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A CONSIDERATION OF THE ROLES ASSIGNED TO JEWISH CHARACTERS
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH FICTION.

GRAHAM ST. JOHN STOTT.

April, 1973.

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

ENGLISH

Master of Philosophy

A CONSIDERATION OF THE ROLES ASSIGNED TO JEWISH CHARACTERS
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH FICTION

by Graham St. John Stott

It is the contention of this thesis that no nineteenth-century English novelist (with the exception of William Hale White, in Clara Hopgood [1896]) made creative use of Jewish values, or characters embodying these values, until James Joyce attempted to do so with the figure of Leopold Bloom (Ulysses [1922]).

In the nineteenth century both philo- and anti-semitic discussed the Jew as a projection of themselves and not as an individual with his own 'inscape'. This meant that the Jewishness of a Jewish character is both incidental and minimal. A Jewish usurer, for example, is best understood as a creation of the genus 'Usurer'; only minor considerations of the plot, or the demands of realism, have made him a Jew. Scott's Rebecca of York is thus a Jewess for one reason only: she can thereby stand outside of society and condemn the accepted values of the chivalric code.

The conventions of the nineteenth-century novel ensured that any topic that was non-Christian, non-assimilable or low would receive short shrift; feelings about the Jews were subservient to such conventions and the demands of genre. Even George Eliot's 'Zionist novel' (Daniel Deronda [1876]) owes more to them (and the work of Harriet Beecher Stowe) than it does to proto-Zionism; and Jewish-conversion novels owe more to the conventions of sentimental and gothic fiction than they do to the crisis of faith of any Jew. As the Appendix suggests, even Shylock is more significant (in the context of Elizabethan drama) as a money-lender than as a Jew.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

My debts come under three heads.

Primarily, I must express sincere gratitude to Mr. T. J. Blount of the University of Southampton. His interest, encouragement and criticism have enabled me to produce a volume which owes much to his own high standards, even though it does not match them.

Secondly, I wish to thank the staffs of the various libraries and archives that I have visited and used. They have been unfailingly courteous and helpful. I am especially grateful to the Birmingham University Librarian for permission to use the theses of P. E. Garnett (1965) and H. A. Smith (1939) in this study; the Fellows of the Parkes Library (University of Southampton) for their research suggestions; and the Rev. Reuben S. Brookes, Director of the Jewish Reference Library (Birmingham), for his kind advice.

Thirdly, my mother must be thanked for assistance with the typing of this thesis; as must both my parents for their generous finance and continual, unstinted encouragement which have made my continued efforts possible; Mrs. E. C. Fletcher for typing Chapter Five; and my wife for showing a sustained interest in my work, faith in my capability and willingness to be the breadwinner.

The faults are mine alone.

G. St.J. Stott

Sutton Coldfield, 1973.

"Je suis coquette. C'est mon rôle."

Marcel Archard,
Voulez-Vous Jouer Avec Moâ?
(Paris, 1931).

"[I'll] play the Jew; why, tis my part."

John Day,
The Travaillies of the Three
English Brothers
(London, 1607).

INTRODUCTION

WHEN DEAN Swift allegorized the "primitive way of breaking eggs" he satirized eighteenth-century religious disabilities; ostensibly those of the Roman Catholics, but also those of the free churches and the Jews. "It is computed," he wrote,

that eleven thousand persons have, at several times, suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been published upon this controversy: but the books of the Big-Endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments.¹

Swift was ridiculing the enthusiasms and prejudices of the Protectorate and the Restoration. When Mennasseh ben Israel petitioned Cromwell to re-admit the Jews² - who, having first come to Britain with the Normans, had been expelled in 1290 - pamphleteers and propagandists soon generated an atmosphere of bigotry in which they suggested legal codes that would even have surpassed the ingenuity of Swift's Lilliputian scandal-mongers and legislators. Jews, they thought, should be obliged to wear a distinctive dress, should keep indoors on Good Friday, and Jewish physicians should not be allowed to treat Christian patients. There were many other suggestions; but in the same pamphlets it was also argued that the Jews should be welcomed

1 Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels (1726), ed. Louis A. Landa (London, 1965), p. 39.

2 Cecil Roth, A History of the Jews in England (3rd. ed.: Oxford, 1964), pp. 154 ff; this was in 1650. By 1664 the re-admission seemed to be a matter of course to Charles II who, "laughing and spitting", gave assurance to Rabbi Jacob Sasportas; cf. Cecil Roth, "The Mystery of the Resettlement", in Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 106, and History, p. 172n.

as leavening the economy. Set against the welfare of the economy, mere memories of the crucifixion could pale into insignificance: salus populi was suprema lex.³ The history of Jewish emancipation in Britain is the history of this concept, and thus by 1801, though it could still be noted that "the word Jew is still deemed an opprobrious epithet, and is almost sufficient to damn any case in a Civil or Criminal court",⁴ and many technical disabilities remained on the Statute Book, the spirit of pragmatic acceptance had nevertheless, in circles of power, supplanted the spirit of prejudice. Amongst the Jews, just as amongst the Roman Catholics, those "of wealth and distinction certainly flourished in all sections of the kingdom, notwithstanding the proscriptions of the law."⁵

This acceptance of a radically intrusive racial minority is something distinct from its integration. Integration is, at its fullest extent, a spiritual matter. It comprehends a vision of man's place in the universe and is a recognition that the world has an equal place for Jews, for Big-Endians and for oneself. This vision starts, for the Christian, with the linking of Christ and the Christian himself:

3 Thomas Barlow, The Case of the Jews (1665), in his Several Miscellaneous and Weighty Cases of Conscience (London, 1692), p. 65; Mordecai L. Wilensky, "Thomas Barlow's and John Dury's Attitude towards the Readmission of the Jews to England", JQR, 50 (1960), 175; Leonard Busher, Religions Peace: or, A Plea for Liberty of Conscience (London, 1646), pp. 21, 22 and 33: "Then shall the Jewes inhabit and dwel under his Majesties Dominion, to the great profit of his Realmes, and to their furtherance in the faith"; Hugh Peters, A Word for the Armie. And Two Wordes to the Kingdome (London, 1647), p. 11; John Dury, A Case of Conscience, Whether it be Lawful to Admit Jews into a Christian Commonwealth (London, 1656), p. 7; the Latin tag taken from Leon Poliakov, Les Banquiers Juifs et le Saint-Siege du XIIIe au XVIIe Siecle (abridged ed.: Paris, 1967), p. 51.

4 Anglo-Jewish Letters, ed. Cecil Roth (London, 1938), p. 211.

5 R. W. Linker, "English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century: An Interpretation", CH, 35 (1966), 295.

In a flash, at a trumpet crash,
I am all at once what Christ is, since he was what I am, and
This jack, joke, poor potsherd, patch, matchwood, immortal
Is immortal diamond. diamond

And it extends to include all men as potential immortal diamonds:

"Ex quibus Stephen mumbled in a noncommittal accent, their two or four eyes conversing, Christus or Bloom his name is, or, after all, any other, secundem carnem."⁷ Ultimately, it implies the creation of a new mind and heart.

The eighteenth-century age of revolution created instead a new concept of social values. The values of the urban middle-class became significant for the first time as they provided alternative mores to those of the rural squirearchy.⁸ As the Jewish community played an increasingly important role in the life of the nation, so the bourgeoisie accepted them with a pragmatism learned in the counting house. Charles Lever, looking back on the course of the Industrial Revolution, noted that the nation "intending to honour industry ... has paid its homage to money".⁹ As a result of the increased importance and prestige accorded to the men engaged in broking and factoring in Hanoverian London, Jewish involvement in such dealing came to mean toleration for the community.¹⁰ The first of the Sephardim to return to Britain were indistinguishable from their fellow brokers in dress, commercial respectability or social comportment.¹¹ Not even their foreignness

6 G. M. Hopkins, "That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire and of the Comfort of the Resurrection", ll. 21-24, Poems, edd. W. H. Gardner and N. H. Mackenzie (London, 1967), p. 106.

7 James Joyce, Ulysses (1922) (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 563.

8 Leslie A. Fiedler, Love and Death in the American Novel (Paladin ed.: London, 1970), p. 34.

9 Charles Lever, Davenport Dunn; or, The Man of the Day (London, 1859), p. 683.

10 George Rude, Hanoverian London 1714-1808 (London, 1971), pp. 1-19.

11 H. Ellis, Original Letters, 2nd. Ser., vol. 4 (London, 1827), pp. 3 ff.

was unique: Huguenots, Dutchmen and Germans had already established themselves, and the Scots - who seemed "just as alien to the Londoner as the Sephardic Jews" - were beginning to arrive from over the border.¹² The Jews were all "gentlemen and most of them rich in apparel, divers with jewels glittering ... several of them are comely, gallant, proper gentlemen",¹³ and to gentlemen of such probity the City extended a polite hospitality. The Jews who had come to Change Alley from their business houses in Amsterdam were already wealthy, and when Ferdinand Caravel brought £100,000 of bullion into London every year - a sum equivalent to one twelfth of the current national income - his acceptance, even if only as homo economicus, was secure. Similarly, when at the end of the seventeenth century it came about that one fifth of the Lombard Street brokers were foreigners, and preponderantly Jewish, consciences were quietened. Jewish jobbers, merchants and entrepreneurs were accepted as individuals to an extent that ran counter to the attitudes adopted towards "the Jews" as a racial group. Again, the first Jewish peers, created in the nineteenth century, "were interrelated, they were already possessors of foreign hereditary baronies, they were immensely wealthy...".¹⁴ They had "arrived" and were therefore accorded their appropriate status.

12 John Carswell, The South Sea Bubble (London, 1960), p. 6; early notice is taken of the Scottish parasite in John Alman, A Review of Lord Bute's Administration (London, 1763), p. 55.

13 See Ellis, ref.cit.

14 R. D. Richards, The Early History of Banking in England (London, 1958), pp. 27-28, 133; Hector Bolitho and D. Peel, The Drummonds of Charing Cross (London, 1967), pp. 18, 27; Joseph Jacobs, Jewish Contributions to Civilisation. An Estimate (Philadelphia, 1920), p. 222; Harold Soref, "The Jewish Peerage", AJAQ, 2.1 (June, 1956), 26.

The fears of past ages could be revived by political opportunists, and there were always memories of traditional anti-semitic accusations: but the only association that continued to gain currency was that which linked Jews with money. Indeed, observers thought it worthy of comment when a Jewish community did not contain members of the independent class. In 1780 William Hutton noted that "The proverbial expression 'as rich as a Jew' is not altogether verified in Birmingham, but perhaps time is transferring it to the Quakers."¹⁵ Both Jews and Quakers were increasingly identified with their non-sectarian characteristics, and Elizabeth Isechei's suggestion that the Quaker image "is less attributable to specific ... traits of character than to the prosperity and internal cohesion" of the community is equally applicable to the Jews. The metamorphosis of the Pease family, notable Quakers, is similar to that of many Jewish families of the Cousinhood,¹⁶ and such dynastic evolution was not just typical of many in the mercantile era it was also (more importantly) typical of the aspiration of the middle class. The wisdom of working with the Sephardic immigrants of the Restoration period soon became evident, for they were commercially-useful. Their toleration soon became inevitable because, in their social and commercial goals, the Jews conformed to one of the most precious myths of the Victorians. They subscribed to

15 William Hutton, An History of Birmingham (2nd. ed.: Birmingham, 1783), p. 123; the blood accusation, for an example of one slander, returned with the Jews - see William Prynne, A Short Demurrer to the Jews Long Continued Remitter into England (London, 1656), pp. 6, 7, 26-29, 33 - and flourished: T. W. Perry, Public Opinion, Propaganda and Politics in Eighteenth Century England (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 76; Charles Lamb, Essays of Elia (1823) (World's Classics: London, 1901), p. 83 ("Imperfect Sympathies") is a good example of this, though he might have been unduly sensitive to suggestions of Jewish descent: Thomas N. Talfourd, The Letters of Charles Lamb with a Sketch of his Life, 2 vols. (London, 1837), vol. 1, p. 5.

16 Elizabeth Isichei, Victorian Quakers (London, 1970), pp. 187, 185.

such aspirations as those expressed by Charles Kingsley's Thomas Newbroom: "I stood behind a loom myself, my boy, when I began life; and you must do with great means what I did with little ones. I have made a gentleman of you, you must make a nobleman of yourself."¹⁷ In all the agitation both for and against the emancipation of the Jews, the City realised it was talking about and dealing with kindred spirits.¹⁸

There was, at first, little desire to go the extra mile and, for example, admit Jews to the Freedom of the City. But it would be unreasonable to condemn City merchants and shopkeepers for not favouring equal competition, with the inherent risk of their being put at a disadvantage. The Freedom of the City only came, as did other rights or privileges, as the need grew for individual Jews to assume, untrammelled and unconfined, such roles as assumed these rights. Such common sense, or enlightened self interest, soon brought many favourable rulings in the courts. The following were granted as rights very shortly after the readmission: swearing upon the Old Testament (1667), the ability to maintain an action in law if not prohibited from trade by royal command (1675), and (by precedent) the avoidance of the witnessing of Jews upon the Sabbath (1683).¹⁹ As in Germany

17 Charles Kingsley, Yeast: A Problem (1851), Life and Works, vol. 15 (London, 1902), p. 75.

18 Josiah Child, A New Discourse of Trade (London, 1693), pp. 122-127. Smollett, for example, could both distrust the Jew (for example, Isaac Rapine) or value him highly as a prince of merchants (Mannasseh): see his Continuation of the Complete History of Britain, new ed., vol. 1 (London, 1763), p. 144; the complete approval of Jewish values was left to such eccentrics as Richard Burton (Fawn M. Brodie, The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton [London, 1967], p. 265) and Lord George Gordon: Robert Watson, The Life of Lord George Gordon with a Philosophical Review of his Political Conduct (London, 1795), pp. 77-80.

19 H. S. Q. Henriques, The Jews and English Law (London, 1903), p. 152.

"emancipation ... was not so much the realisation of philosophical ideas but rather the consequence of the mercantalism which needed the Jews for certain functions in its elaborate economic mechanism."²⁰

When a man was regarded as the right one for the job the law could be ignored. Thus Bishop Hay, in the 1740's, was, as a Roman Catholic, barred from the Universities and the College of Physicians. Nevertheless, the Royal Medical Society connived at his certification and practice as a ship's surgeon. Similarly the practical values of Chancery and the Inns of Court, and the passing of an annual indemnity act for the benefit of those non-Jews who neglected to take the Oath of Allegiance, ensured a Jewish entry on the legal scene in the eighteenth century. Abraham Jacobs, Abraham Abrahams and Joseph Abrahams were all solicitors in 1770. Though Lincoln's Inn could be quite specific about those who could be allowed to perform "exercises" and be called to the bar, and was sufficiently jealous of its honour to refuse candidates who had been in trade or who had written for hire in the newspapers, there was only nominal opposition to the candidacy of the talented Francis Henry Goldsmid. This was despite the formal need for him to take the Oath of Abjuration with its phrase "upon the true faith of a Christian". The law was circumvented by a decision to make a law exempting landowners, and those requiring naturalisation in the American colonies, from the need to use this form, applicable to Goldsmid.²¹

20 Selma Stern, Der Preussische Staat und die Juden (Tubingen, 1962), p. viii, quoted (in translation) by Walter Schwartz, "Frederick the Great, his Jews and his Porcelain", LBV, 11 (1966), 300.

21 Linker, "English Catholics", 309; Henriques, Law, pp. 202-05; William Bale, Lincoln's Inn: Its History and Traditions (London, 1947), p. 25; Arthur Bryant, The Age of Elegance 1812-1822 (London, 1950), p. 324.

A similar pragmatism meant that Jews were active in local and national politics long before any legal entitlement was received, and that when, in 1835, David Salomons was elected to the City office of Sheriff, a Sheriff's Declaration Act was passed the same year to enable him to assume office. His election to the Council had been challenged, but the Queen's Bench ruled in his favour. The Town Councils of Southampton, Portsmouth and Birmingham followed this ruling: Jewish councilmen took the oath of office prior to that of Abjuration and were then at liberty to decline the latter without this affecting the legitimacy of their office. In 1839 the Birmingham Town Clerk ruled that "Mr. Barnett, having made the declaration of office, was consequently admitted a member of council and at liberty to act ... but by so doing he certainly ran a risk of being indicted for a breach of the statute." David Barnett took the declaration in his own way, and was not indicted. Of course, the common opinion was that to have done so would have shown "bad taste".²² As R. W. Linker noted of the Catholic situation, "virtually every region witnessed similar instances in which men of good will tamed the ferocity of the law, and compelled it to call friend more often than foe."²³

22 Alfred Rubens, "The Jews of the Parish of St. James, Duke Place, in the City of London", in Remember the Days: Essays on Anglo-Jewish History Presented to Cecil Roth, ed. J. M. Shaftesley (London, 1966), pp. 181-205; A. M. Hyamson, David Salomons (London, 1939), pp. 53-54; Harry Levine, A Short History of the Birmingham Hebrew Congregation, ed. A. Cohen (Birmingham, 1956), and the Ts. in the Jewish Reference Library, Singers Hill, Birmingham; Ms. Minute Book of the Council of the Borough of Birmingham in the County of Warwick, vol. 1, pp. 14, 17-18 (in the Town Clerk's Office, Birmingham); The Birmingham Journal, 12 January 1839, p. 7; John Thackeray Bunce, History of the Corporation of Birmingham with a Sketch of the Earlier Government of the Town, vol. 1 (Birmingham, 1878), pp. 162-3; Ms. Proceedings of the Town Council of the Borough of Southampton (City Archives: SC2/1/18), p. 57; Hampshire Advertiser, 11 November 1840, p. 4; A Selection from the Southampton Corporation Journals, 1815-1835, and Borough Council Minutes, 1835-1847, ed. A. Temple Patterson (Southampton, 1965), p. 105; cf. Hansard, 3rd. Ser., 78 (1845), 520.

23 Linker, "English Catholics", 290.

The commercial success of the Jews stimulated as much resentment as it did approval, however; just as the agitation for the repeal of the 1753 "Jew Bill" only partly arose out of the legislation itself, so the opposition to emancipation was only in part an attempt to preserve the concept of England as an organic Christian state. Though the debates, for some thirty years, carried a theological veneer - "If a Jew approached the Table of the House," declared Sir R. Inglis, the member for Oxford University, "he would approach it as one who declared the Saviour an imposter" - there was a deeper, and more significant, distrust of the "Jewish professions".²⁴ It was a terrible thought for some that Jews, in Parliament, "would soon obtain as much influence as they had already possessed over the 3-per-cent consols"; the Jew was not (they thought) to be regarded as an Englishman simply because "he bought a coat in Monmouth Street, or negotiated a loan upon the Stock Exchange." These, of course, were the sort of considerations which influenced the proponents of reform: "merchants of great credit, possessing vast wealth, and filling a high and respectable place in society deserved emancipation."²⁵

24 Perry, Public Opinion, p. 75; Allan Peskin, "England's Jewish Naturalisation Bill of 1753", HJ, 19 (1957), 3-32; Hansard, NS 23 (1830) 1306; cf. Mr. Harrison Botley, who "opposed the Jews because they did not believe in Christianity", ibid., 1314; some felt that the disputed phrase - "on the true faith of a Christian" - was the key to the nature of Parliament, whilst others realised that the Jews were already a power in the land and that they should be permitted to exercise it in the House: see Macaulay's remarks, Works, ed. Lady Trevelyan, vol. 8 (London, 1878), pp. 102-104.

25 Sir R. Inglis, Hansard, NS 23 (1830), 1317; cf. Sir Robert Peel, Hansard, 3S 124 (1853), 611; Earl of Harrington, Hansard, 3S 151 (1858), 1262, 1268; Lord Belgrave, Hansard, 3S 18 (1833), 787; Sir James Macintosh, Hansard, NS 23 (1830), 1319. The immense wealth of the Jewish merchant bankers commanded great respect: see the astounded comment of Smith, Payne and Co. that "they consider'd Rothschild the richest man they ever knew", in Bolitho and Peel, Drummonds of Charing Cross, p. 151.

There were some Jews whom the anti-emancipationists felt would not, in theory, disgrace the name of the House. They were those who most closely approximated to the landed gentry, the ancien régime of the commercial revolution. These were, in their estimation, devout, sincere, and they had an ancestry of which they were justifiably proud: but the lands, traditions, hopes and interest of this gentry were in the hills of Palestine. To represent this landed interest in a British assembly was thought to be ridiculous.²⁶ General Gascoyne got to the heart of the matter when, in 1820, he said that "there was a spirit of innovation abroad in religious matters, as well as in the commercial, and the friends of one were the supporters of the other."²⁷ In the debate between "the anti-semitic proponents of primary production, and those saw the virtue of exchange as a real economic value"²⁸ the Jew ceased to be an individual and became a type. Within the context of this thesis it will be seen as significant that these types are entirely non-Jewish in their main features.

The same happened with the other visions of the Jewish situation. The Jews as a liberty-seeking people²⁹ and the

26 Sir D. Sandford, Hansard, 3S 23 (1834), 1173.

27 Hansard, 3S 18 (1833), 785.

28 Arthur Hertzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jews (London, 1968), p. 77.

29 The Jewish quest for liberty and nationality was admired and approved by Byron although he felt contempt for the Jews themselves. This is the same attitude he had towards the Greeks (see his statement in Thomas L. Ashton, Byron's Hebrew Melodies [London, 1972], p. 74). The general nineteenth-century philhellenism was accompanied by a general distrust of Greek commercial practice: see G. J. Whyte-Melville, The Gladiators, A Tale of Rome and Judea (London, 1863), p. 27; Terence Spencer, Fair Greece Sad Relic (London, 1954), p. 215 (see also the quote from William Gell on p. 241); the blackened Greek image is comparable with the blackened Jewish one and suggests that the complaints are stereotypical. For the "Greece not Greeks" attitude, see also William St.Clair, That Greece Might Still be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence (London, 1972), p. 151.

Jews as industrious immigrants (in the image of the Huguenots)³⁰ turned out to be nothing but Greeks, or Huguenots, with kaftans. This compartmentalising of responses to the Jews - the grounds might be those of political or economic theory, but they are largely incidental - is of importance for this study. That it was done by the big merchants living off the Strand, the smaller ones living at their premises in St. James, indeed, by the whole of the conglomerate middle class, has significance when this group is seen as the fons et origo of the novel form.

30 John A. Garrard, The English and Immigration 1880-1910 (London, 1971), p. 98; W. H. Wilkins, The Alien Invasion (London, 1892), pp. 6-7, 10; George Harwood, Hansard, 4S 148 (1905), 823; Lord Grey, Hansard, 4S 59 (1898), 734; for the achievement of the Huguenots, see O. I. A. Roche, The Days of the Upright: A History of the Huguenots (New York,), p. 292; Bernard D. Weinryb, "The Economic and Social Background of Anti-Semitism", in Essays on Anti-Semitism, ed. Koppel S. Pinson (New York, 1946), pp. 17-34; Garrard, Immigration, p. 166; Samuel Smiles, The Huguenots (London, 1868), p. 339. (As Smiles was not committed to a "boom" economy - see his Thrift [London, 1875], pp. 26-28 - he was not concerned to juggle immigration and unemployment statistics). For Jewish immigration, see Lloyd P. Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914 (London, 1960) and (influenced by Gartner) Bernard Gainer, The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905 (London, 1972); for the unemployed in Victorian London a recent and masterly account is Gareth Stedman Jones, Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes In Victorian Society (Oxford, 1971). The comparison with the Huguenot implied either (1) that the Jew was bringing a valuable trade with him, or that (2) he was a religious refugee. Though the comparison tended to clarify the issues involved, it diminished the Jewishness of the Jews under discussion.

