see Chapter 8. Arnold White, who I think can be usefully compared with Donnelly, was also something of a "Zionist." See Holmes, op. cit., p. 118.
30. Harap, op. cit., p. 430 quotes this. This is an obvious anticipation of the antisemitic Protocols of the Elders of Zion. See Chapters 4, 5, and 8 for a discussion of the Protocols in a literary context.

31. See Chapter 11 for a similar stereotype of "Jewish revolutionaries." See also Chapter 2, note 64, for further references to grotesque animal imagery.
32. I am indebted to Charlotte Klein for this reference. See note 21.
33. For J.A. Hobson, see Colin Holmes' "J.A. Hobson and the Jews" in C. Holmes (ed.), Immigrants and Minorities in British Society (London, 1978). For references to Beatrice Webb (née Potter) see Holmes, Anti-Semitism, op. cit., pp. 19-26. See also my Introduction to Chapter 9.
34. Jones, op. cit., p. 55. Holmes, Anti-Semitism, op. cit., p. 20 quotes Hobson and also Beatrice Webb in this context.
35. See Chapter 9 for this argument.
36. J.A. Garrard, op. cit., pp. 95-102 discusses this. See also note 33 for further references to Hobson.
37. Gibbons, op. cit., p. 34 and Chapter 1 passim. Searle, Eugenics and Politics, op. cit., Chapter 3, "The Issue of Racial Degeneration" passim discusses this theme in detail. See also Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Boer War in this context.
38. Michael Howard, "Empire, Race and War in pre-1914 Britain" in History and Imagination: Essays in Honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper (London, 1981) (ed.) H. Lloyd-Jones, p. 351 and Chapter 24 passim.
39. Ford Madox Ford, Memories and Impressions (New York, 1911), p. 171. Cited in H.R. Huntley, The Alien Protagonist of Ford Madox Ford (Michigan, 1970), pp. 13-14. I am indebted to Huntley for his analysis of Ford's "regressive view of Darwinian evolution" and "dark view of history" p. 28 and p. 9 respectively and passim.
40. Huntley, op. cit., p. 7 and Chapter 1 passim.
41. Ford Madox Ford, Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections (London, 1911), pp. 235-236. For general perceptions of the South African Jewish plutocracy in Edwardian England see Jamie Camplin, The Rise of the Plutocrats (London, 1978), Chapters 3 and 8 passim. See also Chapter 4, above.
42. The novel also bears the name of Joseph Conrad. Conrad, however, only contributed the last twenty pages to the novel as well as helping to revise it.



43. See Charles G. Hoffmann, Ford Madox Ford (New York, 1967), p. 24 for the connection between The Time Machine and The Inheritors. Wells later made fun of Ford in his The Bulpington of Blup (1932), p. 537 because of such alleged plagiarism.
44. Huntley, op. cit., pp. 29-31.
45. Ford Madox Ford, Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance (New York, 1965), p. 141 quoted in Huntley, op. cit., p. 28.
46. Paul Wiley, Novelist of Three Worlds: Ford Madox Ford (New York, 1962), p. 142 and Huntley, op. cit., p. 30.
47. For a discussion of this see Chapter 10. The Martian has a similar "alien" but all-powerful sexual Jewess but this time from Mars. As this chapter makes clear, it is probably not a coincidence that Ford was later "devoted to a woman of Jewish descent." (See Arthur Mizener, The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford [London, 1971], p. 458).
48. Ford Madox Ford, The Spirit of the People: An Analysis of the English Mind (London, 1907), p. 45.
49. See John Batchelor, The Edwardian Novelists (London, 1982), p. 94 for Ford's abuse of J.B. Pinker. See also note 58 and The English Review (No. 10, Dec. 1911), p. 68.
50. The Spirit of the People, op. cit., p. 84. Ford, significantly, regarded "the Jew" Disraeli as "the most appealing of all England's real rulers during the nineteenth century..." ibid., p. 32. He also "lost his breath with joy and astonishment when Mr. Zangwill once in a railway carriage handed me a cigarette..." Ancient Lights, op. cit., p. 153.
51. For descriptions of Ford's politics see Huntley, op. cit., p. 30 and Chapter 1 passim and Batchelor, op. cit., p. 96 and Chapter 3 passim. For Ford's "Zionism" see Chapter 8. For the connection between the Disraelian stereotype and such views see Chapter 4.
52. Huntley, op. cit., p. 155. See also pp. 155-167 for this argument.
53. Ibid., p. 32 and Wiley, op. cit., p. 164. For favourable contemporary impressions of Mr. Fleight see Amy Cruse, After the Victorians (London, 1938), pp. 202-204.

54. The Spirit of the People, op. cit., p. 172 significantly ends with the following sentence: "...if this [English] people be not the Chosen People, this land will be always one that every race would choose for its birthings and buryings until the last Aaron shall lead the last of the conquering legions across the world." Thus, calling Mr. Fleight "Aaron" is clearly not a coincidence.
55. Huntley, op. cit., p. 160 and Chapter 5 passim for the link between Ford's impressionism and contemporary racial theories.
56. See Chapters 2 and 4 for a discussion of the Arnoldian and Disraelian stereotypes.
57. Huntley, op. cit., pp. 119-120 discusses An English Girl in these terms. See also The Daily Mail, Saturday, May 4, 1907, p. 3.
58. J.B. Pinker, significantly, was also a Scottish Jew. See note 49. He was also the literary agent of Galsworthy, D.H. Lawrence, Kipling, Wells, Henry James and Conrad.
59. See, for instance, The Outlook (London), xxxii, p. 826-827 (Dec. 13, 1913) and ibid., xxxv, p. 110-111 (Jan. 23, 1915).
60. See Jamie Camplin, op. cit., passim for this description.
61. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of The Way We Live Now.
62. The Outlook (London), xxxii, p. 826-827 (Dec. 13, 1913).
63. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the Marconi Scandal and this theme in general. Hoffmann, op. cit., pp. 25-26 puts the "scandal" theme in the context of other Edwardian novels.
64. For a discussion of such "scientific" evolutionism in relation to socialist theory see Chapter 9. G.B. Shaw and H.G. Wells, in particular, shall be discussed in these terms.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### JEWISH STEREOTYPING AND IMPERIALISM:

#### JOHN BUCHAN, RUDYARD KIPLING AND THE "CRISIS OF EMPIRE"

Ford Madox Ford's belief that the Boer War (1899-1902) represented "a chasm separating the new world from the old" and a sign of England's racial degeneration certainly captured the mood of his times.<sup>1</sup> As Donald Read has recently concluded, the fact that "...it had taken half a million troops to overcome perhaps one-tenth that number of Boers, had shaken confidence in the capacity of the mother country to defend and to rule the British Empire in the new century." Indeed, the Boer War was a "profoundly disturbing experience for most Britons who lived through it" and even the "hysterical rejoicings" at the Imperial Relief of Mafeking (May, 1900) revealed "the depth of British public anxiety at the spectacle of the hitherto successful defiance by a few farmers of the might of the British Empire."<sup>2</sup> The Jingoistic Daily Mail, for instance, reported on the night that the news reached England that Mafeking was relieved: "London simply went wild with delight... Women absolutely wept for joy and men threw their arms about each other's necks..." Yet, most writers at this time agreed with Arnold Bennett's assessment of "Mafeking Night" that "such praise of ourselves as a nation, such gorgeous self-satisfaction and boastfulness are to me painful..."<sup>3</sup> Alan Sandison, in particular, in his The Wheel of Empire ("a study of the Imperial Idea in Some Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Fiction") has argued that:

"...as the imperial fervour diminished in the aftermath of the Boer War the relationship between the imperial idea and the imaginative writer took on a new and very different form. For Kipling, Conrad and Buchan the crisis of empire had also been their own personal crisis: alienation, the violation of integrity and the loss of self-confidence. It is, therefore, not surprising that the tensions of these writers' moral

awareness are found to be in remarkable sympathy with the tensions of the imperial idea."<sup>4</sup>

R. Robinson and J. Gallagher have underlined Sandison's emphasis on a "crisis of empire" caused by the Boer War. In their opinion: "the empire went to war in 1899 for a concept that was finished, for a cause that was lost, for a grand illusion." To be sure, the "crisis of empire" after the Boer War is such that it anticipates, at least in literary terms, the impact of the First World War. Malvern van Wyk Smith's book on Anglo-Boer poetry, in particular, demonstrates convincingly that "Boer War poems sometimes anteceded qualities which have come to be regarded as peculiarly those of First World War verse."<sup>5</sup> Thus, although the "khaki election" of 1900 created a high peak of Conservative Jingoism and vote-catching xenophobia, such patriotic enthusiasm abated soon after the ending of the regular war in 1900.<sup>6</sup> The guerrilla war that followed for the next two years, moreover, encouraged organised radical liberal and left-wing anti-war or "pro-Boer" agitation. This polarised English politics in a similar way to the Eastern Question nearly a quarter of a century before. At the very least, one can discern a radical ambiguity at the time of the Boer War which perceived it as both "the final convulsion of a gutted and dying culture and as the ultimate triumph of English Imperial glory."<sup>7</sup>

In fact, as with the Eastern Question, both the extremes of Tory Imperialism and anti-war socialism and radical liberalism were to make wide use of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype for their own political ends. Concerning the latter groups, it is well known, as Colin Holmes states, that "there was a strong strand of contemporary Liberal and Labour opinion which regarded the Boer War as a war fostered by Jews for Jewish gain."<sup>8</sup> It was the abortive Jameson Raid against Kruger's Boer Republic in 1895 which initiated the belief in

a corrupt "Jewish financial" conspiracy "hatched by capitalists to seize the gold-rich lands of the Boers outright and subsequently to screw down the wages of white labor on the Rand as a means of enriching world Jewry."<sup>9</sup> Thus Justice, the journal of H.M. Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation, carried a series of articles in April 1896 on "Imperialist Judaism in Africa" and charged Alfred Beit, Barney Barnato and other "Jewish financiers" in South Africa of planning to create "an Anglo-Hebraic empire stretching from Egypt to Cape Colony and from Beira to Sierra Leone":

"It is high time that those who do not think that Beit, Barnato, Oppenheim, Rothschild and Co. ought to control the destinies of Englishmen at home, and of their Empire abroad, should come together and speak their mind."<sup>10</sup>

As the crisis between the British Empire and the Boer Republic came to a head in the late 1890s the approaching conflict could, therefore, be blamed upon a "Jew-jingo gang" and a "Jew press" which had brainwashed the public into support for a "piratical imperialism in the Transvaal and elsewhere."<sup>11</sup> With the outbreak of war in 1899 such a vocabulary was to be widely and repeatedly utilised by anti-war "pro-Boers" of Marxist, Socialist, Labour and radical Liberal persuasions. The extent that such views became a part of a popular mainstream opposition can be gauged by the fact that the Welsh radical M.P., David Lloyd George—who established a national reputation by publicly opposing the architect of the war, Joseph Chamberlain—was, along with other "pro-Boers," to utilise this vocabulary in Parliament.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, this vocabulary gained an intellectual credence when the radical Liberal theoretician, J.A. Hobson, was to analyse "Imperialism" in terms of "Jew power" as, in these terms, "Jews are par excellence the international financiers." As Holmes notes, such views were "widely circulated by those who opposed the war."<sup>13</sup> Hobson, thus, reinforced the popular view of the Boer War

as, in his words, a "Jew-Imperialist design." Such radical patriotism was summed up by the novelist, Jerome K. Jerome, who argued in a letter to Herbert Samuel that "...those who prefer the cause of England, her fair name and her prosperity, to the success of the gold mines on the Rand, are denounced by the German Jew Press as unpatriotic!"<sup>14</sup> In fact, a large number of writers in this period utilised the dark Jewish stereotype which came to fruition at this time. Examples such as G.K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, Arnold Bennett, Olive Schreiner, H.G. Wells and G.B. Shaw shall be examined in other contexts. In this chapter, therefore, I want to discuss not the anti-war Socialist and radical Liberal use of the Jewish stereotype but, on the contrary, the Imperialist pro-war Conservative use of the same stereotype which has received comparatively little attention.<sup>15</sup>

### John Buchan, Rudyard Kipling and the Disraelian Imperial Jewish Stereotype

The Imperialism of John Buchan and Rudyard Kipling, it hardly need be said, was diametrically opposed to the radical Liberal and Socialist opposition to the Boer War. Buchan, from 1901-1903, was one of "Milner's Young Men" in South Africa and was destined after the war to take a direct part as a colonial administrator in the rebuilding of Africa for the Empire. His biographer notes that "two of Milner's beliefs deeply affected Buchan's outlook. The one was his unshaken faith in the possibilities of Empire; the other his impatience with the trivialities of domestic politics." In fact, for Buchan, a Scottish Calvinist, the "idea of Empire" had "some link with the Puritan desire to extend the City of God." It was this idea of Empire which Buchan turned into fiction over the next four decades.<sup>16</sup> Kipling, similarly, conceived of Empire as "the white

man's civilising mission" and this rather nebulous definition is said to have "resembled Cecil Rhodes", to whom he got as close as any man" even, from 1897 onwards, helping to write Rhodes' political speeches.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the idea of "a great white nation in South Africa" was promoted in Kipling's prose and verse which provided "splendid commentary on Cecil Rhodes" during the Boer War. The impact of such verse can be gauged by the fact that "The Absent Minded Beggar" (1899) raised a quarter of a million pounds for the benefit of soldiers' families. (This poem appeared in a variety of versions; on tobacco jars, ash trays, packets of cigarettes, pillow cases and plates.)<sup>18</sup> Rhodes, it should be noted, was a founder of De Beers Mining Co. Ltd., a partner of Alfred Beit, and a multi-millionaire who made his fortune in Africa. In fact, Rhodes and Beit helped to finance the abortive Jameson Raid at a cost of £400,000.<sup>19</sup> In other words, from the perspective of the Rhodes' "apostles" and Milner's "kindergarten," the South African financiers were thought of as essential figures in the building of a British Africa. J.B. Robinson, for instance, an English diamond and gold magnate who worked with Beit in South Africa, outlines the importance of financial men such as himself and Beit:

"We are laying the political foundations of a continent which will be the keystone of the arch of Empire..."

It is unsurprising in these terms that Buchan describes the "Jewish financier" in South Africa as "...young men with several millions each, and their acumen and good sense is remarkable. Very different from the bloated Jew financier of the pro-Boer and Bellocian imagination."<sup>20</sup> The difference between the Imperial and "pro-Boer and Bellocian" perceptions of the "Jewish financier" is brought into clear focus when we note T.W.H. Crosland's vicious parodies of Kipling's Imperial verse from a "pro-Boer" anti-Jewish perspective.

Crosland was the assistant editor of the Outlook from 1899-1902. In a series of parodies on Kipling, first published in the Outlook, Crosland rewrites Kipling's verse from a "Bellocian" point of view. In fact, Crosland even went so far as to publish two volumes of such verse, The Absent Minded Mule (1899) and The Five Notions (1903), in which both the layout and typography were carefully copied from Kipling. Crosland, van Wyk Smith argues, was to "fill in the parts of the picture of empire that Kipling left out."<sup>21</sup> These "parts" were, quite simply, Crosland's belief in the corrupting role of the "Jewish financier" in the heart of the British Empire. Here, for example, is the title poem of Crosland's second volume:

"E'ath a notion that the War  
Was a Imperial beano, gave  
By a 'eroic people for  
A people twenty times as brave.

An' if you take his little book  
An' read wherever you may choose,  
Tho' you may look, an' look, an' look,  
You won't see nothin' of no Jews.

As if old England, once agen,  
Raged in the field for honour's sake!  
An' certain 'Ebrew gentlemen  
'Ad got no interests at stake!

Ar- you might think from Rudyard's lines  
That Cecil went about in white;  
'E never owned no dimon mines,  
'E drank no fizz with Verner Beit!"

In these terms the differences in Crosland's and Kipling's perceptions of the role of the "Jewish financier" in South Africa are highlighted by Crosland's juxtaposition of "Jewish" corruption at the centre of the Boer War with the Imperial language of patriotism-- "heroism," "bravery" and "honour." However, Crosland's use of the dark Jewish stereotype is distinctly vicious and obsessive. His The Fine Old Hebrew Gentleman (1922) has been accurately glossed as a



particularly unpleasant piece of English "social antisemitism" with its emphasis on lisping "Yids" with "nasal protuberances" and "shent per shent" "bithness." Clearly, even though two decades separates The Fine Old Hebrew Gentleman from the Boer War, Crosland's lisping Jewish caricatures remain unchanged.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, at the time of the Boer War, Crosland, however crude, was representative of a certain popular strand of Jewish stereotyping. Yet, he was wrong to suppose that Imperialists such as Kipling did not also specifically stereotype Jews from the perspective of Empire.

Beginning with The Africa Colony (1903) Buchan, in particular, is said to have had many "friendly reference[s] to the business acumen of the South African Jew" in building up the empire. This fact has led his biographer to conclude that "there was no trace in [Buchan] of the antisemitism of Belloc and Chesterton."<sup>23</sup> Clearly, Buchan can be distinguished from the actively "pro-Boer" radical Liberal, Roman Catholic, Chesterton and Belloc in the same terms that Kipling has been distinguished from T.W.H. Crosland.<sup>24</sup> Buchan, however, does repeatedly stereotype Jews in terms which are consistent with his Calvinistic work-ethic and his vision of an expanding Imperial world order. For instance, A Lodge in the Wilderness (1906)--a semi-fictional "symposium" on South Africa--contains a full-length fictionalised portrait of Alfred Beit. With Beit renamed as "Mr. Loewenstein" Buchan neatly summarises the stereotype of the "Jewish financier" from an Imperial perspective:

"I like his face," said Mrs. Yorke thoughtfully; 'there is a fire somewhere behind his eyes. But then I differ from most of my [American] countrymen in liking Jews. You can do something with them--stir them up to follow some mad ideal, and they are never vulgar at heart. If we must have magnates, I would rather Jews had the money. It doesn't degrade them and they have the infallible good taste of the East at the back of their heads. No Northerner should be rich, unless he happens to be also a genius'" (23).

The semitic "East" and the aryan "Northern" nations are racial categories which are more usually associated with the rise of modern antisemitism.<sup>25</sup> However, from Buchan's perspective, the Jewish racial other has a special "fire" which can be stirred up "to follow some mad ideal" and therefore benefit the Empire. (Buchan's Liberals, on the other hand, simply regard Loewenstein as a "whipping boy" [22]). It is worth remembering that Ford Madox Ford also believed that "the Jew is extraordinarily able as a ruler" and thus can be utilised by the Tories even though "he can't begin to understand our problems of our ethics or our morality." In Ford's view, moreover, Disraeli was the finest of England's "real rulers" who had "helped England to muddle through."<sup>26</sup> Disraeli, similarly, was one of Buchan's "political heroes about whom he had once thought of writing a book." After the massive Liberal victory of 1906 Buchan was to write that his political task would be to "start at the beginning and do the work of Disraeli all over again..."<sup>27</sup> As the creator of the Indian Empire and "chief prophet and romantic philosopher of the period of high imperialism" it was quite logical for Disraeli to be a "political hero" of Buchan's.<sup>28</sup> More centrally, historians have noted the compatibility between Disraeli's "Young England" Imperial philosophy and his belief in Jewish racial superiority. Robert Blake has described the figure of Sidonia in Coningsby (1844), for instance, as an "omniscient, enigmatic Jewish multi-millionaire... that strange fantasy fulfilment of a cross between Baron de Rothschild and Disraeli himself who instructs Coningsby in the principles of race as well as in those of Young England."<sup>29</sup> Given the fact that both Tancred (1847) and Coningsby promoted Jewish racial superiority and were a part of Disraeli's "Young England Trilogy," Abraham Gilam has recently asked "why should Jewishness have been so important for the articulation of the Young

England doctrine?" His conclusion to this question is that "for Disraeli this preoccupation with racial identity had a positive meaning."<sup>30</sup> That is, in terms of the promotion of Imperialism, Hannah Arendt has argued that Disraeli projected himself as the "chosen man of the chosen race." A member of the aristocracy twice over: "designated as a Jew biblically and selected as British by history." The belief that the British were an Imperial Race--in Rhodes' words--"the best race to rule the world"--and that Jews were a superior "chosen" people were stereotypes clearly promoted by Disraeli for his own political ends.<sup>31</sup> More importantly, after Disraeli's death, Robert Huttenback has noted the increased currency of Disraelian inspired stereotypes in the speeches of early twentieth century Anglo-Jewish colonial administrators:

"...many British Jews, influenced by Anglo-Saxon notions of racial singularity, came to think of themselves as a distinct race and to identify 'chosenness' in the messianic sense with 'racial' superiority."<sup>32</sup>

In these terms it is perhaps not inappropriate that the Buchan who could define colonial administrators as "a racial aristocracy... in their relation to the subject peoples" could dedicate his novel, Prester John (1910), to Lionel Phillips, a Jewish partner in "Wernher, Beit and Co.," and a "fellow-lover of the fairest country under the stars."<sup>33</sup> Kipling, similarly, in his "The Army of a Dream" (1904) was, as I will show, to associate Jews with England's imperial ideals. Thus, just as it is possible to distinguish a line of radical anti-Imperial Jewish stereotyping from the Eastern Question to the Boer War it is also possible to discern a history of Jewish stereotyping which was influenced by the Imperial philosophy and politics of Benjamin Disraeli.

### The "Crisis of Empire" and the Ambivalent Jewish Stereotype

The key point, at this stage, is to recognise the extent that the "Jewish financier" could be stereotyped in terms of Buchan and Kipling's wider Imperial ethos. However, it would be wrong to suppose that the Imperial enthusiasm that was registered at the time of the Boer War was somehow monolithic and an unchanging aspect of their personalities. Sandison, it is worth recalling, emphasises that the perceptions of Buchan and Kipling were radically altered by the "crisis of empire" which was brought about by the Boer War. One should "banish the notion" Sandison argues that Buchan was "the Peter Pan of Milner's 'kindergarten.'"<sup>34</sup> Van Wyk Smith, moreover, has recently summarised a line of argument--which has the status of orthodoxy in studies of Kipling--that Kipling's public "Jingoism" was in fact a mask that hid a private uncertainty about the war:

"...South Africa showed Kipling's empire on the bolt, and his own grandiose concept of empire too brittle to outlast a real imperial war."<sup>35</sup>

To be sure, Kipling probably saw more injury, disease and death during the Boer War than during his days in India. In this context, T.S. Eliot is correct to note that Kipling's poetic "reflections on the Boer War are more admonitory than laudatory."<sup>36</sup> There is, in particular, the famous reference in "The Islanders" (1902) to the "flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals" and, in general, Kipling's characteristic censure of the "unfathomable stupidity, complacency, and lack of responsibility of the English" as Dobrée puts it.<sup>37</sup> One of the best examples of such disillusionment during the Boer War is Kipling's apocalyptic "The Dykes" (1902):

Now we can only wait till the day, wait and apportion our  
shame.  
These are the dykes our fathers left, but we would not look to  
the same.

Time and again we were warned of the dykes, time and again we  
 delayed;  
 Now, it may fall, we have slain our sons, as our fathers we  
 have betrayed."

It is this nostalgic despair for a world of "our fathers" and for  
 "the dykes" of an unassailable high Victorian Imperialism that is  
 clearly at odds with the proclaimed British civilising mission in  
 Africa which the Boer War was meant to represent.

Buchan's imperialism, similarly, has been characterised by Roy  
 Turnbaugh as a product of the "fin-de-siècle" 1890s and, therefore,  
 as a fundamentally "defensive rather than aggressive" ideology.<sup>38</sup>  
 Even Buchan's earliest Imperial novel set in South Africa, The Half-  
 Hearted (1900), anticipated a good deal of uncertainty about the  
 future of an Imperial world order. In this novel the hero is killed  
 in the foothills of the Himalayas as he helps to save the Empire from  
 a potentially destructive foe. Sandison is once again perceptive:

"The dashing action itself is self-assertion rather than self-  
 sacrifice. Nothing is to be allowed to threaten society, or,  
 through it, the integrity of the self: and death in such  
 service is, to repeat, merely the perfection of integrity. In  
 political terms this is, of course, a philosophy of stagnation  
 which will, by and large, petrify society in the state it has  
 reached..."<sup>39</sup>

Such a "philosophy of stagnation" meant that Buchan's world-view was  
 increasingly conceived in terms of a "rigidly stratified and rigidly  
 defended social organisation." A "hierarchy of race," in particular,  
 is central to such a "philosophy" and to Buchan's conception of the  
 Church of Empire. However, Buchan's Calvinism also emphasised ul-  
 terior "...powers of unreason, disorder, or destruction, that may  
 crack the thin crust of civilisation and morality."<sup>40</sup> Thus, once  
 Buchan's vision of a rigidly stratified social order is challenged by  
 a reality which does not conform to this conception of Empire then,  
 like Kipling, an apocalyptic despondency set in. Buchan's fiction,

above all, reflected this duality of focus by presenting the reader with a rigid world order that was continually challenged by a dark and all-embracing conspiracy which threatened to crush this world order. The very fact that Buchan's Imperial world-view is invariably expressed in contrast to a set of values that threatened to destroy the Empire was, finally, the measure of Buchan's uncertainty.

The fragility of Kipling and Buchan's conception of a civilising white British Africa is demonstrated by the fact that in early 1906 the new Liberal Government in London gave "responsible government" to the Afrikaners in the Transvaal. It seemed to the South African Imperialist, as George Shepperson has argued, "that all that the Boer War had been fought for had been destroyed."<sup>41</sup> It is in the context of Kipling and Buchan's increasingly despondent and unreal conception of Empire that an ambivalent perception of the Imperial Jewish stereotype came to fruition. Thus, as early as March 1906 and "sick and wearied of the state of things here [in the Rand]," Kipling wrote to H.A. Gwynne, a close friend, to:

"...agree with you that a certain type of Jew-financier--I have Albu in my eye--is most dangerous and should be hampered but the danger then is (since they all hang together) of weakening the others and so bringing on a bigger smash."<sup>42</sup>

The "Jew-financiers" need to be strong to build up the Empire but some, like Albu, are "dangerous" and because Jews "all hang together" they are capable of "bringing on a bigger smash" than even the new Liberal Government. In more general terms, after the Liberal electoral success a month earlier, Kipling wrote to Gwynne from South Africa to ask him to "wake up the Rand millionaire at home to develop the country. He let us down in the [Jameson] Raid as he'll let us down now if he isn't kicked."<sup>43</sup> One notes the increased element of distrust in Kipling's rather panicky voice--"they let us down in the Raid"--implying that Beit and others were to blame for the debacle of

the Jameson Raid and not Rhodes who actually planned it. By the time of his autobiography, Something of Myself (1936), Kipling remembered "...Jews a plenty from the Rand" on the boats leaving South Africa which he had boarded yearly from 1900-1907. But by the time of his autobiography Kipling had long since thought that "a Hebrew--suffering from cold feet... is a Semitic complaint" hence the unreliability--and worse--of the South African "Jew-financiers."<sup>44</sup>

Buchan, similarly, thought the "capitalist of the future... will either be a great criminal or a considerable patriot." Like Kipling, such ambivalence towards "the capitalist" was reinforced by Buchan's "dislike [of] certain Jews he had met in Johannesburg, who had made their money not too scrupulously and then scuttled out of the country..." In Prester John Buchan described as "vermin" the "Jew and Portuguese traders" who buy diamonds from the "Kaffirs." In his "letters and talk" Buchan more generally "had the habit of loosely equating 'Jews' and 'vulgar wealth'..." after his return from South Africa.<sup>45</sup> In fact, coincidentally, both Kipling and Buchan utilised the hostile Jewish stereotype in unfinished fictional accounts of their South Africa years. In 1905, after a few years in England, Buchan began a novel called The Mountain. Its central theme is the disintegration of English society whose "traditional values were in danger of being replaced by money values." Such Park Lane scenes as "a true millionaire's dinner--fresh strawberries (in April), plovers' eggs, hooky noses and diamonds" are said to highlight a Buchan-like character's belief that "love of money is corrupting us."<sup>46</sup> And, before leaving South Africa in 1908, Kipling also planned a series of unfinished "Cape Town tales" based on his South African years. Instead of upholding the grandeur of Empire Kipling's "Jews" of these years, like Buchan's, were associated with its opposite: "a sale in the market square, a study of the Jews there, the broken down houses

and the riff-raff generally."<sup>47</sup> Perhaps the disparity between such hostile Jewish stereotypes--reminiscent of "Pro-Boer" opinion--and the Imperial Jewish stereotype accounts for the fact that these two works remained unfinished. Nevertheless, in the years following the Boer War, both Buchan and Kipling were to incorporate a peculiarly divided and ambivalent Jewish stereotype into their fiction and, more generally, their Imperial world-view.

The Fiction of John Buchan: Ambivalence Personified

Roy Turnbaugh has rightly argued that Richard Hannay, the "isolated agent" in Buchan's popular fiction that I shall consider, personified the unease with which Buchan increasingly comprehended his imperial values after the Boer War:

"Hannay can trust only a few proven friends. Standards that proved reliable for Henty's boys, that is, whether one was British, are shown by Buchan to be illusory. Indeed many of Buchan's villains are outstandingly English in appearance, so typically middle-class that the hero can detect no flaw in their facade."<sup>48</sup>

It is in this troubled Imperial context of "illusory standards" that the ambivalent Jewish stereotype becomes an obvious and fascinating symbol for Buchan. That is, the Jewish stereotype can be identified on the one hand with the construction of Empire in South Africa and, later on, in Palestine. But the same stereotype, on the other hand, can also be identified with the forces of destruction which are perceived to be undermining the Empire and, in terms of Buchan's Calvinism, lurk just beneath the surface of "civilisation" or, even, an individual protagonist.<sup>49</sup> This ambivalence is given its fullest treatment in an early short story, "The Grove of Ashtaroth," written in 1910 and collected in The Moon Endureth (1912).

"The Grove of Ashtaroth" is set in South Africa with Lawson, a Jewish financier, as its main protagonist. However, Lawson is not a



conventional "Jewish" figure. Unlike Loewenstein who is "not very good to look upon,"<sup>50</sup> Lawson is "fair," "wholesome in mind and body," "a fine make of a man" and, above all, a "born Colonial at heart" (172). Moreover, Lawson "played polo... and hunted a little in season" but "did not propose to become the conventional English gentleman" (172). By introducing Lawson in terms of the "conventional English gentleman" Buchan is, in fact, indulging in a legerdemain. That Lawson is not all he seems is indicated when Buchan concentrates on his hidden "racial pedigree":

"There was that in his eyes, too, which marked him out from the ordinary blonde type of our countrymen. They were large and brown and mysterious, and the light of another race was in their odd depths" (173).

Thus, whilst Lawson ostensibly conforms to the blonde "conventional English gentleman" his "Semitic blood" (192) or "mysterious... other race" is deemed, at least, to qualify this description. More concretely, Lawson had:

"...a grandfather who sold antiques in a back street at Brighton. The latter, I think, had not changed his name, and still frequented the synagogue. The father was a progressive Christian, and the mother had been a blonde Saxon from the Midlands" (173).

Lawson's genealogical move from the emblematic synagogue frequenting "Low-son" to the equally symbolic blonde "Law-son" (one thinks of Kipling's "Law") highlights Buchan's characteristic ambivalence towards the "illusory" South African financier. On the one hand, Lawson did "do wonders with some gold areas in the North" of South Africa and, like Rhodes, became a "new millionaire" (172). However, because Lawson is perceived exclusively in racial terms he is therefore made into a problematic figure with radically conflicting emotions:

"The two races were very clear in [Lawson]--the one desiring gorgeousness, the other thirst for the soothing spaces of the North" (175).

Or,

"...the Saxon mother from the Midlands had done little to dilute the strange wine of the East" (176).

That is, beneath Lawson's Empire-building gentlemanly persona lurked racial forces--the "gorgeousness" of the "East"--which could well undermine such Imperial values. In fact, this was the point of writing "The Grove of Ashtaroth."

After Lawson had lived for three years in the South African "Grove of Ashtaroth" the Buchan-like figure returns to discover to his horror that Lawson had "grown fat" and had turned into a "heavy flaccid being, who shuffled in his gait, and seemed tired and listless" (181). In contrast to the "fine make of a man" Lawson's "pallid face... made him look curiously Semitic" (181/2). Loewenstein, it is worth noting, was similarly "frail in constitution" with "his nervous activity" making him "the prey of headaches."<sup>51</sup> Lawson, unsurprisingly in this "Semitic" condition, had been "extraordinarily successful in his speculations..." (183) whilst the Buchan-figure had been away. However, although financially successful, Lawson's reversion to his "Semitic" past meant that he was attracted to the "dark something at the heart of the Grove of Ashtaroth." As Buchan tells us, "it was no Christian wood" (178). Having the "Calvinist faculty of localising a visible devil in a place or a ritual"<sup>52</sup> Buchan imagines the "subtle and evil mystery" at the "heart" of the wood:

"Ashtaroth was the old goddess of the East. Was it possible that in all Semitic blood there remained, transmitted through the dim generations, some craving for her spell? I thought of the grandfather in the back street at Brighton and of those burning eyes upstairs" (192).

Lawson, with his "disreputable grandfather," "burning eyes" and "Semitic blood" had become enraptured with a pagan "goddess of the

East" and had begun to indulge in pre-Monotheistic rites, akin to "black magic":

"...He was absorbed in some infernal ecstasy. And as he ran, he drew his right hand across his breast and arms, and I saw that it held a knife. I grew sick with disgust... Lawson gashing his fat body, affected me with an overpowering repugnance... The dance grew swifter and fierce. I saw the blood dripping from Lawson's body, and his face ghastly white above his scarred breast" (195/6).<sup>53</sup>

Is Lawson the "conventional English gentleman" or the "mysterious... other race?" Such is the power of the Jewish racial other that the Imperialist can "do something with them--stir them up to follow some mad ideal." But the "fire somewhere behind [their] eyes" (one remembers Lawson's "burning eyes") is also attracted to the forces of pagan anarchy and, therefore, can bring about the destruction of the Church of Empire. In short, such is the ambivalent Jewish stereotype that it can bestride the worlds of both Empire and Destruction. The difference between Lawson and the Buchan-persona is, hence, purely a question of "race":

"The spell which to Semitic blood held the mystery of evil, was to me, of the Northern race, only delicate and rare and beautiful" (201).<sup>54</sup>

Buchan's persona, with characteristic understatement, writes to Lawson after burning down the Grove of Ashtaroth to say that "...I think you will realise that I have saved your soul" (204). Not all of Buchan's "Jews" are so lucky.

It is in the context of this ambivalent perception of the Imperial Jewish stereotype that, I would argue, The Thirty-Nine Steps (1915) should be understood. In the first chapter of Buchan's best-selling novel the reader is confronted with a dark all-embracing conspiracy which challenges the Church of Empire:

"Away behind all the Governments and the armies was a big subterranean movement going on, engineered by very dangerous people... sort of educated anarchists that make revolutions,

but besides them were financiers who were playing for money" (11).

The aim of this "conspiracy" is "to get Russia and Germany at loggerheads." More generally, however, it is an example of Buchan's Calvinist evocation of the "Gothic, almost apocalyptic... dark destructive forces contained in human beings and society."<sup>55</sup> Once again, therefore, it is not unusual for "the Jew" to be associated with such "dark, destructive forces" in fact, in this case, the evil mirror-image of Imperialism:

"The capitalists would rake in the shekels, and make fortunes by buying up wreckage. Capital... had no conscience and no fatherland. Besides, the Jew was behind it, and the Jew hated Russia worse than hell" (11).

The extent that Buchan's "conspiracy" resembles the antisemitic Protocols of the Elders of Zion almost five years before it was popularised in England is probably accounted for by the number of avowed antisemites that Buchan mentions meeting in South Africa.<sup>56</sup> In fact it was Kipling, as I will show, and not Buchan who was to fully embrace the Protocols after 1919. Such a distinction is worth making even if, ironically, Buchan's proto-Zionism often resembled a "sympathetic" Protocols.<sup>57</sup> Thus, Buchan's "hostile" Jewish conspiracy is largely disproved as the rest of the plot unfolds. However, in terms of the novel's internal structure, as Gina Mitchell notes, the "impact" of the first chapter "remains": "if only because it sustains the reader until it is replaced by another and much less dramatic explanation halfway through the book."<sup>58</sup> And the "impact" of Buchan's "conspiracy"--made up of Jewish "anarchists" and "financiers"--is effective largely because of its quasi-realistic and dramatic use of the Jewish stereotype:

"For three hundred years they have been persecuted and this is the return match for the pogroms. The Jew is everywhere, but you have to go far down the backstairs to find him. Take any big Teutonic business concern... if you're on the biggest kind

of job and are bound to get to the real boss, ten to one you are brought up against a little white-faced Jew in a bathchair with an eye like a rattlesnake. Yes sir, he is the man who is ruling the world just now..." (11/12).

Lawson, it is worth recalling, was "white faced" and had "burning eyes" when he, too, threatened the values of Empire. Ignatius Donnelly's popular racial Darwinist "explanation" of "Jewish power" in Cesar's Column (1890) is also echoed in Buchan's account. This novel, it is worth remembering, contained similar apocalyptic references to a "mean and sinister" revolutionary with animal-like "fangs" hanging from his mouth. Donnelly, like Buchan, could also ambivalently stereotype "Jewish power" in terms of an Imperial proto-Zionism.<sup>59</sup> In this context, it is worth mentioning that Disraeli's bright stereotypes of Jewish racial superiority were similarly underpinned by the dark stereotype of the destructive revolutionary Jew. His Lord George Bentinck; a Political Biography (1852), for example, initiates a theme that continues well into the twentieth century:

"The people of God co-operate with atheists; the most skillful accumulators of property ally themselves with communists; the peculiar and Chosen race touch the hand of all the scum and low castes of Europe! And all this because they wish to destroy the ungrateful Christendom which owes to them even its name and whose tyranny they can no longer endure."<sup>60</sup>

Once again, the resemblance between Buchan's Jewish stereotyping and the Disraelian stereotype is exact. "The most skillful accumulators of property" allying with "communists" so as to "destroy" a "tyrannical Christendom" corresponds with uncanny accuracy to The Thirty-Nine Steps. Moreover, in the context of an Empire that is at war with Germany, the dark Jewish revolutionary--especially after the Russian Revolution--became an increasingly important figure for Buchan to contrast with the Imperial proto-Zionist Jew.<sup>61</sup> Witness, for instance, the "Portuguese Jewish" German spy in chapter seven of Mr. Standfast (1919) or the "young Bolshevik Jews" in chapter two of

The Three Hostages (1924). In the last resort, however, what unites Disraeli and Buchan's Imperial stereotyping is the perception of "the Jew" as a racial other uniquely able to build up the Empire. Greenmantle (1916), finally, gives one an indication of the specific racial stereotyping of "the Jew" as compared to Buchan's other forms of xenophobia:<sup>62</sup>

"That is the weakness of the German. He has no gift for laying himself alongside different types of men. He is such a hard-shell being that he cannot put out feelers to his kind. ...In Germany only the Jew can get outside himself, and that is why, if you look into the matter, you will find the Jew is at the back of most German enterprises" (72).

The Jewish racial other has the superior power to "get outside himself" which means that he can be utilised for the good of Empire. But this perceived unique racial power also meant that "the Jew" can be thought of (in 1916) as "at the back of most German enterprises" and, thus, a peculiar threat to Empire. Kipling, I will now show, was to eventually utilise this dark aspect of the Imperial Jewish stereotype and, thus, perceive Jews as a unique power which, he came to believe, was a diabolic force at the heart of a weakened Empire.

### The Fiction of Rudyard Kipling: From Ambivalence to Hostility

In the year immediately after the Boer War Kipling experienced "that joyful strong confidence ...when it seemed that, at last, South Africa was to be developed."<sup>63</sup> This was the self-congratulatory Kipling of, for instance, "The Lesson" (1901):

"It was our fault, and our very great fault--and now we must turn it to use.  
We have forty million reasons for failure, but not a single excuse.  
So the more we work and the less we talk the better results we shall get.  
We've had an Imperial Lesson. It may make us an Empire yet!"

It was in this brief period of Imperial optimism that Kipling wrote Traffics and Discoveries (1904) a volume of short stories where he is at pains to distance himself from the "pro-Boer" dark Jewish stereotype and other "pro-Boer comments" that "goaded him."<sup>64</sup> Two stories in particular "The Comprehension of Private Copper" written in 1902 and "The Army of a Dream" distance Kipling from "pro-Boer" Jewish stereotypes. In "The Comprehension of Private Copper" Kipling associates being a "pro-Boer" with being a "traitor" to England. Thus, a "renegid" Englishman is pictured fighting for the Boers and is captured by an ordinary English soldier, Private Copper. More importantly, Private Copper finds a copy of a Liberal "pro-Boer" newspaper called "Jerrols Weekly" on the "traitor."<sup>65</sup> Kipling, cleverly, shows the irrelevance to the ordinary English soldier of such "pro-Boer" Jewish stereotypes by having "McBride, professional humorist" (169) make fun of a copy of "Jerrold's Weekly" for Private Copper's "Comprehension":

"You're the aristocrat, Alf [Copper]. Old Jerrold's givin' it you 'ot. You're the uneducated 'ireling of a callous aristocracy which 'as sold itself to the 'Ebrew financier. Meantime, Ducky'--he ran his finger down a column of assorted paragraphs--'you're slakin' your brutal instincks in furious excesses. Shriekin' women an' desolated 'omesteads is what you enjoy. Alf... Halloa! What's a smokin' 'ektacomb?'" (170).

Clearly, Kipling in these terms distances himself from the Jewish stereotypes which were popularised by such figures as T.W.H. Crosland. However, in "The Army of a Dream," Kipling goes further than simply denying the relevance of the "pro-Boer" Jewish stereotype by promoting an alternative stereotype of "the Jew" in an Imperial context. This two-part story originally appeared in June 1904 in four days issues of the right-wing newspaper, the Morning Post. It was an explicitly didactic--even propagandistic--account of a "dream in which Kipling spends an afternoon with, in turn, the

recruiting section and the citizen army on manoeuvres of an ideal England which has accepted military service as an integral part of national life..."<sup>66</sup> In such an "ideal England" Jewish Voluntary Schools (89) take part in military exercises and, moreover, beat the non-Jewish private day schools at their own "game." Angus Wilson has argued that this is an "example of [Kipling's] conscious shaping of things to avoid the charge of disguised class propaganda and prejudice" and is, furthermore, an expression of Kipling's "respect for the Jewish contribution to Western civilisation."<sup>67</sup> However, as the story ends on the following note Wilson, perhaps, can be charged with special pleading:

"To your Tents, O Israel! The Hebrew Schools stop the Mounted Troops." Pig, were you scuppered by Jew-boys?' ...'By Jove, there'll have to be an inquiry into this regrettable incident...!' (105)

Throughout "The Army of a Dream," in fact, the "Jewish Voluntary Schools" are ambivalently known as "Jew-boys." Nevertheless, because Jews were perceived in Kipling's "dream" world to be a part of a "visionary England trained and prepared for war by freely offered service"<sup>68</sup> one can understand this story as an early fictional expression of the Imperial Jewish stereotype in the Kipling corpus.

Nevertheless, Kipling at his best, unlike Buchan, did not simply fictionalise his Imperial world-view however ambiguous it may have been. Kipling's fiction, towards the end of his period in South Africa, for example, was written in what Dobrée has called a "nostalgic spirit." Thus Kipling could write Puck of Pook's Hill (1906) which originally began as nursery tales told to his children. The "great South African book that was expected of him" remained, as I have shown, the unfinished "Cape Town tales."<sup>69</sup> Even so, "The Treasure and the Law," which is the last story in Puck of Pook's Hill, does throw an important light on the Imperial Jewish stereo-



type. In general, J.M.S. Tomkins has argued that "what happened in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries [in Puck of Pook's Hill] seems to be presented by Kipling in accordance with his hopes for South Africa after the Boer War." T.S. Eliot, similarly, has argued that Puck of Pook's Hill gave him a "dizzy sense of the nearness of the past."<sup>70</sup> In particular, "The Treasure and the Law" takes England back to the Magna Carta, "the formal pronouncement of the English Law." Its theme, as glossed by Noel Annan, is that "the Sword led men to the Treasure, and the Treasure gave the Law. The two symbols of Power are civilised by the Law." Using these metaphors, "Kipling introduces the Jew who alone understands money, the dangerous solvent of society."<sup>71</sup> Clearly, this tale can be understood as a metaphor for the perceived power of South African Jewish financiers to uphold the Imperial English "Law" by using their "Treasure." Certainly when reading the story one gains a sense of the "contemporaneity of the past" in T.S. Eliot's words.<sup>72</sup> For example:

"There can be no war without gold, and we Jews know how the earth's gold moves with the seasons, and the crops, and the winds; circling and looping and rising and sinking away like a river--a wonderful underground river... My Prince saw peace or war decided not once, but many times, by the fall of a coin spun between a Jew from Bury and a Jewess from Alexandria... Such power had we Jews among the Gentiles" (290/1).

In the story "Jewish power" is utilised to ensure that Jews, as well as Christians, are included under the provisions of the Magna Carta. That is, the stereotype of the all-powerful financial Jew who "decides peace or war" enables the Jews to be brought under English Law. In this way, Kipling emphasises the mysterious conspiratorial quality of "Jewish power." The "movement of the earth's gold" which only "the Jew knows" is, in fact, the subject of the poem, "Song of the Fifth River," which prefaces this tale. Here is its last stanza:

"A Prince without a Sword,  
 A Ruler without a Throne;  
 Israel follows his quest.  
 In every land a guest,  
 Of many lands a lord,  
 In no land King is he.  
 But the Fifth Great River keeps  
 The secret of Her deeps  
 For Israel alone,  
 As it was ordered to be" (282).

That Jews were supposedly to have a divine relationship with the Fifth Great River "of gold"--the world's money supply--is not equivalent to Kipling proclaiming "the special civilising contribution of the Jews to society" as Angus Wilson maintains.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that the stereotype of Jewish power is deemed by Kipling to bring about "the Law" is, by far, his most comprehensive fictional representation of the Imperial Jewish stereotype. As with Buchan's fiction, the divine financial gifts of the Jewish racial other is perceived as an important means of establishing "the Law"--the foundation of Empire. Yet, like Buchan, such "power" can also be ambivalently perceived as a "danger" to Empire as noted in Kipling's letter to Gwynne in March, 1906. In fact, according to Sandison, Kipling's view of Empire can be fundamentally distinguished from Buchan as some of his earlier Indian tales, written before the outbreak of the Boer War, contain "an extraordinary sense of helplessness and doom in the face of immensity."<sup>74</sup> That is, Kipling's Jewish stereotyping, from the perspective of India, was not always on the side of Empire.

Kipling's story the "Jews in Shushan," collected in Life's Handicap (1891), for instance, is ostensibly a poignant tale of "Ephraim the Jew's" failure to build a synagogue in Shushan by bringing two more Jews to the city to form a "minyan" (or prayer quorum).<sup>75</sup> Ephraim is described as "personally, meek in manner... Never was a Jew more unlike his dread breed" (338). However, his

"meek" demeanour is quickly transformed into the "dread breed" when Ephraim performs his role as "butcher to our [Jewish] people":

"He was attired in strange raiment... and a knife was in his mouth. As he struggled with the animal between the walls, the breath came from him in thick sobs, and the nature of the man seemed changed. When the ordained slaughter was ended, he saw that the door was open and shut it hastily, his hand leaving a red mark on the timber... A glimpse of Ephraim busied in one of his religious capacities was no thing to be desired twice" (339-40).

After this episode Kipling predictably comments that Ephraim "set at naught the sanitary regulations of a large, flourishing, and remarkably well-governed Empire" (341). In these terms, like Buchan's Lawson, Kipling gives the reader an early indication of the danger of the Jewish racial other--or "dread breed"--to the Christian order of Empire. Kipling's ambivalence towards Ephraim's quest to build a synagogue is clear, however, if we contrast this story with "His Chance in Life" which is collected in Plain Tales from the Hills (1888). Here the "very black" Michele D'Cruze with "only seven-eighths native blood in his veins" (73) proves himself loyal to the Empire. He does this by sending for the British Army to stem a native riot. The "other" blood in his veins--part "Portuguese," part Yorkshire platelayer," and part "black Jew of Cochin" (73)--meant that D'Cruze could be ironically considered "the only representative of English authority in the place" (75) when there is a native uprising. This, in turn, earned him the love of a good woman, a job promotion and "the Imperial salary of sixty-six rupees a month" (77). In these purely racial terms, at least, traces of "Jewish blood," in contrast to the unassimilated "Jews in Shushan," can be perceived as a positive addition to Empire.

Nevertheless, the main thrust of Kipling's Indian tales is the promotion of a hostile Jewish stereotype. This stereotype stems, I think, from the early autobiographical tale, "Baa Baa, Black Sheep,"

which is collected in Wee Willie Winkie (1890). This story is an account of "the most famous chapter in Kipling's life, his five years in what he termed the 'House of Desolation.'" Kipling's adolescent psychological humiliation and physical beating at the hands of Sarah Holloway are crudely recorded in "Baa Baa, Black Sheep."<sup>76</sup> What is interesting about this story is that the apogee of humiliation for the Kipling persona is his "thrashing... before the Jews" who attended his school (293). Just as this period in Kipling's life is said to account for the particularly unpleasant streak of sadism in some of his tales, one may speculate that such adolescent perceptions at least reinforced an occasional vicious use of the Jewish stereotype in Kipling's early poetry and prose.<sup>77</sup>

The most comprehensive use of the hostile Jewish stereotype by Kipling is his "'Bread Upon the Waters'" written in 1896 and collected in The Day's Work (1898). This is a tale of revenge--a familiar Kipling theme<sup>78</sup>--by McRimmon, a ship owner, who "cuts the liver out o' Holdock, Steiner, Chase, and Company, Limited" (246) a disreputable firm of shippers. In particular, Holdock, Steiner and Chase dismiss the Kipling hero, McPhee, as chief engineer after twenty years of service because he would not agree to run his ship, the Breslau, to a preposterous time schedule. As McPhee narrates:

"The old Board would ne'er ha' done it. They trusted me. But the new Board was all for reorganisation. Young Steiner--Steiner's son--the Jew, was at the bottom of it, an' they did not think it worth their while to send me word" (227).

Throughout the tale, in fact, Steiner's "reorganisation" is associated with a ruthless modernity and a calculating disregard for the traditional life of the sailor:

"Young Steiner, the Jew, was at the bottom of it. They sacked men right an' left that would not eat the dirt the Board game 'em. They cut down repairs; they fed crews wi' leavin's and scrapin's... reversin' McRimmon's practice[s]..." (231/2).

In this context Kipling can comment that "there's more discernment in a dog than a Jew" (229) and when the chance arises to bankrupt Holdock, Steiner and Chase, McRimmon tells us that he has "waited fourteen years to break that Jew-firm, an' God be thankit I'll do it now" (248). The financial efficiency of "the Jew" Steiner in these terms is crudely represented by Kipling as a wholly negative phenomenon. Kipling, it has been said, was "naïve about the economic foundations of imperialism."<sup>79</sup> Like Buchan, he was prepared to put his faith in the "Rand millionaire" and "Jew financiers" to build a white British Africa. But, once this "dream" had proved unreal Kipling, more than Buchan, had a series of hostile Jewish stereotypes to draw upon in a post-Imperial South African context.

In "The House Surgeon" collected in Actions and Reactions (1909) the central Jewish figure of Maxwell M'Leod is associated, like Steiner, with a usurping vulgar modernity. M'Leod, moreover, unlike Ephraim in "Jews in Shushan" is an assimilated Jew who, as well as having a Scottish name, is significantly married to a Greek. The story concerns M'Leod's country house, Holmescroft, which he has bought after working "in furs" for over "thirty years" (195). "Moneyed innocence,"<sup>80</sup> as John Coates rightly argues, characterises Holmescroft:

"...Magnificently appointed landaus and covered motors swept in and out of the drive, and the air was gay with the merry outcries of the tennis players" (198).

M'Leod's rather carefree comic materialism--"there is something in money, ain't it?" (199)--is juxtaposed in the story with the supernatural "blasting gust of depression" (201) which pervades Holmescroft, "a Horror of great darkness which is spoken of in the Bible" (197). The story concerns the exorcism of this Biblical "Horror" by a "Perseus" figure--The House Surgeon--who succeeds in redeeming

Holmescroft (208). Kipling does not, as Coates emphasises, make "a facile moralistic point about M'Leod's way of life." To be sure, Jewish stereotyping in "The House Surgeon" is not merely a question of associating Jews with vulgar materialism.<sup>81</sup> More importantly, again to quote Coates, Kipling wants to demonstrate that M'Leod "ignores the reality of 'sin' and 'guilt' in his experience." That is, M'Leod's Holmescroft "wishes to create an atmosphere without pain or suffering."<sup>82</sup> That M'Leod insists before purchasing Holmescroft that it should have had no death in it since it was built is symptomatic of this self-deception. This is dramatised throughout the story, as Hyam Maccoby notes, by the fact that the M'Leods "switch on over-bright lights all over the house in a vain attempt to combat the lurking evil."<sup>83</sup> This attempt to suppress the moral dimension of Evil by the use of a "fortifying blaze of electric light" (201) is, above all, symptomatic of M'Leod's "Jewish" moral bankruptcy:

"A man and his family ought to be happy after so much expense, ain't it?' He looked at me through the bottom of his glass" (194).

In this sense M'Leod is an almost wholly metaphorical figure which probably accounts for "The House Surgeon" being a significant influence on T.S. Eliot's poetry and poetic plays.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, if Kipling's "House is western Christian civilisation, with its Jewish and Greek origins"--as Maccoby suggests--then M'Leod's "Jewish" inability to confront pain and suffering has important implications for the Imperial Jewish stereotype.<sup>85</sup> After the moral and physical collapse of Empire in South Africa, that is, Kipling was to argue that Jews, instead of recognising this loss of Empire, were instead wallowing like M'Leod in materialism. In his autobiography, for instance, Kipling spoke of America as moving from "the English tradition" to "the Semitic strain" of "a too-much-at-ease Zion." And in

his letters, it has been noted, Kipling could speak of "Hebrew cold feet" as a "Semitic complaint."<sup>86</sup> This metaphorical use of the Jewish stereotype is distinctly Kiplingesque as "The Treasure and the Law" has demonstrated. As early as 1892, in a poem, Kipling could describe leaving "English luxury" for "a roving life" as being "done with the Tents of Shem;" that is Heinemann, a "Jewish" firm of publishers.<sup>87</sup> In fact, after "The House Surgeon," Kipling was to combine "Biblical imagery" and the "language" of the Authorised Version--according to T.S. Eliot "important influences" on Kipling's writing<sup>88</sup>--with an overtly political use of the dark Jewish stereotype.

"Gehazi" (1915), for instance, was, in T.S. Eliot's words, "a poem inspired by the Marconi scandals... a passionate invective rising to real eloquence." According to Maisie Ward, a contemporary, "Gehazi" was the "perfect word on the whole [Marconi] episode" and the "scandal" had meant so much to Kipling that he had "been thinking of nothing else" before writing the poem in 1913.<sup>89</sup> The Marconi Scandal will be discussed in full in the next chapter but, sufficient to say, it was perceived by many as a high peak of Jewish financial corruption. Here is the poem's last stanza with its biblical metaphors clearly evident. However, no contemporary reader was in doubt that "Gehazi" referred to Rufus Isaacs, the new Lord Chief Justice, and a protagonist in the Marconi Scandal:

"Thou mirror of uprightness,  
 What ails thee at thy vows?  
 What means the risen whiteness  
 Of the skin between thy brows?  
 The boils that shine and burrow,  
 The sores that slough and bleed--  
 The leprosy of Naaman  
 On thee and all thy seed?  
 Stand up, Stand up, Gehazi,  
 Draw close thy robe and go.  
 Gehazi, Judge in Israel,  
 A leper white as snow!"

As G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc helped encouraged the anti-Jewish basis of the Marconi Scandal, any distinction between them and Kipling, by 1913, is of little consequence. In fact, unlike Buchan who was to continue to promote the Imperial Jewish stereotype in terms of proto-Zionism, Kipling after the First World War was to associate himself with the ideologically hostile Jewish stereotypes of Chesterton, Belloc and Crosland. By 1919, the "Wheel of Empire" had come full circle and Kipling's political enemies at the time of the Boer War were now his political friends. Moreover at this time H.A. Gwynne, Kipling's life-long friend, was promoting the anti-semitic Protocols of the Elders of Zion which Kipling, as a result, came to believe was "absolutely in line with the work which the 'international Jew' at his worst has accomplished and is accomplishing at the present moment."<sup>90</sup> Such conspiracy-ridden politics were not merely, as Lionel Trilling has suggested, made up of Kipling's "queasy, resentful feelings about Jews." Furthermore, they belie such apologists, starting with T.S. Eliot, who cannot detect "any particularly antisemitic feelings" in Kipling.<sup>91</sup> In 1918, for instance, Kipling thought that he was the victim of a "Jewish" hoax when a forged poem, purporting to be from his hand, was published in The Times. The hoaxer crudely tried to implicate Israel Zangwill in the deception by sending an obviously forged note from Zangwill to Kipling.<sup>92</sup> Sir Basil Thomson, Director of Intelligence at Scotland Yard, clearly stated that Zangwill was not the culprit. However, Kipling, in his autobiography, "suspected more than a little" a "non-Aryan" hand who wrote to him "in a chaffing vein" and "never much appreciated me": "plus the Oriental detachedness and insensitiveness of playing that sort of game in the heart of a life-and-death struggle..."<sup>93</sup> In short, after 1918, Kipling believed that "Israel



is a race to leave alone. It abets disorder." Unlike Buchan, who thought that Palestinian Jews could uphold the Empire and restore world order after the First World War, Kipling in his "The Church that was at Antioch" (1929) could pointedly describe "Jews within the Empire" as "very particular and troublesome" a "hellicat Judea."<sup>94</sup> In these terms Kipling was, in fact, the more representative figure. After 1911, as the next chapter will show, the ambivalent Jewish stereotype was to be utilised almost exclusively in its dark form by Imperial diehards. In this period, the brief honeymoon with the Disraelian Jewish stereotype was well and truly over.

## NOTES

1. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Ford in this context. G.R. Searle's Eugenics and Politics in Britain, 1900-1914 (Leyden, 1976) Chapter 3 passim, "The Issue of Racial Degeneration," discusses the representative nature of such views at the time of the Boer War.
2. Donald Read "Crisis Age or Golden Age?" in his Edwardian England (London, 1982), p. 20 and Chapter 2 passim and Bernard Porter, ibid., "The Edwardians and Their Empire" p. 129 and Chapter 8 passim. See also Richard Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism, 1865-1915 (London, 1976), p. 332.
3. Daily Mail, May 19, 1900 quoted in Asa Briggs, They Saw it Happen (Oxford, 1960), pp. 11-12. The Journal of Arnold Bennett (New York, 1932), pp. 106-7.
4. Alan Sandison, The Wheel of Empire: A Study of the Imperial Idea in Some Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Fiction (London, 1967), p. 200. For a recent critique of Sandison's approach see Benita Parry, Conrad and Imperialism (London, 1983), p. 134.
5. Martin Van Wyk Smith, Drummer Hodge: The Poetry of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) (Oxford, 1978). R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians (London, 1962), p. 461.
6. Shannon, op. cit., p. 335 and, in particular, Wilfried Fest, "Jingoism and Xenophobia in the Electioneering Strategies of British Ruling Elites Before 1914" collected in Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914 (ed.) P. Kennedy and R. Nicholls (Oxford, 1981), Chapter 10 passim.
7. Colin Holmes, Antisemitism in British Society, 1876-1939 (London, 1979). Chapter 2 passim are Bernard Porter, Critics of Empire: British Radical Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa, 1895-1914 (London, 1968), Chapters 1-4 for the continuation of a Victorian Liberal critique of Empire into the twentieth century. H.R. Huntley, The Alien Protagonist of Ford Madox Ford (Michigan, 1970), p. 12 and Chapter 1 passim is a good discussion of the ambiguous perceptions of the Boer War in a literary context in this period.
8. Holmes, op. cit., p. 70. P.D. Colbenson, "British Socialism and Antisemitism, 1884-1914" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Georgia State University, 1977) is the most exhaustive account of this theme. See also Chapter 9.

9. Claire Hirshfield, "The British Left and the 'Jewish Conspiracy': A Case Study of Modern Antisemitism" in Jewish Social Studies (Spring, 1981), p. 100 and passim for a recent summary of this theme. For the Boer War see Thomas Pakenham, The Boer War (London, 1979), passim.
10. Holmes, op. cit., p. 69 and Hirshfield op. cit., p. 98. See also Justice, 25th April, 1896 and Chapter 9 for further reference to Hyndman.
11. Justice, 26th August, and 23rd September, 1899 cited in Hirshfield, op. cit., p. 99.
12. Hirshfield, op. cit., p. 103. John Bryn Roberts is another radical Welsh M.P. who utilised the "Jewish conspiracy" theory in Parliament.
13. Holmes, op. cit., p. 67 quotes this. See also his "J.A. Hobson and the Jews" in C. Holmes (ed.) Immigrants and Minorities in British Society (London, 1968) for a comprehensive account of this theme.
14. Ibid. J.A. Hobson, The War in South Africa (2nd ed., London, 1900), pp. 189, 195, 197 and 226 illustrates this theme. J.K. Jerome's letter is quoted in S. Koss (ed.) The Pro-Boers (London, 1973), p. 149. See Porter, op. cit. passim for a discussion of radical patriotism.
15. See Chapters 5, 9 and 11 for a discussion of Chesterton, Belloc, Bennett, Schreiner, Wells and Shaw. See also my "John Buchan and Rudyard Kipling: 'Ruling the World Just Now,' Jewish Stereotyping and the British Empire, 1890-1920" in Literature, Race and Empire (forthcoming) edited by myself and Gina Mitchell.
16. Janet Smith, John Buchan: A Biography (London, 1965), p. 122 and David Daniell, The Interpreter's House: A Critical Assessment of John Buchan (London, 1975), p. 130.
17. George Shepperson, "The World of Rudyard Kipling" in A. Rutherford (ed.) Kipling's Mind and Art (London, 1964), p. 140.
18. Ibid. See also Shepperson's "Kipling and the Boer War" in J. Gross (ed.) Rudyard Kipling the Man, His Work and His World (London, 1972), p. 84.
19. Jamie Camplin, The Rise of the Plutocrats (London, 1978), p. 50 and Chapter 3 passim for a discussion of Rhodes and Beit.

20. J.B. Robinson, "The South Africa Settlement," Nineteenth Century, September 1882. Cited in Camplin, op. cit., p. 43. Smith, op. cit., p. 125 quotes Buchan. However, no reference is given to indicate its source.
21. Van Wyk Smith, op. cit., p. 112.
22. Holmes, op. cit., p. 217. For the "lispering Jewish caricature" see M.J. Landau, The Jew in Drama (London, 1926), Chapter 8 "The Libel of the Lisp."
23. Smith, op. cit., p. 156. Buchan's autobiographical Memory-Hold-The-Door (London, 1940), for instance, describes Alfred Beit as "brilliant in bringing order out of tangled finances" (28).
24. The next chapter, in particular, discusses Belloc and Chesterton's understanding of capitalism as "usury" as compared with Buchan's Calvinist work ethic.
25. George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology (London, 1966), for instance places such racism in the context of modern German antisemitism.
26. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Ford in these terms.
27. Smith, op. cit., p. 157 and p. 187.
28. Robert Huttenback, "The Patrician Jew and the British Ethos in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Jewish Social Studies (Vol. 40, Winter 1978, No. 1), p. 52 discusses Disraeli's "Jewishness" in this context.
29. Robert Blake, Disraeli (London, 1966), p. 202.
30. Abraham Gilam, "Benjamin Disraeli and Jewish Identity," Weiner Library Bulletin (1980, Vol. xxxiii), p. 6.
31. Huttenback, op. cit., quotes Arendt, pp. 52-53 and also Rhodes, ibid. See also Gilam, op. cit., passim.
32. Huttenback, op. cit., p. 61.
33. Smith, op. cit., p. 137 quotes Buchan. See the preface to Prester John (1910). Camplin, op. cit., p. 43 also makes this point.
34. Sandison, op. cit., p. 58.
35. Van Wyk Smith, op. cit., p. 98. Bonamy Dobrée, Rudyard Kipling: Realist and Fabulist (London, 1967), Chapter 4 is the seminal work on this theme.

36. Shepperson in Gross (ed.) op. cit., p. 36 makes this point. See also T.S. Eliot's essay on Kipling in his A Choice of Kipling's Verse (London, 1941), p. 29.
37. Dobrée, op. cit., p. 88 and Chapter 4 passim.
38. Roy Turnbaugh, "Images of Empire: George Alfred Henty and John Buchan," Journal of Popular Culture (Winter, 1975), pp. 734 and 738.
39. Sandison, op. cit., p. 162. It is significant that in The Half-Hearted "certain Jewish gentlemen, members of the great family who have conquered the world" make an incidental appearance at the beginning of Chapter 24. This can be considered as an early indication of Buchan's uncertainty with regard to the South African Jewish financier.
40. Sandison, op. cit., p. 162 and Smith, op. cit., p. 286. For a discussion of Buchan's racial stereotyping see Gina Mitchell, "John Buchan's Popular Fiction: A Hierarchy of Race," Patterns of Prejudice, (Vol. 7, No. 6, 1973), pp. 24-30.
41. Shepperson, in Gross (ed.), op. cit., p. 87.
42. Unpublished letter to H.A. Gwynne, March 27th, 1906 (letter no. 34 in the Kipling Archive).
43. Unpublished letter to H.A. Gwynne, February 7th, 1906 (letter no. 32 in the Kipling Archive).
44. Unpublished letter to Stanley (Baldwin? Kipling's cousin), December 1st, 1917 (unnumbered). Something of Myself (1937), p. 167.
45. A Lodge in the Wilderness (1906) p. 149, Smith, op. cit., p. 156 and Prester John (1910), p. 31.
46. Smith, op. cit., p. 155.
47. Angus Wilson, The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling (London, 1977), pp. 223-24.
48. Turnbaugh, op. cit., p. 738.
49. Smith, op. cit., p. 253 and pp. 286-289 discusses Buchan's Calvinism in a literary context.
50. A Lodge in the Wilderness, p. 23.
51. Ibid., p. 150.
52. Smith, op. cit., p. 286.