CHAPTER ONE:
"BARGAINS AND WELL WON THRIFT"

AS A novelist, Disraeli was as concerned as any man to introduce Jewish elements into his fiction, and he had a notable success in his Coningsby (1844) with the figure of Sidonia who, like his father, is the "lord and master of the money market of the world."¹ "Sidonia is ... a god," W. F. Monypenny has written, "and perhaps as near the deity of Disraeli's religion as we are likely to get."² But Sidonia is more than just a local, Disraelian deity; just as he is obviously more than a fictionalised Baron de Rothschild.³

Financially independent, intellectually superior, he is almost a recluse, and as "that man which cannot live in civil company, either he is a god, or a beast; seeing that only god is sufficient of himself; and a solitary life agreeth with a beast",⁴ Sidonia is a god for more universal reasons than Monypenny suggested. His divinity is one with that of Timon,⁵

1 Benjamin Disraeli, Coningsby; or, The New Generation (1844) (Everyman's Library: London, 1911), p. 177.

2. W. F. Monypenny and G. E. Buckle, The Life of Disraeli, vol. 2 (London, 1912), p. 222.

3. The Sidonias are obviously the Rothschilds, who were friends of Disraeli; but this identification does not help one understand Sidonia's role in the novel. The success of the Rothschilds was a source of wonder, or fear; they were explained away by a variety of theories, and were cast in almost every role imaginable. My two favourite quotations illustrate this; first there is Nathaniel Rothschild as "local-boy-makes-good": "The present Mr. Rothschild, who from being a clerk in a mercantile house in Manchester, has in the course of a few fleeting years, risen so rapidly ..." (Pierce Egan, Life in London; or, The Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn Esq. and Corinthian Tom [London, 1821], p. 109); second is this delightful quatrain in Chaim Bermant, The Cousinhood (London, 1971), p. 128: "Of men like you/Earth holds but few:/ An angel - with/A revenue".

4 Annibale Romei, The Courtiers Academie, trans. J[ohn] K[epers] London, [1598], [K₄].

5 W. J. Ramsey, "Timon's Imitation of Christ", SS, 2 (1966),

and comes from the sanctification of wealth by the generous purposes to which it is put. Mannasseh, Smollett's "noble Hebrew" qualifies on these grounds, as does Dickens's humbler figure, Mr. Riah.⁷

Mannasseh is Smollett's practical demonstration of the moral behind his novel. His conduct shows that generosity is a source of happiness and it refutes Fathom's philosophy by showing that Renaldo's wealth is a consequence of, and not (as Fathom maintains) precedent to, his nobility.

In Our Mutual Friend (1865) Dickens paints a grim picture of the lower echelons of Victorian finance. He also reveals his distrust of mercenary marriages, and fathers who are economic autocrats. Those in the novel are a rather sorry lot and Mr. Boffin acts as a surrogate father to Bella Whilfer and John Rokesmith.⁸ But, before the Boffins can be eulogized and it can be seen that "money had turned bright again, after a long, long rust in the dark, and was at last beginning to sparkle in the sunlight,"⁹ doubts must be cast on the Boffins' stewardship. Grave doubts are cast on his generosity and freedom of spirit and there is in consequence a need for a surrogate financier who undoubtedly ~~possesses~~ these qualities. This is Mr. Riah, an important and by no means a "needless and unconvincing character".¹⁰

Absolutely in this line is Maria Edgeworth's Mr. Montenero with his town house, capital, and a life of charity (and high finance) cut to the pattern of the country gentleman:

7 Tobias Smollett, The Adventures of Ferdinand, Count Fathom (1753), ed. Damian Grant (London, 1971); Charles Dickens, Our Mutual Friend (1865) (New Oxford Illustrated Edition: London, 1952).

8 Ross H. Dabney, Love and Property in the Novels of Dickens (London, 1967), p. 159.

9 Dickens, Our Mutual Friend, p. 778.

10 G. K. Chesterton, Charles Dickens (London, 1906), p. 292.

a man who lived in his own manor house, helped to defend the country from attacks from without and disorders from within, kept up a liberal but not wasteful household, entertained his friends, provided for his dependents and gave from his abundance to the relief of his poor neighbour.¹¹

A man who measured up to this standard would indeed be a "godly man" (chasic). Real life Jewish capitalists, like Samson Gideon, sought to conform to such an ideal, but the beneficent capitalist was not, of course, a peculiarly Jewish phenomenon or myth.

Richard Wasson has pointed out how in Bram Stoker's The Lady of the Shroud (1909) and Dracula (1897) the vampiric and political complications are resolved by pragmatic foreign capitalists. In the latter tale, for example, Quincey Morris, a Texan millionaire, provides the necessary practicality, capital and Winchester repeater rifles.¹² The benign alien capitalist was, in fact, a relatively common type in fiction. The novel's commitment, as a form, to realism, and its melioristic and optimistic view (akin to that of comedy) meant that the status quo was seen as desirable or at least reformable from within. All that would be needed would be sufficient integrity, or etiquette or intelligence. One of the possible dei ex machinis that could lick society into shape would be one who could pragmatically and impartially use great wealth.¹³ Sidonia, and the others, are (from this point of view) only Jewish for minor reasons: the only prerequisite would seem to be alien status. Nationals of whatever country provides the setting for the action are unsuitable; they would be under suspicion of being infected by whatever blight

11 Maria Edgeworth, Harrington (1817), Tales and Novels vol. 17 (London, 1833); Edward P. Cheyney, History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth, vol. 2 (London, 1926), p. 13.

12 R. Wasson, "The Politics of Dracula", ELT, 9 (1966), 24-27.

13 Rebecca West, The Court and the Castle: A Study of the Interactions of Political and Religious Ideas in Imaginative Literature (London, 1958).

had necessitated the infusion of benign capital. Even for Disraeli the key to this type is foreignness, not Jewishness: even, indeed, when the models for his fiction are unmistakably Jewish.

In Endymion (1880), for example, the Rothschildian social life at Gunnersbury plays an important part in the action, but the family described en residence is immigrant Swiss: that of a Mr. Neuchatel. In our own day the Swiss financiers are almost as legendary as the Jewish ones, but in Disraeli's day they were not in any sense an alternative symbol of haute finance. "Before World War I very little foreign money entered Switzerland except to be invested in Swiss industries, or on loan."¹⁴ Besides, the Rothschilds were Jewish: why were they given a Swiss Calvinist background? One reason at least might be suggested. Neuchatel is a man of action and affairs, in contrast to Sidonia who must be resigned to his racial destiny: "Action is not for me."¹⁵ Arthur H. Frietsche has written that Sidonia is tolerable "only ... as a disinterested dictator. What would Disraeli think of his creation if Sidonia were not a Jew?"¹⁶ In answer it should be noted that Sidonia's important qualities are shared with Mr. Neuchatel (who is Swiss) or, for another example, Mr. Bond Sharpe, in Henrietta Temple (1837), (who is English, and non-Jewish); and that the former is Jewish so that he can understand the Great Asian Mystery, the second is Swiss so that he can act the part of a foreign merchant banker unhampered by disabilities, and the latter is non-Jewish because Disraeli was not prepared to throw

14 T. R. Fehrenbach, The Gnomes of Zurich (London, 1966), p. 66.

15 Disraeli, Coningsby, p. 100.

16 A. H. Frietsche, "Action is not for me: Disraeli's Sidonia and the Dream of Power", ProcUASAL, 37 (1959-60), 49; that Neuchatel was Rothschild was immediately obvious to the novel's readers: H. F. Lester, Ben D'Ymion and Other Parodies (London, 1887), pp. 10, 13.

aside both tradition and the observable fact that Bond Sharpe's foil, who casts Ferdinand Armine into a sponging house, would, in all probability, be Jewish himself. Disraeli was very susceptible to the attractions of such a simple, balanced contrast.¹⁷ And he followed type. Levison is essentially an unscrupulous usurer, Neuchatel a generous man of wealth. Their nationalities are determined by other considerations: Levison committing Ferdinand Armine into custody, for example, or Neuchatel being of both a foreign merchant-banking and a parliamentary family; hence the former is Jewish, and the latter is Swiss.

Sometimes the justification for these examples of godlike munificence being Jewish is to be found within the narrative, but usually it is something external to the plot. Disraeli, under the spell of New Court, or Smollett, overwhelmed by Gideon's public spirit, are examples of this; as are Dickens and Maria Edgeworth in their creating humane Jewish characters at the request of their correspondents.¹⁸

17 When Mr. Bond Sharpe obliges Ferdinand with a cheque for £1,500, "Ferdinand stared, remembering Mr. Levison and the coals" (Disraeli, Henrietta Temple, A Love Story [1837], introd. Anthony Hern [London, 1969], p. 315) and the contrast in methods and attitudes is enhanced by the crude racial opposition.

18 Robert Blake, Disraeli (University Paperback: London, 1969), p. 202; Bermant, Cousinhood, p. 10; Robert Giddings, The Tradition of Smollett (London, 1967), pp. 124-5; Gideon's gesture must have contrasted favourably with Pitt's manipulation of the crisis to further his career, see John B. Owen, The Rise of the Pelhams (London, 1957), p. 284; Smollett was also following the model of a humanitarian Jew in a novel by C. F. Gellert (1747): H. R. S. Van der Veen, Jewish Characters in Eighteenth Century Fiction and Drama (Groningen, 1935), pp. 45-48; Dickens's letter from Mrs. Davis is over-quoted: it is discussed in Harry Stone, "Dickens and the Jews", VS, 2 (1958-59), 245, but note that Dickens does not produce a fairy-tale Jew in apology for Fagin; all he changes is the morality of the society which encloses their roof-top worlds: cf. Our Mutual Friend, pp. 276-281, 430, 516-17, with Oliver Twist (1838), ed. Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford, 1966), pp. 48-56, 101, 115; Miss Edgeworth received her letter from Rachel Mordechai in 1815: see Elizabeth Inglis-Jones, The Great Maria: A Portrait of Maria Edgeworth (London, 1959), pp. 126-27.

It would seem that when Maria Edgeworth was put under pressure to create such a figure, she based her Mr. Montenero on the non-Jewish Lancashire banker, Roscoe of Allerton Hall (near Liverpool).¹⁹ Like Roscoe, Montenero has a fine library and is an art collector. He is extremely proud of his few Murillos. Harrington's mother loves Murillo's works, but they only have one, and that a print. Maria Edgeworth could not have escaped, had she wished to do so, from Roscoe's enthusiasm for his Michaelangelo frieze. It is "the only Michael Angelo certainly original in England" he remarks; similarly, Montenero claims that his are amongst the very few Murillos that are out of Spain. Just as Roscoe is enthusiastic and outright in his denunciation of the slave trade, so Montenero is forthright in his condemnation and suppression of anti-semitism. Brooding on this has made Montenero somewhat Melancholy: both are, otherwise, benevolent-looking gentlemen, past their middle age. Both speak a good form of English, though the one's is marred by a "broad Lancashire dialect" and a "strong provincial accent", and the other's has a "foreign accent, and something of a foreign idiom".²⁰

The Jewishness of Mr. Montenero, then, is arbitrary; and the personal details transferred from her Lancashire host; all that remains, and is significant, is the example of "the bounty,

19 This derivation does not seem to have been noticed before; however, Marilyn Butler points out that several incidents in the novel have an autobiographical basis: Maria Edgeworth, A Literary Biography (Oxford, 1972), pp. 44, 248; the visit to Allerton Hall is described in Maria Edgeworth, Letters from England 1813-1844, ed. C. Colvin (Oxford, 1971), pp. 12-15.

20 See Harrington, pp. 94-5, 101, 117; Letters from England, pp. 12-15; and The Correspondence of Horace Walpole with Sir David Dalrymple [and others], edd. W. S. Lewis, Charles H. Bennett and Andrew G. Hoover. (London, 1952), p. 282. William Roscoe had been an enthusiastic campaigner for the abolition of slavery. He had written poetry and, in 1788, a pamphlet on the subject.

that makes gods".²¹ This type, like divinity itself, is not bound by sectarian or racial considerations.

There is, however, a second and less favourable attitude to wealth, that money has of itself a negative potential, that it is something evil, that the desire for it is both sinful in the individual and cancerous in society, and that radix malorum est cupiditas (1 Tim. 6:10). Wordsworth, for example, was happy for Richard Bateman to grow rich; but it must be done overseas for the city - especially London - is evil.²² When the manipulative power of capitalism itself is seen as being a scourge upon society the evil is best presented as being an external one and the remedy shown as coming from within by means of some quasi-revolutionary figure. It is always easier to blame alien nonconforming plutocracy than to accept the implications of finding those responsible for the commercial sins within established society! Thus "Tradesmen, Jews and Unitarians are represented as unprincipled, vulgar, heartless beings"²³ and,

21 Shakespeare, Timon of Athens, ed. J. C. Maxwell (Cambridge, 1957), 4.2.41.

22 Wordsworth, "Michael", ll. 268-80, in Lyrical Ballads, edd. R. L. Brett and A. R. Jones (London, 1965), p. 234.

23 The comment is by Lady de Rothschild, Journals, Ts., Parkes Library (University of Southampton), p. 26, on Samuel Warren, Ten Thousand A Year, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1841); for an analysis of Warren's "bigoted Tory" morality, see Michael Steig, "Subversive Grotesque in Samuel Warren's Ten Thousand A Year", NCF, 24 (1969-70), 154-168. For the mercantalism of Unitarianism, see H. L. Short "Presbyterians Under a New Name", in English Presbyterians: From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism, C. G. Bolam and others (London, 1968), p. 223; for its attraction of envy and enmity both of other dissenters and of the Church of England, see Earl Morse Wilbur, A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England and America, vol. 2 (Boston, 1967), pp. 347, 355; and for the association with Jews: Beatrix Potter, The Journals, from 1881 - 1897, ed. and trans. Leslie Linder (London, 1966), p. 408. Warren has, in fact, only two Unitarian characters of any note: the Rev. Smirk Mudflint who is "a bitter little Unitarian parson" guilty of electoral malpractice (Ten Thousand A Year, vol. 2, p. 153, vol. 3, pp. 73, 239), who delivers "seditious and blasphemous harangues" (vol. 3, p. 242); and Viper: bankrupt, seducer, blasphemer (vol. 1, p. 32).

on a more exalted level, the benign influence of Quincey Morris is replaced by the malign one of "the rich man in San Francisco who had something to do with [the San Tomé] treasure": Mr. Holroyd who, "from his inviolable sanctuary within the eleven-story-high factory of great affairs", spends twenty minutes each month "running a man!"²⁴

The credit basis of society was fiercely resented. "It is not genius, it is not talent - a boundless mind, or intelligence and expanded ideas that are wanted on 'change; no: the expanded purse, and boundless credit, are all that is required there."²⁵ There is bitter irony in Kingsley's assurance

that there could not be the least harm in share-jobbing, for though it did, to be sure, add nothing to the wealth of the community - only conjure money out of your neighbour's pocket into your own - yet was not that all fair in trade? ... that though covetousness might be idolatry, yet money-making could not be called covetousness; and that, on the whole, though making haste to be rich was denounced as a dangerous and ruinous temptation in St. Paul's time, that was not the slightest reason why it should be so now.²⁶

And Trollope's condemnation of Melmotte - "a man who had so well pretended to be rich that he had been able to buy and sell properties without paying for them, a wretch who has made himself odious to his friends by his ruin who had taken him up as a pillar of strength in regard to wealth"²⁷ - is best understood as

24 Joseph Conrad, Nostromo, A Tale of the Seaboard (1904) (Penguin Modern Classics: Harmondsworth, 1963), pp. 359, 128, 106, 79; this is an interesting example as, in Nostromo, there is "an almost perfect fusion of politics and imagination, ideology and emotion": Irving Howe, "Order and Anarchy: the political novel", KR, 15 (1953), 505; Winifred Lynskey, "The Role of the Silver in Nostromo", MFS, 1 (1955), 21; Claire Rosenfield, Paradise of Snakes (Chicago, 1967), pp. 47-58.

25 S. W. Ryley, The Itinerant; or, Memoirs of An Actor, vol. 4 (London, 1817), p. 17.

26 Kingsley, Yeast, p. 196.

27 Anthony Trollope, The Way We Live Now (1875) (World's Classics: Oxford, 1941), vol. 2, p. 356.

proceeding from the same ground as the outburst from Lancelot Smith: "'If I were a Christian,' said Lancelot, 'like you, I would call this credit system of yours the devil's selfish counterfeit of God's order of mutual love and trust.'"²⁸

When Jewish characters act the part of commercial villainy the condemnation springs from their jobbing and usury; not from their Jewishness. Michael Sadleir has written perceptively, of the background to The Way We Live Now, that "the international financial adventurer had settled on London in his swarms; embarrassed country gentlemen touched with the fever of speculation were selling their names to shady directorates - the wrong Jews came ever more blandly to the right houses; success was wealth, and wealth was God."²⁹ The Jews were wrong, not because they were Jews, but because they exploited this fever (and to do that, one could be of any race or creed). Of course, novelists who used

28 Kingsley, Yeast, p. 197.

29 Michael Sadleir, Trollope: A Commentary (London, 1927), p. 397. When Melmotte's crime is viewed objectively it is seen to be very little other than forgery (perhaps this was why Trollope abandoned his idea of following Melmotte through the criminal courts: D. D. Edwards, "Trollope Changes His Mind: The Death of Melmotte in The Way We Live Now", NCF, 18 [1963-64], 89-91) and Trollope was realistic enough to realise that one cannot condemn a system of finance because one man stoops to forgery. In fact he goes out of his way to show the good nature of one of the Jewish characters, Mr. Bregbert, who is a genuinely honest man who behaves with intelligence and forbearance (this is discussed by A. O. J. Cockshut, Anthony Trollope [London, 1968], pp. 210-212). Melmotte's cardinal sin is that he tries to be that which he is not: an English gentleman. All cultures are equal; but the English one, because it was native, is more equal than others. Thus, in The Prime Minister (1876), Ferdinand Lopez is faulted because though he had "lived nearly all his life in England he had not quite acquired that knowledge of the way in which things are done as is general among those of a certain class, and so rare among those beneath them" (World's Classics: Oxford, 1938), vol. 2, p. 29. Lopez as himself would have been acceptable (though perhaps not as a suitor for Emily); as an "alien tarnishing on the bright shield of English manners" (Sadleir, Trollope, p. 397) he was not. Jewish examples of this failing were selected as they were the most blatant. For Trollope's accuracy of observation, see J. A. Banks, "The Way They Lived Then: Anthony Trollope and the 1870's", VS, 12 (1968), 177-200.

Jewish characters in these roles had made a conscious choice (perhaps sometimes a deliberately anti-semitic one) to cast a Jew as the villain of the piece. But the odium in which a Jewish character was held was often simply a matter of reportage. It was certainly very true to life to record that a Mr. Levy was well known to "young men of fashion, and considered by their fathers a very dangerous acquaintance".³⁰ Thus Mr. Harrington considered dealing with the Jews to be a regrettable necessity in life, "something very like dealing with the devil";³¹ Mr. Vincent thought "having recourse to the Jews was a desperate expedient";³² and men-about-town reluctantly recognised that a Jew might turn out to be a "useful friend some time or other" for when card debts cannot be paid one must be called in: and his "terms are apt to be ruinous".³³ The moneylending profession was not entirely dominated by Jews, of course; but they were sufficiently involved for this sort of observation to be more in the nature of documentation than slander. Some young men, like Harry Dredlington or Ferdinand Armine, ended up either entailing the estate or owing more than its value; though authorial attitudes towards these wild oats varied, there was never any sympathy for the divine scourge of the money-lender. His power was too great from him to be a sympathetic figure. Frequently, indeed, money-lenders are placed in comic situations so as to minimise temporarily their threat. Thus Japhet kicks Mr. Emmanuel down the stairs; Solomon nearly comes to blows

30 Bulwer Lytton, "My Novel" by Pisistratus Caxton; or, Varieties in English Life (London, 1853),

31 Edgeworth, Harrington, p. 19.

32 Edgeworth, Belinda (1801), ed.cit., vol. 12 (London, 1833), p. 298.

33 Edgeworth, Moral Tales (1801), ed.cit., vol. 2 (London, 1832), p. 288; Trollope, The Way We Live Now, vol. 1, pp. 91, 94, 359.

with Mr. Vincent's servant Jubo; and Israel Fang, "infuriate and inexorable" and prepared to have Titmarsh remanded "to the day of his death", is forcibly put from the court for his misbehaviour.³⁴

A second point is that if capitalism is seen as a source of evil which could threaten the environment, destroy the fabric of society and drive young girls to literal as well as metaphorical prostitution,³⁵ it is more comforting for the patron of Mudie's to be able to lay the blame at the feet of alien plutocracy. Chicago and the Rockefellers were frequently cited as a source of the plague, as were Paris and the Rothschilds; neither race (or family), however, held a monopoly. The founders of Vanity Fair, the merchandisers who set up in opposition to the trade and traffic with heaven, are of this kind and are not Jewish. The same must be said for the majority of usurers (and their daughters) who occur throughout the fiction of the nineteenth century.³⁶ Such Jews as do occur (and they are not that common) conform to a literary rather than a racial stereotype in their consistently selfish malpractice.

34 Frederick Marryat, Japhet in Search of a Father, 3 vols. (London, 1836), vol. 3, p. 9; Edgeworth, Belinda, p. 301; Warren, Ten Thousand A Year, vol. 3, p. 335 (a nice illustration of the wheel of fortune: Titmouse himself had to be put from court for a similar disturbance during the Aubrey disinheritance suit [vol. 1, p. 401]).

35 H. G. Wells, The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman (London, 1914), p. 31.

36 Pamphlets complaining about the French Rothschilds' banking and railway interest appear as early as 1846: Robert Byrnes, Anti-Semitism in Modern France, vol. 1 (New Brunswick, 1950), p. 119; cf. Charles James Lever, That Boy of Norcott's (1869), Works, ed. Julia Kate Neville, vol. 35 (London, 1899), pp. 155-156; John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come (1678) (Everyman's Library: London, 1907), p. 106; the daughter/ducats theme would seem to antedate its Jewish associations in Shakespeare (see the anonymous Timon, ed. Alexander Dyce London, 1842); most usurious financiers (with or without daughter) would seem to be non-Jewish; the following authors are a few of those who have handled this theme: W. H. Ainsworth, B. L. Farjeon, E. L. Linton, G. W. M. Reynolds, Mrs. O. H. Riddler, E. Robinson, W. P. Scargill, H. Smith.

It is not, therefore, surprising that the London business houses which had the worst reputations were those concerned with the South African diamond fields. "There probably has never been a dynamic group of business heads in any part of the world which had, in the space of twenty-odd years, done so much: there certainly has never been a similar group more subject to political malice and to religious and racial and social prejudice."³⁷ There was a literary expression of hostility to these "Randlords" which, as might be expected, followed its own conventions rather than those of turn-of-the-century radical intellectualism.³⁸

The social gaucheness of these men, such as the "Hebrew swell who keeps his carriage at the West End by purchasing diamonds at half their value in Hatton Garden"; the diamond millionaire tipped by Kipps, or the obnoxious Reuben Rosenthal,³⁹ are all variants of that traditional figure of contempt, the nouveau riche who would be fashionable:

No spleen or malice need on them be thrown:
Nature has done the business of lampoon,
And in their looks their characters has shown.⁴⁰

The suspicion of dishonesty lay upon all such, and terrible manners

37 Theodore Gregory, Ernest Oppenheimer and the Economic Development of Southern Africa (Cape Town, 1962), p. 15; for a general introduction, see Eric Rosenthal, "On the Diamond Fields", in The Jews in South Africa, edd. Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz (London, 1955), pp. 105-120.

38 Cecil Roth, "The Court Jews of Edwardian England", Essays and Portraits, p. 293; Milton Hindus, "F. Scott Fitzgerald and Literary Anti-Semitism: A Footnote on the Mind of the 20's", Commentary, 3.6 (June, 1947), 508-16.

39 J. W. Matthew, Incwadi Yami; or, Twenty Years Personal Experience in South Africa (London, 1887), p. 206; H. G. Wells, Kipps: The Story of a Simple Soul (London, 1905), p. 314; E. W. Hornung, Raffles, introd. M. R. Ridley (London, 1955), p. 39.

40 John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, "Tunbridge Wells", ll. 22-24, The Complete Poems, ed. David M. Vieth (London, 1968), p. 74.

were the least of their supposed vices: they soon became scapegoat figures for the guilt aroused by the imperial venture. The whole business of colonialism only became justifiable when illuminated by an idea. It could be an idea of service, perhaps, or efficiency, the devotion to efficiency. But it could not be redeemed by the idea of greed.⁴¹ The frequently voiced suspicions of The Times that the diamond market was run by dishonest men grew from the suspicions that the trade itself was dishonest⁴² and ^{from} sentiments such as those expressed by Trollope during his 1877 visit to the diamond fields: "I could not but think, as I watched the man, of the comparative nobility of the work of a shoemaker, who by every pull of his thread is helping to keep some person's foot dry."⁴³

In these instances where the Jew was under condemnation it was because (figuratively speaking) he belonged, in these instances, to the larger and less well-regarded classe stérile of the physiocrats. Again, to see the diamond buyer, or kopje walloper, as a disreputable pedlar was to provide him with a literary genealogy - which in fact antedates the resettlement. Autolycus and his fellow coney-catchers provided the seller of trinkets, in both town and country, with an unenviable pedigree;⁴⁴ just as the fawning, rapacious and completely non-Jewish Jeweller in Timon of Athens is a non-semitic forerunner of the avaricious, obsequious and thoroughly dishonest Aaron Carat and the subsequent literary Jewellers of dubious, Jewish morality.⁴⁵

41 I am indebted to Joseph Conrad, "Heart of Darkness" (1899), for these thoughts.

42 Oswald Doughty, Early Diamond Days: The Opening of the Diamond Fields in South Africa (London, 1963), p. 39.

43 Trollope, South Africa, abridged ed. (London, 1879), p. 299.

44 Robert Greene's Coney Catcher pamphlets of 1592 would suggest that no itinerant could be regarded as being trustworthy.

45 Timon, 1.1.12, 15, 19, 166-80; Edgeworth, Moral Tales, p. 232.

This has, of course, little to do with the commercial morality of real Jews in real situations. Of any fiction it should be said, as John Cowper Powys has of one of his, that "it is not the work in any real sense of an 'observer of life'". Powys continued that his intention "was to convey a jumbled up and squeezed together epitome of life's various dimensions. Whether they are ever condensed to this tune in real life I had not then, and have not now, the remotest idea"; and indeed "not a single scene, or situation, or character, or episode in this book has been drawn in any respect, or in any sense whatsoever, from real life."⁴⁶ There is a universal law, succinctly expressed by Federico Fellini: "the more you mimic reality the more you loose in the imitation."⁴⁷ These are the reasons why I cannot accept M. F. Modder's historical and quasi-sociological approach to the study of the Jew in English literature. I have found no significant correlation between Jewish characters in fiction, and their actual contemporary state of emancipation.⁴⁸ Modder's approach confuses the novelist and presdigitateur; there must be what has been called a "subsidiary awareness" if the amateur is both to see and appreciate a normal representational work: Modder ignores this and, for example, the powerful tradition of the corrosive power of wealth that we have briefly been considering.⁴⁹

46 John Cowper Powys, A Glastonbury Romance (New ed.: London, 1955), pp. xi, xiv, xx.

47 Quoted in Paul West, "Adam's Alenbic, or Imagination versus mc²", NLH, 1 (1970), 522.

48 Montagu Frank Modder, The Jew in the Literature of England to the End of the Nineteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1939).

49 This criticism is based upon the implications of an article by Michael Polyani: "What is a Painting?", AS, 39 (1970), 655-69 (originally in BJA, 10 [1970], 225-236, but more polished and with a useful photograph).

One critic, Edgar Rosenberg, has given thought to the matter of tradition; but his attention has been exclusively directed towards anti-semitic traditions and images.⁵⁰ These are, of course, important; but primarily only as fill-in material. He accounts for the material of the frondeur in a racy and enjoyable manner, but ignores the basic organisation and purposes of the littérateur who has shaped the work.⁵¹ As Kenneth Burke has written, "I would contend that one could not properly define the qualities of specifically proletarian [or anti-semitic, or philo-semitic] works until one has first placed them in some genus."⁵² This is ignored by Rosenberg, who faithfully traces the evolution of the tradition of the Jewish miser and his daughter without taking time to consider the importance of the generic confrontation between such virtues as generosity, charity and love (represented by the daughter) and the interests of a commercial house (personified in the father).⁵³

Maud Bodkin has remarked of Iago (and for Venetian we might

50 Edgar Rosenberg, From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes In English Fiction (Stanford, 1960).

51 My comparison is with the Mazarinade: a poet creates a "Mazarin" to suit the world of his ode. This is a very different exercise from sailing close to the laws of libel.

52 Kenneth Burke, "'Proletarian' as 'Pastoral'", in The Philosophy of Literary Form (revised ed.: New York, 1957), p. 322.

53 Thus upon the death of Josh (Mr. Joseph) Tremenero, the Cordelia-like Emilia suffers a nervous break-down when she realises what chicanery and double-dealing lay behind her father's reputation as "the greatest money-lender that London ever produced." (James Payn, The Burnt Million, 3 vols. [London, 1890], vol. 1, pp. 7-8). More actively, Marie Melmotte wished to assert her freedom from the spiritual sterility of her father's commerce-ridden home. "It was evident to Sir Felix that she did not care to what extent she braved her father on behalf of her lover, and now she coolly proposed to rob him." (Trollope, The Way We Live Now, vol. 1, p. 274). The essence of the conflict is that the men "grub so much for money and their women are kept in such dreadful subjection", Sir Walter Besant, The Rebel Queen (London, 1893), p. 54.

substitute Jew), "what seems to emerge most clearly is the dominance of the man by a certain force or spirit". This is why Harold Rosenberg is able to write: "Shylock is not my brother, but brother to those other Shakespearian pigstickers, Iago, Claudius, Macbeth. One is labelled Jew, the others Italian, Dane, Scot."⁵⁴ The labels are not as important as the spirit of "pigsticker" which is generated; similarly, national considerations are not important in comparison with the traits of economic vice and virtue that have been discussed. When the Poor Man's Guardian wrote in 1833, "We do not live in a Christian country - we live in a country of Jews, and usurers, and parsons, and plunderers, and hangmen, and lawyers, and shopocrats, and vampires, and soldiers, and 'statesmen' and bloodhounds", it supplied a list of traditional grievances which are worthy of consideration. The enormity of the abuses of power dwarfs any consideration as to the race or religion of these oppressors of the poor.⁵⁵ The longstanding nature of these complaints encourage us to see if this is true with regard to literary parsons and plunderers and hangmen and so on. We have already considered Jews and usurers; the rest of this catalogue of villainy will fill the rest of this chapter.⁵⁶

54 Maud Bodkin, Archetypal Patterns in Poetry: Psychological Studies of Imagination (London, 1934), p. 221; Harold Rosenberg, in a Symposium "The Jewish Writer and the English Literary Tradition", Commentary, 8.3 (September, 1949), 218.

55 Cited from the Poor Man's Guardian, March 16, 1833, p. 82, in Edmund Silburner, "British Socialism and the Jews", HJ, 19 (1952), 33.

56 This chapter, and thesis, does not attempt to say all that should be said about any of the novels, themes, characters or incidents discussed. It does not attempt to provide a full critical interpretation of any of the novels consulted. But it does hope to direct the reader's eyes towards the non-Jewish wood surrounding the Jewish trees. It will not do to believe that "It's called jewelry 'cos its mostly the Jews as sell it" (George Gissing, Born in Exile [1892], introd. Walter Allen [London, 1970], p. 85). The context of any element is as significant as its content: see Walter J. Ong, "From Allegory to Diagram in the Renaissance Mind". JAAC. 17 (1958-59). 423-40.

One would look for Jewish examples of many of those professions in vain: plunderers and hangmen, and shopocrats and vampires will, with regret, be passed over; Jewish examples of the others will show that their Jewishness is a minor consideration.

Two prime examples of ecclesiastical villainy are Samuel Butler's Pryer and Anthony Trollope's Joseph Emelius. The latter is Jewish, the former is not; but their similarities outweigh this difference. Both are repulsive: Pryer being "odious in both manners and appearance", whilst Emelius is a "greasy, fawning, pawing, creeping, black-browed rascal"; and both are the worst kind of popular clergyman. Emelius is happy to practice bigamy (with Lizzie Eustace); Pryer, with a horror of "open matrimony", recommends ecclesiastical concubinage. Pryer flirts openly at Church, whilst Emelius, who does believe in home visiting, reads Childe Harold to his parishioners rather than the Bible. Both are moneygrubbers: Emelius drew "more largely on [Lizzie's] money than was pleasing to her and her friends, and appeared to have requirements for cash which were both secret and unlimited"; Pryer simply stole Ernest's investment in the College of Spiritual Pathology.

No one knows the antecedents of either. Pryer is an Oxford man - an athiestical tempter of a Christian hero fresh from Cambridge - and Emelius is a Jew, the ultimate gate-crasher who imposes upon Lizzie Eustace, herself an adventuress with an unsuitable background. Pryer, then, is what Emelius is: a foreigner. (Thus the Duchess of Omnium; Madame Gocsler, who is herself half-Jewish and preying upon society, is naturally more delicate: to her, he is a "Bohemian"). It was necessary for the renegade clergyman to be, in some way, an alien figure. In that way the institutions of the Church could be respected,

whilst examples of individual malpractice could be denounced. It is a simple and effective trick of Butler's to oppose the Oxford cynic and rogue to the Cambridge naif; Trollope is doing something similar when he places his basic contest - Lizzie Eustace (the admiral's daughter) versus Society - within a wider perspective: Joseph Emelius (Bohemian foreigner and Jew) versus Lizzie Eustace and Society.⁵⁷

Emelius as a Jew, then, is relatively unimportant. His role within the novel, his entire raison d'être, is that he is (like Pryer, and countless others back to Chaucer's Pardoner himself) an example of the rogue priest. He is, however, an interesting example, because of the way in which Trollope uses him and Lizzie Eustace. It reminds one of the adage "great fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite 'em"; and it certainly changes one's view of the unfortunate Lizzie.⁵⁸

57 For Joseph Emelius, see Anthony Trollope, The Eustace Diamonds (1872) (World's Classics: Oxford, 1930), vol. 2, pp. 323, 330-32, 364, 367-68, 377, 386, 483-84, 591-96, 623, 661, 712-20, 724; and Phineas Redux (1874) (World's Classics: Oxford, 1937), vol. 2, pp. 46, 54-55, 70, 79, 87, 93, 107, 113, 127, 147, 153, 167, 172ff., 202, 205, 269, 276, 348-49; for Pryer, see Samuel Butler, The Way of All Flesh (1903), ed. James Cochrane (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 255-67, 272-73, 276-77, 279, 286-87, 295, 297, 301, 303-04, 309-10.

58 The same trick is worked, though in a Jew's favour, by Marie Corelli, "Temporal Power": A Study in Supremacy (London, 1902). David Jost, a Jewish financier and newspaper proprietor, is at first written up as the villain of the rather silly piece. A "fat Jew-spider" (pp. 193, 298), his life "was black with villainy and intrigue of the most shameless kind" (p. 193). However, just when we are accepting his machinations as the novel's parameter of self-seeking viciousness, Miss Corelli performs the Emelius/Lizzie trick. Neither Jost, nor Peylorousse (i.e., Joseph Chamberlain), it is revealed, are the moral cancer at the heart of society. Their schemes for war-profiteering cannot compare with the villainy of the Society of Jesus: the Jesuits not only foment unrest but they are also prepared to betray, murder and subvert public religion and morality. The Jew, placed beside the Jesuit, almost receives Miss Corelli's sympathy (pp. 192, 252, 298, 356, 401-02, 406). (Complete sympathy would have been impossible: see The Sorrows of Satan; or, The Strange Experiences of one Geoffrey Tempest, Millionaire: A Romance [London, 1895], pp. 403-4).

The conservatism of the discussions of religious topics in nineteenth-century fiction usually meant that the alien or extra-social nature of the Jewish character caused his religious beliefs to be dismissed as being, at the best, those of a hypocrite or a bigot. A Jew would naturally be classed as raw material for a portrait of a false priest, or Christian. The schematic manipulation of Jews and Judaism in the novel is clearly seen, however, when this is reversed if the dominant religion of the fictional society is Roman Catholic and a contrast is desired.⁵⁹

59 The long English tradition of anti-Roman dissent stretches beyond the Henrican reformation, and makes it an emotionally significant event: David Matthew, Catholicism in England: The Portrait of a Minority in Culture and Tradition (London, 1948), pp. 15-18; Hans J. Hildebrand, Christendom Divided (London, 1971), pp. 169-71; Rose Macaulay, The Pleasures of Ruins (London, 1953), p. 17; much of Tudor literature was spiced with some "quip or jest" against the Pope (and there was a flood of anti-Papist interludes, fables, ballads and minstrel songs), and two centuries later the Gothic novelist found the subject to be equally interesting - despite an ignorance of the precise points of theology under dispute: Richard Verstegan, The Letters and Despatches, ed. A. G. Petto, Pub.CRS, 52 (London, 1959), pp. 2 ff.; Montagu Summers, The Gothic Quest, A History of the Gothic Novel (London, [1938]), pp. 32, 196-97. An insight into the status of the Jews in an anti-Catholic context can be gained by considering the discussion of the Jews in the hands of the Inquisition. The Jews, though "a wicked nation, hated by God and man" because of their persistent heresy, were sympathetically regarded as the victims of cruelty and horrid abuses. Affecting spectacles of a cruelly distressed and miserable people could always raise a tear. The Jews were "broken by miseries", whilst the Holy Office was denounced as motivated by an intemperate "zeal for Christianity". Most strange of all, a kind of heroism was seen in copulation: despite all that the Catholics could do, "yet still the posterity of the Jews greatly multiplied in Spain". John Marchant, The Bloody Tribunal; or, An Antidote Against Popery (London, 1766), p. 46; J. J. Stockdale, The History of the Inquisitions; Including the Secret Transactions of these Horrific Tribunals (London, 1810), pp. 112-13; Philip à Limborch, The History of the Inquisition, trans. Samuel Chandler, vol. 2 (London, 1731), p. 97. A choice piece of mental légerdemain produces the conclusion that the Talmud is of value because it speaks contemptuously of the Catholic Church: Anon., The History of the Inquisition of Spain from its Origin under Pope Innocent III to its Abolition by the DETESTED Napoleon Bonaparte and Restoration by the BELOVED Ferdinand: Including an Account of the Private Practices of the Inquisitors, their Various Horrid Modes of Torture, Forms of Public Trials, Holy Inquisitors Seraglio, &c &c (London, [n.d.]), p. 13. There were pamphlets as early as 1625, and indignant publications as late as 1828, all prepared to look with kindness upon the Jews.

The Jewish characters in Melmoth the Wanderer (1820) have a certain heroism thrust upon them because they are not of the Catholic Church: "Reflect, dear Juan," Alonzo wrote to his brother, "that I am staked against a community, a priesthood, a nation"; the Jews, in fact, provided the only escape route.⁶⁰ There is a respectable number of Jews who serve, in novels, as witnesses against Catholicism. The Wandering Jew is one example, as is his assistant in Eugène Sue's influential account. Samuel, the grandson of a Jewish martyr, is perhaps a little too faithful and God-fearing but these qualities are given him to assist in the fight with a Society of Jesus which is directly compared with Thuggism.⁶¹ Maturin's Jews, however, do more than draw attention to the Church's control of Spain. He uses them as Hardy was to use the reddenmen on Egdon Heath: "seen by some as incarnations of the devil" one, possessing a "good-nature, and an acuteness as extreme as it could be without verging on craft" is able to extend the reader's concept of social morality, just as Emelius by his intervention in the story of Lizzie Eustace is able to give depth to the notion of immorality.⁶²

When John Melmoth arrives at his lodge he is horrified at the superstition of his peasantry (typified by the governante and Biddy Brannigan); these good souls are themselves shocked by Alonzo Moncada's use of Spanish in his devotions; and Alonzo himself is similarly filled with horror by Fernan di

60 Charles Robert Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer (1820), ed. Douglas Grant (London, 1968), p. 179; the Seville colony is the only place where Alonzo is secure from the Holy Office (p. 268).

61 Maria Joseph Eugene Sue, The Wandering Jew: A Tale of the Jesuits, 3 vols. (London, 1844).

62 Merryn Williams, Thomas Hardy and Rural England (London, 1972), pp. 143, 138.

Nunez's use of Hebrew ritual.⁶³ This is a comic sequence; but, on the one hand it builds up in the reader a desire to reject intolerance (which is primarily exemplified by the Catholic Church, the conventual orders and the Inquisition)⁶⁴ and on the other it is a preparation for the figure of Adonijah.

63 Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer, pp. 27, 69-70, 210 ff.; Charles Henry Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, vol. 3 (London, 1907), pp. 300-01, gives examples of the initiation of Jewish children when they reached maturity.

64 As well as Lea's History of the Inquisition of Spain, which is the standard work on the subject, see A. S. Turbeville, The Spanish Inquisition (London, 1932); Elizabeth Feist Hirsch, "Portuguese Humanists and the Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century", AfR, 46 (1955), 47-67; L. de Alberti and A. B. W. Chapman, English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries, Camden Society: 3rd Series, 23 (London, 1912); Pauline Croft, "Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition 1558-1625", EHR, 87 (1972), 249-268; B. Netanyahu, The Marranos of Spain from the Late XIVth to the Early XVth Century According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources (New York, 1966), for a sound background to what was a very real source of horror to Maturin and his contemporaries. The Inquisition was of interest to his generation because its closure by Joseph Bonaparte had only lasted until the restoration of Ferdinand VII. The year Melmoth the Wanderer was published (1820) its powers were abolished by the constitutional revolution (though it was restored again in 1825, the last victim relapsed in 1826, and it was only finally abolished in 1834): cf. Cecil Roth, A History of the Marranos (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 354. Imposters and mountebanks were exploiting this interest. In Paris, Maria Edgeworth met "a Spaniard, squat, black haired, black browed and black eyed, with an infernal countenance, who has written the History of the Inquisition, and who related to us how he had been sent to a monastery en penitence by the Inquisition, and had escaped by presenting a certain number of kilogrammes of good chocolate to the monks, who represented him as very penitent." (F. V. Barry, Maria Edgeworth: Chosen Letters [London, 1931], p. 257). The blood-stained hands and sardonic faces of Ximenes and Torquemada as they hurried from heretic to Jew and then to private flagellation haunted the public imagination. Later in the century, during the Appian Gate storm, writers searching for examples of the Catholic threat did not realistically examine the number of poor and violent Irish Catholics in London. Nor did they turn to the subterfuges, lies and plots of some of the priests of the Jesuit mission to Elizabethan England. Instead they thrilled their readers with Ximenes, Torquemada and the Holy Office: see Sheridan Gilley, "Protestant London, No-Popery and the Irish Poor", RH, 10 (1970), 212. Other works to feature Jews versus Catholics include: Matthew G. Lewis, The Monk (1796), ed. Louis F. Peck (New York, 1959); William Godwin, St. Leon: A Tale of the Sixteenth Century (London, 1799); Bulwer Lytton, Leila; or, The Siege of Granada (London, 1838); Grace Aguilar, "The Fugitive", in Home Scenes and Heart Studies (London, 1843), and Vale of Cedars; or, The Martyr (London, 1850); Celia Moss Levetus, The King's Physician and Other Stories (Portsmouth, 1865).

The Romantic metaphysical rebellion was dominated by two figures, Cain and Ahasuerus; in Maturin's novel, Melmoth is briefly identified with both.⁶⁵ As the novel unfolds a corrective is needed to prevent the reader taking the Ahasuerus suggestion too seriously: consequently there is the anti-Ahasuerus figure of Adonijah. This is merely a new variation of the old gambit, for, once again, a Jewish man of straw is being set up. Adonijah is made to seem evil and ridiculous by turns, so that parallels with Melmoth can be presented. Just as Marie Corelli darkens the moral hue of her Jesuits by placing them in the shadow of David Jost, so Maturin affects the light falling on Melmoth qua Wanderer by using Adonijah as a filter. Adonijah might be, in theory, the patriarch of a Marrano group, but he is, actually, only a foil to Melmoth. His Jewishness, when broken down, is only a series elements which match the successive theories the reader has been forced to form to account for Melmoth's real nature. His Judaism is irrelevant; his function within the novel is not.⁶⁶

Adonijah's function is limited just as much by type (or more accurately, the demands of an anti-type) as is that of Emelius, or Sidonia. For all three the conventions of the genre

65 Peter L. Thorslev, Jr., The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes (Minneapolis, 1962), pp. 197, 107, 90; Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer, pp. 299 and 537.