53. At this point it is worth drawing a parallel between Lawson and Laputa, the villain of Prester John. Laputa similarly prays to the "God of Israel" with his "heart black with the lusts of paganism." Laputa, however, is eventually dismissed as a "great savage with a knife" (137). Turnbaugh, op. cit., p. 737 argues convincingly that Laputa can never succeed in overthrowing the Empire in South Africa because he is a "kaffir" which is a "fatal flaw." Lawson, on the other hand, evokes the same evil forces as Laputa but does not have this "fatal flaw."
54. See note 25. Also see Chapter 10 for a discussion of Buchan's ambivalent sexual attraction to the goddess Ashtaroth.
55. Gertrude Himmelfarb, "John Buchan, an Untimely Appreciation," Encounter (September 1960), p. 52.
56. See, for example, Memory-Hold-The Door, op. cit., p. 114 and The African Colony (1903) passim. Norman Cohn, Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (London, 1967), Chapter 7 discusses the popularisation of the Protocols in Britain after 1919.
57. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of Buchan's proto-Zionism in these terms. See also note 39 for an early fictional Jewish conspiracy.
58. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 26.
59. Chapter 3 discusses Donnelly in these terms.
60. Cited in Gilam, op. cit., p. 3. Gilam usefully emphasises Disraeli's "ambivalent" Jewish stereotyping.
61. See the figure of "Marrish" in Buchan's A Prince of the Captivity (1933) discussed in Chapter 8, below.
62. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 25 and Daniell, op. cit., p. 129 discuss Buchan's Jewish stereotyping in terms of xenophobia. For a parallel with Kipling see note 91.
63. Shepperson, in Gross (ed.), op. cit., p. 87.
64. According to Dobrée, op. cit., p. 87.
65. "Jerrold's Weekly" was probably based on the notorious Reynold's Newspaper, a popular Sunday weekly, which by 1899 was regularly promoting the "Jewish world-conspiracy." See Hirshfield, op. cit., pp. 100-101 and p. 111 for this.
66. Wilson, op. cit., p. 242.
67. Ibid., pp. 241-242.

68. Charles Carrington, Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Work (London, 1955), p. 315.
69. Dobrée, op. cit., p. 91 and Shepperson in Gross (ed.), op. cit., p. 87.
70. J.M.S. Tompkins, The Art of Rudyard Kipling (London, 1959), p. 77 and T.S. Eliot, op. cit., p. 32.
71. Noel Annan, "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas" in Rutherford (ed.), op. cit., pp. 113-114.
72. Eliot, op. cit., p. 32. See notes 42 and 43 for the relevance of the South African Jewish financier to Kipling at this time.
73. Wilson, op. cit., p. 294.
74. Sandison, in Rutherford (ed.), op. cit., p. 158.
75. See John Coates, "Religious Cross Currents in 'The House Surgeon,'" The Kipling Journal (Vol. XLV, No. 207, September 1982), p. 3 for this interpretation of "Jews in Shushan."
76. R.F. Moss, Rudyard Kipling and the Fiction of Adolescence (London, 1982), pp. 3-4 for a discussion of this story. Kipling's autobiography, Something of Myself, p. 17 and Chapter 1 does not differ from his "fictional" account.
77. Moss, op. cit., pp. 3-5 argues this. See also George Orwell in his "Rudyard Kipling" and Lionel Trilling in his "Kipling" collected in Rutherford (ed.), op. cit.
78. See Tompkins, op. cit., Chapter 5 for a discussion of this theme in Kipling.
79. Moss, op. cit., p. 28 and Orwell, op. cit., pp. 76-77 argues this.
80. Coates, op. cit., p. 4. For the significance of M'Leod's marriage to a Greek see note 85.
81. Ibid. For this emphasis see the discussion of H.G. Wells, below, Chapter 9.
82. Ibid. I am indebted to Coates for this argument.
83. Hyam Maccoby, "'The Family Reunion' and Kipling's 'The House Surgeon,'" Notes and Queries (February, 1968), p. 49.

84. Ibid., and Eliot, op. cit., passim. See also Helen Gardner, The Art of T.S. Eliot (London, 1949), p. 160 and Grover Smith, T.S. Eliot's Poetry and Plays (Chicago, 1956), pp. 101, 105, 201. I suspect:  
 "I feel like one who smiles, and turning shall remark suddenly, his expression in a glass."  
 in Eliot's "Portrait of a Lady" (1917) owes its genesis to Kipling's "He looked at me through the bottom of his glass" in "The House Surgeon" p. 194. Similarly, Eliot's:  
 "The Jew is underneath the lot.  
 Money in furs..."  
 in "Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar" (1920) relates, I think, to M'Leod making his fortune "in furs" p. 195 in "The House Surgeon." Also Princess Volupine's call for "Lights, lights" in the same poem refers to this story. See Chapter 11 for a more comprehensive discussion of Eliot in these terms.
85. Maccoby, op. cit., p. 49. This relates in general to the discussion of Eliot's "Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service" and "Gerontion" in Chapter 11. See also the discussion of Matthew Arnold in Chapter 2.
86. Something of Myself, op. cit., p. 132 and note 44.
87. Philip Mason argues this in his Kipling, the Glass, the Shadow, and the Fire (London, 1975), p. 97 with reference to "The Long Trail" collected in Barrack-Room Ballads (1892).
88. Eliot, op. cit., p. 16.
89. Ibid. See also Chapter 5. Maisie Ward is quoted in Charlotte Klein, "The Portrait of the Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama (1830-1933)" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1967), p. 285.
90. See Holmes, op. cit., p. 141 and Chapter 9 for H.A. Gwynne's promotion of the Protocols as editor of the Morning Post. Kipling's letter to Gwynne, unpublished, October 25th, 1919 (Number 144 in the Kipling Archive), was widely quoted by Gwynne. For references to this correspondence, see Keith M. Wilson, "The Protocols of Zion and the Morning Post, 1919-1920," Patterns of Prejudice (Vol. 19, No. 3, 1985), p. 6.
91. See the exchange of letters on "Kipling's antisemitism" between Trilling and Eliot in The Nation (January 15th, 1944), p. 83. Trilling, to be sure, was basing his evidence on "The Waster" which is broadly xenophobic. See note 62 for a similar approach with reference to Buchan. Angus Wilson, op. cit., Carrington, op. cit., and Coates, op. cit. all deny that Kipling stereotyped Jews.



92. For an account of this hoax see Gordon Phillips, "The Literary Hoax That Fooled the Thunderer and Did Kipling Down," The Times, August 1st, 1977.
93. Something of Myself, op. cit., pp. 225-226. In fact, as Phillips notes, the hoax took place in 1918 and not 1917 as Kipling writes. I have many copy-letters from Kipling and Zangwill in my possession which indicate a friendly, if irregular, correspondence since the 1890s. However, in an uncollected and unpublished letter to Ian Colvin (August 2nd, 1917), Kipling argues that the "domestic Jew rejoices" in the First World War. (A copy of this letter is in my possession). Colvin, who was a close friend of Kipling's, also actively promoted the Protocols from 1917 onwards. See Holmes, op. cit., pp. 139-141 for this.
94. Kipling, op. cit., p. 224. "The Church that was at Antioch" (1929), pp. 237 and 249 is an implicit attack on Zionism. See chapter 8 for Kipling's anti-Zionism and Buchan's proto-Zionism.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### JEWISH STEREOTYPING AND POLITICS:

#### HILAIRE BELLOC, G.K. CHESTERTON AND POLITICAL ANTISEMITISM

The term "antisemitism" was first coined by Wilhelm Marr in Germany in 1879. In Marr's best-selling publications anti-Jewish stereotypes were, for the first time, "persuasive enough to unite [their] adherents without being tied to other controversial political and social issues." Jacob Katz has argued convincingly that this abstraction marked a historical and conceptual leap in anti-Jewish thought.<sup>1</sup> The neologism "antisemitism" was able to "ascribe all evil in society to Jewish influence" and, therefore, was to quickly become an "important element in the creation and formulation of a unique world view," that is a belief in "Jewish dominance."<sup>2</sup> Thus, after 1879, anti-Jewish thought can be considered to be "sailing under its own steam." In fact, the abstraction of traditional Christian anti-Judaism onto a separate political and "scientific" realm meant that political parties and ideologues were to promote the cause of "anti-semitism" throughout Europe after the 1870s and were to call for the "elimination of Jewish emancipation."<sup>3</sup> It is in these terms that I want to examine the politics and fiction of Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton. That is, in previous chapters Jewish stereotyping has been discussed in the context of "other controversial political and social issues." In the case of Belloc and Chesterton, however, I want to argue that the ideology of "antisemitism"--that is the belief in "Jewish domination" and the "elimination of Jewish emancipation"--was a distinct "world-view."

### Hilaire Belloc and French Antisemitism

Hilaire Belloc, in particular, can be distinguished from other English writers under discussion because of his formative exposure and life long interest in French political antisemitism. Belloc was born in France in 1870--of a French father and English mother--and served as a volunteer in the French army before attending the University of Oxford as an undergraduate from 1892-95. He was to remark towards the end of his life that "it was the Dreyfus case that opened my eyes to the Jew question."<sup>4</sup> In fact, by the end of 1894, the Dreyfus Affair was regularly reported in the English press and The Times was representative of mainstream English opinion when it argued that "Captain Dreyfus was a condemned man before his trial."<sup>5</sup> As an Oxford undergraduate Belloc, however, opposed the reopening of the Dreyfus case as he believed it "would weaken the French Army, and because he was convinced that the demand for a retrial was being directed by a small group of Jewish financiers." It was this "strident exotic antisemitism" that placed Belloc "on the fringe of English intellectual life" whilst at Oxford.<sup>6</sup> More accurately, Belloc was simply using the language of the anti-Dreyfusard, anti-semitic French Right of which he had an intimate knowledge. Paul Déroulède, for instance, had formed the nationalist Ligue des Patriotes in order to oppose the efforts of those defending Dreyfus. As Déroulède was "a very old family friend" and neighbour it is not surprising that Belloc joined the Ligue des Patriotes and visited Déroulède in France during the agitation for Dreyfus' retrial in 1898.<sup>7</sup> Belloc, after 1910, also made a point of reading "whenever he could lay hands upon it" the journal of Charles Maurras anti-democratic and rabidly antisemitic Action Française. Finally, as Speaight has noted, Belloc was undoubtedly influenced by Eduard Drumont's immensely successful compendium of political antisemitism,

La France juive: Essai d'histoire contemporaine (1886).<sup>8</sup> La France juive "went through some hundred printings within one year, turning Drumont into one of the best known public figures in France..." Moreover, Drumont's "extremism in thought and expression brought La France juive immense public attention until the closing act of the Dreyfus affair in 1906."<sup>9</sup> In England, however, mainstream opinion such as the Pall Mall Gazette was to distance itself from such anti-Jewish "anti-Dreyfus prejudice" and "the desire to appease Drumont."<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless Belloc, as an Oxford undergraduate, was to identify with the "ninety-nine Frenchmen out of a hundred" and, in particular, the "3,000,000 [French] soldiers" who thought Dreyfus guilty and France the victim of a Jewish-masonic conspiracy. Belloc "was not a man who easily changed his mind" and, therefore, continued throughout his life to proclaim Dreyfus guilty even after he was proven innocent. Furthermore, Belloc came to believe that the Dreyfus Affair caused "the four years of war, 1914-1918: for it destroyed the French Intelligence Bureau and so permitted the German surprise on Mons and Charleroi."<sup>11</sup> Such was his conspiracy theory. In fact, because Belloc's political world view was so rooted in the French anti-Dreyfusard antisemitic right-wing it is worth, briefly, characterising the specific Weltanschauung which Belloc was to eventually apply to an English political context.

French antisemitism before 1914 has been categorised as "more radical than its German counterpart as far as its ultimate goals were concerned..." The representative Drumont, in particular, is said to have regarded the French Third Republic as "an usurpatory political fabric void of legitimate or intrinsic authority." His ultimate aim was, thus, the overthrow of the prevailing political system. This radicalism was not emulated by organised antisemites in Germany, Austria or Hungary who, before 1914, were loyal to the established

order of their various nation states.<sup>12</sup> For Drumont, however, the "Jewish poison" was perceived to have made French society "absolutely corrupt in politics, administration, police and judiciary." French antisemitism, therefore, "was directed at an abstract concept of Judaism" which was perceived to represent a corrupt prevailing order. In these terms, the French Jew was viewed as an economic, racial and intellectual force dominating a degenerate French state. In this context it is significant that before 1914, as George Mosse has noted, Jewish conspiracy theories were more widespread in France than Germany and this was due, in part, to the impact of late nineteenth century French financial scandals.<sup>13</sup> The Panama Scandal of 1892-93, for instance, was viewed by French nationalists as "a form of profiteering against the public good by a small clique of mainly Jewish cosmopolitan financiers."<sup>14</sup> Both Drumont and such Jewish conspiracies as the Panama Scandal have been shown to have influenced the ideology of German National Socialism. It was, precisely, the characteristically "abstract" nature of French antisemitism that meant it could be applied to other social and political contexts.<sup>15</sup> It is in these terms that Belloc, I believe, applied the language and Weltanschauung of French antisemitism to an English context.

Above all, Drumont's extreme racial definition of the "unassimilable" Jew was taken literally by Belloc. Thus, at Oxford, Belloc "was incredulous that one of his closest [non-Jewish] friends should have been in love with a Jewess."<sup>16</sup> More seriously, Matthew Arnold, Charles Kingsley, Robert Browning and General Moss Booth (the founder of the salvation army) should all, according to Belloc, "be widely known as Jews" as they "owed their physical appearance" to "Jewish blood." As David Lodge has argued, the absurdity of Belloc's central belief in an "unassimilable Jewish race" is brought home by his choice of these "Jewish" examples as it "would be difficult to



pro-Dreyfus poem which showed him as now "undecided about Dreyfus' guilt" and concluded that "there may have been a fog of injustice in the French courts; I know that there was a fog of injustice in the English newspapers" which implies that Chesterton had been duped by a Franco-phobic English press. This later ambivalence towards the Dreyfus Affair was given a fictional form in Chesterton's short story "The Duel of Dr. Hirsch" (1914).<sup>21</sup> Clearly, as his biographers have noted, Chesterton's change of heart on this matter is due to the "implacable" influence of Belloc. On their first meeting, for instance, "Belloc talked and Chesterton for the most part listened" passively. This was to characterise their friendship. In "matters historical" and political Chesterton, it has been said, "was simply to make an act of faith in Belloc."<sup>22</sup> Thus, even though Belloc and Chesterton first met in 1900 as committed pro-Boers, it would be wrong to assume an identical world-view at this early stage. What attracted Belloc and Chesterton to each other was that they were both, in Chesterton's words, "a minority of a minority" or "pro-Boers who disliked pro-Boers."<sup>23</sup> However, whereas Belloc and most other pro-Boers were against the South African War because they were pacifist, or against the uitlanders, or anti-Imperialist, Chesterton "almost alone was defiantly in favour of the Boers." That is, Chesterton crudely romanticised the Boers as "a sleepy people without priests or kings" and called for friendship between "the two kindly nations"--the Boers and the British. In his Autobiography (1936), Chesterton summarises these views which were formulated, significantly, before he met Belloc: "I emphatically was a Pro-Boer... My point was that the Boers were right in fighting... I thought that their farmers were perfectly entitled to take to horse and rifle in defence of their farms, and their little farming commonwealth..."<sup>24</sup> Belloc, however, opposed the South African War from an entirely

different perspective. As Christopher Hollis has noted, Belloc's "opposition to the war was not that he liked the Boers but that he intensely disliked the exploiting capitalists--largely German Jews--...who were using the excuse of the imperial cause to establish themselves as masters of the Transvaal."<sup>25</sup> Thus, in marked contrast to Chesterton, the conspiratorial Jewish stereotype was absolutely central to Belloc's pro-Boer politics. His poem, "Verses to a Lord who, in the Houses of Lords, said that those who opposed the South African Adventure confused Soldiers with Money-Grubbers," makes this perspective clear:

"The little mound where Eckstein stood  
 And gallant Albu fell,  
 And Oppenheim, half blind with blood,  
 Went fording through the rising flood--  
 My Lord, we know them well.  
 The little empty homes forlorn,  
 The ruined synagogues that mourn,  
 In Frankfurt and Berlin;  
 We knew them when the peace was torn--  
 We of a nobler lineage born--  
 And now by all the gods of scorn  
 We mean to rub them in."

However, by 1900, it would be wrong to understand such verse exclusively in terms of French political antisemitism. As shown in a previous chapter, a significant strand of pro-Boer opinion believed that the war was a "Jew-Imperialist design." In this milieu, as Jay Corrin has noted, Belloc could interpret "the financial roots of British imperialism in the same fashion as French nationalists viewed the Panama Scandal of 1892-93."<sup>26</sup> In fact, the atmosphere of popular pro-Boer stereotyping ideally suited Belloc's political schooling. For instance, the Jewish conspiracy theory of the Boer War was widely reflected in the popular verse of the time. Here, according to Martin Van Wyk Smith, is a representative example:



"Oh, Tommy, Tommy Atkins,  
 My heart beats sure for you,  
 To be made the bloomin' catspaw  
 of the all-pervading Jew.  
 And when you're back in England  
 Invalided, full of care,  
 You'll find you've drawn the chestnuts  
 For the multi-millionaire."<sup>27</sup>

Thus, at this time, anti-Dreyfusard and pro-Boer theories of Jewish dominance were in perfect accord. Chesterton, on the other hand, eschewed pro-Boer Jewish stereotypes. Nevertheless, he does have a personal history of Jewish stereotyping before the Boer War which was not, as yet, given an ideological form. It would be wrong, therefore, simply to blame Belloc for the "aberration" of Chesterton's later political antisemitism as many of Chesterton's biographers have done.<sup>28</sup> Arguing against this approach, Dudley Barker has noted Chesterton's early school-boy attitudes to assimilated Jews who attended his school. In his letters, for instance, Chesterton would specify "no Jews" at certain gatherings or would offer, with "semitic jocularly," to walk with his Jewish friends to "the gates of the Ghetto." I have already argued that popular Jewish stereotyping, as reflected in the writing of Anthony Trollope and Matthew Arnold, was a significant part of an English liberal cultural background such as Chesterton's.<sup>29</sup> That Belloc was able to transform such cultural stereotypes into a distinct political ideology was the measure of his influence on Chesterton. However, it is worth noting that Cecil Chesterton, G.K.'s brother, was to prove the equal of Belloc in the political promotion of Jewish stereotypes in Edwardian England.<sup>30</sup>

Jewish Stereotyping and Politics: The Ideology of Belloc and Chesterton

What distinguishes Belloc and Chesterton from other English writers under discussion is not the nature of the fictional Jewish stereotypes which they employ but the fact that such cultural stereotypes were a part of a political ideology. In particular, Belloc and Chesterton dubbed themselves "Distributists" which has been described as:

"...a Catholic movement, nostalgic for an imaginary time when the Church had been central to life, when all had been stable, ordered, hierarchical and traditional, and when every man had known his duties as well as his rights. This idyll had... been destroyed by the industrial revolution, which was the cause of all social evil, including the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few powerful capitalists. The answer was a return to medieval concepts of property, and a form of guild system..."<sup>31</sup>

At the centre of this ideology was a critique of capitalism as "essentially usury" or "alien to Christian culture" and a similar critique of Parliamentary democracy as a corrupt sham.<sup>32</sup> In a bid to expose political corruption Belloc helped found The Eye Witness journal in 1911 (soon to be The New Witness) which Chesterton was closely associated with. Moreover, as an adjunct to such journalistic activity, Belloc and Chesterton helped form the League for Clean Government in 1912 which became known as the New Witness League and, finally, the Distributist League. All three Leagues took part in Parliamentary elections and promoted the Distributist ideology in the political arena. G.R. Searle has associated such politics with the Edwardian "Radical Right," that is "pre-Industrial, pre-bourgeois and pre-capitalist social groups who [tried to] slow down, halt, or drive back the advancing tides of industrialisation, urbanisation and democratisation." Searle emphasises the "European-wide" nature of this group and Kenneth Lunn has recently argued that "the relation-

ship between Distributism and Fascism was perhaps closer than certain Distributists would have liked."<sup>33</sup> Certainly, Distributist politics aimed, like Drumont, at the overthrow of the prevailing political system and its replacement by an authoritarian corporist state. Richard Griffiths, in particular, has related Distributism to the French Right in his The Reactionary Revolution.<sup>34</sup> It is in this context that Jewish stereotyping can be considered a key element in the Distributist attack on the values of bourgeois liberalism and industrial capitalism. Like pre-War European political anti-semitism, the call for the revocation of Jewish emancipation and the identification of Jewry with the evils of modern capitalism was the main weapon used to attack the liberal capitalist state.<sup>35</sup> Thus, as early as 1910, Belloc was urging that Anglo-Jewry should renounce Jewish emancipation and instead adopt the "Roman system of privilege--that is to say, of private law." As with Distributist "medieval concepts of property" Belloc argued that his "solution" to the "Jewish Question" was "the medieval solution." That is, in Stephen Bayme's words, Belloc and Chesterton "desired to replace emancipation with a system of separatist Jewish privilege and autonomy. In such a system Jews would regain their medieval communal structure which collected its own taxes and represented Jews to the secular government. In return Jews would surrender both the rights and responsibilities of British citizenship."<sup>36</sup> Chesterton, characteristically, summed up this "medieval solution" by calling for an English law which would mean that "every Jew must be dressed like an Arab." The need for such a "medieval solution" to the "Jewish Question" was, in Belloc's view, because "the efforts of the centuries towards assimilation and emancipation have failed" and, therefore, "an alien race in a small minority scattered among the European nations cannot maintain its position without friction." The Jew, in

these terms, is always "an alien race" causing "friction."<sup>37</sup> Significantly, these views were expressed in 1910 and, as Lunn has argued, such pre-War articles and interviews on the "Jewish Question" anticipated Belloc's post-War The Jews (1922) "in style, content and format." Similarly, even though the Distributist League was a post-War movement, its ideology was already present in Chesterton's What's Wrong With the World (1909).<sup>38</sup> Moreover, as a Member of Parliament, Belloc was prepared as early as 1910 to state that "the House of Lords was a body which stood as a Committee for the protection of the interests of the modern Anglo-Judaic plutocracy under which they lived." He went on to justify such a perception of Jewish dominance by writing that "the existence of the Anglo-Judaic plutocracy seems to me a fact as obvious as the existence of the French Army, or the House of Commons..." Like Wilhelm Marr in relation to a "corrupt" Germany and Drumont in relation to a "corrupt" France, Belloc believed that a "corrupt" England, as represented by the House of Lords, was dominated by a powerful alien force, "the Anglo-Judaic plutocracy."<sup>39</sup> It is in this context that Belloc devoted his political life to exposing what he called "Jewish cosmopolitan financial influence" and convinced Chesterton to join him.<sup>40</sup>

Unquestionably, the high point for Belloc and Chesterton and The Eye Witness coterie was the Marconi Scandal which took place between 1911 and 1914 although this was not the only financial scandal concerning Jews during this period.<sup>41</sup> Asquith's controversial Liberal Government of 1910 had in its ranks Herbert Samuel, the Postmaster General, who was known as "the first Jewish Cabinet Minister" and Rufus Isaacs, another Jewish member, who was the government's Attorney-General. As a number of historians have noted, Jewish conspiratorial thinking was a consistent feature of the vehemently anti-Asquith Radical Right in this period.<sup>42</sup> In fact, by 1911,

prominent Radical Right members who had been pro-Dreyfus in the 1890s such as Leo Maxse, editor of the National Review, were arguing in Maxse's words that "the International Jew ...is an enemy of England and a more or less avowed agent of Germany." Maxse, in these terms is representative as "nearly all members of the Radical Right had supported Dreyfus in the 1890s" and yet, by 1911, were promoting Jewish conspiracy theories in response to the turbulent events of 1909-11 and the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>43</sup> In this atmosphere, the "die hard Tory" National Review and the Distributist The Eye Witness had much in common. Moreover, by 1911, Belloc was far removed from his earlier history of intellectual isolation as he had, at this time, a relatively large constituency for his views. This constituency, in particular, consisted of those groups that regarded "the Asquith administration [as] the most corrupt in British history."<sup>44</sup> It is in this context that the Marconi Scandal became the focus of Belloc and Chesterton and Radical Right politics between 1911 and 1914.

In short, the Marconi Scandal can be dated from November 1911 when it became public knowledge that the Asquith government and the Marconi Company were engaged in discussions with Godfrey Isaacs, Marconi's Managing Director and brother of Rufus Isaacs, Asquith's Attorney-General. The Marconi tender to provide wireless stations throughout the Empire was not provisionally accepted by Herbert Samuel, the Postmaster General, until March 1912. There was, in fact, no public outcry about this until 1912 and no concerted attack on the protagonists involved until after April 1912 when Godfrey Isaacs went to the United States and bought shares in the American Marconi Company which were off-loaded onto Harry Isaacs, his brother, and also Rufus Isaacs, Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Murray of Elibank, the Liberal Party Chief Whip.<sup>45</sup> For Cecil

Chesterton, in particular, who "was looking greedily for a scandal to oppose, as the surest way of drawing attention to [The New Witness] and increasing its circulation," the "Marconi Scandal"—his phrase—was a godsend.<sup>46</sup> By June 1912, Cecil Chesterton was, in fact, the editor of The New Witness after The Eye Witness had collapsed financially with Belloc as its editor. Cecil, like his brother G.K. Chesterton, had been particularly influenced by Belloc and, furthermore, had advocated in his joint book with Belloc, The Party System (1911), the need for publicity to destroy the political corruption of the time. Moreover, Cecil Chesterton's antisemitism, as most commentators agree, was especially pronounced and uncontrolled.<sup>47</sup> This meant that the Marconi Scandal "was only part of a much wider campaign [in The New Witness] against Jews, and in particular, against Jewish wealth and power." As Lunn has argued,

"In this context, it might be added that attacks on Rufus Isaacs, Herbert Samuel and other Jewish politicians whose names became linked with financial scandals, had begun long before rumours of corruption in connection with the Marconi contract became widespread."<sup>48</sup>

Asquith's administration, as Searle has noted, was considered "the most corrupt in British history" well "before the so-called Marconi Scandal broke in 1912." Thus, in a recent article, Lunn has concluded that "the concept [of a dominant Jewish plutocracy] helped to create the Marconi Scandal and that scandal and stereotype were reinforcing agents for a fairly widespread attitude."<sup>49</sup> Belloc's fiction, in particular, will now be seen to have "helped to create the Marconi Scandal" by popularising stereotypes of Jewish financial power in the decade leading up to the actual scandal. Like Trollope's The Prime Minister, which anticipated the Jewish stereotypes used against Disraeli during the Eastern Crisis, Belloc was

able to utilise the Jewish stereotype in a cultural context before such stereotypes became a part of the political arena.<sup>50</sup>

### Fiction as Politics: The Novels of Hilaire Belloc

In his preface to John Harrison's The Reactionaries, William Empson makes the point that:

"An early stage in the revolt against Parliamentary democracy can be seen in the comic novels of Belloc, written around 1910, largely inspired by the Marconi Scandal."<sup>51</sup>

The comic novels that Empson refers to are Emmanuel Burden (1904), Mr. Clutterbuck's Election (1908), A Change in the Cabinet (1909) and Pongo and the Bull (1910) but none of them were in fact "inspired" by the Marconi Scandal which took place after 1910. However, Empson can be forgiven for muddling his chronology when the remarkable similarity between Belloc's fictional financial scandals and the actual Marconi Scandal is noted. Lodge misses the point when he argues that Belloc, with regard to the Marconi Scandal, "indeed might have been forgiven for thinking that life had imitated the art of his own novels." As Belloc's novels were written with the Boer War and French financial scandals in mind and, above all, with his experience as a Member of Parliament (1906-1910) to the fore, the distinction between "life" and "art" in Belloc's case seems particularly spurious.<sup>52</sup> A.J.P. Taylor, although he exaggerates his point, is nearer the mark when he argues that "...quite seriously, if you want to understand Edwardian politics, ...I think the novels of Hilaire Belloc are your best guide..."<sup>53</sup> In these terms, the stereotypes employed by Belloc in an imaginative context certainly indicates the nature of the political mood which helped to create the Marconi Scandal and make it a significant reference point for English anti-semitism.<sup>54</sup>

Although published in 1904, the first installments of Emmanuel Burden appeared in April 1900, at the peak of pro-Boer agitation. Belloc's delay in publishing the novel as a whole is probably accounted for by the fact that "...parts of the original manuscript for Emmanuel Burden were considered so harsh on the Jews that the publisher, A.P. Watt and Son, suspected that Belloc might be accused of Jew-baiting." Belloc, therefore, carefully "revised certain objectional sections of the novel" and, to avoid the accusation of "Jew-baiting," introduced a tone of almost blanket irony to the novel.<sup>55</sup> As Speaight has noted, "not being able to attack these men directly, Belloc is thrown back on satire. Emmanuel Burden could only have been written by a man who was very angry..."<sup>56</sup> Unsurprisingly, "these men" whom Belloc wished to "attack" were members of the "Anglo-Judaic plutocracy." The representative Jewish plutocrat who grows in power and influence throughout Belloc's sequel of four novels starts off as plain Mr. I.Z. Barnett in Emmanuel Burden. By the time of Pongo and the Bull (1910) he is the immensely powerful Duke of Battersea, friend, confidant and financial adviser to the Prime Minister of England. It is the growing all-consuming influence of Mr. Barnett in Belloc's novels and the lack of influence of the Prime Minister (or anyone else for that matter) that constitutes the "moral purpose" of Belloc's "modern parable."<sup>57</sup> Significantly, by the time of Pongo and the Bull, the ironic tone of Emmanuel Burden is dropped and Belloc crudely names his "Jewish" targets. Such is the change in atmosphere from 1900 to 1910.

In Emmanuel Burden, however, Belloc's technique is to allude indirectly to the real interests and power of Mr. Barnett. Only once in the novel is Mr. Barnett explicitly described as a "German Jew" (275) which, it seems logical to assume, was due to the timely intervention of A.P. Watt and Son.<sup>58</sup> Thus, Belloc throughout the novel



prefers the euphemistic epithets "Cosmopolitan Financier" or "Great Financier" as terms for Mr. Barnett. Such terms contrast ironically with the feeble English businessman, Mr. Burden, who is conspiratorially "bound... by the closest ties to men who direct no small part of our national fortunes" (2). That is, when Burden's morally and financially bankrupt son befriends Mr. Barnett, Belloc argues that "it was through his son that ...Mr. Burden came into touch with [the] forces of the modern world" (21). It is the moral task of the novelist to expose the danger of these modern "forces" which direct "our national fortunes." Here is Belloc's description of Mr. Barnett:

"It is an impression--a conviction rather--that this man is in some inscrutable way linked with the fate of England. Such an assertion in cold print means little; made in the presence of the man or his emblem, it has the force of prophecy" (66/7).

For the modern reader, Belloc's moral voice may become somewhat blurred by his ironic tone. J.A.V. Chapple, for instance, notes this and describes Emmanuel Burden as a "caricature of reality" that fails because it is "a fable designed to bear an application to real life and as such is only lastingly effective when the reader is convinced... that the author has hit upon some strong prevailing tendency in human nature or society..." Only if the reader "remains within the bounds of Belloc's fable" does Chapple regard the satire as "lastingly effective."<sup>59</sup> However, Chapple fails to understand the novel from the point of view of Belloc's contemporary readers who most certainly would have been convinced that Belloc had hit upon "some strong prevailing tendency... in society." The novel, that is, makes sense only in its historical and social context. Thus, the "dangerous connection between finance and politics" (84) in Emmanuel Burden which results in a potential financial scandal cannot be divorced, in particular, from pro-Boer Jewish conspiracy theories of

the Boer War. Like the South African Jewish financier, Mr. Barnett set up a company in Africa on the basis of there being gold beneath the "marshes" of the M'Korio Delta. Throughout the novel there are recognisable and derogatory references to Rhodes' "Mercantile Scholarships" and the paraphernalia of English imperialism in South Africa. However, the central figure in Belloc's satire remains Mr. Barnett who knew that "the M'Korio Delta was a touchstone for the future of England" (84). Mr. Burden, whose "good name" and legitimate interests in West Africa are exploited by Mr. Barnett, "would have felt a very genuine horror at hearing that a Cabinet Minister had held, or had been given, such and such shares in a company connected with our Imperial development" (86). In fact, it is the buying out of the M'Korio Delta Company by these Cabinet Ministers which leads to the financial success of Mr. Barnett and prefigures the actual Marconi Scandal. Mr. Burden is outmanoeuvred by Mr. Barnett's "financial genius" and this realisation leads to his premature death as the moral implications of his involvement with Mr. Barnett become apparent. That is, the government of the day is perceived to have finally bowed to "Cosmopolitan Finance"; just as it was deemed to have done with Marconi. Earlier in the novel Belloc summarises what it means for an Englishman to help one such as Mr. Barnett:

"There are men who hate the successful or the rich, but whose hatred is not quite dishonest, though it is wildly unjust. They see conspiracies upon every side, they scowl at every new fortune, but they do so in good faith, for they are haunted by a nightmare of Cosmopolitan Finance--pitiless, destructive of all national ideals, obscene, and eating out the heart of our European tradition" (89).

This, it will become apparent, is the crux of Belloc's attack on Mr. Barnett. The bogey of modernity in the guise of Jewish "Cosmopolitan Finance" is, in essence, the Distributist ideology. A contemporary

reader, certainly, would have been familiar with Belloc's viewpoint. Thus, at the end of Emmanuel Burden, the Jewish plutocrat triumphs completely and achieves "more than fortune--true political power, a thing to him worth all the effort of a life" (287). In this nightmare world, Belloc's rather feeble anachronistic Englishman finally succumbs to "the massed forces of the new world surging against him" and dies (296). The implication is clear, England is irrevocably defeated by alien forces: "Mr. Burden is dead, and I do not quite see who there is to take his place. Honest Englishman and good man—I wish I could have written of him in nobler terms" (312). Trollope's modern Jewish stereotype "inflicts irreparable damage to the gentile world before he is with difficulty ejected."<sup>60</sup> The final vision of Belloc's novel, however, is less equivocal as a threatening darkness finally overcomes the light of a "murky" England:

"The dirty light grew in the east of the world, and lit without hope the labour and despair of the City... There was a streak of murky rose which faded, and, without, one cameo noise and then another led to the life of a new day" (310).

Such is Belloc's dark vision. The faded murky rose of England has been eclipsed by the "dirty light... in the east of the world;" the dominant eastern other-world of a Mr. Barnett.

Mr. Clutterbuck's Election (1908) is a cruder examination of the moral consequences of an "honest" Englishman making money by exploiting the Empire and manipulating the stock exchange. In this way, the naïve Mr. Clutterbuck passes "from ease to affluence" and is then "launched upon public life" (1) again illustrating the corrupt connection between "finance and politics." Significantly, Mr. Clutterbuck invests through "Barnett and Sons' Bank" who go on to "launch him upon public life":

"The story [of Clutterbuck's financial success] rose beneath him like a tide; it floated him out of his suburb into a new and great world; it floated him at last into the majestic

councils of the nation. It all but bestowed him an imperishable name among the Statesmen of England" (56/7).

These "majestic councils" are ironically represented by the nepotistic Mary Smith who is related to both the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition and members of the Cabinet on both sides of the House (63) and "—the indefatigable empire builder whom the world had known as Mr. Barnett of the M'Korio, and who now, as the aged Duke of Battersea, had earned by his unceasing good deeds the half-playful, half-revered nickname of 'Peabody Yid'..." (64). Needless to say, the Duke of Battersea is once more the dark centre of this financial and nepotistic universe which quickly consumes Clutterbuck by buying him a seat as a Member of Parliament. At this point in the novel, Mr. Clutterbuck begins to realise the all-pervading influence of the Duke of Battersea. Clutterbuck's painful awakening is described in the following terms:

"Mr. Fitzgerald, what is a Peabody Yid?'...

'Oh a Yid,' he said laughingly, 'I suppose a Yid's a name for a German or something of that sort. Then Peabody--ah, the Peabody Buildings!' Mr. Clutterbuck was lost in thought.

'But Yid means a Jew surely, doesn't it Mr. Fitzgerald?'

'Why -y yes,' answered the other with nonchalance... For the first time in many months [Clutterbuck] was as sore and as anxious as ever he had been in the old days before good fortune came to him" (104/5).<sup>61</sup>

After this initial realisation and to end what is described as a "thorn in his soul" (184), Clutterbuck in desperation goes to William Bailey, an attractive bluff Englishman who, however, had "gone mad upon the Hebrew race" (170). As with those that see "conspiracies upon every side" in Emmanuel Burden, an example of Bailey's "antisemitism" will suffice to point to the hollowness of Belloc's ironic description:

"...all the great family of Arnold were Jews; half the English aristocracy had Jewish blood... every widespread influence, from Freemasonry to the international finance of Europe, was Israelite in his eyes; while our colonial policy, and especially the gigantic and successful struggle in South

Africa, he twisted into a sort of petty huckstering, dependent upon Park Lane" (179/180).

As Lodge has argued, this is not simply "a caricature of the anti-semite, put into counterbalance, for the sake of fairness, the portrait of Barnett." It is clear, from a comparative reading of Belloc's work on the "Jewish Question," that he agreed with Bailey and that references to South Africa and "the international finance of Europe" were familiar aspects of Belloc's rhetoric.<sup>62</sup> However, where Belloc did disassociate himself from Bailey is in terms of his "fanaticism." Interestingly, during the Marconi Scandal Belloc made the same point about F. Hugh O'Donnell, a notoriously rabid anti-semite, who wrote for The New Witness under Cecil Chesterton's editorship:

"...It is legitimate to point out... the fact that Jewish financial power has prevented people from knowing the truth about the most famous foreign trials where Jews were concerned. But just because these matters so nearly verge upon violent emotion, it is essential to avoid anything like the suspicion of fanaticism. It destroys all one's case and weakens all one's efforts..."<sup>63</sup>

The fanatical antisemite is wrong, in Belloc's view, not because of what he says but because his "fanaticism ...destroys one's case and weakens all one's efforts..." The need for political respectability is essential for Belloc otherwise the "truth" about "Jewish financial power" or the Marconi Scandal will be prevented from emerging. It is in these terms that the ironic narrator of Mr. Clutterbuck's Election distances himself from the otherwise attractive Bailey. However, as Lodge has noted, "Mr. Bailey does uncover Jewish-inspired corruption and intrigue everywhere he goes" and, therefore, "if he erred at all, it was on the side of truth." Belloc, in both "life and art," simply wanted to articulate the "truth" about "Jewish financial power" in the most effective manner possible. Such was his role during the Marconi Scandal.<sup>64</sup>

Thus, in Mr. Clutterbuck's Election, the "Anapootra Ruby Mines Scandal" is identified by Bailey. Like Belloc's other fictional financial scandals, the "Anapootra Ruby Mines Scandal" is centred around the Empire and Mr. Barnett, the newly created Duke of Battersea. Once again, members of the government are given salaried positions in Battersea's new company which owns the Anapootra Ruby Mines. Bailey persuades Clutterbuck to expose this scandal but the feeble Clutterbuck is ruthlessly suppressed by Battersea. After his defeat, Clutterbuck buys a seat in the House of Lords and eventually reappears in A Change in the Cabinet (1909) as a hireling of the Duke of Battersea, one of his increasingly powerful "Anglo-Judaic Plutocracy," in the House of Lords. In this way, a naïve but honest English businessman is, like Mr. Burden, turned into a function of Battersea's cosmopolitan Jewish financial power:

"...the Duke of Battersea rose amid the evident interest of such as remained to hear him, no less than five of whom were concerned with himself in the Anapootra Ruby Mines" (299).

By the time of Pongo and the Bull (1910), Belloc has eschewed the ironic tone of his previous novels. The novel, set in a degenerate future, portrays the Duke of Battersea as "the chief and the most respected of British financiers" (17) and "the very centre" of the Prime Minister's world whose "name alone could support the credit of the country" (18). The Prime Minister's wife "was almost part of the Battersea household" and is described as a "fixture of the Batterseas" (19). Battersea, moreover, helps finance the newly formed Labour party who make up the government's coalition which illustrates Belloc's belief that Jewish financiers and Jewish communists have a common "racial" interest.<sup>65</sup> Lacking irony, Pongo and the Bull is a nightmare evocation of an absolutely corrupt political world with Battersea and Jewish cosmopolitan finance at its centre.

Relying on Battersea, the government needs to raise an enormous loan to stem an uprising in India. Battersea is in a strong position to negotiate as he points to the difficulty of the government's position with "one allusion after another to the gradual decline of the borrowing power of the government..." a decline, it is implied, which Battersea helped to create (70). In a clear reference to the House of Rothschilds, as well as anticipating Marconi, Battersea wants to include various relations in the loan: "There iss my brodher Chames... You know Chames... and sohn also. Well! Each most know!" (70).<sup>66</sup> For the first time, the alien "racial" nature of Battersea's "old usurer's heart" (74) is articulated by Belloc without an "antisemitic" intermediary:

"...the Duke of Battersea... lay in Battersea House not yet asleep. He was feeding internally and nourishing his soul upon Dolly [the Prime Minister] and the Indian Loan. He held Dolly between his spatulated forefinger and his gross thumb. But then he did not understand blood which was not his own, nor what sympathies might arise between men of one race and one society..." (90).

The vampire imagery of the parasitic Battersea "feeding internally" on the British government is reinforced by Belloc's reference to Battersea as of another "blood."<sup>67</sup> In an article on the "Jewish Question," written in The Eye Witness in 1911, Belloc expresses such imagery in purely political terms:

"...it is an unfortunate but unquestionable fact that everywhere a sort of Jew presents himself to the public view, not only as an oppressor of the poor, but an alien oppressor--an oppressor incapable of understanding the feelings of those he oppresses."<sup>68</sup>

In Mr. Clutterbuck's Election, Belloc argues that "the occasions on which it is possible to bring against a man of English lineage the grave accusation of hampering with political morals are very rare..." (202, my emphasis). In fact, the plot of A Change in the Cabinet is predicated on a Cabinet Minister "of English lineage" being turned

insane at the "immoral" way he makes money. Hence, Belloc's insistence that the worst aspects of plutocratic power were represented by a dominant racial "alien oppressor... incapable of understanding the feelings of those he oppresses." By 1910, figures such as Mr. Barnett were, for the first time, Cabinet Ministers in a government considered "the most corrupt in British history." It is in this context that the stereotype of Jewish cosmopolitan plutocratic power was invoked by a significant section of political opinion who associated a degenerate modernity with the newly emancipated Jew. This stereotype, articulated in Belloc's novels, meant that the Marconi Scandal was not simply about a financial indiscretion. As the case of G.K. Chesterton will now make clear, the stereotypes which "helped to create" the Marconi Scandal radically altered the political perceptions of those that believed them.<sup>69</sup>

### Politics as Fiction: The Novels of G.K. Chesterton

In his Autobiography (1936) Chesterton writes that:

"It is the fashion to divide recent history into Pre-War and Post-War conditions. I believe it is almost as essential to divide them into Pre-Marconi and Post Marconi days. It was during the agitations upon that affair that the ordinary English citizen lost his invincible ignorance; or, in ordinary language, his innocence. And as I happened to play a part... in the quarrel about this affair... it will be well to pause for a moment upon this peculiar business. I think it probable that centuries will pass before it is seen clearly and in its right perspective; and then it will be seen as one of the turning points in the whole history of England and the world."

Clearly, the Marconi Scandal had a profound effect on Chesterton's perception of the world. Most commentators have noted that "Chesterton's attitude to the Jews was irrevocably hardened by the [Marconi] episode."<sup>70</sup> In Chesterton's political *Garden of Eden*, the "ordinary English citizen" had lost his "innocence" and, presumably, the forces of "evil" had been victorious. More importantly, before



being killed in the First World War, Cecil Chesterton was successfully sued for criminal libel by Godfrey Isaacs and this has been said, above all, to have "embittered" Chesterton for the next two decades. As A.N. Wilson notes, "the libel trial took on a somewhat sanctified glow because, on the day it began, Cecil became a Roman Catholic."<sup>71</sup> Such was Cecil's spiritual armour against the forces of "evil." Cecil's untimely death and the loss of G.K.'s political "innocence" were, it seems, related in Chesterton's mind. In a particularly bitter Open Letter to Rufus Isaacs in The New Witness in 1918 Chesterton notes the "irony that the last few days have brought to an end the great Marconi duel." He writes that, "Cecil Chesterton found death in the trenches to which he had freely gone; and Godfrey Isaacs found dismissal in those very courts to which he once successfully appealed." Almost two decades before his Autobiography, Chesterton argues in similar sweeping terms that "...if it be decreed that the English nation is to lose its public honour, it will be partly because certain men of the tribe of Isaacs kept their own strange private loyalty." He goes on to express a political anti-semitism that was to become a central aspect of his post-Marconi fiction. Specifically, Chesterton is reacting to Rufus Isaacs, the Lord Chief Justice of England, being chosen as one of the British representatives at the Versailles Peace Conference:

"Are we to lose the War which we have already won? ...Is there any man who doubts the Jewish International is unsympathetic with that full national demand? And is there any man who doubts that you will be sympathetic with the Jewish International? No man who knows anything of the interior facts of modern Europe has the faintest doubt on either point... Are we to set up as the standing representative of England a man who is a standing joke against England? That and nothing else is involved in setting up the chief Marconi Minister as our chief Foreign Minister" (72).

Such extreme outbursts after the Marconi Scandal and Cecil's death do not necessarily mean, as Corrin has argued, that "G.K. Chesterton ...had not been noticeably antisemitic until this juncture."<sup>73</sup> In 1908 in the Albany Review, for instance, Chesterton speaks of an English "...open servility to the strong international Jew." And, a year before the Marconi Scandal, Chesterton was especially engaged in promoting this argument in the Nation where he refers to "the International and largely secret power of the great Jewish houses" and adds that "...the Jew is not an Englishman, because his nationality is not English."<sup>74</sup> Such are the two main themes of Distributist political antisemitism. By 1911, in fact, Chesterton's statements on the "Jewish Question" were indistinguishable from Belloc as an interview in April, 1911, makes clear:

"...to my mind, a Jewish capitalist is different from an ordinary capitalist. The latter is restrained by nationality. Jews are not, say what they will. ...The great English landowners are tied to England in a way that no Jewish capitalist can be tied..."<sup>75</sup>

What does distinguish the pre and post-Marconi Chesterton is, perhaps, a difference in tone. In 1911, Chesterton was to argue in a public meeting that there were "two kinds of Jews, rich and poor" and that "the poor were nice and the rich were nasty." In general Chesterton believed that "Jews were born civilised. You don't get among Jews anything like the 'yokel' type [because Jews] belong to a much more ancient strain of civilisation which tells in their heredity."<sup>76</sup> Whilst such stereotyping is, in fact, indistinguishable in content from the post-Marconi Chesterton, it lacks the strident, bitter tone of much of his later writing on the "Jewish Question." This point is brought home by a comparison of two pre and post-Marconi novels which utilise the Jewish stereotype. These novels are Manalive (1912) published in February, a month before the

Scandal, and The Flying Inn (1914) published a year after Cecil Chesterton's libel trial.

Manalive is "a jovial novel" about an optimist, Innocent Smith, "a fanatic at the joy of life." He shoots at (but carefully misses) pessimists, to wake them up to the joy of simple existence. He goes round the world to discover that his own house is the place where he most wants to be; elopes time and again with seemingly different girls who are really all his wife, with whom he thus continually falls in love.<sup>77</sup> The bulk of the novel concerns the role of Smith in transforming the lives of his lodgers in Beacon House, a suburban boarding house. Each of Smith's ostensible "sins" are challenged in a make-shift "High Court of Beacon" peopled by Smith's lodgers. The moral lesson that Manalive promotes is that "life was after all worth living if only we would see its values from a new angle."<sup>78</sup> Each lodger represents what Chesterton perceives as a "national type." Thus, there is Dr. Pyne an American idealist, Arthur Inglewood a civil Englishman, and Michael Moon an Irish mystic. The Jewish stereotype consists of Moses Gould who has "the shameless rationality of another race" (48). Unsurprisingly Gould, who was "ill-adapted both physically and morally for the purposes of permanence..." (150), is distinguished from the other lodgers by his other "race":

"English reverence, Irish mysticism, American idealism, looked up and saw on the face of Moses a certain smile. It was that smile of the Cynic Triumphant, which has been the tocsin for many a cruel riot in Russian villages or medieval towns" (281/2).

Like Belloc who argued in 1911 that "the impossibility of [Jewish] understanding is the real root of antisemitism and many worse things,"<sup>79</sup> Chesterton similarly blames antisemitic hostility on Gould's Jewish "cynicism." Once again, Gould does not differ conceptually from Belloc's political stereotyping at this time. However,

significantly, Chesterton made Gould a comic character: "swaggering on short legs with a prosperous purple tie... the gayest of godless little dogs" (35) and not the conspiratorial Jewish plutocrat of Belloc's novels. Moses is known as "little Nosey Gould" (142) throughout the novel which reflects what is rightly called the "schoolboy" nature of Chesterton's Jewish stereotyping at this time.<sup>80</sup> Moses Gould is also "as good a fellow in his way as ever lived; far kinder to his family than more refined men of pleasure, simple and steadfast in his admirations, a thoroughly wholesome animal and a thoroughly genuine character" (281). After the Marconi Scandal, family loyalty or "the strange private loyalty" of the Isaacs family was to take on more sinister overtones in Chesterton's mind.

The post-Marconi The Flying Inn (1914) signals the end of Chesterton's jovial tone with regard to the Jewish stereotype. The caricature, lisping Doctor Gluck, the German-Jewish financier and ambassador to England in the novel, represents a change of tone from Manalive:

"Oh, I knew a Doctor Gluck,  
And his nose it had a hook,  
And his attitudes were anything but Aryan;  
So I gave him all the pork  
That I had, upon a fork;  
Because I am myself a vegetarian" (121).

In general, critics agree that "...in spite of [some] jolly songs The Flying Inn is a bitter book." For instance, Chesterton associates a powerful Jewry with Germany in The Flying Inn which anticipates some particularly unpleasant war-time stereotypes.<sup>81</sup> In these terms, The Flying Inn is only ostensibly concerned with the battle and triumph of "two friends of freedom," Patrick Dalroy and Humphrey Pump, in their efforts to defeat the conspiratorial machinations of Lord Ivywood who wants to destroy the traditional English public house.

Ivywood is an unscrupulous Cabinet Minister who symbolises Chesterton's "evil ruling class," a notion which is reinforced by his Jewish secretary, Leveson and his friend Misyra Ammon—or M. Ammon—the politically successful "cosmopolitan enemy" from the Middle East.<sup>82</sup> Gluck's association with Ivywood, thus, "enables Chesterton to express his dual obsession with Prussian militarism and cosmopolitan finance" in the novel and, in this way, Distributist political antisemitism becomes a key element in Chesterton's novel.<sup>83</sup> That is, the novel's plot is related to political antisemitism by Gluck's unhesitating support for Ivywood's plan to impose a teetotal "Mahomedanism" on England which would destroy the English way of life.

In Chesterton's world, "the Mahomedan religion has worn... a somewhat similar mask... to the Jews" (70), hence Gluck's support for "Mahomedanism" and the fact that Chesterton's Arab stereotype has "the Jewish nose and the Persian beard" (72). Both Arab and Jew in The Flying Inn are "Semites" (113) with a similar "veto on pork" (115). For Chesterton, as Hollis notes, "Judaism and Mahomedanism are great monotheistic religions which have much more in common with each other than either have with Christianity..." This thesis was elaborated in The Everlasting Man (1925) where Chesterton argued that Judaism and Mahomedanism were "inevitably inhuman" in contrast to Christianity which was a "wholly European affair."<sup>84</sup> The Flying Inn thus revolves around an international conspiracy with the threat of a Mahomedan—Turkish invasion of England being supported by the German-Jewish Dr. Gluck and opposed by Humphrey Pump and "the small Christian tribes" (22) in Turkey loyal to England.<sup>85</sup> The "Mahomedan" nature of Judaism, in Chesterton's view, meant that his call for "every Jew [to be] dressed like an Arab" under English Law was said with a marked lack of irony. It is in this context that Chesterton's

self-professed "Zionism" should be considered. The "Semitic" Jewish racial other, in these terms, belongs "naturally" in the East and Jewish immigration to Palestine would, in Chesterton's words, "put an end to the eternal entanglement of mutual wrong of which [the Jew] is the unhappy cause between himself and the nations among whom he lives."<sup>86</sup> By 1914, the "school boy" stereotypes had been transformed into a political programme.


Chesterton's ideological Jewish stereotyping was reflected, in particular, in his growing ambivalence towards the Dreyfus Affair which has already been noted.<sup>87</sup> This ambivalence was given a fictional form in a short story, "The Duel of Dr. Hirsch," collected in The Wisdom of Father Brown (1914). In this story, Father Brown confesses:

"...I never understood that Dreyfus case... What puzzled me was the sincerity of both parties... Now Dreyfus went on like a man who knew he was a wronged man. And yet the French statesmen and soldiers went on as if they knew he wasn't a wronged man, but simply a wrong 'un" (351/2).

To "understand" the Dreyfus Affair, Chesterton invents "another Dreyfus case" called the "Hirsch Affair" (343) which concerns the traitorous acts of a French Jewish scientist, Dr. Hirsch. Only when a nationalist Frenchman suggests that the "Hirsch Affair" is "some plot of the Jews and Freemasons to work up glory for Hirsch...," Father Brown knew that he "had suddenly understood" (355). Father Brown discovers, that is, that Dr. Hirsch and his accuser were, paradoxically, one and the same person; that is Dr. Hirsch. The "Hirsch Affair" was, thus, a conspiracy designed by Dr. Hirsch to undermine French civilisation. In these terms, Hirsch is worse than the guilty Dreyfus and Dreyfus, it is implied, might also be worse than guilty. He may, in fact, be a devil figure designed to bring chaos to an ordered France. Certainly, "The Duel of Dr. Hirsch"

reinforces such a conclusion:

"Seen thus in the glass the white face [of Hirsch's accuser] looked like the face of Judas laughing horribly and surrounded by capering flames of hell... Slipping on a loose black coat, the figure vanished towards the front of the house. A few moments later a roar of popular applause from the street beyond announced that Dr. Hirsch had appeared upon the balcony" (361).

Such conspiratorial thinking confirms that by 1914 Chesterton's political antisemitism was a distinct world view. Such politics were reinforced by his appointment, after Cecil Chesterton's death, as editor of The New Witness and his involvement with extreme anti-semites in the League for Clean Government, which was formed as a result of the Marconi Scandal.<sup>88</sup> In particular, the conspiratorial Jewish stereotypes reaking havoc in an ordered England was to be a constant theme in Chesterton's fiction and journalism for the next two decades. As Boyd has noted, Chesterton's "literary decline can be explained in terms of an almost parasitic dependence on political concerns of the earlier fiction. This reworking of old material may also explain why so much of the action of the later fiction is set in an indetermined period of the past and why so much of the political background is concerned with the politics of Edwardian rather than contemporary times."<sup>89</sup> The Man Who Knew Too Much (1922) is a good example of Chesterton setting an inter-war novel in the context of Edwardian politics and, specifically, the Marconi Scandal.

The Man Who Knew Too Much has been described as "the first of a group of post-War novels which might be called the Distributist novels." In particular, Chesterton during his "New Witness stage of Distributism" was "primarily concerned with the corruption of English government" and, therefore, the novel is close "in spirit and method to the polemical journalism of Belloc and Cecil Chesterton..."<sup>90</sup> In fact, The Man Who Knew Too Much is a collection of eight related

magazine stories written around a central character, Horne Fisher, a disillusioned but honourable aristocrat connected with all the leading political families and thus in a prime position to gauge the corruption of English government. Each story describes a crime where the criminal cannot be sent to prison because of his political connections. Much of Cecil Chesterton's and Belloc's exposé of political corruption, The Party System (1911), is incorporated into the novel as is, according to Boyd, Belloc's novels leading up to the Marconi Scandal: "Horne Fisher's world of stock market swindles, blackmailing Edwardian financiers and Jewish moneylenders, with its sale of peerages... has a strong resemblance to the fictional world which might have been borrowed from Belloc."<sup>91</sup> Thus Horne Fisher, like Belloc's William Bailey, is a known antisemite who is proved correct in his antisemitism. Unlike the comic "Nosey Gould" in Manalive, the Jewish stereotype in The Man Who Knew Too Much is the dominant Jewish plutocrat such as "nosey Zimmern [who] has lent money to half the Cabinet" (89). In this dark post-Marconi world, "the chancellor is in the pocket of the moneylenders" or "the Prime Minister was in the petrol contract business" (146) and Britain has "yielded to foreign financiers" (147). Such firms as "Messrs. Miller, Moss and Hartman," one of the "first firms in the civilised world, as big as the Bank of England," characterise the dominant Anglo-Judaic plutocracy in the novel. And, predictably, "Miller may stand for Müller, or Müller for Moses" (279) indicating a racial German-Jewish self-interest. In such a world, characters are "in the power" of "cosmopolitan moneylenders" such as Sir Isaac Hook, or Sir Francis Verner--"Franz Werner." Thus, even when Fisher defeats Verner in a parliamentary election with an immensely popular Distributist programme and exposure of Verner's corrupt financial background, he only remains a Member of Parliament for a short



period. Like Belloc, Fisher leaves Parliament because he considers it irredeemably corrupt.<sup>92</sup> Werner was, inevitably, re-elected as a Member of Parliament as he had "to have the Exchequer next session" as "there is the Egyptian Loan and Lord knows what else" (142) for him to take over. The "Egyptian Loan," needless to say, recalls the plot of Pongo and the Bull and the all-powerful Duke of Battersea in Belloc's world. However, whereas Belloc's novels promoted politically relevant stereotypes before they were popularised, Chesterton's inter-war novels were to become "a repetition of stale old jokes about the Marconi case" and, therefore, were regarded as increasingly unreal. Four Faultless Felons (1930), for instance, cannot be understood without a belief in a Jewish world conspiracy and "A Tall Story" in The Paradoxes of Mr. Pond (1936) refers back to the war-time association of a powerful Jewry with Germany.<sup>93</sup> To be sure, in Margaret Canovan's words, the post-Marconi Chesterton perceived "the economic and political power of the Jews" to be "as secure and unchallengeable as that of America today." The stereotype of a dominant Jewish power was, in Chesterton's own words, a "patent fact" and, to his detriment, he spent the inter-war years promoting this stereotype in his fiction, journalism and politics.<sup>94</sup>

### Conclusion

The post-Marconi Chesterton came to consider the Jewish population as permanently alien: "they produce a friction in the world by being alien to the moral tradition around them." He could also regard British Imperialism as "merely Jewish" or promote a racial view of history which relates: "the cosmopolitan Jews who are the Communists in the East... to the cosmopolitan Jews who are the Capitalists in the West." All of these statements are a repetition of Belloc's viewpoint.<sup>95</sup> However, Chesterton and Belloc cannot be

totally equated even after the Marconi Scandal. It is, perhaps, symptomatic of their differences that Chesterton's main work on the "Jewish Question" should have been The New Jerusalem (1920), an impressionistic travelogue of his journey to Palestine. When The New Jerusalem is compared with Belloc's The Jews, a pseudo-scientific intellectual treatise, the differences in temperament between Belloc and Chesterton become apparent. It is hard to understand why Bayme should conclude that Chesterton's "intellectuality far exceeded that of Belloc. Consequently he shared the common intellectual critique of the Jew and Judaism inherited from the Enlightenment."<sup>96</sup> Undoubtedly, the opposite is true and it was Belloc's "intellectual critique of the Jew" that influenced Chesterton's often emotional and always impressionistic account of the "Jewish Question." Moreover, Chesterton's "Zionism" contrasts starkly with Belloc's "anti-Zionism" and indicates, I would argue, a less implacable view of the "unassimilable Jewish race" than Belloc's.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, Belloc and Chesterton and their political coterie did "prepare Britain for the dissemination of both Protocols materials and subsequent [Fascist] propaganda" in the 1930s as many commentators have noted.<sup>98</sup> In these terms, the fiction of Belloc and Chesterton was uniquely related to the darker political realities of their time.

## NOTES

1. Jacob Katz, From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933 (Harvard, 1980), p. 260 and Chapter 21 passim, to which I am indebted.
2. Ibid., p. 261. See also "Antisemitism as A Cultural Code: Reflections on the History and Historiography of Antisemitism in Imperial Germany" by Shulamit Volkov, Leo Baeck Institute Year Book XXIII (1978), p. 38 and passim for a comprehensive discussion of a "distinguishable modern antisemitism beginning in the 1870s."
3. Katz, op. cit., p. 261 and p. 246. Chapters 20-25 in From Prejudice to Destruction are a useful general discussion of European political antisemitism after the 1870s. Peter Pultzer's The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria (New York, 1964) is a standard work on the subject to which I am indebted.
4. Quoted in Hesketh Pearson and Hugh Kingsmill, Talking of Dick Whittington (London, 1947), p. 212. Robert Speaight's The Life of Hilaire Belloc (London, 1957) is the standard biography of Belloc. It has not been superseded by A.N. Wilson's recent Hilaire Belloc (London, 1984) which is a tendentious account. For this opinion see The Observer, 22 April, 1984, p. 22. Jay P. Corrin, G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc: The Battle Against Modernity (London, 1981) is the best work on the ideology of Belloc and Chesterton which surpasses Margaret Canovan's, G.K. Chesterton: Radical Populist (London, 1977), and John P. McCarthy, Hilaire Belloc: Edwardian Radical (Indiana, 1981).
5. The Times, December 25, 1894. Cited in Charlotte Lea Klein, "The Dreyfus Affair in the British Press," Patterns of Prejudice (Vol. 12, No. 2, March-April 1978), p. 34.
6. Corrin, op. cit., pp. 14-15. See also Speaight, op. cit., pp. 97-98. Wilson, op. cit., p. 90 notes that the Dreyfus Affair convinced Belloc of "the existence of Jewish power, their control of European commercial interests, their capacity for influencing public opinion."
7. Speaight, op. cit., pp. 120-121. Belloc's letter to Maria Lansdale, February 15, 1899 confirms his family's friendship with Déroulède, cited in Speaight, ibid. Wilson, op. cit., p. 43 is wrong, therefore, to argue that "Belloc had not come from an anti-semitic home."

8. Speaight, op. cit., p. 97 and p. 184. Speaight laments the influence of Maurras on Belloc in his "Personal Column" for The Tablet cited in Corrin, op. cit., p. 215. See also ibid., pp. 218-219. For a discussion of Drumont see Katz, op. cit., Chapter 24 and for the Action Française see Eugen Weber, Action Française; Royalism and Reaction in Twentieth-Century France (California, 1962). T.S. Eliot, interestingly, was also heavily influenced by Maurras. See Peter Ackroyd, T.S. Eliot (London, 1984), pp. 41-42 and Chapter 11 for a discussion of this point.
9. Katz, op. cit., pp. 294-297. For a more detailed discussion of the role of Drumont in the Dreyfus Affair see Stephen Wilson, Ideology and Experience: Anti-Semitism in France at the Time of Dreyfus (London, 1983).
10. Klein, op. cit., p. 34.
11. The Cruise of the 'Nona' (London, 1925), p. 215. See also Speaight, op. cit., pp. 97-98 and note 6 for this argument.
12. Katz, op. cit., pp. 296-300 for a discussion of this point.
13. Ibid. George L. Mosse, Towards the Final Solution (London, 1978), pp. 150-168. I owe this point to Kenneth Lunn's "Political Anti-Semitism Before 1914: Fascism's Heritage?" in Kenneth Lunn and Richard Thurlow (eds.) British Fascism (London, 1980), pp. 21-22.
14. Corrin, op. cit., p. 23 for the effect of such scandals on Belloc.
15. This point has been made by Hannah Arendt in her The Origins of Totalitarianism (Cleveland, 1958), pp. 93-94 and Katz, op. cit., p. 300.
16. Speaight, op. cit., p. 97. For Drumont's extreme racial definition of the "Jew" see Katz, op. cit., p. 295 and Stephen Wilson, op. cit.
17. Chapter 7, "The Chesterbelloc and the Jews," in David Lodge's The Novelist at the Crossroads (London, 1971), p. 156. For Belloc's viewpoint see his The Jews (London, 1922), pp. 105-106. Léon Poliakov's The History of Anti-Semitism, Volume IV Suicidal Europe, 1870-1933 (Oxford, 1985), Chapter 6 has an extended discussion of this book.
18. This extraordinary story is first noted in Maisie Ward's Gilbert Keith Chesterton (London, 1944), p. 113. See also Speaight, op. cit., p. 147 and Corrin, op. cit., p. 25.

19. Canovan, op. cit., p. 10 and G.K. Chesterton, Autobiography (London, 1936), p. 13. Chesterton was officially received into the Catholic Church in 1922 although as Lodge, op. cit., notes "he had been a Catholic in spirit long before...", p. 145.
20. Ward, op. cit., p. 117. See also Dudley Barker, G.K. Chesterton: A Biography (London, 1973), pp. 33-34.
21. Ward, op. cit., pp. 117-118 quotes Chesterton. For "The Duel of Dr. Hirsch" (1914) see Charlotte Lea Klein, "English Antisemitism in the 1920s," Patterns of Prejudice (Vol. 16, No. 2, March-April 1972), p. 24. See my discussion of this story below.
22. Ward, op. cit., p. 118 and Barker, op. cit., pp. 92-93. See also Christopher Hollis, The Mind of Chesterton (London, 1970) for a similar viewpoint.
23. Autobiography, op. cit., p. 115 and Barker, op. cit., p. 92.
24. Autobiography, op. cit., p. 115. See also Hollis, op. cit., p. 106. Only Olive Schreiner of the writers under discussion was, like Chesterton, a "pro-Boer" in the literal sense. See Chapter 11 for a discussion of Schreiner.
25. Hollis, op. cit., p. 105.
26. Corrin, op. cit., p. 23. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Boer War in these terms. See also Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939 (London, 1979), p. 67 and passim.
27. Malvern Van Wyk Smith, Drummer Hodge: The Poetry of the Anglo-Boer War (Oxford, 1978), p. 63.
28. See note 22. Ward's scapegoating of Belloc has been particularly influential.
29. Barker, op. cit., pp. 36-37. See also Chapter 2.
30. See below for a discussion of the impact of Cecil Chesterton's antisemitism on G.K. Chesterton.
31. Richard Griffiths, Fellow Travellers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany (London, 1980), p. 59 and Chapter 2 passim.
32. Lodge, op. cit., p. 149-150 has a useful discussion of these points. In particular see The Party System: A Criticism (London, 1911) by Hilaire Belloc and Cecil Chesterton for an elaboration of these views.

33. Lunn, op. cit., p. 34 and passim. For a more comprehensive treatment of these themes see Kenneth Lunn's "The Marconi Scandal and Related Aspects of British Anti-Semitism, 1911-1914" (Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1978) to which I am indebted. See also G.R. Searle's "The 'Revolt from the Right' in Edwardian Britain" in P. Kennedy and R. Nichols (eds.), Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914 (Oxford, 1981), p. 21-22.
34. Richard Griffiths, The Reactionary Revolution (London, 1966).
35. For this interpretation of political antisemitism see Pultzer, op. cit., passim.
36. S.G. Bayme, "Jewish Leadership and Anti-Semitism in Britain, 1898-1918" (Unpublished PhD. thesis, Columbia University, 1977), pp. 188-189. See also the Jewish Chronicle, August 12, 1910, p. 14 on "The Jewish Question: An Interview with Mr. Hilaire Belloc, M.P." and The Jews, op. cit., Chapter 1.
37. The Jews, op. cit., Chapters 4-6 which examine the "Causes of Friction" between Jews and non-Jews. See also Chesterton's The New Jerusalem (London, 1920), p. 272.
38. Lunn, op. cit., "Political Anti-Semitism Before 1914," p. 28 and Hollis, op. cit., p. 117. Belloc, significantly, is quoted in the Jewish Chronicle, February 25, 1910, p. 8 as stating that "he proposes to write a book" on the "Jewish Question."
39. See The Times, February 23, 1910 and the Jewish Chronicle, March 11, 1910 for Belloc's justification of his statement. For similar views see Robert Speaight (ed.), Letters from Hilaire Belloc (London, 1958), p. 122.
40. The Jewish Chronicle, August 12, 1910, p. 14.
41. Lunn, op. cit., unpublished PhD. and Frances Donaldson, The Marconi Scandal (London, 1962) are the standard accounts of the Marconi Scandal. A comparative Jewish financial scandal is the Indian Silver Affair. Lunn makes this comparison in Chapter 9 of his unpublished PhD. as does Holmes, op. cit., pp. 77-79. See also Henry D'Avigdor-Goldsmid, "The Little Marconi Case," History Today (Vol. 4, No. 4, April, 1964), pp. 283-286.
42. For a discussion of this point see Poliakov, op. cit., Searle, op. cit., and Gisela Lebzelter's "Anti-Semitism--A Focal Point for the British Radical Right" in P. Kennedy and R. Nichols (eds.), op. cit., pp. 88-105. See also the Jewish Chronicle, March 1911, p. 13.