66 Melmoth is successively (1) a family spirit, or banshee (ibid., p. 27), (2) a monster or demon (pp. 34-35, 39, 58), (3) a demonic human being (p. 60), (4) a wanderer and shapeshifter (pp. 227, 238, 242, 258), (5) a ruler in hell (p. 255), (6) a power of destruction (pp. 393-439), (7) a revenant or Rosicrucian figure (pp. 498-500), and (8) a damned soul (pp. 536-540); Adonijah parodies these roles: (1) p. 236, (2) pp. 265, 263, (3) p. 267, (4) pp. 269-70, and pp. 263, 266, 271, (5) p. 269, (6) pp. 262-63, (7) p. 267, and (8) pp. 249, 268. Maturin probably got the grotesque idea of an old Jew surrounded by the skeletons of his family from John Dillen, Travels through Spain, with a view to Illustrate the Natural History and Physical Geography of that Kingdom in a Series of Letters (Dublin, 1781), p. 12.

outweigh any considerations of race. The same must be said of Jewish lawyers in English literature. At one level the literary presence of Jews around the law was a matter of journalism. "In society, Mr. Riah is kept dark," remarked Fascination Fledgeby, but the money, once having been borrowed - to oblige a friend, or pay debts from horses, cards, the E-O table or whatever - "must be paid".⁶⁷ Lord Eskdale, upon hearing of Tancred's plans to go to Jerusalem, remarks that "it's at least better than going to the Jews, which most men do at his time of life";⁶⁸ with the money-lenders so widely patronized it was inevitable that some debts, when called in, should fail and the bailiffs or sheriff's officers would be called in. They, too, were frequently Jewish. The manner of the arrest could range from a public seizure with a "grin of devilish satisfaction", through Mr. Moss's genial invitation for one to sample the hospitality of Miss Hem's - Cursitor Street, through the making of an engagement to take a young gentleman into the "cage" at a specified time and place:⁶⁹ but though the incident could carry great moral significance, these Jewish roles are only interesting (as Jewish roles) to the social historian.

The literary presence of Jews in the higher echelons of the profession is much more random. Though it was possible for a lawyer - any lawyer - to be respected as a trustworthy family friend, this was not his usual image in the novel. It was much more common for him to be regarded as a man of sharp

67 Dickens, Our Mutual Friend, pp. 570, 573.

68 Disraeli, Tancred; or, The New Crusade (1847) (Bradenham ed.: London, 1927), p. 82.

69 Warren, Ten Thousand a Year, vol. 3, p. 399; W. M. Thackeray, Vanity Fair: A Novel Without a Hero (1848), ed. George Saintsbury (London, [1908]), p. 669; Warren, Ten Thousand a Year, vol. 1, p. 15.

practice, dominated by self-interest. Subscribing to this image are slightly "bent" lawyers who are non-Jewish and use Jewish tools; Jews who make use of non-Jewish accomplices; consistently Jewish establishments; and entirely gentile ones.⁷⁰ Almost any permutation imaginable can be found, without there being any correlation between Jewishness and criminality; the unscrupulous lawyer is only a variant of the false counsellor who deceived kings of all generations and it is worthy of note that the Court Jews were more trustworthy than most courtiers.

"Soldiers, statesmen and [Jewish] bloodhounds" show the same trends.⁷¹ If, as John Dewey has argued, artistic expression necessitates the transformation of the original source material,⁷² it is not entirely surprising that Jews in literature look a little different to their actual appearance in the community. The transformation is constantly in the direction of traditional characters shaped by powerful conventions; Jewish "bargains and well won thrift" are obtained, in the novel, in accordance with rules of conduct which are adaptable to heroes and villains of any race or creed.

70 Non-Jew using Jews: Larkin uses Goldshed and Levi in Sheridan Le Fanu, The Tenants of Marlow (London, 1867), cf. Nelson Browne, Sheridan Le Fanu (London, 1951), p. 45; Jew using non-Jews: Baron Levy, who was articled before entering finance, in Bulwer Lytton, "My Novel" (1852); Jews: "Swindle Shark, gent., ... a little Jew attorney in Chancery Lane", in Warren, Ten Thousand a Year (1841); non-Jews: Scott's Glossin, in Guy Mannering; or, The Astrologer (1815).

71 There is canis impudentia and there is canis proprietate: there are Jewish examples of both.

72 John Dewey, Art As Experience (New York, 1934), pp. 64, 157.

CHAPTER TWO:
IVANHOE.

Both Peacock and Scott were, in 1818, engaged in writing notable romances about twelfth-century England.¹ The ingredients of such fiction were fairly standardised. Peacock daydreamed of them, and noted in his diary: "Could not read or write for scheming my romance. Rivers castles forests abbies monks maids kings and banditti dancing before me like a masked ball."² Though they used similar sources and drew up similar dramatis personae, the overall effects of the novels were, however, vastly different. Scott was incapable of creating and sustaining Maid Marian's Rabelasian phantasmagoria, and though the Edinburgh Review did note "the vulgar staple of armed knights and jolly friars - woodsmen, imprisoned damsels, lawless barons, collared serfs and household fools", it is Scott's interest in situation that gives life to Ivanhoe.³

Modern critics have, quite rightly, disparaged Scott's ability as a teller of tales; some, though, have only seen the tribal narrator amongst the offal and have missed the intellectual success of "holding in imagination all sixteenth-century Scotland as she faced her powerful southern foe."⁴

1 Thomas Love Peacock, Maid Marian (1822): I have used David Garnett's two volume edition of the Novels (London, 1963); I have used the first edition of Sir Walter Scott, Ivanhoe, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1820).

2 Garnett, ed. cit., vol. 2, p. 439, cites a diary entry for 6 August 1818.

3 [F. Jeffrey], "Ivanhoe" [review article], ER, 33 (1820), 7.

4 Fiedler, American Novel, p. 163; D. Craig, Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830 (London, 1961), p. 152; E. M. Forster, Aspects of the Novel (London, 1927), pp. 48, 41-42; Edgar Johnson, Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown, vol. 1 (London, 1970), p. 348.

Scott was, in fact, intuitively good at handling Scottish themes in his fiction;⁵ the historians he consulted for the background to Ivanhoe lead him to believe that he was on almost familiar ground, and so (against the background of Saxo-Norman conflict) he sets out to deal, in a summary fashion, with the spirit of Chivalry.⁶

It was difficult for Scott, or anyone, to honestly define the spirit of the Age of Chivalry. Though Herder, for example, enthused over "the eternal migrations of peoples", the pilgrimages, the crusades, the passion, spontaneity and energy of the age - a virile contrast with his own day, he was volubly opposed to the "superstition, priestcraft and ecclesiastical tyranny" of the middle ages. As the Gothic Revival included the desire to substitute the chivalric (and non-historical) philosophy of noblesse oblige for the contemporary one of glorified self-interest, the realities of medieval life were ignored to favour the ideal of a "Merrie England". As Scott put it succinctly: "extremes of virtue and barbarity were often found to exist together".⁷ The problem for the novelist

5 G. M. Young, "Scott and the Historians", in Last Essays (London, 1950), pp. 25-26; cf. W. W. Heist, "The Collars of Gurth and Wamba", RES, NS 4 (1953), 361, and Mario Praz, The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction, trans. Angus Davidson (London, 1969), p. 61, for examples of prescient writing.

6 He was misled by statements such as the Saxons were "resisting patriots" who were "considered as rebels, hated and mistrusted" by the Normans: Sharon Turner, History of England during the Middle Ages, [I used the 3rd. edition] vol 1 (London, 1830), p. 113; cf. Robert Henry, History of Great Britain, vol. 6 (London, 1788), pp. 317-18.

7 W. D. Robson Scott, The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany: A Chapter in the History of Taste (Oxford, 1965), pp. 69, 59, 68, and "The Legend of Herder's Medievalism", PEGS, NS 33 (1963), 99-129; Alice Chandler, A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth Century English Literature (London, 1971), p. 6, and "Sir Walter Scott and the Medieval Revival", NCF, 19 (1965), 319; P. P. Garside, "Scott, The Romantic Past and the Nineteenth Century", RES, NS 23 (1972), 147-61; Sir Tristrem, ed. Scott (3rd. edition: Edinburgh, 1811), p. 337.

was to try and recreate such a society, and provide the action with a hero who, mirabile dictu, was not enslaved by the general viciousness and corruption. This cake had been both had and eaten by earlier writers of romance when they brought robber, pirate or rake to his death - his repentance was frequent, and desired, but not required - at the end of a lubricious narrative of "innocence narrowly preserved again and again by the power and faith of Providence."⁸ Scott only slightly modifies this pattern.

The characters of Ivanhoe were "monsters of atrocity according to our more civilised ideas of humanity, with only the exception of the hero and heroine".⁹ The exception is possible for Ivanhoe himself because he is one of Scott's amiable heroes who are victims of events and the life that flows so turbulently and melodramatically round him;¹⁰ but if Ivanhoe is not actively part of the brutality of medieval life, he is nonetheless committed to the chivalric ideal which provides a rationale and justification for others more corrupt than him; he is tarred with the same brush. Peacock's Mr. Mac Quedy gives an accurate account of the world of Ivanhoe:

It was a period of brutality, ignorance, fanaticism, and tyranny, when the land was covered with castles, and every castle contained a gang of banditti, headed by a titled robber, who levied contribution with fire and sword; plundering, burning, ravishing, burying his captives in loathsome dungeons, and broiling them on gridirons, to force from them the surrender of every particle of treasure which he suspected them of possessing; and fighting every now and then with the neighbouring lords, his

8 John J. Richetti, Popular Fiction Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700-1739 (Oxford, 1969), p. 149.

9 WR, 13 (1830), 298.

10 Alexander Welsh, The Hero of the Waverley Novels (New Haven, 1963), p. 49; Georg Lukacs, The Historical Novel, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Harmondsworth, 1969), pp. 29-68; Chandler, "Medieval Revival", 322.

conterminal bandits, for the right of marauding on the boundaries.¹¹

Scott would have known from the liberal Edinburgh historians that this was the position in the Middle Ages; he recognized the fact and was determined to exploit the background for all the brutality, sadism and excitement it could provide. All was to be made well by the ingenu morality of the hero and his devotion to "truth and liberty - disinterested benevolence - self oblivion - heroic devotion to love and honour - protection of the feeble, and subversion of tyranny"; and all was to be made intellectually respectable by the presence of a Jewish group from whose standpoint it is all revealed to be the mirage that Scott (and, hopefully, we) knew it to be all along.¹² Thus Scott was - at the same time as Maturin - using a Jewish group to similar effect: the alteration of the reader's perspective on and concepts of normative morality.

The opening chapter gives an unmistakeably grim account of the ills that beset England: Gurth, the swineherd, is compared with Homer's swineherd Eumaeus; and their grievances are similar. The problems are, for both, simple to define. The Normans (or the Suitors) are the ones to blame: "the finest and fattest is for their board; the loveliest for their couch; the best and bravest ... whiten distant lands with their bones"; these are the grounds of complaint in both England and Ithaca.¹³ The point of this comparison is only brought home as the novel

11 Peacock, Crotchet Castle (1831), ed. cit., p. 712.

12 Peacock, Melincourt (1817), ed. cit., p. 147; Scott's anti-romanticism has been noted by Joseph E. Duncan, "The Anti-Romantic in Ivanhoe", NCF, 9 (1955), 293-300; Rosenberg, Shylock to Svengali, pp. 73-115.

13 Ivanhoe, vol. 1, p. 17.

progresses and it becomes evident that there is no Odysseus, no "best of masters". There are three monarchs in the novel, but they will not do: Richard, condemned as unsuitable by Scott himself; John, a machiavel whose idea of Realpolitik is the murder of à Beckett; and Athelstane (the Saxon claimant), a glutton and a boor. The church is adjudged a failure also, and the only person credited with any genuine religious feeling is "gentle Ecclesiastica", Rebecca the Jewess.¹⁴ Even English merchandise is found to be wanting. *Ivanhoe*, in his successful tilt at Ashby, wisely uses Milanese armour and a Barbary steed; De Bracy, at the Siege of Torquilstone, wears a coat of Spanish steel: "had English armours forged it [Locksley's] arrows had gone through it as if it had been silk or sendal." And foreign expertise was also needed in the matter of managing money. Prince John's attempt at a coup d'état needed the funds and skills of Isaac of York, and the news that Isaac was detained at Torquilstone was as serious and fatal to John's hopes as the news that Richard had returned: with Isaac "went the hope of certain sums of money, making up the subsidy for which Prince John had contracted with that Israelite and his brethren. This deficiency was likely to prove perilous in an emergency so critical."¹⁵

Isaac is not a particularly likeable character, as is generally realised; but his faults he shares with society at large. One part of Scott's purpose was to illustrate the historical condition of the Jews and suggest that their persecutors only have themselves to blame for Jewish faults. Edgar Rosenberg has argued this point well and pointed out that "if Isaac were not the miser and worm he

14 Ivanhoe, vol. 3, p. 356 (Richard), pp. 103-04 (John), and pp. 359-60 (Athelstane); vol. 2, p. 170 (Rebecca).

15 ibid., vol. 3, pp. 12 and 92.

is, Scott's plaidoyer from history would be considerably weakened."¹⁶ What Rosenberg has not noticed is that Scott goes to some length to show that Isaac is a worm not only because of, but also in the company of, the society of his day.

There is, for example, the curious dialogue between Ivanhoe and the Prior of St. Botolph, which would seem to have little purpose until its similarities with an earlier one between Ivanhoe and the Jew are noticed. Isaac is not a Judens vorans; he is not a Shylock figure: he is old and pusillanimous, and so is the Prior. They have several similarities.

When Isaac sees the blood on Ivanhoe's hacqueton and crosslet, he thinks of Rebecca's powers of healing; when the Prior sees Ivanhoe up and on his feet, he is alarmed lest a relapse damage the Priory's reputation for medicine. Not surprisingly, both men boast of their own accomplishments: Isaac of the extent of his trafficking in merchandise; St. Botolph of his many compositions "to the edification of my brethren of the Convent, and many poor Christian souls". Both are generous when there is good occasion - but both are superstitious and fearful of dreams (which they think are sent by either Heaven or Father Abraham). Isaac's deliberations over his loan to Ivanhoe are well known: "The Jew twisted himself in the saddle, like a man in a fit of the cholic; but his better feelings predominated over those which were more familiar to him. 'I care not,' he said, '... If there is damage it will cost you nothing...' " Equally amusing is the progress of the Prior to a similar state of grace. This is accomplished by his "now singing the praises of Malkin, now recommending caution to the knight

16 Rosenberg, Shylock to Svengali, p. 89; Ivanhoe, vol. 1, pp. 83, 112.

in managing her." He soliloquizes:

"St. Mary! how prompt and fiery be these men of war! I would I had not trusted Malkin to his keeping ... And yet," said he, recollecting himself, "as I would not spare my own old and disabled limbs in the good cause of Old England, so Malkin must e'en run her hazard on the same venture; and it may be they will think our poor house worthy of some munificent guerdon - or, it may be, they will send the old Prior a racing nag."

Here are the same three elements which characterize Isaac's dealings: a fear of damage or misplaced trust, a concern for victory, and an almost comic hope that this generosity will be rewarded. The similarity of these two old men¹⁷ quietly refutes Rosenberg's contention that Scott puts the Jew "through all the regulation motions through which Shakespeare puts Shylock."¹⁸

Isaac is not a pseudo-Shylock, though he is a rather derivative character; he seems to have been rounded out from the pages of Juvenal's Satirae.¹⁹ Scott himself draws attention to this debt when he compares Isaac with the traveller in Satire X,²⁰ and other debts can be noted.

Though Scott seems to have taken most of his culinary information from the English historians,²¹ the Karum pie at Ashby high festival seems to be an echo of the opening to Satire XIV. More significantly, Isaac on the road, or Isaac barricaded at York, is a model of Juvenilian avarice: he is both the poor Jewish beggar and the Rich Man who, from behind his doors, sets the law at defiance. Scott echoes Juvenal's contempt of Licinus and his servants who spend the night watching a store of amber, or the rich traveller at night, who, fearing both sword and stave (which might well be

17 Ivanhoe, vol. 1, pp. 126-9, and vol. 3, pp. 237-40.

18 Rosenberg, Shylock to Svengali, p. 93.

19 I have used the edition (and translation) of A. J. Macleane (1857).

20 Ivanhoe, vol. 2, p. 227.

21 Henry, History of Great Britain, vol. 4, p. 365; Ivanhoe, vol. 1, p. 61.

glossed as Robber Baron and Friar Tuck), trembles in the moonlight at the shadow of a moving reed.²² When his vessel is threatened by storms as it crosses the Gulf of Lyons, Isaac preserves his family by throwing overboard his silks, myrrh and aloes: he suffers "an hour of misery", as does Catullus in what is probably Scott's source for this episode, Satire XII. Catullus does not find the choice an easy one either. He is described as imitating "the beaver, who makes himself a eunuch, desiring to escape with the loss of his testicles"; and Catullus is an honourable man. Who, the poet asks, would prefer riches to life? Not Catullus - and certainly not Isaac of York. This could not be said, with confidence, of Shylock.

It is important to realise that though Isaac is shown to be forced into usury by contemporary laws, and though he shares his contemporaries' avarice, he is not depicted as the vilis mercator who, in Satire XIV, loses ship, crew and a cargo of perfumes and cloths in an avaricious gamble with the storm.²³

The figure of Isaac of York presents Scott's case for the Jews. He is typical of his age, un type in fact. With his daughter Rebecca, however, Scott does something different. She presents the case for the Jews. It is directed against the whole of Christian Europe.²⁴

22 Juvenal, Satires, VI, 541-2; XIV, 178; 305-08; X, 20-21.

23 ibid., XII, 34-49; XIV, 269 ff.; Ivanhoe, vol. 1, p. 204.

24 It was almost inevitable that Scott would find some place in his novel for a Jewish usurer, along with his "colourful" characters (bards, minstrels, etc.): he delighted too much in "the undulations and diversified composition of human society" (Young, "Scott and the Historians"; cf. Aaron in Ann Radcliffe, Gaston de Blondeville; or, The Court of King Henry III Keeping Festival in Ardenne: A Romance [Posthumous Works: London, 1826]); Rebecca was his bid for originality.

Rebecca stands, in Ivanhoe, as a unique representative of charity, and opposes Christian corruption with "looks, air, and manner, [and] a dignity more than mortal"; she is also very much aware of the realities of the world of the novel. Even after her harrowing experiences at Templestowe she is alert enough to warn her father of the presence of Richard, and the advisability of withdrawal from the scene.²⁵ Earlier in the action she had been the one to realise that healing Ivanhoe would stand her and her father in good stead with Richard Coeur de Lion, should something go awry in their "simple traffic" with Prince John. It was a very wise move indeed to propose that they travel to York to plot with John and take the wounded Ivanhoe with them. Ivanhoe swears not to leave his sick bed until some eight days have passed: that will be just too late for him to be of any use whatsoever to Richard as the meeting at York will be concluded within a week.²⁶

A similar enlightened self-interest lies behind Rebecca's famous dialogue with Ivanhoe denouncing the follies of Chivalry. Her theme is ubi sunt: "'What remains to you as the prize of all the blood you have spilled - of all the pain and travail you have endured - of all the tears that your deeds have caused, when death has broken the strong man's spear, and overtaken the speed of his war-horse ?'"²⁷ Coming from Rebecca, this whole outburst is a little surprising: not just the style (which can be blamed on Scott's reading of the graveyard poets),²⁸ but

25 Ivanhoe, vol. 2, p. 175; vol. 3, pp. 353-54.

26 ibid., vol. 2, p. 269.

27 ibid., vol. 2, p. 302.

28 As a boy he read the poems of Edward Young with great enthusiasm: Arthur Melville Clarke, Sir Walter Scott: The Formative Years (London, 1969), p. 155.

the whole sense of the outburst. Her previous reflections on the pageant of Chivalry were the rather mundane and satisfied comments that the feasting and jousting at Ashby were only possible because of Jewish finance.²⁹

Two phrases in her peroration are particularly interesting; they specify qualities which civilisation had lost, and whose loss she personally regrets. Rebecca is saddened by the "sacrifice of every kindly affection", and laments that "domestic love, kindly affection, peace and happiness are so wildly bartered."³⁰ This emphasis on "kindly affection" and "domestic love" is new, but it can be understood when the action since Ashby is reviewed. Tending Ivanhoe has made Rebecca love him. She "looks upon the comeliness of a Gentile and a stranger" and regrets that he is "one with whose fate hers could have no alliance - a Nazarene, and an enemy to her faith".³¹ The impossibility of there being any liaison haunts the reader as well as Rebecca;³² with the entry of the Templar into the turret room, Scott raises the hopes of both only to dash them without mercy.

29 Ivanhoe, vol. 1, p. 205.

30 ibid., vol. 2, p. 303.

31 ibid., vol. 2, p. 132.

32 Though there could be friendly relationships between Jews and Christians (I. Abrahams, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages [London, 1896], pp. 423-26) in most English towns they were never very good (V. D. Lipman, The Jews of Medieval Norwich [London, 1967], p. 49). Though a liaison between a Christian and a Jewess was possible (Roth, History, p. 41; Abrahams, Jewish Life, p. 435; Joseph Jacobs, The Jews of Angevin England: Documents and Records [New York, 1893], p. 283) it was extremely unlikely (David Philpson, The Jew in English Fiction [Cincinnati, 1889], p. 84; H. G. Richards, The English Jewry Under Angevin Kings [London, 1960], p. 35). It is also very unlikely that a Jewess of that period would have "fallen in love": cf. David Patterson, The Hebrew Novel in Czarist Russia (Edinburgh, 1964), p. 54. However, to portray the clash of ideologies, and to get the values of chivalry on the defensive, Scott happily manipulates his characters in a completely ahistorical manner.

De Bois-Guilbert comes to talk about love (of a sort) and Rebecca is vitally interested. She is not interested in him but in his proposition. If the Templar can break with tradition and establish a precedent by proposing marriage, then perhaps Ivanhoe might follow suit. "'What wouldst thou have of me,' said Rebecca, 'if not my wealth? We have nought in common between us - you are a Christian - I am a Jewess. Our union were contrary to the laws, alike of the Church and the Synagogue.'" ³³ The Templar's reply crushes Rebecca's spirit. The blow does not come from the proposal to love her par amours, but from the explanation of his cynicism. Brian de Bois-Guilbert exemplifies the failure of the spirit of Chivalry; his libertinism, avarice and ambition all spring from a broken tryst and a breakdown in the code of courtly love. The code is shown to be abused, and only possesses meaning for "weak spirits" - such as Ivanhoe. ³⁴ Rebecca is understandably bitter in her disappointment over the "sacrifice of every kindly affection" and the barter of "domestic love".

Rebecca's personal involvement in this issue does not, however, detract from the wisdom of what she is saying: that society is to blame for the position of the Jew within it; and what she is thinking: that she and her father provide examples of knight-errantry's failure to act as "the stay of the oppressed, the redresser of grievances, the curb of the power of the tyrant." ³⁵ Scott was concerned to underline this point: "the outcast defines the community; the scapegoat indicts the king." ³⁶ Rebecca is a Jewess because Ivanhoe must not

33 Ivanhoe, vol. 2, p. 169.

34 ibid., vol. 2, pp. 178, 180.

35 ibid., vol. 2, p. 304.

36 Rosenberg, From Shylock to Svengali, p. 90.

marry her; there must be no happy ending for the Jews, nor any resolution of the problems of twelfth-century England.

Scott had complained that the sentiments of chivalry were to be faulted for approaching the female sex with a species of idolatry;³⁷ in Ivanhoe he creates a woman who would justify this idolatry and condemns the system because it does not accept and exalt her. Rebecca fulfils the qualifications for a midons: she has the required beauty, sense of hierarchy, and ability - including the administrative expertise that would be necessary in the absence of her feudal lord.³⁸ But she is disqualified from the start because she is a Jewess. Even de Bois-Guilbert backs down from his crude attempts at seduction. Charles of Orléans expanded, from an Ovidian tag, three styles of wooing. One can win the love of a peasant woman simply by knocking her down; of a merchant's daughter by larding her with presents; but to "nobles longeth sewte of curteys speche" and all the business of "love songges, ballades, rondelles, virolayes and diverse newe thinges": all the paraphernalia, in fact, of courtly love.³⁹ But what would be the technique for a Jewess (when "coition with a Jewess is precisely the same as if a man should copulate with a dog")?⁴⁰ Scott neatly presents his hero with an insoluble problem, and leaves the reader full of chagrin that no solution was found.

37 Scott, "Chivalry" [originally in the Encyclopaedia Britannica], in Essays on Chivalry, Romance and the Drama (London, 1870), p.171.

38 I have based my interpretation of courtly love on C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition (New York, 1958), pp. 2, 12-22.

39 Cited in J. Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London, 1961), pp. 159-60.

40 Cited from Nicholas Boer in Joshua Trachtenburg, The Devil and the Jews (London, 1942), p. 187.

The departure of Isaac and Rebecca for Granada is a moral judgment upon England;⁴¹ and even at this point Scott does not abandon his use of the Jews as an example of man's inhumanity to man. Those who approached the novel with some knowledge of the history of the Jews would have noticed that to send Isaac and Rebecca to the Granada of Boabdil was to send them to a land that was even more inhospitable.⁴²

Scott, then, invests his Jewish characters with a moral function. As Jews, however, they would seem to leave a lot to be desired. Rebecca, for example, would seem to be a revamping of the previous century's favourite heroine: the sentimentally distressed. Like Clarissa, she loves that which is forbidden: for Richardson, though, the root of the tragedy lay in Lovelace's nature, and a redemptive marriage was always a possibility. Scott manipulates his characters so that such a dénouement would be unacceptable.

Between them, the cynical Templar and the disinherited knight share the qualities of Lovelace - especially as an abductor who considers that he has rights over his victim.

41 "The people of England are a fierce race, quarrelling ever with their neighbours or among themselves, and ready to plunge the sword into the bowels of **the other**. Such is no safe abode for the children of my people": Ivanhoe, vol. 3, p. 365. Scott's comprehensive reading of medieval romance material enabled him to formulate his charges - if not his descriptions - with reasonable accuracy. "The ideals of knighthood were "never so formalised and so precise as in the last years of Richard II": Gervase Matthew, The Court of Richard II (London, 1968), p. 128. The virtues in question, which are shown to be lacking by the Jewish group, are ably discussed by Matthew in^a article: "Ideals of Knighthood in Late Fourteenth-Century England", in Studies in Medieval History: Presented to F. M. Powicke, edd. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 354-62.

42 Scott was interested in the history of Granada; see his comments on Irving Wallace's book about the siege (1829) in Johnson, The Great Unknown, vol. 2, pp. 1139, 1249.

The Templar thinks nothing of twice carrying off Rebecca; and, after he has dealt with the more important matter of de Bois-Guilbert's arms, Ivanhoe considers that he has an equal right to dispose of the Jewess. She was, in their minds, their property "according to the laws of all nations".⁴³ Ivanhoe does not kill his rival to be in this position - this would have been the killing of his daemonic self: the natural chivalric man; the Templar is killed by the force of his own contending passions.⁴⁴

Rebecca, their victim, is cast as a précieuse: her self-pity, intense egoism, sighs, blushes, readiness to die for love and suffering passivity all mark her out as Scott's adaptation of this eighteenth-century type;⁴⁵ only for the novel's didacticism is she a Jewess, "too good and enchanting to believe in - and yet so well humanized and identified with our good nature",⁴⁶ standing as a commentator on the compromise, lust and mediocrity of the medieval world.

As Rosenberg has noted, Rebecca is an almost Shakespearian contribution to Jewish iconography; her origins, however, are not Shakespearian. Certainly Scott learned little from the figure of Jessica who was not the dark romantic Jewess but the "fair" Jessica with the "fair hand ... whiter than the paper it writ on".⁴⁷ From elsewhere in Shakespeare Scott might have

43 Ivanhoe, vol. 2, p. 171.

44 Cf. Johnson, The Great Unknown, vol. 1, p. 687.

45 For a discussion of the type, see David. S. Berkely, The Précieuse, or Distressed Heroine, in Restoration Comedy (Stilwater, Oklahoma, 1959).

46 [Jeffrey], "Ivanhoe", 7.

47 Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, edd. Sir A. Quiller-Couch and J. D. Wilson (Cambridge, 1962), 2.4.39; 2.4.12-14; and note also the dialogue between Lorenzo and Lancelot (3.5.1-39): a negro bastard is contrasted with a possibly illegitimate (white) Jessica.

learned to describe dark beauty;⁴⁸ but not from The Merchant of Venice. There are debts to Marlowe,⁴⁹ and possibly to Lessing;⁵⁰ but for the origins of Rebecca one must look to sources other than the drama (especially the Jew dramas of the previous century which were miserable farces with few hints of physiognomy or personality).

The beautiful Jewess has always been regarded with favour. Perhaps this was because she was a dark and erotic alternative to the orthodox, idealised Petrarchan beauty. An early account of their power to fascinate comes from Strasbourg in 1348. When the Jews were being burnt, the young men rescued the Jewesses from the flames; but they would seem to have thought this to be a fate worse than death, for they all returned to the pyres. The initial reaction to the Petrarchan beauty was, in fact, to praise dark and brunette variations on the theme; though it must be "accepted as almost inevitable that all the ladies in [English] sixteenth-century novels, plays and sonnets should look very much alike and show the same characteristics", Scott's variation would not, even then, have seemed unique.⁵¹

48 See Love's Labour's Lost, edd. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (Cambridge, 1923); and The Sonnets, ed. J. D. Wilson (Cambridge, 1966).

49 I. Abrahams, "The Original of Scott's Rebecca", TLS, 7 July 1921, 9.

50 Lessing might have supplied the motif of a love between a Christian and a Jewess, but Scott might also be indebted to Tasso for a similar theme.

51 Maurice Bloch, "La Femme Juive dans le Roman et au Théâtre", REJ, 24 (1892), xxviii-xlix (citing Joseph ha Cohen, La Vallée des Pleurs: Chronique de souffrance d'Israel, trans. J. See [Paris, 1881]); Lu Emily Pearson, Elizabethan Love Conventions (Berkeley, 1933), p. 274, 234; Lisle Cecil John, The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences: Studies in Conventional Conceits (New York, 1938), p. 141.

Rebecca is a variation on an old theme, just as Ivanhoe itself contains much that hearkens back to romances such as Amadis, or the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney. As early as 1907 the incident of Cecropia's castle in the latter was noted as a source for Ivanhoe: the two heroines, Philoclea and Pamela, and the hero, Pyrocles, are abducted to Cecropia's castle. Philoclea is approached by Amphialus who tries, in a courtly fashion, to win her as his wife; Anaxius, a violent man, seeks to make Pamela his paramour. This is very suggestive of the situation at Torquilstone,⁵² and it would seem to make further consideration of Philoclea and Pamela worthwhile. The one has a persuasive beauty and bashful and humble thoughts: the other has high and noble thoughts and a violent beauty; Scott seems to have used these contrasts in character and beauty as freely as he used the plot situation. He had few qualms about interchanging characteristics and substituting "sable tresses" for hair finer than gold.⁵³

What he created, then, was a beautiful Jewess - derived from non-Jewish and literary sources - whose Judaism is only an appendage given her to justify her (or her author's) l'ose majesté. Nineteenth-century novelists were too conscious of

52 This was first noted by Robert T. Koilin, "Scott's Ivanhoe and Sidney's Arcadia", MLN, 22 (1907), 144-46; R. W. Zandvoort, Sidney's Arcadia: A Comparison Between the Two Versions (Amsterdam, 1929), pp. 107, 78, notes Scott's use of the work for his crusade-novel heroines (for example Edith Plantagenet in The Talisman [in Tales of the Crusaders (Edinburgh, 1825)]); Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (1590), in The Prose Works, ed. Albert Feuillerat, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1912), Bk. 3, ch. 2 and 6.

53 "Philoclea (with a looke where love shined through the miste of Feare) besought her to be good unto them, having never deserved evill of her. But Pamelas high harte, disdayning humbleness to injurie, ... look[ed] for no service, where [she found] violence": Arcadia, ed. cit., vol. 1, p. 363; cf. pp. 89-90 with Ivanhoe, vol. 1, p. 146 for the grounds of Rebecca's appearance.

the alien nature of the Jew for him (or her) to achieve the status of Everyman in their writing; Jewish fictional presence and values, when not pure reportage, were manipulated to fit the schema (or theme or genre) of the novel. Scott was the most influential of those who pioneered the presentation of Jewish characters with a moral as well as social function within the world of the novel.⁵⁴ In Ivanhoe, because he wanted to condemn one group, Scott is forced into a strategic praising of another: the Jews. But if he had wished to believe

54 Rebecca had a tremendous following: she was the secret delight of Precentors (John Galt, The Ayrshire Legatees [1821], Works, edd. D. S. Meldrum and William Roughhead, vol. 2 [Edinburgh, 1936], p. 159) and the subject of charades for the nobility (The Greville Diary, ed. P. N. Wilson, vol. 1 [London, 1927], p. 22); to Scott's delight it seemed to be impossible for a dark beauty not to be compared with her (The Journals of Sir Walter Scott, ed. W. E. K. Anderson [Oxford, 1972], p. 523; Du Maurier, The Martian: A Novel [London, 1897], pp. 273, 276, 317), or for a Jewess not to be like her: "now when we go to Haye Place on Thursday, I feel sure that Miss Haye will expect to see us attired like Sir Walter Scott's Rebecca" (Emily M. Harris, Estelle, 2 vols. [London, 1878], vol. 1, p. 76). More important than this, and the many adaptations for the stage, is the influence upon the Victorian concept of the middle ages. Maria Edgeworth was the first author to use the torture of a Jew by a Crusader to demonstrate not only antisemitism in a family (the de Mowbrays) but also the falsity of aristocratic values (Harrington, ed. cit., pp. 62-63); Scott was the one who immortalised the Jews in the role of the "salvage man", the use of base or outcast figures to establish the moral tone of the work (on this see: Richard Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages [Cambridge, Mass., 1952]; Donald Cheney, Spenser's Image of Nature: Wild Man and Shepherd in "The Faerie Queene" [London, 1966]; Humphrey Tonkin, Spenser's Courteous Pastoral: Book Six of The Faerie Queene [Oxford, 1972], pp. 58-65): they lasted in this role through the nineteenth century and (under the influence of the Disraelian trilogy) can be found in Evelyn Waugh's trilogy Men at Arms, Officers and Gentlemen, and Unconditional Surrender (London, 1952, 1955 and 1961). Scott would also seem to be responsible for the invention of the Jewish inner sanctum - eastern furnishings and all. Once launched in Ivanhoe (without much justification: Abrahams, Jewish Life, p. 288) it was parodied by Thackeray (as D. Shrewsberry Esq., "Coddingsby", Punch, 12 [1853], 214), accepted as historical fact by Mrs. Celia Moss Levotus (The King's Physician, pp. 87, 130) and even exposed as a practice of Victorian Anglo-Jewry in the sensational religious fiction of O. W. T. Heighway (Adeline [London, 1854], pp. 28 ff.) The most celebrated consequence of Rebecca of York was Becky Sharp: see John Loofbourov, Thackeray and the Form of Fiction (Princeton, 1964), pp. 43-44.

in the spirit of the Age of Chivalry, as Peacock had found it convenient to do for Melincourt (1817), then the values of the Jewish group would have lost their significance after any one speech such as this: "'O Forester!" said Anthelia, 'you have realised all my wishes. I have found you a friend of the poor, the enthusiast of truth, the disinterested cultivator of the rural virtues, the active promoter of the cause of human liberty. It only remained that you should emancipate a captive damsel, who, however, will but change the mode of her durance, and become your captive for life."⁵⁵ Without his daughter Isaac would be merely a bit part for a character actor; and Rebecca is only a Jew's daughter so that authority can be given to an authorial condemnation of Christian chivalry.

55 Peacock, Melincourt, ed. cit., p. 340 (assuming, of course, that Scott could have kept a straight face).

CHAPTER THREE:
THE ALIEN IMMIGRANT

SO FAR we have considered the use novelists make of Jewish characters in the presentation of flamboyant, dramatic and even archetypal themes. Not every novelist, however, was concerned to create a figure such as Croesus, whether Jewish or not; indeed, very few novelists were concerned to create any Jewish characters at all.

i.

Though there was little observation of the Jewish community it was, on one level, accurate. A cigar salesman would usually be described (with accuracy) as Jewish; Trollope portrays many Jewish brokers in his novels: brokers, because his more important characters required someone to discount their bills, and Jews, because "in the bitter days of his junior clerkship Trollope had become wearisomely acquainted with the discounter of bills, and it was no doubt difficult for him to think of the Jew [or, perhaps, even the broker] in any other connection"; and several novels give valuable insights into the position of the Jews in the many branches of the clothing trade.¹ S. W. Ryley, for

1 The tobacco trade could be a family business (Mrs. Andrew Dean, Isaac Eller's Money [London, 1899], p. 1), the first step for a would-be entrepreneur (Elizabeth Wheeler, From Petticoat Lane to Rotten Row; or, The Child of the Ghetto: A Jewish Story [Manchester, (1901)], p. 16), or a day-by-day itinerant drudgery (Warren, Ten Thousand A Year, vol. 1, pp. 96-97); Bradford M. Booth, Anthony Trollope: Aspects of his Life and Art (London, 1958), p. 30; suspicions of commercial morality (cf. Robert Giddings, The Tradition of Smollett [London, 1967], p. 124: "For the money-lender honour is no abstraction but something he can grasp and put into bags"; Mrs. Frances Trollope, A Romance of Vienna, 3 vols. [London, 1838], vol. 1, p. 113: "A Jew banker and broker whose connection with [Count Aldeberg] was founded on the expectation of usurious gains") did not make them any the less brokers, or Jewish, or necessary.

example, remarks upon the preparations of the touring drama companies: "The following day, being the last the managers spent in town, was devoted to a general rummage among the Jews; from whom they supplied themselves with dresses suited to every situation of life from the king to the cobbler, and at four o'clock I saw them take coach to their different establishments"; and it can be learned elsewhere that these Jews also hired out court dress from their stocks as well as costumes for fancy dress parties. But it is all told in a journalistic manner and spirit (with some dealers even paying for such "puffs").² The connection of the Jews with the old-clothes trade was so well established that *Oliver Twist* gives his cast-offs "to a servant who had been very kind to him, and asked her to sell them to a Jew, and keep the money for herself". This was the natural sequence of events for Dickens, and he never thinks to take time to explain how Oliver, who had never before needed to dispose of clothing, also found it natural.³

Where the social observation is accurate the characters are almost invariably minor ones. That Mr. Moses Lyons was a picture dealer in Upper Conduit Street⁴ or that the Jacobsons were Thameside boatbuilders⁵ might interest the

2 Ryley, The Itinerant, vol. 4, p. 162; Thomas Duffie [John Galt], The Steam Boat (London, 1822), p. 175; [Archie Nathan], Costumes by Nathan (London, 1960), p. 35; Dickens, The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club (1837) (Oxford Illustrated Dickens: London, 1947), p. 195; Ryley, The Itinerant, vol. 4, p. 41.

3 Dickens, Oliver Twist, p. 84.

4 George Du Maurier, Trilby (1894) (Everyman's Library: London, 1931), p. 205.

5 Arthur Conan Doyle, The Sign of the Four, in The Complete Sherlock Holmes Long Stories (London, 1929), p. 200; the only Jewish boatbuilders were the Samuda brothers (Philip Banbury, Shipbuilders of the Thames and Medway [Newton Abbot, 1971], pp. 253 ff.): Joseph d'Aguilar Samuda was M.P. for Tavistock and Tower Hamlets and had a certain London fame (see D.N.B.).

social historian but not the critic. The same might be said of the Jews noted as involved in the liquor trade⁶ - or the turf: "He looked like a Jew, my dear. He had a horrid brown coat with a velvet cape, curling black hair over his collar and great whiskers, and he was puffing a cigar straight up into the air."⁷

It is obviously correct to explain some examples of Jews in fiction as pieces of accurate observation. (Thus we have Samuel Warren's Jewish stone masons from Houndsditch).⁸ But an author, when truly about his business, does not observe life, he creates it. Interestingly, most creations of Jews are from established non-Jewish moulds.

6 Dickens, Oliver Twist, pp. 286 ff.; Trollope, The Way We Live Now, vol. 1, p. 24; G. K. Chesterton, "The Queer Feet", in The Innocence of Father Brown (London, 1911), p. 68; cf. Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, Minutes of Evidence, cd. 1742 (London, 1903), 13014-15.

7 Sheridan Le Fanu, Uncle Silas (1864) (World's Classics: Oxford, 1926), p. 156; "The Montague Cohens, those two indefatigable Peris at the gate, patronized art, and never missed a private view; patronized the turf, and at every race-meeting, with any pretensions to smartness, were familiar figures" (Amy Levy, Reuben Sachs: A Sketch [London, 1888], p. 58); for a bookmaker see Besant, Rebel Queen, p. 86; racing was the aristocrat among sports and though the London Jewish aristocracy did participate (Rothschild racing successes on the one hand were matched by his hunt on the other: E. W. Bovill, The England of Nimrod and Surtees (1815-1854) [London, 1959], p. 178) most of the Jews involved with the turf were obviously non-aristocratic and obviously cut out to be the villains of racing fictions. A couple of scandals cannot have helped their image: see Roger Mortimer, The Jockey Club (London, 1958), pp. 72-75. Note Kipling on the world of Surtees: "a heavy eating, hard-drinking hell of horse coopers, swindlers, matchmaking mothers, economically dependent virgins selling themselves unblushingly for cash and lands; Jews, tradesmen, and an ill-considered spawn of Dickens-and-horsedung characters" (A Diversity of Creatures [London, 1917]). There was a general resentment of professionalism in sport: cf. George Borrow's lament for the noble science of pugilism, "it is these that have planted rotteness in the core of pugilism, for they are Jews, and, true to their kind, have only base lucre in view" (Lavengro: The Scholar, The Gypsy, The Priest [1851] [New edition: London, 1900], p. 167).

8 Warren, Ten Thousand A Year, vol. 1, p. 360.

ii.

When W. Ayerst, a notable London missionary to the Jews, sought to stir his fellow-Christians to do greater works, he suggested that they should emulate the Jews themselves. This exhortation was followed by a praise of Jewish exemplification of the Protestant ethic: a line of thought that has only one conclusion, that expressed by Isaac Levinson (a convert to Christianity and a missionary to his people) when he remarked that only the "exaltation of Christ" differentiated Christians from Jews.⁹ This was a commonly held evaluation and it had profound literary consequences. As novelists were not usually concerned to exalt Christ in their fictions, the only significant differences between Jews and non-Jews (in the Victorian observer's mind) ceased to be at all significant.¹⁰ Grier Nichol, discussing the "Christian Social Novel" which was in vogue in America at the turn of the century, has written that, "liberated from the constraints of orthodoxy into a faith that seemed consistent with the life and teachings of Jesus, ministers were then free to put their new convictions into practice to apply their social gospel."¹¹ Rabbis, ministers and priests are indistinguishable, within so liberal a theological framework, in their attempts "to apply their social gospel".

9 W. Ayerst, The Jews of the Nineteenth Century (London, 1848), p. 90; Isaac Levinson, in the preface (p. xiv), of John Dunlop, Memoirs of Gospel Triumphs Among the Jews During the Victorian Era (London, 1894).

10 Valerie Pitt, "The Social Context of Religious Literature", in Christianity in its Social Context, ed. Gerard Irvine (London, 1967), pp. 88-100.

11 Grier Nicholl, "The Image of the Protestant Minister in the Christian Social Novel", CH, 37 (1968), 321; cf. this comment by one of Gissing's Characters in Born in Exile: A Novel: "if this were the tendency of Anglicanism, then almost any man who desired to live a clean life, and to see others do the same, might without hesitation become a clergyman. The old formulae of subscription were so symbolised, so volatised, that they could not stand in the way of anyone but a combative nihilist" (p. 340).

So it is that Samuel Gordon has for the Jewish heroes of his novel Sons of the Covenant (1900) a pair of brothers who devote themselves to social work in the London ghetto. They are dedicated, but also very non-Jewish. The only religious desire that seems to strike either Philip or Leuw Lipcott is Philip's desire to organise a congregational quorum whilst up at Cambridge, and so little religious feeling seems to touch the writing that one might suspect that this was a literary borrowing¹² if one did not know^{he} was writing from a personal background of the faith.

It would, perhaps, be unreasonable to expect a Jewish social theory. Christian slum-workers and the Jewish Board of Guardians spoke very much the same language: when the Board put its house in order in 1860, it did so according to principles that can be traced "in the movements for reform of charity organisations which had already appeared, or were then being worked out, in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century."¹³ But it would not be unreasonable to expect Gordon to reveal some qualities of Judaism as the theory is applied.

There was a need to diversify the trades of the ghetto: so much was generally accepted, and when (three years after the publication of Gordon's novel) Sir Samuel Montague founded the

12 Samuel Gordon, Sons of the Covenant: A Tale of Anglo-Jewry (London, 1900), p. 241; cf. Rudyard Kipling, "The Jews of Sushan", in Life's Handicap; Being Stories of Mine Own People (London, 1891).

13 V. D. Lipman, A Century of Social Services, 1859-1959: The Jewish Board of Guardians (London, 1959), pp. 27-28; this did not mean that the Guardians were Benthamist, however: see Gartner, Jewish Immigrant, p. 163; there was always a healthy Jewish tradition of charity: see Maimonides, The Commandments, trans. Chaler B. Chavel, vol. 1, (London, 1967), p. 210; S. W. Baron, The Jewish Community, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1942); Ben Zion Bokser, The Legacy of Maimonides (New York, 1950), p. 95; Samuel Belkin, In His Image: The Jewish Philosophy of Man Expressed in Rabbinic Tradition (London, 1960), pp. 125, 143, 144.

Jewish Dispersion Committee they set about their task of transplanting Jewish workers with enthusiasm. They sent "only where there [was] a Jewish community", however; Gordon had been happy deliberately not to make such a condition for his fictional scheme. There were not enough differences between Jews and Christians in Gordon's fictional world for the Lipcotts' solution to the problems of the ghetto to be any different to those proposed for the Jago by the Reverend Harry Stuart.¹⁴

The philosophy of Arthur Morrison's novel was as pragmatic and socially brutal as Samuel Gordon might desire, for "were a native once ridiculed and persuaded into a spell of work and clean living, then must Father Stuart hasten to drive him from the Jago" and his culture.¹⁵ Gordon did not, it would seem, take time to consider if this operation was suited to the Jewish case.