43. I am indebted to G.R. Searle's "Critics of Edwardian Society: The Case of the Radical Right" in The Edwardian Age, Alan O'Day (ed.) (London, 1978), p. 92 for this argument. Maxse's remarks can be found in the National Review, December 1911, p. 501. See Lunn, op. cit., unpublished PhD., Chapter 8 for a discussion of Maxse in this context. The shift from positive to negative stereotyping by Radical Right Imperialists is discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis.
44. Searle, op. cit., "Critics of Edwardian Society," p. 91. The Outlook and the Morning Post were also a part of Belloc's wider "constituency."
45. This summary is based on Holmes, op. cit., p. 70.
46. Barker, op. cit., p. 213 and Chapter 20. See also Hollis, op. cit., Chapter 8 and Lunn, op. cit., unpublished PhD., Chapter 5.
47. Ibid., and Corrin, op. cit., pp. 52-62.
48. Lunn, op. cit., unpublished PhD., p. 200.
49. Searle, op. cit., "Critics of Edwardian Society," p. 91 and Lunn, op. cit., "Political Anti-Semitism Before 1914," p. 23.
50. Chapter 2 discusses Trollope in these terms.
51. John Harrison, The Reactionaries: A Study of the Anti-Democratic Intelligentsia (New York, 1966), p. 9.
52. Lodge, op. cit., p. 153. For a criticism of this approach see Chapter 1 of this thesis.
53. Donald Read (ed.) Edwardian England (London, 1982), p. 12.
54. Holmes, op. cit., passim locates the Marconi Scandal in the wider context of English antisemitism.
55. Speaight, op. cit., p. 151 and pp. 181-182. See also Corrin, op. cit., p. 24.
56. Speaight, op. cit., p. 181.
57. Charlotte Lea Klein, in her "The Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama 1830-1933" (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of London, 1967) discusses Emmanuel Burden in these terms, pp. 53-56.

58. For references to this correspondence see Corrin, op. cit., p. 24 and p. 215. Significantly, Barker op. cit., p. 210, notes that "Belloc had no easy entry... to any newspaper, proud or humble" at this time. This is one reason why by 1911 "to say what he wanted to say" Belloc started his own weekly, The Eye Witness.
59. J.A.V. Chapple, Documentary and Imaginative Literature 1880-1920 (London, 1970), pp. 208-210 for this discussion.
60. Klein, op. cit., unpublished PhD., p. 143.
61. These are clear references to the Rothschild's Buildings in London's East End. See Jerry White's, Rothschild Buildings (London, 1981) passim for a history of these buildings and their wider impact on English society. In particular they were known as "Model Dwellings," a concept which Belloc satirises in Pongo and the Bull, p. 18.
62. Lodge, op. cit., p. 151. See notes 17, 26, 36 and 39 for references to Belloc's antisemitism.
63. Letter to Maurice Baring, August 27, 1913. Cited in Speaight, op. cit., p. 363. For O'Donnell's relation with Belloc and the Marconi Scandal see Lunn, op. cit., unpublished PhD., Chapters 5 and 6.
64. Lodge, op. cit., pp. 151-152 and Lunn, op. cit., unpublished PhD., Chapter 5.
65. See The Jews, op. cit., Chapters 8 and 9.
66. See note 61.
67. For a discussion of such imagery see Chapter 11.
68. The Eye Witness, 31 August 1911. Cited in Lunn op. cit., unpublished PhD, p. 185.
69. Rudyard Kipling's perceptions of Jews can also be said to have been radically altered by the Marconi Scandal. See Chapter 4 for my discussion of Kipling's poem "Gehazi."
70. Autobiography, op. cit., p. 202. Lodge, op. cit., p. 153.
71. Barker, op. cit., p. 218 and Chapter 20 and Wilson, op. cit., p. 200.
72. "The Sign of the World's End: An Open Letter to Lord Reading," reproduced in Donaldson, op. cit., Appendix A pp. 256-259.
73. Corrin, op. cit., p. 61.



74. The Nation, March 18, 1911 quoted in the Jewish Chronicle, June 16, 1911, p. 26 and the Albany Review (Vol. 2, 1907-1908), p. 188 cited in Bayme, op. cit., p. 176. See also Chesterton's Charles Dickens (London, 1906), p. 209 and Heretics (London, 1905), p. 209.
75. "Interview for the Jewish Chronicle with Mr. G.K. Chesterton," April 28, 1911, p. 18.
76. Quoted in the Jewish Chronicle, December 1, 1911, p. 20.
77. I owe the unravelling of Chesterton's paradoxes to Barker, op. cit., p. 205.
78. R.A. Know, "Chesterton in his Early Romances," The Dublin Review, October, 1936, p. 361 cited in Ian Boyd, The Novels of G.K. Chesterton (London, 1975), p. 52.
79. The Eye Witness, 31 August 1911. Cited in Lunn, unpublished PhD., p. 185.
80. Boyd, op. cit., p. 72.
81. Hollis, op. cit., p. 143, Barker, op. cit., p. 221 and Bayme, op. cit., p. 186. Gratuitous references to "Jews" abound in the novel such as "The park a Jew encloses / where even the Law of Moses / will let you steal a smell" (162). Gluck's lisp, in particular, relates to the caricature stage Jew: "I do not thare that prejudithe against the Jewth, which ith too common... I think we Prutthian arithocrats owe everything to the Jewth..." (131). For the impact of the "German-Jewish" stereotype during the First World War see Holmes, op. cit., Chapter 8.
82. See Barker, op. cit., pp. 220-221, Hollis, op. cit., pp. 140-144 and Boyd, op. cit., pp. 65-76 for a discussion of The Flying Inn in these terms.
83. Boyd, op. cit., p. 68.
84. I owe this reference to Hollis, op. cit., p. 141.
85. The Flying Inn recalls the Jewish stereotypes surrounding Disraeli's Eastern Question in the 1870s. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of this. As Bayme, op. cit., p. 197, notes: Disraeli "remained one of the... favorite targets" of Belloc and Chesterton's political coterie.
86. Chapter 13 of The New Jerusalem, op. cit., is Chesterton's most comprehensive account of his "Zionism." See also the Jewish Chronicle, April 28, 1911, p. 18. Chapter 8 discusses gentile "Zionism" in terms of Jewish stereotyping.
87. See note 21.

88. For the relation between extreme antisemites and the League for Clean Government see Lunn, op. cit., unpublished PhD., Chapter 7.
89. Ian Boyd, "Philosophy in Fiction" in John Sullivan (ed.), G.K. Chesterton: A Centenary Appraisal (London, 1974), p. 55.
90. Boyd, op. cit., The Novels of G.K. Chesterton, p. 79.
91. Ibid., p. 83.
92. Ibid., p. 88 for a discussion of this point.
93. Hollis, op. cit., pp. 169-170. See also Barker, op. cit., p. 254. For a discussion of Chesterton's later fiction in these terms see Boyd, op. cit., The Novels of G.K. Chesterton, Chapter 5.
94. See, for example, W.H. Auden's Foreword to his, G.K. Chesterton: A Selection from his Non-Fiction Prose by W.H. Auden (London, 1970), p. 11.
95. G.K. Chesterton, What I Saw in America (London, 1922), pp. 244-247, The New Jerusalem, op. cit., Chapter 13 and G.K.'s Weekly, July 1925, p. 399.
96. Bayme, op. cit., p. 176.
97. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of Belloc's "anti-Zionism."
98. Bayme, op. cit., p. 197 and Chapter 6 passim. Poliakov, op. cit., Holmes, op. cit., Lunn, op. cit., and Lebzelter, op. cit., all discuss Belloc and Chesterton in these terms.

## CHAPTER SIX

### JEWISH SELF-STEREOTYPING AND JEWISH EMANCIPATION:

#### BENJAMIN FARJEON, AMY LEVY, JULIA FRANKAU

#### AND THE MODERN ANGLO-JEWISH NOVEL

Jewish emancipation in Britain can be dated from 1858 when Parliament was opened to professing Jews. However, as many commentators have argued, the granting of full civil and political rights to Anglo-Jewry was not, simply, an act of philosemitism. Steven Bayme, in particular, notes that "many proponents of emancipation, most notably Thomas Macaulay, disliked Jews personally and hoped that emancipation would transform them into good citizens and improve their character."<sup>1</sup> M.C.N. Salbstein, in a recent comprehensive study of "the emancipation of the Jews in Britain," has similarly concluded that "remembering that it was the Jews who had to meet the expectations of the gentiles, and not vice versa, any approach [to the study of British Jewish emancipation] which amounts to the conducting of a posthumous show-trial on the Victorians, of deciding where they might be placed on a philosemitism/antisemitism scale, seems essentially false."<sup>2</sup> The famous speech by Thomas Macaulay in 1830 on behalf of a Bill which would remove the "Civil Disabilities of the Jews" illustrates this point. The ambivalent stereotype of Jewish power was, in fact, implicit in Macaulay's call for the removal of Jewish civil disabilities:

"Jews are not now excluded from political power. They possess it; and as long as they are allowed to accumulate property, they must possess it... What power in civilised society is so great as that of the creditor over the debtor? If we take this away from the Jew, we take away from him the security of his property. If we leave it to him, we leave to him a power more despotic by far, than the King and all his cabinet."

Macaulay goes on to mock those that oppose Jewish political emancipation:

"It would be impious to let a Jew sit in Parliament. But a Jew may make money, and money may make members of Parliament... the Jew may govern the money market and the money market may govern the world... A congress of sovereigns may be forced to summon the Jew to their assistance. The scrawl of the Jew on a back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the royal word of three kings... but, that he should put Right Honourable before his name, would be the most frightful of national calamities..."<sup>3</sup>

In these terms, Macaulay usefully highlights the liberal use of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype. When outside of the English State, Jewish financial power is deemed to be an evil force which, according to Macaulay, is "more despotic by far than the King and all his cabinet." Therefore, by granting the Jews full political and civil rights, such stereotypical Jewish power can be utilised for the good of England. From this perspective, Jews would be transformed into "good citizens" and "meet the expectations of gentiles." Within these liberal parameters, however, Jewish emancipation can be considered to have been coercive and dehumanizing. That is, the ambivalent stereotype of Jewish power meant that Jews had only two choices, either to aid the State or be a force for evil. It is, precisely, the determining impact on Anglo-Jewry of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype within an emancipationist framework that will be of interest in this chapter.

Bayme has convincingly shown that "the fact of emancipation coloured both the external and self-perceptions of British Jews." This was because "Jews were virtually on trial as to whether they had in fact been deserving of emancipation. Thus external opinion perpetuated the emancipation controversy long after the fact of emancipation had been legally attained."<sup>4</sup> It was in these terms that, according to Israel Finestein, post-emancipatory "Anglo-Jewish com-

munal policy was dominated by considerations of public image." The "public image" that Anglo-Jewry wished to promote was of the Jew as "good citizen" which, in particular, meant that "Jewish values" were shown to "run parallel to the values of Britain."<sup>5</sup> This "supposed congruence of Judaic and British values" meant, as Todd Endelman has recently argued, that:

"Well-to-do Jews, as members of a minority group eager to secure social acceptance, took their cues from respectable society, especially Anglican upper-middle class society, and, just as they adopted the fashions of those circles in matters of costume, entertainment, display and decoration, and recreation and leisure, so too they conformed in the area of religion."<sup>6</sup>

The emancipated Jew was, in short, an "Englishman of the Jewish persuasion" or, in the words of the Jewish Chronicle, an "English Jewish gentleman with his English feelings and English heart."<sup>7</sup> Above all, therefore, it was the values of the English middle and upper-middle classes that post-emancipatory Anglo-Jewry wished to emulate. Moreover, by utilising the ambivalent Jewish stereotype, liberal culture contrasted these values with the evil "despotic" or "parasitical" or "anarchistic" Jew.<sup>8</sup> Thus ambivalence was reinforced by the fact that the ideologies of social Darwinism, Imperialism and proto-Zionism could all stereotype Jews as "good citizens" par excellence. The Jewish family, Jewish capitalism, and Jewish nationalism, were all moralized as ideal types by these ideologies.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, it is in this context that, after the 1870s, the mass influx into England of poor Eastern European Jewish immigrants threatened the "integration into English life" of "native Jewry." As will be seen in the next chapter, the ambivalent Jewish stereotype was utilised by a largely middle and upper-middle class "native Jewry" to shape the mass of Jewish immigrants in their own emancipatory image.<sup>10</sup> The extent that the Anglo-Jewish elite had inter-

nalised the ambivalent Jewish stereotype--in the context of English liberalism--can be gauged from a representative editorial from the Jewish Chronicle in 1890. The editorial is on the "Jews and the Financial Crisis":

"When the secret financial history of the last few weeks comes to be written, we venture to predict that a large share of the credit for the negotiations which have saved the money market from one of the heaviest calamities that could befall it will be awarded to Jewish finance... The thought that in the organisation and execution of this service, a Jewish house [of Rothschilds] has taken part should be a source of pride and wholesome memory to the whole Jewish community. ...Since the temptation to become financiers is still strong among [the Jews], it is fortunate that they have these bright examples to guide them... The Jew is by nature far more speculative than is usually imagined, and although his apparent gambling has been declared by a competent observer to be largely due to a peculiarly subtle capacity for calculating infinitesimal margins of risk, there can be no doubt that there is still a strong leaven of the gambling propensity in the average Jewish character. It is feared that the present tendencies of the Stock Exchange are calculated to foster this propensity... nowadays there is too little faith in the Synagogue and too much in the Stock Exchange..."<sup>11</sup>

The contrast between good Jewish citizens imbued with patriotism who "have saved the money market from one of [its] heaviest calamities" and the "speculative" Jewish other who gambles irresponsibly is a common stereotype in the fiction under examination. In fact, the ambivalent construction of a good Jewish self in contrast to an evil Jewish other was, I will argue, institutionalised by Anglo-Jewry. This ambivalent Jewish identity was, in short, the main means by which respectable, loyal "good citizens" were defined.<sup>12</sup> In particular, the Rothschild family, "the uncrowned kings of Anglo-Jewry," embodied the emancipatory image of the "English Jewish gentleman." As Bayme has argued, "the source of their communal leadership lay in their combination of a prominent position in the general culture with a passionate devotion to Jewish issues." Lord Rothschild's seventieth birthday was greeted by a seven page supplement in the Jewish

Chronicle and, needless to say, his history as a "philanthropist" and "Country Squire" were to the fore.<sup>13</sup> Anglo-Jewish historians have continued to moralize the Rothschilds as a Jewish ideal type. Cecil Roth, for instance, has argued that "so long as there are to be rich men in the world the magnificent Rothschilds may continue to serve as exemplars of great wealth, not ill-gotten, not selfishly administered, and not ignobly dispensed." Although Roth's The Magnificent Rothschilds (1939) was written nearly a century after Disraeli's Coningsby (1844), this view of the Rothschilds is curiously compatible with Disraeli's. Robert Huttenback, in particular, has traced the impact of such bright Disraelian stereotypes on twentieth century Anglo-Jewry.<sup>14</sup> In short, Jewish stereotypes promoted within an emancipationist framework were to profoundly shape the self-perceptions of Anglo-Jewry. It is in this context that I will now examine the modern Anglo-Jewish novel and its relationship to these emancipationist stereotypes.

#### Jewish Emancipation and the Victorian Anglo-Jewish Novel

In an article on "Anglo-Jewish Literary Ability" in 1905 Lucien Wolf, an official spokesman for the Anglo-Jewish community, was to argue that emancipation had provided British Jewry with an opportunity to create "an Anglo-Jewish literary elite." According to Wolf, Jewish men of letters before emancipation had drifted either into the Christian world or into Christian intellectual topics. Given emancipation, he believed, "a truly Anglo-Jewish literature could flourish."<sup>15</sup> Wolf's arguments, interestingly, reflect the ambiguous nature of British Jewish emancipation. If, according to the liberal doctrine, Jews were "Englishmen of the Jewish persuasion" then, after emancipation, Jews would be increasingly and publicly invisible as Jews with Jewishness remaining a private matter of

religion. In other words, Jewishness after emancipation would surely not be the public domain of Anglo-Jewish writers. However, Wolf was aware that "an Anglo-Jewish literary elite" had, in fact, been created by the struggle for the civil and political rights of British Jewry in the first half of the nineteenth century. In particular, the aim of these early Anglo-Jewish novelists was to moralize Jews so that they could be considered "deserving" of emancipation. Linda Zatlin, in a study of these novelists, has rightly described their work as "propaganda fiction" which demonstrated to the English reader that they had nothing to "fear" from Jewish emancipation. In Zatlin's words, such fiction portrayed the Jew as:

"...different from the Victorian Englishman only in his religion... these novelists stress[ed] the 'Englishness' of the Jew, presenting him generally as a product of the middle class, in manners if not in wealth."<sup>16</sup>

These novels, therefore, were explicitly didactic and aimed to present Jews "sympathetically" in terms of the emancipationist stereotype of the Jew as a "good citizen." The novels of Grace Aguilar, for instance, have been described as being "shaped and limited" by "the plea for English sympathy and tolerance of Jews..." The preface to the fiction of Celia and Marion Moss similarly reflected the apologist nature of the early Anglo-Jewish novel. They aimed:

"...to awaken their readers' curiosity to know more of [Jewish] records; fuller of instances of fervent piety, courage, endurance and constancy under suffering than those of any other people."<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, Charlotte Monte fiore appealed to a largely Jewish audience but, according to a near contemporary, her novels were "pervaded with a moral atmosphere and are intended to form an ethical appeal to her coreligionists."<sup>18</sup> Given the continuation of the emancipation controversy long after the Jews had attained full civil and political rights, it is not surprising that the moralizing



function of the Anglo-Jewish novel was considered necessary in the twentieth century by Lucien Wolf. The Jewish Chronicle, in particular, editorialised regularly and at length on this subject from 1880 onwards. For instance, in response to Oswald John Simon's The World and the Cloister (1890), it argued that:

"The novel is now the recognised means of those who have messages to deliver; and we welcome Mr. Oswald Simon's message to the world. It is prompted by pure and lofty thought and informed by reverence and true religious feeling..."<sup>19</sup>

In viewing the Anglo-Jewish novel merely as a vehicle for delivering "messages," it is not surprising that the Jewish Chronicle goes on to comment that "with the story, which is the vehicle of [Simon's] teaching, we are not concerned."<sup>20</sup> Most Anglo-Jewish novelists, moreover, were more than willing to moralize the Jews in terms of emancipationist stereotypes. Thus, Emily Harris described her novel Estelle (1878) as aiming to "plainly and truthfully delineate the life led by many a talented, aspiring, yet tender and devout Jewish girl; her struggles, the strength and steadfastness of her religion; the single-mindedness and simplicity of her home life, all passing within the domestic household of an orthodox, intellectual Jew, her father."<sup>21</sup> Graham St. John Stott is probably right to detect no real difference between novels such as these and the Victorian "Christian Social Novel." In some ways, the didactic Anglo-Jewish novel parallels the Christian "religious tracts" poured onto the lower classes in a bid to improve their minds and souls.<sup>22</sup> It is in these terms that I will now examine the fiction of Benjamin Farjeon.

### Benjamin Farjeon and Anglo-Jewish Literary Didacticism

Benjamin Farjeon was born in England of North African origin. His parents were Orthodox Jews who lived in London's East End. Farjeon, from the age of seventeen, travelled to Australia and New

Zealand. He returned to England when he was thirty with an American Protestant wife. Nevertheless, according to his daughter, "Farjeon was a devout believer without a creed... who remained a Jew by instinct, as well as by race..."<sup>23</sup> In 1875, for example, Farjeon addressed an audience of "Jewish Working Men" where he was to articulate the common stereotypical distinction between the evil "speculative" Jew and the patriotic Jew who makes money for the good of England. This was to be the stuff of his fiction:

"...men now-a-days are more eager in their pursuits, more grasping, more insatiable than their forefathers a score of generations ago; [Farjeon] hoped the time would come when a crusade would be declared against the parasites that are clinging around civilisation and sucking at its heart and when canting hypocrisy, successful dishonesty, and prosperous knavery shall be held in proper contempt."<sup>24</sup>

Farjeon's novels Solomon Isaacs (1877), Aaron the Jew (1894) and Pride of Race (1900) all distinguish between "good" and "evil" ways in which Jews make money. The first of these novels concentrates on the dark Jewish stereotype with its central character, Solomon Isaacs, representing the "speculative" Jew who has "too little faith in the Synagogue and too much in the Stock Exchange." The wealthy Solomon is miserly, irreligious, vulgar, gaudy and unEnglish. The Jewish Chronicle, ironically, failed to grasp the novel's didacticism when it argued that:

"Solomon Isaacs is a gross and vulgar caricature. His sudden rise to wealth, as well as his re-descent to poverty, are most clumsily and improbably managed, nor is it likely that a man shrewd and clever enough to make his fortune in the way that Mr. Farjeon puts before us, should be so ill-informed as to the manners and customs of the upper classes. It is scarcely possible that persons, such as Solomon Isaacs is represented to be, do exist amongst us..."<sup>25</sup>

Solomon Isaacs is considered unrealistic because wealth and assimilation into the English upper classes are synonymous in terms of the emancipationist stereotype. However, Farjeon explains such a moral

hybrid by the fact that Solomon, fatally, likes money for its own sake and not for the good it can do for English society: "What do people worship?" Solomon asks, "Money. What was the temple made of? Money. What'll buy fine 'ouses, fine clothes, fine diamonds? Money-Money-Money! There's nothing like Money" (909). Unsurprisingly, in these terms, Solomon ends up: "a laughing stock... a ruined man and a beggar" (913). To underline the didactic nature of Solomon Isaacs, Farjeon contrasts Solomon with Moses Levy, a devout Jew who starts as an "old clo' man" but, unlike Solomon, sells his goods slowly, honestly and productively. Zatlin rightly makes the point that, for Farjeon, "the good Victorian Jew is a devout Jew because a devout Jew is more successful."<sup>26</sup>

In Aaron the Jew, the ethical Moses Levy reappears as the novel's central character, Aaron Cohen. Stott has rightly described Aaron as a "Hebrew Aristides... a miracle of amiability and generosity," a view echoed by the novel's contemporary reviewers.<sup>27</sup> Aaron is "an erudite as well as an orthodox Jew" who knew "the folly of expecting to grow rich in a week" (I, 119). In short, he is nothing more than a moral emblem, "Work and Prosper and Work in the right way" (II, 7) is his family motto. As a successful businessman who "...employs his workmen for less than the usual hours [and for] more than the usual wages," he speaks out "against the backsliding of the modern Jew" (III, 73) and advises the Jewish usurer-figure to "reform your life, give back to the poor what you have stolen from them..." (II, 186).<sup>28</sup> As well as the "speculative" Jew, the gentile anti-semite is also placed beyond the pale in Farjeon's moral universe. Thus, Mr. Poynter, the unscrupulous businessman,

"...hated Aaron with a very sincere and conscientious hatred. He hated him because he had lost several profitable contracts, which Aaron had obtained; ...he hated him because Aaron was genuinely respected by large bodies of working men, and had

great influence with them; he hated Aaron because he was a Jew..." (III, 117).

Interestingly, the images of the medieval unEnglish usurer-figure and the medieval unEnglish antisemite both reinforce Farjeon's emancipatory ethic. Thus, the Jewish "good citizen" is defined in contrast to evil others--whether they be Jewish usurers or gentile antisemites.<sup>29</sup>

The Pride of Race concentrates on articulating what Farjeon calls "the spirit of the English born Jew, whose parents are also English born," as opposed to the unemancipated "foreign Jew who, of late years, has over-flooded the East End Ghetto..."<sup>30</sup> Once again, the emancipatory image of the "English Jewish gentleman" is to the fore in this novel. Such are the views of Mr. Melbourne, the sympathetic narrator: "...A man may be both a Jew and a gentleman; I have met with many such, and have learned from them much that is worth learning" (3). The Jew in question is the hero of the novel, Moses Mendoza, who is an unemancipated "foreign Jew." It is his son, Raphael, the second generation "English born Jew" who has the potential to become a Jewish gentleman:

"All the hopes Moses Mendoza had in life were centred in this child of his love, who was going to make a name in the world, who was going to be what his father could never be--a gentleman" (29).

It is the "spirit of the English born Jew" that is seen to save the unemancipated "foreign Jew" from himself and, in particular, from an immoral way of making money. As Moses explains:

"Don't run away with the idea that because I'm a Jew I think of nothink but money. I want Raphe to be rich, of course, but I want 'im to be somethink better as well" (18).

Moses Mendoza is financially successful but, significantly, becomes wealthy in the "wrong" way with the help of South African gold and diamonds. The "boom in South African affairs" which "set England mad

and made the Stock Exchange frantic with excitement" meant that Mendoza made "a million and another million on top of that" (39/40). In short, Moses' "even-balanced brain had steered him unerringly through the intricacies of his speculations" confirming, once again, the stereotype of the Jew as "a born financier" (45). Other stereotypes are evoked by Farjeon as impoverished aristocrats are kept waiting by Moses which, in Moses' words, seems to be "turning things upside down..." (42). Moses, moreover, is described in terms of "the survival of the fittest" as one horror-stricken character asks, "what is to be the end of it all?" (62).<sup>31</sup>

However, Farjeon qualifies the dark Jewish stereotype by emphasising that Moses wished to make money "chiefly for Raphael's sake" (45) and even goes so far as to argue that it will "not do Raphael any good to go about in his company" (46). Contaminated by the means of making his wealth, Moses therefore cuts himself off from the "spirit of English born Jews"—his own son. Raphael, having undergone the best of English educations, stands as a Member of Parliament to highlight his status as an emancipated "Jewish gentleman." As "a born orator; [with] the gift of Gladstone and John Bright" (68), Raphael uses his exceptional rhetorical powers to argue that the present government is not providing the nation with enough battleships (71). During Raphael's election campaign, Moses, therefore, presents a "battleship to the nation" to show that his son is "a true patriot and an Englishman to the backbone" (72). In this way, Farjeon synthesises the Jewish financier and Jewish gentleman to demonstrate that Raphael is focusing his father's financial skills in the "right" direction. It is in these rather crude terms that Farjeon enacts the emancipationist desire that Jewish financial power will serve England.<sup>32</sup> To this end, the rest of the novel's plot is designed to transfer the wealth of the Jewish financier across to the

Jewish gentleman and the English aristocracy in a bid to legitimize it. In Farjeon's terms, wealth made in the "wrong" way cannot be rewarded and is therefore passed on to a Jewish gentleman who had nothing to do with its creation. Because Raphael is "somethink better," he marries the daughter of an impoverished aristocrat and restores their family fortunes. Such is Farjeon's ideal type of the post-emancipatory Jewish good citizen. However, as I will now demonstrate, the modern Anglo-Jewish novel was to reject Anglo-Jewry's emancipatory image of itself.

Against Didacticism: Amy Levy and the Modern Anglo-Jewish Novel of "Revolt"

The Anglo-Jewish novel of "revolt" was a term coined in 1927 when Lucien Wolf reflected Anglo-Jewry's official attitude to the Anglo-Jewish novel of the 1880s:

"Revolt was in the air. Amy Levy's Reuben Sachs illustrated at once its intensity and its dangers... Amy Levy and Mrs. Sidgwick had yielded clever studies of Jewish character in Reuben Sachs and Isaac Eller's Money, but they were too near the familiar caricatures."<sup>33</sup>

In short, the Anglo-Jewish novel of "revolt" refused to engage in literary apologetics on behalf of Anglo-Jewry's version of morality. In particular, these novels described "the materialism of the rising Jewish middle classes," an Anglo-Jewish genre which extends at least until Brian Glanville's The Bankrupts (1958).<sup>34</sup> In this genre, a Jewish idealist--a persona of the novelist--is represented as an example of a moral Jewish self which opposes official Anglo-Jewry's image of itself.

The novel which, in these terms, transformed the Victorian Anglo-Jewish novel was Amy Levy's Reuben Sachs (1888). It was immediately popular and quickly went into a second edition. Unsurpri-

singly, it was condemned by official Anglo-Jewry.<sup>35</sup> However, Reuben Sachs can be said to have stimulated a dozen popular Anglo-Jewish novels of "revolt" over a twenty year period and, in this way, Amy Levy modernized the Anglo-Jewish novel. Unlike Benjamin Farjeon, whose fiction reworked the Anglo-Jewish novel of the past, Amy Levy can be considered to have anticipated the Anglo-Jewish novel of the future. Zatlin is therefore mistaken in her classification of Farjeon as the "first modern Anglo-Jewish novelist" and in her dismissal of Amy Levy as "bigoted."<sup>36</sup> In contrast to this viewpoint, Reuben Sachs will be seen to have been a major influence on Israel Zangwill's Children of the Ghetto (1892). In fact, Zangwill was to argue in 1901 that "the small band of English and American writers who study the types and problems of the Ghetto" were "pioneered" by the "genius" of Amy Levy. He continued:

"She was accused, of course, of fouling her own nest; whereas what she had really done was to point out that the nest was foul and must be cleaned out."<sup>37</sup>

Such "accusations" meant that by 1926 Amy Levy could be described by a contemporary admirer as "much neglected," "ostracised" and "ignored" by Anglo-Jewry. However, as Zangwill's comments make plain, Reuben Sachs should be seen as the most influential and underrated Anglo-Jewish novel of its time.<sup>38</sup>

In mitigation of such neglect, it should be pointed out that part of the explanation for Anglo-Jewry's reticence in even acknowledging Amy Levy's Reuben Sachs was due to her suicide, at the age of twenty-eight, shortly after the 1889 edition of her novel was published. Amy Levy was only the second Jew and the first Jewish woman to be cremated in a Reform Jewish cemetery. Moreover, suicide was both against Anglo-Jewry's Orthodox religious tenets and was at the time socially highly stigmatized so that it was simply not spoken

about and, in fact, this situation persisted well beyond her death.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, it should also be noted that Amy Levy's suicide deeply affected a wide range of admirers of her talent. Those documented include Olive Schreiner who was with Amy Levy ten days before her death and Oscar Wilde who worked closely with her and who, in his obituary, described her as a "genius," if only, at the age of twenty-eight, a "minor talent."<sup>40</sup> Eleanor Marx, who was one of Amy Levy's "intimate friends," was part of the generation which had the dubious honour of making female suicide "conspicuous for the first time." Eleanor Marx identified closely with Reuben Sachs before similarly committing suicide seven years later.<sup>41</sup> Amy Levy's social circle also included Clementina and Constance Black whom she had known since her youth. The latter's father-in-law, Richard Garnett, characterises Amy Levy's "great reserve of undeveloped power" in his obituary of her. That is not to argue, however, that the shock of Amy Levy's suicide should somehow replace the importance of Reuben Sachs as a novel or its impact on the Anglo-Jewish novel. Max Beer, a well-known German Jewish socialist, had read Eleanor Marx's translation of Reuben Sachs whilst in prison in Germany. After his release in 1894 he travelled to London to meet Eleanor Marx so that he could "learn something of Amy Levy."<sup>42</sup> At the very least the impact of Reuben Sachs on a Jewish audience, as seen in the case of Max Beer, indicates a radical departure from the conventional accounts of Jewish life in England. The reasons for this certainly bear close examination.

What distinguished Amy Levy's portrait of Anglo-Jewry from the conventional Victorian novel is her refusal to moralize the emancipated Jew as a middle class Victorian Englishman. In an article on "The Jew in Fiction" she described "the Jew, as we know him today, with his curious mingling of dramatically opposed qualities; his



surprising virtues, and no less surprising vices; leading his eager, intricate life; living, moving and having his being both within and without the tribal limits..."<sup>43</sup> This description of Jewish ambivalence--"having his being both within and without the tribal limits"--is reflected in other articles written by Levy for the Jewish Chronicle in the 1880s. For instance, Levy argued on the one hand that "the old words, the old customs, are disappearing, soon to be forgotten by all save the student of such matters." And yet, she also acknowledged in another context "the 'inherited memory' [of the Ghetto], the stored exuberance of centuries."<sup>44</sup> In general, Levy's uncertainty about the place of the Jew--whether within or without "the tribal limits"--reflected the growth of a post-emancipatory "Jewish Question" after the 1870s. If the emancipatory image of the Jew as an "Englishman of the Jewish persuasion" was no longer applicable then, clearly, the Anglo-Jewish novel can be seen to reflect this change.<sup>45</sup> In these terms, Amy Levy charted the particularist "tribal limits" of a post-emancipatory Jewry. More specifically, Amy Levy was a part of a generation of Jews that, in Endelman's words, "questioned the pieties of revealed religion and celebrated the virtues of self-development":

"They attended Oxford and Cambridge in increasing numbers and became immersed in an atmosphere of culture and politics that made Jewish communal concerns seem narrow and parochial by comparison."<sup>46</sup>

In particular, Amy Levy was the first Jewish female student at Newnham College, Cambridge (1879-1881) and was clearly influenced by world views outside of Anglo-Jewry's narrow concerns. For instance, the influence of the woman's suffrage movement had been with her from an early age. In 1875, at the precocious age of fourteen, she had written for a short-lived quarterly devoted to the interests of woman's suffrage, The Pelican, and at the age of seventeen, in

February 1879, she wrote to the Jewish Chronicle on behalf of "Jewish Women and Women's Rights." Whilst at Cambridge, Amy Levy published a spirited defence in verse of Xantippe, the much maligned wife of Socrates. It was the common denominator of Amy Levy's feminism that brought her into close contact with such important influences as Eleanor Marx, Olive Schreiner, Clementina Black and Oscar Wilde which distanced her from the "tribal limits" of Anglo-Jewry.<sup>47</sup> More importantly, it is the conjunction of Amy Levy's feminism and a radical attitude to wealth--most of Amy Levy's associates seem to have been "socialists" of one variety or another--which characterises her alternative world view and opposes the Jewish "ghetto" in Reuben Sachs. To be sure, the concerted socialist attack on "Jewish materialism" could not but have significantly influenced Amy Levy. Olive Schreiner's particular configuration of the "Jewish Financier" and a dominant patriarchy in From Man to Man (1926) had been conceived as early as the 1870s. This indicates, at least, a shared interest with the concerns of Reuben Sachs.<sup>48</sup> It was the world of woman's suffrage and a universalist socialism which challenged the particularist "tribal limits" of Anglo-Jewry. It should perhaps be added that Amy Levy's father, Lewis Levy, was one of those members of Anglo-Jewry's middle classes that was making his fortune on the Stock Exchange whilst this other world was increasingly encroaching on Amy's life.<sup>49</sup> What Reuben Sachs will be seen to reflect is Amy Levy's quest to escape the heart of a materialist "ghetto," which also tragically included both herself and her family. It was this fatal ambivalence which was crystallized in Reuben Sachs and was to challenge Anglo-Jewry's complacency at its post-emancipatory status as "English gentlemen." But such inner divisions were to result, however indirectly, in her suicide.<sup>50</sup>

In short, Amy Levy's Reuben Sachs described what was perceived as Anglo-Jewry's "structure of gold." It is a narrow, restricted, nepotistic middle and upper-middle class universe which "lies almost entirely within tribal limits" (36). Such a characterisation of Anglo-Jewry was designed to subvert the "public image" of the Anglo-Jewish community as a bastion of English morality. This stereotype is, perhaps, best represented in the character of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda. In making this point, Lionel Trilling has argued that:

"George Eliot is the originator of the modern myths which the Jews have constructed to present themselves, best foot foremost, to the world; she gave them their direction, a direction which Amy Levy in her Reuben Sachs was probably the first to follow."<sup>51</sup>

However, Amy Levy "followed" Daniel Deronda (1876) only in the sense that she inverted the world of Daniel Deronda to show the lack of morality in Anglo-Jewry's vision of emancipation. The narrow repressive world of Gwendolen Harleth (symbolised by the gambling den at the beginning of the novel) is therefore used to represent the world of Amy Levy's Anglo-Jewry. The vision of freedom and "universal kinship" which Deronda finally represents is the unwritten other world which is beyond the "tribal limits" of Reuben Sachs.<sup>52</sup> The desire "to strike out from the tribal duck-pond into the wider and deeper waters of society" (37) is not, however, realized in Reuben Sachs. Leo Leuniger is the only character in the novel who opposes Anglo-Jewry's "materialism" and, unsurprisingly, is a Cambridge graduate. He echoes an earlier article by Amy Levy on Daniel Deronda when he argues that he has:

"always been touched at the immense good faith with which George Eliot carried out that elaborate misconception of hers... we are materialists to our fingers ends... we have outlived, from the nature of things, such ideals as we ever had" (115/116).<sup>53</sup>

Reuben Sachs, the polar opposite of Leo Leuniger and the representative of Anglo-Jewry's post-emancipation, argues that "this is a materialistic age, a materialistic country" (116). In the eyes of Anglo-Jewry he is thus a "safe investment" who was destined for a "career of political distinction" (2) and a "safe" marriage with at least a £50,000 dowry (65). This is a world where Anglo-Jewish women "wore big diamond solitaires in their ears" (6) and continually played cards in a "small" room with "intent semitic faces" (16). It is a world where the men, inevitably, make money on the Stock Exchange which is, as usual, associated with the "gambling den" (96). It is a world of a small number of Bayswater and Maida Vale families whose numbers are made even smaller by intermarriage; usually for "business" reasons (122). It is, in fact, almost a caricature of the world of Gwendolen Harleth with the motif of the "gambling den" added to the vulgar, sparkling diamonds which were no doubt taken from South Africa. The portrayal of the ghetto-like "tribal limits" in terms of images of restriction, gambling and vulgar materialism is not, however, as Zatlin concludes, "on the level of their more virulent English counterparts."<sup>54</sup> The Anglo-Jewish ghetto is perceived in terms of the heroine of the novel, Judith Quixano, whose repression as a woman comes to represent the narrowness of Anglo-Jewry's "tribal limits":

"...it is difficult to conceive a training, an existence, more curiously limited, more completely provincial than hers... material advantage, things that you could touch and see and talk about; that these were the only things that really mattered, had been the unspoken gospel of her life" (38).

Materialism, in this context, is not perceived as a natural "Jewish" condition but, on the contrary, is seen as a force which represses the major characters in Reuben Sachs. Thus, it is the conjunction of Judith Quixano's repression as a woman and the repressive nature of a

rampant materialism that is the crucial focus in this novel. Reuben Sachs is similarly "affected by the scramble of his whole clan to get on in the world" and it is this "affectation" that determines Judith Quixano's narrow vision.<sup>55</sup> Her passivity is a function of Anglo-Jewry's overpowering materialism:

"...it may be said that she had seen nothing at first hand; had looked at it all, not with her own eyes, but with the eyes of Reuben Sachs" (38).

Her perception of herself was "merely as one of a vast crowd of girls awaiting their promotion by marriage" (34). Although Judith is a woman of "beauty and intelligence," she is restricted by the fact that she is a poor relative--"a beggar maid"--and therefore could only have a small dowry: "it was a matter of common knowledge that her uncle would settle [only] £5,000 on Judith when she married" (34). Judith is a part of the declining and poverty stricken Sephardic Jewish "aristocracy," but the criterion imposed on Reuben concerning his marriage is a purely material one.<sup>56</sup> It is the failure of Reuben to marry Judith for love that gives this novel its considerable emotional impact. Judith's growing realization both of her powerlessness with regard to Reuben and her life in general is the metaphor used in Reuben Sachs to illustrate the repressive nature of the materialist "tribal limits" on its Jewish inhabitants. Reuben's premature death due to over-work is a function of the "unnatural" pressures of the "ghetto" and Judith's disastrous marriage for wealth and status becomes an "unnatural" and grotesque alliance of convenience.<sup>57</sup> The portrayal of the emptiness of Judith's life after she hears of the death of Reuben Sachs acts as a dramatic illustration of the emptiness inherent in Anglo-Jewry's materialist ethos and the assumption of well-being if the values of the Victorian middle classes are co-opted. The power of Amy Levy's statement was, how-

ever, caricatured and rewritten throughout the modern Anglo-Jewish novel. The portrait of a post-emancipated Anglo-Jewry as "...restless, ill-at-ease and unsure of its precise spiritual and social position, whatever degree of outward assimilation and professional success they have reached" was to be a startling self-realization for the Jewish writer.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, I would argue that underpinning Reuben Sachs was Leo Leuniger's "idealism." That is, Amy Levy's Cambridge persona represented the moral other world which Anglo-Jewry's materialism was perceived to have eschewed. The emptiness of contemporary Jewry only emphasised the unwritten world that lay beyond the "tribal duck-pond." It is this dimension that will be seen to be missing from the other popular Anglo-Jewish novels of "revolt" in this period. Paradoxically, in this sense, Reuben Sachs did "follow" Daniel Deronda but in doing so, as has been argued, inverted the Jewish and gentile worlds. Just as George Eliot could regard English life as "unhistorical," Amy Levy in Reuben Sachs could portray Anglo-Jewry in similar terms. Nevertheless, Amy Levy did not stereotypically associate Jews with "history" or modernity, nor were her Jewish characters stereotypically associated with values that were perceived to have corrupted English society as a whole.<sup>59</sup> Instead, a universal materialism was seen to have had a corrupting effect on Anglo-Jewry. Therefore, it is the universal other worlds of Eleanor Marx and Olive Schreiner that, for Amy Levy, represented "the deeper waters of society." In disassociating Anglo-Jewry from morality Amy Levy, thus, implied that a moral other world was still attainable. Morality in these terms, however, was not stereotyped as "Jewish" but, instead, was regarded as a universal ideal.

Just before her death, Amy Levy published a short story called "Cohen of Trinity" about a best-selling novelist who committed suicide in the midst of his publishing success. The reason for this was

that the novelist "always chose to cry for the moon" and only when he faced material "success" was he able to realize that he had not achieved what he wanted. For this reason "Cohen of Trinity" has been rightly regarded as Amy Levy's epitaph.<sup>60</sup>

Julia Frankau, French Naturalism and the Anglo-Jewish Novel of "Revolt"

After Amy Levy's death, Julia Frankau--writing as "Frank Danby"--was to become Anglo-Jewry's main novelist of "revolt" with Dr. Phillips (1887), Pigs in Clover (1903) and The Sphinx's Lawyer (1906). In fact her first novel, Dr. Phillips, anticipated a number of the concerns of Reuben Sachs. Like Amy Levy, Julia Frankau was a part of the rising Jewish middle classes. Her husband was one of three partners in the successful firm of "J. Frankau and Co.," wholesale cigar merchants, which was originally founded by his father in 1837 to import leeches from France.<sup>61</sup> Julia took an interest in the firm and, by all accounts, seems to have been a woman with a formidable range of activities:

"She rode and drove horses... She bicycled furiously. She would play lawn tennis all day, and poker, baccarat or bridge all night. She brought up four children. She had control of two businesses. She wrote a novel most years, articles galore--and four works on eighteenth century colour printing and engraving... She founded, financed and ran a west end bridge club--the Cleveland..."<sup>62</sup>

This account of her by her son, Gilbert Frankau, is confirmed by Arnold Bennett who describes her similarly as "a thorough London type; very chic, extremely capable and alert, of wide ideas, and of a sympathetic nature. She must have a full life..." Bennett's description compares favourably with his reaction to Israel Zangwill whom he did not like.<sup>63</sup> In common with Amy Levy, part of the impetus for Julia Frankau's novels of "revolt" was a personal exorcism of her

own London West End, materialistic background. However, unlike Amy Levy, there is no sense of an idealistic other world in Frankau's novels. Ironically, Julia Frankau was partly educated by Madame Paul Lafarge, the eldest daughter of Karl Marx and a sister to Eleanor Marx. But Zatlin is wrong to ascribe this "exposure" to Marx's daughter at this young age as a reason for an interest in "Jewish materialism." Julia Frankau, in fact, remained "a true-blue Tory to the day of her death."<sup>64</sup> Dr. Phillips, as I will now argue, was directly influenced by the impact of French naturalism on the English novel which resulted in an attempt to paint the Jewish community "realistically." It is in these terms that Frankau's fiction "created a sensation by its realistic treatment."<sup>65</sup> However, unlike Reuben Sachs, Julia Frankau's reliance on a naturalistic discussion of the condition of Anglo-Jewry meant that Dr. Phillips was confined to a negative discussion of Jewish realities and, unlike Amy Levy, was unable to postulate any opposing ideals. For Julia Frankau, Judaism in reality was a fossilised unEnglish existence and it is this initial premise that forms the basis of Dr. Phillips and anticipated her children's eventual estrangement from Judaism.<sup>66</sup>

To a certain extent, both Dr. Phillips and Reuben Sachs grew out of the challenge to literary convention which, since 1885, Henry Vizetelly had achieved by publishing translations of Zola's novels. Reuben Sachs, on one level, can be seen merely to be following in the footsteps of Dr. Phillips and to be opposing Anglo-Jewry's particular brand of moralizing by writing a "realistic" treatment of Anglo-Jewry. Yet, there is little evidence that Amy Levy was particularly influenced by the debate which grew out of publishing Zola in translation. In fact, Amy Levy was more influenced by the poet James Thomson who anticipated George Moore and Vizetelly's campaign by twenty years.<sup>67</sup> As I have argued, it was the ideals inherent in the



other worlds of feminism and a universal socialism which directly influenced Amy Levy. On Julia Frankau's part, however, there is a considerable amount of evidence that Dr. Phillips stems directly from the Vizetelly challenge to the morality which had hitherto governed the subject matter of the English novel.<sup>68</sup>

Dr. Phillips, significantly, was a one volume novel published by Vizetelly. This followed the example of George Moore who, with the publication of A Mummer's Wife (1885) in a one volume edition, successfully broke through the monopoly of the circulating libraries. The largest of these, Mudie's Select Library, had refused to circulate his three volume novel, A Modern Lover (1883), because of its alleged immorality. George Moore, as is well known, was heavily influenced by French naturalism and is accurately described as "Zola's ricochet" in England in the 1880's.<sup>69</sup> Moore, moreover, dedicated A Mummer's Wife to James Davis the brother of Julia Frankau. Davis was the editor of a weekly magazine called The Bat which Moore in 1885 was to write for. The novel was dedicated to Davis "in payment of a literary debt" which was the extrication of himself from a financial agreement with the publisher of A Modern Lover. This Moore retells fully in A Communication to My Friends (1937). Furthermore, Davis was perceived by Moore as an important bridge between his Parisian and London lives. In his Confessions of a Young Man (1889) Moore describes "the cosmopolitanism of this charming Jew, his Hellenism" which was "a sort of plank whereon I might pass and enter again into English life." The "Bohemianism of eternal hard-upishness and eternal squandering of money" was for Moore "a reminder of his time in France."<sup>70</sup> Gilbert Frankau describes Moore as one of his mother's "oldest friends" and even speculates that Moore derived the main character of Esther Waters (1894) from a "wet nurse" whom she employed. Eliza Aria, Julia

Frankau's sister, may also have been Moore's mistress for a time.<sup>71</sup> Given the extent of Moore's personal and literary influence on Julia Frankau, one critic has stated in a recent edition of Dr. Phillips, that it was "partly written by George Moore." This has been challenged by H.E. Gerber who argues that Moore "failed to collaborate with Julia Frankau" and that she "intrudes only briefly, remains uninfluenced by, and leaves no influence on [Moore]."<sup>72</sup> Moore, in his Impressions (1891), regarded Julia Frankau as one of a number of novelists (among them Thomas Hardy) who had the potential to write "unconventional dramas," but this was probably as much to do with her being a co-founder of the Independent Theatre as anything else. Although Moore most certainly would have read Dr. Phillips in manuscript (as Vizetelly did), there is little internal or external evidence that Moore helped directly to write Dr. Phillips.<sup>73</sup> Certainly, the Vizetelly trials and Moore's promotion of French naturalism were important indirect influences. These were undoubtedly the main reasons for Dr. Phillips being such a dramatic departure from the conventional Anglo-Jewish novel. P.J. Keating has demonstrated that naturalism created greater freedom in both subject matter and style in terms of working class fiction and there can be little doubt that this freedom spilled over into the narrow confines of the Anglo-Jewish novel.<sup>74</sup> Moore's almost Joycean identification with Jews--as seen in his writings on James Davis--would certainly have interested him in Julia Frankau's "novel of Jewish life" but not in the Anglo-Jewish community as such which is the novel's subject matter. I would argue that Moore's direct influence on Dr. Phillips stems only from his championing of Vizetelly's translation of Nana in 1885. For it is the plot of Nana, more than the hidden hand of George Moore, that most probably directly influenced Dr. Phillips. Julia Frankau, who was said to have "read seven books a week," un-

doubtedly read and was influenced by Zola's novels. Especially since "for her the realistic representation of life was the only desideratum of novel writing, the only consideration that would make it worthwhile."<sup>75</sup> It is this influence that will be examined and which, in turn, has much in common with the plot of Moore's Esther Waters written seven years after Dr. Phillips. That Dr. Phillips was suppressed in England and America on "account of its realistic treatment" is simply a part of the wider repression of the "new literature" which the attack on Moore's novels and Vizetelly's imprisonment represented. It is in these terms that Dr. Phillips should be read.<sup>76</sup>

Punch magazine argued that this "advanced" book "should never have been written. Having been written, it should never have been published. Having been published, it should not be read." Dr. Phillips unlike Reuben Sachs was, as has been seen, part of a wider attack on the conventions and sexual mores of the English novel. Its plot is concerned with the degeneracy of a talented Jewish doctor, Dr. Phillips, who bows to the pressures of the narrow world of Jewish materialism and squanders his genius in a marriage for wealth. The contrast between the "pure" world of medical science and the degenerate world of "Jewish materialism" was a stereotype utilised by H.G. Wells in his novel Marriage (1912).<sup>77</sup> However, the consequences of Dr. Phillips' degeneracy is that he takes a non-Jewish mistress, Mary Cameron, and it is around her that the novel revolves. It is the use of the mistress that characterises the novel's main debt to naturalism and to Zola's Nana. Jewish materialism and the Jewish plutocrat in Zola's pre-Dreyfusard Rougon-Macquart saga was an important means by which Zola was to symbolize the Second Empire as "the paradise of high finance and speculation." E.F. Randell has described this use of the Jewish plutocrat and there are a number of

parallels with this period in English literature.<sup>78</sup> Where Zola particularly influenced the English writer is in his symbolic use of the prostitute, *Nana*, as the supreme force in the novel who "eats up gold, swallows up every sort of wealth; the most extravagant tastes, the most frightful waste... Everything she devours; she eats up what people are earning around her in industry, on the stock exchange, in high positions, in everything that pays."<sup>79</sup> Hence, Steiner, the Jewish plutocrat in *Nana* who is "noted for his sudden passions" is portrayed exclusively in terms of *Nana*'s all-devouring world:

"That terrible German Jew, that powerful financier who handled millions of francs, became an absolute idiot when he fell for a woman. And he wanted them all: not one could appear on the stage but he bought her, however expensive she might be. Vast sums were quoted, and on two occasions his furious appetite for women had ruined him" (116).

Thus, by the end of the novel, Steiner is "sucked dry" by *Nana* and "so completely cleaned out that he was unable even to think up a new swindle" (435). In *Dr. Phillips* it is the Zolaesque all-devouring mistress and the self-consuming nature of Jewish materialism which points to the influence of *Nana*. Dr. Phillips is characterised by "an Eastern virility that brooked no denial." This "virility" was enhanced by "the luxurious prostitution of his marriage" (94). Like Zola's Steiner, Dr. Phillips becomes poverty stricken because his mistress, Mrs. Cameron, ran "an expensive establishment. She had her own brougham now, and he grudged her nothing." Moreover, "Dr. Phillips was a gambler, and, lately, had not been a lucky one. The Stock Exchange, and a hankering after high interest for his savings ran away with a considerable portion of his large income" (71). As with the premises behind Zola's pseudo-scientific "experimental" naturalism, gross Jewish "sensuality" and reckless "gambling" on the stock exchange are "scientifically" related in terms of cause and effect.<sup>80</sup> In these terms, the materialistic ghetto-like atmosphere

in which the once brilliant Dr. Phillips conducts his general practice, is seen to be the cause of his intellectual decline. As with the degenerate "high finance and speculation" of Zola's *Second Empire* it is, above all, the nature of degenerate finance which corrupts the scientific genius of Dr. Phillips. Dr. Phillips is surrounded by "Jews, essentially of the middle class, and entirely unemancipated" whose "...world was nothing to them beyond 'their people'" (192). As with Reuben Sachs, Julia Frankau constructs the "reality" of a middle class Jewish ghetto to challenge Anglo-Jewry's bright emancipatory stereotypes. There are the same "fat women blazing with diamonds" (81), conversations about "children and cooks and cards" (56) and, above all, the stock exchange husbands who also play cards as "Stock Exchange men generally like those gambling games" (53). Julia Frankau is quite explicit about the particular nature of the world she is creating which she describes as "a very fair specimen of a large section of Jewish society" (43). It is a world that she herself is trying to escape from. But the vulgar realities of this world are underlined ad nauseam: "...the mass of diamonds! They would have been perfectly exquisite if they had only been clean" (17). There is nothing in this novel to oppose the "Deity of Gain" which has become the "living god of Judaism" (15). Most importantly, however, is that this world of "money... cards... diamonds, eager faces and grasping fingers" (15) is, as in Zola's Nana, perceived for the most part through the eyes of the sexually corrupt mistress. Moreover, as in Nana, sexual degeneracy is constantly compared to the world of financial degeneracy and is consequently made more attractive than its materialistic mirror image. In Dr. Phillips, therefore, it is Mary Cameron who comments on the materialistic "ghetto" and, by comparison, it is she who is perceived as the most respectable character in the novel. This is, perhaps, the novel's most

subversive act in the eyes of Anglo-Jewry and beyond. It is Mary Cameron who is "a splendid woman, and a perfect lady" (114):

"It was strange to see this beautiful woman of loose morals accepted and moving among these heavy, coarse-featured, narrow-minded Jewesses... All the burning questions of the hour are to them a dead letter; art, literature and politics existed not for them. They have but one aim, the acquisition of wealth" (168).

In this stark naturalistic world, the "fallen" woman is made "splendid" besides the materialistic degeneracy that surrounds her. This point is underlined when Dr. Phillips murders his "ugly" wife because of his uncontrollable "passion" for his mistress. In short, the "procuress or prostitute" (204) becomes the real moral centre of Dr. Phillips, just as Nana does in Zola's conception of the corrupt Second Empire.

Montagu F. Modder has noted that Dr. Phillips "aroused a storm of indignation that brought from the author a preface to the second edition in which she denied that she had attacked the people whom she described, and of whom she was one." As Frankau herself was to recognise, the book itself did not go beyond the immediate aims of a combative naturalism and in effect reinforced the dark Jewish stereotype.<sup>81</sup> In Arnold White's antisemitic The Modern Jew (1889), for instance, Dr. Phillips was quoted at some length as a "brilliant but sinister" novel. In this way, White brought together the common assumptions of English antisemitism and those that regarded Jewish emancipation as a failure.<sup>82</sup> By 1900 Eliza Aria, Frankau's sister, was moved to write that:

"Dr. Phillips was written in extreme youth; it is crude and harsh with immature judgment, but ["Frank Danby"] was bitterly hurt at the use Arnold White made of his boyish (sic) generalisations... One day I think Frank Danby will write another Jewish story, but (s)he will write now in a different spirit—in one that will be worthy of the race that (s)he loves..."<sup>83</sup>

After the Boer War, with the hostile Jewish stereotype gaining a wide popular appeal, Julia Frankau "wrote in a different spirit" and qualified the dark stereotype of "Jewish materialism" in Dr. Phillips by adopting the ambivalent Jewish stereotype of contemporary English Imperialism. Moreover, as well as Arnold White's misuse of Dr. Phillips, Frankau was herself a victim of the post-Boer War increase in hostility towards Anglo-Jewry.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, Frankau wrote Pigs in Clover (1903) in a bid to distance herself from the "rich Jew anti-semitism" which accompanied the Boer War and which threatened her own assimilation into the English middle classes. This novel aimed, above all, to rewrite the immediate past history of the Boer War in naturalistic terms. Like John Buchan's initial portraits of the Jewish financier, it was the actual protagonists of the war which Frankau's novel was based on. Frankau's aim, pace Zola, was to "scientifically" explain her characters by relating their actions to a specific environment and hereditary peculiarities.<sup>85</sup> As with Farjeon's Pride of Race, Frankau concentrates on two types of Jewish financier which ambivalently represent the moral and immoral aspects of "Jewish finance" in England. In these terms, Zatlin is again wrong when she argues that "all Jews receive Frankau's hostility in Pigs in Clover."<sup>86</sup> Frankau's novel aimed, above all, to moralize the Jewish plutocracy in much the same way as the conventional Victorian novel. Such was the impact of antisemitic hostility on the Anglo-Jewish novel of "revolt."

Karl Althaus in Pigs in Clover is a thinly disguised portrayal of Alfred Beit and Barney Barnato who became multi-millionaires in South Africa. Like Barney Barnato, Karl was born in the Whitechapel slums of London and, like Alfred Beit, under the influence of Rhodes (who appears as himself in the novel) wished to use the diamond mines in South Africa for the good of the British Empire.<sup>87</sup> Karl was

initially characterised as a conventional dark Jewish financier who had the ability to make money "breed like rabbits" (61) and who "plays most games of chance better than most men" (65). Karl had "an absolute passion for money-making" and a "completely unstudied, almost unconscious unscrupulousness" (92). He is described as a "financier by instinct" and it is the "instinctive" or hereditary basis of his financial success that is the key aspect of his portrayal. Karl is, above all, an amoral financier who had "no desire to meddle with politics--politics were forced upon him" (71). More importantly, throughout the novel, Karl's financial "instinct" was tempered and finally used for the good of the nation. He learns of "patriotism" and "longed for Christianity and its early lessons, for himself and for his people" (97).<sup>88</sup> Under the influence of Rhodes, an "innocent" woman novelist, and an English aristocrat, Karl was to learn not to "love money, money only, but to his surprise, now, at the root of his heart, pulling at it, he found England" (181). By the end of the novel he is described by Stephen Hayward, the aristocrat, as "a thorough good fellow, a gentleman too, for all his want of a coat of arms" (327) and with his "heart full of empire... and his head of dreams; he was growing beyond money" (253). Karl's imperialism is compared favourably with "the tottering liberal government of 1895" (174) and it is Karl who is seen, with Rhodes, to have the best interests of the British Empire at heart. Julia Frankau, as a "true-blue Tory to the day of her death," therefore adopted the Disraelian stereotype and identified the Jewish financier with the good of the nation as a whole. In this way, her novel was a riposte to the popular pro-Boer War Jewish conspiracy theories which questioned the national loyalties of the South African Jewish financier.<sup>89</sup>



In contrast to Karl Althaus, the Disraelian bright Jewish stereotype, there is Louis Althaus, his evil half-brother. Throughout the novel Karl and Louis are laboriously compared in terms of their relation to English imperialism, a woman novelist, and the English aristocracy. Louis, significantly, did not have "a drop of good blood in his veins" (210) and had "the manners of a hairdresser, and the bow of a dancing master" (194) which recalls Trollope's dark Jewish stereotype.<sup>90</sup> His father was a non-Jewish Polish beggar who was to "spoil" Karl's "mother's rest, eat her earnings, wear the fruits of her toil" (101). It is not long before Louis is defined in terms of his dubious hereditary traits: "with all his good looks and all his culture, Louis Althaus was the descendent of that wheedling ringleted son of a weak race that is no longer a nation" (131). Instead of "growing beyond money," Louis uses his power "to invent codes, intrigue with contractors, undermine petty officials, delay and bungle." Unlike Karl, "Louis was as ill-informed as he was traitorous" and, therefore, it is Karl's ultimate rejection of Louis which points to the novel's real concern. That is, Frankau aimed to exonerate the Karl Althaus/Alfred Beit figure at the expense of the racially unstable evil Jewish other.

Thus, in Pigs in Clover, Frankau was explicitly rewriting the dark Jewish stereotype which accompanied the Boer War. That she was writing first and foremost in response to English antisemitism indicates that, after 1900, the novel of "revolt" was no longer pre-occupied with criticizing Anglo-Jewry's emancipationist stereotypes. This was confirmed in The Sphinx's Lawyer (1906), her last novel with a Jewish theme. That is, The Sphinx's Lawyer was also careful to distinguish between fictionalised lawyers such as Rufus Isaacs, later a protagonist in the Marconi Scandal, and other lawyers who were the "stock type of parvenu, if not worse."<sup>91</sup> No longer could the Anglo-

Jewish novelist afford the luxury of a bitter emotional response to Anglo-Jewry's version of Jewish emancipation.

The Anglo-Jewish Novel of "Revolt" Before 1900: Cecily Sidgwick, Leonard Merrick and "Mrs. Mark Herbert"

The response to Reuben Sachs and Dr. Phillips was immediate, with six Anglo-Jewish novels being written on similar themes in the decade following their publication. Only the novel written by "Mrs. Mark Herbert" was a direct parody, but there is little doubt that the novels written by Cecily Sidgwick and Leonard Merrick were influenced by Amy Levy and Julia Frankau. They were certainly perceived as such by the Anglo-Jewish community.

Cecily Sidgwick wrote four novels of "revolt" between 1889 and 1896. The representative Isaac Eller's Money (1889), was described by the Jewish Chronicle as "a clever performance in the style of Reuben Sachs, but less intentionally offensive. ...It deals entirely with the rich German Jews in London, not the Maida Vale colony of English Jews, who have a Zola to themselves..." (an obvious reference to Dr. Phillips).<sup>92</sup> However, Cecily Sidgwick's "little Jewish colony," which made up Isaac Eller's Money, did have its share of "card parties" (4), stock brokers (11) and "rich, vulgar Jewesses" (32). Nevertheless, the author was significantly conscious of the "picture of a wealthy Jew with diamond rings on dirty fingers" (61) as a dark Jewish stereotype. Accordingly, Isaac Eller's Money tries to rewrite the "picture of a wealthy Jew" and concentrates on the transformation of "vulgar Jews" into the moral orbit of Anglo-Jewry. The hero of the novel, Isaac Eller, thus states his aim of joining Anglo-Jewry's elite from the beginning of the novel:

"I've got all the money I want; and everything money can buy excepting a big name. What's to prevent me being the founder of a famous family like the Rothschilds or the Barings?" (28).

It is this aim that concerns the novel's plot. However, marrying for status alone, as has been seen in Reuben Sachs and Dr. Phillips, is viewed as ultimately self-defeating. In Sidgwick's view, only by marrying outside of the "ghetto" can a spurious status position be achieved by the "Jewish Colony." In Isaac Eller's Money, the bright Jewish stereotype of the Jew as English gentleman was replaced by marrying into the English upper classes, the logical extension of Anglo-Jewry's version of emancipation. In this context, it is unsurprising to note that Sidgwick, in fact, "considered herself a Christian" and was baptized and confirmed by her own wish.<sup>93</sup>

In the year after Isaac Eller's Money, Mrs. Danby Kaufman (1890) was published by the pseudonymous "Mrs. Mark Herbert." With its obvious reference to Frank Danby in its title, the novel aimed to rewrite the Maida Vale "Jewish ghetto" as portrayed in Dr. Phillips. The novel's intention, according to the Jewish Chronicle, was to "retaliate for a certain portraiture of Jewish life that not very long since outraged the Jewish inhabitants of Maida Vale." However the novel, interestingly, has "no distinct references to Jews at all."<sup>94</sup> The emancipatory response is quite simple, "Jews" are now middle class Victorian Englishmen and, therefore, to portray the Jewish inhabitants of Maida Vale simply as Englishmen is "Mrs. Mark Herbert's" significant rejoinder to Dr. Phillips. The plot of Mrs. Danby Kaufman concerns a Jewish writer in Maida Vale who insists on "rendering herself notorious by writing an untruthful caricature of members of her own family and her mother's immediate friends..." (3). This, interestingly, anticipates the second half of Israel Zangwill's Children of the Ghetto.<sup>95</sup> Mrs. Herbert's novel, however, is merely invective as witnessed by its opening lines:

"Will nothing persuade you to refrain from this wretched writing, that you flatter yourself shows talent, but is only

ill-natured, unwomanly satire, betraying what I never thought you possessed, an evil and perverted imagination, dislike and contempt for your own relations, and a disregard of all decent sentiment and feeling?" (1)

Violet Moses (1891), a more interesting novel on the "Maida Vale card-playing set," appeared in the year after Mrs. Herbert's parody. Violet Moses was written by Leonard Merrick, a popular Anglo-Jewish Edwardian novelist who, according to the hyperbole of Joseph Leftwich, was "praised" by "some of the greatest English novelists of our time" and who might even be held "to be more important purely as a writer than Zangwill himself."<sup>96</sup> His novel, however, is purely derivative although it did elicit an interesting response from the Jewish Chronicle.

Violet Moses is the fifth novel in five years which had as its theme the materialism of the rising Jewish middle classes. The Jewish Chronicle by this time was anxious to accommodate such portrayals of middle class Jewry into its moral orbit. It therefore argued that "there can be no doubt that Mr. Merrick's indirect homily might be taken to heart by a certain section of our people with considerable advantage." Once again, the terms of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype apply and Jews are divided into those that "gamble" and those that do not. In fact, as Colin Holmes has shown, this was a central aspect of the dark Jewish stereotype from the 1880s onwards.<sup>97</sup> Thus, by 1891, the Jewish Chronicle could argue that:

"we blame the poor Polish tailor who sits down when his work is done to gamble away his earnings at cards, and we do right to blame him; ...But what excuse can be found for the educated and well-to-do who fritter away nearly the whole of their leisure time in the unhealthy excitement of gambling, to their certain injury, intellectually and morally."<sup>98</sup>

In these terms, Violet Moses ambivalently distinguishes between Jews that have "coarse and loud" (II, 79) Jewish card parties which "looked like a gambling-hell" (II, 231) and the "gentle people of

their persuasion" who were "acquainted with their existence only by rumour" (II, 235). The plot of the novel concentrates on Violet Moses, the wife of a Jewish financier, Leopold Moses, who is a part of the card-playing set. Violet "instinctively knew that this section of society was singular and nasty" (II, 253) and was therefore tempted to commit adultery with Allan Morris, an idealistic fictional Jewish novelist who was "not proud of that class of my [card-playing] co-religionists, though I'm proud of my religion" (III, 159). The continual round of card parties becomes the "symbol of Violet's existence" which is illustrated in the novel by her preference for wearing a two penny flower instead of diamonds (III, 184). However, with the persuasion of the novel's "gentle people," "Duty" and the sanctity of marriage prevails and Allan Morris' arguments that Violet had "bartered" herself "away for money as foully as the foulest (III, 219) come to nothing. The distinction between the dark Jew that gambles and the bright Jew that does not is blurred by Allan Morris' sexual immorality. However, like Amy Levy's Leo Leuniger, he is the only "idealist" in the novel and like the mistress in Dr. Phillips, his particular brand of immorality was qualified by the wider immorality that surrounded him. Thus, middle class Jewish "good citizens" were, once again, portrayed in terms of the dark Jewish stereotype.

In fact, as Harold Fisch has argued, what all of the Anglo-Jewish novels under discussion have in common is "a version of the dual image":

"It is a different version from that of the non-Jewish writer, of course: its negative component is less grotesque; its positive component is less unrealistic and remote from life."<sup>99</sup>

Thus, novelists such as Benjamin Farjeon, who promote Anglo-Jewry's bright stereotype of itself, utilised the stereotype of an evil Jewish other in a bid to define a good Jewish self. The novels of

"revolt," on the other hand, reverse the ambivalent Jewish stereotype and portray the bright middle class Jewish "good citizen" in terms of its dark counterpart. Nevertheless, a bright persona is invariably included in these novels of "revolt" to indicate that there are other Jewish worlds beyond Anglo-Jewry's image of itself. In particular, the mass of "foreign born" Jewish immigrants in London's East End constituted a Jewish world which, by its very existence, challenged Anglo-Jewry's bright emancipationist stereotypes. I will now examine the role of the Anglo-Jewish novel in bringing the world of the Jewish immigrant within official Anglo-Jewry's moral orbit.

## NOTES

1. S.G. Bayme, "Jewish Leadership and Anti-Semitism in Britain, 1898-1918" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1977), p. 5 and passim for the best historical account of official Anglo-Jewry to date.
2. M.C.N. Salbstein, The Emancipation of the Jews in Britain (London, 1982), p. 201 and Chapter 11 passim. This is the most comprehensive study of British Jewish emancipation. See also Chapter 1 of this thesis for a general discussion of this point.
3. This was Macaulay's maiden speech to Parliament. It was subsequently published in the Edinburgh Review (January, 1831). The speech is collected in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.), The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History (Oxford, 1980), p. 133 and pp. 132-138. For a recent discussion of Macaulay see Israel Finestein, "A modern examination of Macaulay's case for the civil emancipation of the Jews" in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, (Vol. 28, 1984), pp. 39-59.
4. Bayme, op. cit., p. 1 and p. 317. Chapter 5 of this thesis discusses the perpetuation of the emancipation controversy in the context of modern political antisemitism.
5. Israel Finestein, Post-Emancipation Jewry: The Anglo-Jewish Experience (Oxford, 1980), p. 6. See also Bayme, op. cit., p. 34.
6. Todd Endelman, "Communal Solidarity Among the Jewish Elite of Victorian London," Victorian Studies, (Volume 28, Number 3), p. 504 and pp. 491-526. For an earlier treatment of this theme see Endelman's, The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830 (Philadelphia, 1971). See also Bayme, op. cit., p. 50.
7. See Bayme, op. cit., p. 34 and Chapter 2 passim for a discussion of this.
8. Chapter 11 discusses these stereotypes in detail. See also Chapters 2, 5 and 9.
9. Chapters 3, 4 and 8 discuss the Jewish stereotype in these terms.
10. The best published study on this theme is Endelman's, "Native Jews and Foreign Jews in London, 1870-1914" in The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and its Impact (ed.) David Berger, (New York, 1983), p. 109 and pp. 109-129. See the next chapter for a general discussion of this theme.

11. Jewish Chronicle, November 21, 1890, p. 11. Other examples of this argument can be found in ibid., June 8, 1900, p. 8 and December 26, 1902, p. 16. These are representative examples.
12. For this argument in the context of German Jewry see Steven Aschheim's Brothers and Strangers (Wisconsin, 1982) passim. Aschheim's work will be discussed in the next chapter.
13. Bayme, op. cit., p. 42 and the Jewish Chronicle, November 4, 1910, pp. 22-28.
14. Cecil Roth, The Magnificent Rothschilds (London, 1939), p. . Robert Huttenback, "The Patrician Jew and the British Ethos in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Jewish Social Studies (Vol. 40, Winter 1978, No. 1) passim. For a discussion of Huttenback see Chapter 4 of this thesis.
15. Lucien Wolf, "Anglo-Jewish Literary Ability," Jewish Literary Annual (III, 1905), pp. 11-12. I owe this reference to Bayme, op. cit., pp. 38-39. For the irony of Wolf's remarks see notes 66 and 93.
16. Linda Zatlin, The Nineteenth Century Anglo-Jewish Novel (Twayne, 1981), p. 55 and p. 73 and Chapter 3 passim.
17. Ibid., pp. 33-40. Celia and Marion Moss, Tales of Jewish History, (London, 1843), pp. 1-3.
18. Edward Calisch, The Jew in English Literature as Subject and as Author (Richmond, 1909), p. 163.
19. Jewish Chronicle, May 20, 1892, p. 9. For a fuller discussion of this theme see the next chapter.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., May 27, 1892, p. 12.
22. Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850 (Oxford, 1963), pp. 114-128 and Graham St. John Stott, "Under Gentile Eyes: Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth Century Novel of England and America" (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1978), p. 57.
23. Zatlin, op. cit., p. 75 and Eleanor Farjeon, A Nursery in the Nineties (Oxford, 1960), pp. 179-80.
24. This speech was reported verbatim in the Jewish Chronicle, May 7, 1875, p. 9.
25. Ibid., November 23, 1877, p. 12.



26. Zatlin, "High Tea and Matzo Balls: Religion in the Victorian Jewish Novel," Victorian Newsletter (Spring, 1979), p. 18.
27. Stott, op. cit., pp. 83-84. For contemporary reviews on similar lines see M.F. Modder, The Jew in the Literature of England (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 312-313.
28. Unsurprisingly the Jewish Chronicle, June 22, 1894, makes this point in its review of the novel. For the stereotype of the Jewish usurer-figure in an Anglo-Jewish context see ibid., April 19, 1878, p. 4 and March 19, 1880, pp. 5-6. Aaron's lecture, needless to say, is similar to Farjeon's lecture to "Jewish Working Men" in May, 1875. See note 24.
29. Bayme, op. cit., pp. 47-53 discusses Anglo-Jewry's policy of describing contemporary antisemites as "medieval."
30. Quoted in the Jewish Chronicle, February 8, 1901, p. 8.
31. For a discussion of these stereotypes see Chapters 2 and 3.
32. Anne Summers discusses the role of The Navy League in Edwardian nationalism in Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914 (ed.) P. Kennedy and R. Nichols (Oxford, 1981), pp. 68-87. Farjeon was clearly pandering to this form of nationalism.
33. Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (Volume II, 1924-7), pp. 254-6.
34. Harold Fisch, The Dual Image: A Study of the Jew in English Literature (London, 1971), p. 103. See also Harold Pollins, "Sociological Aspects of Anglo-Jewish Literature," The Jewish Journal of Sociology (Volume II, No. 1, 1960), pp. 25-41 and Efraim Sicher, Beyond Marginality: Anglo-Jewish Literature after the Holocaust (New York, 1985) for a discussion of this genre.
35. For adverse comments from the Jewish Chronicle, see August 2, 1889, p. 12, September 13, 1889, p. 6 and December 6, 1889, p. 16. See Edward Calisch, op. cit., p. 159.
36. Zatlin, op. cit., p. 97 and Chapter 4 passim.
37. Quoted in the Jewish Chronicle, January 25, 1901, p. 19. See the next chapter for a discussion of Amy Levy's influence on Zangwill.

38. Beth Zion Lask, "Amy Levy," Jewish Historical Society of England (Volume II, 1924-7), pp. 168, 176 and 188. For a recent sympathetic discussion of this novel and Amy Levy in general see Edward Wagenknecht, Daughters of the Covenant: Portraits of Six Jewish Women (Massachusetts, 1983), pp. 57-93. See also my Introduction to the Virago reprint of Reuben Sachs (forthcoming, 1987).
39. Ibid., for instance, omits any mention of Amy Levy's suicide for fear of offending her family (Mrs. Beth Zion Lask Abrahams, in conversation, Summer 1981).
40. Letter to Havelock Ellis, April 1892, collected in The Letters of Olive Schreiner, 1876-1920 (ed.) S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner (London, 1929), p. 207. For Wilde's obituary see the Woman's World (September, 1889).
41. Elaine Showalter, A Literature of Their Own (London, 1978), p. 194 and Yvonne Kapp, Eleanor Marx Volume II (London, 1976), pp. 258-260. Beatrice Webb, on the other hand, deplored Amy Levy's lack of "courage" in My Apprenticeship (London, 1929), p. 399.
42. Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1912), p. 162 and Max Beer, Fifty Years of International Socialism (London, 1935) has a chapter on "Amy Levy and Eleanor Marx," pp. 70-75.
43. "The Jew in Fiction," Jewish Chronicle, June 4, 1886.
44. "The Ghetto in Florence," ibid., March 26, 1886.
45. Chapter 7 and Endelman, "Native Jews and Foreign Jews..." op. cit., passim discusses this theme. See also Chapter 2 for a comparable discussion of the English novel in these terms.
46. Endelman, "Communal Solidarity..." op. cit., p. 525.
47. Beth Zion Lask, op. cit., passim. Eleanor Marx, Olive Schreiner and Clementina Black were all feminists. Oscar Wilde's influence was through the Woman's World which, after 1886, Amy Levy wrote for.
48. For a discussion of Schreiner in these terms see Chapter 11. See also Chapter 9.
49. Amy Levy's brother worked on the stock exchange. He had made his fortune with his father in Australia and was a wealthy West Ender. Amy Levy, especially after her years at Cambridge University, was said to be snobbish and sensitive to non-Jewish attitudes about parvenu Jews such as her own family (Mrs. Beth Zion Lask Abrahams, in conversation, 1981).

50. The most detailed account of Amy Levy's suicide is given in Garnett's obituary, op. cit., passim.
51. Lionel Trilling's "The Changing Myth of the Jew," written in 1931 but only recently published in Commentary (August, 1978), p. 34.
52. For a discussion of Daniel Deronda in these terms see Chapter 8.
53. This is taken from Amy Levy's article on "The Jew in Fiction" and indicates that Leo Leuniger is Levy's idealistic persona in Reuben Sachs. See note 43.
54. Zatlin, op. cit., p. 104. See Chapter 5 of this thesis for Levy's "more virulent English counterparts."
55. Charlotte Klein, "The Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama 1830-1933" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1967), p. 250 for a discussion of Reuben Sachs in these terms.
56. See Chaim Bermant's, The Cousinhood (London, 1971), pp. 14-15 for the transformation of Anglo-Jewry's Spanish-Portuguese "Sephardic Aristocracy."
57. Judith has a disastrous marriage with an aristocrat who converts, temporarily, to Judaism. The marriage is portrayed in terms of "human dissipation." Zatlin, op. cit., pp. 90-97 and 104.
58. Klein, op. cit., p. 250.
59. Chapters 2, 8 and 9 discuss the Jewish stereotype in these terms.
60. This appeared in Gentleman's Magazine (Volume CCLXVI, Summer 1889), p. 417 two months before Levy's suicide. This story is collected in Yisroël: The Jewish Omnibus (London, 1933) (ed.) Joseph Leftwich.
61. Gilbert Frankau, Self-Portrait (London, 1944), p. 16.
62. Ibid.
63. Arnold Bennett, Journal (London, 1912), p. 44. For a discussion of Bennett see Chapter 11.
64. Zatlin, op. cit., p. 98 and Frankau, op. cit., p. 31 and p. 36.
65. Modder, op. cit., p. 325.

66. Calisch, op. cit., p. 165. Frankau raised her children in the Church of England although she identified as a Jew throughout her life. See also note 93 and Chapter 11 for this stereotype of Judaism.
67. On the importance of James Thomson for an understanding of Levy see Beth Zion Lask, op. cit., p. 172 and Wagenknecht, op. cit., pp. 71-72. On Thomson as a predecessor of George Moore see Pierre Coustillas' Introduction to Moore's Literature at Nurse (London, 1976), p. 13.
68. Only Vernon Lee of Amy Levy's immediate circle took part in the debate concerning Zola's novels. See Vernon Lee by Peter Gunn (London, 1964) pp. 105-107 and 116.
69. For the impact of French naturalism on the English novel see W.C. Frierson, "The English Controversy Over Realism in Fiction, 1885-1895," P.M.L.A. (June, 1928) and C.R. Decker, "Zola's Literary Reputation in England," P.M.L.A. (December, 1934).
70. James Davis, like Moore, spent his youth in Ireland. See Louis Hyman, The Jews of Ireland (Dublin, 1972), p. 134. For references to Moore and Davis see Susan Dick (ed.), Confessions of a Young Man (London, 1972), pp. 184 and 257 and J. Hone, The Life of George Moore (London, 1963), pp. 98-99. See also Calisch, op. cit., p. 156.
71. Frankau, op. cit., p. 87 and Eliza Aria, My Sentimental Self (London, 1922), p. 57 and pp. 194-196.
72. See Dr. Phillips (New York, 1982) (ed.) John Stokes and Ian Fletcher and Letters to T. Fisher Unwin and Lena Milman, 1894-1910 (ed.) H.E. Gerber, p. 39 and p. 53.
73. Gerber, op. cit., p. 64 makes this point. See also "'Frank Danby's' First Book," Jewish Chronicle, June 30, 1916, p. 20 for contemporary evidence.
74. N. Jeffares, "A Drama in Muslim" in (ed.) G. Owens, George Moore's Mind and Art (London, 1968), pp. 1-20 and P.J. Keating, The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction (London, 1971), pp. 125-138.
75. Frankau, op. cit., p. 17 and Malcolm Salaman, "'Frank Danby': A Personal Tribute," Jewish Chronicle, March 24, 1916.
76. For the repression of Dr. Phillips in England and America see R. Schneider, Bibliography of Jewish Life in the Fiction of England (New York, 1916), p. 16.
77. Punch quoted in Frankau, op. cit., p. 22. For a discussion of Wells' Marriage in these terms see Chapter 9.

78. E.F. Randell, "The Jewish Character in the French Novel 1870-1914" (PhD., Harvard, 1940), pp. 20-51 and Chapter 2 of this thesis.
79. This is Zola's "description card" of Nana. Cited in G. Holden (ed.) Nana (1972 Penguin Translation).
80. Emile Zola, "The Experimental Novel" (Paris, 1880), translated and collected in G.J. Becker (ed.), Documents of Modern Literary Realism (London, 1963), pp. 162-196. See also Chapter 10 of this thesis for the Jewish sexual stereotype.
81. Modder, op. cit., p. 325.
82. Arnold White, The Modern Jew (London, 1899), pp. 144-147. For a discussion of White's book see Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939 (London, 1979), pp. 64-66. See also Chapter 5 of this thesis.
83. Eliza Aria, quoted in the Jewish Chronicle, May 4, 1900, p. 22.
84. George Bernard Shaw, Collected Letters 1898-1910 (London, 1972) (ed.) D.H. Laurence, pp. 609-611 records an antisemitic attack on Julia Frankau.
85. I am thinking of Buchan's A Lodge in the Wilderness (1906). See Chapter 4 for a discussion of this and note 80 for references to Zola's theory of naturalism. Chapter 4 also provides the political context for Frankau's Pigs In Clover (1903).
86. Zatlin, op. cit., p. 113.
87. For a description of Barney Barnato, Alfred Beit and Cecil Rhodes see Jamie Camplin, The Rise of the Plutocrats (London, 1978), Chapter 3.
88. For Frankau's conversionist viewpoint see note 66. See also note 93 and Zatlin, op. cit., p. 112.
89. See note 14 for references to this theme.
90. I am thinking of Trollope's description of Disraeli as having "the wit of hairdressers... a smell of hair oil." See Chapter 2 for this.
91. Once again Zatlin, op. cit., pp. 113-114 concentrates only on the "vulgar parvenu." See also the Jewish Chronicle, May 4, 1906, p. 28 and Chapter 5 for Rufus Isaacs and the Marconi Scandal.
92. Jewish Chronicle, August 2, 1882, p. 12. Dr. Phillips was subtitled "A Maida Vale Idyll."

93. Unpublished letter from Sidgwick to Cecil Roth, 16 October 1926 (reference AJ/151/I/A/4/54 in the Anglo-Jewish Archive). I am indebted to Todd Endelman for this reference. Endelman is right to criticise Zatlin, op. cit., for failing to account for Sidgwick's conversionist attitude. See his review of Zatlin in Victorian Studies (Autumn, 1983), pp. 94-96.
94. Jewish Chronicle, February 28, 1890, p. 6.
95. See the next chapter for a discussion of this.
96. Israel Zangwill (London, 1957), p. 168 and The Jewish Quarterly, "Anglo-Jewish Literature" (Volume 1, Number 1, 1953), p. 14.
97. Holmes, op. cit., pp. 55-58 and the Jewish Chronicle, October 9, 1891, pp. 6-7.
98. Jewish Chronicle, ibid., p. 7.
99. Fisch, op. cit., p. 78.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH SELF-STEREOTYPING:

#### ISRAEL ZANGWILL, SAMUEL GORDON AND THE MODERN ANGLO-JEWISH NOVEL

Between 1881 and 1914 approximately 120,000 Jews immigrated to England from Eastern Europe. Up until 1880, Anglo-Jewry was approximately 60,000 in number, of whom more than one half were of native birth.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Anglo-Jewry was characterised by its communal institutions which were "headed by a hundred families of great wealth, social prominence and self-conscious patriotism," living examples of their emancipationist ideals.<sup>2</sup> By 1914, however, Anglo-Jewry was to have increased five-fold with an estimated 350,000 Jews living in Britain. In fact, in 1900, well over one half of London's 110,000 Jews had immigrated to England from Eastern Europe and were crowded together in a two-mile square section of the East End. And, as early as 1875, two-thirds of Manchester's 7,000 Jews have been categorised as "foreign-born."<sup>3</sup> Thus, from the 1870's onwards, Anglo-Jewry was transformed from a largely assimilated, native born, middle-class, uniform "community," to an overwhelmingly unassimilated, foreign born, working-class diverse immigrant group. It is in this context, as Todd Endelman has argued, that "the native Jewish communal leadership... believed that a large, highly concentrated, unassimilated immigrant 'ghetto' threatened their own well-being":

"The immigrants' poverty, unsanitary habits, foreign appearance and customs--above all, their un-English ways--were an embarrassment and a threat."<sup>4</sup>

To the Jewish Chronicle, the Jewish immigrant represented "a state of society utterly different from that which prevails in this country." In other words, the very presence in England of an unassimilated Eastern European Jewry "kept the historical memory of the ghetto Jew

alive..." and thus undermined native Anglo-Jewry's status as "emancipated Englishmen of the Jewish persuasion."<sup>5</sup> In these terms, Steven Aschheim has demonstrated convincingly that for "Western European Jews":

"Eastern European Jews were held to be loud, coarse and dirty. They were regarded as immoral, culturally backward creatures of ugly and anachronistic ghettos. This view was formulated and propagated... as a symbolic construct by which [Western European Jews] could distinguish themselves from their less fortunate, unenlightened and unemancipated Eastern European brethren."<sup>6</sup>

As Israel Finestein has argued, after the influx of Jewish immigrants into England, "East End and West End tended to be 'racial' and ideological terms as well as geographical." Within the geographical limits of London, therefore, Jews ambivalently stereotyped themselves into "radically antithetical 'Eastern' and 'Western' components."<sup>7</sup> Moreover, within these stereotypical limitations, the values of the Western Jew acted as a moral yardstick for the socialisation and acceptance of the Eastern European Jew. That is, because "the ghetto Jew symbolized all that was wrong with the Jew of old," the native emancipated Jewish community needed to "absorb the new-comers within its own framework."<sup>8</sup> As David Feldman has shown, the native leadership of Anglo-Jewry responded to the Jewish immigrant by extending its institutions and bright emancipatory identity to the Jewish East End.<sup>9</sup> In this context, Endelman has recently summarised the myriad of "East End Schemes," in the mid-1880s, which were designed to "introduce the immigrant community to the English language and English habits." The active discouragement of Yiddish culture and the "anglicization" of the religious life of the East End were just two important examples of an emancipatory Jewish identity being applied to the immigrant East End Jew.<sup>10</sup> In short, because a "generalized middle-class gentility became the norm for Jewish



behavior" in a post-emancipatory context, the East End Jew was either moralized as other to these values or painfully reshaped in the image of their West End counterpart. In this way, the ambivalent Jewish stereotype was institutionalised and internalised by Anglo-Jewry. However, the bitter conflict and internal divisions caused by the imposition of this stereotypical framework on the mass of immigrant Jews should not be underestimated. Here, for example, is a typical East End reaction to the "official" values of Anglo-Jewry:

"Official Judaism is itself a kind of anti-Semitism, which could only be tolerated so long as it could be some protection to the Jews against real anti-Semitism. This claim has been growing thinner and thinner ever since the Aliens Act came into force [in 1905], and is now utterly threadbare. All that 'official' Judaism is now good for is to hinder and discourage the mass of the Jews from looking after their own interests in their own way."<sup>11</sup>

Aschheim, generally, has noted the "protective and dissociative modes [which] operated side by side in uneasy alliance" in terms of "Western" Jewry's ambivalent reaction to the "Eastern" Jewish immigrant. And Endelman, in particular, has described the "mixture of alarm, disgust, condescension, and sympathy" with which the leadership of Anglo-Jewry both "sought to discourage the flow of immigrants to Britain and to encourage the rapid anglicization of those already settled here."<sup>12</sup> Thus, as well as its policy of "rapid anglicization," Jewish relief agencies between 1880 and 1914: "sent back to the Continent some 17,500 cases, or about 50,000 individuals."<sup>13</sup> It was in the context of these bitter political divisions that the Anglo-Jewish novelist was called upon to moralize the Jewish immigrant in terms of the emancipatory stereotype of the "good" Jew. To this end, the Jewish Chronicle devoted a full page editorial in 1892 to the contemporary Anglo-Jewish novel:

In England, Jewish writers have usually felt themselves called upon to portray the seamy side of Jewish life... It is hard that the Jewish novelist in England should have a keener

vision for defects than for beauties, should show on the whole less sympathy with Jews than do those who accept an absurd convention and can at least plead ignorance in justification. Perhaps Mr. Zangwill's forthcoming novel, 'Children of the Ghetto,' will prove the long-awaited antidote to the literary poison that has been poured in the public ear by several clever and unsympathetic writers."<sup>14</sup>

That is, because Israel Zangwill was known to be writing a novel on the Jewish East End, he was called upon to moralize the Jewish other by treating him with "sympathy." It is in these terms that the fiction of Israel Zangwill--and his protégé Samuel Gordon--will now be examined.

#### Israel Zangwill: Moralizing the Jewish East End

The belief that Israel Zangwill's Children of the Ghetto (1892) was the "long-awaited antidote" to the "literary poison" of the Anglo-Jewish novel of "revolt" has been often repeated by the leadership of Anglo-Jewry. Lucien Wolf, in particular, compared Zangwill's Children of the Ghetto favourably with the Anglo-Jewish novel of "revolt"--his term--in an article written in 1924.<sup>15</sup> Cecil Roth was to follow this reasoning when he described Children of the Ghetto as "opening a new era" of the Anglo-Jewish novel. For the first time, according to Roth, Zangwill had described "the warmth and colour and pathos of [Jewish] East End life." Vivian Lipman has recently repeated this "official" history of Children of the Ghetto:

"...in 1891 a young Anglo-Jewish writer commissioned to write about the London ghetto would wish to demonstrate to the non-Jewish world the problems and virtues of the immigrants, their relationship to the previously established Jews in London, and their aspirations to become accepted into English society."<sup>16</sup>

In fact, as will now be seen, this is exactly the opposite of what Zangwill wished to "demonstrate." Here, for example, is Zangwill's comment on Children of the Ghetto a year after writing the novel:

"I did not think I could possibly write anything which would please the Jews... Reuben Sachs did not meet with such a

reception at the hands of the Jews as would guarantee any great success for a book on similar lines..."<sup>17</sup>

Zangwill, as has been noted, commented favourably on the "pioneering" fiction of Amy Levy and even described Julia Frankau's Pigs In Clover (1903) as the "most uncompromising honest presentation of Jewish life in England." In other words, Zangwill was far from moralizing the Jewish East End as aspiring members of English society; on the contrary, he was at pains to distance himself from Anglo-Jewry's officialdom. Thus, in 1890, he wrote "as regards the claims of the Jewish community on my gratitude, the only thing I have to be grateful to the Jewish community for, is that I have nothing for which to be grateful to it."<sup>18</sup>

To be sure, Zangwill was by far the best known Jewish writer of his time and, in terms of literary excellence, can certainly be placed on a par with the best popular writers at the turn of the century. For this reason, Zangwill has merited a good deal of scholarship with innumerable articles and five full-length critical surveys of his life and work appearing in recent years.<sup>19</sup> Ironically, however, the disproportionate amount of research on the life and work of Zangwill, compared to the Anglo-Jewish novel as a whole, has led to a distorted response in placing Zangwill in a tradition of Anglo-Jewish writing. Instead of viewing Zangwill as part of a continuum of Jewish writing in England, he is deemed to have single-handedly "advanced the cause of the Jew throughout the world."<sup>20</sup> A recent biographer, for instance, has argued that "after the publication of Children of the Ghetto things were never to be quite the same thing again with the Jew in English literature." The same biographer goes on to state that:

"...there is no evidence to suggest that Zangwill used any specific source material in the writing of his book. There could be no question in the 'nineties ...of a tradition or genre of the Anglo-Jewish novel."<sup>21</sup>

In this way, the "individual genius" of Zangwill is deemed to have "sympathetically" rewritten the "Jew in English literature" and, thus, "advanced the cause of the Jew throughout the world." In fact, the reduction of Zangwill's fiction to the cause of Jewish apologetics has its roots in the contemporary promotion of Children of the Ghetto. Zangwill himself claimed in 1893 that "the editor of a leading Conservative daily told me that, influenced by Children of the Ghetto, he had prevented the exclusion of the immigrant alien being a plank in the Conservative platform." This claim has been repeated by a recent historian of the Aliens Act who argues that Zangwill's novel "may have increased the [Conservative] Government's reluctance" to introduce an Aliens Bill in the 1890s.<sup>22</sup> However, a more plausible Anglo-Jewish explanation for the delay in bringing the Aliens Bill to the statute books was, as has been noted, the repatriation from 1880 onwards of as many as 50,000 Jewish migrants from England's shores. In this context, it was clearly in the interests of Anglo-Jewry's leaders to argue that it was the "sympathetic" Jewish novelist and not the "unsympathetic" Jewish relief agencies which prevented the Aliens Act from being passed in the 1890s.<sup>23</sup> Zangwill, who was especially concerned at the relatively poor sales of his first Jewish novel--which was initially published in the uneconomical "three-decker" form--was clearly delighted to be able to present himself as single-handedly stopping the flood of potential legislation against the Jewish immigrant.<sup>24</sup>

In contrast to this "official" history, it is worth emphasising that the journalism, juvenilia and intellectual activity of Zangwill during the 1880s corresponded almost exactly to the subject matter of the novels of "revolt." In particular, Zangwill's regular column in the Jewish Standard, "Morour and Charouseth" (Bitter and Sweet),

contained intermittent attacks on the "autocracy" of Lord Rothschild. Zangwill was also to "attack the peculiarly Jewish vice of card-playing" in June 1888 which coincided almost exactly with the publication of both Dr. Frankau and Reuben Sachs and their use of this motif.<sup>25</sup> More generally, Zangwill satirized "Anglo-Jewry's attempt to corset itself in the tight-fitting stays of English upper class life." According to Zangwill:

"The change from 'Moses' to 'Montmorency' often expressed itself in religious hypocrisy and ostentatious display of nouveaux riches habits."<sup>26</sup>

As Jacques Ben Guigui has argued, it is this journalism which anticipated the posture of "defiance" which characterised much of Children of the Ghetto. Bernard Winehouse has similarly shown that it was Zangwill's journalism which was "the very breath which gives life to Children of the Ghetto."<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, during the 1880s, Zangwill met regularly with a group of Anglo-Jewish intellectuals--The Wanderers--who were influenced by the impact of modern German-Jewish philosophy on traditional thought. This, in turn, entailed a self-proclaimed "rebellion" against "the coldness, the overpowering sanity" of "official Judaism" which was dubbed "flunkey Judaism" because "of its deference to a wealthy oligarchy."<sup>28</sup> Finally, Zangwill's juvenilia, especially his "first book" Motsa Kleis (1880), anticipated this criticism by more than half a decade. Zangwill was later to "transfer [Motsa Kleis] bodily" into the text of Children of the Ghetto. Winehouse's description of the story is important:

"...the rumbling scene shift from realistic pictures of the East End Ghetto to a grotesque evocation of life in a newly-rich Jewish, would-be Gentile, household is the basic contrast in which [Children of the Ghetto] is formed."<sup>29</sup>

Significantly, Lord Rothschild had prevented the distribution of an earlier fictional pamphlet on these themes whilst Zangwill was a student-teacher at the Jewish Free School.<sup>30</sup> A final example, taken

from an article written in 1890, illustrates the theme of Motsa Kleis and why Rothschild should have opposed it:

"...It is a hard thing that while Jewish students, and Jewish writers, and Jewish workers are doing their best to live useful lives, they are liable to be bespattered with mud on account of Jewish financiers and merchants who want chariots and fine linen, and municipal importance. I should like to know what compensation these godless Shool-building business men... are going to make to the humble workers, who have to bear with opprobrium and defamation for their sakes."<sup>31</sup>

It is the division of Anglo-Jewry into morally commendable "Jewish students, Jewish writers and Jewish workers" and, on the other hand, dark "Jewish financiers, merchants" and "godless business men" which is the "basic contrast" in Children of the Ghetto. Furthermore, for Zangwill, the stereotype of the Jewish working man as a moral ideal type was the logical corollary to his attack on "Jewish materialism." This was, undoubtedly, a common feature of the period. One contemporary study of the Jewish East End could, therefore, describe the poor East End Jew as:

"...more capable of thinking than the poor Gentile: he can shape an ideal in his mind with something of a poet's power. Hence he is able to work with an intelligence and a success which does not always follow mere technical education... He has a certain dignity born of the consciousness of the past, he treats his wife with respect, rarely calling upon her to work at a trade or behaving to her with brutal violence."<sup>32</sup>

Zangwill was, thus, to "base the elevation of the Eastern Jew upon a critique of the Western Jew" in his novel. It was this conscious inversion of Anglo-Jewry's ambivalent Jewish stereotyping which was Zangwill's most original contribution to the Anglo-Jewish novel. As a Zionist, moreover, Zangwill encouraged the "glorification of the Eastern Jew" as a "Zionist 'counter-myth' to set against prevailing liberal [emancipationist] definitions of Jewish identity." The Jewish East End, in these terms, could be perceived as the "embodiment of Jewish authenticity, [and the] exemplar of the spiritual,

unfragmented Jewish self..." In Zangwill's words, the Jewish East End was "a Jewry that is morally sound and likely to remain so... a bright example to the proletariat of any capital of any country."<sup>33</sup> Zangwill's Jewish viewpoint, in short, has been rightly characterised as an "unqualified commitment to the Ghetto as both the centre and circumference of Jewish spirituality." It was in this context that Zangwill's politics have been described as "a revolt on the grounds of Jewish idealism against the Philistinism of one half of Jewry..."<sup>34</sup> It was this belief that Zangwill was to articulate in Children of the Ghetto.

In the Proem to Children of the Ghetto Zangwill describes the growing assimilation of Anglo-Jewry which is the essential background to any understanding of his novel:

"It was only gradually that the community was Anglicized. Under the sway of centrifugal impulses, the wealthier members began to form new colonies, moulting their own feathers and replacing them by finer, and flying even further from the centre. Men of organising ability founded unrivalled philanthropic and educational institutions on British lines; millionaires fought for municipal and their own political emancipation; brokers brazenly foisted themselves on 'Change; ...Judea prostrated itself before the Dagon of its hereditary foe, the Philistine, and respectability crept on to freeze the blood of the Orient with its frigid finger and to blur the vivid tints of the East into the uniform grey of English middle class life. In the period within which our story moves, only vestiges of the old gaiety and brotherhood remained; the full al-fresco flavour was evaporated." (7).

In Zangwill's terms, because of this process of "Anglicization," the novel is set in a "uniform grey" period. The original "Ghetto of the Eternal City" (1) is only a "vestige" of its former self. Crucially, the ghetto of this novel is characterised as but a poor imitation of the spiritual universe that used to constitute the historic Ghetto. The "centrifugal impulses" of the Anglicized middle-classes and the "millionaires" who fought for "their own political emancipation" (my emphasis) has already denuded Zangwill's ghetto of much of its poten-

tial spirituality. Far from being a "sympathetic" novel of Anglo-Jewry and the East End ghetto, Zangwill's work is, therefore, a "bitter-sweet" account of the results of this process of "emancipation."<sup>35</sup> The "practice of Judaism" in England, Zangwill's persona tells us, is the "materialisation of the spiritual" (258). It is this process of "materialising" (or Anglicizing) Jewish spirituality (or the Ghetto) that concerns Children of the Ghetto.

The novel opens with a typical East End scene of poverty--the soup kitchen. However, it is the juxtaposition of the Jewish poor and the "rich people" from the West End who come to administer it which is the key to Zangwill's description. The latter are perceived ironically through the eyes of the novel's child-heroine, Esther Ansell, as "semi-celestial" because they live "far away from the Ghetto" (11). The scene is taken verbatim from Zangwill's earlier Motsa Kleis.<sup>36</sup> Zangwill, a decade earlier, had seen at first hand the way Jewish charity was dispensed in the East End. The West End Jews are characterised bitterly as "addressing the meeting at considerable length" (12) while the poor wait hungrily for their food. The contrast between the child's perception of these "semi-celestial" beings and their actual empty pomposity is a telling one. This bitter juxtaposition sets the tone for the novel as a whole.

It is true that on one level Zangwill in the first half of Children of the Ghetto is simply rewriting the dark Jewish stereotype--especially those associated with the East End. Place "The Sweater" (Chapter II) in the spiritual context of the ghetto and he becomes a "God-fearing, industrious, and even philanthropic citizen" (19). The "Pauper Alien," equally susceptible to stereotyping, becomes the pious Jew par excellence in the guise of Moses Ansell (Chapter V). The spiritual world of the ghetto even extends to the Jewish workers on strike--"Do you know I haf proved that Virgil stole



all his ideas from the Talmud"--says a character "With The Strikers" (180 and Chapter XIX). Undoubtedly, Zangwill was at pains to "flesh out" the dark stereotypes which dominated discussion of the Jewish East End.<sup>37</sup> However, the point is that once a Zangwillian character is deemed to have rejected the ghetto, "material" forces which reinforce the dark stereotype come into play. The second half of the novel, Grandchildren of the Ghetto, which is set twelve years after the first half, is written to demonstrate the effect of materialism on the spirituality of the ghetto. In this universe the businessman, Mr. Goldsmith, is perceived, as his stereotype would have him, as a religious hypocrite who simply uses the worker for his own political and financial ends. Winehouse has argued erroneously that the second half of the novel "was not in Zangwill's mind when the writing of the novel was first contemplated."<sup>38</sup> Whilst it is true that the two halves of the novel have occasionally been published separately, it is, in fact, the materialism of Grandchildren of the Ghetto which helps to explain much of Children of the Ghetto.<sup>39</sup> Benjamin Ansell, for instance, in the first half of the novel, is seen to assimilate the Jewish stereotype which, in turn, leads to the temporary rejection of his father, Moses Ansell:

"For Benjamin 'to travel' meant to wander about selling goods, and when in his books he read of African travellers, he took it for granted that they were but exploiting the Dark Continent for small profits and quick returns" (55).

Benjamin was not to realise until his death-bed that his father "...the despised three-hatted scarecrow of Christian caricature, who shambled along snuffling 'Old clo',' had a strenuous inner life..." (55). In the fallen world of Grandchildren of the Ghetto, Louis James actually leaves the ghetto to make "quick returns" in South Africa--"whether honestly or not no one inquired" (102). As a consequence of his newly found wealth and Anglicized identity, he pub-

licly rejects his father as "an old Jew who supplies me with cash" (324). In this way, Zangwill demonstrates the debilitating effect of materialism and anglicization on the grandchildren of the ghetto. This theme is explored throughout the second half of the novel.

Significantly, Grandchildren of the Ghetto opens with a parallel scene to the opening of Children of the Ghetto. Esther Ansell, the child-heroine in the opening scene of the novel, is now fully grown and has been "rescued" from the ghetto by Mr. and Mrs. Goldsmith who are clearly caricatures of Anglo-Jewry's wealthy communal elite. Esther unbeknown to her adopted parents, has lost her ghetto "childish vision" (237) and has written a satirical novel called Mordechai Josephs, a revolt against London's West End Jewry. Many critics have pointed out that the book and, perhaps, the story-teller herself is based on Amy Levy and her novel, Reuben Sachs. However, in the opening chapter of Grandchildren, Zangwill is implicitly contrasting the two worlds of the ghetto and post-ghetto. The lavish "Christmas Dinner" (Chapter 1) signals the Anglicized nature of the post-ghetto and contrasts it with the soup kitchen which opened Children of the Ghetto. Moreover, Mordechai Josephs is discussed throughout Grandchildren of the Ghetto and becomes a motif by which Anglo-Jewry's West End is ironically confronted with its own stereotype: "...the public will fancy that we are all daubed with the same brush--that we have no thought in life beyond dress, money and solo-whist" (240). Zangwill is at pains to distance himself from an apologist response to Mordechai Josephs which is represented by the novelist, Miss Cissy Levine. Miss Levine was most probably based on Emily Harris and was: "a pale, bent woman, with spectacles, who believed in the mission of Israel, and wrote domestic novels to prove that she had no sense of humour" (240).<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, Zangwill

introduces an "idealistic" character's reaction to Mordechai Josephs, a figure found in most novels of "revolt" and usually taken for the author's mouthpiece:

"I have always maintained that the United Synagogue could be run as a joint-stock company for the sake of a dividend, and there wouldn't be an atom of difference in the discussions if the councillors were directors... Their state church is simply a financial system, to which the doctrines of Judaism happen to be tacked on... Long after Judaism has ceased to exist, excellent gentlemen will be found regulating its finances'" (241/2)<sup>41</sup>

Other characters repeat similar statements throughout Grandchildren of the Ghetto and counter-balance/<sup>the</sup> equally strident censures of Mordechai Josephs. In this way, Zangwill gives the debate surrounding the novels of "revolt" a prominence which was extremely unpopular with his American sponsors and was something that contemporary Anglo-Jewry did not ignore.<sup>42</sup> That Zangwill's fictional West End corresponds to Mordechai Josephs and the novelists of "revolt"—especially in the figures of Mr. and Mrs. Goldsmith—has simply not been taken into consideration in "official" accounts of Children of the Ghetto. It is true that Zangwill was conscious to separate the stereotype from its reality in Children of the Ghetto. Nevertheless, in the materialistic world of Grandchildren of the Ghetto, the stereotype and reality are seen to merge.<sup>43</sup> And, it is the assimilation and materialism of the Grandchildren of the Ghetto which, Zangwill argues, will eventually come to dominate Anglo-Jewry. Esther, who is significantly described as an "allegory of Judaism" (398) represents a reverse of this process of Anglicization. She eventually returns to the East End ghetto and her spiritual roots: "Too long they [the Goldsmiths] have cramped my soul. Now at last I am going to cut myself free..." (340). Mordechai Josephs is deemed to be "...a revolt of Esther's soul against mean and evil things" (340). Only the "vestiges" of ghetto "spirituality" can, it is

assumed, resurrect a Jewish world which was becoming increasingly dominated by material values.<sup>44</sup>

Zangwill's Jewish short stories will now be briefly examined to see how Zangwill elaborated on many of the responses to Jewish materialism and anglicization in Children of the Ghetto. King of the Schnorrers (1896), written two years after Children of the Ghetto, has often been described as an "entertaining jeu d'esprit." Whilst the book clearly is an "entertaining jeu d'esprit," Zangwill's "fundamental seriousness" in his writing on Jews points to King of the Schnorrers having a relevance as something more than "Jewish humour... which makes game of 'serious' life."<sup>45</sup> Even though the novel is set in the eighteenth century, the duping of the Ashkenazi Jewish financier, Joseph Grobstock, by the Sephardi schnorrer (or beggar)--Manessah Bueno Barzillai Azevedo da Costa--clearly has an underlying relevance to Children of the Ghetto and the contemporary Anglo-Jewish novel of "revolt." Manessah is both a learned Jew and part of the vestiges of the Sephardi "aristocracy."<sup>46</sup> He, above all, uses his greater Jewish knowledge to humorously trick the materialist Grobstock into parting with his money. Only in the spiritual context of the eighteenth century ghetto was this possible. The relationship between the two opposed poles of Judaism is one where Grobstock, as the successful financier, ostensibly has communal power. However, it is Manessah who, in fact, has power over Grobstock. Grobstock, crucially, in the spiritual world of the ghetto, needs Manessah's greater Jewish knowledge to be able to be a "leader" of the Jewish community. King of the Schnorrers is a comedy and this form is clearly appropriate as the novel has a large element of Zangwillian wish-fulfilment in it. In Children of the Ghetto the Anglo-Jewish community is realistically shown to be controlled by its financiers and not its spirituality. Only in a comic setting, such as King of

the Schnorrers, could these Jewish polarities be imaginatively reversed. It is not a coincidence that the heroine of Reuben Sachs, like Manessah, is a penniless Sephardi. In a tragic context, Amy Levy invokes the splendours of the Sephardi past to implicitly contrast them with the materialist present. However, in Reuben Sachs, Judith Quixano tragically had no power to invoke values which could oppose the dominant materialism of Anglo-Jewry. King of the Schnorrers is a fantasy world where the splendours of Judaism's spiritual heritage does overcome the materialism of Anglo-Jewry's leaders. This, I argue, is the "fundamental seriousness" which underlies Zangwill's "entertaining jeu d'esprit" and it is an important coda for an understanding of Children of the Ghetto.

As has been noted in the discussion of Julia Frankau, the increase in antisemitism which accompanied the Boer War tempered, to a large extent, the "revolt" against Anglo-Jewry's emancipation ethic. Zangwill, significantly, was a vocal and active "pro-Boer" and anti-Imperialist which placed him in a political camp which included Hilaire Belloc, G.K. Chesterton and a vehement rhetoric against "Jewish finance." Zangwill's anti-Imperialist novel, The Mantle of Elijah (1900), set against the background of the Boer War, ignores the issue of antisemitism. Nevertheless, Zangwill was to reject publicly the claim that: "...the Jews are responsible for the Boer War; this war so notoriously organised by Christians in the interests of civilisation."<sup>47</sup> However, Zangwill's anti-imperialist stance was at odds with the Anglo-Jewish establishment as a whole. Steven Bayme has shown that Zangwill and a fellow "Wanderer," Solomon Schechter,

"...began to fear that the dangers of emancipation might outweigh its benefits. In particular emancipation seemed to adversely affect the Judaic value-system. Consequently both men decried the martial spirit that pervaded English Judaism."<sup>48</sup>

In this way, Zangwill could attack "pro-Boer" antisemitism, but still rebel against Anglo-Jewry's emancipation ideology. By 1907, in his Ghetto Comedies, Zangwill was to partially re-write Children of the Ghetto in the light of the Boer War. In particular, the short story "Anglicization" depicts an anglicized Jewish soldier who fights in South Africa and falls in love with the daughter of an English Lord. The Lord, however, has "got it into his noddle that the Jews are responsible for the war..." (97). The hero of the story, therefore, is unable to marry and is taught to realise the limitations of anglicization. Zangwill takes this theme a stage further in "The Jewish Trinity," another short story in Ghetto Comedies, that anglicization can mean the total acceptance by Jews of Jewish stereotypes, even to the extent of echoing the antisemite. Zangwill's persona in this story is Barstein, an assimilated artist from the East End, who re-discovers his Jewish identity and becomes a Zionist. He falls in love with the daughter of Sir Asher Aaronsberg, an ex-M.P. and "respectable" Anglo-Jewish businessman, but Sir Asher refuses to let Barstein marry his daughter. In response to this refusal Barstein attacks the West End anglicized Jew:

"...'it's the same in every land where we're emancipated, as it is called,' he went on furiously. 'The Jew's a patriot everywhere and an anti-Semite everywhere. Passionate Hungarians, and true-born Italians, eagle-waving Americans, and loyal Frenchmen, imperial Germans, and double Dutchmen, we are dispersed to preach unity, and what we illustrate is the Jewish trinity!' (115).

"The Jewish trinity" is the "Briton, the Jew, and the anti-Semite" which Sir Asher is said to embody. Zangwill in this way elaborates on how the Jewish stereotype has been completely accepted by the assimilated materialist West End Jew. And, it is true, by refusing to let Barstein marry his daughter, Sir Asher is seen to have acted no differently from the English antisemite in "Anglicization."

In conclusion, Harold Fisch has rightly characterised Zangwill's Jewish world-view as a version of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype:

"On the one hand, there is the centripetal pull of the Covenant demanding loyalty, integrity and an adherence to Jewish spiritual values; on the other hand, there is the centrifugal force of assimilation, weakness, abandonment of self-respect and the pursuit of purely material or temporal ends."<sup>49</sup>

However, by concentrating Jewish spirituality in the ghetto, Zangwill was, above all, confirming Jewish spiritual life. In this way, Zangwill tried to set up a viable alternative set of values to "Jewish materialism." Samuel Gordon, in Sons of the Covenant (1900) and Unto Each Man His Own (1904), takes Zangwill's perspective a stage further and attempts to spiritualize the Jewish West End in terms of East End morality. Nevertheless, this similarly entailed an ambivalent Jewish perspective which will be seen to be a central feature of Gordon's fiction.

#### Samuel Gordon: Moralizing the Jewish West End

Samuel Gordon has been accurately described by a contemporary as "a successful novelist... pressing Zangwill as a fairly good second." Like many Jewish writers of this period, Samuel Gordon was greatly influenced by Zangwill and can be regarded to a certain extent as his protégé.<sup>50</sup> As early as 1899, Gordon was thanking Zangwill for "several obligations." Zangwill helped to promote Sons of the Covenant: A Tale of Anglo-Jewry (1900) and to influence Unto Each Man His Own (1904) although both novels were probably not to his liking. In return, Gordon was to introduce Zangwill to Theodor Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, and to "Sholom Aleichem" the famous Yiddish novelist, the former having a profound influence on Zangwill's life.<sup>51</sup> Gordon was born in Prussia but educated in a London public school and at Queens College, Cambridge, where he read

Classics. He was fluent in a wide range of European languages—which enabled him to become an Official Government translator during the First World War—and his knowledge of Yiddish and Yiddish writers undoubtedly influenced his early short stories. These, like their Yiddish counterparts, were set in the Eastern European pale of the settlement.<sup>52</sup> By way of contrast, both Sons of the Covenant and Unto Each Man His Own deal exclusively with contemporary Anglo-Jewish life and it is these novels that will be of interest in this chapter. As well as being a writer, Gordon was the secretary of the Great Synagogue in London's East End and was therefore a part of the Anglo-Jewish communal leadership. Gordon's fiction was to reflect the tension between conforming to the moralizing of the leadership of Anglo-Jewry and the literary tradition of Amy Levy, Julia Frankau and Israel Zangwill.

Undoubtedly, Sons of the Covenant was a part of a tradition of literary apologetics which characterised the early Anglo-Jewish novel.<sup>53</sup> Certainly, this was how the novel was perceived by its contemporaries and the Jewish Chronicle, as always, emphasised this viewpoint:

"It is to our writers that the world is beginning to look as representing all that is best and most typical in Jewish life and thought. Already the influence in the world at large which a writer like Zangwill has exerted is almost incalculable. Needless to say, it has been an influence entirely for good. Mr. Gordon is treading worthily in his footsteps. In his Sons of the Covenant he has given his readers a picture of Ghetto life, as edifying as it is truthful. It is one of the most wholesome stories that has ever been written. Nor is its value as a work of art detracted by the fact that its author has sought to make it a novel with a purpose."<sup>54</sup>

Apart from this editorial, a full page review article in the Jewish Chronicle underlined this point by arguing that the publication of Sons of the Covenant had "rendered the community a single service."<sup>55</sup> As has been seen in Zangwill's case, it was certainly in the Jewish



Chronicle's interests to promote the Anglo-Jewish novel as presenting the Jewish community "sympathetically." In this way the Jewish Chronicle hoped that the Anglo-Jewish novelist would be able to obfuscate the bitter political tensions and contradictions contained in Anglo-Jewry's emancipatory ethic and highlighted by the post-emancipatory "foreign" Jewish immigrant. In contrast to the Jewish Chronicle, Zangwill, in particular, censured Gordon for not conforming more to the "school" of Amy Levy:

"Mr. Gordon is, I believe, the first Jewish novelist to write sympathetically of the 'grandchildren of the Ghetto.' I rather grudge them his geniality. Despite their unquestionable virtues... it seems to me at the present stage of our development that the furnace of satire is much more likely to conduce to our purification than the censers of incense."<sup>56</sup>

It should be noted that this was said in the context of a celebratory dinner marking the publication of Sons of the Covenant which was organised, amongst others, by Zangwill and which Gordon described as "...the most important [event] which has occurred to me except the fact of my getting born..."<sup>57</sup> However, the extent to which Sons of the Covenant marked a turning point away from the novels of "revolt" was debated both in the Jewish and non-Jewish press. The St. James Gazette described the novel as "a much better and fairer picture of 'the chosen' than most of the modern books about them, steering between the 'Deronda idea,' and the sordid grossness of the 'Reuben Sachs' one." By way of contrast, the Outlook argued that "...a carefully arranged cheerfulness is characteristic of the work. It is not a cheerfulness that one resents, because it is appropriate in its place. Realism in Mr. Gordon's hands has no sting."<sup>58</sup> The Jewish novels of "revolt"—such as the "sordid" Reuben Sachs--were accurately associated by the non-Jewish press with the wider debate concerning the "realistic" novel in England. This theme was taken up in an article in the Jewish Chronicle which attacked "stories written

which out-Zola Zola" and favourably compared Sons of the Covenant where "there are no splashes of glaring colour." However, The Academy found the apologetic non-realist nature of Gordon's book to be anodyne in the extreme: "you couldn't imagine a more comfortable book."<sup>59</sup>

Sons of the Covenant was clearly trying to straddle two opposing traditions in the Anglo-Jewish novel. As the St. James Gazette noted, Gordon's main aim was to "treat the fortune of some Jewish families and show very clearly how they stand together humble or rich."<sup>60</sup> In this way, Gordon obliged the wealthy Anglo-Jewish elite who wanted to assimilate the Jewish East End into its sphere of influence or, at the very least, into its "public image."<sup>61</sup> Gordon, like Zangwill, was to portray the East End as the centre of morality in Anglo-Jewry but, unlike his mentor, did not distinguish between the "spiritual" East End and "material" West End. In Gordon's terms, the Jewish spirituality of the East End embraced both worlds of Anglo-Jewry. Thus, for Gordon, the Jewish businessman, even when he is seen to make "easy" money in South Africa, is happily assimilated into the moral sphere of Anglo-Jewry. Clearly, it was Gordon's intention to moralize the two main sources of contemporary anti-semitism and render them impotent in the eyes of his English readers.

Sons of the Covenant is centred around two poverty-stricken East End brothers, Phil and Leuw Lipcott. The former is adopted at an early stage by a wealthy West End family and the latter is given a start in business by Christopher Donaldson, a non-Jewish businessman. Using a version of the financier/gentleman stereotype, Phil Lipcott is adopted at an early age by a refined Anglo-Jewish family, sent to an English public school and on to Cambridge, whilst Leuw Lipcott stays on in the East End and eventually makes his fortune in South Africa. However, there are no generational or social divisions

between the two brothers and Gordon is at pains to bring them together by the end of the novel. It is the Lipcott's social and financial acceptance into Anglo-Jewry that is Gordon's main concern. In short, Leuw and Phil are seen to join the equivalent of Anglo-Jewry's gentlemanly elite--the imagined quest of all worthy Jewish immigrants. Leuw, significantly, by the end of the novel marries the daughter of Phil's adopted family and Phil, in turn, marries her best friend. Thus, in summary, the reader is presented with a unified moralized "community" where the "humble" may marry the "rich." It is unsurprising that Phil and Leuw's family by marriage are wealthy financiers wielding money and power for the benefit of all; these were the very essence of Anglo-Jewry's emancipatory stereotype.

Clearly, the novel is defined exclusively in conventional apologetic terms. Leuw's business association with Donaldson is achieved because Leuw reminded him of a Jewish soldier who saved his life and sacrificed his own in the Crimea. This refers implicitly to the role of the Jewish soldier in the Boer War, an especially sensitive issue for the leadership of Anglo-Jewry.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, although Leuw makes his fortune in South Africa, Gordon is at pains to show him struggling as a shop owner before "the whole world" was to "shout at him: South Africa" (227). It is essential that Leuw was first a "productive" shop keeper, because if he "were to score success after success he would be a millionaire before he knew what real honest work was..." (83). Only after learning about "real honest work" was he ready to make his fortune. Once more, there is the implied distinction between "good" and "bad" ways of making money.<sup>63</sup> In another context, Phil was to avoid the "Maida Vale drawing-rooms" where he would have been: "flattered and mollycoddled, making the most of social opportunities and growing a head the size of a pumpkin" (252). In this way, Gordon demonstrates that Phil does not mix socially with

the "vulgar" part of the Jewish West End. Although Phil and Leuw's adopted family are financiers they are also, crucially, observant Jews which is an essential means of distinguishing between the West End "spiritual" and "material" Jew. Such apologetics were not lost on the Jewish Chronicle and it was glad to note that "sharp and shady practices are unnecessary" in the making of one's fortune in South Africa and that not all of West End society is narrowly vulgar and materialist.<sup>64</sup>

Once adopted as members of Anglo-Jewry's gentlemanly elite, Leuw and Phil devise a scheme to "decentralise" the East End Ghetto so that the "hundreds and thousands" who have "emerged from the teeming struggling depths of their kindred race" can be used to bolster up the moral good of the rest of Anglo-Jewry. No longer was there a simple opposition between material corruption and spiritual idealism in Anglo-Jewry. In Gordon's scheme of things, the morality of the Jewish East End could be used to regenerate Anglo-Jewry as a whole.<sup>65</sup> Interestingly Gordon's brother, H.H. Gordon, a Stepney Borough Councillor, wrote to the Jewish Chronicle in support of the "East End Scheme" in Sons of the Covenant. Between 1883 and 1898, as Endelman has noted, "a series of ambitious proposals" were under discussion to build institutions to "anglicize" the Jewish East End. By 1901, H.H. Gordon was bemoaning the fact that nothing had been done to "destroy the ghetto."<sup>66</sup> It is in this context that Sons of the Covenant rallied behind a beleaguered native Jewish leadership. Perhaps because of the failure of a coherent "East End Scheme" to emerge, Gordon's next novel, Unto Each Man His Own (1904), was written in the tradition of "revolt" and inverted the bright emancipationist stereotypes in Sons of the Covenant.

When the first two chapters of Unto Each Man His Own were read out at The Maccabaeans--the Jewish club which had previously helped

to promote Sons of the Covenant--Gordon was accused of "depicting Jewish vulgarity" and following "where writers like Amy Levy and Mrs. Frankau had led." The early chapters in the novel described a "vulgar" West End drawing room which is inhabited by, amongst others, a "wealthy South African parvenu."<sup>67</sup> This was clearly the antithesis of the moral world of Sons of the Covenant and the inversion of what Phil and Lew Lipcott had represented in that novel. The reaction of the Jewish community was predictable and letters to the Jewish Chronicle from "hurt, surprised and horror-stricken" readers vigorously invoked Anglo-Jewry's bright emancipatory stereotypes:

"...Have the higher class and rich Jews done nothing for the spread of civilization over the whole world? Have they not done much for the amelioration of distress and the improvement of the thrifty and industrious workers in the slums of London and other cities? Are there no Rothschilds, Montefiores, Sassoons, Samuels, Phillips's, and Adlers to be remembered by a novelist?"<sup>68</sup>

Other letters argued that by abandoning the apologetic novel Gordon would "do incalculable mischief to the community and Jewry in general."<sup>69</sup> Importantly, however, Gordon was to defend himself primarily in the language of the apologist novelist:

"I am trying, as far as I am able, to enforce by means of my story a moral and a lesson which, if applied, will conduce to the best interests of my coreligionists."<sup>70</sup>

Gordon, as Zatlin rightly notes, was the only Anglo-Jewish novelist of his period to "advocate the need for a Jew to be involved positively in the Jewish community." Nevertheless, as Gordon himself candidly revealed, there simply was not a market for a novel depicting "Jewish society" as "entirely refined and ideal."<sup>71</sup>

Like all of the novels of "revolt" discussed so far, the central character in Unto Each Man His Own, Arthur Clauston, was an "idealist" Jewish novelist who is placed in "vulgar" West End Jewish society. This is represented in the novel by Mrs. Louisson, "a

kaleidoscopic vision of white plumpness and flashing diamonds" (21). Clauston, by comparison, is described by her as "a mere impecunious scribbler sitting in judgment, ...a fellow who hasn't even a banking account! Can you imagine anything more absurd?" (34). It is, clearly, the comparison between Clauston's morality and the vulgar riches of the West End which forms the main theme in the novel:

"...'What's the matter with the East End?' he exclaimed. 'If only the West End were half as rich and a quarter as wise as we are, trouble would soon die out of Israel'" (138).

Clauston is from a traditionally Orthodox East End family, which represents the alternative "riches" in the novel. He marries a Jewish convert, but his marriage is inevitably "doomed" because the convert is dismissed as inauthentically Jewish.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, the Jewish aping of vulgar materialism in the West End is shown to be equally inauthentic and opposed to Jewish spirituality. However, the connection between Jewish intermarriage and vulgar materialism was most probably not to Zangwill's liking, especially since he had only recently and controversially married a non-Jew.<sup>73</sup> James Adolphus, the South African Jewish financier, might be an example of "the survival of the fittest" (104) in financial terms, but, more importantly, he is worthless without the influence of the moral "riches" of the East End. In fact, according to Gordon, both the "financier" and the "gentleman" are potentially the same:

"...Adolphus was a genius. He had been born with a gift for accumulating wealth, and he had exercised that gift to the very acme of his capacity... his wealth implied a tremendous amount of moral and probably physical courage, a vast knowledge of human nature, a lynx-like insight into affairs, an octopus grip of opportunities. It was a mere natural accident, perhaps a freak of heredity, that he had not instead come into the world with a bent for learning, with a talent for the fine arts" (244).

Given this perception of Jewish "gifts," it is unsurprising that the moral of the novel is no different from the Sons of the Covenant.

From their differing perspectives, both novels stress the "unity" of Anglo-Jewry and reinforce its main emancipatory image, the synthesis of financier and gentleman. Clauston's:

"...connection with communal work in the East End during the last twelve months has taught me many things. It has taught me chiefly that the welfare of the community is in proportion to its unity... We shall never have scope to exercise our full strength until we are at peace with ourselves, until we have built the bridge between East and West." (288/89).

Gordon's main variation on the emancipationist theme is that only by disseminating the moral "riches" of the Jewish East End ghetto amongst the Jewish West End could the community be "unified." Adolphus comes to this realisation when he recognises the worth of Clauston:

"...I want to tell you that this book of yours has done for me what all my Jewish brains with which I raked in my half a million has never succeeded in doing for me: it made me feel proud of being born a Jew" (314).

Such is the power of the apologist Jewish novel. When Mrs. Louisson's son fights in the Boer War and dies a hero, she is also brought to the stark realisation that there is more to life than money. Once again, the Jewish patriot is perceived as an important force for good in Anglo-Jewry. However, paradoxically, precisely because the Jewish East End ghetto was perceived as the bastion of Anglo-Jewish morality, Gordon called for its "decentralisation" or break-up. This was an inevitable conclusion for Gordon and his brother as they were both upwardly mobile members of the Jewish East End and, therefore, placed themselves in the position of being moral regenerators of a degenerate Anglo-Jewry. Nevertheless, because Gordon used the language and motifs of the novel of "revolt" in Unto Each Man His Own he was, in fact, vilified by the Jewish community. This was an ironic fate for the most apologetic of modern Anglo-Jewish writers.<sup>74</sup> This was also to be the fate of subsequent Anglo-

Jewish novelists writing in a similar framework. As Harold Pollins has noted, every twentieth century Anglo-Jewish writer has been deemed to be "antisemitic" at one time or another by "official" Anglo-Jewry. Only those writers that have steadfastly conformed to the tradition of literary apologetics have avoided this slur.<sup>75</sup> Above all, what this hysterical quest for conformity indicates is the dehumanizing impact on Anglo-Jewry of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype. The message was abundantly clear to the leadership of Anglo-Jewry. If the Jew is not a good citizen he is a dark other, outside of liberal England's rigid cultural parameters. Hence, Anglo-Jewry's unceasing need to proclaim itself a community of "good citizens" and the need to promote images that reinforce that message.



## NOTES

1. Lloyd P. Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914 (London, 1973), p. 30. It should be noted that millions of immigrants passed through London in these years, with comparatively few settling in England. On the difficulty of calculating the precise number of Jewish immigrants that did settle, see Gartner, "Notes on the Statistics of Jewish Immigration to England, 1870-1914," Jewish Social Studies (Volume 22, 1960), pp. 97-102. See also Vivian Lipman, Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950 (London, 1954), p. 65 and Steven Bayme, "Jewish Leadership and Anti-Semitism in Britain, 1898-1918" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1977), pp. 9-15 for a detailed account of the demographic structure of Anglo-Jewry at the turn of the century.
2. Israel Finestein, "The New Community, 1880-1918" in Vivian Lipman (ed.), Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History (Cambridge, 1961), p. 107 and pp. 107-122. See also Chapter 6 of this thesis.
3. Bayme, op. cit., pp. 9-10 for references to these statistics. See also Bill Williams, The Making of Manchester Jewry (Manchester, 1976), p. 328 and pp. 355-356.
4. Todd Endelman, "Native Jews and Foreign Jews in London, 1870-1914" in David Berger (ed.), The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and its Impact (New York, 1983), p. 112 for a recent discussion of this theme.
5. Jewish Chronicle, January 22, 1886 cited in Endelman, ibid. For a useful comparative discussion on this theme see Steven Aschheim's, "The East European Jew and German Jewish Identity," in Studies in Contemporary Jewry (Volume 1, Number 1, 1984), p. 4 This is a "synthesis" of Aschheim's Brothers and Strangers (Wisconsin, 1982). For Anglo-Jewry's emancipation ethos see Bayme, op. cit., Chapter 2.
6. Aschheim, "The East European Jew...", op. cit., p. 3 and pp. 3-25 passim. For the political context of hostile attacks on Eastern European Jewish immigrants see Bernard Gainer, The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905 (London, 1972), John A. Garrard, The English and Immigration, 1880-1910 (Oxford, 1971) and, more recently, Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939 (London, 1979). For examples of general hostile stereotypes of the immigrant Jew see Chapter 11 of this thesis. Edward Said's Orientalism (London, 1978) is a useful discussion of the stereotype of the "Easterner" in general. See Chapter 1 of this thesis for references to Said.
7. Finestein, op. cit., p. 108 and Aschheim, "The East European Jews...", op. cit., p. 4.

8. Vivian Lipman, "The Age of Emancipation," in Lipman (ed.) Three Centuries... op. cit., p. 94 and Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, op. cit., p. 59 and Chapter 3 passim.
9. David Feldman, "Immigrants and Workers, Englishmen and Jews; Jewish Immigration to the East End of London, 1880-1906" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1985)
10. Endelman, op. cit., pp. 114-117. See also Stephen Sharot, "Native Jewry and the Religious Anglicization of Immigrants in London, 1870-1905," Jewish Journal of Sociology (Volume 16, 1974), pp. 39-56. More generally see Jerry White, Rothschild Buildings: Life in an East End Tenement Block (London, 1980), Williams, op. cit., passim and Harold Pollins, A History of the Jewish Working Men's Club and Institute, 1874-1912 (Oxford, 1981).
11. M. Simon, "Anti-Semitism in England," The Jewish Review (Volume II, Number 10, November, 1911) p. 306 and pp. 294-307. Also, Aschheim, "The East European Immigrant...," op. cit., p. 6. Joe Buckman's, Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds, 1880-1914 (Manchester, 1983) is a recent account of these bitter political divisions in an industrial context.
12. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, op. cit., p. 33 and Chapter 2 passim. Endelman, op. cit., p. 109.
13. Endelman, op. cit., p. 113. This discussion is based on Vivian Lipman's A Century of Jewish Social Service, 1859-1959: The Jewish Board of Guardians (London, 1959), pp. 94-96. For a comparative discussion of this policy see David Feldman's "There was an Englishman, An Irishman, and A Jew... Immigrants and Minorities in Britain," Historiographical Review (1983). Interestingly, Endelman notes in his "Liberalism, Laissez-Faire, and Anglo-Jewry, 1700-1905," Contemporary Jewry (Fall/Winter 1980), p. 5 that: "at the very beginning of the nineteenth century... the leaders of the Ashkenazi Synagogues asked the government to implement an ambitious scheme to create a Jewish poor relief board with quasi-governmental powers, including the right to deport 'undesirable' alien Jews and to jail 'disorderly' native Jews..."
14. Jewish Chronicle, May 20, 1892, p. 9. In particular, this editorial refers to about six Anglo-Jewish novels of "revolt" published between 1887-1892. See note 15 for a similar reaction.

15. Lucien Wolf, Transactions of Jewish Historical Society of England (Volume II, 1924-7), pp. 254-6. Wolf argued that in the 1880s, "revolt was in the air. Amy Levy's Reuben Sachs illustrated at once its intensity and its dangers. Zangwill found himself a centre of sympathetic interest to which his pen not unreadily responded..." Chapter 6 discusses this belief in full.
16. Cecil Roth, The Evolution of Anglo-Jewish Literature (London, 1937), p. 8 and Lipman, "Introduction" to Children of the Ghetto (Leicester, 1977), p. 13.
17. Raymond Blathwayt, "A Talk with Mr. Zangwill," Great Thoughts (Volume IX, January 28, 1893), p. 302.
18. Jewish Chronicle, March 14, 1890, p. 8. For Zangwill's comments on Frankau see R. Schneider, Bibliography of Jewish Life in the Fiction of England (New York, 1916), p. 16 and for Amy Levy see the Jewish Chronicle, January 25, 1901 and Chapter 6 of this thesis. Zangwill also refers favourably to Amy Levy in The Pall Mall Magazine (Volume VII, September-December, 1895), p. 474.
19. Joseph Leftwich's diffuse and anecdotal Israel Zangwill (London, 1957) has been superseded by Maurice Wohlgernter's Israel Zangwill: A Study (New York, 1964) and Bernard Winehouse's "The Literary Career of Israel Zangwill from its Beginning Until 1898" (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of London, 1970) although the latter study is limited by its chronology. Elsie Bonita Adams' Israel Zangwill (Twayne, 1971) is a useful critical introduction to Zangwill. However, by far the most comprehensive work on Zangwill to date is Jacques Ben Guigui's, "Israel Zangwill: Penseur et Ecrivain (1864-1926)" (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Toulouse, 1975) but this has not yet been translated into English.
20. Montagu Frank Modder, The Jew in the Literature of England, (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 341 makes this extraordinary claim for Zangwill. The only critical study of Zangwill in the context of the Anglo-Jewish novel is Linda Zatlin's The Nineteenth Century Anglo-Jewish Novel (Twayne, 1981). See also Efraim Sicher's, Beyond Marginality: Anglo-Jewish Literature After the Holocaust (New York, 1985), Chapter 1.
21. Winehouse, op. cit., pp. 99-100.
22. Cited in ibid., p. 118. See also the Jewish Chronicle, May 25, 1894, which repeats this claim and Garrard, op. cit., p. 31 and p. 59.
23. Gainer, op. cit., puts the Aliens Act in a more general political context. However, Anglo-Jewry's policy of "repatriation" was clearly a factor in the delay in the Aliens Bill coming to the statute books. See note 13 for references to this policy.