Again, the Lipcotts' concept of the Jewish role in society - "meanwhile let us quietly make ourselves word and heart perfect in our parts" - sees the consequences of a Jewish faith as being indistinguishable from those of the general Victorian trust in "prudence, respectability, financial stability and reasonableness" which produced a similarly patient attitude to work.¹⁶ It is hardly surprising that most non-Jewish authors (and readers) of the nineteenth-century novel found it easy to assimilate the occasional Jewish hero or heroine, because of their predominant "prepossession in favour of Protestantism",¹⁷ to the model of the Protestant hero. The Protestant Jew was not, after all, a new phenomenon.

14 Royal Commission, cd. 1742, 16776 ff. and 19792 ff.

15 Arthur Morrison, A Child of the Jago (1896), ed. P. J. Keating (London, 1969), p. 106.

16 G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, The Common People, 1746-1946 (London, 1956), p. 367; Guinivere L. Griest, Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel (Bloomington, Ind., 1970), pp. 127-28.

On the other hand, by the early twentieth century, Jewish learning had become quite modish. One might note how, for Adela Pingsford, Israel Kalisch was the sort of book to be displayed in the morning room.¹⁷ There was also the long flirtation with the kabbalah. "The conversion of a seventeenth-century Jew," Georg Lukács has written of Jew Süss, "to the mysticism of the Cabbala is socially and psychologically understandable and portrayed by [Leon] Feuchtwanger with sensitive psychological insight. But the underlying philosophy - the abandonment of fickle, practical Europe for the contemplative heights of the Orient, where the deceptive illusions of action and history dissolve into nothingness - is but a voice of a past period of literature." Lukács suggests that the specific voice to be heard is that of Schopenhauer, "who discovered for Germany that Indian philosophy was the appropriate antidote to Hegel's 'superficial' view of human progress";¹⁸ but more significant for the English tradition are the Cambridge Platonists, whose Hebraism meant a break with Descartes and Plato himself.¹⁹

The fact that they - and Milton - retained a Christian status made it very easy for later writers and novelists to dwell upon the glories of the Jewish intellectual and spiritual traditions and yet, by some slight legerdemain, produce in the resulting portrait a perfect Christian gentleman.

iii.

One of the critical pillars of the nineteenth-century novel was

17 Saki [H. H. Munro], Collected Short Stories (The Bodley Head Saki: London, 1963), p. 284.

18 Lukács, The Historical Novel, p. 350.

19 Harold Fisch, Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature (London, 1964), pp. 187-99.

the principle that novels were to be "suitable for reading by families similar to those depicted in their pages."²⁰ This demand for a similarity of status, background and experience for both reader and subject meant that, as the core of the Jewish experience would have been incomprehensible to most novel readers (possibly even Jewish ones), Jewish themes were considered both "unsuitable" and over parochial. Jewish society, from the glitter of the Café Riche to the small kosher restaurants in dingy sidestreets, was known about but usually ignored.²¹ The ghetto, even the ghetto transformed, was exactly what most authors did not want in their works; Wyndham Lewis was brilliantly hurtful (though wrong) to characterise James Joyce as a monstrous Jew out of the East End with Freud as his Talmud,²² for such a figure would indeed be anathema to a nineteenth-century novelist.

Jewish values were minimised, then, not only because the novel tended to prefer Christian ones, but because, to do justice to Jewry, the novel would have had to transcend what were regarded as its natural limits. Stephen Marcus has noted how much was "by common consent and convention left out or suppressed": much covers a multitude of sins and Jews, and though "one achieves a renewed sense of how immensely humane a project the Victorian novel was, how it broadened out the circle of humanity, and how it represented the effort of Victorian England at its best," this is of little value if one is specifically interested in the values of the sinners or the Jews.²³

20 Griest, Mudie's Circulating Library, pp. 127-28.

21 W. H. Mallock, The Individualist (London, 1899), p. 130.

22 Geoffrey Wagner, Wyndham Lewis: A Portrait of the Artist as the Enemy (London, 1957), p. 171.

23 Steven Marcus, The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England (paperback ed.: London, 1969), p. 106.

The novelists' options were, in fact, circumscribed at very basic levels. As, in the whole world of the arts, Ford Madox Brown was almost unique in his glorification of manual labour,²⁴ the chances of seeing, or reading, representations of Jews at work, were very slim. Certainly the portrayal of the Jewish tailoring trade has been very limited.

At the anecdotal level, of course, there are certain riches. Monmouth Street - "that emporium of thrice renovated garments" - had long been famous in the novel: it was the source of the new suit of clothes that Rathckal supplied to the importunate Ferdinand, Count Fathom; and the Jewish dealers in second-hand refurbished clothing, and their persistence, were proverbial. Pedlars were noticed both travelling the countryside and scouring the city streets - but all these references were but passing ones.²⁵ This was all the notice that an ordinary small tailor would receive (Jewish or not); and though some interest was taken in the more curious aspects of the craft, it was not usually by the novelist.

Along the Ratcliffe Highway, and in the port towns, were the slop shops run by "some of the greatest rascals in

24 Linda Nochlin, Realism (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 127, notes his assertion that labour had "heroism, dignity and probity"; for a view of Brown in a tradition of socialist realism, see Francis Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution, ed. and rev. Arthur Elton (Paladin edition: London, 1972), pp. 154 ff.; in any case the Jewish labourer received scant recognition.

25 Modder, Jew in English Literature, p. 105, citing Paul Pry, Oddities of Real Life (London, 1838); An Embryo M.P. [William North], Anti-Coningsby; or, The New Generation Grown Old (London, 1844), vol. 1, pp. 66-67; Smollett, Ferdinand, Count Fathom, p. 147; W. H. Ainsworth, Jack Sheppard: A Romance (1840) (2nd. ed.: London, 1854), p. 126; Warren, Ten Thousand a Year, vol. 2, pp. 221-22; Martin Legrand, The Cambridge Freshman; or, Memoirs of Mr. Golightly (London, 1877), p. 371; Edgeworth, Harrington, pp. 2, 13-14, 42; etc.: cf. George Augustus Sala, Twice Round the Clock; or, The Hours of The Day and Night in London (1859), introd. Philip Collins (Leicester, 1971), pp. 83, 105-06; Joseph Kirwan, Palace and Hovel; or, Phases of London Life: Being Personal Observations of an American in London by Day and Night ... (1870), ed. A. Allen (London, 1963), p. 47.

trade".²⁶ The Jewish owners sold slops "and passed off pinch-beck watches as gold ones on board men-of-war in Portsmouth harbour"; indeed they sold anything from a "sou'wester to a shoe tie for the men, and from an earring to a petticoat for the gals".²⁷ But it is only from the sailors' yarns and shanties that one can learn the real tricks of this trade. They were, for example, more than willing to retain goods after payment had been received:

The next I remembers I woke in the morn
On a three skys'l yarder bound south Cape Horn;
Wid an ol' suit of oilskins an'two pair o'sox;
An'a bloomin' big'ead, an'a sea-chest of rocks.

It is told that a man was shipped out of Liverpool, on one such passage round the Horn, with a kit that consisted of an umbrella and a dark lantern. This is not the material of the novel, even the novels of Captain Marryat.²⁸

Neither were the sweatshops. This form of the outwork system was not a Jewish invention, "it was merely a refinement of the long existing system, which had already been partly applied to the slop clothing and government contract branches of the trade. It did provide, however, the chief opportunity for the immigrants, many of whom were already tailors, to find congenial employment. The wonderfully articulated division of labour provided a place also for the man or woman of no skill at all."²⁹ Contemporary observers could be moved to wonder, or indignation;³⁰ the novelist

26 James Payn, The Burnt Million, vol. 1, pp. 183, 179.

27 W. H. G. Kingston, "Zeky Naashon, the Jew of Portsmouth, a Yaughtman's Tale", Ainsworth's Magazine, 12 (1847), 74.

28 Stan Hugill, Sailortown (London, 1967), p. 78.

29 Gainer, The Alien Invasion, p. 17.

30 J. Smith: "The Jewish Immigrant", CR, 76 (1899), 425-436; S. N. Fox, "The Invasion of Pauper Foreigners", CR, 53 (188), 855-867; G. Drage, "Alien Immigration", FR, NS 57 (1895), 37-46; J. A. Dyche, "The Jewish Workman" and "Immigrant", CR, 73 (1898), 35-50, and 85 (1899), 379-399; D. F. Schloss, "The Sweating System", FR, NS 42 (1887), 835-56.

seems to have been unmoved. Two apparent exceptions, Charles Kingsley and Mrs. Humphrey Ward, only go to confirm this. Both professed compassion and horror at the fate of the workers in the sweated trades, and both had done their research with a reasonable thoroughness; but somehow their novels turn out to be about something else, and "cheap clothes and nasty" prove to be intractable raw material for fiction. In the Victorian novel the characters were, very often, written up to fit ideas of a common humanity: but the more sordid details, the real "incidents of common life", could not be made to fit.

Kingsley's Tendenzdichtung was first published in 1850. Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet contains moving set descriptions of the degradation of "Bermondsey or Spitalfields, St. Giles or Lambeth", but the insights so presented are merely steps in Locke's progress to a political maturity. The horror surrounding Jemmy Downes is one with that felt by Locke when he realises what would be the answer to the challenge of his cousin: "Go and ask Lillian how she likes the thought of being a Communist's love!" The disappointment at the Charter's failure, the disenchantment following the visit to "the little beauty somewhere near Cavendish Square", the death of the gin-sodden Jemmy Downes are all factors which lead to his delirium and a sanity which is defined by love for Eleanor and the sincere cry "Lord, I believe! Help thou mine unbelief!"³¹

There is a consistent division between the true matter of the novel and that of the incipient pamphlet - Cheap Clothes And Nasty, by Parson Lot (1850) - and this can be seen as clearly as anywhere in the portrayal of Eleanor herself. Kingsley was concerned to bring his hero to a confession of faith, and so

31 Charles Kingsley, Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet: An Autobiography (1850), ed. Herbert Van Thal (London, 1967), pp. 331, 329, 391.

Lady Ellerton lectures him on theology. Then Kingsley has to step outside the framework of the novel to hector the reader because he has realised that the abuses of the tailoring trade are not being treated as he would like. The Jews, whom he would condemn, slip from his grasp.

It would be unjust to suggest that Mrs. Ward was not really concerned about the sweated trades; Beatrice Potter, for one, believed in her intellectual honesty.³² And there are occasional references to, and descriptions of, the plight of these workers.³³ But the heart of her novel concerns itself with the characters of ton: "Mrs. Ward sketches them so spiritedly, and costumes them so accurately that it irritates one to find them set to perform in a - what shall we call it? piece of political féerie and extravaganza." The praise lavished on the novel - "Mrs. Ward is not inaccurate: she is merely distinctly up to date"³⁴ - concerned the description of society manners; the politics were described as fallacious and the workers themselves seen as minor figures providing comic relief. All of Mrs. Ward's sincerity and concern seem of little value once her decision had been made to write a political novel. The political novels of Trollope had suggested that the affairs of the heart were as important as the affairs of state, and certainly more important than the affairs of the people. Mrs. Ward had toured the Jewish areas of London with a factory inspector and Lord Rothschild's secretary: "what an experience for a novelist! But somehow experience and finished faculty rarely go together." The failure

32 Jane Penrose Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward (London, 1923), p. 115.

33 Mary Augusta (Mrs. Humphry) Ward, Sir George Tressady (London, 1896), vol. 1, pp. 139-144, 322-24, 339, vol. 2, pp. 9-11; Pamela Elizabeth Garnett, "Mrs. Humphry Ward: Claims to Intellectual Power and Formal Literary Excellence," (unpub. M. Phil, Birmingham, 1965), p. 9.

34 "Sir George Tressady", ER, 185 (1897), 98; H. D. Traill, "'Sir George Tressady' and the Political Novel", FR, NS 60 (1896), 708.

of the East End scenes was partly a matter of talent, partly a matter of genre, and partly a matter of the novel form itself.³⁵

iv.

One of the most common suppositions about the working class Jews was that they were involved in, and committed to, the Anarchist and Nihilist movements. From one point of view members of Jewish anarchist clubs were really pitiful creatures, "down at heel, clothed in rags and with faces the colour of dried apple ... their chief adornment was dirt - laid on with a lavish hand and evidently the work of years." The fecundity of the popular imagination, however, soon transformed this image into something more interesting.³⁶ H. G. Wells was by no means the first to note

35 George Eliot, on Scott; quoted F. R. Leavis, Anna Karenina and Other Essays (London, 1967), p. 50.

36 Evening News, 22 May 1891, cited in Gainer, The Alien Invasion, p. 103; the myth of the Jewish nationalist/internationalist bomb-thrower had very shaky foundations, but was very persistent. See Gartner, Jewish Immigrant, p. 137; Louis Greenberg, The Jews in Russia: the Struggle for Emancipation, vol. 1 (London, 1965), pp. 147-48, 158: most "completely disassociated themselves from Jewish life, some even to the extent of conversion"; U. O. Errera, The Russian Jews: Extermination or Emancipation?, trans. Bella Löwy (London, 1894), p. 164: "there are comparatively few Jews among the Nihilists". Though Mark Aldanov argues that Jews became involved in revolutionary activity "prompted by the grave economic plight of the majority of Russian Jews" ("Russian Jews in the 1870's and 1880's", in Russian Jewry 1860-1917, edd. Jacob Frumkin, Gregor Aranson and Alexis Goldenverser [London, 1966]); most accounts stress that there was no national feeling involved. Thus Harold Frederick wrote that "the Jew does not lend himself to the notion of conspiracy" and the Jewish Nihilists were "revolutionaries because they were Russians; no hint is given anywhere that they took up arms to avenge the suffering of their Hebrew brethren", The New Exodus: A Study of Israel in Russia (London, 1892), p. 119; Ezra Mendelsohn, Class Struggle in the Pale: The Formative Years of the Jewish Workers' Movement in Tsarist Russia (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 131-34. The popular, and governmental, view was the reverse until the revolution: Anna Sergin, "Jews and the October Revolution in Recent Soviet Literature", SJA, 2 (November, 1971), 73. Anarchists were popular fin-de-siècle figures: William Bellamy, The Novels of Wells, Bennett and Galsworthy 1890-1910 (London, 1971), pp. 230-31; the Jews, of course, did not relish this popularity.

and harp upon Marx's Jewish origins, for the myth of the Jewish revolutionary was really born in 1848 when family periodicals carried reports that barricades across Europe were manned by Jews bent upon the destruction of the Church and Christian principles.³⁷ Until the Protocols were presented to the world, renewed fears of a uniquely Jewish plot and completely polarized opinion, the myth had two effects.

It made the Jewish revolutionary an exciting, dangerous figure; and at the same time it labelled him an alien menace who was interchangeable in most respects with the successive fears of "German Anglophobia", suspicions of "French restaurateurs, waiters, bootmakers, milliners, pastrycooks etc.", concern over Fenian outrages (the House of Commons, the Tower, three railway stations, London Bridge and Nelson's column were all bombed), and distrust of the Italians - "every one with a knife which he is too ready to use".³⁸

The Jewish anarchist in literature also enjoyed a further transformation and an even more complete identification with the idea of a universal revolutionary type. Thus the Marquis de St. Eustache was not a Frenchman, for example: he might be a Jew, or he might not.³⁹ His race was almost irrelevant. The apotheosis of this kind of indeterminate revolutionary came in Edgar Wallace's The Four Just Men (1905), the plot of which concerns an attempt to prevent the passing of an Alien Exclusions Bill. It is an

37 H. G. Wells, The New World Order: Whether It is Attainable, How It can be Attained, and What Sort of World a World at Peace will have to Be (London, 1940), p. 48; Rev. R. Bellson, "Infidelity Among the Jews of Germany and their Influence on the Political Movements in that Country", The Christian Examiner (1848), 403-06.

38 See two articles in the Contemporary Review for 1910: Charles Lowe, "About German Spies" (January), 42-56, and A. Hurd, "England's Peril" (April), 679; I. F. Clarke, Voices Propheying War 1763-1984 (London, 1966), p. 113; Gainer, Alien Invasion, pp. 100-3.

39 G. K. Chesterton, The Man Who Was Thursday (London, 1908).

interesting example of how the events of 1905 could be transformed into a thriller-fantasy.

Whatever reality there was behind the myth of the Jewish anarchist criminal, it was weakened by an important convention of criminal fiction.

Conrad, for one, was aware of the boring side of criminality. Thieving, to Chief Inspector Heat,

was not a sheer absurdity. It was a form of human industry, perverse indeed, but still an industry exercised in our industrious world; it was a work undertaken for the same reason as the work in the potteries, in coal mines, in fields, in tool grinding shops. It was labour, whose practical difference from other forms of labour consisted in the nature of its risk, which did not lie in ankylosis, or lead poisoning, or gritty dust, but in what may briefly be described in its own special phraseology as "seven years hard".⁴⁰

This awareness was shared, to some extent, by most authors. The crime fiction of the last century tended to concentrate on "the daring midnight robber, plundering with violence" rather than "the petty felon", but, because the Newgate novel was influenced by the Calendars, the boring, petty and trivial side of crime had its part to play. This was at the conclusion when, despite all his bravado and panache, the criminal stands revealed as a "sad faced miserable little man" who, behind his facade, conceals a strange mixture of "the coward, the ruffian and the flashman".⁴¹ Fielding's

40 Conrad, The Secret Agent (1907) (Harmondsworth, 1963), pp. 81-82; Norman Sherry, Conrad's Western World (Cambridge, 1971), p. 310.

41 John Binny, writing in Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor: The Condition and Earnings of Those that Will Work, Cannot Work, and Will Not Work, vol. 4 (London, 1861), p. 334; George Theodore Wilkinson, The Newgate Calendar, 3 vols (paperback ed.: London, 1963), vol. 3, p. 171; Keith Hollingsworth, The Newgate Novel (Detroit, 1963). The best example of this attitude lies beneath the over-heavy satire of Henry Fielding, The Life of Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great (World's Classics: Oxford, 1932) with the exposure of the tedious baseness of Wild's great "Priggism" and criminal prowess.

revelation of the truth of Jonathan Wild is only an obvious example of what lies waiting to be disclosed in every criminal narrative. The impressiveness of the hero, prior to the reversal of his fortunes, comes, in part, from his mysteriousness: details of a Jewish origin, of any origin given with too much detail, would minimise the potential for a pathetic bouleversement.

There are, of course, a few Jewish criminals in the English novel. W. H. Ainsworth's description of Jewish receivers at Greenhithe was as accurate as Binny's account of the Jewish fence in Southampton.⁴² "Fagin, in *Oliver Twist*, is a Jew because it unfortunately was true of the time to which that story refers, that class of criminal almost invariably was a Jew."⁴³

The important point about Oliver Twist is that though Sikes is a thief and Fagin his receiver, though the characters include pickpockets and prostitutes, Dickens was not concerned to document the misery of their lives. He was about other business.

He was not the first person to include a fence and his gang of boy pickpockets in his fiction: with critical hindsight Keith Hollingsworth has written that "the author [of The Red Barn (1831) - probably either Robert Huish or William Maginn] was without talent; and he had the bad judgement to build his tale on the murdered instead of one of the boys".⁴⁴ It is, however, interesting that not only does the gang of boy pickpockets receive little attention before Dickens wrote his novel, but the pulp-fiction imitations of Oliver Twist show a similar lack of interest in the exploits of Fagin (or his equivalent) and the

⁴² Jack Sheppard, p. 153; Mayhew, London Labour, vol. 4, p. 376.

⁴³ Dickens, Letters, ed. W. Dexter, vol. 2 (London, 1938), p. 357.

⁴⁴ Hollingsworth, Newgate Novel, p. 51.

gang. A small-time Jewish fence, on the run to escape from the evidence of a small boy, the leader of some juvenile delinquents, a couple of cracksters and their prostituted women, is not the stuff of great fiction⁴⁵ - and yet Fagin is undisputably great.

This has little to do with Fagin the Jew, for, as Stephen Marcus has written, "that part of Fagin which is Jewish turns out to be not only minor, but almost fortuitous".⁴⁶ Fagin's power is akin to Quilp's: and he is similar to "the devil in numerous stories of European folklore - a devil insidiously willing to lend his capital to those whose credit is weakest."⁴⁷ Fagin is important to Dickens, neither as an improved Ikey Solomons - "swindler, forger, fence and brothel-keeper" - nor as a revival of the medieval Jew-devil,⁴⁸ but as one who, like Monks or Oliver Twist himself, can play a satanic role in a drama of redemption.⁴⁹

45 There has been an interest in schools for pickpockets since at least Tudor times. A school for these "publique foysters" and "judicially nyppers" (cutpurses) was noted in 1585: Henry Ellis, Original Letters, vol. 2 (London, 1824), pp. 296-97; but it is not the matter of literature.

46 Stephen Marcus, "Who is Fagin", Commentary, 34.1 (July, 1962), 59.

47 Alexander Welsh, The City of Dickens (Oxford, 1971), p. 160.

48 J. J. Tobias, "Ikey Solomons - A Real Life Fagin", The Dickensian, 65 (1969), 171-75; Lauriat Lane, "The Devil in Oliver Twist", The Dickensian, 52 (1956), 132-36.

49 "Only Jews being excluded from his gould will" seems impossible: Edgar Johnson, "Dickens, Fagin and Mr. Riah", Commentary, 9.1 (January, 1950), 48; Dickens sought a resolution and redemption through the figure of Rose Maylie (see John Lucas, The Melancholy Man: A Study of Dickens's Novels [London, 1970], pp. 50, 54, 28); note how Little Dick sees life as dark and hopeless and only has "kind faces" come for him with heaven, angels and death (Oliver Twist, p. 109): the Maylie cottage is a heaven, and she is an angel. Her sentimental and mimetic death brings Oliver into a life of grace and all those who die with Rose receive a new impulse of charity and goodness. The non-redeemable characters must act out their own deaths. In this context London is indeed "the dream or poetic symbol of an infernal labyrinth" (J. Hillis Miller, Charles Dickens: The World of His Novels [London, 1958], p. 58): but there is more than one Satan.

Fagin is a problem character, then, not because he comes to us as an embarrassing relic of Dickens' supposed anti-semitism, but because his role as an image of the evil that cannot be exorcised from society seems to be a little pretentious for a Jew from Jacob's Island. His daemonic identity conflicts with his plot identity as one of the English Ashkenazim. Dickens did not make his devil a Jew to make him more fearsome, but to humanise and localise him within a city and a profession; however, because novelists had not learned, in Dickens's day, to build up such conceptions out of the recorded trivia of everyday life, it does not quite work. Once again a creative genius's handling of a Jewish character has reduced its ethnic qualities almost to their vanishing point.

The Jews, to use some comments by Neil Lambert on a "modern Israel", are "a self-proclaimed peculiar people. Thus on the one hand we have an art form striving for universals, while on the other we have a religion and a people who are characterised by their differences from the rest of mankind."⁵⁰ This basic opposition provided an almost insuperable problem in the nineteenth century. When only the "curiosities and the oddities of the milieu" mattered, or the author was a decadent "who was only interested in decor and psychology"⁵¹ some sort of approchement was possible: Jewish customs and costumes were too interesting not to be included. A picturesque role is not, though, the same as a significant role. For the Victorians the significant Jew was significantly non-Jewish.