24. Winehouse, op. cit., pp. 112-113 relates the poor sales of Children of the Ghetto to its publication as a three volume novel. Modder, op. cit., p. 341 accepts Zangwill's claims as fact.
25. Jewish Standard, June 22, 1888, p. 10 cited in Winehouse, op. cit., p. 51.
26. Winehouse, op. cit., p. 55 quotes Zangwill.
27. Ibid., and Ben Guigui, op. cit., p. 36.
28. Norman Bentwich, "The Wanderers and Other Jewish Scholars of My Youth," Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (Volume 20, 1959-61), p. 54.
29. Israel Zangwill, "My First Book," The Idler (Volume II, 1893), p. 632 and Winehouse, op. cit., p. 15.
30. Ibid.
31. "Mereditryambics," Jewish Chronicle, October 17, 1890, p. 9.
32. See Chapter 3 for further references to the Jewish immigrant as a moral ideal type. C. Russell and H.S. Lewis, The Jew in London: A Study of Racial Character and Present-Day Conditions (London, 1901), pp. xxi-xxii and passim.
33. Jewish Chronicle, January 25, 1901. Aschheim, "The East European Jew..." op. cit., pp. 14-19 has a useful discussion of Zionism in these terms. See also his Brothers and Strangers, op. cit., Chapter 4 and Chapter 8 of this thesis.
34. Harold Fisch, "Israel Zangwill: Prophet of the Ghetto," Judaism (Volume 13, Number 4, 1964), p. 419 and Lucien Wolf, "Israel Zangwill: A Memorial Address" (October 1926) quoted in David Vital, Zionism: The Formative Years (Oxford, 1982), p. 435. Wolf, ironically, failed to see the contradiction between viewing Zangwill's politics as a form of "revolt" and his fiction as a defence against "revolt." See note 15 for the latter view by Wolf.
35. Sicher, op. cit., pp. 3-11 has a useful discussion of Zangwill in these terms.
36. For references to this see note 29.
37. For the stereotype of the Jew as "sweater" see Jay M. Pilzer, "The Jews and the Great 'Sweated Labor' Debate, 1888-1892," Jewish Social Studies (Volume 41, 1979), pp. 257-74. More generally see Holmes, op. cit., Chapter 2 and Chapter 11 of this thesis.

38. Winehouse, op. cit., p. 96.
39. For the publishing history of Grandchildren of the Ghetto, see Winehouse, op. cit., p. 126 and Ben Guigui, op. cit., p. 345.
40. For a discussion of Emily Harris and the Anglo-Jewish "domestic novel," see Chapter 6.
41. Chapter 6 also discusses the figure of the "idealist" in the novels of "revolt" passim.
42. For adverse American criticism of Grandchildren of the Ghetto see Winehouse, op. cit., pp. 129-132. See also Edward Calisch, The Jew in English Literature, as Subject and as Author (Richmond, 1909), pp. 176-177.
43. George Bernard Shaw and James Joyce are seen to have a similar ironic detachment--which enables them to "play" with the Jewish stereotype--in Chapters 9 and 11 of this thesis.
44. For an elaboration of this theme see Chapter 11 of this thesis, especially the discussion of D.H. Lawrence.
45. Harold Fisch, The Dual Image: A Study of the Jew in English Literature (London, 1971), p. 76 makes out a case for Zangwill's "fundamental seriousness." For a contradictory view see Wohlgeleit's "Introduction" to King of the Schnorrer's (New York, 1976).
46. Chaim Bermant's The Cousinhood (London, 1971), pp. 14-15 discusses the Sephardi "aristocracy" in an Anglo-Jewish context.
47. Jewish Chronicle, January 12, 1900, p. 9. Chapter 5 discusses this theme in detail.
48. Bayme, op. cit., p. 99.
49. Fisch, The Dual Image, op. cit., p. 77.
50. Calisch, op. cit., p. 173. Zangwill was well known for encouraging Anglo-Jewish writers. See, for instance, Winehouse's "Israel Zangwill and Isaac Rosenberg," Notes and Queries (January 1976), pp. 14-17. Significantly, the title of Sons of the Covenant is taken from a heading in Children of the Ghetto.
51. Joyce Weiner, "A Genre Novelist," Jewish Chronicle Literary Supplement, (December 10, 1971), p. viii. See also unpublished letter, Gordon to Zangwill, 29 October, 1899, A/120/29/54, Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.
52. In particular, I am thinking of A Handful of Exotics; Scenes and Incidents of Russo-Jewish Life (1897) and The Daughters of Shem (1898).

53. See Chapter 6 for the early Anglo-Jewish novel and Zatlín, op. cit., passim.
54. Jewish Chronicle, January 25, 1901, pp. 17-18.
55. Ibid., November 2, 1900, p. 19.
56. Ibid., January 25, 1901, p. 19.
57. Unpublished letter to Zangwill, 4 January, 1901, A/120/29/54, Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.
58. The Outlook, 19 January, 1901 and the St. James Gazette, 28 November, 1900.
59. The Academy, 15 December, 1900 and the Jewish Chronicle, January 25, 1901, p. 17.
60. St. James Gazette, 28 November, 1900.
61. For this theme see Israel Finestein, Post-Emancipation Jewry: The Anglo-Jewish Experience (Oxford, 1980), p. 6 and Chapter 6 of this thesis.
62. Bayme, op. cit., p. 99 makes this point.
63. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of this theme.
64. Jewish Chronicle, November 2, 1900, p. 19 and Chapter 6 for a discussion of these points.
65. Gordon, significantly, was a Zionist. For a discussion of Gordon's Zionism and the stereotype of the regenerative Jew, see Chapter 8.
66. Endelman, op. cit., p. 115 and the Jewish Chronicle, January 4, 1901, p. 8 and July 26, 1901, p. 6.
67. Jewish Chronicle, January 15, 1904, p. 15.
68. Ibid., January 22, 1904, p. 8.
69. Ibid., January 29, 1904, p. 8.
70. Ibid., February 5, 1904, p. 8.
71. Zatlín, op. cit., p. 66 and Jewish Chronicle, January 15, 1904, p. 15.
72. Amy Levy's Reuben Sachs, significantly, draws the same conclusion. See Chapter 6 for this.

73. In 1903, according to Vital, op. cit., p. 354, Zangwill "embarrassed his fellow Zionists... by marrying a non-Jew and was thereupon asked to 'lie low' for awhile..." Zangwill, in turn, argued that "it is a positive duty to 'marry out.' Much as I value my Zionist activity, I cannot allow it to dwarf my larger sense of what the world needs." Given the strength of Zangwill's feelings on the question of "marrying out," Joyce Weiner (in conversation, Summer, 1981) is probably right to point to Unto Each Man His Own as a veiled attack on Zangwill's marriage. Significantly, after 1904, Zangwill lost touch with Gordon and did not even return the invitation to Gordon's wedding. See unpublished letters in the A120/42/69 and HV111/946, in the Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.
74. Joyce Weiner (in conversation, Summer, 1981) confirms Gordon's ostracism after Unto Each Man His Own.
75. Harold Pollins, "Sociological Aspects of Anglo-Jewish Literature," Jewish Journal of Sociology (Volume II, No. 1, 1960), p. 29. See also Sicher, op. cit., passim.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### JEWISH STEREOTYPING AND JEWISH NATIONALISM:

#### GEORGE ELIOT, PROTO-ZIONISM AND THE POPULAR ENGLISH NOVEL

Stuart Cohen, in his recent study of "English Zionists and British Jews 1895-1920," has contrasted English proto-Zionism with its practice in Anglo-Jewry after the 1890s. Proto-Zionism, he notes, was primarily an expression of mid-Victorian Imperial considerations in the Middle East:

"The possibility that a friendly presence in Palestine—even a Jewish presence—might serve as a bulwark of Britain's position in the region had begun to play upon elements of the official mind long before the partition of the Ottoman Empire was seriously contemplated in Whitehall."<sup>1</sup>

These Imperial considerations, moreover, were popularised by "influential segments of Christian society in Britain [who] had long been receptive to the prospect of a revival of the historic connection between the Children of Israel and the Land of the Bible. The literary public of Victorian England was still affected by the residual influence of earlier millenarian visions of a Second Coming."<sup>2</sup> It is the Imperial proto-Zionist stereotype of the Jew as mankind's redeemer that will be of interest in this chapter. However, this stereotype should not be confused with English political Zionism—or Jewish nationalism—which, as Cohen's study has shown, was in practice "to a large extent a history of the community that it attempted to conquer."<sup>3</sup> That is, Cohen has charted the Jewish communal, ideological, generational and class struggles which characterised the history of English political Zionism. Steven Bayme has summed up this history in the following terms:

"Emancipation had made the Jew a citizen in England. Zionism would ensure his survival as a Jew. In other words, emancipation threatened the Jew with assimilation. Zionism fostered the development of Jewish culture in England."<sup>4</sup>



English political Zionism, therefore, had little to do with the Land of the Bible or millenarian visions and was concerned, above all, with combatting "assimilation" and confronting an Anglo-Jewish leadership whose emancipationist philosophy promoted "British values." The small number of Jewish immigrants who actually settled in Palestine before the outbreak of Hitlerite antisemitism indicates that this view of Zionism can, in fact, be replicated throughout the Jewish world.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to a vague messianic proto-Zionism, political Zionism was, above all, concerned with concrete practical considerations. This included the future of the assimilated Jew and, more pressing still, the fate of persecuted Eastern European Jewry. In particular Samuel Gordon, the Anglo-Jewish novelist, argued that:

"Zionism... can be reduced to one elementary factor--the desire of redeeming our less fortunately situated brethren from the yoke of their oppressor. It is an instinct latent in every Jew, however callous and hide-bound his prosperity may have rendered him."<sup>6</sup>

One notes the dark Jewish other rendered "callous and hide-bound" by his "prosperity." In the context of Zionism, the Jew will be seen once again to be ambivalently stereotyped as a bright Jewish nationalist and a dark materialist other.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the context of Gordon's stereotyping was completely different to those English writers that promoted proto-Zionism. From a Zionist viewpoint, as David Vital has noted, messianism was "necessarily generalized and philanthropic, rather than specific, purposeful, and arising out of its manifest relevance to one's own future."<sup>8</sup> Thus, Theodor Herzl, the foremost articulator of political Zionism, could argue in 1896 that he wanted to "enlist the South African goldmine billionaire [Barney] Barnato" to help buy Palestine from Turkey.<sup>9</sup> Zionists, in other words, were willing to utilise the ambivalent Jewish stereotype

in Imperial terms where it was "manifestly relevant to their own future." In particular, Israel Zangwill was an extreme exponent of Herzl's political Zionism. In 1905, he founded the "Jewish Territorial Organisation" (ITO) to form a Jewish Colony in the British Empire. Zangwill was a "territorialist" only because he believed a Jewish Colony in the British Empire could be created more quickly than a Jewish State in Palestine. In Zangwill's terms, persecuted Jewry could be resettled at a faster pace in a Jewish Colony than by slowly building a Jewish State.<sup>10</sup> In short, therefore, political Zionists--such as Herzl and Zangwill--had a severely practical relationship to the Imperial stereotype of bright Jewish power. As Vital has argued:

"...there could be no serious negotiations with the imperial Power until the Jews negotiating with it had displayed their financial resources; but there could be no hope of extracting such resources for the purpose of display from those who possessed them until the imperial Power had gone some way to demonstrate its fundamental goodwill."<sup>11</sup>

Zangwill's belief that "we have not the means of regenerating [Palestine] since our millionaires stand aloof" was, thus, meant quite literally.<sup>12</sup> The context for gentile proto-Zionism, on the other hand, will now be seen to be purely stereotypical.

### George Eliot, Proto-Zionism and Jewish Stereotyping

George Eliot's proto-Zionist Daniel Deronda (1876) anticipated the formation of political Zionism by over two decades. Because of this, Daniel Deronda was adopted as a sacred text by the fledgling Zionist movement and read as prophesy; a text which pre-figured the building of the Jewish State in the historic Land of Israel.<sup>13</sup> To be sure, Hebrew translations of the novel's "Jewish half" quickly appeared in Palestine and the novel, in serialised form, was a source of political inspiration for Jewish nationalist circles in Eastern Europe,

Germany and America. Theodor Herzl, in particular, used scenes from Daniel Deronda in his Altneuland (1902), a utopian novel about a Jewish State in Palestine set in 1923.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it is a mistake to confuse the proto-Zionism of Daniel Deronda with its subsequent impact on individual Zionists. Gentile proto-Zionism, as has been noted, stemmed from England's Imperial interests in the Middle East and Christian millenarian visions of a Second Coming. Moreover, the specific sources of George Eliot's proto-Zionism have, in recent years, been retraced with lavish care: "...her evangelistic childhood, her acquaintance with Jews and Judaism, particularly Emanuel Deutsch, who introduced her to the great Jewish writers of the past."<sup>15</sup> Whilst it is folly to question either the extent or sincerity of George Eliot's Jewish scholarship, the retracing of such sources, I believe, misses the essential point. That is, that Eliot's proto-Zionism was shaped, above all, by a romantic national revivalism which was associated with Eliot's self-doubt concerning England's imperial destiny in the 1870s. In fact, without Eliot's plea for a national revival in England, her proto-Zionism makes little sense. This was the contention of Eliot's essay, "The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!" (1879), which is a comprehensive description of the proto-Zionist context in which Daniel Deronda was written.<sup>16</sup>

"The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!" aimed to show the "specific affinities of disposition between our race and the Jewish." To this end, it compared the state of Englishmen and of Jews in the modern world. Unsurprisingly, these worlds are clearly opposed: "we do not call ourselves a dispersed and a punished people: we are a colonising people, and it is we who have punished others" (172). It is the contrast in "disposition" between a "colonising" and a "dispersed" people that forms the "Gwendolen" and "Deronda" halves of Daniel Deronda. What unites Englishmen and Jews, in Eliot's view, is the

ideal of nationalism--"one of the ideal forces of human history" (184)--which should be upheld by both peoples:

"The pride which identifies us with a great historic body is a humanising, elevating habit of mind, inspiring sacrifices of individual comfort, gain or other selfish ambition, for the sake of the ideal whole; and no man swayed by such a sentiment can become completely abject" (183/4).

It is a lack of a national consciousness that, Eliot argues, degenerates a body of people and makes them "abject." This is Eliot's underlying criticism of the "Gwendolen" part of Daniel Deronda: "...our own countrymen who take to living abroad without purpose or function to keep up their sense of fellowship in the affairs of their own land are rarely good specimens of moral health" (183). As Graham Martin has shown, it is the lack of a sense of history in English life--what Eliot would call national destiny--that characterises this view of England in Daniel Deronda: "...English life has become unhistorical, its public character represented by the performance of a Mr. Bult or the traditions of Sir Hugo, and is only capable of high drama in the personal crises of a Gwendolen."<sup>17</sup> Thus, Eliot uses the example of Jewish "denationalisation" (182) as a dire warning for the English nation. Here is Eliot's "denationalised" Jew:

"Let it be admitted that it is a calamity to the English, as to any other great historic people, to undergo a premature fusion with immigrants of alien blood; that its distinctive national characteristics should be in danger of obliteration by the predominating quality of foreign settlers. ...What must follow from the predominance of wealth-acquiring immigrants, whose appreciation of our political and social life must often be as approximate or fatally erroneous as their delivery of our language?" (186/7).

Clearly, here is the theoretical basis for Eliot's hostile characterisation of the materialist Cohen family in Daniel Deronda which, one hardly need add, differs little in conception from the dark Jewish stereotype.<sup>18</sup> That is, the dark aspect of Eliot's proto-Zionism was a reaction to the national "premature fusion of alien

blood" which the "predominance of wealth-acquiring immigrants" represented in an England which was beginning to receive a mass influx of Eastern European Jewish immigrants.<sup>19</sup> It is the bright "national" Jew that, Eliot argues, contains "the language of the national genius--the deep suckers of healthy sentiment" (188). In Eliot's view, it is the "restoration of a Jewish state planted on the old ground as a centre of national feeling" that will provide: "...a special channel for special energies which may contribute some added form of national genius, and an added voice to the councils of the world" (191). This is the romantic redemptive thrust of Eliot's view of nationality. Only the "national" Jew is able to contribute decisively in redeeming an increasingly degenerate England. It is, therefore, Eliot's negative sense of "fusion" with "denationalised" Jews of "alien blood" that provides the emotional and racial impetus for her plea for the "restoration of a Jewish state":

"If we wish to free ourselves from the inconveniences that we have to complain of, whether in proletarians or in Jews, our best course is to encourage all means of improving these neighbours who elbow us in a thickening crowd, and of sending their incommensurable energies into beneficent channels"(191).<sup>20</sup>

It is the "denationalised" Jews' "incommensurable energies" that must be channeled into a "beneficent"--that is a national--framework. This is the "great function for the steadfastness of the Jew" (193) which Eliot portrays in Daniel Deronda. The Jew has the power to enhance English national consciousness in an ideal sense or, alternatively, hasten its degeneration. In this context, Eliot chose the "ideal force" of proto-Zionism, with its messianic overtones, to try and forestall a degenerating England. In other words, Eliot translated into modern nationalist and racial terms traditional Christian regenerative expectations with regard to the Biblical Land of Israel.

In an earlier review of Harriet Beecher Stowe's Dred (1856), Eliot argued that the "conflict of races" is today "the great source of romantic interest--witness Ivanhoe." The Mill and the Floss articulates this romantic view of race by contrasting the "narrow, ugly, grovelling existence" of contemporary "human life" with "the days of romance": "...the wandering minstrel, the soft-lipped princess, the pious recluse, and the timid Israelite" (Volume 4, Chapter 1).<sup>21</sup> Such views were widespread in Victorian society and George Watson, in making this point, has labeled them the "bright side of racialism." This, he argues, is characterised by "...a sense of inadequacy in English civilization" which arose out of "a sense of inferiority, or at least incompleteness, and points towards the alleged virtues of other races as if to models and exemplars." Clearly George Eliot, in Watson's terms, is a "bright" racist.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Eliot emphasises her own "vision of Italian life, then of Spanish, and now... a quite new understanding of the Jewish people" so as to "widen the English vision a little in that direction and let in a little conscience and refinement."<sup>23</sup> In these terms, Baruch Hochman has convincingly shown that Eliot is not depicting "the Zionist reality" in Daniel Deronda, "but rather a visionary truth that bears upon her sense of life in general." Unlike Mordecai in Daniel Deronda, Hochman argues, the actual "...individuals who articulated the idea of Jewish national revival did, for all that, arise in the context of a concrete community that fostered the ideas, and that responded to them..."<sup>24</sup> For Eliot, however, the "idea of Jewish national revival" operated not within the context of a "concrete [Jewish] community" but, on the contrary, within the stereotypical context of an imperial pseudo-messianic proto-Zionism. Ironically, the Anglo-Jewish community understood this proto-Zionist context perfectly and went out of its way to pander to the dominant

values of the Victorian middle-classes in its rapturous reaction to the publication of Daniel Deronda. In particular, the Jewish Chronicle noted the "messianic echo" in Daniel Deronda and went on to state that:

"...there are, undoubtedly, thousands of Christians, and these among the devout and religious classes, who profoundly sympathize with these Jewish [messianic] cravings."<sup>25</sup>

This reaction simply emphasised the extent that Anglo-Jewry had internalised the ambivalent Jewish stereotype. That is, in the same way as the dark Jewish stereotype moralized the Jew as an evil symbol of a corrupt society, Daniel Deronda equally stereotyped the Jew as a moral symbol which could redeem a corrupt England. In other words, from differing perspectives, both Anthony Trollope and George Eliot stereotyped the Jew in reaction to a late Victorian England that was perceived to have lost its national sense of destiny. The powerful Jewish other is either blamed for creating, or called upon to save, a degenerate England. Such is the ambivalent Jewish stereotype that will now be examined in Daniel Deronda.<sup>26</sup>

### Redeeming England: "Daniel Deronda" and the Ambivalent Jewish Stereotype

Within the first three pages of Daniel Deronda, Gwendolen has inexplicably met Deronda's hypnotic gaze: "she controlled herself by the help of an inward defiance... But Deronda's gaze seemed to have acted as an evil eye... the sole observation she was conscious of was Deronda's, who, though she never looked towards him, she was sure had not moved away" (38-39). From the beginning, Deronda's character is predicated on having access to a power outside of Gwendolen's existence. It might be said of Deronda, as has been said of Svengali, that he: "possesses the secret traditions of [his] culture, while the

women [he] captivates seems not just enfeebled but culturally naked." As Gwendolen shrinks into the realization of herself as a mere "thread," Deronda's power increases until he inherits the "universal" world of Mordecai.<sup>27</sup> The positivistic values of cause and effect and the "realism" of the Leavisite "Great Tradition" do not apply to Deronda who is, from the first, other to such a world and "beyond the liberal imagination."<sup>28</sup> His hold on Gwendolen is, by definition, inexplicable and unrealistic--"though she never looked towards him she was sure [he] had not moved away." It is Gwendolen's world that fulfils what Harold Fisch has called the "Jamesian criterion." Hence, the vigorous defence of this world by the arbiters of the "liberal imagination."<sup>29</sup> Eliot deliberately intended Deronda's world to oppose the bourgeois "realism" of the English novel. The "romance" inherent in Deronda's world needed another mode of description than that of the "Jamesian criterion." Laurence Lerner puts it another way: "we are being asked to transcend our normal response to the world, just as Deronda is."<sup>30</sup> A regenerated world with a Jewish national existence needed, above all else, another language and another set of criteria which could transcend the individual life of the novel's heroine. Deronda, by assuming the mantle of Mordecai, embodies this other world. It was the power of Eliot's romantic vision that was intended to challenge the visionless reality of English life. That Eliot's art was not able to transcend the bounds of the realistic novel is generally agreed upon. But that the absence of any realistic "Jamesian criterion" for Deronda was replaced by a stereotypical view of the "Jew" has not been understood. From a Marxist perspective, for instance, Terry Eagleton and Graham Martin both argue that the world of Deronda is "displaced" onto a "factitious totality outside of English life" which "has the effect of removing the ideal aspirations associated with Deronda from



any effective engagement with the English scene." This is obviously true, but ironically, as a Marxist critic, Eagleton confines himself to the criterion of the realist novel when he argues that Daniel Deronda "splits into self-contradiction" as its only "redemptive relation with bourgeois England" is Deronda's influence on Gwendolen. Yet, according to Eagleton, from the perspective of the realist novel: "this [redemptive relation] can only be fulfilled... by withdrawing from Gwendolen to the Middle East..."<sup>31</sup> I would argue that Deronda's "redemptive" power cannot simply be measured "realistically" in terms of its effect on Gwendolen or even on a specific time or place. Fisch, correctly, speaks of a "different kind of time-measurement, what may be called periodic or historical time" which characterises Eliot's romantic vision of Deronda's world.<sup>32</sup> The destiny of history is indeed loaded onto Deronda's quest for a Jewish national existence. Deronda's false reality as a Christian gentleman is romantically transformed into his role as a redemptive Jewish nationalist through his timeless racial heritage--Eliot's "true" reality. Thus, Daniel Deronda does have a concrete relation to England and to its two "halves." In a society beginning to buckle under the Imperial strain, a Jewish presence in Palestine was indeed perceived as a transfiguring reality. Deronda's role as a benevolent other was to be the romantic agent of England's transfiguration. But this is not simply a "displacement." Eliot, as she intended, related "everything in the book... to everything else there." Rather than "splitting into self-contradiction," Daniel Deronda makes perfect sense if read historically--in a romantic proto-Zionist context--as a plea for England's Imperial regeneration.<sup>33</sup>

That the English nation needed transfiguring should be obvious from the "Gwendolen" part of the novel. Eliot's perception of a degenerate English upper class is similar in many respects to The Way We Live Now (1875) which, incidentally, Eliot had read as it appeared in its monthly parts. The "dull, gas-poisoned absorption" (37) of Leubronn represented a materialism that most, if not all, late Victorian writers identified for attack.<sup>34</sup> In Daniel Deronda, the world does not obviously revolve around the stock-exchange as it does in, say, The Way We Live Now. Nevertheless, the gambling hall in the novel's opening chapter is a continued point of reference throughout the novel: "Not his the gambler's passion that nullifies appetite, but a well-fed leisure, which in the intervals of winning money in business and spending it showily, sees no better resource than winning money in play and spending it yet more showily..." (36/7)<sup>35</sup> Needless to say, unproductive and vulgar winnings from "business" and the gambling hall is, by now, a familiar equation. It is not surprising, therefore, that in such a world Gwendolen's financial stability should be immediately undercut by the stock exchange failure of Grapnell and Co.<sup>36</sup> In Gwendolen's degenerate world there is, as Eliot says, "a striking admission of human equality": "those absorbed in play, showed very distant varieties of European type: Livonian and Spanish, Graeco-Italian and miscellaneous German, English aristocratic and English plebian" (36). Such denationality, as "The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!" outlined, is Eliot's classical expression of degeneracy. Hence, it is not surprising that Deronda's reversion to his own nationality should be perceived to be the regenerative end of a spectrum which starts with the extreme opposite--the gambling hall in Leubronn. Leubronn and a Hebraic Palestine are, obviously, symbolic opposites and the English nation,

in Eliot's opinion, seems dangerously inclined to the world of Leubronn.

Gwendolen, significantly, embodies the ascendancy of denationality in England: "Pity that Offendene was not the home of Miss Harleth's childhood, or endeared to her by family memories! A human life, I think, should be well rooted in some spot of a native land..." (50). Moreover, Gwendolen's character is rightly regarded as Eliot's "last and greatest study in egotism."<sup>37</sup> Such egotism is predicated on Gwendolen's denationalised world which--without the guiding light of a sense of national destiny--can only be characterised by a naive and ignorant assertion of will. Thus, Neil Roberts is correct to regard Gwendolen's faith in her ability as a gambler as: "a paradigm of the superstitions spun from the undisciplined and ignorant ego."<sup>38</sup> Gwendolen's impetuous unthinking egotism is the opposite of Deronda's authentic national destiny. All Gwendolen has at her disposal is a petty assertion of her will which is slowly denuded as the novel progresses. The poignant failure of Gwendolen's self-assertion has been noted since Daniel Deronda's earliest reviews. However, it is worth reminding ourselves of Gwendolen's naive faith in marriage as the "only happy state": "I will not put up with it if it is not a happy state. I am determined to be happy" (58). In this, and in regard to her egotism in general, Grandcourt is, as Roberts has noted, Gwendolen's "precise Nemesis."<sup>39</sup> In other words, Grandcourt's assertion of will is carried out in its most complete form. That is, Grandcourt's egotism is quite simply an assertion of power for its own sake. Gwendolen in Grandcourt's world: "...would have to submit; and he enjoyed thinking of her as his future wife. He meant to be a master of a woman who would have liked to master him..." (365). Like Gwendolen, the character of Grandcourt is a representative expression of a world which, in it-

self, Eliot perceives as a denationalised enaction of will. It was precisely this point that Eliot was making in "The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!" when she characterised Englishmen as: "a colonising people... who have punished others" and, in her letters, when she speaks of English attitudes to "oriental peoples" as a "national disgrace" which is characterised by a "spirit of arrogance and contemptuous dictatorialness." Unsurprisingly, Grandcourt exerts an "empire of fear" over Gwendolen and holds the most reactionary opinions on "Jamaican negroes"--"a beastly sort of baptist Caliban..." (376)<sup>40</sup> As Eliot skillfully demonstrates, in a world defined by the exercise of power for its own sake, it is possible for Grandcourt to maintain his status as an English gentleman with "a small expense of vital energy" (196). Grandcourt's world is essentially valueless, without a sense of history, and this is Eliot's main concern. For instance, the English politicians in her novel are self-consciously not "an inspired profession" but merely take care of the "business of the country." Thus, Sir Hugo tells Deronda that: "...it never could be, my boy, if everybody looked at politics as if they were prophecy" (215/6). But this is exactly why Deronda refuses to become an English politician. As Alan Mintz has argued: "In reaching beyond politics, Deronda is reaching beyond the modes of self-transcendence available in England at the time."<sup>41</sup> But that is precisely Deronda's function in the novel; to regain a sense of a transcendent national purpose for a degenerate--denationalised--England.

Once the "Jamesian criterion" is applied to the novel as a whole, Daniel Deronda is undoubtedly an artistic failure. But according to the norms of "realism," Deronda could not be anything else but an artistic failure as Eliot self-consciously portrays the Jewish characters from a non-realistic, romantic viewpoint. Eliot emphasises that under Deronda's "calm and self-repressed exterior

there was a fervour which made him find poetry and romance among the events of everyday life" (245). Deronda cannot function in a realistic context, but his "repressed" nature—his potential for romance—locates him in the world of Mordecai, Mirah, the Cohen family and, finally, in the Jewish diaspora as a whole. Deronda is obviously "featureless" in a denationalised English world where he has no racial identity or national function.<sup>42</sup> In Eliot's terms, it is Deronda's authentic racial, historical and national destiny that is Deronda's "real" character. In this sense, Deronda without Mordecai simply does not exist. Thus, above all, it is Deronda's lack of "realism" that indicates his function as a stereotype. As has been noted by Ruth Raider, at each meeting with Deronda in the novel the reader feels that it is for the first time. Deronda has to be continually "explained" by Eliot as his "realistic" persona as an English gentleman is necessarily subsumed by his larger redemptive purpose in the novel.<sup>43</sup> Once Deronda's true purpose is revealed then no other explanation is necessary. As Mintz has argued: "Deronda... exists as nothing other than his vocation." Such is the function of the Jewish stereotype, that the very act of a character's identification as a "Jew" unlocks a formidable power which is other to the English experience.<sup>44</sup> Leavis is right, in this context, to note that Deronda is "not a man... [but] very positively feminine." Deronda's trans-sexuality points to a vagueness in Eliot's conception of Deronda's "character" outside of her redemptive framework in the novel.<sup>45</sup>

In a recent analysis of George Eliot's "prejudiced sympathy" in Daniel Deronda, Anne Aresty Naman has concluded that: "the Jewish characters function within a story whose plot and thematic concerns do not rely upon an awareness of their individual complexities."<sup>46</sup> Eliot clearly intended the Jewish "characters" in Daniel Deronda to

function not as individuals but primarily as national and racial types. The Cohen family and Lapidoth--Mirah's father--were intended to represent the degeneration inherent in the "denationalised" Jew. Ezra Cohen is the: "most unpoetic Jew [Deronda] had ever met in books or life... no shadow of a Suffering Race distinguished his vulgarity of soul from that of a prosperous pink-and-white huckster of the purest English lineage" (445). Lapidoth, as a number of studies have noted, is the mythic evil father-figure who prostitutes his beautiful daughter.<sup>47</sup> On the other extreme, Mordecai quite literally represents: "...a frail incorporation of the national consciousness breathing with difficult breath..." Eliot pointedly compares this "national consciousness" in the next sentence with "the self-gratulating ignorant prosperity of the Cohens..." (575) whom Mordecai is living with. Mordecai's proto-Zionism, which Deronda eventually adopts, is clearly a programme with which the national Jew can redeem its denationalised materialistic brethren--such as the Cohens--and then, by implication, the world:

"Revive the organic centre: let the unity of Israel which has made the growth and form of its religion be an outward reality. Looking towards a land and a polity, our dispersed people in all the ends of the earth may share the dignity of a national life which has a voice among the peoples of the East and West--which will plant the wisdom and skill of our race so that it may be, as of old, a medium of transmission and understanding" (592).

It is to fulfill Eliot's proto-Zionist vision that Daniel Deronda rigidly demarcates the national and denational Jews. Only Klesmer--"being a felicitous combination of the German, the Slave, and the Semite" (77)--can transcend such national and racial categories. But Klesmer, like Deronda's mother, Princess Halm-Eberstein, is a Jewish artist. The artist in Eliot's world can eschew such national categories because their art, by definition, already embodies a transcendent framework. Henry James, however, was to re-examine the role of

the Jewish artist in his The Tragic Muse (1890) from a different viewpoint.<sup>48</sup>

Once Eliot's aim to "treat Jews with such sympathy and understanding as my nature and knowledge could attain to" is acknowledged, Graham St. John Stott is probably not overstating his case when he argues that Eliot: "...placed little value upon Judaism; except as they served her purposes she also placed little value upon Jews."<sup>49</sup> The bright *Deronda*, unlike the materialist Jew, has the power to redeem society. But that power could only be expressed by portraying the Jew as irrevocably other to English society--that is by portraying him as a Jewish stereotype. Where Daniel Deronda failed completely was in inventing a language and context for the 'other' that went beyond the stereotypical contrast between moral and immoral Jews. Daniel Deronda did not "synthesise" the Jewish stereotype, nor is it a "breakthrough in viewpoint" as is generally thought.<sup>50</sup> On the contrary, the semblance of a detached "balance" in Daniel Deronda is consistently undermined by Eliot's adoption of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype in a proto-Zionist form. Far from being a "breakthrough," Daniel Deronda offered a new generation of novelists a rigid national and imperial framework in which to gauge the worth of the "Jew" in purely stereotypical terms. It is to these novelists that I will now turn.

### Political Zionism, Proto-Zionism and the Jewish Stereotype in the Popular English Novel

David Vital, in his exhaustive history of the origins of Zionism, has demonstrated that Zionism was only "an effective political movement" after the First Zionist Congress in Basle (August 1897). Vital argues that:

"Before the Congress there is, as it were, proto-Zionism. Thereafter there is Zionism proper. But in essence, the Congress itself was a public demonstration. So it was intended to be by its maker, Herzl. And so it was understood to be by all who attended. It had no powers and no resources."<sup>51</sup>

In short, Vital argues, the First Zionist Congress, from a Jewish perspective, represented the politicization of proto-Zionism. From August 1897, proto-Zionism had a Jewish "forum in which a set policy can be hammered out and formally adopted."<sup>52</sup> However, the shift from proto-Zionism to political Zionism did not change the nature of the proto-Zionist stereotype of the redemptive Jew. In fact, the objectively powerless annual "public demonstrations" of support for Zionism were immediately rewritten in terms of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype.

Charlotte Klein has already noted, without analysing, a number of popular novels that were written as a direct response to the first six annual Zionist Congresses. All of these novels, Klein indicates, utilised the Jewish stereotype in a "Zionist" form.<sup>53</sup> I will begin the analysis of these novels with Lucas Cleeve's The Children of Endurance (1904) as this novel corresponded almost exactly to Daniel Deronda in its use of the Jewish stereotype. The plot of the novel concerns the relationship of the Jewish financier, Baron Reuben von Ritter, to his Zionist son, Raphael. The Baron's milieu is the familiar world of corrupt finance capital: "...rich stockbrokers, members of Parliament, the great South African mine-holders, the young men who hover everywhere where there is the smell of money..." (5). The English aristocracy is, once again, in danger of being irrevocably degenerated by such an environment--"it is only natural that perfidious Albion should have an hypocritical Jew." Yet, Lady Dancey, like George Eliot, is quick to qualify her remarks in terms of the Jew who is "steadfast" (Eliot's expression): "they had hung



on so long that one cannot help feeling that if all comes to him who waits, they must at last do something some day" (8). Thus, in its post-Boer War form, the ambivalent Jewish stereotype is again clearly demarcated in terms of dark finance and those Jews who will "do something" as nationalists.<sup>54</sup> It is Raphael von Ritter who, immediately after his Eton education, acknowledges his racial heritage and becomes a Jewish nationalist: "Would it be possible, he asked himself, to rise as a Jew amongst the Jews, for the Jews, and yet to succeed, to be a new Hosea limiting himself to the confines of Israel alone?" (49). Lucas Cleeve is self-consciously using the biblical tone and language of Eliot's Mordecai and even quotes two pages of Emanuel Deutsch--Eliot's well-known source of messianic proto-Zionism--to make his point (51-2).<sup>55</sup> Raphael lowers the tone somewhat when he asks: "if a nose like mine could ever merge into anything; why, it could overshadow the whole of Jerusalem" (65). Thus, like Deronda, even with an Eton and Oxford education Raphael is still racially other. It is Reuben von Ritter, the Jewish financier, who wants his son, Raphael, to bogusly assimilate--in Raphael's terms--into English society and marry Lady Hermione Frith so as to gain the proverbial seat in Parliament. However, Raphael refuses to do this: "to have it said that he had won a seat in Parliament through the influence of a titled wife, was to hamper and fetter the whole power of the Jewish race, to cringe behind the inferiority of the Gentile" (100).<sup>56</sup> The superior power of the Jewish race should, Cleeve believes, be safely directed towards Palestine. Therefore Raphael, like Deronda, refuses his seat in Parliament. According to Cleeve, Raphael is a "real Jew" and, thus, "different" from the "hypocritical" Jews--like Raphael's father--who are taking financial and political advantage of a "perfidious Albion" (130). Lucas Cleeve, like George Eliot, makes the stereotypical distinction be-

tween the idealistic Zionist wanting to utilise Jewish power for good and the dangerously selfish Jewish plutocracy:

"Raphael could not but be aware that he would get little assistance from the Jews of his own class. They were lulled to sleep by sluggish cries of luxury, and the call to Zion would mean sacrifice and an upheaval,--more than that... the question of race would once more raise its head" (149).

Israel Zangwill and Samuel Gordon were also to make a distinction between the idealistic East End Zionist and West End plutocrat from an Anglo-Jewish Zionist viewpoint. Unquestionably, most "emancipated" upper-class Jews in Anglo-Jewry were vehemently and consistently anti-Zionist.<sup>57</sup> Yet Cleeve, like Eliot, is writing exclusively within a Jewish stereotype and not a "concrete community." Thus, unsurprisingly, in terms of proto-Zionism, Cleeve is primarily concerned with the Messianic nature of Jewish power. Hence Raphael is: "convinced that a Messiah is the only solution of the [Jewish] problem" (153). But, ironically, this is concretely perceived by Cleeve, in Jewish financial terms, as the withdrawal of Rothschild's Russian loan of 600,000,000 francs because of the Russian pogroms against Rothschild's fellow Jews. "At last," Raphael argues:

"Alphonse de Rothschild and Bleichröder had shown themselves to be men of Israel, had realised that now the day of Judaism had arisen, and that it behoved them to strike a blow. The spirit of Lot and of Daniel, of the prophets, was not dead; nothing of Israel can die, for it shares the immortality of God" (185).

In its more popular form, the proto-Zionist stereotype of Jewish power is, quite simply, the Jewish nationalist and Jewish financier acting in unison. Even Mordecai believed that the "organic centre" of Judaism would "spread to the weak extremities of Israel" and so regenerate the Jewish materialist. However, Reuben von Ritter, in The Children of Endurance, covers the Russian loan because of his

hatred for his son's Zionism. Raphael confronts his father with his "shame of the way we fail to stand by our brethren" (225) and in doing so lays out his "Zionist" program which is a confused mixture of messianism and antisemitism:

"In the past it was the fault of the Gentiles; now we are free to work for our nation, and instead of setting their faces towards Jerusalem we send them to the West... the degraded beings who have lost their sublimity, and who are assimilating not the virtues of other nations, but the vices, forgetting their laws and their religion, and who... no longer wait for a Messiah... We should look East, not West..." (225).

Unlike Daniel Deronda it is the Jewish financier, not the Jewish nationalist, who, in the aftermath of the Boer War, is perceived to be in the ascendancy: "Dreams will not take us back to Jerusalem. It needs cash--cash... This is all nonsense" (227). Thus Raphael, suitably disillusioned with his father's world, dies in Palestine with his loyal band of followers eventually returning to England. Raphael also marries Lady Hermione Frith and brings her to Palestine because: "...the Messiah through the doctrine of a great brotherhood of suffering love, [is] greater than that of any gentile" (310). Hence, Zionism is still perceived in Christian fundamentalist terms as a necessary precursor of the Second Coming. In contrast, it is the Jewish financier who is now the anti-Messiah. Harnessing the Jewish financier to the Zionist enterprise was, therefore, to become the central obsession of the popular novelist. For if the Zionist has the power to save the world, the financier, by implication, has the power to destroy it.

Sydney Grier's romances The Kings of the East (1900) and its sequel The Prince of the Captivity (1902) significantly replaces Dr. Herzl with Count Mortimer a "noble Englishman of Christian Education" as the would be Prince of Israel.<sup>58</sup> Obviously the English gentleman has to be drafted in on the side of the forces of morality

when it comes to saving the world. It is worth remembering, that Daniel Deronda, for much of Eliot's novel, was simply a "featureless" English gentleman. However, by the time of Grier's novels, the Jewish financier and the Jewish nationalist are equally degenerate. The Kings of the East opens in the private office of Israel Goldberg, the "great financier," where a "Zionist" discussion is taking place. Here it is learnt that "the [Zionist] movement is on the verge of realisation; we only await the man." Zionism is run by "businessmen" and as a "business matter"--"our Moses will take the form of a syndicate" someone suggests. But the consensus is that Zionism is "a ship without a captain" (2). Hence, the role for Count Mortimer, the English nobleman. Nevertheless, even with Count Mortimer, a Hebraic Palestine is perceived by Grier as an ambivalent symbol of Jewish power. It is both a means of uniting Jewish finance as well as being a Messianic yardstick in a proto-Zionist sense:

"Israel will become at once the exemplar and the monitress of the world," said the Rabbi. "Her central position, separated from the nations and yet vitally connected with all of them, her theocratic government, and the purity of her family life, will make her not only the model state of the century, but the natural arbitrator in international quarrels" (3).

In contrast to this vision of Zionism, reminiscent of Mordecai, is Grier's more pessimistic belief that Zionism, at heart, is degenerate. According to Count Mortimer, Zionism is backed by "all the Jews in the world" who, needless to say, are all-powerful finance capitalists:

"The Children of Zion are backed by a syndicate composed of the capitalists of all nations, and Hercynia [Turkey] would scarcely be well advised to enter in a war with them. I don't ask you to accept this merely on my authority. Make the experiment, and you will see whether the result bears out my warning" (25).

Unsurprisingly, the Zionist movement--or the "United Nation Syndicate" as it is known--is soon exposed as being hopelessly cor-

rupt and Count Mortimer, like the English aristocracy in general, succumbs to unrestrained financial power:

"Between Count Mortimer and the Jews there existed an unholy alliance, by virtue of which he was to be raised to a position commensurate with his ambitious designs, in return for his betrayal of Christendom" (303).

In short, Count Mortimer becomes the anti-Messiah who: "play [ed] into the hands of the syndicate, with the added prestige of place and power to assist him, while they would maintain and strengthen his position by virtue of their command of the world's finance" (304). Zionism is perceived here in terms of the dark side of Messianism: "a scheme to render the Jews absolutely masters of the world" (303). In this way, as will be seen, the proto-Zionist stereotype of Jewish power and Jewish conspiracy theories were to reinforce each other. Nevertheless, one should note that Grier's perception of "Zionism" is deliberately intended to be a melodramatic exposé of the corrupt Count Mortimer. John Buchan used a similar technique in The Thirty Nine Steps when invoking a Jewish world conspiracy and, at this point, it is worth noting the similarity between the two novels. In fact, Buchan's radical ambivalence towards Jews is also reflected in this novel as Zionism is perceived both as a proto-Zionist spiritual yardstick for the world at large and as a corrupt financial enterprise.<sup>59</sup> Once again, the ambivalent nature of the stereotype of Jewish power is given a "Zionist" dimension. This is especially apparent in contrast with Winifred Graham's novel, The Zionists (1902), where the English gentleman assumes the authentic messianic role.

Unusually, Winifred Graham directly places The Zionists in the realistic setting of the Zionist Congress in Basle. What results is a strange juxtaposition of a pseudo-factual description of the state of the Zionist movement narrated within the familiar parameters of

the Jewish stereotype. Thus, Graham's Jewish characters believe that a "Jewish doctrine must one day fill the whole universe... the hour was approaching when the wealth of the world would exclusively belong to the Jews" (7). Messianic proto-Zionism and Jewish finance are, yet again, ambivalent expressions of Jewish power. Not surprisingly, the successful Zionist "scheme" in this novel "took the form of an issue of £25,000,000 of Palestine Bonds" (280). Such a "scheme" was undoubtedly much too dangerous to be left in the hands of Theodor Herzl. Hence, the need for the English gentleman, Lord Hawthorn, whose "power and example" after witnessing the Basle conference "had influenced the Jewish race, from millionaire to the peasant, to pour their fortune or pittance into the Zionist treasury" (282). In this way, Graham makes sure that Zionism remains a force for good as Lord Hawthorn--the gentlemanly obverse of the Jewish financier--arouses the "Jewish race" with a "trumpet call" (285). Finally, Hawthorn assumes the proto-Zionist messianic role--"to the imaginative and hysterical he was omnipotent, endowed with divinity; holy majesty, glorious sovereignty, predestined to perform a hallowed task by divine right" (291). Hawthorn believed the Jews to be an "all-powerful race, a race he deeply respected" (21) and so he successfully "regenerates" Palestine with the help of the English stock-market which served the national good and Christendom (285). But only an English aristocrat of a "high character for patriotism and wisdom" (19) was able to benevolently utilise a stereotypical Jewish power and not fall under its spell like Count Mortimer. Hawthorn, significantly, not only regenerates Palestine but also decides to marry the redemptive sexual Jewess who "kneel(s) at the feet of Israel's deliverer" (289). Possessing the sexual Jewess and harnessing Jewish power for the national good are not, I will suggest, unrelated acts.<sup>60</sup> As with Daniel Deronda, Jewish power--especially

Jewish national power--was related either positively or negatively to Jewish finance. To be sure, in terms of the stereotype, this relation was an ambivalent one as a Hebraic Palestine became a symbolic expression of a power which could degenerate Christendom and, simultaneously, save Christendom from degeneracy. The Zionist Jew--or his surrogates--were perceived both as "Messiah" (upholder of the Empire) and "anti-Messiah" (degenerate of the Empire). The most comprehensive treatment of this stereotype undoubtedly came from the pen of John Buchan.

**John Buchan: Proto-Zionism and the Ambivalent Jewish Stereotype**

A growing number of apologists for Buchan's fictional use of the Jewish stereotype refer to his committed pro-Zionism in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>61</sup> Buchan was the Chairman of the Parliamentary Palestine Committee in 1932, was a friend of Chaim Weizmann, the President of the World Zionist Organisation of this period, and was inscribed in the State of Israel's Golden Book for his campaigning on behalf of the Jewish National Fund. Thus Buchan's son, Alistair, has recently argued that it is "scarcely an antisemite" who could have had such an inscription. J. Adam Smith's standard biography of Buchan is undoubtedly the source for such conclusions which have begun to pass into common currency: "There have been many references to disparagement of Jews in Buchan's novels, but to Jewish organisations in Britain and Palestine Buchan's name is that of a friend."<sup>62</sup> The implication of such arguments is that Buchan's "friendship" for Zionism somehow negates his "antisemitism" or, more accurately, Jewish stereotyping. In contrast to this viewpoint, I want to show that Buchan's proto-Zionism was an integral part of his ambivalent Jewish stereotyping which has already been analysed in the context of South African Imperialism. His division of the Jew into all-powerful

redeemer and all-consuming degenerate clearly fitted into the proto-Zionist stereotype of Jewish power. For Buchan, the Jew in Palestine has the redemptive role, in terms of British Imperialism, that he once ascribed to the Jew in South Africa. Thus, in 1930, he wrote: "It is because of the Jews that Palestine is today by far the cheapest of our Imperial commitments."<sup>63</sup> In less prosaic terms, it is worth noting briefly Buchan's Zionist novel, A Prince of the Captivity (1933), where the ambivalent Jewish stereotype explicitly functioned in a proto-Zionist context. It is no coincidence that Buchan's novel refers back to Sydney Grier's earlier The Prince of the Captivity (1902), the sequel to The Kings of the East. Buchan, it has been noted, most probably read Grier. Moreover, as Gina Mitchell has argued, the reader is constantly impressed, over a thirty year period, by the "massive consistency of the characterisation" of the Jews in Buchan's fiction.<sup>64</sup>

In A Prince of the Captivity Buchan introduces us to a sympathetic character, Mr. Macandrew, who is an essential part of the British Secret Service during the First World War. He is about to recruit Adam Melfort, the hero of the novel, as a Secret Agent. However, it is soon clear that "Mr. Macandrew's name was misleading, for he was clearly a Jew, a small man with a nervous mouth and eyes that preferred to look downward" (47/8). Macandrew turns out to be an ardent Zionist and Buchan, significantly, uses Macandrew's Zionism as a unifying theme throughout the novel. Adam, like the Calvinist Buchan, is explicitly in search of his Imperial "Jerusalem." What better expression of "Jerusalem" than Macandrew's Zionism--"are we not both working for the peace and felicity of Jerusalem?" (59) Macandrew asks. Zionism is an important means, for Buchan, of perceiving order--or the Church of Empire--in the aftermath of the



anarchy of the First World War and the slow disintegration of the British Empire:

"Adam often wondered what was in [Macandrew's] eyes. It appeared that his real name was Meyer, and that he was a Belgian Jew, who had long foreseen the war and had made many preparations. Adam discovered one day the motive for his devotion to the British cause. The man was an ardent Zionist, and the mainspring of his life was his dream of a reconstituted Israel. He believed that this could not come about except as a consequence of a great war, which should break down the traditional frontiers of Europe, and that Britain was the agent destined by God to lead his people out of the wilderness... It was the only [subject] which made him raise his eyes and look Adam in the face, and then Adam read in them the purpose which makes saints and martyrs" (59).

Clearly, Buchan's proto-Zionism fits neatly into the stereotypical messianic Zionism of the Victorian era as it was fictionalised in Daniel Deronda. It is a divine order above and beyond the anarchy of the First World War. Macandrew's assistant, significantly, is a Mr. Scrope--the "largest man" (40) in the Secret Service—who, like Mordecai, bridges "East and West" in the novel. He tells Adam, with reference to Oriental philosophy, that "Duty was... both terrible and sweet, transcending life and death, a bridge over the abyss of immortality" (56). Thus Adam, rather like Deronda, discovers his "duty" in the novel from an Oriental Mordecai-figure who, in bestriding "East and West," represents a unified world. Not surprisingly, Adam regards his work for the Secret Service as "a crusade, something to which he was specially called by the Almighty" (103). In fact, Adam finds his messianic "Jerusalem" (259) in the novel in his defeat of a world conspiracy called the Iron Hand Movement. The members of the Iron Hand Movement are described by Buchan as:

"...violent German Nationalists, but they were cosmopolitan too, in their outlook—they wanted to brigade all the elements in every land that would help to restore the old world. They were true storm-troopers, ready for any forlorn hope, and prepared to use any means, however devilish..." (331/2).

The Iron Hand Movement is the familiar obverse of Buchan's proto-Zionist divine order in the novel. It is "cosmopolitan" and "devilish," a force which begets anarchy--"the old world." Zionism, on the other hand, has a unifying, racial, transcendent purpose representing the new world.

Needless to say, not all the Jews in Buchan's novel belonged to the bright forces of proto-Zionism but, instead, are identified with the dark Iron Hand Movement. Within the first chapter of the novel the reader is warned of the special persistency of Jewish money-lenders: "the soft-spoken people with Scots names and curved noses [who] would take no denial" (23). Here, once again, are materialistic Jews who deny their racial destiny--the "curved nose" is the only hint of their Jewishness. These figures are shortly to be contrasted with Macandrew/Meyer, the racially authentic Jewish nationalist. More important, is Adam's encounter with a revolutionary socialist, known only as "Marrish," who signifies the essential ambivalence of the Jew and his attraction both to the forces of good and evil. Marrish "had the name of an extremist. He talked little, but he looked the part of a maker of revolutions..." (240). In his "crusade" for leaders to defeat the Iron Hand Movement, Adam tells Marrish that he is: "sick in mind, but not deathly sick, for there's a good fellow behind that ought to be released. But I see in the back of your eyes a small crazy devil. I know that devil well, and out he must come, for he's the source of all the mischief..." (210). One is reminded, distinctly, of a similar exorcism of the devil in Lawson, the ambivalent Jewish financier, in "The Grove of Ashtaroth" (1910). Marrish is, simply, a replication of Lawson: "He was a small dark man with a touch of the Jew in him, and had been born in the Transvaal and begun life in the Rand Mines" (199/200). Marrish's politics also replicate Lawson's as Buchan believed that the finan-

cier is "the biggest socialist of them all--he has the kind of quick autocratic mind that always wants to boss and regiment people" (279/80). Because both Lawson and Marrish are only a "touch" Jewish (Lawson, to be sure, is "half" Jewish), they are racially weak and, thus, unable to contain the demonic side of their character without help from an English hero. However, once the demon is exorcised, Marrish--like the racially complete Macandrew/Meyer--can be of service to the British Empire.<sup>65</sup>

In A Prince of the Captivity, the world is poised on a knife edge as Europe's financiers waver between the British Empire and the Iron Hand Movement. Clearly, this uncertainty applies to the book's Jewish characters who, as ever, are poised between empire and anarchy. Buchan, thus, perceives proto-Zionism as an essential element in favour of the forces of good, holding the Jews back from evil. Buchan even looks to historical precedent:

"The Rothschilds, you remember, made their great fortunes by helping a bankrupt Europe through Napoleonic wars, by moving money to the point where it was needed. Such a man as I speak of could do more today, for he could move money not to pay bills for war materials and war damages but to nurse throughout the globe the new life which is waiting to break forth" (373).

It is in this context that a messianic proto-Zionism is invoked by Buchan. That is, as a force for a "new life" in an Imperial-messianic sense. Significantly, with both Scrope and Macandrew/Meyer, Adam "could have no secrets" (142). For these characters were perceived to bestride "East and West," the symbolic unity of the world, which it is Adam's Imperial "duty" to protect. However, to conclude, I will argue that the ambivalent Jewish stereotype could be perceived to be dividing "East and West" and, in this way, the proto-Zionist Mordecai-figure could be said by many to be an anarchic

figure portrayed by Buchan, in another context, as "ruling the world just now."<sup>66</sup>

From Ambivalence to Hostility: Proto-Zionism and Antisemitism

That proto-Zionism was perceived in purely stereotypical terms is indicated by a meeting of English writers on "The Commercial Future of Palestine" in 1901. Rider Haggard, for instance, in a reference to the "wailing of the Jews at the Temple Wall in Jerusalem" asked "why do they wail, when a few of their financiers could buy up the country?"<sup>67</sup> Hall Caine, a self-professed "philosemite," argued that "it would be a great disaster if the colonisation of Palestine... should be brought about by any other race than the Jew. I say so partly from sentimental reasons, and partly as a commercial calculation." George Bernard Shaw, like George Eliot, asked "what might happen to England if all the Jews went back to Palestine?" He went on to add that he thought it unwise to: "tie the Jews to the petticoat of any great Power. The Jew must make a great Power of himself. And is not the Jew a great Power already? ...He is the man of brains taking the great part in the administration and leadership of all the nations." Similarly, H.G. Wells, in a letter to Zangwill, argued with reference to the "ITO," that "it has my sympathy—in the abstract—and the project seems altogether sane and practicable. But its not my doorstep, and I can offer you neither help nor advice. Your people are rich enough, able enough, and potent enough to save themselves."<sup>68</sup> Clearly, for the English writer, the stereotype of Jewish power was such that the question of creating a Jewish State or Colony was simply a means of redirecting "Jewish" resources away from an English context. Thus, the social Darwinist interpretation of the role of the "superior Jewish race" in English society led Ford Madox Ford, inevitably, to a life-long

support for political Zionism. As early as 1915, Ford anticipated the 1917 "Balfour Declaration" and advocated that "an independent State in Palestine should be part of British peace terms" to end the First World War. Ford's Zionism was intimately related with his belief that "the world was rotten" and Jewish power--in a racial Darwinist sense--was needed to redeem it.<sup>69</sup> However, this bright stereotype of Jewish power was adopted by the political antisemite to divert a mythical dark Jewish power away from England. Thus G.K. Chesterton, for instance, in 1911, could profess support for Zionism in the following terms:

"I believe Zionism would bring to the Jew territorial patriotism, which he now lacks. It would assuredly allow him to develop his own culture in arts, in literature, in science, and it would put an end to the eternal entanglement of mutual wrong of which he is the unhappy cause between himself and the nations among whom he lives."<sup>70</sup>

Many antisemites, in fact, interpreted Zionism "sympathetically" as a form of compulsory "repatriation."<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless Chesterton's friend, Hilaire Belloc, was probably the more representative anti-semite when he argued that the Jew, in the final analysis, is racially unassimilable; even with a Jewish State in Palestine. In this way, anti-Zionism and antisemitism reinforced each other:

"...the scheme of a Jewish State seems to me to be quite impracticable. The Jew is too much a part of Europe ever to be satisfied and successful apart from Europe. Moreover, the very Jews who are most firmly fixed among the other nations are the chief causes of the [Jewish] problem."<sup>72</sup>

Proto-Zionism, in fact, gave a spurious credence to the antisemitic belief in Jewish dominance as Norman Cohn has shown in his study of the "myth of a Jewish world conspiracy." Thus, to be against Zionism was to oppose the Jewish world conspiracy. As Cohn has argued:

"One would normally expect the mysterious rulers [of the world] to be called Elders of Jewry or Elders of Israel. There must be some reason why they bear the absurd name of Elders of Zion, and there is in fact a very plausible one. As we have seen, the First Zionist Congress at Basle was inter-

preted by antisemites as a giant stride towards Jewish world-domination. Countless editions of the Protocols have connected that document with the congress; and it does seem likely that this event inspired if not the forgery itself, then at least its title."<sup>73</sup>

Sergius Nilus, for instance, in the 1917 English translation of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion argues that the "protocols" of a Jewish world conspiracy were presented to the "Council of Elders by 'the Prince of the Exile,' Theodor Herzl, at the First Congress of Zionists..." Interestingly, there is an echo of Grier's and Buchan's Prince of the Captivity which might simply be a different translation of Nilus' Russian original.<sup>74</sup> This version of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion was serialised in England in The Times and the Morning Post in 1920. This, in fact, boosted the Morning Post's circulation from 65,075 to 75,850. The Times, a year later, was to expose the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as an antisemitic forgery whilst the Morning Post published a volume based on their serialisation called The Cause of World Unrest (1920).<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, even with The Times exposé, as David Cesarani has shown, in the years after the English publication of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Radical Right anti-Zionism and Jewish conspiracy theories fed off each other in a large number of English newspapers, including The Times. Jewish power, in the guise of a hypnotic Weizmann, was seen to be trying to "wreck the British Empire."<sup>76</sup> Buchan's bright proto-Zionism and friendship with Weizmann could even be inverted in The Courts of Morning (1929) where a Weizmann-persona was stereotyped as a dire threat to the British Empire.<sup>77</sup> As has been seen in the case of Rudyard Kipling and members of the Radical Right, ambivalent bright stereotypes of Imperial Jewish power could be inverted and utilised by antisemites to reinforce the belief in a dark Jewish conspiracy theory.<sup>78</sup> In the same way, I would argue, the bright Imperial

stereotype of proto-Zionism was similarly inverted by antisemites after the First World War and utilised to promote the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. In other words, the ambivalent Jewish stereotype saturated English culture in such a way that Daniel Deronda, a work of lasting literary importance, can be related nearly five decades later to the world of the antisemite.

#### NOTES

1. Stuart Cohen, English Zionists and British Jews, 1895-1920 (Princeton, 1982), p. 5.
2. Ibid., p. 6.
3. Ibid., p. 322.
4. S.G. Bayme, "Jewish Leadership and Anti-Semitism in Britain, 1898-1918" (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Columbia University, 1977), p. 297.
5. For this argument I am indebted to David Cesarani's "The Zionist Movement in Britain Between the Wars" (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Oxford University, 1986). For the emancipationist philosophy of Anglo-Jewry's leaders see Chapter 6. For their anti-Zionism, see Cohen, op. cit., pp. 155-239. Comparative studies which reinforce Cesarani's thesis are Yonaton Shapiro, Leadership of the American Zionist Organisation, 1897-1930 (Illinois, 1967), Stephen Poppel, Zionism in Germany, 1897-1933: The Shaping of a Jewish Identity (Philadelphia, 1977), Judah Reinharz, "Ideology and Structure in German Zionism, 1882-1933," Jewish Social Studies (Volume 42, Number 1, 1976). M. Urofsky, American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust (New York, 1975), Gideon Shimoni, Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience, 1910-1967 (Oxford, 1980) and Ezra Mendelsohn, Zionism in Poland: 1915-1926 (Yale, 1981).
6. Jewish Chronicle, December 2, 1898, p. 8.
7. For a discussion of this stereotype in the context of Anglo-Jewry see Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 4 discusses the stereotype of the Jew as a bright English nationalist and a dark materialist other which will be related to the "Zionist" version of this stereotype in this chapter.
8. David Vital, The Origins of Zionism (Oxford, 1975), p. 20.
9. Quoted in Desmond Stewart, Theodor Herzl: Artist and Politician (London, 1981), pp. 292-293.
10. Israel Zangwill, Speeches, Articles and Letters, (London, 1937), pp. 231-328 for a comprehensive picture of Zangwill's "territorialism" and political philosophy.
11. David Vital, Zionism: The Formative Years (Oxford, 1982), p. 441.
12. Jewish Chronicle, November 22, 1901, p. 14.



13. For this reading of Daniel Deronda see Nahum Sokolow, History of Zionism, 1600-1918 (London, 1919) Chapter 37. See also Sokolow's Hibbath Zionism (Jerusalem, 1935) passim. Ruth Levitt's George Eliot: The Jewish Connection (Jerusalem, 1975) repeats this argument.
14. Shmuel Werses, "The Jewish Reception of Daniel Deronda," in Alice Shalvi (ed.) "Daniel Deronda": A Centenary Symposium (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 11-43.
15. William Baker, "George Eliot and Zionism" in Shalvi (ed.), op. cit., p. 62. For a more comprehensive account, see Baker's George Eliot and Judaism (Salzburg, 1975).
16. George Eliot, "The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!" in Impressions of Theophrastus Such (Edinburgh, 1879). For a useful discussion of this essay see Deirdre Daniels, Fictions of Resolution in Three Victorian Novels (New York, 1981), Chapter 8.
17. Graham Martin, "Daniel Deronda: George Eliot and Political Change" in Barbara Hardy (ed.), Critical Essays on George Eliot (London, 1970), pp. 149-150.
18. For this argument see May Daniels, "The Cohen Family in Daniel Deronda" in The Jewish Quarterly, (Volume 26, Numbers 3-4, 1978-79), Anne Aresty Naman, The Jew in the Victorian Novel (New York, 1980), pp. 203-207 and Esther L. Panitz, The Alien in Their Midst: Images of Jews in English Literature (London, 1981), pp. 117-119 and passim. For a comprehensive list of derogatory remarks against Jews taken from Eliot's letters see Beth Zion Lask Abrahams, Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (November, 1976).
19. For this stereotype see Chapters 7 and 11 of this thesis.
20. David, op. cit., Chapter 8 for a comparative discussion of Eliot's attitudes towards Jews and the working-classes based on this quotation.
21. George Eliot, "Three Novels," in Thomas Pinney (ed.), Essays of George Eliot (London, 1963), pp. 326-327. I am indebted to Elaine Jordan for these references. For a discussion of Eliot's philosophy of "race," see Edgar Rosenberg, From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction (California, 1960), pp. 175-181 and Panitz, op. cit., pp. 116-119 and p. 168.
22. George Watson, The English Ideology (London, 1973), p. 206 and Chapter 11 passim.
23. G.S. Haight (ed.), The George Eliot Letters, Volume VI, 1874-77 (Yale, 1978), p. 304. Significantly, in this context, Eliot dedicated Daniel Deronda to Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852) which was an important influence on Eliot's novel.

24. Baruch Hochman, "Daniel Deronda: The Zionist Plot and the Problematic of George Eliot's Art" in Shalvi (ed.), op. cit., pp. 118-120.
25. Jewish Chronicle, 15 December 1876. Collected in L. Lerner and J. Holmstron (eds.), George Eliot and Her Readers (London, 1966), p. 153.
26. For a discussion along these lines see my "The Prime Minister and Daniel Deronda" in John Morris (ed.), The Stereotype Character in English Fiction and Society, 1840-1940 (Croom Helm, forthcoming) and Chapter 2 of this thesis.
27. Nina Auerbach, Women and the Demon (London, 1982), p. 16 and Chapter 10 for further references to this study.
28. Robert Pryer, "Beyond the Liberal Imagination: Vision and Unreality in Daniel Deronda," Victorian Studies (Volume 4, September 1960), pp. 33-54. In particular, F.R. Leavis', The Great Tradition (London, 1948), Chapter 2 is a well known work which attacks Daniel Deronda in these terms. Significantly, Henry James' "Daniel Deronda: A Conversation," The Atlantic Monthly (Volume 38, December 1876), pp. 684-694 is reprinted as an appendix to The Great Tradition.
29. Harold Fisch, "Daniel Deronda or Gwendolen Harleth?" in Nineteenth Century Fiction (Volume 19, 1965), pp. 345-347 identifies a "formidable array of critics" that either anticipate or follow Leavis. Lerner and Holmstron, op. cit., pp. 125-149 have collected a good deal of Daniel Deronda criticism. Most critics, however, are unaware of Leavis' "George Eliot's Zionist Novel," a qualification of Chapter 2 of The Great Tradition, in Commentary (Volume 30, 1960), pp. 317-325.
30. Laurence Lerner, "George Eliot's Struggle with Realism," in Shalvi (ed.), op. cit., p. 104.
31. Graham Martin, op. cit., p. 149 anticipates Terry Eagleton's Criticism and Ideology (London, 1976), pp. 122-125 which remains the standard Marxist interpretation of Daniel Deronda.
32. Fisch, op. cit., p. 356. Mario Praz in The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction (London, 1956), p. 341 argues that Deronda's "aptitude for feeling interest in people is in proportion to the possibility of exercising a redeeming influence upon them." See also E.S. Shaffer's "Kubla Khan" and the Fall of Jerusalem: The Mythological School of Biblical Criticism and Secular Literature, 1770-1880 (London, 1975) for a reading of Deronda as a redemptive, Christ-like figure who unifies the novel.
33. The George Eliot Letters Volume VI, op. cit., p. 290 and Chapter 4 of this thesis.

34. The George Eliot Letters Volume VI, op. cit., pp. 75-76 shows that Eliot read The Way We Live Now in 1874 as it appeared in monthly parts. See Baker, George Eliot and Judaism, op. cit., pp. 126-130 for a discussion of this and Chapter 2 of this thesis.
35. For references to Leubronn as it reappears throughout the first half of Daniel Deronda see Neil Roberts, George Eliot: Her Beliefs and Her Art (London, 1975), Chapter 9.
36. Baker, George Eliot and Judaism, op. cit., pp. 125-6 points to the financial collapse of a large number of companies which Eliot had noted.
37. Roberts, op. cit., p. 200 and Chapter 9 passim to whom I am indebted for this argument.
38. Ibid., p. 197. See also David, op. cit., Chapter 9.
39. Roberts, op. cit., pp. 212-213.
40. The George Eliot Letters Volume VI, op. cit., pp. 301-302. For a discussion of this see David, op. cit., p. 180 who, interestingly, describes Gwendolen's marriage in terms of "colonial management."
41. Alan Mintz, "Daniel Deronda and the Messianic Vocation" in Shalvi (ed.) op. cit., p. 150.
42. Praz, op. cit., p. 341 makes this point.
43. Ruth Raider, "'The Flash of Fervour': Daniel Deronda" in Ian Gregor (ed.) Reading The Victorian Novel (London, 1980), pp. 266-7.
44. Mintz, op. cit., p. 150 and J.R. Reed, Victorian Conventions (New York, 1975) Chapter 13, for a general discussion of "disguise" in the Victorian novel. The "disguised" Jew in Buchan's fiction, I believe, fits into this convention. See the discussion of Buchan, below.
45. "George Eliot's Zionist Novel," op. cit., p. 319. For the trans-sexual nature of many Jewish stereotypes see Chapter 10. In these terms, Deronda can be related to the sexual Jewess, Rebecca, in Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe (1819) also discussed in Chapter 10. Like Deronda, Rebecca implicitly redeems a corrupt England by leaving it.
46. Naman, op. cit., p. 182.
47. See note 18 for references to these studies. Chapter 10 discusses this stereotype, which has a medieval lineage, in detail.

48. Leavis, in his "George Eliot's Zionist Novel," op. cit., p. 323 suggestively argues that "James found in Daniel Deronda the subject and the background of The Tragic Muse." James' novel is discussed in detail in Chapter 10. Praz, op. cit., p. 367 notes the theme of "the Jewish artist who asserts the exclusive rights of their vocation" in Daniel Deronda and Roberts, op. cit., pp. 215-218 discusses Klesmer as a figure who anticipates Deronda's "transcendent" framework.
49. The George Eliot Letters Volume VI, op. cit., p. 301. Graham St. John Stott, "Under Gentile Eyes: Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth Century Novel in England and America" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1978), p. 106.
50. For a representative study of Daniel Deronda in these terms see Esther Chevalier, "Characterization of the Jew in the Victorian Novel, 1864-1876" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Emory University, 1962) Chapter 4.
51. Vital, The Formative Years, op. cit., p. 3.
52. Ibid. See Also Vital's The Origins of Zionism, op. cit. for an exhaustive study of Jewish proto-Zionism.
53. Charlotte Klein, "The Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama, 1830-1933" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1967), pp. 72-73.
54. See Chapter 4 for this stereotype.
55. Baker, George Eliot and Judaism, op. cit. has an exhaustive discussion of Deutsch's influence on Eliot.
56. Ford Madox Ford, in Chapter 3 of this thesis, describes the Jewish stereotype in these terms which led Ford to sympathise with political Zionism. See note 69 for this.
57. Cohen, op. cit., pp. 155-239 discusses this. Israel Zangwill and Samuel Gordon in Chapter 7 of this thesis, are seen to dramatise this conflict in their fiction.
58. Jewish Chronicle, May 4, 1900, p. 22 notes that the Herzl figure in The Kings of the East has been replaced by a "noble Englishman."
59. John Buchan, from internal evidence, almost certainly read Grier's novels and named his pro-Zionist A Prince of the Captivity (1933) after Grier. See below for a discussion of this.
60. Chapter 10 discusses this theme in detail.

61. David Daniell, The Interpreter's House: A Critical Assessment of John Buchan (London, 1975), pp. 205-212 is an explicitly apologetic account of Buchan's Jewish stereotyping. Given this criticism, it is not surprising that Alistair Buchan, in the latest biography of Buchan, John Buchan: A Memoir (London, 1982), p. 251 speaks of Buchan's "savage accusers" with regard to his "antisemitism."
62. Alistair Buchan, op. cit., p. 251 and J. Adam Smith, John Buchan: A Biography (London, 1965), pp. 316-317 and passim.
63. John Buchan, "Ourselves and the Jews" in Graphic (5 April, 1930), p. 12 and Chapter 4 of this thesis.
64. Gina Mitchell, "John Buchan's Popular Fiction: A Hierarchy of Race," Patterns of Prejudice (Volume 7, Number 6, 1973), p. 30.
65. Chapter 4 has a detailed discussion of "The Grove of Ashtaroth" in these terms.
66. Mordecai has a similar reference to the Jew unifying "East and West" in Daniel Deronda, p. 592 and Zangwill in his Articles, Speeches and Letters, op. cit., p. 159 and Samuel Gordon used a similar rhetoric. See Chapter 7 for the ambivalent use of these terms in a Jewish context and Chapter 4 for a gentile context.
67. "The Commercial Future of Palestine: Debate at the Article Club," Jewish Chronicle, November 22, 1901, p. 14. For further references to Haggard's perceptions of Jews see M. Cohen, Rider Haggard: His Life and Work (London, 1960), p. 151, P. Ellis, H. Rider Haggard: A Voice From the Infinite (London, 1978), pp. 242-256 and D.S. Higgins (ed.), The Private Diaries of Sir H. Rider Haggard, 1914-1925, (London, 1980), p.149.
68. "The Commercial Future of Palestine," op. cit., pp. 16-17. Wells' unpublished letter to Zangwill is dated 11 November, 1905 and is collected in the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, Box 7, File 28. See Chapter 9 for a detailed account of Shaw and Wells in these terms.
69. Arthur Mizener, The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford (London, 1971), p. 458 and p. 600 for references to Ford's Zionism. See also note 56.
70. Quoted in the Jewish Chronicle, April 28, 1911, p. 18.
71. For this see Colin Holmes, Antisemitism in British Society 1876-1939 (London, 1979), pp. 118-120, Gisela Lebzelter, Political Antisemitism in England, 1918-1939 (London, 1978), pp. 60-64, pp. 80-81 and pp. 96-97 and Kenneth Lunn, "The Marconi Scandal and Related Aspects of British Anti-Semitism, 1911-1914" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1978), p. 191.

72. Quoted in the Jewish Chronicle, August 12, 1910, p. 14. See Chapter 5 for a fuller discussion of Belloc and Chesterton.
73. Norman Cohn, Warrant For Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' (London, 1967), p. 103.
74. Ibid., p. 69-70 for a discussion of the relationship between the Basle Congress and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. See also note 59.
75. Keith M. Wilson, "The Protocols of Zion and the Morning Post, 1919-1920" in Patterns of Prejudice (Volume 19, Number 3, 1985), p. 12 and pp. 5-14. More generally, see Holmes, op. cit., Chapter 9.
76. David Cesarani, "Palestine, Politics and Prejudice: Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism in British Politics and the Press, 1920-1924," to be published in B. Cheyette and G. Mitchell (eds.) Literature, Race and Empire (forthcoming) and Wilson, op. cit., p. 10.
77. Smith, op. cit., pp. 261-262. Castor, the hypnotic villain in The Courts of Morning (1929) is described by Smith as "a mixture of Chaim Weizmann, a Rand Magnate, Ivor Kruger and A.J. Balfour."
78. Chapter 4, especially, discusses this point.

## CHAPTER 9

### JEWISH STEREOTYPING AND SOCIALISM: H.G. WELLS, GEORGE BERNARD SHAW AND THE "SOCIALISM OF FOOLS"

There is a distinct tradition of socialist thought which has regarded "Judaism as the flesh and blood of capitalism" and, therefore, has found "justification for encouraging its disappearance and even actively hastening its demise."<sup>1</sup> In Germany, in the 1870s and 1880s, this tradition had become so influential that August Bebel, in 1893, presented a long analysis of antisemitism to the Social Democratic Party and dubbed <sup>antisemitism</sup> the "socialism of fools."<sup>2</sup> Jacob Katz, in his recent history of antisemitism, has identified mid-nineteenth century French and German utopian socialists and young Hegelians as the bearers of a tradition of "socialist antisemitism" into the twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> More specialised studies have confirmed Katz's conclusions and, with reference to British history, have included the Chartists of this period. Colin Holmes, in particular, has argued that "...it is no exaggeration to say that every stone has been upturned to demonstrate that anti-semitism was prevalent within the ranks of the [British] left." The research in this area, with regard to British socialism, is large and continues unabated.<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, I want to examine the literature and politics of two leading Fabian socialists, H.G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw, in the context of the "socialism of fools" which identified Judaism with "the flesh and blood of capitalism." In these terms, I agree with A.M. McBriar that Fabianism was a "part of a world-wide tendency in Social Democracy" and not, as many theorists have claimed, "a pure outgrowth of English Liberalism, uninfluenced by Marxism."<sup>5</sup> In fact, I suspect that few questions in the history of Social Democracy demonstrate its internationalist character more than the "socialism

of fools." It is, precisely, the link between Fabian socialism and the wider "socialism of fools" that indicates an important Social Democratic—or Marxist—influence on Fabianism.

Specifically, Karl Marx's pamphlet, "On The Jewish Question" (1843), has been said to have exerted "a considerable influence on the European socialist movement."<sup>6</sup> Marx's belief that "the god of the Jews has been secularised and become the god of the world. Exchange is the true god of the Jew" was particularly influential. In this view, the Jew was stereotyped not merely as homo capitalisticus, but also as "responsible for the commercialism of the Christian world as a whole."<sup>7</sup> Marx could, therefore, argue that: "...emancipation from haggling and from money, that is from practical real Judaism, would be the same as the self-emancipation of our age." In this way, Judaism and capitalism were synonymous terms in Marx's vocabulary. This is indicated by his pun on the German word "Judentum," which also means "commerce."<sup>8</sup> It was this use of the dark Jewish stereotype, in the context of a critique of capitalism, that was to be repeated in the twentieth century. Moreover, the identification of the disappearance of Judaism, and thus capitalism, with the attainment of socialism (or mankind's "self-emancipation") meant that the Jewish stereotype—in its bright form—could also be associated with a utopian other-world. In these terms, the reduction of a discussion of the "socialism of fools" to the question of "Jew-hatred" or "anti-semitism" avoids an important aspect of this form of Jewish stereotyping. Katz, for instance, notes the dark Jewish stereotyping of Charles Fourier, an early French utopian socialist. For Fourier, Jews were "unproductive and deceitful," prime examples of homo capitalisticus. Therefore, within the conceptual limits of "anti-semitism" or "Jew-hatred," Katz finds it a "curious fact" that in Fourier's last publication before his death he "ascribed to the Jews



a pioneering role in carrying through a [utopian] social program."<sup>9</sup> However, in the context of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype, Fourier's beliefs make perfect sense. As well as stereotyping Judaism as capitalism, socialists were also to associate the attainment of utopia with the disappearance--or assimilation--of the Jew. It was in this ambivalent form that Wells and Shaw were to utilise the "socialism of fools."<sup>10</sup>

H.G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw: Ambivalence and the "Socialism of Fools"

In his Outline of History (1920) H.G. Wells characterised the "Jewish idea" which had continued to this day:

"The Jewish idea was and is a curious combination of theological breadth and an intense racial patriotism. The Jews looked for a special saviour, a Messiah, who was to redeem mankind... and bring the whole world at last under the benevolent but firm Jewish heel" (281).

On the one hand, Wells distinguishes between the Jewish Sadducees who have "theological breadth" and who are therefore "disposed to assimilate themselves... and so to share God and his promise with all mankind." On the other hand, the Jewish Pharisees are "the high and narrow Jews, very orthodox... intensely patriotic and exclusive" (232) who want the world under their "firm Jewish heel." Only by "assimilating" can the Jew redeem mankind, otherwise he is narrow, exclusively patriotic and repressive; such is the coercive function of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype.<sup>11</sup> The survival of the Jews into the twentieth century therefore indicates that for Wells, as Steven Bayme has shown, "the Jew of today remained the bigoted Pharisee." George Bernard Shaw makes a similar point: "to help in the advance of the new era we must banish the idea of a terrible Almighty God, for the dissemination of which the Jews are largely responsible..."<sup>12</sup>

Instead of the repressive Old Testament God, the Jew should accept the universal world of "baptism" and not the particularist world of "circumcision." This was the real message of the Gospels:

"Jesus entered as a man of thirty into the religious life of his time by going to John the Baptist and demanding baptism from him, much as certain well-to-do young gentlemen forty years ago 'joined the socialists.' As far as established Jewry was concerned, he burnt his boats by this action, and cut himself off from the routine of wealth, respectability and orthodoxy."<sup>13</sup>

Shaw's distinction between a universal "baptism" or socialism and a "circumcised" parochial "established Jewry" concerned with "the routine of wealth, respectability and orthodoxy" again points to the contemporary relevance of this interpretation of the Gospels.<sup>14</sup> As has been noted, Liberalism stereotyped the "good Jew" in terms of a perceived wealth-creating ability, social respectability and religious privacy. Thus, by rejecting Liberalism--especially liberal capitalism--Wells and Shaw also rejected the good Jewish stereotype.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, in their view, the very existence of the particularist Jew in the modern world was a reactionary notion and contrary to the ideal of a universalist socialism. In these terms, a bright Jewish assimilation--or baptism--could be associated with the attainment of "the new era"--or socialism. In contrast, Jewish particularity--especially the "Jewish God"--was to be associated with the dark reactionary forces which were preventing a universalist socialism from emerging. Wells, in particular, in his Anticipations (1902) stereotyped Jewish assimilation in terms of the attainment of a socialist world-state. "The Jew" as such, he argues, is "a remnant and legacy of medievalism." But Jewish assimilation:

"gives the lie to all our yapping nationalisms and sketches in his dispersed sympathies the coming World-State. He has never been known to burke a school..." (317).

Thus, in Anticipations, it is the "dispersed sympathies" of the assimilated Jew that prefigures an ideal world-state. In fact, this is an exact reversal of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (1876) which stereotyped Jewish nationalism as an "ideal." In this context, Wells' later virulent anti-Zionism can be understood as a reaction to a Jewish particularism which was perceived to threaten an ideal world-state.<sup>16</sup> However, Anticipations looked forward to a future when, as Bayme has argued, "Jews would have disappeared via inter-marriage and assimilation. Only then would the universalist ideals of Judaism emerge triumphant." As Wells states:

"The Jew will probably lose most of his particularism, inter-marry with Gentiles, and cease to be a physically distinct element in human affairs in a century or so. But much of his moral tradition will, I hope, never die..." (317)<sup>17</sup>

This emphasis on Jewish assimilation in the context of achieving socialism can be understood in terms of Wells' wider view of eugenics. As David Smith has argued, the "ruling idea of Socialism for Wells is the ruling idea of Science, in that each attempts to replace disorder by order." And "order," in this view, was represented by a world-state where "men would get into the habit of planning together. The racial mind would possess them all."<sup>18</sup> The Wellsian man of the future is, thus, correctly described as "a completely integrated species-being" and it is in these terms that both Wells and Shaw adopted a form of social Darwinism which secularised "the idea of order, equilibrium and hierarchy, this time in a social context."<sup>19</sup> As George Watson has argued,

"...a vision of historical progress linked to racial purification was not a brief interest of Victorian socialists... Social Darwinism and an interest in Eugenics had joined to suggest that progress was interpreted in racial terms."<sup>20</sup>

In the name of eugenic "efficiency," Wells in Anticipations could therefore call for the elimination of "those swarms of black, and

brown, and dirty-white and yellow people" who, like the unassimilated "Jewish race," did not fit into "the great world of the future" (317). For Wells, as Patricia Stubbs has noted, "Social Darwinism was to be a substitute for the political action which could eliminate the real causes of 'racial decline'--poverty and inequality."<sup>21</sup> Shaw similarly interpreted social progress in purely "racial terms." In his The Revolutionist's Handbook (1903), he is most explicit:

"The only fundamental and possible Socialism is the socialization of the selective breeding of Man: in other terms, of human evolution. We must eliminate the Yahoo, or his vote will wreck the commonwealth" (245).

For Shaw, socialism is synonymous with an "evolutionary Life Force" as this entails the "replacement of Man with the Superman" which is the "only hope for Mankind."<sup>22</sup> In these terms, the existence of "the Jew" represents mankind's inability to evolve into a "new race":

"Even the Jews, who, from Moses to Marx to Lassalle, have inspired all the revolutions, have had to confess that, after all, the dog will return to his vomit and the sow that has wasted to her wallowing in the mire; and we may as well make up our minds that Man will return to his idols and his cupidities, in spite of all 'movements' and all revolutions, until his nature is changed" (234).<sup>23</sup>

The Jews, "from Moses to Marx to Lassalle," have the ability to "inspire all the revolutions" but, in the last resort, remain Jews; unable to change theirs or man's "nature." That is, the racial Jew represents the worldliness and "cupidity" of man and not the other-worldliness and racial transcendence of the superman. Thus, the revolutionary Jew ambivalently represents "all the revolutions" and, at the same time, man's incapacity for authentic revolutionary change. Wells, similarly, could refer to Marx's own "racial Jewish commercialism" in a critique of orthodox Marxism.<sup>24</sup> It is, therefore, mistaken to categorise the British version of the "socialism of fools" as simply "rich Jew anti-semitism." It is true that the focal

points for "rich Jew anti-semitism" were the South African Jewish plutocracy, the "Court Jews" who accompanied Edward the Seventh and prominent Liberal Jewish politicians. Nevertheless, this fact alone ignores the racial dimension to Jewish stereotyping which was especially apparent after the 1870s. As a racial entity, as John Garrard and P.D. Colbenson have shown, there was a danger that "the poor Jew might become a rich Jew, against whom, as far as many Socialists were concerned, no holds were barred." Both Beatrice Webb and J.A. Hobson could, therefore, stereotype "poor Jews" as having the potential to racially degenerate into "rich Jews."<sup>25</sup> Ironically, by equating Judaism with capitalism, Marx's "On The Jewish Question" encouraged the belief that Jewish racial degeneracy and capitalist degeneracy were, in fact, synonymous. Thus Wells, in Anticipations, was to modernise Marx's thought with a call for the racial assimilation of the Jewish "social parasite" (316) and Shaw was to regard Marx--a baptised Jew--as racially degenerate. Above all, for Wells and Shaw, Jewish particularism was a racial impediment to the evolution of a progressive, scientific, new "species-being" in an ordered world-state. Hence, the symbolic opposition and ambivalent connection between the Jew and utopia in their imagination. It is this stereotype that will now be examined in their creative writing.

#### H.G. Wells: The Dark Jewish Stereotype and Unfulfilled Utopias

It has been said that H.G. Wells had a "kinetic" view of utopia in that he defined utopia as "...a hopeful state, leading to a long ascent of stages."<sup>26</sup> In these terms, Wells believed in the eradication of evil in human beings through an ordered, scientific evolution as represented by the racial assimilation of the Jews. Nevertheless, as many critics have argued, Wells' "hopeful" utopian socialism was contradicted in mood, at least, by his imaginative fiction.<sup>27</sup> Thus,

the bright assimilated Jew in Anticipations did not reappear in his novels (although, to be sure, such a stereotype would only have been able to appear, paradoxically, in terms of invisibility). Instead, the dark Jewish stereotype acted as an important symbol of a degenerate contemporary world which was preventing the implementation of a future utopia. Tono-Bungay (1909), in particular, has been rightly regarded as a representative novel of "The Condition of England" question at the turn of the century.<sup>28</sup> David Lodge, in this context, has usefully summarised Wells' pessimistic diagnosis of the contemporary condition of England:

"Late Victorian and Edwardian England is a country dedicated to aimlessness and waste... Consequently, capitalism has been allowed to burgeon without control, creating 'the most unpremeditated, subtle, successful, and aimless plutocracy that ever encumbered the destinies of mankind;' and forcing the mass of mankind into living conditions of barbarous dreariness. If things continue to drift on this way, they can only get worse."<sup>29</sup>

Clearly, this view of a degenerate England can be related back to Wells' earlier pessimistic "fin de siècle biological ideas" and dark view of England's racial evolution.<sup>30</sup> Thus, as Lodge notes, in Tono-Bungay: "there is a strain of disease and decay imagery which establishes [the novel's] theme and draws the episodic narrative into a coherent design." In these terms, England itself can be regarded as the central character of Tono-Bungay which, in turn, is shown to be an "organism" subject to decay, disorder and disease.<sup>31</sup> Given this thematic structure, it is not surprising that the "social parasitism" of the Lichtenstein's—a family of Jewish plutocrats—is invoked by Wells as a dark symbol of England's decline:

"These Lichtensteins and their like seem to have no promise in them at all of any fresh vitality for the kingdom. I do not believe in their intelligence or their power—they have nothing new about them at all, nothing creative nor rejuvenescent, no more than a disorderly instinct of acquisition; and the prevalence of them and their kind is but a phase in the broad, slow decay of the great social organism in England.

They could not have made *Bladesover*, they cannot replace it; they just happen to break over it—saprophytically" (51-52).

Here Wells, with startling clarity, not only announces the main theme of the novel—"the broad slow decay of the great social organism in England"—but the specific function of the Lichtensteins who represent the "disorderly instinct of acquisition." I would argue that only the symbolic intensity of T.S. Eliot's poetic diction was to portray the dark Jewish stereotype with equal resonance in modern English literature. Ironically, it is Wells' explicit use of pseudo-scientific vocabulary that enabled him to construct the Jewish stereotype so succinctly in terms of symbolic opposites. The Jew is not "rejuvenescent"—a word that T.S. Eliot was to echo—but, by implication, is determined by his ancient racial exclusivity.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the Jew represents "disorder" as he can only act racially as a "saprophyte"—literally "an organism which lives on decayed matter."<sup>33</sup> *Bladesover*, in the novel's terms, is also quite literally a symbol of order and dignity: "it illuminates England; it has become all that is spacious, dignified, pretentious, and truly conservative in English life" (51). In other words, *Bladesover* is Wells' gentlemanly "social datum" (51) and, by implication, the reader's reactionary social yardstick to oppose the parasitic Jew. It is the dark Jewish stereotype—parasitically replacing the Aristocracy—that symbolises England's decline.<sup>34</sup> Wells can, therefore, describe the ambivalent Jew as "pseudomorphous" (9)—literally "a false or deceptive form; a crystal or other body consisting of one mineral but having the form proper to another."<sup>35</sup> Once again, Wells' pseudo-scientific vocabulary gives his fiction a rare symbolic intensity:

"Bladesover House is now let furnished to Sir Reuben Lichtenstein, and has been since old Lady Drew died; ...It was curious to notice then the little differences that had come to things with this substitution. To borrow an image from my mineralogical days, these Jews were not so much a new British gentry as 'pseudomorphous' after the gentry. They are

a very clever people, the Jews, but not clever enough to suppress their cleverness" (9).

The disguised--or "pseudomorphous"--Jew has been seen to be a central feature of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype throughout this study.<sup>36</sup> In Wells' wider world-view it is the racially assimilated--presumably "amorphous"--Jew that prefigures a utopian society. Hence, in Tono-Bungay, it is his opposite--the racially unassimilated Jew--who represents a degenerative capitalist world. Moreover, in the novel, it is the city of London, no less, that is the cancerous disease at the heart of England's "...unorganised, ...tumorous growth-process" (82).<sup>37</sup> London is the geographical and symbolic opposite of rural Bladesover and therefore the city promotes, with obvious irony, a fraudulent medical cure--all called "Tono-Bungay." At the centre of Wells' "tumour" is the "morbidly expanded... dark and sinister clean, clear, social assurance of the West End" (81-2). At the heart of the disease, the "old aristocratic dignity" of Bladesover has been replaced by "actors and actresses, moneylenders and Jews, bold financial adventurers" (82). London is now, significantly:

"...a city of [Lichtenstein occupied] Bladesovers, the capital of a kingdom of Bladesovers, all much shaken and many altogether in decay, parasitically occupied, insidiously replaced by alien, unsympathetic and irresponsible elements;-- and withal ruling an adventitious and miscellaneous empire of a quarter of this daedal earth" (82-3).

Only Hilaire Belloc's political antisemitism of this decade expressed so completely the condition of England in terms of an alien, parasitic, rapacious, Jewish stereotype. It is not difficult to see that the fraudulent promotion of "Tono-Bungay" on the stock exchange and within the British Empire is an exact replication of Belloc's political satires of this time.<sup>38</sup> However, not even Belloc could achieve the sustained narrative image of a "saprophytically" digested



Bladesover to symbolise the power of the anti-utopian degenerating Jew in English society.<sup>39</sup>

The New Machiavelli (1911) and Marriage (1912) both continue to utilise the dark Jewish stereotype as a symbol of a degenerating capitalist society. The New Machiavelli shifts the terms of Wells' analysis of the condition of England from the metaphor of England as a diseased social organism to a more overtly political criticism of English society based on Wells' own political experience.<sup>40</sup> In particular, The New Machiavelli portrays the Liberal Cabinet Minister, Herbert Samuel--one of the protagonists of the Marconi Scandal--as the "excessively correct" Lewis.<sup>41</sup> That is, Lewis is one of the politicians which causes Remington--Wells' idealistic persona--to be disillusioned with the hypocrisy of the Liberal party. Given the "diseased" West End in Tono-Bungay, it is not surprising that Lewis and his cousins lived:

"...further towards Kensington, where his cousins the Solomons and the Hartsteins lived, a brilliant representative of his race, able industrious and invariably uninspired, with a wife a little in revolt against the racial tradition of feminine servitude and inclined to the suffragette point of view" (193).

In contrast to Lewis' proliferating cousins, one of Remington's "radical" achievements in the novel is to get "...the Endowment of Motherhood as a practical form of Eugenics into English politics" (306). This scientific, eugenically efficient means of reproducing "the race" is meant to contrast starkly with Lewis' haphazard means of reproduction. This is especially true since, for Remington, "every improvement is provisional except the improvement of the race..." (306)<sup>42</sup> In fact, Wells in his Autobiography (1934) was to make the distinction between Lewis and Remington explicit: "I have always been disposed to despise people who cluster close in families, gangs, clans and nations. That is my main objection to Jews... It

is my theory that a world socialism means a bolder and more fearless individualism..."<sup>43</sup> It is precisely because the "fearlessly individual" Wellsian persona is "rejected by a society which cannot reconcile his personal and moral life with the image to which it requires a statesman to conform" that, rather feebly I think, Wells places Remington's sexual philandering on the level of a major critique of a racially disordered society.<sup>44</sup> In these terms, the "representative" Lewis, who is "on the verge of the cabinet," and who speaks with a "'mandate' from the Country"--which is "sacred to his system of pretences"--is the polar opposite of Remington (225). Moreover, Remington's "fearlessly individual" utopianism identifies a Liberal agenda which is identical to the radical Liberal and socialist critique of the Boer War. For Wells, it was the government's "...failure to control the grasping financiers in South Africa,... its misconduct of the Boer War, its waste of the world's resources..." (198/9) which are the "real" issues in society which Remington identifies but which the Liberals--because of the likes of Lewis--avoid tackling. Nevertheless, unlike Tono-Bungay, the Jewish stereotype in The New Machiavelli was only a small part of a wider critique of the main political parties in English society. More specifically, the "racial" element in this book is relegated to the wider question of eugenic reproduction. Thus, Jewish assimilation was only one element in Wells' far reaching eugenic programme.<sup>45</sup>

Only in Marriage, one of Wells' worst novels, is the dark Jewish stereotype given an exhaustive and didactic treatment. In fact, Marriage can be seen as the culmination of Wells' perception of Jews--and the "Jewish Question"--in this period. However, it is obvious that Marriage is an artistic failure, whereas Tono-Bungay and The New Machiavelli are aesthetically, at least, lasting. One main reason for Marriage's failure as a work of literature is that Wells,

in this novel, explicitly describes the dark Jewish stereotype in purely didactic--as opposed to symbolic--terms. Marriage, significantly, was the catalyst which caused the famous debate between Wells and Henry James concerning the nature of fiction to begin in earnest. Marriage was written explicitly as a "problem novel" concerning the "inevitable waste" involved in the marriage of two people who are motivated by opposing forces.<sup>46</sup> Marjorie Trafford is a part of "a world where a mercantile gentility has conquered passion" and who therefore enjoys "spending freely and vigorously... heaps of money" (185/6). Opposing Marjorie's materialism is her husband, Trafford, who is the stock idealistic Wellsian "fearless individualist." That is, the scientific hero whose genius is "wasted" by his wife's materialistic demands upon him. As in The New Machiavelli, marriage and familial reproduction are placed firmly on the side of an anti-utopian disorder which "wastes" the talents of the future male elite who are on the side of order, science and utopia. It is as a result of Marjorie's over-spending that Trafford is forced to "prostitute" his scientific genius to Solomonson, a Jewish entrepreneur, who suggests that Trafford "make money for a brief strenuous time, and then come back [to pure science] when Marjorie's pride and comfort were secured..." (385). However, for Wells, the consequences of Trafford's degenerate "marriage" to Solomonson are dire:

"The servant of science has as such no concern with personal consequences; his business is the steady, relentless clarification of knowledge. The human affairs he changes, the wealth he makes or destroys, are no concern of his; once these things weigh with him, become primary, he has lost his honour as a scientific man" (393).

Trafford loses his "honour"--his scientific virginity so to speak (and the analogy is not unapt)--by entering the explicitly degenerate racial other world of the Solomonsons: "enormous vistas of dark

philoprogenitive parents and healthy little Jews and Jewesses seemed to open out to Trafford, hygienically reared, exquisitely trained and educated." The "representative" Lewis in The New Machiavelli is now exhaustively replicated in terms of each proliferating cousin. Jewish minor relatives abound with a bewildering array of "racial characteristics." Once again, the very fact of Jewish "philoprogeniture"--a word and concept that T.S. Eliot's poetry was to echo--is perceived in itself to be degenerate and contrasts with a eugenically ordered reproduction of society.<sup>47</sup> As Wells didactically notes, when Trafford sees the Solomonsons: "[he] wasn't above the normal human vanity of esteeming his own race and type the best, and certain vulgar aspects of what nowadays one calls Eugenics crossed his mind." (316). The "waste" and "disorder" which capitalism represents in Tono-Bungay and The New Machiavelli is explicitly identified with a racial other world; the dark other world which prevents the emergence of a Wellsian utopian elite. Unlike Tono-Bungay, the Jew in Marriage is not merely a symbolic dark shadow over rural England. Instead, he crudely represents a force which opposes Trafford's "relentless clarification of knowledge." Bayme is wrong, therefore, to contrast the "rather simplistic racial barbs in the 1912 Marriage with the sophisticated analysis of the Outline [of History]." To be sure, Marriage does abound with many "racial" references to Jews.<sup>48</sup> Sir Rupert Solomonson, for instance, is described as someone who is "manifestly a Jew, a square-rigged Jew (you have remarked of course that there are square rigged Jews, whose noses are within bounds, and fore-and-aft Jews whose noses aren't)..." (252). Nevertheless, Wells' constant identification and explanation of Jewish "racial" or "oriental" characteristics is not merely a form of abuse--even when encouraging the complicity of the (gentile) reader--as Bayme assumes.<sup>49</sup> On the contrary, it is, I would argue, Wells' means of

didactically creating an exclusive and selfish Pharasaic other world. The Solomonsons, significantly, have the "effect of enchantment" (378) on the poverty stricken Trafford—once again the sexual analogy is not unapt—precisely because they are seen to represent an eastern other world: "with its rich litter of stuffs and ornaments, its fine profusion, its delicacies of flower and food and furniture, its frequent inconsecutive pleasure, its noiseless, ready service..." (376) and, one might as well add, its "long Persian robes," "motor-cars, immensely costly furs and diamonds" (374).<sup>50</sup> Thus, Solomonson does not make money in any rational sense but, instead, had "that inexplicable alchemy of mind which distills gold from the commerce of the world... he accumulates wealth as one grows a beard..." (377). What better analogy for the Jewish racial ability to pointlessly accumulate wealth than the growth of a beard--the one image which represents the Jewish patriarch and a welcome succinctness reminiscent of Tono-Bungay. Interestingly, Wells' Joan and Peter (1918) even suggests that "all Jews... ought to grow beards. At least after they are over thirty. They are too dark to shave, and besides there is a sort of indignity about their clean shaven faces. A bearded old Jew can look noble, a moustached old Jew always looks like an imitation of a Norman gentleman done in cheaper material. But that of course was exactly what he was..." (320). Here Wells, like G.K. Chesterton and Belloc, wanted the Jewish other clearly defined for all to see.<sup>51</sup>

Significantly, Marjorie Trafford identifies with the "alien" mood of the Solomonsons as their "interest and excitement" was "closely akin to latent factors in Marjorie's composition" (377). Thus Wells, at a stroke, conflates Marjorie's materialism, the Jewish other, and the "wasteful" nature of Trafford's marriage to Marjorie and Solomonson. Solomonson, furthermore, is explicitly shown as

"pseudo-morphous"--able to "abandon his Orientalism" (380) or, ambivalently, lapse uncontrollably into the "Oriental" when persuading Trafford to join him:

"My dear chap, positively--you mustn't,' Solomonson had screamed, and he had opened his fingers and humped his shoulders and for all his public school and university training lapsed undisguisedly into the Oriental. 'Don't you see all you are throwing away?' he squealed" (392).

As with Buchan's ambivalent Jewish-gentlemen, Wells shows us the "real" alien nature of the Jew. Beneath Solomonson's "sanity and comfort," "patience and disdain," "loyalty and honesty" and capitalist wealth, lurks the degenerate "squeal" of the "Oriental." Such is Wells' characterisation of contemporary society. Only when Trafford is deemed to have finally "wasted" his scientific genius does Wells articulate explicitly the anti-utopian nature of Solomonson's parasitic world:

"I've got into this stupid struggle for winning money' [Trafford] went on, 'and I feel like a woman must feel who's made a success of prostitution. I've been prostituted. I feel like some one fallen and diseased... Business and prostitution, they're the same thing. All business is a sort of prostitution, all prostitution is a sort of business. Why should one sell one's brains any more than one sells one's body?'..." (437/8).

Here the sexual analogy, running throughout the novel, is made explicit for the first time as is the reactionary nature of Wells' socialism. If Trafford can be said to represent England's utopian future, then Wells is evoking the sexual fears, generated by the anti-alien lobby, that Jews were "prostituting" English society for their own ends.<sup>52</sup> England, in these terms, could be evoked by Wells as a "fallen" Eden. But such was the logic of a stereotype which identified the Jew with the evils of modern capitalism.

An early crude example of Wells' basic opposition between the enlightened world of science and the dark "greasy" Jew can be found

in The Invisible Man (1897). Just as the Wellsian persona was about to make himself invisible, his Jewish landlord objects to his scientific experiments. The hero retaliates by setting fire to the Jew's house. Such is the stark contrast, in Wells' vision, between scientific and social advance on the one hand and the dark Jewish stereotype on the other.<sup>53</sup>

**George Bernard Shaw: Enacting Ambivalence, Superman and the Jew**

Unlike H.G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw had a problematic imaginative relationship to his socialist ideology. In contrast to the rather dour, didactic world of Wells' fiction, Shaw enacted his ideology in explicitly ironic and playful terms. Thus, whilst Wells' future world-state was time and again portrayed as an unambiguous force for good, Shaw's evolutionary "Life Force"--leading to socialism--was dramatised as an ambivalent questionable entity.<sup>54</sup> For Shaw, as Margery Morgan has argued, "good has to adopt the methods of evil in the world as it is... Virtue cannot survive except in alliance with calculation, hardness and deceit." In this context, therefore, there is a tension in Shaw's imagination--and not a simple binary opposition--between his naturalism and supernaturalism; his belief in the superman at the expense of man; and his quest for a worldly utopia in terms of the "longing for divine."<sup>55</sup> Thus, Shaw's opposition between the superman and the Jew, in his ideology, was not a simple moral distinction in his fiction and drama. In general, as W.S. Smith has shown:

"The creative dramatist continues to be fascinated by the Undershafts, the Devils, the Napoleons, the Cauchons--those who stand in the way of evolutionary progress towards the Superman, as well as those who carry its banner. And indeed, within the context of the dramas, it is not always obvious which is which."<sup>56</sup>

In these terms, the very ambivalence of the Jewish stereotype made it a potent symbol of "evil" in Shaw's imagination and an ironic counterpoint to the equally ambiguous progressive superman figure. This ironic tension, in fact, was first fictionalised by Shaw in his early novel, An Unsocial Socialist (1883).

An Unsocial Socialist is the fifth and best of Shaw's "novel's of his nonage" and, according to Shaw, was "only the first chapter of a vast work depicting capitalist society in dissolution..." Significantly, as a number of studies have shown, An Unsocial Socialist anticipates Shaw's Edwardian plays and, in particular, Man and Superman. Most importantly, the novel reveals the end of the Shavian search for a hero. That is, the novel's hero, Sidney Trefius--the rich socialist of the book's title--has clearly been demonstrated to be the first of the characteristic Shavian superman/Don Juan personas of which John Tanner in Man and Superman is the best known example.<sup>57</sup> What has not been understood or stated, however, is that Mr. Jansenius, the Jewish plutocrat and, in the novel's world, the living embodiment of a "dissolving" capitalist society, represents an early ambivalent Jewish stereotype which culminates in the character of Mendoza in Man and Superman. Thus, the basic opposition between the Jew and superman in Shaw's philosophy is already adumbrated in An Unsocial Socialist.

The novel opens with Sidney Trefius five weeks into his marriage with Henrietta Jansenius, the daughter of the Jewish plutocrat. By the second chapter of the novel, Trefius decides that he wants to end his marriage and, in a letter to her, gives the following reasons for doing so:

"...I long to return to my old lonely ascetic hermit life, to my dry books; my Socialist propagandism; my voyage of discovery through the wilderness of thought. I married in an insane fit of belief that I had a share of the natural affection which carries other men through lifetimes of matrimony.



Already I am undeceived. You are to me the loveliest woman in the world. Well, for five weeks I walked and talked and dallied with the loveliest woman in the world, and the upshot is that I am flying from her, and am for a hermit's cave until I die. Love cannot keep possession of me: all my strongest powers rise up against it and will not endure it." (11)

As in Wells' fictional world marriage is seen to dissipate the progressive energies of the novelist's heroic persona and is a major force for a disordered and unscientific evolution. Shaw says as much in The Revolutionist's Handbook with, it seems reasonable to suppose, the plot of An Unsocial Socialist in mind:

"...the son of a robust, cheerful, eupeptic British country squire, with the tastes and range of his class, and of a clever, imaginative, intellectual, highly civilized Jewess, might be very superior to both his parents; but it is not likely that the Jewess would find the squire an interesting companion, or his habits, his friends, his place and mode of life congenial to her. Therefore marriage, whilst it is made an indispensable condition of mating, will delay the advent of the Superman as effectually as Property, and will be modified by the impulse towards him just as effectually" (219).

To be sure, in An Unsocial Socialist, it is Sidney and not Henrietta who ends the marriage. Yet, what is worth noting in these two examples is Shaw's belief that a marriage between an English gentleman and a "civilized Jewess" was, by definition, reactionary. That is, it is the fact that Henrietta is a sexually desirable Jewess-- "the loveliest woman in the world"--that makes marriage to her so distracting for Sidney and, thus, paradoxically necessary for him to leave her to continue his "socialist propagandism." In fact, Henrietta's description as a beguiling sexual other is a common stereotype of this time:

"...She was of the olive complexion (sic), with a sharp profile: dark eyes with long lashes; narrow mouth with delicately sensuous lips; small head, feet, and hands, with long taper fingers; lithe and very slender figure moving with serpent-like grace. Oriental taste was displayed in the colors of her costume, ...decorated with a profusion of gold bangles" (9).<sup>58</sup>

Wells' Marriage similarly portrays a member of England's scientific elite being seduced by the racial other world of the "oriental" Jew. In these terms, the Jew is perceived as a major force helping capitalist society to preserve itself. Mr. Jansenius, in particular, can be compared with Wells' Solomonson in Marriage. Once again, the effortless, unproductive, money-creating ability of the Jewish plutocracy is to the fore:

"Mr. Jansenius was a man of imposing presence, not yet in his fiftieth year, but not far from it... His handsome aquiline nose and keen dark eyes proclaimed his Jewish origins, of which he was ashamed. Those who did not know this naturally believed that he was proud of it, and were at a loss to account for his permitting his children to be educated as Christians. Well instructed in business and subject to no emotion outside the love of family, respectability, comfort, and money, he had maintained the capital inherited from his father, and made it breed in the usual way... he had the satisfaction of being at once a wealthy citizen and a public benefactor, rich in comforts and easy in conscience" (13).

Clearly, Jansenius represents the complacency of worldly man—"the family, respectability, comfort and money"—which opposes Shaw's other-worldly Life Force as it is embodied in Sidney's socialism. It is in these terms that one should examine Sidney's callous attitude to Henrietta's death—"she had a warm room and a luxurious bed to die in... Plenty of people are starving and freezing today that we may have the means to die fashionably" (71). From the earliest reviews, as Colin Wilson has argued, this episode has "aroused the distaste of practically every writer on Shaw..." This was the reason for Shaw's appended "Letter to the Author" in the book's second edition.<sup>59</sup> Yet, Sidney's attack on Jansenius at the time of his daughter's death must be seen in the context of Jansenius' symbolic role in the novel as a Jewish stereotype opposing the Life Force of socialism. Thus, Sidney can argue with Jansenius that "I thought you loved Hetty, but I see that you only love your feelings and your respectability. The devil

take you both! She was right; my love for her, incomplete as it was, was greater than yours" (130). The point being that, even with Hetty's death, Sidney can still invoke his other-worldly idealism to oppose Jansenius' worldly complacency. Yet, as Dietrich has argued:

"The early novel heroes... come very close to being monsters rather than Supermen. ...'Inhuman' is a word that Shaw frequently used, ironically, to describe his Supermen heroes, indicating how sensitive he was to the accusation as well as the danger of them being inhuman."<sup>60</sup>

Obviously, in these terms, Trefius embodies the ambiguity of the Shavian superman/Don Juan persona as his socialism is presented as being "inseparable from elements of knavery and folly" in his character.<sup>61</sup> By the same token, Jansenius' symbolic role as a bastion of capitalist complacency is qualified in the novel by Trefius' callous treatment of his daughter. Hence, his role as a dark Jewish stereotype is similarly undercut by the reader's sympathy for the death of his daughter. As with Shaw's later plays, the novel's drama undercuts a simple binary opposition between the Jew and superman. Jansenius may well be, in Trefius's terms, "high in the court of Mammon" and Trefius may well have Christ-like pretensions and be "fit for no calling but that of Saviour of Mankind..." (104) Nevertheless, there is not an unproblematic or didactic opposition between evil and good in Shaw's novel as there is in its Wellsian counterparts. Shaw, to his credit, constantly questioned his ideological assumptions. Thus, in the last page of An Unsocial Socialist, Trefius meets Jansenius after a long absence and Trefius asks:

"Have you ever made up your mind, Jansenius, whether I am an unusually honest man, or one of the worst products of the social organisation I spend all my energies assailing--an infernal scoundrel, in short?" (253)

The fact that Trefius married into the Jansenius family--if only for a short while--points to the complicity as well as the obvious--and stereotypical--opposition between these two embodiments of Shaw's

ideology. Underlying this point, Trefius finally marries Jansenius' non-Jewish--and therefore racially unproblematical--ward, Agatha Wylie, which eventually confirms the complicit nature of the progressive superman/Don Juan figure and the Jew/Devil figure opposing the Life Force. It was in these terms that An Unsocial Socialist enacted the Shavian paradox that the progressive superman had to adopt the "methods of evil in the world as it is."<sup>62</sup>

In April 1900, H.M. Hyndman, the leader of the Social Democratic Federation in Britain, wrote to Shaw to request him to end the Fabian Society's officially neutral policy on the Boer War (1899-1902) and to try and dissuade Shaw from taking what he regarded as an anti-Boer stand. Hyndman, and his newspaper Justice, it has been noted, stereotyped the South African Jewish plutocrat as a conspirator trying to create "an Anglo-Hebraic Empire in Africa."<sup>63</sup> It was in these terms that Hyndman wrote to Shaw and described "the whole series of blackguardian acts resorted to by Chamberlain, Milner, Rhodes and the German Jews..." In a bid to achieve a united socialist front against the Boer War Hyndman, in another letter, argued that "these big Jew capitalists.. want to reduce the cost of living [in South Africa] at the expense of the miners, White and Black." Shaw, significantly, replied to Hyndman with distancing irony that he preferred "your wretched Barnatos and Rothschilds" to the "prurient, self righteous and racially arrogant Boers."<sup>64</sup> Moreover, Shaw defended the Fabian's neutral stand on the Boer War in Robert Blatchford's The Clarion in May 1900 and dismissed the anti-Jewish sentiment that, he rightly believed, was a common feature of socialist opposition to the conflict. Shaw argued that: "few socialists seemed to share my scruples. With most of us it is 'Down with equality! Down with Federation! Down with the Jews!'"<sup>65</sup> The experience of the Boer War, therefore, clearly reinforced Shaw's

ironic relationship to the Jewish stereotype--adumbrated in An Unsocial Socialist--and, I would argue, was the immediate political impetus behind the ironic portrait of Mendoza as the ambivalent Jew/Devil figure in Man and Superman (1903). Specifically, as is widely agreed, Shaw based the personality of John Tanner--his superman/Don Juan hero in Man and Superman--on H.M. Hyndman who, like Tanner, was a gentleman socialist. Obviously the experience of the Boer War was still very much in Shaw's mind when he sat down to write his first major dramatisation of his evolutionary socialist ideology. In fact, Shaw was even able to incorporate the "socialist anti-semitism" of the Social Democratic Federation into his play.<sup>66</sup>

Man and Superman, in general terms, was clearly a direct re-working of the main themes of An Unsocial Socialist. Trefius, Tanner and Hyndman are, therefore, all described as M.I.R.C.'s--"Members of the Idle Rich Class"--and, as Morgan has argued, Shaw's choice of a wealthy gentleman-socialist as his heroic persona points to a telling ambiguity by the author towards his mouthpiece.<sup>67</sup> When Mendoza and Tanner meet for the first time it is, thus, with an opening exchange which summarises with memorable symmetry the complicity between Mendoza's and Tanner's worlds:

"MENDOZA: [Posing loftily] I am a brigand: I live by robbing the rich.

TANNER: [Promptly] I am a gentleman: I live by robbing the poor. Shake hands." (114)

In fact, Morgan has gone so far as to argue that this dramatic moment indicates the extent to which: "Mendoza's band caricatures capitalist society in a mirror image... The anarchists of Mendoza's 'parliament' wears the top-hat which Shaw commonly employs as the badge of capitalist respectability..."<sup>68</sup> Above all, in Shaw's view, it is the romanticism associated with revolutionary socialism that means it is unable to confront the reality of the evolutionary Life

Force and, hence, transform capitalist society. Mendoza is, therefore, pointedly described as being both a capitalist and a hopeless romantic which shows the inability of his revolutionary socialism to change society.<sup>69</sup> He is a "tall strong man, with an upturned moustache, and a Mephistophelean affectation which is fairly imposing..." and he also has a "certain sentimentality" (110) which is signalled initially by his Zionism (which was itself romantically perceived by most English writers at this time):<sup>70</sup>

"MENDOZA: [with crushing magnanimity] It is true that I have the honour to be a Jew; and when the Zionists need a leader to reassemble our race on its historic soil of Palestine, Mendoza will not be the last to volunteer..." (112)

In fact, Mendoza's brigands are first encountered in the middle of a stultifying three day political debate on the question: "Have Anarchists or Social Democrats the most political courage?" which indicates the unreal, factious and sterile nature of revolutionary--as opposed to evolutionary--socialism as Shaw perceived it. Thus, it is the Jew who, above all, embodies the worldly life-denying forces which oppose the Life Force. As Mendoza's own history indicates:

"In America I went out West and fell in with a man who was wanted by the police for holding up trains. It was he who had the idea of holding up motor cars in the South of Europe: a welcome idea to a desperate and disappointed man. He gave me some valuable introductions to capitalists of the right sort. I formed a syndicate; and the present enterprise is the result. I became leader, as the Jew always becomes leader, by his brains and imagination" (119).

Mendoza--rather like Buchan's ambivalent Jewish stereotypes--is perceived to be able to embody the forces of Zionism, socialism and capitalism. Once again, the Jew is the natural "leader" of this world precisely because he cannot transcend his evolutionary "nature."<sup>71</sup> Significantly, by the end of the play, the chief symbol of a corrupt plutocracy--the American financier Hector Malone--is

discovered to be the "financier of the brigands" and Tanner, unsurprisingly, deems Mendoza's principles to be "thoroughly commercial." In fact, by the end of the play, Mendoza and Malone are described as "two brigands together" as they are seen to be discussing the stocks and shares of "Mendoza Limited" (192-197). The worldly power of the Jew and his absolute inability to transcend his nature means that he represents the most coherent philosophical threat to Tanner and, thus, Shaw's other-worldly utopian superman. The Jew is always the romantic individualist in Shaw's view, hence Mendoza's unrequited love for Louissa Straker and his resulting idealisation of her:

"TANNER: Did she respond to your love?

MENDOZA: Should I be here if she did? She objected to marrying a Jew.

TANNER: On religious grounds?

MENDOZA: No; she was a freethinker. She said that every Jew considers in his heart that English people are dirty in their habits.

TANNER: [surprised] Dirty!

MENDOZA: It shewed her extraordinary knowledge of the world; for it is undoubtedly true. Our elaborate sanitary code makes us unduly contemptuous of the Gentile" (118)

In these terms, Jews are "unable to adapt themselves to their environment" and assimilate into the evolutionary Life Force as Shaw similarly argued about Anglo-Jewry in the Jewish Chronicle.<sup>72</sup> That is, it is the Jew's racial individualism--embodied in his image as the romantic other--that renders him the fundamental opposite to Tanner as utopian superman. Shaw utilises the debate in Act Three of Man and Superman as a means of universalising the crucial philosophical and political opposition that Tanner--as superman--and Mendoza--as Jew--represents. The debate, therefore, philosophically distinguishes between "good" and "evil" at the same time as the play's

drama makes such distinctions problematical. It is this internal dialectic that makes Man and Superman such a lasting achievement.

Significantly, the debate in Act Three begins by distinguishing the "Devil" as "the leader of the best society" and "Hell" as "a City much like Seville" (126/7). In fact, Shaw's Hell is contemporary English society where the Devil has his "largest following" (137). It is in these terms that the Jew is perceived as the "leader" of society. For Shaw: "Hell is the home of the unreal and of the seekers for happiness. It is the only refuge from Heaven, which is... the home of the slaves of reality" (139). Mendoza, and the racially individualistic Jew, is thus the leader of the worldly romantic "unreality" of Hell which opposes: "Life: the force that ever strives to attain greater power of contemplating itself" (141). Because the Jew cannot "conceive of something better than himself" he is transformed into "the strange monster called a Devil" (165). Hence, both the Devil and Mendoza are "Mephistophelean," tempting man away from his "real purpose;" the creation of the superman (160). In these terms, therefore, the Jew/Devil is the embodiment of "evil" and the superman/Don Juan of "good." Obviously, this is Shaw at his most didactic and unproblematical. Only at the end of the debate does Shaw begin to question his own assumptions and let the Devil have the last devastating word: "Beware the pursuit of the Superhuman: it leads to an indiscriminate contempt for the Human" (171). Moreover, in terms of the play's drama, Tanner does marry Ann which undercuts much of what "Don Juan" says of "Aña." Hence, once again, there is an unresolved dialectic in Shaw--and Man and Superman--between his philosophical assumptions and the dramatic realisation of those assumptions. Nowhere is this unresolved tension more visible than in Major Barbara (1905).



In Man and Superman the devil opposes the Life Force by arguing that in contemporary society "this marvelous force of Life of which you boast is a force of Death; Man measures his strength by his destructiveness" (143). In Major Barbara, the devil's case is dramatically embodied in the character of Undershaft; "Son and heir to Undershaft and Lazarus, Death and Destruction Dealers: address Christendom and Judea" (55). Moreover, Shaw argues that "Andrew Undershaft and Lazarus positively have Europe under their thumbs" and, later on in the play, this belief is underlined by Undershaft:

"I am the government of your country: I, and Lazarus. Do you suppose that you and a half a dozen amateurs like you, sitting in a row in that foolish gabble shop, can govern Undershaft and Lazarus? No, my friend: you will do what pays us. You will make war when it suits us, and keep peace when it doesn't. You will find out that trade requires certain measures when we have decided on those measures. When I want anything to keep my dividends down, you will call out the police and military. And in return you shall have the support and applause of my newspapers, and the delight of imagining that you are a great statesman..." (124).

Clearly Undershaft represents the degenerate plutocracy of the Devil's kingdom which Shaw emphasises by continually likening Undershaft to Satan, Machiavelli, Mephistopheles, and Marlowe's Barabas.<sup>73</sup> In these terms, it is not surprising that just as Mendoza is associated with Morgan's degenerate plutocracy in Man and Superman, Undershaft has Lazarus--a Jewish plutocrat--as a silent partner. As has been seen, whenever Undershaft's devilish worldly power is mentioned Shaw also evokes the stereotypical Lazarus--address "Judea;" arranger of War Loans "under cover of giving credit for the cannons" (55); and joint ruler of Europe. Furthermore, Lazarus is a significant element in the plot of Major Barbara as he makes: "a stand and insisted that the succession to [Lazarus and Undershaft] must be settled one way or the other..." (119). When Undershaft chooses Barbara's fiancé--the poet and moralist Adolphus Cusins--as his suc-

cessor Cusins asks "what will Lazarus say?" and Undershaft's reply is important for an understanding of the function of the Jewish stereotype in the play:

"Lazarus is a gentle romantic Jew who cares for nothing but string quartets and stalls at fashionable theatres. He will be blamed for your rapacity in money matters, poor fellow! as he hitherto been blamed for mine. You are a shark of the first order Euripides. So much the better for the firm!" (138).

The "romantic Jew" has the same worldly power as an Undershaft but, by his very nature, obfuscates that power and makes it "unreal." Lazarus, significantly, never actually appears in *Major Barbara* for, structurally, the Jew stays aloof and is other to the Life Force. In his self-delusion he is "blamed" for ignoring the consequences of his power. Here the ambivalence of Jewish power is exactly defined by Shaw. Jewish power is both present in the play and, at the same time, physically absent from the stage. Such is Shaw's dramatic embodiment of the ambivalent Jew who symbolises the worldly revolutionary power of man which cannot transform itself into the other-worldly transcendent power of the superman. In contrast, the ostensibly evil Undershaft is able to make this evolutionary transition into the Life Force by the very act of recognising himself as "evil."<sup>74</sup> In terms of this enactment of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype, the Jew qua Jew is therefore a monumental irrelevance--estranged from the Life Force as a racial other and unreal romantic. Unlike Tanner in Man and Superman, or Undershaft in Major Barbara, the Jew is unable to distinguish good from evil and, thus, racially evolve. He is, therefore, Mendoza and his factious revolutionaries in a philosophical drama that is hardly ever dramatised; he is the pointedly off-stage fashionable theatre-goer; or the sexual other and ludicrous marriage of five weeks. Shaw's ironic relationship with the dark Jewish stereotype meant that he perceived the massive

presence of Jewish power, in the final resort, as an irrelevance--a loud silence--the very obverse of the evolutionary Life Force. To achieve the superman and socialism one had, simply, to transcend the Jew and his mystifying worldliness. Shaw could evoke the stereotype of Jewish power but, in understanding its ambivalence, he knew that he did not even have to embody it in its most sophisticated expression in Major Barbara.<sup>75</sup>

**Conclusion: The Dark Jewish Stereotype and the Failure of Socialism**

With the evident failure of Fabianism to create a socialist world-state and with the evolutionary Life Force succumbing to the carnage of the First World War, the "hopeful" socialism of Wells and Shaw receded into an increasingly gloomy dark world-view. In this context, Wells--"at the end of his tether"--was to identify Jewish nationalism as a dark force which had prevented a "world settlement" after the First World War. In fact, in a large amount of bitter post-War polemic, Wells was to stereotype the "Jewish race" as "not showing themselves to be citizens of the world," but instead, in his view, they were "behaving like infuriated creditors."<sup>76</sup> Thus, once again, the dark Jewish materialist is juxtaposed with the Wellsian bright world citizen. In Joan and Peter (1918), for instance, Wells described what he called the "certain national egotism the Jews as a people display" as seen in a young Jewish schoolboy called Winterbaum. Winterbaum is contrasted with his friend, Peter--the enlightened Wellsian hero--and is shown to be a "Zionist" in purely racial terms:

"The differences in form and gesture of the two boys were only the outward and visible signs of profound differences between their imaginations. For example, the heroes of Peter's romancings were wonderful humorous persons, Nobby's and Bungo Peters, and his themes, adventures, struggles, quests that left them neither richer nor poorer than before in a limitless, undisciplined, delightful world, but young Winterbaum's

hero was himself, and he thought in terms of achievement and acquisition" (109).<sup>77</sup>

In fact, it can be rightly argued that the dark Jewish stereotype assumed an importance in Wells' imagination in direct relation to his dark view of the world in general. In these terms, Wells was to write an explicitly antisemitic "Case for the Persecution" of European Jewry by Hitler.<sup>78</sup> Shaw, similarly, in the despairing mood of his "heartbreak house," was to increasingly base his politics on "an uncritical support for the men of action of his day." These "men of action" included both Hitler and Mussolini and, thus, Shaw could declare that he "...was a National Socialist before Mr. Hitler was born." Moreover, he was to argue that: "...on the question of the Versailles Treaty versus Hitler, every German Jew... must vote for Hitler."<sup>79</sup> Because Hitler was deemed to be a representative of the Life Force, Shaw, in this context, was to reinforce his earlier belief in a genocidal eugenics:

"...what we are confronted with now is a growing perception that if we desire a certain type of civilization and culture we must exterminate the sort of people who do not fit into it."<sup>80</sup>

Paul Hayes is right to identify this strand of Fabianism with "the emergence of a type of pre-Fascist ideology" in British socialism which anticipated Hitler's "fusion of national and socialist aspirations."<sup>81</sup> Shaw was to dramatise these beliefs in his play, Geneva (1939). In this tired and didactic work, Shaw contrasts the values of an un-named "Jew" with a superman-Hitler figure. Once again, the Jew is the worldly Leader of man: "a race whose brains will guide the world to the new Jerusalem... the race that produced Karl Marx, who produced Soviet Russia" (108). In contrast, the superman-Hitler figure is the by now familiar other-worldly evolutionist which opposes "the Jew":

"...I have snapped my fingers in the face of all your Jewish beliefs and Roman traditions... You must all come my way, because I march with the times, and march as a pioneer, not as a camp follower. As a pioneer I know that the real obstacle to human progress is the sort of mind that has been formed in its infancy by the Jewish Scriptures. That obstacle I must smash through at all costs..." (143).

It is Shaw's superman-Hitler figure that has the Life Force and "marches with the times" carrying with him "human progress." It is the mind formed by "Jewish Scriptures" that avoids the racial transformation of man--by putting its faith in worldly revolution--that must be "smashed through at all costs." By the 1930s, in fact, no other British writer so exactly corresponded with German National Socialism. Such was the dangerous unreality of the "socialism of fools," predicated on the politics of race, which Wells and Shaw had promoted for over half a century.

## NOTES

1. Jacob Katz, From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933 (Harvard, 1980), p. 174 to which I am indebted.
2. Robert Wistrich, Socialism and the Jews (Oxford, 1982) is an exhaustive treatment of this history. See also Nora Levin, While Messiah Tarried: Jewish Socialist Movements, 1871-1917 (London, 1978).
3. Katz, op. cit., Chapters 9 and 13 are a useful general discussion of this history.
4. Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939 (London, 1979), p. 22. For the Chartists see Edmund Silberner, "British Socialism and the Jews," Historia Judaica (XIV, 1952), pp. 27-52 and for an exhaustive account of this history see P.D. Colbenson, "British Socialism and Anti-Semitism, 1884-1914" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Georgia State University, 1977). A recent unscholarly account of this theme is Steve Cohen's That's Funny, You Don't Look Anti-Semitic (Manchester, 1984).
5. A.M. McBriar, Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884-1918 (Cambridge, 1962), p. 8 and Chapter 1 passim. For a discussion of Wells and Shaw as socialist writers see S. Ingle, Socialist Thought in Imaginative Literature (London, 1979), D. Smith, Socialist Propaganda in the Twentieth-Century British Novel (London, 1978) and, less comprehensively, Karl Klaus (ed.) The Socialist Novel in Britain (London, 1982), Chapters 3 and 5. For a dissenting view with reference to Wells see Alan Swingewood, The Novel and Revolution (London, 1975), Chapter 6.
6. Wistrich, op. cit., p. 25 and pp. 25-35. For an exhaustive analysis of Marx in these terms see Julius Carlebach, Karl Marx and the Radical Critique of Judaism (Oxford, 1980).
7. Quoted in Wistrich, op. cit., p. 27 and p. 28 for this argument.
8. Ibid., p. 27 to which I am indebted.
9. Katz, op. cit., p. 122. Chapter 1 of this thesis criticises the study of Jewish stereotyping exclusively in terms of "anti-semitism" of "Jew-hatred."
10. Wells and Shaw are discussed in terms of "socialist anti-semitism" in Lionel Kochan, "H.G. Wells and the Jews," The Jewish Monthly (September, 1950), pp. 361-369, Colbenson, op. cit., pp. 363-373 and p. 583 and in Steven Bayme, "Jewish Leadership and Anti-Semitism in Britain, 1898-1918" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1977), pp. 101-129.

11. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the ambivalent Jewish stereotype as a form of coercion. See also Cohen, op. cit., Chapter 4.
12. Bayme, op. cit., p. 107 and the Jewish Chronicle, February 5, 1909, p. 20 for Shaw.
13. Androcles and the Lion (London, 1915), p. 480.
14. Ibid., Chapter 11 will discuss this theme in detail.
15. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of this stereotype.
16. Chapter 8 and the conclusion to this chapter discusses these themes. For Wells' virulent anti-Zionism see "H.G. Wells: Socialist Anti-Semite," Collection of Press Cuttings in the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
17. Bayme, op. cit., p. 107. See also Wells' A Short History of the World (London, 1922), p. 75 for a repetition of these views.
18. Smith, op. cit., p. 20. See also W.W. Wager, H.G. Wells and the World State (London, 1961), p. 225 and R.D. Haynes, H.G. Wells: Discoverer of the Future (London, 1980), p. 148.
19. Ingle, op. cit., p. 120 and Greta Jones, Social Darwinism and English Thought: The Interaction Between Biological and Social Theory (Brighton, 1980), Preface p. xiii. Chapter 3 of this thesis discusses Social Darwinism in these terms.
20. George Watson, Politics and Literature in Modern Britain (London, 1977), p. 130 and Chapter 8 passim.
21. Patricia Stubbs, Women and Fiction: Feminism in the Novel, 1880-1920 (Brighton, 1979), p. 188.
22. Ingle, op. cit., p. 115 quotes Shaw.
23. These views are repeated in the Jewish Chronicle, February 5, 1909, p. 20.
24. Wells, The Outline of History (London, 1920), p. 517 and The New World Order (London, 1940), p. 48.
25. John A. Garrard, The English and Immigration, 1880-1910 (Oxford, 1971), pp. 189-190 and Chapter 10 for the impact of Social Darwinism on "rich Jew antisemitism." See also Silberner, op. cit., p. 43 and Holmes op. cit., p. 22 and passim. For references to Beatrice Webb and J.A. Hobson in these terms see Chapter 3 of this thesis. Significantly, Colbenson, op. cit. only confines his discussion of "rich Jew antisemitism" to Chapters 8 and 9 of his thesis.

26. Smith, op. cit., p. 20.
27. Bernard Bergonzi, The Early H.G. Wells (Manchester, 1961) first makes this point which now has the status of orthodoxy. See, for instance, Bernard Bergonzi (ed.) H.G. Wells: A Collection of Critical Essays (London, 1976).
28. David Lodge, "Tono-Bungay and the Condition of England" in Bernard Bergonzi (ed.) H.G. Wells: A Collection of Critical Essays, op. cit. has convincingly related Tono-Bungay to C.F.G. Masterman's The Condition of England (1909). For a recent discussion of this theme see J. Hunter, Edwardian Fiction (London, 1982), Chapter 15.
29. Lodge, op. cit., p. 115.
30. See Chapter 3 for references to these ideas and Bergonzi, The Early H.G. Wells, op. cit., passim.
31. Lodge, op. cit., p. 116 and, more comprehensively, Haynes, op. cit., Chapter 5 for a discussion of this imagery.
32. Chapter 11 discusses T.S. Eliot's "Gerontion" (1920) and the parallels with Wells' Jewish stereotypes.
33. As defined by the Oxford English Dictionary.
34. Malcolm Bradbury, The Social Context of Modern English Literature (Oxford, 1971), p. 52 discusses Tono-Bungay in these terms. See Chapter 2 of this thesis for a comparative discussion of Anthony Trollope.
35. As defined by the Oxford English Dictionary.
36. Chapters 4 and 8 in particular discuss the theme of disguise in this context.
37. Jamie Camplin, The Rise of the Plutocrats (London, 1978) generally discusses perceptions of London in these terms.
38. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of Belloc's novels.
39. Kochan, op. cit., p. 364 wrongly categorises such stereotypes as "vague, imprecise and instinctive."
40. Ingle, op. cit., pp. 66-70 for a discussion of this point.
41. Holmes, op. cit., p. 73 makes this point.
42. Stubbs, op. cit., p. 188 has a useful discussion of this aspect of The New Machiavelli.



43. Post-Script to Experiment in Autobiography (London, 1934) published as H.G. Wells in Love (London, 1984), pp. 115-116.
44. Ibid., for Wells' own sexual philandering which Remington studiously replicates in The New Machiavelli and Stubbs, op. cit., p. 188.
45. G.R. Searle, Eugenics and Politics in Britain, 1900-1914 (Leyden, 1976) discusses Wells' eugenic programme in full.
46. J.A.V. Chapple, Documentary and Imaginative Literature, 1880-1920 (London, 1970), pp. 145-150 has a brief account of this debate. See also Haynes, op. cit., p. 116 for Marriage as a "problem novel."
47. See Chapter 11 for reference to "Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service" (1920) in this context.
48. Bayme, op. cit., p. 116. Marriage describes "expressions of Oriental patience and disdain," p. 256; the "racial trick of acute appraisalment" p. 319; the "unquestioning belief of her race in the sanity of comfort," p. 375; "the keen, quick aesthetic sensibilities of their race," p. 377; the "genial swarthy" [of Solomonson], p. 380; and the "practical loyalty and honesty that distinguishes his race," p. 397.
49. Bayme, op. cit., p. 116.
50. Edward Said's Orientalism (London, 1978) is the best account of the "Orient" as an other world. See Chapter 1 of this thesis for parallels between this work and Jewish stereotyping.
51. Chapter 5 discusses Belloc and Chesterton in these terms.
52. Chapter 10 discusses this theme in detail.
53. Chapter 20 of The Invisible Man (1897) contains this stereotype.
54. For this argument see R.F. Dietrich, Portrait of the Artist as a Young Superman (New York, 1969), W.S. Smith, Bernard Shaw and the Life Force (Pennsylvania, 1982) and Margery Mary Morgan, The Shavian Playground (London, 1972).
55. Morgan, op. cit., p. 14 and Dietrich, op. cit., p. 56 and pp. 54-70.
56. Smith, op. cit., pp. 38-40 and Chapter 2.
57. Dietrich, op. cit., in particular, has conclusively demonstrated this point. See also Shaw's Foreword to An Unsocial Socialist.
58. Chapter 10 discusses this stereotype in detail.