This technique is, of course, also pre-Victorian. One of the most satisfying visits to the London Jewish community is one of the earliest, that by the hero of William Godwin's novel

50 Neil Lambert, "Saints, Sinners and Scribes: A look at the Mormons in Fiction", UHQ, 36 (1968), 73.

51 Lukács, The Historical Novel, pp. 16, 350.

Caleb Williams (1794). Caleb, on the run, takes refuge near Duke's Place and assumes Jewish disguise. Godwin wisely refrains from introducing circumstantial detail and local colour, leaving the reader to appreciate Caleb's position by a mental transposition of his sentiments stimulated by his disguise as a beggar.

"I said, this is the form in which tyranny and injustice oblige us to seek for refuge; but better, a thousand times better, it is thus to invite contempt with the dregs of mankind, than to trust to the tender mercies of our superiors."⁵² Similarly, the nineteenth-century novelist was (in general) happy to solve the problem "of getting at universals through the clutter of peculiarities"⁵³ by omitting, as Godwin does, any reference to the peculiarities. By not including any Jewish peculiarities, though, they denied themselves any insight into Jewish-styled universals.

v.

In Chaim Potok's novel My Name is Asher Lev (1972) there is a sad scene in which the protagonist, a would-be observant Jew and a talented artist, is working "on a crucifixion because there was no mould in his own aesthetic tradition into which he could pour a painting of ultimate anguish and torment."⁵⁴ A hundred years ago novelists, both Jewish and non-Jewish, were hamstrung by a similar lack of traditions and conventions which could give to the Jew a meaningful place, as a Jew, in a fictional universe.

And yet recent years have seen the emergence of a group of

52 Godwin, Caleb Williams (1794), ed. David McGratton (London, 1970), p. 234.

53 Lambert, "Saints, Sinners and Scribes", 74.

54 Chaim Potok, My Name is Asher Lev (London, 1972), p. 330.

American Jewish writers in whose work the Jewish character is not merely significant as an American with a Jewish home but as a person whose Jewishness has something to say to the reader.⁵⁵ The American writers have supplied most of this fiction, but the technique has European origins. On the one hand there is Proust, and the nouveau roman,⁵⁶ and on the other there is James Joyce, and his creation of Leopold Bloom.

Bloom, "trivial, ponderous, clumsy, errant and long-suffering", obviously looks forward to the schlemiel figure that has become representative of modern American Jewish fiction; but he is not really Jewish.⁵⁷ W.B. Stanford has written perceptively that Bloom, though "originally a Jew, then vaguely Protestant and Catholic in turn, ... is [at the end] an agnostic humanist";⁵⁸ he is justified by bourgeois virtue and not Jewish piety.

There are several reasons for him being a jewgreek rather than a Jew: the traditional associations of Irish and Israelites, the literary and personal models, and that "Joyce's book comprehends layer upon layer" of the past through Bloom's Christian, Judaic and Homeric levels of thought; and there is also the poetic

55 Mordechai Richler, "The Catskills", in Hunting Tigers under Glass (London, 1969), pp. 118-19; Benjamin de Mott, "America - A Place in the Establishment", in "Jewish Writers Today", Commentary, 31.2 (February, 1961), 127-34; Philip Roth, "Writing American Fiction", Commentary, 31.3 (March, 1961), 223-33; Frank Kermode, Continuities (London, 1968), p. 227.

56 Renee Winegarten, "The Jewish Element in Proust", WLB, 24.3, NS 20 (1970), 29-38; A. Zenach, "On Two Jews in Proust's 'Remembrance of Things Past'", Orot: Journal of Hebrew Literature, 8 (1970), 35-59.

57 Frederick J. Hoffman, The Mortal No: Death and the Modern Imagination (Princeton, N.J., 1964), p. 405; Abraham Bezanker, "The Odyssey of Saul Bellow", YR, 58 (1968), 370; Ruth R. Wisse, The Schlemiel: A Modern Hero (Chicago, 1971), p. 97: "in every conceivable empirical test the schlemiel may fail, but he never fails in his final self-acceptance"; cf. Arnold Goldman, The Joyce Paradox: Form and Freedom in his Fiction (London, 1966), p. 76.

58 W. B. Stanford, The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptation of a Traditional Hero (London, 1954), p. 213.

validity of a Jewish Odysseus:

For my own part [wrote Louis Golding] I am content to hail Odysseus as the most poetic of the Greek heroes. And I should like to claim the Odyssey as a poetic pattern of the dispersion. So it was that the thought came to me, not that Odysseus was a Jew, but that he was the most Jewish of the Greeks; not that the Odyssey was to be confused with the forty-year wanderings of the pastoral Jews in the stark desert, but as a pattern of the latter Jews seeking Ithaca, seeking Zion, across a hundred seas, perilous with ogres and seductive with sirens.⁵⁹

The references to Jewish history and faith, like those to Homer's works, were starting points for Joyce's reflections; both decreased in number and importance as the novel was revised.⁶⁰ The one set structured the narrative, the other provided a frame for the philosophy: this is why, as Wyndham Lewis noted, "such a Jew as Bloom, taken altogether, has never been outside the pages of Mr. Joyce's book. And he is not even a Jew most of the time, but his talented Irish author."⁶¹

59 Richard Ellman, James Joyce (London, 1959), pp. 407-08, and Ulysses on the Liffey (London, 1972), pp. 3-4; Louis Hyman, The Jews of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Year 1910 (London, 1972), pp. 167-92; Louis Golding, Those Ancient Lands (London, 1928), p. 15; Stuart Gilbert, James Joyce's Ulysses (Harmondsworth, 1963), p. 81.

60 A. Walton Litz, The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in "Ulysses" and "Finnegans Wake" (London, 1961), p. 39.

61 Wyndham Lewis, Time and Western Man (London, 1927), p. 118. Joyce's points of call (Letters, ed. Stuart Gilbert [New York, 1957], p. 204) have not always been well received: for G. Wilson Knight the novel is "arbitrarily patterned on a scarcely relevant Homeric scheme" (Neglected Powers: Essays on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Literature [London, 1971], p. 24) and requires a "crossword mentality" to appreciate it. Several critics have invested Bloom's Jewishness with a mythical appropriateness and significance: R. P. Blackmur has noted "he is Everyman exile, the exile in everyman" ("The Jew in Search of a Son", VQR, 24 [1948], 109), and David Daiches has written that "in Joyce's symbolic sense, all men are Jews" (Jewish Chronicle Quarterly Supplement, 1 [25 December 1959], 2). These insights are the benefits of subsequent writers following in Joyce's footsteps. He created a Dubliner who was an Odysseus and a Jew; it was for other novelists to create an irrevocably Jewish Everyman. The most important character between the creation of Joyce and those of the American Jewish group is Robert Cohn in Ernest Hemingway, The Sun Also Rises [Fiesta] (1926); see Michael J. Hoffman, "From Cohn to Herzog". YR. 58 (1968). 342-58.

Joyce's account of the Dublin citizenry is so fully and justly omniscient that the Irish-Jewish background of his *Odysseus*, *Hamlet* and *Everyman* provided a challenge to future writers: thus Saul Bellow did "for the 1964 'moving city' (New York-Chicago-Ludeyville) what Flaubert did for mid-nineteenth century Paris, and what Joyce did for 1904 Dublin", ⁶² and the Jew was well on the way to becoming the representative American.

vi.

Only in one nineteenth-century novel can the authentic philosophy and orientation of a Jewish hero be identified with those of his creator. This is Clara Hopgood (1896), by William Hale White.

This novel stands out in the Mark Rutherford canon. It defies social convention and illuminates the author's ideas of moral heroism. White makes his own imperfect, alternating romanticism and stoicism (which had replaced his Bedford-style Puritanism) the grounds of the moral triumph of both Madge and Clara Hopgood: ⁶³ it should not surprise one that the hero, Baruch

62 Forrest Read, "Herzog: A Review", in Saul Bellow and the Critics, ed. Irving Malin (London, 1967), p. 136.

63 Mark Rutherford [William Hale White], Clara Hopgood, edited by his friend Reuben Shapcott (London, 1896); I have used the 1936 printing. Madge will not conform to conventional morality and marry her seducer, Frank Palmer, for her inner voices tell her that such hypocrisy would be a greater wrong: and their "revelation is authentic" (p. 63). Clara, a schemer and a chess player who uses rationalism to protect her life from anarchy, sacrifices her chance to marry Baruch Cohen because "something fell and flashed before her like lightning from a cloud overhead, divinely beautiful, but divinely terrible": for her "the message ... was authentic" (pp. 168, 181). The one is deliberately romantic, the other instinctively rational: for these elements in White himself, see Wilfred Stone, Religion and Art of William Hale White ("Mark Rutherford") (Stanford, 1954), pp. 99, 115. A good, but less useful, biography is C. M. MacLean, Mark Rutherford: A Biography of William Hale White (London, 1955); for the novels also see Patricia Thomson, "The Novels of Mark Rutherford", EC, 14 (1964), 258.

Cohen, is equally a re-creation of the author's values and "one of the best of Hale White's self-portraits".⁶⁴ Baruch is also a Jew. He is not a good Jew or a villainous Jew; he is something that is new: the author-as-Jew interacting with the author-as-the-Hopgood-sisters. Perhaps White is most clearly revealed in the Cohen who was "clinging to the expression of his forefathers though departing so widely from them";⁶⁵ but Baruch Cohen is also a representative of White's spiritual mentor, Baruch Spinoza. Henry Arthur Smith put it simply: "Cohen is a Jew; so was Spinoza",⁶⁶ and his ideas have a basic appeal to the Hopgood sisters who, being covers for White himself, not surprisingly find a mild Spinozism attractive. Because of this, Baruch the Jew is as necessary to the intellectual framework of the novel as Baruch the suitor is to the plot. It is not surprising that Madge, Clara and Baruch together make a satisfying moral unity, for they represent three facets of White's personality.

Though Spinoza was a Titan and a God to many in the nineteenth century only a few novelists seem to be among the devotees.⁶⁷ Perhaps, if there had been more, there might have been more than one novel with a Jewish spokesman for Spinozism; and perhaps not. Matthew Arnold thought that the "things which are most remarkable about him, and by which, as I think, he chiefly impressed Goethe, seem to me not to come to him from his Hebrew nature at all":⁶⁸

64 Irvin Stock, William Hale White (Mark Rutherford) A Critical Study (London, 1956), p. 212.

65 Stone, Religion and Art, p. 115; Clara Hopgood, p. 113.

66 H. A. Smith, "The Life and Thought of William Hale White" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Birmingham, 1939), p. 449; Stone, Religion and Art, pp. 105-21; Stock, Critical Study, pp. 211-12.

67 William Hazlitt, The Spirit of the Age; or, Contemporary Portraits (1825), in The Complete Works, ed. P. P. Howe, vol. 11 (London, 1932), p. 33.

68 Matthew Arnold, Essays in Criticism, 1st and 2nd Series (Everyman's library: London, 1964), p. 199.

because William Hale White disagreed we have what is perhaps a unique example of a Jewish character playing a role significant for its Jewish element in a nineteenth-century novel. For another example of the embodiment of Jewish ideas in a fictional character we have to wait until the appearance of Leopold Bloom; when Joyce, as a "major novelist", changed "the possibilities of the art for practitioners and readers", then (and only then) significant Jewish themes became a universal possibility.⁶⁹ White deserves all the more credit for his lonely success.

vii.

Before this happened most novelists continued to project themselves into their fiction as their English selves. This, of course, goes a long way to explain the Englishness of all foreigners (and Jews) in the English novel.⁷⁰ And from one highly esteemed point of view the Jew could legitimately look upon himself as indistinguishable from other men: "hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" How, then, was the Jew to be portrayed?

The answer does not seem to have been found in closer observation or the use of a new perspective. The old conventions were refurbished instead.

There were, for example, a lot of Jewish musicians:⁷¹

69 F. R. Leavis, The Great Tradition (Harmondsworth, 1962), p. 10.

70 Frank Wells, Beyond Culture (London, 1954), p. 15.

71 Ashkenazim were found in German Bands (Kellow Chesney, The Victorian Underworld [Harmondsworth, 1972], pp. 72, 329) and pit orchestras (Du Maurier, Trilby, pp. 291, 298); the Sephardim in salons and at recitals (Du Maurier, The Martian, pp. 165, 166, 154, and Trilby, pp. 194, 197; John Galt, The Ayrshire Legatees, pp. 161-62); according to B. W. Richardson, "Race and Life on English Soil", FR, NS 26 (1882), 323, the Jews "have excelled above all others" in music: cf. "the music of the celestial spheres and fourpence in the pound a month", B. L. Farjeon, Aaron the Jew, 3 vols. (London, 1894).

but the realities had little to do with a figure such as Svengali. Svengali is hard to accept as a real man, but as a literary prop he seems to be very successful and worthy of comment.

Firstly, it should be noticed that such was du Maurier's respect for Jewish musical talent that this is probably the only reason why this warped genius is described as a Jew.

Secondly, Svengali is more than being talented or even extraordinarily gifted; he is genius gone bad, a sycophantic Pied Piper. If one made him invest in some normal values one would be faced with a character very similar to Herr Kalesmer (the erratic musical genius of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda [1876]), a pianist noted for his arrogance, brusqueness, talent, discernment, flowing hair and piercing, fascinating eyes.⁷² Such a source of inspiration for du Maurier would not only supply a ready made skeleton to be fleshed out; it would also suggest why Svengali is so abusively described as a parasite. George Eliot is supposed to have based her character upon her acquaintance Anton Rubenstein, a protege of Liszt's; if du Maurier is thought to have had some similar model in mind for Svengali, the loathing of his contemporaries for Liszt and his school would have provided ample precedent for the tone adopted by du Maurier towards his creature: "Those musicians of Young Germany are maggots, that quicken from corruption. They have no bone, nor flesh, nor blood, nor marrow. The end of their being is to prey upon the ailing trunk, until it has become putrid and rotten."⁷³ This makes du Maurier seem a little feeble in his attack.

Thirdly, the peculiar nature of Svengali's villainy is

72 G. S. Haight, "George Eliot's Klesmer", in Imagined Worlds: Essays on some English Novels and Novelists in honour of John Butt, edd. Maynard Mack and Ian Gregor (London, 1968), pp. 205-14.

73 Musical World, June 30, 1855, in N. Slonimsky, Lexicon of Musical Invective ... (2nd edition: Seattle, 1969), p. 226.

equally derivative. His desire to turn Trilby into a human flexible flageolet was linked with his desire to seduce her and have her love "him at his bidding with a strange, unreal, factitious love."⁷⁴ Seduction by mesmerism was a theme which put du Maurier in the company of Dickens - note Jasper's power over Rosa Bud: "He has made a slave of me with his looks. He has forced me to understand him without his saying a word ... I avoid his eyes, but he forces me to see him without looking at them!" - or the author of The Power of Mesmerism (1880), who describes how Frank Etheridge "has learned the art of mesmerism, and resolves to enjoy his sister by its means."⁷⁵ There would not seem to be any evidence of a direct link, but Svengali, the villainous Jewish mesmerist, is certainly more akin to that villainous non-Jewish mesmerist, John Jasper, than to the archetypes of anti-semitism that are predictably produced by Rosenberg. Certainly, if the false science of Trilby is ignored and Svengali is imagined as achieving his goals by means of demonic powers or the force of his personality, there would be no doubt that he was a Gothic villain of the deepest dye: and that considerations of anti- or philo-semitism would be quite irrelevant.

There were thousands of governesses, or ladies' companions, in Victorian England, and perhaps no occupations had less intrinsic interest; nevertheless, perhaps because there was a ready-made audience, examples flourished in the Victorian novel, Jewesses amongst them. The public was tired of them by 1859, when Harriet Martineau complained of the incessant "repetition

74 Du Maurier, Trilby, p. 357.

75 Dickens, The Mystery of Edwin Drood (1870), ed. Margaret Cardwell (Oxford, 1972), p. 53; H. S. Ashbee, Index of Forbidden Books (paperback ed.: London, 1969), p. 338. Charles Felix, The Notting Hill Mystery (London, 1865) has an induced suicide.

of the dreary story of the spirit broken governess";⁷⁶ but the flood continued unabated until governesses themselves almost ceased to exist.

The governess was not kept in print by public concern at her plight;⁷⁷ but by the demands of two literary conventions. On the one hand it was a means of introducing a young girl into a strange and often exciting household; on the other it was an exemplification of a convention expressed poetically by Gray - "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen/And waste its sweetness on the desert air" - and critically by M. Jeanne Robinson: "her employment became a prostitution of her education and the values underlying it."⁷⁸ An agonised awareness of her position qualified the governess for fiction as no other member of the working classes was qualified, for, as Henry James pointed out, figures in any drama only become interesting as they become aware of their situation.⁷⁹ The governess, with her middle-class values and training and her perpetual working-class drudgery, was only too "aware". Many fictional Jewesses are placed in this artificial and rhetorical position; and the fact that it supplies the mainspring to the plot of Israel Zangwill's novel The Children of the Ghetto (1892) makes one doubt claims such as "[in him] the kaleidoscopic ghetto of Britain found its master artist and portrayer."⁸⁰

77 On the mutability of the English public conscience, see Desmond Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church (Montreal, 1968).

78 M. Jeanne Petersen, "The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society", VE, 14 (1970), 15; Patricia Thomson, The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal 1837-1873 (London, 1956).

79 Henry James, The Princess Casamassima (1886) (London, 1921), p. ix.

80 See Lucien Woolf, "Israel Zangwill, 1861-1926", JHSE, 11 (1924-27), 252-260, for an orthodox pietistic evaluation.

76 Harriet Martineau, "Female Industry", ER, 109 (1859), 293-336.

There were also many Jewish refugees; and one of the most obvious instances of the Jew having little importance in novels with Jewish themes is the "Russian" novel. It has been pointed out that interest in the working classes found its way into fiction during times of crisis, and only then; similarly, the Jewish immigrant from Russia and Poland only became material for a novel when he was unwanted both in the Pale of Settlement and Britain.⁸¹ The immigrant himself, however, was not the source of interest.

On the one hand, in the political world it was not expedient to raise a new cry of "Atrocity!", as had been done following Turkish action in Bulgaria. Even Gladstone was unsure if he ought to subscribe to an appeal: "My position is rather peculiar," he wrote to Lord Granville. "I am inclined, if you will let me, to subscribe to the fund, with the understanding that it is purely eleemosynary."⁸²

On the other hand, the atrocities became a subject of sensational interest rather than one of deep or personal concern. When, in 1882, a review in Blackwood's Magazine noted an increased interest in the sufferings of the Jews it rightly predicted increased popularity for tales of Jewish life; perhaps no-one realised that the new fiction generated by the events would use the pogroms as historical justification for scenes of cruelty, eroticism and sadism, and that accounts would be praised for

81 P. J. Keating, The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction (London, 1971), p. 2; just as working class fictional presence was generated by (1) the Chartists, (2) the issues of slum clearance, and (3) fears of socialism, so the refugees from the pogroms feature in the novel only when the persecutions feature as newspaper headlines. Thus W. T. Le Queux reported Russia for The Times and wrote the pro-Anarchist A Secret Service (1896), then Germany for The Daily Mail and wrote the anti-German The Invasion of 1910 (1905).

82 Countess of Desert, "Tsar v. Jew", NC, 29 (1891), 978, comments on this silence; W.E. Gladstone, The Political Correspondence ... with Lord Granville, 1876-1886, ed. A. Ramin, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1962), p. 338.

containing "full and authentic particulars of this atrocious persecution of the most thrilling interest" - a sadly debased reaction.⁸³

Little could be learned about the plight of the Jews from novels which developed around sequences of escapes of female virtue either by miracle or by assassination, and laid great stress upon the number of raped, flogged and knouted Jewesses. "The worst feature of the whole affair was the barbarities committed against the Jewish women," wrote Joseph Hatton, who seemed to take pleasure in describing the barbarism of the Russians and the exhibitionism of his Jewish heroine. Novels which exploit the persecution of the Jews, the burning of their villages and the floods of refugees as scenarios for cheap conversions and melodramatic rescues from castle keeps are nothing but immoral. Having reached this level fictional treatments of Jew-hatred were too sensational to say anything worthwhile about either the Jews or the hatred.⁸⁴ The novel reader's appetite

83 H. S. Edwards, "Kompert's Jewish Tales", EM, NS 32 (1882), 158; "The Penury of Russia", ER, 177 (1893), 26: reviewing M. Harold Frederick, The New Exodus (London, 1893).

84 Joseph Hatton, By Order of the Czar, the Tragic Story of Anna Klosstock, Queen of the Ghetto, 3 vols. (2nd ed.: London, 1890), vol. 1, p. 113, vol. 3, p. 180: "She tore open her dress, exhibiting her lovely white arm and part of a beautiful bust" and then, having alerted the voyeur by this display, she turns to show the ridges and welts on her shoulders; cf. J. E. Muddock, For God and the Czar! (London, 1892), pp. 129-30, 269; Louisa Thompson, Ivan Graham, A Story of the Medical Mission to the Jews in Russia (London, 1896) starts with a serious attempt to account for Graham's conversion (which seems to have been influenced by the Cambridge Seven), but soon deteriorates: from the moment his mission reaches Russia the Bibles are being distributed faster than the medicaments, and the Jews are being bowled over (and converted) like ninepins. These novels contain surprising echoes (of Alexander Dumas, for example: see Hatton, By Order of the Czar, vol. 3, p. 132, and vol. 2, p. 59, for reminiscences of Monte Cristo) but we are never surprised by their grasp of the situation: as an antidote note this comment by U. O. Errera, The Russian Jew, p. 164: "such, however, is the patience of the Jew, and his respect for the law be it ever so iniquitous that there are comparatively few Jews among the Nihilists".

overrode in a buyer's market the desire to do literary justice to a terrible situation. This is perhaps the crudest example of convention-as-king dictating the kind of roles played by Jewish characters in the novel.

The reading public of the last century had certain expectations which authors were content to meet by working within parameters which excluded the non-Christian, the low or the unusual experience or desire as being unsuitable. In this fictional oecumene the image of the Jew is very effectively submerged beneath that of the nouveau riche, the naif, the rake or whatever.

This can be seen more clearly in the works of the Anglo-Jewish novelists than elsewhere. There is much to be gained by following up a hint from Joseph Leftwich that Grace Aguilar celebrates the values of Captain Marryat as well as those of Jewish tradition.⁸⁵ For a hundred years, from Godwin's "Jewish Aristarchus" to Benjamin Farjeon's "Jewish Aristides", Jewish characters are formed by Western conventions. This was even true for Israel Zangwill. "Zangwill's Jewry was a terra incognita," wrote Woolf;⁸⁶ it was a world known only to himself. Harold Fisch commented: "The naturalist such as Zola will portray a palace realistically by making it appear like a slum; Zangwill maintains, by contrast, that if the lens is properly focussed a slum will be seen as glorious as a palace."⁸⁷ The palace

85 Joseph Leftwich, "Anglo-Jewish Literature", TJQ, 1.1 (Spring, 1953), 19.

86 Lucien Woolf, "Israel Zangwill, 1861-1926", JHSE, 11 (1924-27), 256.

87 Harold Fisch, "Israel Zangwill, Prophet of the Ghetto", Judaism, 13.4 (1964), 408.

was constructed, and it was glorious indeed; but, because "he shared certain attitudes and emotions with the minor Victorians", the style depended upon old and frequently sentimental myths of the English novel. As Ludwing Lewisson put it, "although an immigrant Jew and brought up in Whitechapel and all that, much of his writing is typically Victorian."⁸⁸

This is not a condemnation for the typically Victorian Zangwill is a very entertaining author, but when Zangwill himself realised that Jewish novels in anything other than Hebrew or Yiddish were "hybrid products, children of mixed marriages"⁸⁹ we must realise it too, and appreciate how the roles played by Jews in these novels were determined by non-Jewish factors. Then the business of critical evaluation can begin.⁹⁰

88 Joseph Leftwich, Israel Zangwill (London, 1957), p. 11.

89 ibid., 31.