59. Colin Wilson, Bernard Shaw: A Reassessment (London, 1969), p. 71 and Chapter 3 passim.
60. Dietrich, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
61. Ibid.
62. Morgan, op. cit., p. 14.
63. Justice, 25 April, 1896. See Chapter 4 for further references to pro-Boer stereotyping.
64. H.M. Hyndman to G.B. Shaw, April 13, 1900 and Shaw to Hyndman, April 28, 1900. Cited in Colbenson, op. cit., pp. 370-371.
65. Cited in ibid., p. 373. See also pp. 363-373.
66. Morgan, op. cit., p. 102 and Man and Superman, p. 112:  
"THE ROWDY SOCIAL DEMOCRAT: You ain't no Christian. You're a sheeny you are."  
According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "A sheeny is an opprobrious name for a Jew."
67. Morgan, op. cit., p. 117.
68. Ibid.
69. Ingle, op. cit., pp. 109-111 discusses Shaw's politics in these terms.
70. See Chapter 8 for this.
71. I am thinking of John Buchan's A Prince of Captivity (London, 1933) discussed in ibid. In the Jewish Chronicle, February 5, 1909, p. 20 Shaw argues that "Jews play a big part in all revolutionary movements, and revolutions as a rule are fed on the Bible."
72. Jewish Chronicle, February 5, 1909, p. 20.
73. A.M. Gibbs, The Art and Mind of Shaw (London, 1983), p. 157 and Chapter 11 passim.
74. Smith, op. cit., Chapter 2 and C.A. Bearst, Bernard Shaw and the Art of Drama (Chicago, 1973), pp. 157-159 are recent discussions of this point.
75. See Chapter 11 for a discussion of Shaw's The Doctor's Dilemma (1911).

76. In Search of Hot Water (London, 1939), pp. 54-55. See also The Outlook for Homo-Sapiens (London, 1942), Chapter 12. See also my "H.G. Wells: Socialism, Zionism, and the Jews" Patterns of Prejudice (forthcoming), and Kochan, op. cit., passim and note 16.
77. Joseph Leftwich, in "The Wrong Approach to Non-Jewish Writers," The Jewish Monthly (January, 1951), p. 622 wrongly describes Joan and Peter as "philo-semitic."
78. Discussed in the Jewish Chronicle throughout June, 1936.
79. Cited in A. Chappelow, Shaw: 'The Chucker-Out' (London, 1969), pp. 199-201. See also Ingle, op. cit., pp. 108-114 for a discussion of Shaw in these terms.
80. Chappelow, op. cit., p. 186. See Shaw's The Revolutionist's Handbook (1903), p. 245 and Wells' Anticipations (1902), p. 317 for a similar viewpoint.
81. Paul Hayes, Fascism (London, 1973), p. 72 and Chapter 6 passim. See also H. Glasser, The Cultural Roots of National Socialism (London, 1980), Chapter 5.

## CHAPTER TEN

### JEWISH STEREOTYPING AND JEWISH SEXUALITY:

#### GEORGE DU MAURIER, HENRY JAMES AND THE FICTION OF DESIRE

The fear of Jewish sexual "corruption" of Christian women has a lineage, according to the Encyclopedia Judaica, which goes back to the thirteenth century. During this century a series of laws were passed which forbade, on pain of death, Jewish sexual relations with Christian women.<sup>1</sup> In the modern period, however, a fear of Jewish sexuality has been shown to be more pervasive and not merely associated with the sexual "corruption" of individual Christian women. In particular, Stephen Wilson has noted that in France, at the time of Dreyfus, Jews "were generally associated with sexuality and with special sexual potency." Wilson has called this "sexual anti-semitism" and has argued that:

"Jewish sexuality was felt as a threat, and again and again it was presented as a facet of the predatory nature of Jews. The aim here, as in other spheres, was to seduce, pervert and exploit."<sup>2</sup>

Edward Bristow, moreover, in a recent study of the "Jewish fight against White Slavery" has cited numerous examples, from the 1870's onwards, of European political antisemites who utilised the increase in international prostitution for their own political ends.<sup>3</sup> Studies of British antisemitism have similarly shown that political antisemites in England utilised these fears, as did anti-alienists campaigning to prevent Jewish immigration into England. Joseph Banister, for instance, in his England Under The Jews (1901) argued that:

"No Jew is more of a hero among his fellow tribesmen than the one who can boast of having accomplished the ruin of some friendless, unprotected Christian girl. Owing to this fact, the male members of what is probably the most lecherous breed in existence have in every country acquired such a vile reputation among working women, that English servant girls who

desire to preserve their respectability can seldom be persuaded to take service in Jewish families."<sup>4</sup>

That Jewish "aliens" were involved in White Slavery has been described by Colin Holmes as a "feature" of W.H. Wilkins' The Alien Invasion (1892) as well as a distinct element in the polemic of Major W. Evans-Gordon and Arnold White. Significantly, these individuals were all founding members in 1902 of the British Brothers League which aimed to prevent Jewish immigration into England.<sup>5</sup> In short, popular fears concerning Jewish domination and the "invasion" of Jewish immigrants were, in part, expressed in sexual terms in England after the 1870s. Therefore, it is worth noting that before this period, as Charlotte Klein has argued, the dark Jewish stereotype in English literature was predominantly "old, or at least middle-aged and... sexless":

"He presented no threat to the Englishman... economically or politically, nor was he considered a potential rival where women were concerned."<sup>6</sup>

Only after the 1870s did English literature portray "Jew-Gentile competition as political, social and, for the first time, racial and sexual." Andrea Dworkin has usefully added to Klein's conclusions by showing in general that:

"In racism, the racially degraded male is sexually stereotyped in one of two ways. Either he is the rapist, the sexual animal with intense virility and a huge and potent member; or he is desexualised—in the sense of being demasculinized—he is considered castrated (unmanned) or he is associated with demeaning (feminizing) and demeaned (not martial) homosexuality."<sup>7</sup>

Using Dworkin's typology, one can see that the Jewish sexual stereotype before the 1870s was universally an old "desexualized" male (one need only think of Shylock); and, at least in the example of Fagin, distinctly homosexual.<sup>8</sup> Certainly, the pervasive fears concerning the "special sexual potency" of the "rapist" Jew after the 1870s

should be related to the growth of political antisemitism and the resulting modernization of the dark Jewish stereotype. As George Mosse has argued, the "antisemitic" belief in an abnormal sexual lust with regard to Jews was not unconnected with those that perceived an abnormal lust in Jews with regard to money.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, it would be an over-simplification to conclude that Jewish sexuality was stereotyped in unambivalent dark terms at the turn of the century.

In particular, the stereotype of female Jewish sexuality was, for the most part, a bright counterpart to the dark perceptions of male Jewish sexuality. Moreover, this bright stereotype also had medieval antecedents as it stemmed from moral "exempla" collected in written form by monks, and used to enliven sermons. The Jewess, in these terms, was invariably a "beautiful daughter" who steals from her "bad father," an old Jew, and elopes with a young Christian.<sup>10</sup> Harold Fisch has argued that the Jewess, in this way, represents the potentiality by which Jews were perceived to be capable of achieving Christian "redemption." Edgar Rosenberg has summed up this argument in the following terms:

"Where the Jew had all along been an object of hate, the Jewess, within the context of the myth, became an object of lust, who could be stolen from under her father's nose all the more readily because her seduction by the Gentile automatically conferred upon her the patent of salvation."<sup>11</sup>

In short, the sexual desirability of the bright Jewish other and a "redeemed" Christian other-world were stereotypes which, traditionally, have been mutually reinforcing. Within this tradition, as Rosenberg has noted, the redemptive Jewess must leave her "bad father" to dramatise the isolation and suffering of the Jew within Christendom.<sup>12</sup> This bright stereotype was brought into the modern age with the figure of Abigail in The Jew of Malta and Jessica in The Merchant of Venice and continues into the twentieth century. As Jean

Paul Sartre has argued, "...from the Rebecca of Ivanhoe to the Jewess of 'Gilles,' not forgetting the works of Ponson du Terrail, the Jewess has a well-defined function [as a sexual symbol] in even the most serious novels."<sup>13</sup>

However, after the 1870s, as Klein has shown, "...the worsening of the image of the male Jew... affect[ed] the Jewess." This is particularly seen in the stereotype of "la belle juive, the exotic whore, a stock-figure of the stories of Balzac, Maupassant, Huysman, Zola and Proust." Wilson's study, moreover, has shown that in the 1890s the Jewish "exotic whore" was popularly perceived as "the symbol par excellence of Jewish sexuality in general."<sup>14</sup> The bright redemptive Jewess was therefore, for the first time, ambivalently associated with a dark "predatory sexuality." The Jewess, in this context, was thus viewed as a parasitic usurer; a role that had been previously reserved for her "bad father." Specifically, the Jewish actress, such as Sarah Bernhardt--a Catholic convert to Judaism--was popularly stereotyped at the height of her fame as a "feminine serpent," a "slender witch" and "lascivious Jewess."<sup>15</sup> In terms of modern racial theories, even though Bernhardt was a "redeemed" Christian, the Jew as a racial other undercut this tradition. Furthermore, the "sexual freedom" which actresses at the time were perceived to have, made female sexuality in general a dark threat to the patriarchal values of "the home, marriage, chastity and motherhood." The Jewish actress as a racial other, in this way, reinforced the popular stereotype of the actress as a sexual other.<sup>16</sup> The sexuality of the Jewess, in this context, will be seen to be ambivalently perceived by the writers that are considered in this chapter. Interestingly, this ambivalence was extended to the male Jew whose stereotype as a racial other meant that, like his female

counterpart, he was also perceived to represent an exotic—as well as erotic—other-world.

John Buchan's ambivalent Jewish stereotyping can, in these terms, be related to a more general sexual ambivalence in his fiction. Gertrude Himmelfarb, in particular, has noted "the curious blurring of sexual lines" which characterises Buchan's sexual ambivalence:

"All Buchan's heroes turn out to have 'something girlish' about them: a husky mountain guide has hair 'as flaxen as a girl's;' Peter Pienaar, the uncouth Boer adventurer, has a face 'as gentle as a girl's' as does a general in the same novel; Sandy Arbuthnot has 'a pair of brown eyes like a pretty girl's;' ...Similarly, his heroines have more than a little of the young boy in them: boyish hips, boyish stride, wholesome boyish manners and interests."<sup>17</sup>

Richard Hannay, for instance, when he is well into his forties, meets the bewitching Hilda von Eiben in Greenmantle (1916) and is thrown into a panic at the thought of sitting beside her: "I had never been in a motor-car with a lady before, I felt like a fish on a dry sandbank" (171).<sup>18</sup> In general, Dworkin has argued that the sexual stereotype of the Jew "as rapist" is linked to the "dominant class's" own relationship to masculinity:

"It is the relationship of the dominant class to masculinity that determines whether males of the racially despised group are linked with rape or with castration/homosexuality. If the dominant group insists that the racially despised male is a rapist, it means that the dominant males are effeminate by contrast; it is they who are tinged with homosexuality in that they are less manly."<sup>19</sup>

Buchan exactly corresponds to this typology. That is, the corollary to Buchan's "girlish" protectors of the Empire is the predatory sexual stereotype of the Jew "as rapist" who was perceived to be threatening the Empire. Lawson, in particular, the part "saxon," part "semite," ambivalent Jew in "The Grove of Ashtaroth" (1910), is sexually stereotyped in this context:



"The dance grew swifter and fiercer. I saw the blood dripping from Lawson's body and his face ghastly white above his scarred breast. And then suddenly the horror left me; my head swam; and for one second--one brief second--I seemed to peer into a new world. A strange passion surged in my heart. I seemed to see the earth peopled with forms--not human, scarcely divine, but more desirable than man or god..." (194/5)<sup>20</sup>

At the height of Lawson's connection with a pagan "new world" that threatened to bring down the Church of Empire in South Africa, the voice of the narrator becomes attracted by these excruciatingly "desirable" forces. Mario Praz has already argued in another context that: "the exotic and the erotic ideals go hand in hand, and this fact also contributes another proof of a more or less obvious truth--that is, that a love of the exotic is usually a projection of sexual desire."<sup>21</sup> Clearly, the narrator both desired and feared the forces that Lawson could invoke. To be sure, Lawson is not explicitly a "rapist," although one hardly needs to engage in a Freudian analysis to identify the use of the knife in Lawson's "infernal ecstasy":

"He was absorbed in some infernal ecstasy. And as he ran, he drew his right hand across his breast and arm, and I saw that it held a knife" (195).

Bristow has argued, suggestively, that the dark stereotype of Jewish sexuality in the modern period is equivalent to the "sexualization of the [medieval] blood libel." That is, both the "blood libel" and the Jewish "rapist" can be related in terms of fears generated by the mutilation of Christian innocence (although this was not the only version of the "blood libel" at this time).<sup>22</sup> In fact, this is reflected with remarkable economy in Buchan's story when the dark "semitic" part of Lawson tries to mutilate his bright "saxon" part. There are obvious connections here with the racial antisemite who believed that the Jewish semitic race was engaged in a bitter racial conflict with the nordic saxon races.<sup>23</sup> In this way, fears concerning Jewish rape, mutilation and miscegenation, which make up the

dark sexual stereotype, are ambivalently related by Buchan to the Jew as a bright symbol of an exotic, racial, "new world." It is the extent that the Jew was ambivalently perceived to represent a racial other world, outside of the realm of English society, that I think helps to explain fictional representations of Jewish sexuality. It is in this context that the fiction of George Du Maurier and Henry James will now be examined.

### George Du Maurier: Bestselling Jewish Sexuality

George Du Maurier's Trilby (1894) is, arguably, England's first "bestseller" novel. It has rightly been described as a "romantic hotch-potch which steals elements from everywhere" and one critic has argued that "in terms of the formulas of popular fiction of the day, Du Maurier hit all the required stops."<sup>24</sup> In particular, for the Anglo-French Du Maurier, the phenomenon of modern French "sexual antisemitism" could not have been an insignificant fact. This is especially true when it is noted that it was the sexual domination of Trilby, the novel's heroine, by Svengali, the dark Jew, which gave Trilby a good deal of its popular appeal.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the figure of Trilby was herself a popular symbol of wholesome Christian sexuality in both England and America. There were Trilby songs, shoes, kitchens and at least one daughter named after Du Maurier's heroine. "Trilby-mania" gripped America first of all, over a three year period (1894-97), with twenty-four dramatic productions of the novel. One town, in Florida, was named after Trilby. In London, Beerbohm Tree made his fortune with a popular portrayal of Svengali in a crudely antisemitic fashion which George Bernard Shaw, in particular, objected to.<sup>27</sup> However, Beerbohm Tree understandably capitalised on the sexual corollary to the popular figure of Trilby which was, of course, Svengali:

"...a tall bony individual of any age between thirty and forty-five, of Jewish aspect, well-featured but sinister. He was very shabby and dirty, and wore a red beret and a large velveteen cloak, with a big metal clasp at the collar. His thick, heavy, languid, lustreless black hair fell down behind his ear on to his shoulders, in that musician-like way that is so offensive to the normal Englishman. He had bold, brilliant black eyes, with long heavy lids, a thin, sallow face, and a beard of burnt-up black which grew almost from his under eyelids; and over it his moustache, a shade lighter, fell in two long spiral twists." (9/10)

It is the hypnotic domination of Trilby by Svengali that constitutes what Maurice Charney has recently described as the "hypnotic control of others through sexual charisma" in "sexual fiction."<sup>28</sup> More specifically, it is the racial make-up of Svengali, rather than just his "sexual charisma," that is perceived to dominate Trilby. "Jewish blood" in this novel is described as being "strong, sturdy, irrepressible, indomitable, and indelible" (5) possessing, as in the case of Lawson in Buchan's "The Grove of Ashtaroth," a special sexual potency. Nina Auerbach, in these terms, has shown that Svengali "possesses the secret traditions of [his] culture, while the women [he] captivates seems not just enfeebled but culturally naked."<sup>29</sup> Trilby's "cultural nakedness" is a result of a racial as well as a sexual domination by Svengali. Such a conclusion is in agreement with recent feminist theorists who have argued for a "dual vision" to "examine the operations of both sex/gender relations and the relations of race and class."<sup>30</sup> Thus, as in the characterisation of Lawson, the racial otherness of the Jew is expressed in terms of a general sexual ambivalence which characterises both Trilby and the three English gentlemen in the novel. Frederic Harrison, in particular, has argued that Du Maurier's sexual ambivalence is a "revealing example" of "trans-sexual confusion" in the English popular novel. As with Buchan and George Eliot, Du Maurier's sexual ambivalence points to the function of the Jew as a stereotype who ambivalently

represents both a degenerate world and a redemptive other-world.<sup>31</sup> In Trilby this ambivalence is expressed in terms of Svengali's creation of Trilby's musical gifts which transports the listener, literally, into "another world":

"It was the voice of some being from another world--some insulted daughter of a race more puissant and nobler than ours; a voice that seemed as if it could never utter a false note" (295).

Auerbach has shown that: "the vocal genius with which Svengali endows Trilby is his alone, her mouth its mere repository..." And Edmund Wilson describes Trilby's singing as an "emanation of Svengali's musical soul" and Svengali as "...a spirit from an alien world who carries with it an uncanny prestige, who may speak [through Trilby] in a divine tongue."<sup>32</sup> As with Buchan, the narrator in Trilby becomes enraptured by the supernatural power which the Jew can invoke: "the dream of it all came over you for a second or two--a revelation of some impossible golden age--priceless--never to be forgotten!" (249). However, as Wilson is quick to note, "Svengali, in other connections, is always represented as everything that these gentlemanly Britishers most abhor..." Trilby, quite literally, cannot live without Svengali's hypnotic presence. Moreover, Svengali's domination of Trilby is expressed in terms outside of recognised human behaviour. Svengali "weighed on [Trilby] like an incubus" (106) and he is portrayed by Du Maurier as a "big hungry spider" who made Trilby "feel like a fly" (58).<sup>33</sup> That is, Svengali's domination of Trilby is expressed either in terms of animal behaviour--one thinks of Bram Stoker's Dracula (1897)--or in terms of the supernatural "incubus."<sup>34</sup> The Jew, in these terms, is capable of creating "another world" but in so doing he threatens this world through his supernatural "strong, sturdy, irrepressible, indomitable, indelible, blood." The fate of Trilby confirms such a conclusion. A Trilby

cannot exist without her Svengali; such is the supernatural potency of the Jewish sexual stereotype.

The Martian (1897) has been described as the "official apology" by Du Maurier for the dark figure of Svengali in Trilby.<sup>35</sup> However, Leah Gibson, the sexually desirable Jewess in the novel is, like Svengali, ambivalently perceived. To be sure, Leah is described as a "high Sephardic type," that is she is a female version of Glorioli in Trilby--"the biggest, handsomest, and most distinguished-looking Jew that ever was--one of the Sephardim (one of the Seraphim!)" (202-203). The "Sephardic Jewish type," according to Du Maurier, is

"...pathetically noble and beautiful in a woman, so suggestive of chastity and the most passionate love combined--love conjugal and filial and maternal--love that implies all the big practical obligations and responsibilities of human life, that the mere term 'Jewess' (especially its French equivalent) brings to my mind some vague, mysterious, exotically poetic image of all I love best in women. I find myself dreaming of Rebecca of York..." (144).<sup>36</sup>

In other words, Leah Gibson combines both the virtues of middle-class patriarchal womanhood--chastity, the home, marriage and motherhood--with an alien, supernatural--mysterious, exotic--function in the novel. As Edmund Wilson has shown, both Svengali and Leah Gibson are examples of Du Maurier's "tendency to credit the Jews with supernatural powers." In these terms, Graham St. John Stott is wrong to argue that the Jewess should be placed in a general sexual typology:

"...it is in this context of Oriental dark beauty that we can best see Jewish beauty. When a Jewess is praised in fiction it is for the dark, foreign Oriental looks that she had been given--not for any imagined Jewishness per se."<sup>37</sup>

However, as Edward Said's Orientalism has demonstrated, an "Oriental dark beauty" (my emphasis) is as much a racial as a sexual category. Rosenberg has also argued that Leah is just another example of a Du Maurier "gigantic beauty" (273) and, thus, is no different from the similarly elongated Trilby.<sup>38</sup> Both Micheline Lares and Hyam

Maccoby have qualified this argument and, instead, have emphasised The Martian as an "antisemitic narrative" that refers to the "continental tradition" of the "Jewish whore."<sup>39</sup> Yet, this viewpoint also ignores the ambivalence associated with Jewish sexuality which is stereotyped to represent a bright other-world beyond the norms of English society. In this way, the racial/exotic and sexual/erotic components of the Jewish stereotype reinforce each other in Du Maurier's fiction. Jewish sexuality, in these terms, was ambivalently associated with both the fear of domination and the desire for redemption.

Thus, when Barty Josselin, the Anglo-French hero in the novel, has to choose between his Rebecca--Leah Gibson--and Rowena--the blonde Aristocratic Julia Royce, "a great heiress"—it is no longer the same choice as Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe had to make. Whilst Du Maurier was writing in the tradition of Ivanhoe (1819), Barty's real choice in The Martian is, in effect, between the natural and the supernatural. Much has changed in the perception of the Jewess since Ivanhoe. Barty

"...could see that Leah and Julia often looked at each other; he could also see, during the intervals, how many double-barrelled opera-glasses were levelled at both; it was impossible to say which of these two lovely women was the loveliest; probably most votes would have been for Julia, the fair-haired one, the prima donna assoluta, the soprano, the Rowena, who always gets the biggest salary and most of the applause... The brunette, the contralto, the Rebecca, dazzles less, but touches the heart all the more deeply, perhaps..." (317).

Unlike Ivanhoe, Barty chooses the Rebecca-like Leah as his wife. Stott and Rosenberg simply assert that Leah is, thus, merely fulfilling her sexual function as a middle-class heroine who becomes a wife and mother in the novel. This is obviously true, but it misses the main point of the novel, which is to introduce the idea of the

supernatural Martian as a bright alien influence on world affairs. Martia, Barty Josselin's female adviser from Mars, wants Barty to marry the aristocratic Julia and argues that by marrying Leah Barty is "ruining me and breaking [my] life, and wrecking the plans of many years--plans made before you were born or thought of..." And, in Martia's most vehement attack on Leah in the novel, she asks: "...who is this demure young black-eyed witch that has come between us...?" (309). Leah as "black-eyed witch" clearly invokes the sexual fears which the Jewess provoked after the 1870s. Martia makes out a eugenically sound case for why Barty should marry the aristocratic Julia but Barty persists in marrying Leah. Martia eventually apologises and retracts her outburst. However, the key to unlocking the novel is the fact that Barty and Leah both turn out to be Martians. Martia tells us that the hero and heroine of the novel:

"...wore the shape once [of Martians], and so did your father and mother, for you were Martians. Leah was a Martian, and wore it too; there are many of them here--they are the best on earth the very salt there of" (414).

Only by invoking the supernatural world of "Martian shapes" can Du Maurier explain Barty's choice of Leah as a marriage partner. Barty as a mere Christian gentleman would have been hard put, in Du Maurier's world, to justify his choice of the "exotic" Leah over the aristocratic Julia. But Barty and Leah as Martians were obviously and irrationally attracted to each other, even though Martia, according to the logic of eugenics, first thought that Julia's English blood would make a better match for Barty. One is reminded, distinctly, of Ford Madox Ford's and Joseph Conrad's The Inheritors (1901) where the supernatural species, who "inherits" the world, is represented by a heroine from the Fourth Dimension who was "of some race, perhaps Semitic perhaps Slav--of some incomprehensible race." As has been noted, The Inheritors was a part of an inverted social

Darwinism which argued that England was in such a state of racial degeneration that only an alien race--such as the Jews--could save it. Du Maurier's Martian influence--representing the "best on earth"--springs from similar ideological and eugenic premises. The reader is told that "unfitness, physical or mental or moral" is the "sort of thing" that Martians are "very particular" about. Du Maurier comments that: "we shall have to be so here [on Earth] some day, or else we shall degenerate and become extinct; or even worse!" (380). Leah, as a Martian Jewish other, functions like the Jew in Ford's Mr. Flight (1913) as a means of saving the country from racial degeneration.<sup>40</sup> Du Maurier regarded just a "tinge" of that "strong, sturdy, irrepressible indomitable, indelible [Jewish] blood" (5) as a good thing--only when "taken pure," as in the case of Svengali, was it deemed to be detrimental. In The Martian, Du Maurier is simply applying this principle on a global scale; Leah is providing humanity with a "tinge" of Jewish blood which, according to Du Maurier's logic, would save humanity from "degeneration--or even worse." In terms of the sexual stereotype of Leah, it is important to note that she is, essentially, outside of the racial and national norms of English society. The sexual stereotype was both literally and metaphorically other-worldly in The Martian. Leah's sexual power, in this context, is used to recreate "the best on earth" but, in another context, the "black-eyed witch" might wreak havoc. As Charlotte Klein has noted, even after giving birth to ten children (the last providing the body for Martia to inhabit), Leah remains "a beauty, absolutely divine..." (419) that is, a "sexual symbol."<sup>41</sup> In short, Leah remains static, unchanged and unchanging, and ultimately alien--an other-worldly force. It is this stereotype of Jewish sexuality which Henry James will now be seen to represent as a corrupt mode of transcendence which challenges the pure world of



the artist.

**Henry James: Art and the Jewish Sexual Stereotype**

Du Maurier, it is well known, offered Henry James the plot of Trilby who turned it down because he thought it "too valuable a gift." As Leon Edel has noted, the story of Trilby "acquired existence first as a note in James's scribbler" and then in James' urging Du Maurier to write the story over a six year period. Once published, Trilby was praised by James for its "fine tragic perceptions."<sup>42</sup> James thought that Du Maurier was "singularly intelligent and sympathetic and satisfactory" and his friendship with Du Maurier has been described as "a deeply attaching one." Lares has speculated that this friendship was, in part, reinforced by each writer's "common attraction to the strange." James confirms this argument by noting, in particular, Du Maurier's use of "the fantastic" in Trilby which he thought was "not cold and curious but warmed by an intensely human application."<sup>43</sup> Martha Banta has paid adequate testimony to the influence of the occult and supernatural on James' fiction and the "tendency to credit the Jews with supernatural powers" in Du Maurier's fiction has already been noted. In these terms, I think there are a number of similarities worth pursuing in Du Maurier's and James' social outlook.<sup>44</sup> A perception of a degenerate European civilisation unable to accommodate artistic genius without going beyond natural human endeavour into the supernatural is, in particular, a common conviction in both James and Du Maurier. That is, one function of Svengali's supernatural artistry was to threaten the norms of civilised society. Similarly, according to John Holloway, James thought the civilised norms of his time: "had little to offer the artist save a velvet-gloved exploitation and the

kind of hollow applause which destroyed his real life and his real work." James was common to his age in attacking "the tide of Edwardian materialism and vulgarity" which was "bewailed by James in his private life and letters even more explicitly" than his novels.<sup>45</sup> The supernatural could be described, in this context, as a means of representing a writer's quest for an elusive "ideal civilisation." Banta has shown, for instance, that James associated the supernatural with the "exceptional;" a quality confined to a civilised society.<sup>46</sup>

In fact, a decade before his famous conversation with Du Maurier, James, in an early "pot-boiler," was to anticipate the main themes of Trilby. "Professor Fargo" (1874), a short story, portrays the sensual Fargo as a mesmerist who, due to his "magnetic" sexual power, gains control over the daughter of an idealist mathematician. Although Fargo has "reddish hair and beard"--a common feature of the Victorian Jewish stereotype--the "little Jew" in this story is juxtaposed with Fargo's hypnotic power as he represents the crude worldly concerns of his age: "shrieking and brandishing [an] unpaid bill" (294-298) while the Professor demonstrates his supernatural control over the mathematician's daughter.<sup>47</sup> One can understand, perhaps, James' interest in the "idea" of Trilby. A story which synthesised the artist--the symbol of a transcendent reality--and the Jew--the symbol of vulgar worldly concerns. Moreover James, like Du Maurier, perceived the Jew as a racial entity and, thus, characterised Jewish blood as having supernatural powers. For James, "...the individual Jew [was] more of a concentrated person, savingly possessed of everything that is in him." Or is it simply, James asks, that: "...the unsurpassed strength of the [Jewish] race permits the chopping into myriads of fine fragments without loss of race quality?"<sup>48</sup> James is "haunted" by a "sense of dispossession" when he views the New York Jewish ghetto. In these terms, the difference

between the American and the Jew is the difference "between possession and dispossession" which is "all the difference." James regards "possession" as the "ideal" of having "the luxury of some close and sweet and whole national consciousness..." The "national consciousness" of the Jew in James' fiction is, therefore, explicitly contrasted with what has been accurately described as the Jamesian "organic consciousness supremely epitomised by art..."<sup>49</sup> Thus, in "The Impressions of a Cousin" (1883), another short story, even the Jewish Mr. Calisch, "of the artistic, not of the commercial type" (150), is nevertheless portrayed as being engaged in financial misdeeds--"whoever heard of a naïf Jew?" (129). Significantly, Mr. Calisch has an overpowering "eastern" sexuality--"the beard of Haroun-al-Raschid" (126)--which is not unrelated to his financial "swindling." The Gereths in The Spoils of Poynton (1896) gathered their precious collection of objects d'art from "their swing among the Jews" in Europe. In fact, the untrustworthy Jewish art-dealer in general may be said to be a feature of James' fiction.<sup>50</sup> Art, in these terms, is not transcendent but is utilised by the "national" Jew in his guise as "dealer." Only the "dispossessed" James needed a redemptive art. Thus, for James, the artist and the Jew were, in fact, diametrically opposed. Even the sexual Jewess, such as Fanny Assingham in The Golden Bowl (1904), is simply "a creature formed by hammocks and divans, fed upon sherbets and waited upon by slaves." Fanny's exotic sexuality meant, in James' terms, that she does not possess a means of transcending her New York existence: "the eyes of the American city looked out, somehow, ...from under the lids of Jerusalem" (34/35). More crudely, in "Watch and Ward" (1871), a short story, the Jewess "wore a diamond in each ear" and had "a pair of imperious dark eyes, as bright as the diamonds which glittered in each ear" once again negating any transcendent Jewish sexuality in

terms of a vulgar worldly materialism. For James, therefore, the Jewish artist represented a contradiction in terms with the Jamesian "organic consciousness of art" challenging the "national consciousness" of the Jew. This view was first articulated by James in his well-known criticism of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (1876).<sup>51</sup> Here James comments on George Eliot's portrayal of a Jewish actress--Deronda's mother--in Daniel Deronda:

Pulcheria: I don't see the princess, in spite of her flame-coloured robe. Why should an actress and prima-donna care so much about religious matters?

Theodora: It was not only that; it was the Jewish race she hated, Jewish manners and looks. You, my dear, ought to understand that.

Pulcheria: I do, but I am not a Jewish actress of genius; I am not what Rachel was. If I were, I should have other things to think about."<sup>52</sup>

The Jewish actress is simply not visible in terms of George Eliot's portrayal of her as an emancipated Jew opposing her religious upbringing. The "Jewish actress of genius" should have "other things to think about." It is in these terms that James portrays Miriam Rooth, the Jewish actress in The Tragic Muse (1890), as a figure who tries to transcend her national and racial character as a Jew.

When Miriam Rooth is identified as a Jewess by her would-be lover, Peter Sherringham, her reaction, clearly, confirms James' earlier "Conversation." As an actress, Miriam is pleased to "jump at anything that would make her more interesting or striking" because she wants to be an "English Rachel" (141). Sherringham comments that her "Jewish ancestry" makes her "very sufficiently of Rachel's tribe" but Miriam explicitly rejects such an idea:

"I don't care, if I'm of her tribe artistically. I'm of the family of the artists; je me fiche of any other! I'm in the same style as that woman [Rachel]; I know it" (141).

It is the tension between Miriam's "style" and her Jewishness that is of importance in the novel. I would argue that the "conflict between art and 'the world'" that James intended the novel to illustrate is, in this way, represented by the actress conflicting with the Jew in Miriam.<sup>53</sup> Gabriel Nash "imagines" Miriam's father to be "only a Jew stockbroker in the city"--once more defining Jewishness in terms of worldly and vulgar Edwardian materialism. Although, as with James' earlier portrait of Calisch, Miriam's father had "the artistic temperament; that's common, as you know, among ces messieurs" (46). Later on in the novel, Sherringham speculates that "likely enough the Hebraic Mr. Roth, with his love of old pots and Christian altar-cloths, had supplied, in [Miriam's] composition, the aesthetic element, the sense of form" (151). One should add at this point that Miriam's character as a whole, not just her Jewishness, is "explained and examined from all sides by indirect approach through other people." Any authorial expression of Miriam's inner-self-- as well as her Jewish identity--was something that James wished to avoid.<sup>54</sup> Constantius, in this context, argues in "Daniel Deronda: A Conversation" that George Eliot made an "admirable study" of the Jewish actress but did not dramatically "realize" her--"All the Jewish part is at bottom cold..." James, one might infer, does not wish to "study" Miriam authorially but to dramatically "realize" her in relation to the other characters in the novel.<sup>55</sup> Thus, both Miriam's Jewishness and her "style" as an artist is a product of external perceptions. This is significant in terms of the Jewish sexual stereotype. As Kenneth Graham has shown, Miriam as a mature actress: "takes on the role of an uplifted and glorifying emblem-- [as Sherringham comments] 'something that one may turn to for glimpses of perfection...'"<sup>56</sup> Miriam is not obviously an "emblem" of supernatural "perfection" in Sherringham's eyes--at least not as obviously

as Du Maurier's Leah. That is, Miriam's "perfection" is "artistic"-- "a creature who is all artist..." according to Sherringham (146)--but it is hard to deny conceptual similarities with the role of Leah in The Martian. Both represent "perfection" of sorts in a degenerate or fallen world. Miriam is rightly described by Graham as an: "inspiring and tempting Notre Dame" and "a perfect Notre Dame of the stage..." However, I would argue, that the characterisation of Miriam as "art-object" reinforces the stereotype of the Jewess as a bright sexual other and is a product, in much the same way as Du Maurier's Leah, of its times.<sup>57</sup> When Miriam matures as an actress, it is therefore appropriate that Sherringham describes the culmination of Miriam's "cold passion of art" (225) in terms of a sexual analogy. Even when Miriam, in Sherringham's eyes, becomes an "emblem" of art she is still, coyly to be sure, the sexual Jewess. Miriam as a mature actress:

"...had found the key to her box of treasures. In the summer, during their weeks of frequent meeting, she had only fumbled with the lock. One October day, while he was away, the key had slipped in, had fitted, or her finger at last had touched the right spring, and the capricious casket had flown open..." (227)

To be fair, as Auerbach and Julia Holledge have shown, the actress was generally associated at this time with "sexual freedom" or, simply, women's sexuality. However, James' sexual stereotype of the Jewess is especially apparent in the light of his more usual "refusal to recognise women's sexual and emotional nature."<sup>58</sup> As Mary Ellmann has argued, one result of James' non-recognition of women's sexuality is to regard art in "feminine" sexual terms. James, for instance, can speak of: "the terrible law of the artist, the law of fructification, of fertilization"--or for that matter of Miriam's "cold passion of art" (225)--which, paradoxically, makes the Jewish actress a perfect sexual embodiment of a redemptive art.<sup>59</sup> In The Tragic Muse,

therefore, James juxtaposes Miriam's sexuality in Nick Dormer's art studio with the asexual Julia Dallow. Graham has emphasised the importance of this scene as a turning point in the novel. Miriam

"...slightly *déshabillée*, is the final proof to Julia that she is about to marry a man [Nick Dormer] utterly foreign to her. She flees from an art that so compromises itself, and from the sexuality she recognises in Miriam and now distrusts more than ever in herself."<sup>60</sup>

Miriam here is both the consummate art-object—"I'm acting for you tonight" she tells Nick as he paints her portrait (284)—and the sexual Jewess. Nick Dormer, significantly, captures artistically the "element of [Jewish] race" in Mrs. Rooth and her daughter. As well as painting Miriam, Nick casts his "observant eye" and "active hand" over the "scene" in his studio:

"Mrs. Rooth's vague, polite, disappointed bent back and head made a subject, the subject of a sketch in an instant: they gave such a sudden pictorial glimpse of the element of race. He found himself seeing the immemorial Jewess in her, holding up a candle in a crammed back-shop. There was no candle indeed, and his studio was not crammed, and it had never occurred to him before that she was of Hebrew strain... The late Rudolf Roth had been, and his daughter [Miriam] was visibly her father's child; so that, flanked by such a pair, good Semitic reasons were surely not wanting to the mother (444).

Nick Dormer and Miriam Rooth, in the end, could not marry because Miriam's art, finally, did not transcend the "element of race" that Nick Dormer located in her. The Jewish actress remains the stereotype par excellence—on stage or on canvas—of the racial and sexual other. Miriam, for all her art, is still the daughter of Mrs. Rooth—"a queer old woman from whom, if you approached her in the right way, you could buy old pots..." (443). That is, paradoxically, Miriam remains a Jew in Nick Dormer's mind, the very antithesis of art. It is the relationship between the sexual Jewess and art that will now be examined in the life and work of Arthur Symons and James Joyce. For these writers, an ambivalent Jewish sexuality--both

desired and feared, transcendent and worldly--was a stereotype that was not simply confined to a fictional context.

Arthur Symons and James Joyce: Jewish Sexuality, From Fantasy to Reality

Arthur Symons' "Esther Kahn," a short story, was collected in Spiritual Adventures (1905) although it was in fact written in the 1890s and based on Symons' experiences of the Jewish East End of London.<sup>61</sup> Symons, in his memoirs, recalls a trip in July 1890 to see a Yiddish troop of actors performing Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. He had come "to see how the Jewish actress would represent Juliet..." and was not disappointed:

"The moment that young Jewish actress came upon the stage, she fascinated me--in spite of the fact that I could not understand anything she said. She was lovely; she was almost pathetic in her loveliness; she had that voice which thrills one's pulses. She expressed the supreme ecstasy of her passion, both in voice and face; ...something in the Jewish girl's passion excited me in an abstract passion; she evidently noticed my excitement."

Just as the art of James' Miriam was "simply to hold you by a particular spell"--the Jewish actress, Rachel Kahn, had a similar enchantment with which she "excited" her audience.<sup>62</sup> Symons' memoirs go on to contrast the Jewish actress with a "villainous Jew" who acted as her procurer. This figure, significantly, reminded Symons of Oscar Wilde's fictional: "hideous Jew... smoking a vile cigar [with] greasy ringlets, and an enormous diamond blazed in the centre of a soiled shirt" in The Picture of Dorian Grey (1891) which Symons had just read.<sup>63</sup> Here, Jewish vulgarity and materialism are harnessed, as in the dark stereotype, to the sexual power of the Jewess. That this sexual power could be formidable is confirmed by Symons' description of Sarah Bernhardt:



"There was the 'golden voice,' with the Jewish drawl over the syllables--a voice that penetrated one's heart and one's nerves. She seemed to me a vision, a heathen idol one ought to worship--to worship before the shrine of her genius. She had the evil eyes of a Thessalian witch; she could enchant with her slow, subtle and cruel spells men's souls out of their bodies. There was in this tall and thin actress such fire and passion as I have rarely seen in any woman; together with her luxuriousness, languor, indifference, haughtiness, and hate. She seemed to me the Incarnation of the Orient."<sup>64</sup>

Here the hypnotic sexual power of a Svengali is transferred to the ambivalent figure of Sarah Bernhardt who is both a "Thessalian witch" and a "heathen idol one ought to worship"--reminding one of Buchan's goddess, Ashtaroth.

"Esther Kahn" concerns the Jewish actress's quest for an "abstract," timeless, art which is crudely defined in sexual terms.<sup>65</sup> Esther Kahn, like Miriam Rooth, stands outside of her Jewish background; she "cared only to look on" at her family. Nonetheless, "her eyes were the eyes of the tribe; they had no personal meaning in what seemed to be their mystery" (190). It is this impersonal power which Esther aims to utilise as she waits for an "awakening force" so that she could be "a great actress" (194). It is an old Jewish actor, Nathan Quellen, that shows her the key to this "awakening force":

"My dear Esther... you must take a lover; you must fall in love; there's no other way. You think you can act, and you have never felt anything worse than a cut finger. Why its an absurdity! Wait till you know the only thing worth knowing; till then you're in short frocks and a pinafore" (194/5).

As in Symons' memoirs, the Jew is the procurer for the Jewish actress. This is not merely a comment on the sexual freedom of the Jewish actress but, more importantly, indicates the way that the sexuality of the Jewish actress unlocks her impersonal artistic power. As yet, "no man had spoken to her blood. She had the sluggish blood of a really profound animal nature." To awaken her "sluggish blood" Esther Kahn, thus, has to prostitute herself for her

art--"she was resolved to be a business woman in the old trade of the affections; no one should buy or sell her except at her own price, and she set the price very high" (195). When Esther finally resolves to have an "impersonal" relationship with a Symons persona--a writer, Philip Haygarth--Esther finally becomes the prostitute, as has been noted, the symbol par excellence of Jewish sexuality at this time:

"...she was her own property, it has always seemed to her, free to dispose of as she pleased. The business element in her nature persisted. This bargain, this infinitely important bargain, had been concluded, with open eyes, with a full sense of responsibility, for a purpose, the purpose for which she lived" (196).

Art, the actress, sexual freedom, the prostitute, all combine in the sexual stereotype of the Jewess. Once Philip Haygarth, inevitably, leaves Esther for his art, the sexually "awoken" actress is then able to become "great"--"she seemed scarcely to be acting; only, a magnetic current seemed to have been set in motion between her and those who were watching her..." (202). "The actress was made at last" Symons comments and this is literally true. Esther's "impersonal" art is seen to be, simply, a product of her own exotic sexuality which, in turn, was manipulated by the Jewish procurer. In a more explicit fashion than James' The Tragic Muse, the sexual stereotypes of this period were given a crudely fictional guise in "Esther Kahn."

James Joyce, without the narrowness of focus of the early Symons, nonetheless demonstrates the way that the stereotype of Jewish sexuality was a part of both his life and art. Giacomo Joyce (1914), in particular, spans both worlds. A consummate piece of art in its own right--which was incorporated into both Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (1916) and Ulysses (1922)--Giacomo Joyce was inspired primarily by Joyce's long-standing "erotic commotion" over a Jewess, Amalia Popper, whom Joyce taught English to in Trieste.<sup>66</sup> According to Richard Ellmann, Amalia Popper was: "to serve as one of

the models for the character and Southern European looks of Molly Bloom" in Ulysses. In Ellmann's view, the connection between Molly Bloom and Amalia Popper is an example of Joyce, as always, "making his characters out of both real and mythical prototypes."<sup>67</sup> However, I would argue, that Joyce's "desire for dark unknown, passionate, preferably Semitic women who would envelop him in their arms" is not simply an example of an innocent "myth." Instead, the Jewess in Giacomo Joyce is a stereotype, accurately described by Ellmann as "remote, pale impalpable, removed... by her Jewishness."<sup>68</sup> Appropriately enough, the first word of the prose-poem is "who?" as the figure of Amelia is viewed from afar--"removed." The answer to this opening question is the unnamed figure of the sexual Jewess: "rounded and ripened: rounded by the lathe of inter-marriage and ripened in the forcing-house of the seclusion of her race" (2). Even the "myth-history" of the Jewess is described in such a way as to make her a sexual object--"rounded and ripened." It is not a coincidence, perhaps, that the object of Joyce's desire, like James' Miriam, is associated with the Notre Dame. Albeit, for Joyce, the Jewess as Notre Dame is a symbol of a personal redemption from middle-aged impotence--a parody of the tradition which represents the figure of the Jewess--marrying a Christian gentleman--as a symbol of Mankind's redemption from Judaism.<sup>69</sup> Joyce dreams he is standing outside the Notre Dame in Paris and Amelia encroaches on his "dream image":

"She stands beside me, pale and chill, clothed with the shadows of the sindark nave, her thin elbow at my arm. Her flesh recalls the thrill of that raw mist-veiled morning, hurrying torches, cruel eyes. Her soul is sorrowful, trembles and would weep. Weep not for me, O daughter of Jerusalem!" (10).<sup>70</sup>

For Joyce, the Jewess is simply a vibrant sexual object--"...a lithe smooth naked body shimmering with silvery scales" (7)--which enabled him to make fun of a Christian tradition. Moreover, Joyce had a

first hand knowledge of the non-mythical sexual Jewess as he was, in his youth, a frequenter of Bella Cohen's brothel in Dublin. Undoubtedly, a large number of Bella Cohen's prostitutes were Jews for, as Bristow makes clear, the prime victims of Jewish White Slavery were, in fact, Jews. Significantly, Joyce anachronistically includes Bella Cohen in the Circe episode of Ulysses even though, as Ellmann points out, "by 1904 [Mrs. Cohen] had either retired or died." Ellmann argues that: "Joyce restored her in business because her name suited the Jewish themes in the book."<sup>71</sup> In Giacomo Joyce, Joyce appropriately invokes an Elizabethan brothel as a preface to his "dream image" of Notre Dame, but it is also the "eastern" brothel of Bella Cohen:

"That [Elizabethan] age is here and now. Here, opening from the darkness of desire, are eyes that dim the breaking East, their shimmer the shimmer of the scum that mantles the cess-pool of the court of slobbering James" (9).

Clearly, Giacomo Joyce is above all a piece of self-deprecation--Joyce trying, in vain, to regain his lost sexual prowess--"Youth has an end: the end is here. It will never be. You know that well. What then? Write it, damn you, write it! What else are you good for?" (16). The Jewess remains "virgin, most prudent" (9) but, essentially, the sexual victor over the "slobbering James"--"It will never be." To emphasise the figure of the sexually dominant Jewess, Bella Cohen in the Circe episode of Ulysses assumes the guise of the dominant heroine, Wanda, in Leopold Van Sacher-Masoch's: Venus in Furs.<sup>72</sup> The main victim of Bella's sexual domination is the Jewish Leopold Bloom who throughout Ulysses is aware of his sexual degradation and of being "cuckolded" by his wife, Molly. (Molly, significantly, in the early part of the Circe episode dominates Bloom as "Marion"). Joyce, according to Ellmann, borrowed from Otto Weininger's Sex and Character (1906) the belief that Jews were, by

nature, "womanly men"--a phrase applied to Bloom in Ulysses.<sup>73</sup> To emphasise this point, Bella eventually assumes the masculine pronoun and her name is changed to "Bello"--such is the trans-sexual nature of Jewish sexuality. In this context, Joyce evokes the medieval "blood libel" by referring to the contemporary ballad, "The Jew's daughter." Significantly, it is the Jewess in Joyce's updating of the fourteenth century Scottish Ballad that castrates or mutilates the gentile--"she took a pen knife out of her pocket/And cut off his little head" (611-612).<sup>74</sup> For Joyce, ironically, the stereotype of the Jew as rapist has been transferred to the Jewess as castrater. Thus Bloom, like Joyce, is castrated and thwarted in his sexual desires--as witnessed in the Nausicaa episode where Bloom observes the lame Gerty MacDowell. Ellmann argues that "Marthe Fleischman is one of the prototypes of the limping Gerty MacDowell, whom Bloom ogles from a distance..." Marthe Fleischman, interestingly, replaced Joyce's obsession with Amalia Popper. According to Ellmann, Joyce "attached extraordinary consequence to the possibility that [Marthe] might be Jewish" but, like Gerty MacDowell, Marthe Fleischman was not what she seemed to be. The dark-haired Marthe was a non-Jew, just as the desirable Gerty was lame. Bloom, like Joyce, was "more onlooker than lover, and a looker with pathetically blurred vision to boot."<sup>75</sup>

The main contrast in Ulysses to the castrated Bloom is his wife Molly. In the Penelope episode of Ulysses, her tour de force, Molly significantly is: "associated directly or indirectly with sex and non-sexual activity is scarcely mentioned." Molly's character is defined, it has been argued, "almost exclusively by revealing her fantasy world and her emotions."<sup>76</sup> That is, according to Mary Ellmann, Molly's "formlessness" is deliberately opposed to the masculine "form" which characterises the other "male" episodes of Ulysses. It is in these terms, I would argue, that Molly is the sexual stereo-

type of the Jewess par excellence. Elaine Unkeless has shown, in particular, that:

"Joyce depicts Molly's transcendence... by making her a life force or woman's essence... She is not a hero, but a power beyond the realm of human experience."<sup>77</sup>

Molly's sexual transcendence of this world--the masculine world of "form"--is specifically seen in terms of her singing, which is virtually a sexual act in itself, with the reader assuming the role of voyeur. On stage--removed--the stereotype comes to life: "...close my eyes breath my lips forward kiss sad look eyes... my eyes flash my bust that they haven't..." (693). Clearly the "jewess looking" Molly--"after my mother" (692)--is not unlike the actress Miriam Rooth, Esther Kahn or Leah Gibson in these terms. All are remote and objectified--on stage, on canvas--and all are symbols of a sexual transcendence of this world. Similarly, Svengali through Trilby and Lawson, through the goddess Ashtaroth, also ambivalently represent the creation of an other-world where man's inner-most desires are satisfied and, at the same time, fearfully recognised. In this way, a trans-sexual Jewish stereotype, both present and absent, real and unreal, feared and desired, was the perfect embodiment of a sexuality which has been defined as both "the secret" in modern society and something that is spoken about "ad infinitum."<sup>78</sup>

## NOTES

1. "Antisemitism," Encyclopedia Judaica (Volume 1) (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 88-147.
2. Stephen Wilson, Ideology and Experience: Anti-Semitism in France at the Time of Dreyfus (Oxford, 1983), p. 585 and Chapter 15 passim.
3. Edward Bristow, Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870-1939 (London, 1982).
4. Joseph Banister, England Under the Jews (London, 1901), p. 39 quoted in Gisela Lebzelter, Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939 (London, 1978), p. 9. See also Banister's, Jews and the White Slave Traffic (London n.d.).
5. Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939 (London, 1979), pp. 44-47 and Chapter 6 passim is a useful discussion of these themes.
6. Charlotte Klein, "The Jew in Modern English Literature," Patterns of Prejudice (Volume 15, Number 2), p. 23.
7. Ibid. and Andrea Dworkin, Right-Wing Women (London, 1983), p. 122.
8. On Fagin's homosexuality see Hyam Maccoby, "The Delectable Daughter," Midstream (November, 1970), p. 60.
9. George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology (London, 1966), pp. 141-2 and Chapters 2 and 5 of this thesis.
10. Maccoby, op. cit., pp. 50-1.
11. Harold Fisch, The Dual Image: A Study of the Jew in English Literature (London, 1971), pp. 30-31 and Edgar Rosenberg, From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction (California, 1960), p. 34.
12. Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 35-36 illustrates this argument.
13. Jean Paul Sartre, Anti-Semite and Jew (New York, 1948), p. 49. See also Maccoby, op. cit., pp. 50-1.
14. Charlotte Klein, "The Jew in English and German Fiction and Drama 1830-1933" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1967), pp. 130-6 discusses this point in detail. See also Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 34 and Wilson, op. cit., Chapter 15.
15. Wilson, op. cit., Chapter 15 has an extensive bibliography on the "cult" of the Jewish actress, especially "Rachel" and Sarah Bernhardt.

16. Nina Auerbach, Women and the Demon (London, 1982), p. 205 notes that the phrase "public women" referred to the actress and prostitute alike in the Victorian era. See also Julia Holledge, Innocent Flowers: Women in the Edwardian Theatre (London, 1981) for a comprehensive account of these stereotypes.
17. Gertrude Himmelfarb, "John Buchan: The Last Victorian" in her Victorian Minds (London, 1968), pp. 250-251 for references to these characters.
18. Ibid., p. 251 cites this example.
19. Dworkin, op. cit., p. 122.
20. For a detailed account of this story, see Chapter 4.
21. Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony (London, 1979), p. 207.
22. Bristow, op. cit., p. 46. For the "different nuances" of the "blood libel" in England see Colin Holmes, "The Ritual Murder Accusation in Britain," Ethnic and Racial Studies (Volume 4, Number 3, July 1981), p. 266 and pp. 265-288. I think it is relevant in this context that "Jack the Ripper" was popularly associated with the East End Jewish community. For this see Holmes' "East End Crime and the Jewish Community 1887-1911" in Aubrey Newman (ed.) The Jewish East End 1840-1939 (London, 1981), pp. 114-115.
23. George Mosse, op. cit., is a useful discussion of this form of racialism.
24. L. Edward Purcell, "Trilby and Trilby-Mania: The Beginning of the Best-Seller System," Journal of Popular Culture (Volume 11, Summer 1977), p. 65 and pp. 62-77. See also Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 240 and Maccoby, op. cit., p. 59.
25. Auerbach, op. cit., Chapter 1 has a useful discussion of Trilby in these terms.
26. Purcell, op. cit., passim is a detailed account of "Trilby-mania" at this time.
27. Frank Swinnerton, Background with Chorus (London, 1956), p. 98 and George Bernard Shaw, Dramatic Opinions and Essays (Volume 1) (New York, 1928), pp. 238-243.
28. Maurice Charney, Sexual Fiction (London, 1981), p. 23.
29. Auerbach, op. cit., p. 16.



30. J.C. Newton, M.P. Ryan and J.R. Walkowitz (eds.), Sex and Class in Women's History (London, 1983), p. 10 and "Editor's Introduction" passim. See also Mary Ellmann, Thinking About Women (London, 1969), Kate Millett, Sexual Politics (London, 1970) and Calvin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism (New York, 1965). For a dissenting view see Graham St. John Stott, "Under Gentile Eyes: Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth Century Novel of England and America" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1978), Chapter 3.
31. Frederic Harrison, The Dark Angel: Aspects of Victorian Sexuality (London, 1979), pp. 130-134. See also Chapter 8 of this thesis for a discussion of Daniel Deronda in these terms.
32. Edmund Wilson, A Piece of My Mind (New York, 1956), p. 105 and Auerbach, op. cit., p. 16.
33. Wilson, op. cit., p. 104. Du Maurier actually drew Svengali as a spider in Trilby, p. 58. For a discussion of this imagery see Chapter 11.
34. Auerbach, op. cit., Chapter 1 usefully compares the figures of Svengali and Dracula as sexual stereotypes. For a comparison of Svengali and Dracula as orientalist stereotypes, see Richard Wasson, "The Politics of Dracula," English Literature in Transition (Volume 9, 1966), pp. 24-27.
35. Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 260-261 notes this.
36. The similarity between Glorioli and Leah, in these terms, is an example of Du Maurier's "trans-sexual confusion." See note 31 for references to this.
37. Stott, op. cit., p. 70 and Wilson, op. cit., p. 103.
38. Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 261. Edward Said's Orientalism (London, 1978) is discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. See also Hernton, op. cit., passim.
39. Micheline Lares, "Antisémitisme et Littérature en Grande-Bretagne: Le Phénomène George Du Maurier," Annales du C.E.S.E.R.E. (Volume 3), pp. 23-24 and Maccoby, op. cit., pp. 59-60.
40. Chapter 3 discusses The Inheritors (London, 1901) and Mr. Flieght (London, 1913) in these terms.
41. Klein, unpublished Ph.D., op. cit., pp. 131-132.

42. S.B. Daugherty, The Literary Criticism of Henry James (London, 1972), p. 158 and p. 218 and Leon Edel, Henry James: The Treacherous Years, 1895-1900 (London, 1969), pp. 162-164 are the best accounts of this story. See also Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 240.
43. Leon Edel (ed.), Henry James: Letters, 1883-1895 (London, 1980), p. 200 and Edel op. cit., p. 19. See also Lares, op. cit., p. 25 and Daugherty, op. cit., p. 158 and p. 218.
44. Martha Banta, Henry James and the Occult (London, 1972) and Edmund Wilson, op. cit., p. 103.
45. John Holloway, "The Literary Scene," in Boris Ford (ed.) The Modern Age (London, 1961) pays adequate testimony to James' social outlook as does J.A.V. Chapple, Documentary and Imaginative Literature, 1880-1920 (London, 1970), p. 144 and Chapter 5.
46. Banta, op. cit., p. 3.
47. Ibid., pp. 90-94 has a discussion of "Professor Fargo." For Jewish associations with red hair see M.J. Landa, The Jew in Drama (London, 1926), p. 67.
48. Henry James, The American Scene (London, 1907), p. 86. For a general discussion of James' Jewish stereotyping see Leo B. Levy, "Henry James and the Jews: A Critical Survey," Commentary (Volume 25, Number 3, September 1958), pp. 243-249 and Louis Harap, The Image of the Jew in American Literature (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 368-376.
49. James, op. cit., p. 132 and Terry Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology (London, 1976), pp. 141-146.
50. Levy, op. cit., p. 245 and passim for this argument.
51. Henry James, "Daniel Deronda: A Conversation" The Atlantic Monthly (Volume 38, December 1876), pp. 684-694.
52. Ibid., For references to the relationship between Daniel Deronda (London, 1876) and The Tragic Muse (London, 1890) see Chapter 8.
53. See James' "Preface" to The Tragic Muse for a statement of this theme. For the novel in general see Kenneth Graham, Henry James: The Drama of Fulfilment (London, 1975), Chapter 4 to which I am indebted.
54. Graham, op. cit., pp. 104-106 makes this point.
55. Ibid., Chapter 4 passim and "Daniel Deronda: A Conversation," op. cit.
56. Graham, op. cit., p. 104.

57. Ibid., and p. 87. The Notre Dame is a most appropriate description of Miriam. It encompasses both the medieval Christian representation of the Jewess as a symbol of redemption and the modern stereotype of the Jewess as a sexual symbol. For the juxtaposition of the sexual Jewess and the Notre Dame see the discussion of James Joyce's Giacomo Joyce (1914), below.
58. Patricia Stubbs, Women and Fiction: Feminism and the Novel, 1880-1920 (Brighton, 1979), p. 165 and pp. 155-171. Levy, op. cit., p. 243 notes that James "admired" the "Jewish actress of the Théâtre Francais." See also Auerbach, op. cit., p. 205 and Holledge, op. cit., passim.
59. Ellmann, op. cit., p. 15 and Graham, op. cit., p. 110 who rightly notes that the "cold passion of art" is "one of James' richest oxymorons."
60. Graham, op. cit., pp. 102-103 and pp. 119-124 for the relationship of Nick and Miriam. Clearly, the comparison between the sexual Miriam and the asexual Julia Dallow refers back to George Du Maurier's The Martian (London, 1897) and Barty Josselin's comparison of the sexual Leah Gibson and the asexual, aristocratic Julia Royce. This, in turn, refers back to the comparison of Rowena and Rebecca in Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe (London, 1819) as Du Maurier, op. cit., p. 317 makes clear.
61. Karl Beckson, The Memoirs of Arthur Symons: Life and Art in the 1890s (London, 1977), pp. 74-80 and pp. 258-259 for a comparison of "Esther Kahn" and Symons' "Memoirs."
62. Ibid., pp. 75-76 and Graham, op. cit., p. 104.
63. Ibid. and Klein, unpublished PhD., op. cit., p. 116 for a discussion of Oscar Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Grey (London, 1891) in these terms.
64. Beckson, op. cit., p. 190 and pp. 191-194 for Symons' perceptions of Sarah Bernhardt. See also notes 15 and 16.
65. This story is collected in D. Stanford (ed.), Short Stories of the Nineties (London, 1968), pp. 187-202.
66. James Joyce will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 11 of this thesis. For Giacomo Joyce (1914), see Richard Ellmann (ed.) Giacomo Joyce (London, 1968), p. xii and pp. xi-xxvi.
67. Richard Ellmann, James Joyce (Oxford, 1959), p. 353 and p. 562. For Molly Bloom as a sexual stereotype, see E. Unkeless and S. Henke (ed.), Women in Joyce (London, 1982), pp. 150-168.

68. Ellmann, James Joyce, op. cit., p. 464 and Giacomo Joyce (ed.), op. cit., p. xx. For the distinction between a myth and a stereotype see Chapter 1 of this thesis.
69. Maccoby, op. cit., passim usefully summarises this Christian tradition. See note 57 for the importance of the Notre Dame in this context.
70. Ellmann, James Joyce, op. cit., p. 357 discusses this passage.
71. Louis Hyman, The Jews of Ireland (London, 1972), Chapter 12 relates the members of Bella Cohen's brothel to Ulysses (1922). See also Ellmann, James Joyce, op. cit., pp. 378-379 and Bristow, op. cit., passim.
72. Ellmann, James Joyce, op. cit., pp. 380-381.
73. Ibid., p. 477. For further references to Weininger's influence on Joyce see Dominic Manganiello, Joyce's Politics (London, 1980), p. 53.
74. Fisch, op. cit., p. 22 refers to this tale.
75. Ellmann, James Joyce, op. cit., pp. 463-464 and Giacomo Joyce (ed.), op. cit., p. xxv.
76. Unkeless, op. cit., pp. 150-155.
77. Ibid., p. 164 and Mary Ellmann, op. cit., pp. 74-78.
78. Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality: Volume One (London, 1976), p. 35.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### CONCLUSION: WHY THE JEWS?

#### JEWISH STEREOTYPING AND THE CHRISTIAN LEGACY

There is a well known folk tale which concerns a Jew heckling an antisemitic speaker at a public meeting by calling out "and the bicyclists" when the antisemite blames the troubles of his country on "the Jews." Hearing this, the speaker asks "Why the bicyclists?" and the prompt reply is "Well, why the Jews?"<sup>1</sup> What differentiates Jewish stereotyping from, say, stereotypes of bicyclists in English literature, is a question of central importance for this thesis. Whilst I have related the literary Jewish stereotype--as a moral symbol of good or evil--to a wide range of social and political ideologies in England from 1875-1914, I have not as yet asked why Jews were stereotyped in the first place. This question, I would argue, underpins this thesis as a whole. In stressing the specific cultural, social and political context of Jewish stereotyping, I have, in fact, assumed a legacy of Jewish mythologising which is, by definition, beyond the chronological and spatial limitations of this study. It is, therefore, fitting to conclude by trying to relate examples of the timeless myth of the Jew to the specific Jewish stereotypes discussed in the bulk of this thesis. In other words, in what way does the specific Jewish stereotype relate to a more general, tenacious mythology which gives Jewish stereotyping in English society a resonance and an impact that the equivalent stereotype of the bicyclist does not possess?

One of the many problems of an exclusively mythological approach to Jewish stereotyping is that the adumbration of a timeless mythic Jew, in fact, raises as many questions as it answers.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the most important of these questions is exactly what constitutes "the

myth of the Jew." Whilst commentators are in agreement that the mythic Jew was given "a distinct theological sanction" with the rise of Christianity in Western Europe--especially during the medieval period--there is not a consensus about the content of this mythology.<sup>3</sup> Many commentators have associated the "Christian myth" or "Christian tradition" with modern antisemitism, especially Nazism. Hyam Maccoby, most recently, has argued that:

"The Christian myth, in so far as it concerns the Jews, runs as follows. The Jews were originally the people of God, but God has now rejected them, because of their betrayal of Jesus. They refused to believe in Jesus's divinity and betrayed him to his death at the hands of the Romans. In consequence, they became an accursed people. Their Temple was destroyed, as Jesus had prophesied, and they were driven into exile and became wanderers over the face of the earth."<sup>4</sup>

In these terms, the "Christian myth" is viewed as a wholly negative stereotype leading, inevitably, to the most rabid forms of modern antisemitism.<sup>5</sup> However, Harold Fisch has usefully argued that the mythic Jew is a "dual image." That is, as well as demonising the Jew as a devil-figure, there is a distinct Christian theology which "requires the contemporary Jew, the Jew of post-Biblical history," to be "a witness to the final consummation of the Christian promise of salvation." This tradition, according to Fisch, "requires the regeneration of Israel as the true source of regeneration for all mankind... through his conversion to Christianity."<sup>6</sup> George Steiner, carrying this argument a stage further, argues that the mythic Jew in the Christian imagination represents the "claims of the ideal" on Western civilisation:

"In his exasperating 'strangeness,' in his acceptance of suffering as part of a covenant with the absolute, the Jew became, as it were, the 'bad conscience' of Western history. In him the abandonments of spiritual and moral perfection, the hypocrisies of an established, mundane religiosity, the Absences of a disappointed, potentially vengeful God, were kept alive and visible."<sup>7</sup>

In fact, these various mythologies represent the spectrum of Jewish stereotypes available in England between 1875 and 1914. The myth of the "accursed" Jew is seen, for instance, in the Jewish stereotypes of Hilaire Belloc, the later G.K. Chesterton and H.G. Wells' fiction, whereas the Christian "dual image" is seen most starkly in the ambivalence of John Buchan's fiction. And the mythic Jew as a representative of the "claims of the ideal" on Western civilisation is clearly seen, I think, in George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (1876). Given that these mythologies are all replicated in the fiction under consideration, then it needs to be asked why one particular myth is chosen at a specific time and place. This study has stressed the legacy of ambivalence or "duality" in the Jewish stereotypes that have been analysed, but why was this the dominant tradition in English culture at this time?

The answer to this question lies, as I have stressed throughout the thesis, in the nature of English liberalism and, in particular, the relative strength of the liberal democratic state in the modern period when compared to its European counterparts. Richard Cumberland's play, The Jew (1794), was the first of many such works in England where "the Jew" is perceived to embody the enlightened virtues or tolerance, justice and equality. The long and ingrained tradition of English philosemitism—which associated the conversion of the Jews with mankind's redemption—was therefore secularised and was to associate the accommodation of the Jew with the ideals of liberalism.<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Disraeli, in particular, utilised this tradition to help him extend the English state into the sphere of Imperial expansion which, like the Jew, was viewed as encapsulating the ideals of Western civilisation. Moreover, in the modern period, as has been argued, "the Jew [in English literature] with his sturdy respectability and family loyalty has become the hero of a middle-class

fable."<sup>9</sup> Thus Stewart Ansell, the Jewish philosopher in E.M. Forster's early novel, The Longest Journey (1907), is rightly described as "the representative of the honest middle-classes" who brings "honesty and realism into the world of the decayed gentry."<sup>10</sup> Forster's bourgeois idealism was explicitly articulated in his Pharos and Pharillon (1923) where he described the "adversities" of the "Chosen People":

"The history of the Chosen People is full of such contretemps but they survive and thrive... And look at them in the railway carriage now. Their faces are anxious and eloquent of past rebuffs. But they are travelling first" (29).<sup>11</sup>

From this perspective, Forster was to describe English antisemitism in the 1930s as "now the most shocking of all things." Clearly, in terms of a middle-class English liberalism, antisemitism was "shocking" and unEnglish.<sup>12</sup> The fact that antisemitism was considered beyond the pale of English civilisation was certainly a key reason for the dominant ambivalent Jewish stereotype in English culture.

The ambivalent figure of Senor Hirsch in Joseph Conrad's Nostramo (1904) points, I think, to an unresolved tension in Conrad's mind between an illiberal antisemitism and the liberal accommodation of the Jew. Conrad, in his life and letters, was notoriously outspoken and abusive about the British Jews with which he had to regularly deal. These were, for the most part, the publishers Fisher Unwin and Heinemann, J.B. Pinker, his literary agent, and Edward Garnett.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, such abuse, probably stemming from his history as a member of the Polish landed gentry, was deliberately qualified in Nostramo. That is, the figure of Hirsch is introduced as a crude caricature "Jew," with a "hooked beak" or "hooked-nose" and a "practical mercantile soul" (190/191). Yet Conrad attempts to accommodate Hirsch in his novel as a transcendent symbol. After



Hirsch is brutally tortured and shot by Sotillo, Nostromo and Dr. Monygham discover "the late Senor Hirsch, erect and shadowy against the stars, ...waiting attentive, in impartial silence":

"The light of the two candles burning before the perpendicular and breathless immobility of the late Senor Hirsch threw a gleam afar over land and water, like a signal in the night" (378).

Conrad is, I think, a little too explicit in linking the "fate of Hirsch" to "the general atrocity of things" (368). In the end, the figure of Hirsch is unconvincing as he is both the cringing, fear-stricken caricature "Jew" and the (literally) crucified, spiritual "signal in the night." Arguably, when Hirsch spits in the face of Sotillo, which can be considered the one act of defiance against oppression in the novel, Conrad attempts to bridge the dark and bright aspects of Hirsch.<sup>14</sup> To be sure, this act prefigures his transformation into a transcendent symbol prophesying the death of Nostromo. This, perhaps, explains Nostromo's pointedly ironic call to "avenge" Hirsch as he marches unaware to a similar fate:

"'You man of fear!' he cried. 'You shall be avenged by me-- Nostromo'" (355).

Conrad's ambivalent characterisation of Hirsch indicates a genuine unease with the liberal accommodation of Jews in English society. Nevertheless, Conrad reflected the literary equivalent of this accommodation which was the sanctification of the Jew in the English novel as a transcendent Christ-figure. This was, in fact, an explicit feature of Olive Schreiner's Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland (1897), Hall Caine's The Scapegoat (1894) and William Hale White's Clara Hopgood (1896). Moreover, it is even possible to read the figure of Daniel Deronda exclusively as a Christ-figure.<sup>15</sup> It is, therefore, perfectly understandable that the fiction in this study that corresponded most exactly to a European illiberal antisemitism were those works in which the writer rejected a democratic liberal state and, thus, the liberal accommodation of the Jew. I am thinking, in particular, of the imaginative work of Belloc, Chesterton, Wells and the later George Bernard Shaw. Hence, it is the relationship between the writer and modernity—in the guise of

liberal capitalism and parliamentary democracy--that indicates, above all, which mythology of "the Jew" he or she utilises. It is in this context that the ambivalent Jewish stereotype--or Christian "dual image"--prevailed in a liberal English culture which promoted two parallel acceptable and unacceptable images of "the Jew." Olive Schreiner sums up this perspective most clearly when she argues in a letter that the contemporary Jew: "seems to be either Christ or Judas."<sup>16</sup> And, from the 1870s until her death, Schreiner wrote From Man to Man (1926) where the unnamed figure of "the Jew" from the South African diamond fields was to be contrasted with the similarly unnamed but explicitly Jewish Christ-figure in Schreiner's Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland. That is, whereas Schreiner's Christ-figure contrasts with the horrors of English imperialism in South Africa, "the Jew" in From Man to Man crudely represents the horrors of a sexually and financially exploitative England.<sup>17</sup> Other novels such as Anthony Hope's Quisanté (1900) and M.P. Shiel's The Lord of the Sea (1901) could represent the Jew in messianic terms--like the popular English proto-Zionist novel--but were to remain undecided whether Jewish power was a force for good or evil.<sup>18</sup>

More specifically, the case of the Edwardian Radical Right indicates, I think, particular political reasons for utilising the mythological "accursed" Jew as opposed to its redemptive counterpart. That is, before 1907, when the aims of this group--especially with regard to South Africa--were a part of a parliamentary consensus, then the redemptive mythology of "the Jew" could be utilised by members of this group such as Buchan and Rudyard Kipling. However, once alienated from the liberal state and parliamentary democracy--especially after 1911--then, for the most part, the mythology of the "accursed" Jew was invoked by the Radical Right, especially in terms of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. It is in these political

terms that the question of working-class culture and the relationship of the working-classes to the various mythologies of "the Jew" should be understood.<sup>19</sup> To be sure, most of the fiction under consideration in the bulk of this thesis was written within a largely middle-class liberal consensus and, thus, utilised the ambivalent Jewish stereotype. That is, as in the example of Ford Madox Ford's Mr. Fleight (1913), it was possible to portray Jewish power in redemptive terms if the Jew was deemed to be a part of a liberal democracy. However, it is legitimate to ask to what extent did an increasingly "introverted" working-class culture--largely alienated from a middle-class liberalism--relate to the stereotype of the Jew as "the hero of the middle-classes?"<sup>20</sup>

It is significant, in this context, that the mythology of the Jew-devil finds its most consistent and popular representation in the mass circulation "shilling shockers" of this period. In particular, in these terms, Jews were stereotyped as a dangerous German spy who seriously threatened England's security in, say, the bestselling fiction of William Le Queux. Or, similarly, the Jew could be stereotyped as an anarchist--"the apostle of Destruction"--in the popular novels of Richard Henry Savage, Edwin Hughes, and E. Douglas Fawcett.<sup>21</sup> These popular stereotypes have been rightly described as "secularised devils" who represent "an awesome conspiracy of concentrated evil against modern society."<sup>22</sup> However, many bestselling formulaic novelists in fact explicitly utilised the Christian mythology of the Jew as an "anti-Christ" or devil-figure. T. Kingston Clarke, for instance, refers to this mythology in his novel, Men v. Devils (1901), which portrays the rapacious Jew, Finklestein, as the devil-figure destroying the "men" of England. Moreover, the most elaborate articulation of this mythology can be found in the massively popular fiction of Marie Corelli whose "works outsold the combined

sales of her associates." Corelli, it has been said, created "an area of consensus between author and reader" by basing her fiction on "vague and amorphous feelings surrounding Christian myths."<sup>23</sup> Most explicitly, in Barabbas: A Dream of the World's Tragedy (1894), Corelli literally rewrote the Gospels in terms of the Christian myth of the Jew as "anti-Christ." In these terms, Christ "was slain to satisfy the blood-thirstiness of the God-Elected Children of Israel" (83) and the Crucifixion is described as a "singular Jewish festival of blood" (107). This mythology was, in turn, applied to contemporary England in Corelli's equally popular Temporal Power: A Study in Supremacy (1902) where the Jew is identified with "the rulers of the darkness of this world" and "spiritual wickedness in high places" (1). In a book of essays, Free Opinions (1906), Corelli went on to associate the Jew with "the blight of atheism, infidelity, callousness and indifference to honourable principle..." as well as Pagan London and the Vulgarity of Wealth.<sup>24</sup> Corelli justified her opinions in purely theological terms, but in fact her work also represented a popular rejection of modernity as she "sustained the existence of ideals" which she believed "could not endure in modern life."<sup>25</sup> That is, it was as a symbol of modernity that Corelli rejected the Jew as a devil-figure. Frank Harris, similarly, in his Unpath'd Waters (1913), juxtaposed a number of short stories which contrasted the modern vulgar Jewish plutocrat with the spiritual world of the Gospels.<sup>26</sup> But it was Guy Thorne, in particular, with his bestselling When It Was Dark (1903), who most clearly represented the Jewish "anti-Christ" as a symbol of a degenerate modernity. This novel was "preached about by the Bishop of London" and became "a huge, roaring success."<sup>27</sup> The plot of this novel concerns the machinations of Constantine Schaube, a Jewish millionaire from Man-

chester, who tries to prove that "Christ never rose from the dead and that the whole of Christianity was therefore fraudulent":

"Once this shattering message was telegraphed to the world the fabric of society collapsed. Rape, riot, violent crime and financial panic swept the Western world."<sup>28</sup>

Although Schaube's conspiracy was eventually defeated by an honourable Church of England curate, the Jewish stereotype is explicitly identified in the novel with the forces of evil which threatened to undermine Christian England. These stereotypes certainly had a popular currency in London's East End where "the Jew," at its most extreme, could be described as a "blood sucker" who was "driving the worker from his home through their rapacity" or even "sucking the life blood of the nation."<sup>29</sup> Anti-alienists, significantly, were "at pains to identify the issues of immigration as a working-class one." It is in these terms that the mythic Jew as an anarchistic, parasitic devil-figure could have a wide currency in anti-alienist circles.<sup>30</sup> This is especially true since those workers who were "active anti-alienists or even anti-semitic" were most often "drawn from the skilled working class or the lower middle-class." That is, a group that would have been a potential readership for the bestselling "shilling shockers."<sup>31</sup> Such popular fiction could, therefore, envisage the wholesale deportation of British Jewry as in James Blyth's Ichabod (1910) and Violet Guttenberg's A Modern Exodus (1904).<sup>32</sup> In this context, Marie Corelli was to send a message of support in January, 1902, to a meeting of the British Brothers League in London's East End. Corelli called for the setting up of branches of the League in all major cities in England.<sup>33</sup> Thus, a working class adoption of the Christian mythology which rejected the Jew as a devil-figure can be understood in terms of an anti-alienism which, similarly, rejected a benign middle-class liberalism. That is, once

the Jew was no longer accommodated within a liberal culture as an ambivalent "dual image," he was rejected as a devil-figure.

In less extreme terms, Jewish self-stereotyping can also be related to the ambivalent stereotype of the Jew within liberal culture. It is worth noting that those Jewish writers who eschewed the ambivalent Jewish stereotype were, in particular, alienated from Anglo-Jewry's liberal self-image as Jewish "good citizens." I am thinking, in this context, of Amy Levy, Julia Frankau and Cecily Sidgwick. In these terms, the Jewish writer could adopt the alternative dark stereotype of the unacceptable Jew. Leonard Woolf, for instance, who after the "liberating experience" of four years at Cambridge and seven years in Ceylon was understandably alienated from his conventional middle-class Anglo-Jewish upbringing.<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, his autobiographical novel, The Wise Virgins (1914), was described by a contemporary reviewer in the following terms:

"Mr. Leonard Woolf is clearly of the Jewish race and not ashamed of the fact. No, Woolf, if he be a Jew, is not of the tribe of Mr. Israel Zangwill. He does not take his religion seriously. He describes the members of his race with a cynicism which recalls Miss Amy Levy..."<sup>35</sup>

Such was the difference, accurately perceived, between Zangwill's Jewish ambivalence and Amy Levy's rejection of the Jewish "good citizen." Woolf could, therefore, portray his fictional mother as "a fat elderly Jewess, snobbish, peevish, and forever complaining about 'the servants' in her 'nasal monotonously quiet voice'" which led to their estrangement.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the description of Woolf's fictional father eating his breakfast indicates the extent that Woolf had internalised the contemporary stereotype of the unacceptable Jew:

"Mr. Davis was a small, domestic man with a grey face, a large nose, and great grey eyes... At the moment, the prices of stocks and shares--he had the Jewish habit of manipulating his capital--were sinking into his supple brain through his eyes as quietly and unconsciously as the sausage through his mouth into his excellent stomach... Standing upright, he gave him-

self a little shake, the real business of life and of the day had begun, and Tintos stood at seventy-eight" (32/33).

The Bloomsbury Group were characteristically outspoken about Jewish vulgarity--even in front of Leonard--and Virginia Woolf even wrote about a "Jewish neighbour" in The Years (1937) who, after bathing, left "a ring of Jewish grease on the bath" (365/68).<sup>37</sup> However, it has been rightly argued that "the Jew" in The Years is identified by Virginia with "the disintegration of society" which, clearly, did not have anything to do with her marriage to Leonard. Instead, the mythic Jew, in a contemporary context, has been accurately defined as "a symbol, a short-hand label for an entire set of ideas and attitudes having little if anything to do with direct affection or dislike of Jews."<sup>38</sup> Thus, by identifying Jews with the "evils of industrialisation and capitalism" in The Years, Virginia was simply engaging in an intellectual critique of "the Jew" which was a literary short-hand for a "modern, industrialised, capitalist and urban civilisation which was seen as eroding British society and its cultural values."<sup>39</sup> Maccoby, significantly, has associated the traditional Christian element in the contemporary intellectual critique of "the Jew" with Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice. In these terms, "the clash between Shylock and Antonio" in Shakespeare's play is "a clash between Judaism and Christianity":

"Shylock's faults arise from his theology of Justice, while Antonio's virtues arise from his theology of Mercy... Shylock's insistence on the fulfilling of the bond is within the letter of the law and invokes the law. In the trial scene, the Pharisee's conception of Law is supposed to come face to face with the higher Christian conception of the transcendence of Law by Mercy."<sup>40</sup>

Such is the Christian conception of Judaism as an anachronistic and overly legalistic form of "Justice" which is unable to spiritually transcend the letter of the Law, or the Old Testament. Clearly, the traditional conception of Judaism as a fossilised materialism rein-

forced the contemporary stereotype of the Jew as a symbol of a degenerate capitalism which was viewed as eroding a higher set of British cultural values. This critique of Judaism was most clearly apparent in the politics and fiction of Wells and Shaw. Characteristically, Shaw in The Doctor's Dilemma (1911) gives this mythology a paradoxical twist:

"...when an Englishman borrows, all he knows or cares about is that he wants money; and he'll sign anything to get it, without in the least understanding it, or intending to carry out the agreement if it turns out badly for him... Just like the Merchant of Venice, you know. But if a Jew makes an agreement, he means to keep it and expects you to keep it" (130-131).<sup>41</sup>

A more usual application of the myth of a materialistic, legalistic Judaism is found in Arnold Bennett's The Grand Babylon Hotel (1902) where the Jewish millionaire, Sampson Levi, is called "The Court Pawnbroker" because he arranges loans for the "Princes and Courts of Europe" (90). In this way, a materialistic Judaism is contrasted with a once great European culture. Walter Besant's The Rebel Queen (1894) similarly describes Isabel Elveda's estrangement from a repressive Judaism which enslaves her to her husband. That is, a brutal Jewish law is seen to repress the sexual transcendence of the Jewess in much the same way as Shylock tried to repress his daughter, Jessica. However, as has been noted, the definition of "the Jew" in racial terms--especially after the 1870s--meant that the Christian transcendence of the Jew was irrevocably undercut in the modern period. Thus, in Grant Allen's The Scallywag (1893), a Jewish convert to Christianity argues that: "'a Christian I may be; a man can't be blamed for changing his religious convictions on sufficient grounds; but a Hebrew I was born and a Hebrew I'll remain to the end of the chapter'" (III, 96). Similarly, in W.C. Scully's Between Sun and Sand (1898), the Jewish convert regards his baptism as "a mere



matter of convenience" (229) and is thus shown to be unable to transcend his racial character.<sup>42</sup> As has been noted, after the 1870s the sexual Jewess, for the first time, was also perceived to be unable to transcend her racial Jewishness by marrying a Christian gentleman.

Undoubtedly, the racially "accursed" Jew was the dominant mythology adopted by a group of writers which have been loosely gathered together as the "anti-democratic intelligentsia."<sup>43</sup> Alienated from mainstream liberal English culture in both aesthetic and political terms, writers such as D.H. Lawrence, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis can, ironically, be most closely related—in terms of their post-First World War Jewish stereotypes—with a popular working-class culture. The noted conceptual similarities between George Du Maurier's bestselling novels and Henry James' fiction is understandable, I think, in the context of this affinity. A comparable example is the relationship between a number of T.S. Eliot's poems, Wells' fiction and the later Kipling which has also been noted. In particular, the post-First World War fiction of D.H. Lawrence is a characteristically forceful expression of the negation of "the Jew" within the popular imagination. In fact, Lawrence's neo-pagan radicalism identified Judaism as the begetter of Christianity and thus, in these terms, Jews were deemed responsible for the Judeo-Christian ethic which Lawrence believed had degenerated Europe.<sup>44</sup> In Kangaroo (1923), the most didactic statement of this theme, Richard Somers', Lawrence's persona, argues that there are:

"...older gods, older ideals, different gods: before the Jews invented a mental Jehovah and a spiritual Christ" (229)<sup>45</sup>

These "older gods" are "nearer the magic of the animal world" (229) and, therefore, Somers wants to abolish a "mental Jehovah" by calling for "the great gods, and my own mere manliness" (234). Interest-

ingly, the central figure whom Somers opposes in Kangeroo is Benjamin Cooley, the Jewish leader of an Australian Fascist movement, who--"as an order-loving Jew" (230)--wants to be a Jehovah-like Father-figure benignly dominating Europe. In the novel's apocalyptic "Nightmare" chapter, Lawrence thus identifies a degenerate Judaism with "the awful years--'16, '17, '18, '19--the years when the damage was done. The years when the world lost its real manhood":

"And if a man is to be brought to any heel, better a spurred heel than the heel of a Jewish financier. So Richard decided later, when the years let him think things over, and see where he was" (237).

Lawrence, in fact, stereotypes the "Jewish financier" in much the same way as Belloc and Chesterton utilised the Jewish stereotype in the context of an anti-liberal pre-War political antisemitism. Thus, Lloyd George, "a little Welsh lawyer, not an Englishman at all," and "the Jews" are related by Lawrence in terms which are reminiscent of Belloc and Chesterton's perception of the Marconi Scandal:

"...Somers gradually came to believe that all Jews, and all Celts, even whilst they espoused the cause of England, subtly lived to bring about the last humiliation of the great Old England. They could never do so if England would not be humiliated" (251).

In this context, Lawrence, like Wells, could describe Judaism as a religion which history had shown was "a thing administered to their own [Jewish] importance and well-being and conceit. This is the slave trick of the Jews--they use the great religious consciousness as a trick of personal conceit. This is abominable."<sup>46</sup> In this way, Europe's degeneracy--caused by the refusal to go beyond a "mental Jehovah" or "spiritual Christ"--was to be associated with a selfish, egotistical, Phari saic Judaism. Ironically, in another context, Lawrence could ambivalently identify with Jews and argue that "the best of Jews is that they know truth from untruth" and that "I feel such a profound hatred myself, of the human race, I almost know what

it is to be a Jew."<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, this superficial identification was simply a means by which Lawrence could consciously transcend the world of Judaism and return to the animal world of the spirit which was deemed to have preceded "the Jews." Lawrence, for instance, had a lasting friendship with Mark Gertler, the East End Jewish painter, and was to lavishly praise his art, especially "Merry-Go-Round" (1916). However, in a letter to Gertler, Lawrence described "Merry-Go-Round" in the following way:

"...I can see, you must, in your art, be mindless and in an ecstasy of destructive sensation. It is wrong to be conscious, for you: at any rate, to be too conscious. 'By the waters of Babylon I sat me down and wept, remembering Jerusalem.' At last your race is at an end--these pictures are its death-cry. And it will be left for the Jews to utter the final and great death-cry of this epoch: the Christians are not reduced sufficiently."<sup>48</sup>

After the "awful years" of the First World War, Lawrence therefore revised the ending of Women in Love (1921) so that Gertler and "Merry-Go-Round" could appear in the novel as the "noxious insect" (503) Loerke who is portrayed as the polar opposite of a transcendent pagan other-world.<sup>49</sup> Birkin, in particular, describes Loerke's art in Women in Love in terms which make explicit the logic of Lawrence's earlier letters to Gertler:

"[Loerke] lives like a rat in the river of corruption, just where it falls over into the bottomless pit. He's farther on than we are. He hates the ideal more acutely. He hates the ideal utterly, yet it still dominates him. I expect he is a Jew--or part Jewish" (481).

Thus, Loerke is seen to wallow "like a rat" in his "hatred" instead of attempting to transcend it like the Lawrence-Birkin figure in the novel. Such is the difference between Lawrence and the Jew. This Jewish lack of transcendence is explicitly articulated in The Captain's Doll (1923) where "Jews of the wrong sort... seemed to say to the maidenly-necked mountain youths: 'Don't sprout wings of the

spirit too much, my dears" (236). Similarly, the "bourgeois, spoilt Jewess" (55) in The Virgin and the Gypsy (1930) tries, for two chapters of the novella, to dissuade Yvette from finding sexual fulfillment with the gypsy: "'What a vile fellow! What right had he to look at you like that?' cried the indignant Jewess" (66). In the end, therefore, the artistic Jew remains pharasaic and egotistical, wallowing in his "Jewish hatred" for mankind. Or, in another context, the Jew is the complacent "bourgeois" who crudely represents mankind's inability to take an apocalyptic plunge into a Lawrentian pagan other-world. In this way, the "accursed" Jew remained a symbol, in Lawrence's imagination, of a degenerate world which lacked any transcendent spiritual values.

T.S. Eliot, from an orthodox Christian view-point, lucidly stereotypes the "accursed" Jew as a symbol of a world lacking spiritual transcendence in his "Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar" (1920):

"The horses, under the axletree  
 Beat up the dawn from Istria  
 With even feet. Her shuttered barge  
 Burned on the water all the day.

But this or such was Bleistein's way:  
 A saggy bending of the knees  
 And elbows, with the palms turned out,  
 Chicago Semite Viennese.

A lustreless protrusive eye  
 Stares from the protozoic slime  
 At a perspective of Canaletto.  
 The smoky candle end of time

Declines. On the Rialto once.  
 The rats are underneath the piles.  
 The jew is underneath the lot.  
 Money in furs. The boatman smiles,

Princess Volupine extends  
 A meagre, blue-nailed, phthisic hand  
 To climb the waterstair. Lights, Lights,  
 She entertains Sir Ferdinand

Klein. Who clipped the lion's wings  
 And flea'd his rump and pared his claws?  
 Thought Burbank, meditating on  
 Time's ruins, and the seven laws."

This post-First World War poem is by far the best summary of the stereotype of the dark "accursed" Jew in this thesis. He is the contemporary, vulgar comic-book figure of Bleistein whose presence represents the corruption of a classical, ordered European civilisation which is symbolised by the decline of Venice.<sup>50</sup> At its most extreme, this figure is a grotesque beast--hence the uncapitalised "jew"--gnawing away at the foundations of Christian civilisation. The "jew," in these terms, is a mythic symbol of destruction, reminiscent of the devil-figure or anti-Christ within medieval Christianity.<sup>51</sup> But he is also the contemporary rootless cosmopolitan--Chicago, Semite, Viennese--the racial embodiment of a corrupt modernity. Sir Ferdinand--notethe ironic pause in Eliot's poem--Klein, therefore, represents the usurping presence of a degenerate Edwardian plutocracy and a dominant Jewish materialism which echoes the timeless presence of Shylock "on the Rialto once."

Whilst such stereotypes have a general relevance to this thesis, they cannot, however, be dissociated from Eliot's particular "classicist, royalist and anglo-Catholic" world-view. This formulation, interestingly, stems from the ideology of Charles Maurras' "anti-democratic and rabidly anti-semitic" Action Française who aimed to uphold the "classique, catholique, monarchique" traditions of a pre-Enlightenment France. As has been recently shown, after 1910 Maurras' politics were "to enter the fabric of Eliot's own concerns."<sup>52</sup> The description of a culture-less and tradition-less mass society in terms of the "accursed" Jew was given its most extreme political expression in Eliot's After Strange Gods (1934)

which explicitly associated a "worm-eaten liberalism" (48) with the "large number of free-thinking Jews" within Christendom:

"The population should be homogeneous; where two or more cultures exist in the same place they are likely either to be fiercely self-conscious or both to become adulterate. What is still more important is unity of religious background; and reasons of race and religion combine to make any large number of free-thinking Jews undesirable... a spirit of excess tolerance is to be deprecated" (20).<sup>53</sup>

Such political beliefs were clearly indistinguishable from the extreme anti-alienism of the British Brothers' League and the political antisemitism of Belloc and Chesterton. However, it should be noted that Eliot's intellectual critique of "the Jew" did not assume a party political form. Instead, Eliot's extreme illiberalism and distaste for modernity meant that "the Jew" was to become a dark symbol of plurality and disintegration in his imagination which was opposed to a "homogeneous" transcendent Christianity. "Gerontion" (1920), in particular, can be read as the quintessential poetic expression of these beliefs:

"My house is a decayed house,  
And the jew squats on the window-sill, the owner,  
Spawned in some estaminet of Antwerp,  
Blistered in Brussels, patched and peeled in London.  
The goat coughs at night in the field overhead;  
Rocks, moss, stonecrop, iron, merds."

Once again, the "jew" is the beast "squatting" on the window outside of the "house" which is Christendom. Yet, at the same time, he is the "owner" of the "house" which again refers to the perceived dominance of an Edwardian Jewish plutocracy and the Christian belief that the devil is "the ruler of this world."<sup>54</sup> Like Bleistein, the "jew" is "spawned"--one of a swarm like an insect--in Antwerp, Brussels and London. Such is the restless energy and frightening proliferation of the "large numbers of free-thinking Jews" within Christendom. The disintegration that is the consequence of this lack

of cultural unity is represented by the atomised "rocks, moss, stone-crop, iron, merds," the landscape of Eliot's waste land. This is a supremely modern image and yet, paradoxically, it is the mythic Jewish anti-Christ which underpins this image. Hence, like Christ, the Jew is born in an "estaminet" confirming his place as Christianity's evil alter ego. The oneness of the Christ-child is, thus, juxtaposed with the symbol of fragmentation--the "jew":

"The word within a word, unable to speak a word,  
Swaddled with darkness. In the juvæscence of the year  
Came Christ the tiger.

In depraved May, dogwood and chestnut, flowering judas,  
To be eaten, to be divided, to be drunk  
Among whispers; by Mr. Silvero  
With caressing hands, at Limoges..."

The Jew--or the "flowering judas"--is rightly described as the "agent of the decay which is inseparable from all growth" in "Gerontion." This theme is succinctly expressed in Eliot's neologism, "juvæscence" which echoes "jew," "juice" and "essence" and means: "youth containing the juice of reality, but fermenting with jewish bacteria, which are the beginnings of its rottenness, though they are inseparable from its vitality."<sup>55</sup> Thus, the perfect Christ-child is "swaddled in darkness" which leads, inevitably, to the world of the materialist, Mr. Silvero, who, like the comic-book Jew, has "caressing hands."<sup>56</sup> In these terms, the mythic Jew is a central aspect of Eliot's poetry and not a minor aberration as has been often argued.<sup>57</sup> For instance, one cannot read "Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service" (1920), with its aphorism taken from Marlowe's The Jew of Malta, without reference to "Gerontion" and the myth of the dark vitality of the Jewish materialist:

"Polyphiloprogenitive  
The sapient sutlers of the Lord  
Drift across the window-panes.  
In the beginning was the Word."<sup>58</sup>

More explicitly, "A Cooking Egg" (1920) juxtaposes contemporary Jewish degeneracy with an ideal "classical" past:

"The red-eyed scavengers are creeping  
From Kentish Town and Golder's Green;

Where are the eagles and the trumpets?"

The bestial figure of "Rachel née Rabinovitch" who "tears at the grapes with murderous paws" in "Sweeney Among the Nightingales" (1920) can also be read as a Jewish stereotype.<sup>59</sup> And the "man with heavy eyes" in the same poem--referring to Bleistein's "protrusive eye"--is a visual reference to the dark mythic Jew, especially when he "reappears":

"Outside the window, leaning in,  
Branches of wistaria  
Circumscribe a golden grin..."<sup>60</sup>

That is, in all of these poems Eliot juxtaposes a classical ordered Roman Christendom--made up of "eagles and trumpets" or horses that trot with "even feet"--with the bestial power of the material "gold" or "silver" jew who is invariably other; outside of the "house" or the "window" like a ravaging animal. Eliot's supreme poetic diction meant that such images and figures can be considered to be the distilled expression of the "accursed" mythic Jew within the Christian imagination. In short, Eliot could create poetry of lasting importance by compressing the popular, mythic and intellectual perceptions of "the Jew" into a single poetic diction. Therefore, when not mediated through Eliot's emotionally detached intellect, his poetry can be clearly related to the Bellocian world of the "shilling shocker" and the British Brothers League. An unpublished fragment from The Waste Land (1922) called "Dirge" makes this point clear:

"Full fathom five your Bleistein lies  
Under the flatfish and the squids.  
Graves' Disease in a dead jew's eyes!



When the crabs have eat the lids.  
 Lower than the wharf rats dive  
 Though he suffer a sea-change  
 Still expensive rich and strange..."

Perhaps the difference between the popular and intellectual critique of "the Jew" is indicated by the fact that, in the final version of The Waste Land, the words "Gentile or Jew" is all that relates "Death by Water" to this fragment.<sup>61</sup>

Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis lacked the political circumspection of T.S. Eliot and became active and vocal supporters of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism. Pound, specifically, made one hundred and twenty five rabidly antisemitic radio broadcasts from Mussolini's Italy during the Second World War. This was the political culmination of Pound's and Lewis' modernism which was saturated with the stereotype of the "accursed" Jew in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>62</sup> The extreme nature of their stereotyping is indicated by the fact that Pound was to <sup>write an apology in support of</sup> / / / / the persecution of European Jewry in his war-time broadcasts and Lewis, in his apologetic Hitler (1931), was to promote German National Socialism in England.<sup>63</sup> For Pound and Lewis, European Fascism was "the great political expression of revolutionary opposition to the [Jewish] status quo."<sup>64</sup> Such was the logic of an unbridled rejection of modernity--that is democracy, capitalism, communism, liberalism, science and rationalism--which "the Jew" was perceived to symbolise.

However, as has been shown, the rejection of "the Jew" in the guise of modernity was not confined to the "anti-democratic intelligentsia" but can also include the work of Wells, Shaw, Belloc, Chesterton and the popular "shilling shocker." Nevertheless, what the literary modernism of the "anti-democratic intelligentsia" indicates is that the rejection of nineteenth century English liberal culture--especially the doctrines of the realist novel--is the

aesthetic equivalent of the political rejection of a bourgeois liberalism. In other words, this group indicates a direct relationship between aesthetics and politics with regard to Jewish stereotyping. This argument, I think, can be extended in general to the breakdown of the conventions of the nineteenth century realist novel which began as early as the 1870s. It is significant, in this context, that the second half of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda consciously rejects the conventions of realism--and incidentally the bourgeois image of the Jew in the guise of the Cohen family--to stereotype Daniel Deronda and Mordecai as the romantic redeemers of England. The link, in these terms, between an experimental, non-realist, aesthetic and the utilisation of the mythic Jew in modern terms is, I would argue, an important strand of this thesis. That is, once the conventions of realism are eschewed, there is a resulting radical dissociation of the mythic Jew from the social, political and cultural reality of British Jewry. The romantic nationalism of George Eliot, Buchan and Kipling, in particular, reinforces this argument; especially when it is noted that all of these writers were closely acquainted with individual Jews. Wells' fragmented, thematic structure in Tono-Bungay can, thus, be related to his use of the Jew in this novel as a non-realist symbol of parasitic decay. Another pertinent illustration of this process, especially given the radical aesthetic of both writers, is the sexual stereotypes used<sup>by</sup> James Joyce and Arthur Symonds which were inspired by Jewish women whom both writers knew, or had seen, at first hand. More comprehensively, the fiction of George Meredith at the end of the nineteenth century and Dorothy Richardson, during the first half of the twentieth century, are two interesting examples of a radical modernist dissociation of myth from reality with regard to the Jewish stereotype.

George Meredith's One of Our Conquerors (1891), in particular, has been described as "the most difficult novel in English to read" with the obvious exception of Joyce's Finnegan's Wake (1939).<sup>65</sup> Meredith's consciously experimental novel has, in these terms, been shown to have specifically influenced Joyce, Forster, Lawrence and T.S. Eliot. More precisely, Meredith's novel aimed to go "beyond language" into "silence, music, and death" which is said to have pre-figured a "stream of consciousness" aesthetic where the distinction between narration and a character's consciousness or sub-consciousness is deliberately blurred.<sup>66</sup> In this context, the early chapters of One of Our Conquerors are an exploration of the inner life of the novel's hero, Victor Radnor, which turns out to be a proto-modernist "anti-semitic pastoral of Victor's invention."<sup>67</sup> That is, whilst walking across London Bridge, Victor witnesses "Fishy Saxons" who are shown to be "assiduously servile" while they "blacken Ben-Israel's boots" and "groom the princely stud of the Jew" (6). This moment is the catalyst for Victor's as yet sub-conscious "apprehensions" of a:

"...possible, if not an impending, consummation, of the ghastly vision of the Jew Dominant in London City, over England, over Europe, America, the world.. [this] gave him a whole-length plunge into despondency" (6).<sup>68</sup>

A "Hebraised" (6) England ruled by the "Dominant Jew" (9) is a vision which concerns Victor in the opening chapter of Meredith's novel. It can be considered, I think, to be a dramatisation of Matthew Arnold's fears in Culture and Anarchy (1869) of an anarchic "Hebraised" England devoid of culture. Victor, in particular, asks whether "the Jew of the usury gold [is] becoming our despot-king of Commerce" (8) and expresses his "dread," as an honest English businessman, that he will be "absorbed in Jewry, signifying subjection..." (10). Thus, it is the differentiation of Victor's business attributes from "the Jew" that is one of the concerns of Meredith in One of Our Conquerors.

Like Trollope, Meredith perceived fin de siècle England to be as potentially degenerate as the "backsliding Jew" (100). That is Meredith, in this novel, seriously questions England's Imperial sense of mission in the 1890s and draws his "lesson" from the "Captivity of the Jews" (100). In other words, England herself was perceived to be in danger of becoming "Hebraised," a country of empty materialists without a sense of history or culture, like the "accursed" contemporary Jew. It is for this reason that Victor spends the novel defining his own sense of identity as an Englishman in a bid to avoid his "absorption" into a metaphorical "Jewry." In these terms, the mythic Jew as a dark symbol of cultural decay and Meredith's proto-modernism were perfectly compatible and indicate the metaphorical, radically unreal nature of the mythic Jew within the modernist imagination.

To underline this point, it should be noted that the metaphorical Jew in One of Our Conquerors was, in fact, based on Meredith's earlier semi-fictional portrait of Ferdinand Lassalle as "Alvan" in The Tragic Comedians (1880). Lassalle, as the Jewish leader of the revolutionary German Social Democrats, had an international reputation as a "new messiah" who would redeem the oppressed proletariat.<sup>69</sup> Meredith's The Tragic Comedians is a fictionalised account of Lassalle's well-publicised love affair with the upperclass Hélène von Dönniges and contrasts Lassalle's reputation as a "messiah" with the conventional view of the revolutionary Jew as a devil-figure or anti-messiah.<sup>70</sup> Lassalle, in these terms, is perceived by Meredith as the "new man, the vigorous herald of social change" and is compared to the von Dönniges who are characterised as the representatives of a "dying social order."<sup>71</sup> Thus, Meredith transforms the reality of Lassalle's love affair into the stereotype of the mythic Jew as a

metaphor for social change. Such is "the Jew" in One of Our Conquerers.

Dorothy Richardson's mammoth Pilgrimage sequence of thirteen autobiographical "stream of consciousness" novels, written from 1915 to 1938, comprehensively demonstrates the gulf between Jews as human reality and as myth within a modernist aesthetic. Richardson's detailed, obsessive transmutation of her life into fiction meant that Jews, whom she was certainly intimately acquainted with, nevertheless remained on the level of metaphor within her imagination.<sup>72</sup>

Richardson's persona, Miriam Henderson, first encounters a German Jewish financier, Max Sonnenheim, in Backwater (1916) and is attracted to an unnamed "Spanish Jew" in Interim (1919). Her comment in Interim on the "Spanish Jew" signals a theme running throughout the Pilgrimage sequence:

"He had boasted. 'She adore me; hah! I tell you she adore me,' he would say. It was history repeating itself. Max and Ted. Again after all these years. A Jew" (434).

It has been argued that one of the reasons for the contemporary neglect of Dorothy Richardson's fiction is that Pilgrimage opens with Pointed Roofs (1915) and Backwater (1916) which explored "Miriam's sympathetic response to German culture" during the First World War. This was obviously an unpopular subject and "contributed to the establishing of adverse critical reaction" to her fiction.<sup>73</sup> In this context, Miriam pointedly states in Interim that she "likes foreigners" (meaning Jews) as "they are more intelligent than Englishmen" (416). Moreover, in The Tunnel (1919), Miriam no longer "battled against her sympathy for Shylock. It no longer shocked her to find herself sharing something of his longing for the blood of the Christians" (186). Given the intense antisemitism in England during and immediately after the First World War, Richardson is pointedly

attracted in Backwater to Sonnenheim who leaves her because he had to go to the "Paris branch of my father's business that is managed by my brother. And then to New York to establish a branch there" (273).<sup>74</sup> By the time of The Tunnel, Richardson is still trying to understand what Sonnenheim's Jewishness "means":

"...What was the difference in a Jew... what was it? Max Sonnenheim had been a Jew, of course, the same voice. Banbury Park 'full of Jews'... the Brooms said that in patient contemptuous voices. But what was it? What did everybody mean about them?" (104)

This question is fully explored in Deadlock (1921) where Miriam's engagement to Michael Shatov concerns nearly the whole of the novel. Shatov, in fact, was based on Benjamin Grad, a Russian Jewish immigrant and prominent English Zionist, who, in the late 1890s, lived and worked as a translator with Richardson in a Bloomsbury boarding house. Richardson remained a life-long friend of Grad, who in turn became infatuated with her. She characteristically referred to Grad as "Shatov" in her post-War letters to him and was to become a Zionist under his influence.<sup>75</sup>

In Deadlock, Miriam is at first attracted to Shatov as the "European" Shatov "had forced them into companionship with all the walls in the world" (87). However, Miriam soon discovers that Shatov's expansiveness is an illusion and increasingly perceived him in terms of his Jewishness. That is, whilst Richardson is at pains to eschew the crude, dark stereotypes of the 1920s, Shatov was nevertheless reduced, in Miriam's mind, to his role as a Jewish other:

"...he belonged to those millions whose sufferings he had revealed to her, a shadow lying for ever across the bright unseeing confidence of Europe, hopeless. And now, at this moment, standing out from their midst, the strange beautiful Old Testament figure in modern clothes; the fine beautifully moulded Hebrew head, so like his own" (168/9).

In fact, the "mysterious fact" of Shatov's Jewishness was to become "the hidden flaw" (193) in their relationship. In short, Shatov's Judaism makes it impossible for Miriam to marry him. In the last chapter of Deadlock, Miriam visits Mrs. Bergstein, a Christian convert to Judaism, who is the catalyst for Miriam's imagined feminist rebellion from a patriarchal mythic Judaism:

"Had she anticipated, before she married, what it would be, however she might fortify herself with scorn, to breathe always the atmosphere of the Jewish religious and social oblivion of women? Had she had any experience of Jewesses, their sultry conscious femineity, their dreadful acceptance of being admitted to a synagogue on sufferance, crowded away upstairs in a stuffy gallery, while the men downstairs, bathed in light, draped in the symbolic shawl, thanked God aloud for making them men and not women? Had she thought what it must be to have always at her side a Jewish consciousness, unconscious of her actuality..." (224/225).

Given Miriam's principled unwillingness to convert to Judaism and her belief that Jewish orthodoxy was the embodiment of an oppressive, self-denying patriarchy, Shatov offers to renounce his own Jewishness: "I am a Jew, a 'head' man incapable of 'love'... It is your eyes. I must see them always. I know now what is meant by love. I am even willing to renounce my Judaism" (228). Thus, for the first time in the novel, the material, untranscendent nature of a "head" Judaism, incapable of a higher "love," is made explicit by Richardson. Such was the underlying mythology which 'explained' Shatov to Miriam.

By the time of Revolving Lights (1923) Miriam finally decides she cannot marry Shatov because he is "a Jew." As she confides to a friend: "You see I never knew he was a Jew. It did not come up until a possible future came in view. I couldn't have Jewish children" (260). It is, therefore, Miriam's "inexorable Englishness" (292), as much as her feminist independence, which makes Miriam long "to escape the unmanageable burden of his Jewishness" (305). By the

time of Dimple Hill (1938), Shatov is finally and completely reduced to the unrealised stereotype of the patriarchal "Old Testament figure in modern clothes." Shatov is:

"A lonely little Jew, jiggling about on her lawn... rejoicing before the Lord, with the Tablets of the Law invisibly held within his swaying arms" (521).

That, in reality, Benjamin Grad was a non-religious, anarchistic Zionist is, needless to say, an irrelevant fact in terms of a mythic Judaism which gradually and relentlessly 'explained' Michael Shatov.

To be sure, Richardson's Pilgrimage sequence is rightly regarded as a lasting feminist literary re-structuring of "sexual difference" in terms of "a myriad of moments and intensities and inflections" which undermine the stereotypical oneness of "the man" and "the woman" in the traditional realist novel.<sup>76</sup> Miriam is aptly named—Mir-I-am—to emphasise her quest for identity and individuality in the context of Richardson's radical opposition to the "maleness" of a patriarchal, oppressive literary tradition.<sup>77</sup> It is in the light of such impeccably iconoclastic literary credentials, that Richardson's inability to transcend the stereotypical—with regard to representations of "the Jew"—must be deeply felt.

In fact, if one is not careful, the concluding tone of this study as a whole might well be one of absolute despair. After all, it has been shown that social and political ideologies that were as disparate as socialism and Imperialism; liberalism and antisemitism; Zionism and social Darwinism; all stereotyped "the Jew" in the context of their own particular weltanschauung. Furthermore, such stereotypes, in the context of English liberal culture, have also been seen to be internalised and institutionalised by organised British Jewry. In other words, such stereotyping has, in effect, determined the social and cultural identity of British Jewry. What



is more, English literature in this period has been shown, to put it crudely, to be a cultural adjunct to the ideological and political Jewish stereotype and, in this way, to have given meaning to such stereotypes. Even some of the greatest twentieth century literary innovators, such as D.H. Lawrence, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and Dorothy Richardson have been unable to go beyond the stereotypical--or even the archetypal--with regard to literary representations of Jews. That Jewish stereotyping was not a set of arbitrary conventions, but was a determining structure which saturated English culture is, therefore, an obvious conclusion.

Nevertheless, such a despairing end to this study would, perhaps, paint too bleak and uniform a picture and does not signify the ability of the individual writer to go beyond the stereotypical. In fact, the all-embracing quality of the mythic Jew in the Western imagination meant that, in drawing a Jewish character, a writer could be aware of the reader's expectations and could therefore undercut them. Shaw's ironically sympathetic Jew-Devil figures in Man and Superman (1903) and Major Barbara (1905) are examples of this. Zangwill's discussion of the Anglo-Jewish novel of "revolt" in his Grandchildren of the Ghetto (1892)--itself a novel of "revolt"--also indicates the fictive, unreal nature of Jewish stereotyping and, thus, points to a Jewish world beyond the stereotypical. Similarly, Meredith's The Tragic Comedians deliberately juxtaposed the "real" figure of Lassalle with his Jew-Devil stereotype in a bid to undermine the stereotypical. However, Amy Levy's compassionate description, in Reuben Sachs (1888), of the effect of Jewish stereotyping on her central characters is not matched by any other writer of this time.

To end this study, therefore, I will concentrate on James Joyce's Ulysses (1922) which is an important and telling counterpoint

to the stereotypical representation of "the Jew" in English literature. Ironically, Joyce's Ulysses was rightly related, by its contemporary readers, to Richardson's Pilgrimage sequence.<sup>78</sup> To be sure, both are "stream of consciousness" novels and both radically eschew the realist novel by basing the experience of reading a fictional character on "a myriad of moments and intensities and inflections." Moreover, whilst Richardson could employ this modernist aesthetic to undermine the stereotypical perceptions of "sexual difference," Joyce was to employ a similar aesthetic to comprehensively demythologise the stereotypical "Jew."

Ulysses, as is well known, was originally conceived as a short story based on an epiphanic moment when the young Joyce, after a drunken brawl, was "dusted off and taken home" by a Dublin Jew named Alfred Hunter.<sup>79</sup> That moment of common humanity was eventually transformed into the "encyclopaedic" novel, Ulysses. The novel, for the most part, is set in the consciousness or sub-consciousness of Leopold Bloom who, in turn, was based on Alfred Hunter. The novel retells, in lavish detail, the mundane events of Bloom's day, June 16, 1904, which culminates in Bloom assuming the role of a mock-saviourfigure who rescues the Joycean persona, Stephen Dedalus. In fact, it is the juxtaposition in the novel of Bloom's "character" as a rather undistinguished, unheroic, friendless, middle-aged outsider with his mythic role as "Ulysses" that is the key to understanding Joyce's demythologising of the Dublin Jew. That is, Bloom is associated throughout Ulysses with Jewish, Irish, Greek and Christian life-enhancing mythologies which give him an unlimited number of myth-histories or myth-characters such as Elijah, Lord Mayor of Dublin, spiritual father of Stephen, Ulysses and Christ. All of these mythologies find a place in Bloom's consciousness but, significantly, do not transcend the fact of his daily existence. Joyce, in

this way, instead of radically dissociating the mythic Jew from his reality, deliberately undermines the mythic. By unloading the "whole of world history" into Bloom's consciousness Joyce, that is, makes Bloom both a universal everyman-no man figure and a particular example of common humanity.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, throughout the novel, Joyce articulates an opposing myth-history or myth-character--based on the stereotypical "Jew"--which denies Bloom's humanity and the myriad of inflections which make up his "character." This life-denying counter-myth interestingly precedes the actual figure of Bloom:

--Mark my words, Mr. Dedalus, he said. England is in the hands of the jews. In all the highest places: her finance, her press. And they are the signs of a nation's decay. Wherever they gather they eat up the nation's vital strength...

--A merchant, Stephen said, is one who buys cheap and sells dear, jew or gentile, is he not?

--They sinned against the light, Mr. Deasy said gravely. And you can see the darkness in their eyes. And that is why they are wanderers on the earth to this day" (39/40).

Significantly, Bloom's day fell in the year which saw the well publicised and lengthy boycott of the thirty-five Irish Jewish families of Limerick. Joyce, most certainly, incorporated the religious bigotry associated with this boycott into many scenes of his novel.<sup>81</sup>

In fact, the culmination of this life-denying counter-myth is the Cyclops episode of Ulysses which is set in Barney Kiernan's pub.

Here Joyce gives the events of Limerick a timeless quality:

--Persecution, says [Bloom], all the world is full of it. Perpetuating national hatred among nations...

--What is your nation if I may ask, says the citizen.

--Ireland, says Bloom. I was born here. Ireland... And I belong to a race too, says Bloom, that is hated and persecuted. Also now. This very moment. This very instant.

--Are you talking about the new Jerusalem? says the citizen.

--I'm talking about injustice, says Bloom... But it's no use, says he. Force, hatred, history, all that. That's not life for men and women, insult and hatred. And everybody knows that it's the very opposite of that that is really life.

--What? says Alf.

--Love, says Bloom. I mean the opposite of hatred...

--A new apostle to the gentiles, says the citizen. Universal love" (329/331).

It is a testament to Joyce's understanding of the nature of Jewish stereotyping that it is the antisemitic "citizen" who describes Bloom as the "new apostle to the gentiles." Bloom speaks for "life" but only transcends "life" as a messiah-figure in the mind of the anti-semite. Thus, when Bloom is described as a "cultured allroundman" (234) or as "ben Bloom Elijah" (343) or as "Christus" (563) it is always in a mocking, ironic tone. Moreover, Joyce was to associate the "persecution" of Bloom with a bigoted Irish nationalism and Catholicism--"the nightmare [of history] from which I am trying to awake" (40)--which both Joyce and Dedalus had rejected. In fact, Joyce most certainly identified with Bloom's ambiguous status as both belonging and not belonging to Ireland.<sup>82</sup> Hence, when Bloom and Dedalus finally meet, Joyce does not adhere to the Arnoldian belief in two distinct Hebraic and Hellenistic traditions as represented by his two protagonists: "Jewgreek is greekjew. Extremes meet" (471). Furthermore, Joyce goes on to describe the "fusion" of Bloom and Dedalus: "...somehow was, as if both in their minds were travelling, so to speak, in the one train of thought" (577). Therefore, just as Dedalus is more than the Catholic, Irish nationalist, Bloom is more than the mythic Jew:

"He thought that he thought that he was a jew whereas he knew that he knew that he knew that he was not" (602).

Joyce even imagines Bloom wearing "Svengali's fur overcoat" (485) in the Circe episode to demonstrate the difference between the stereotypical "jew" and the "reality" of Bloom: "Go, go, go, I conjure you, whoever you are" (485). It would not have escaped Joyce's sense of irony that Bloom--according to the tenets of Orthodox Judaism--was not, in fact, a Jew.<sup>83</sup> That is, Bloom as "jew" was a life-denying

stereotype which was imposed on him by a racial bigotry which he could only weakly refute:

"--Jews, he softly imparted in an aside in Stephen's ear, are accused of ruining. Not a vestige of truth in it, I can safely say...I'm, he resumed, with dramatic force, as good an Irishman as that person I told you about at the outset..." (564).

Thus, the mythic and counter-mythic roles assigned to the stereotypical "Jew" in Ulysses were comprehensively undermined by Joyce in a myriad of ironical inflections which make up Bloom's "character." In these terms, Bloom is both mythic and real; Jewish and non-Jewish; an overwhelming question and a figure of undistinguished mundanity. In short, the figure of Leopold Bloom was a profound rejection of the stereotypical.

Joyce, significantly, described the "strong anti-totalitarian character" of Ulysses in a letter written in the 1930s and was to dismiss "my nephews," Wyndham Lewis and Ezra Pound, as two of the "few admirers in Europe" of "poor Mr. Hitler-Missler."<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, thirty years after Alfred Hunter's gesture towards him, Joyce was to actively help several Jews escape Nazi persecution in a similar humane act that was reminiscent of the figure of Leopold Bloom.<sup>85</sup> That the British Government consciously failed to respond to the chief victims of Nazi persecution in an equally humane fashion can, in part, be explained by a culture which had long since been unable to perceive Jews in terms which went beyond the stereotypical.<sup>86</sup>

#### NOTES

1. James Parkes, Antisemitism (London, 1963), p. 5 retells this tale.
2. See Chapter 1 of this thesis for a qualification of an exclusively mythological approach to Jewish stereotyping.
3. Harold Fisch, The Dual Image: A Study of the Jew in English Literature (London, 1971), p. 13 and Chapter 1 is a useful discussion of this. See also James Parkes, The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue (London, 1934).
4. Hyam Maccoby, The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt (London, 1982), p. 134.
5. Ibid., chapters 11-13 relate medieval Christianity to modern Nazism. See also Parkes, Antisemitism, op. cit., chapter 5.
6. Fisch, op. cit., p. 14.
7. George Steiner, In Bluebeard's Castle: Some Notes Towards the Re-definition of Culture (London, 1971), p. 41 and chapter 2.
8. Henry Wassermann, "The Fliegende Blätter as a Source for the Social History of German Jewry," Leo Baeck Institute Year Book (Vol. XXVIII, 1983), pp. 104-105 discusses Cumberland in these terms. See also H.R.S. Van der Veen, Jewish Characters in Eighteenth Century English Fiction and Drama (New York, 1972) and David Katz, Philosemitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655 (Oxford, 1982).
9. Fisch, op. cit., p. 62 and pp. 72-75.
10. Ibid., p. 80.
11. I owe this reference to David Mirsky, "The Fictive Jew in the Literature of England 1890-1920" in Gershon Appel (ed.) Samuel K. Mirsky Memorial Volume: Studies in Jewish Law, Philosophy and Literature (Jerusalem, 1970), p. 231.
12. E.M. Forster, "Jew-Consciousness," collected in his Two Cheers for Democracy (London, 1951), pp. 23-26. The article was written in 1939. For a similar response to antisemitism see George Orwell, Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters (London, 1968), especially Volume 3, pp. 113-115 and pp. 378-388 and Volume 4, pp. 291-293.
13. Fredrick Karl, Joseph Conrad: The Three Lives (London, 1979), passim has many instances of Conrad abusing Jews in his letters.

14. For a discussion of Conrad in these terms see Adam Gillon, "The Jews in Joseph Conrad's Fiction," Chicago Jewish Forum (Vol. 22, Fall, 1963), pp. 34-40. I am also indebted to Elaine Jordan for this point.
15. For a discussion of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (London, 1876) in these terms see E.S. Shaffer, 'Kubla Khan' And The Fall of Jerusalem: The Mythological School of Biblical Criticism and Secular Literature, 1770-1880 (Cambridge, 1975), chapter 6. For reference to Hall Caine see Chapter 4 of this thesis. For a discussion of William Hale White in these terms see C.M. Maclean, A Biography of William Hale White (London, 1955), chapter 4. Apart from the Jewish Christ-figure in Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland (London, 1897), Schreiner also wrote a Letter to the Jews (Johannesburg, 1906) which stressed the redemptive potential of world Jewry.
16. S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner (ed.), The Letters of Olive Schreiner, 1876-1920 (London, 1929), p. 228.
17. For an early version of From Man to Man (London, 1926), see R.M. Rive (ed.) "'Diamond Fields' by Olive Schreiner," English in Africa (Vol. 1, No. 1) which dates the genesis of From Man to Man from 1872 or 1873. For examples of Schreiner's hostile Jewish stereotyping in a pro-Boer context see Claire Hirshfield, "The British Left and the 'Jewish Conspiracy': A Case Study of Modern Antisemitism," Jewish Social Studies (Spring, 1981), p. 97.
18. For references to Anthony Hope's Quisanté (London, 1900) in these terms see Mirsky, op. cit., p. 236 and for M.P. Shiel's, The Lord of the Sea (London, 1901) see I.F. Clarke, The Tale of the Future: An Annotated Bibliography (London, 1972), p. 27.
19. By far the best account of this theme is Alan Lee's "Aspects of the Working-Class Response to the Jews in Britain, 1880-1914" in Kenneth Lunn (ed.), Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities (Folkstone, 1980), chapter 5.
20. Ibid., p. 109. For the notion of working-class "introversion" in this period see G. Stedman Jones, "Working-class culture and working-class politics in London, 1870-1900," Journal of Social History (Vol. 7, 1974), pp. 460-508.

21. Desmond Flower (ed.), A Century of Best Sellers, 1830-1930 (London, 1934), pp. 15-28 and Claud Cockburn, Bestseller: The Books that Everyone Read, 1900-1939 (London, 1972) contain general references to the rise of the "shilling shocker" at this time. David A.T. Stafford, "Conspiracy and Xenophobia: The Popular Spy Novels of William Le Queux, 1893-1914," Europa (Vol. 4, No. 2, 1981), pp. 163-185 and "Spies and Gentlemen: The Birth of the British Spy Novel, 1893-1914," Victorian Studies, (Summer, 1981), pp. 489-509 are important discussions of William Le Queux's fiction. Haia Shpayer, "British Anarchists 1884-1914: Reality and Appearance" (unpublished PhD., University of London, 1981), chapter 5, discusses the fictionalised figure of the anarchist in these terms.
22. Shpayer, op. cit., p. 266 and p. 276. See also Joshua Trachtenburg, The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jews and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism (New York, 1943).
23. Richard L. Kowalczyk, "In Vanished Summertime: Marie Corelli and Popular Culture," Journal of Popular Culture (Vol. 7, Spring 1974), p. 855.
24. Marie Corelli, Free Opinions (London, 1906), p. 82 and chapters 3 and 8. For a more general discussion of ibid., see Jamie Camplin, The Rise of the Plutocrats: Wealth and Power in Edwardian England (London, 1978).
25. Kowalczyk, op. cit., p. 851. For Corelli's theological justification of her antisemitism see Brian Masters, Now Barabbas was a Rotter: The Extraordinary Life of Marie Corelli (London, 1978), p. 171.
26. Frank Harris, Unpath'd Waters (London, 1913) collects "Mr. Jacobs Philosophy" and "The Spider and the Fly" which portrays dark "greasy Jews" p. 176, "infecting London" p. 241 and "The Miracle of the Stigmata," pp. 4-27 which portrays bright "Christian" Jews.
27. Flower, op. cit., p. 19 quotes the book cover. See also Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 19-42 and Gina Mitchell and Colin Holmes, "In His Image: A Study of Jews in the Literature of Guy Thorne," Patterns of Prejudice (Vol. 9, January-February, 1975), pp. 18-24.
28. Mitchell and Holmes, op. cit., p. 18.
29. Colin Holmes, "The Ritual Murder Accusation in Britain," Ethnic and Racial Studies (Vol. 4, No. 3, July 1981), p. 274 quotes the East London Observer, 12 April, 1902 and The Eastern Post and City Chronicle, 2 July, 1904, p. 2.



30. Ibid., Lee, op. cit., p. 120 and Colin Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939 (London, 1978), chapter 3. See also Bernard Gainer, The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905 (London, 1972), pp. 99-107.
31. Lee, op. cit., p. 120. For a discussion of the readership of bestselling fiction see Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 1-17.
32. Ichabod (London, 1910), p. 310 portrays "anti-English Jews, practically to a man, on the point of being transported" and the plot of Violet Guttenberg's A Modern Exodus (London, 1904) concerns the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine as the result of a "Jewish Expulsion Bill." This novel, significantly, was published one year before the actual Anti-Aliens Bill was passed.
33. This was reported in the Jewish Chronicle, January 17, 1902 and the East London Observer, January 18, 1902. I am indebted to Steve Cohen for this reference.
34. Ian Parsons (ed.), Leonard Woolf: "The Wise Virgins" (London, 1979), p. ix. For a detailed account of Woolf's Jewishness see Freema Gottlieb, "Leonard Woolf's Attitudes to his Jewish Background and to Judaism," Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (Sessions, 1973-1975), pp. 25-37. This paper is based on Gottlieb's "A Study of the Psychological Development of Leonard Woolf as Reflected in Various Early Writings from 1880-1915" (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of London, 1974), pp. 38-95.
35. CKS, Sphere, 3 October, 1914 cited in Gottlieb, unpublished PhD. thesis, p. 72.
36. Parsons, op. cit., p. ix notes this.
37. Gottlieb, "Leonard Woolf's Attitudes...", op. cit., pp. 28-29 cites Virginia Woolf's The Years (London, 1937) and, in general, discusses the attitude of the Bloomsbury Group to Leonard. See also Cynthia Ozick's "Mrs. Virginia Woolf," Commentary, August 1973, pp. 33-44 for a sensitive discussion of these questions.
38. Gottlieb, "Leonard Woolf's Attitudes...", op. cit., p. 29 discusses The Years, op. cit., in these terms. For a more general discussion of antisemitism in the same terms see Shulamit Volkov, "Antisemitism as a Cultural Code: Reflection on the History and Historiography of Antisemitism in Imperial Germany," Leo Baeck Institute Year Book (Vol. 23, 1978), p. 35 and pp. 25-46.
39. Stafford, "Spies and Gentlemen...", op. cit., p. 504 rightly discusses Jewish literary stereotyping in these terms.

40. Hyam Maccoby, "The Figure of Shylock," Midstream (February, 1970), p. 61. This article is also a useful rejoinder to "the romantic picture of Shylock as a wronged and oppressive creature..." p. 57.
41. George Bernard Shaw repeats this argument in the Jewish Chronicle, June 2, 1911 and in his letters. See, for instance, D.H. Lawrence (ed.), Collected Letters (London, 1972), p. 610.
42. Charlotte Klein, "The Jew in England and German Fiction and Drama 1830-1933" (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of London, 1967), pp. 234-236 discusses these novels in full.
43. John R. Harrison, The Reactionaries: A Study of the Anti-Democratic Intelligentsia (New York, 1967).
44. Ibid., chapter 5 discusses D.H. Lawrence in these terms. See also Robert Alter, "Eliot, Lawrence and the Jews," Commentary (October, 1970), pp. 81-86. Lawrence's Apocalypse (London, 1930) is a comprehensive account of these views.
45. Interestingly, Steiner, op. cit., pp. 40-41 argues that "primitive Christianity" has been mythologised as a Jewish "summons to perfection."
46. Harry Moore (ed.), D.H. Lawrence: Collected Letters (London, 1962), p. 517. This letter is dated 3 July, 1917.
47. Ibid., p. 553. This letter is dated 21 May, 1918.
48. Ibid., pp. 477-9. This letter is dated 9 October, 1916. The best account of Lawrence's friendship with Gertler is Jeffrey Meyer's "Mark Gertler and Women in Love" in his Painting and the Novel (Manchester, 1975), chapter 6.
49. Meyers, op. cit., pp. 65-82.
50. Alter, op. cit., pp. 83-86, Harrison, op. cit., chapter 4, J.A. Morris, "T.S. Eliot and Antisemitism," Journal of European Studies (Vol. 2, 1972), pp. 173-182 and Hyam Maccoby, "The Anti-Semitism of T.S. Eliot," Midstream (May, 1973), pp. 68-79 all usefully discuss Eliot's literary Jewish stereotypes.
51. Maccoby, op. cit., passim emphasises the Christian roots of Eliot's Jewish stereotyping.
52. Peter Ackroyd, T.S. Eliot (London, 1984), pp. 41-42. See also William M. Chace, The Political Identities of Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot (California, 1973).
53. Chace, op. cit., pp. 160-167 usefully discusses this passage and After Strange Gods (London, 1934) in general.

54. Hyam Maccoby, "A Study of the 'jew' in 'Gerontion'", Jewish Quarterly (Vol. 17, No. 2, 1969), p. 19 and pp. 19-43 is a useful discussion of Eliot's "Gerontion" in these terms to which I am indebted.
55. Ibid., pp. 40-41 makes this point.
56. Harrison, op. cit., p. 150 argues that Mr. Silvero is a Jewish stereotype.
57. Ackroyd, op. cit., pp. 303-304 down-plays Eliot's Jewish stereotyping by wrongly arguing that "in his published writings there are [only] two egregious instances" of "antisemitism."
58. Hyam Maccoby, "An Interpretation of 'Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service'", Critical Survey (January, 1968), pp. 159-165 convincingly relates this poem to Eliot's other "antisemitic" poems published in 1920. Maccoby argues that this stanza refers to the stereotypical Jew and is not a satirical attack on the clergy as is often thought.
59. Morris, op. cit., p. 177 argues this.
60. Harrison, op. cit., p. 150 and Maccoby, "The Anti-Semitism of T.S. Eliot," op. cit., pp. 74-75 confirms this point with reference to an unpublished poem by Eliot.
61. Maccoby, "The Anti-Semitism of T.S. Eliot," op. cit., pp. 75-76 discusses the figure of Phlebas the Phoenician in "Death by Water" as "a muted idealised version of Bleistein."
62. Chace, op. cit., pp. 12-13, pp. 20-23, pp. 40-43 and pp. 76-85 cites examples of Ezra Pound's literary antisemitism. See also Hyam Maccoby, "The Jew as Anti-Artist: The Anti-Semitism of Ezra Pound," Midstream (March, 1976), pp. 59-71. For Wyndham Lewis, see Jeffrey Meyers, The Enemy: A Biography (London, 1980) and William M. Chace, "On Lewis' Politics: The Polemics Polemically Answered" in Jeffrey Meyers (ed.), Wyndham Lewis: A Re-evaluation (London, 1980), pp. 150-165. See also Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist (California, 1979).
63. Chace, The Political Identities of Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot, op. cit., pp. 223-231 has a verbatim transcript of one of Pound's Rome broadcasts to England and Jameson, op. cit., pp. 179-185 discusses Lewis' Hitler (London, 1931) in these terms.
64. Jameson, op. cit., p. 183.
65. Margaret Harris (ed.), George Meredith: One of Our Conquerors (Queensland, 1975), p. 3.

66. Gillian Beer, "One of Our Conquerors: Language and Music" in Ian Fletcher (ed.), Meredith Now: Some Critical Essays (London, 1971), pp. 265-66.
67. Ibid., p. 270.
68. These views were probably taken from Meredith's life-long friend, H.M. Hyndman. See Jack Lindsay, George Meredith (London, 1956) for this argument. See also Siegfried Sassoon, Meredith (London, 1948), chapter 6 and Richard L. Newby, "The Case of Meredith," Jewish Chronicle Literary Supplement, May 7, 1982, p. ii.
69. Leonée Ormond, "The Tragic Comedians: Meredith's Use of Image Patterns" in Ian Fletcher (ed.), Meredith Now..., op. cit., pp. 231-245 describes Lassalle in these terms.
70. Ibid., throughout The Tragic Comedians (London, 1880), the "von Rüdiger" family lavishly demonstrate their "abhorrence of Jewry" (11). "Alvan" is continually described as "the Jew demagogue": "'Oh! Jew, and fifty times over Jew! nothing but Jew!'" (19).
71. Ormond, op. cit., p. 234.
72. John Rosenberg, Dorothy Richardson (London, 1973) and Glorio G. Fromm, Dorothy Richardson: A Biography (London, 1977) both comprehensively relate Richardson's life and work.
73. Gill Hanscombe (ed.), Dorothy Richardson: Pilgrimage (London, 1979), p. 4.
74. Holmes, Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939, op. cit., chapter 8 is a useful discussion of First World War anti-semitism. Sonnenheim, in these terms, is clearly a sympathetic Rothschild figure.
75. Fromm, op. cit., chapter 2 and p. 76 and pp. 136-137, and Rosenberg, op. cit., chapter 2 and pp. 79-87.
76. Stephen Heath, "Writing for Silence: Dorothy Richardson and the Novel," in S. Kappeler and N. Bryson (ed.), Teaching the Text (London, 1983), chapter 8 and pp. 143-144 is a useful discussion of Pilgrimage in these terms. More comprehensively, see Gillian Hanscombe, The Art of Life: Dorothy Richardson and the Development of Feminist Consciousness (London, 1982).
77. Heath, op. cit., p. 128 notes the relevance of the name Miriam. Hanscombe, op. cit., passim makes out a strong case for Richardson's literary "feminist consciousness."
78. Heath, op. cit., pp. 127-147 usefully compares the two novels.

79. Richard Ellmann (ed.), James Joyce: Ulysses (London, 1968), pp. 707-709.
80. I am indebted to Bernard Benstock (ed.), The Seventh of Joyce (Brighton, 1982), pp. 235-236 for this argument.
81. Marvin Magalaner, "The Anti-Semitic Limerick Incidents and Joyce's 'Bloomsday'", P.M.L.A. (Vol. 68, 1953), pp. 1219-1223 and Dominic Manganiello, Joyce's Politics (London, 1980), pp. 131-135 both demonstrate this point.
82. Richard Ellmann, James Joyce (London, 1959), pp. 383-384 argues that: "in making his hero Leopold Bloom, Joyce recognised implicitly what he often spoke of directly, his affinity for the Jews as a wandering, persecuted people."
83. Erwin R. Steinberg, "James Joyce and the Critics Notwithstanding, Leopold Bloom is not Jewish," Journal of Modern Literature (Vol. 9, No. 1, 1981-1982), pp. 27-49 forcefully make this point.
84. Cited in Manganiello, op. cit., p. 230.
85. Ibid., p. 231 to which I am indebted.
86. Bernard Wasserstein, Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945 (Oxford, 1979) tells the story of this episode in full.

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