90 "No talent" is the dismissal of Gerda Charles, "Anglo-Jewish Writing Today", Dispersion and Unity, 13/14 (1971), 244-49; I shall attempt such a criticism of Daniel Deronda, and then restate my case through an examination of the religious fiction which deals with the conversion of Jews.

CHAPTER FOUR:
DANIEL DERONDA

DANIEL DERONDA has been called "George Eliot's Zionist Novel" and the acceptability of its Zionism would seem assured by accolades she received from Jews - and by the naming of a George Eliot Street in modern Tel-Aviv.¹ But critics are unanimous in their view that the Jewish element of the novel does not quite work; at his kindest Dr. Leavis has commented that George Eliot is "not sufficiently aware" of what is happening: he, and others, can be much ruder in their criticisms.² This ought to cause us to question how much George Eliot understood her "Jewish question" and how much she was really involved in it: the problem of what on earth Jewish characters are doing in a novel intended to be "all about English ladies and gentlemen with the scene laid in Wiltshire"³ can only really be answered after an even more interesting question has been settled - did George Eliot (on the subject of the Jews) know what she was talking about?

The Zionist phenomenon has, of course, produced works of creative literature; what would seem doubtful is whether we can count Daniel Deronda as one of them. First of all, the generative power of Zion was derived from Theodor Herzl: "Suddenly a compelling force had arisen and he dominated us with his extraordinary personality, with his gestures, manner of speech,

1 F. R. Leavis, "George Eliot's Zionist Novel", Commentary 30.4 (October, 1960), 317-325; David Kaufmann, George Eliot and Judaism (London, 1877); Theodor Herzl saw a continuous tradition from Disraeli, through the George Eliot of Daniel Deronda, to his own work: The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, ed. Raphael Petai, trans. Harry Zohn, vol. 2 (London, 1960), p. 548; Rosenberg, Shylock to Svengali, p. 184.

2 F. R. Leavis, "Zionist Novel", 321.

3 William Blackwood wrote to John Blackwood quoting this summary by Lewes on 21 April 1875: The George Eliot Letters ed. G. S. Haight, vol. 6 (New Haven, 1956), p. 136.

his ardour and vision".⁴ Anything written before Herzl's whirlwind entrance was concerned with something different, even if the vocabulary used - Jewish people, national home - seems at a superficial glance to be the same. No amount of reading and research by itself could have made George Eliot a Zionist, as Herzl himself was "largely ignorant of Jewish traditions"; and his followers were "in some sense apart of the fin-de-siècle revolt of European youth against a liberal, rationalist culture which was considered degenerate, without soul, and incorrigibly bourgeois".⁵ When these enthusiasms were rechannelled by the activists of Eastern Europe, the Jewish tradition was turned upon its head. A mid-Victorian writer could hardly have anticipated this view of Judaism: "We might even say, after the manner of the French philosopher, that if the Jewish religion did not exist, the Hebrew nation would have to invent it, in order to justify its own existence. That the Jewish religion can easily be made to serve this purpose goes without saying: and there is no higher purpose to which it could be applied". This could not have been seen, any more than the early Zionists themselves could have seen the Arab peoples' twentieth-century view of themselves.⁷

4 Rabbi Mordecai Brande is quoted in John Bagot Glubb, Peace in the Holy Land (London, 1971), p. 258; cf. the Rev. Dr. Strauss: "Although these eight years have passed since [his death], we still have before us his charming personality; we still feel his overpowering presence; we are still under the spell of his sympathetic eye; we are still captivated by the words of his mouth", "Theodor Herzl", The Zionist (August, 1912), 44.

5 Amos Elon, The Israelis: Founders and Sons (London, 1971), p. 242.

6 M.S., "Hebrew and Englishman", The Zionist, 4 (1913-1914), 137.

7 "We may live to see a great outburst of force in the Arabs, who are being inspired with a new zeal" - these thoughts of Deronda show as much as anything that Daniel Deronda is not a Zionist novel; proto-Zionism could not have shown this sympathy. (Daniel Deronda [1876], ed. Barbara Hardy [Harmondsworth, 1967] p. 584). Neither Jews nor Arabs shared Disraeli's strange enthusiasm for confusing the two races (e.g.: Mosaic Arabs, for the Jews; Mohammedan Arabs, for the Arabs; Conningsby, p. 182).

Moreover, Zionist literature is a twentieth-century phenomenon. Herzl himself did not write Das neue Ghetto until 1894, and it was not published as a play until 1903 - the same year in which Shaw (in Man and Superman) created Mendoza, his would-be Zionist. The late nineteenth century gave little attention to the Pale of Settlement; when it did, however, the panacea was seen to be emigration to the United States. It was not for several years that Zionism supplied the answers to the dilemmas of fictional characters.

Few, indeed, would have predicted a political future for the Jews until the Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897 made men start dreaming dreams and agitating to realise them. As late as 1894 George Adam Smith was writing: "the idea that Palestine can ever belong to one nation, even though this were the Jews, is contrary both to Nature and Scripture."⁸ But, by 1919 A. J. Balfour could write that: "The four great powers are committed to Zionism and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in long-ago tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires or prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land."⁹

It was not only new that the four powers should be of one mind concerning a Jewish buffer state in the Middle East (though in 1839 The Globe, a mouthpiece for Palmerston, had advocated something similar),¹⁰ but also that the inevitable and right answer to these traditions, needs and hopes was and must be Zionism.

8 George Adam Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, Especially in Relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church (London, 1894), p. 59; "this dream is as yet within no measurable distance of realisation", Samuel Gordon, Sons of the Covenant p. 255.

9 Cf. Christopher Sykes, Cross Roads to Israel (London, 1965), p. 17

10 Walter Laquer, A History of Zionism (London, 1972), p. 43.

The Aufklärung was a time of transition for the Jews of Europe as well as the non-Jews: during this period (haskalah) both groups found themselves incapable of seeing the contemporary Jew as part of an eschatological and historical scheme, and as a result Jewry passed through the nineteenth century trying to find for itself a world role and to define its destiny. Zionism, even when loosely defined, was but one of many attempts to solve the Jewish problem; during George Eliot's day it was neither the most obvious nor the most desirable of solutions. Political sovereignty was not the predominant Jewish desire, and "the Jewish situation and the Jewish problem were such, *prima facie*, that other than strictly political aims seemed to deserve prior attention."¹¹

If, then, Zionism was not in the air when George Eliot wrote Daniel Deronda; if Zionism was so far from being the natural solution that one historian has commented that its problem was not "to activate a latent historical impulse ... [but] to overcome Jewish history and impose a new pattern upon the Jewish consensus";¹² and if there was no agreement as to the way to go - then George Eliot's sources and her handling of them demand a more careful consideration. She was not writing a "Zionist novel" in the way that future novelists could. In her day she would not have found a ready-made frame of dialectic to support her characters, as they did; not, at any rate, from the Jews themselves. Three possible sources are, however, worth consideration: Reform Judaism, the thought of Isaac Deutsch, and that of Spinoza (and Moses Hess).

In her research for the Jewish background to Daniel Deronda

11 Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), pp. 8-10, 24.

12 ibid. pp. 56-57

George Eliot seems to have avoided the congregations of Reformed Judaism. In the summer of 1873 she and G. H. Lewes visited the orthodox synagogues of Frankfurt and Mainz in search of authentic details: their lament for "the rarity of the Jewish type - most of them might be German" ill accords with the thought of Claude Montefiore that "the main aim of reformed Judaism may be called the denationalisation of the Jewish religion".¹³ Nevertheless, some of the values of the Reform movement would seem to have influenced George Eliot. The nineteenth century brought to many Jews the idea that the old classical Biblical faith has been dead for centuries",¹⁴ and the conviction that Judaism must continue "to teach us how to live";¹⁵ they consequently turned from the majesty of the revelation on Sinai and the sternness of the Torah and preached a "gentle deism" and a "melioristic social reform".¹⁶ Thus, they defined Zion not as a city but "as the symbol of united humanity, of the realisation of mankind's highest ideals at the end of time": in other words "[they] denied Zion".¹⁷ Isaac Meyer Wise wrote "We look upon the destruction of the second Jewish Commonwealth, not as a punishment for the sinfulness of Israel but as a result of the divine purpose revealed to Abraham, which as it has become ever clearer in the world's history, consists in the dispersion of the Jew to all

13 See Letters, ed. Haight, vol. 5, p. 427; Claude Montefiore, "Is Judaism a Tribal Religion", CR 42 (September, 1882), 374.

14 Herman Cohen, "The Modern Jew and the New Judaism", FR NS 59 (1896), 631; Lucien Wolf, "What is Judaism? A Question of Today", FR NS 36 (1884), 255-256.

15 Wolf, "What is Judaism", 255-256.

16 Daniel Jeremy Silver, "A Lover's Quarrel With the Mission of Israel", in Contemporary Jewish Reform Thought, ed. Bernard Martin (Chicago, 1968), p. 150.

17 ibid., p. 152 (quoting from Kaufmann Kohler, "The Mission of Israel and its Application to Modern Times", CCARY, 39 [1919], 265.

parts of the earth for the realisation of its high priestly mission, to lead nations to the true knowledge of God."¹⁸

Since the opening of the West London Synagogue of British Jews in 1842 such ideas had become increasingly current in London; their currency might well have suggested to George Eliot the vision of Mordecai.

George Eliot was certainly motivated by an enthusiast for the Jewish National Home, who was liberal in his views on the Talmud, and proposed a similar world mission for his people. Isaac Deutsch remarked, in a lecture to the Royal Institution, that the Jews have in truth been the vanguard and missionaries of civilisation. And their destiny is not yet fulfilled".¹⁹ These ideas were not particularly original, but in 1868 George Eliot had written to him: "do not distrust your call. I believe in it still".²⁰ It would seem reasonable to assume that it was from Deutsch that George Eliot gained her enthusiasm for a high priestly mission for Israel. From him, too, she would have taken ideas which lead to the unfavourable contrast between English society and the Jewish community. The idea which was to be expressed by Israel Zangwill as an aphorism - "the people of Christ has become the Christ of peoples, and this both in its apostolate and in its martyrdom" - was held by many others in the century. It became a commonplace to regard "the Jews of the first century B.C. as having largely reached the Christian position, in so far as the adjective applies to Semitic ethics and not to the Greek metaphysics and sacramental notions with which the new Jewish sect entangled itself."²¹

18 Silver, "A Lover's Quarrel", p. 148.

19 Emmanuel Deutsch, Literary Remains (London, 1874), p. 169.

20 Letters, ed. Haight, vol. 5, p. 446.

21 Israel Zangwill. The Voice of Jerusalem (London, 1920), pp. 9, 6.

The Essenes, in particular, were regarded as being pre-Christian Christians. Deutsch, for one, had shocked his hearers, and stimulated George Eliot, when he used to maintain that in the first century A.D. there were plenty of young enthusiasts besides Jesus preaching a similar gospel; so that the New Testament was the common evangel of a school of Syrian moralists such as that of Hillel, many of whom were quite equal to the preacher of Nazareth." ²² Judaism, unmarred by the hellenistic theology of Christianity, had more to offer the world, and its morality provided a good base for the measuring of non-Jewish as well as Jewish conduct.

George Eliot did not, however, adopt Deutsch's call for Mordecai. He is deliberately compared to Spinoza. ²³ Spinoza's monism, his ideas of social evolution, of the organic nation, of Israel as the teacher of nations - all are found in Mordecai's faith. Whether George Eliot took them directly from Spinoza (as is possible), or from his proto-Zionist interpreter Hess (as is unlikely), or from the historian Graetz (whom she certainly read) is almost immaterial. The ideas are not worked out in detail: and they are presented from George Eliot's usual Comtean position that the new society of a just humanity will be created by people (not politics) guided by a "spiritual power". Even when a Spinoza is posited as a potential source for Daniel Deronda, there is a flabbiness about the Jewish theme. When Rex Gascoigne asks Gwendolen Harleth what she would like to do with her life she replies with a few witty ideas at random: "Oh, I don't know! -

22 Frederick Harrison, Autobiographic Memoirs, vol. 2, (London 1911), p. 109, cf. Coleridge to Hurwitz, 4 January 1820: "Christianity in its purity (understand me as speaking historically only) is the development & full growth of a sect (I use the word in its best & simplest sense), the germs of which existed in the Jewish Church at least 250 years before the birth of our Lord", Collected Letters, ed. E. L. Griggs, vol. 5 (Oxford, 1968), p. 3.

23 Daniel Deronda p. 528: Roth Anglo-Jewish Letters p. 245

go to the North Pole, or ride steeplechases, or go to be a queen in the East like Lady Hester Stanhope."²⁴ It has been a source of critical dismay that Deronda finds himself taking Mirah (Gwendolen's "rival") to be such a queen in an almost equally random fashion. It is only when one turns from Jewish sources for the Jewish theme in the novel that one ceases to share Sir Hugo's amazement that Deronda should consistently prefer a dead Jew to a live (and very beautiful) Christian.²⁵

U. C. Knoepfelmacher has astutely compared Deronda to a cross between Ernest Pontifex and Disraeli's *Coningsby*.²⁶ Perhaps Tancred would be a better choice, but in any case the three young men share a common quest: the search for constant values in a changing world, a valid tradition in a universe of flux. George Eliot herself turns to the quasi-mystical Mordecai because any possibility is better than hopelessness.²⁷ Mordecai is certainly right in his call for man to follow his traditions, if not in his more esoteric imaginings; in the world of Daniel Deronda "a disregard for tradition is tantamount to blasphemy". The country society of the novel is shown to be rootless, and false; Gwendolen's own deprivation is shown to be almost fatal: "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, where it may get the love of tender kinship for the face of the earth, for the labours men go forth to ... not by sentimental effort and reflection, but as a sweet habit

24 Daniel Deronda, p. 101.

25 ibid., p. 786.

26 U. C. Knoepfelmacher, Religious Humanism and the Victorian Novel: George Eliot, Walter Pater and Samuel Butler (Princeton, N.J., 1965), p. 140.

27 U. C. Knoepfelmacher, Laughter and Despair: Reading in Ten Novels of the Victorian Era (Berkeley, 1971), p. 146.

of the blood."²⁸

Deronda comes back from Genoa "with something like a discovered charter warranting his inherited right that his ambition had begun to yearn for";²⁹ but Gwendolen is constantly frustrated by her inability to obtain or even anticipate some similar charter.

Comparison has frequently been made between the treatment of this theme in the novel and in an earlier work, the poem The Spanish Gypsy (1868). A young girl, Fedalma, is betrothed to and about to be married to a young Spanish Christian lord, when her father appears and claims her for his work of arousing the national feelings of the gypsy people.

"I will wed," she announces melodramatically, "the curse that blights my people"; and more soberly she reflects:

Father, my soul is not too base to ring
At touch of your great thoughts; nay, in my blood
There streams the sense unspeakable of kind,
As leopard feels at ease with leopard.

In Daniel Deronda Mordecai's Judaism is a similar "historical tradition which ... is valued for its resistance to time and evolution."³⁰ The sense of human progress had been so fitful in Middlenarch (1872), that George Eliot felt that a prophetic vision was needed to bind together the humanity of Daniel Deronda.

The young George Eliot had, however, derided the idea of there being anything of value that was "specifically Jewish" and had ridiculed any "assumption of superiority in the Jews".³¹

28 Daniel Deronda, p.50; Knoepfelmacher, Religious Humanism, p. 123.

29 Daniel Deronda, pp. 813, 817.

30 ibid., p. 51.

31 Eliot, The Spanish Gypsy: a Poem (1868) (London, 1911), pp.163,153.

So why, it might be asked, does George Eliot give the Jews so special a place at the end of her career? The vision of the element is Jewish for one reason: George Eliot had worked up Daniel Deronda from a literary model which demanded that spiritual values be seen to inhere in a downtrodden race.

In 1846 George Eliot wrote to Harriet Beecher Stowe to explain how much they had in common. With the publication of Daniel Deronda her debt to the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852) had become unmistakable.³²

Mrs. Stowe draws two morals in her tour-de-force of what seems to have been unconscious brilliance. In the face of enormity of slavery and the fearful inhumanity of the fugitive slave legislation, the necessity of liberty for the slaves was of first priority. It is a moral imperative of such primacy that it is not questioned. But what then? What is to become of the freed slave? George Shelby suggests that the Christian virtues provide the answer: "So, when you rejoice in your freedom, think that you owe it to that good old soul [Uncle Tom], and pay it back in kindness to his wife and children. Think of your freedom, every time you see Uncle Tom's Cabin; and let it be a memorial to put you all in mind to follow in his steps, and be as honest, and faithful, and Christian as he was."³³ In a letter from George Harris there is, however, a hint of a broader vision, and a more exciting future for the black race.

Just like Daniel Deronda, George Harris - "a bright and talented young mulatto man"³⁴ - received a mixed inheritance from his mother and father. To his mother he was "a child" to be imbued with a sense of his heritage and with love:³⁵ to his father he

32 Letters, ed. Haight, vol. 6, p. 301 (29 October, 1876).

33 Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852), (Everymans Library: London, 1909), p. 433.

34 ibid., pp. 19, 426.

35 ibid., p. 426.

"was no more than a fine dog or horse".³⁶ This is the way it is beneath the surface of Daniel Deronda. Almost despite herself, Deronda's mother brings him to know her and his faith and lineage,³⁷ whilst the facility with which Sir Hugo handles his young charge - tactfully called nephew - is shown to be one with the ease of his other acquired arts: "his mode of talking to his dogs and horses and smoking".³⁸ Both men are blessed with gentle wives who can inspire them to their great work; for both see a work to be done that will both benefit the degraded of their races and help influence humanity. "I go to Liberia," wrote George Harris, "not as to an Elysium of romance, but as to a field of work."³⁹ Deronda had been taught by Mordecai that non-action was blasphemous, and so he announces to Gwendolen that "a task .. presents itself to me as a duty: I am resolved to begin it, however feebly. I am resolved to devote my life to it."⁴⁰

For neither can this work be done at home. "I have no wish to pass for an American, or to identify myself with them," wrote Harris;⁴¹ whilst Deronda could not but remember the words of Mordecai: "Let every man keep far away from the brotherhood and the inheritance he despises."⁴² For each of them full citizenship of their native countries would be impossible. "What is the citizenship of him who walks among a people he has no hearty kindred and fellowship with, and has lost the sense of brotherhood with his own race?"⁴³ The answer for both was, none.

What did they want, then? "I want a people that shall have

36 ibid.

37 Daniel Deronda, p. 699.

38 ibid., p. 211

39 Uncle Tom's Cabin, p. 429.

40 Daniel Deronda, pp.875,598

41 Uncle Tom's Cabin, p. 426

42 Daniel Deronda, p. 586

43 ibid., p. 587

a tangible, separate existence of its own"⁴⁴ - "I say that the effect of our separateness will not be completed and have its highest transformation unless our race takes on again the character of a nationality".⁴⁵ For the one, "African nationality";⁴⁶ for the other, "an organic centre" for the race.⁴⁷ Both talked of these national homes evolving and showing "a growth, a passage, and a new unfolding of life";⁴⁸ and this growth was for two reasons.

Firstly, with the formation of a nation there would be a "voice in the councils of nations" that would protect the "oppressed, enslaved African race".⁴⁹ Similarly, it is no wonder that "the multitudes of the Jewish people are ignorant, narrow and superstitious" and are the victims of prejudice and scorn. But "revive the organic centre" and then "the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the court of nations".⁵⁰

Secondly, these nations have a role to play other than that of international advocates. They are to affect their neighbours and the world. "The life of a people grows, it is knit together and yet expanded, in joy and sorrow, in thought and action; it absorbs the thought of other nations and gives back the thought as new wealth to the world; it is a power and organ in the body of nations."⁵¹ George Harris imagines this osmosis giving strength and vitality to the African republic which would then "roll the tide of civilisation and Christianity" across Africa and (it is implied) beyond.⁵² Just as this implies more for a "republic where the Jewish spirit manifests itself"⁵³ than the circumscribed aims of

44	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> , p. 426	45	<u>Daniel Deronda</u> , pp. 594 ff.
46	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> , p. 426	47	<u>Daniel Deronda</u> , p. 595
48	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 535	49	<u>ibid.</u> , pp. 427, 426
50	<u>Daniel Deronda</u> , pp. 591, 595	51	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 585
52	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> , p. 427.	53	<u>Daniel Deronda</u> , pp. 597, 595.

Zionism ("the creation of a political protectorate which would foster the development of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine"),⁵⁴ so it called for less than those who followed Spinoza, (and wanted "a Jewish state .. not as an end in itself but as a means towards the just social order to which all people aspired".)⁵⁵ Though George Harris spoke of the passing of an era of Anglo-Saxon dominance and looked "for an hour of universal peace and brotherhood),⁵⁶ the role of the African was to be localised in Africa. A similar destiny was foretold for "a new Judea, poised between East and West - a covenant and reconciliation",⁵⁷ for in Deronda's and Mordecai's

54 Meyer W. Weigal, ... So Far: An Autobiography (London, 1971), p. 32.

55 Walter Laqueur, A History of Zionism, p. 52; it is unlikely that Mrs. Stowe and George Eliot could both have chanced on this formula: it was an entirely new departure with regard to the Jews but a rehash of over fifty years agitation on behalf of the Negro. "Every company of emigrants [to Liberia was] regarded as a band of missionaries to Africa" (Samuel Wilkeson, A Concise History of the Commencement, Progress and Present Condition of the American Colonies in Liberia [Washington, 1839], p. 90) to build up a Christian empire in Africa (pp. 32, 34); Ralph Randolph Gurney, Life of Jehudi Ashmun, late Colonial Agent in Liberia. With an Appendix, Containing Extracts from his Journal and other Writings; with a Brief Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Lott Cury (1835 [reprinted: New York, 1969]), Appendix, p. 160; Monday Banon Akpan, "The African Policy of the Liberian Settlers, 1841-1932: A Study of the "Native" Policy of a Non-Colonial Power in Africa", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Ibadan, 1968), p. 3; the arguments of Robert Finley and the American Colonisation Society "appealed to those who wished to uplift free negroes, those who hoped to expand missionary work to all corners of the globe, those who grasped for a painless system of emancipation - and those who perceived the glint of commercial advantage beneath the froth of religious phrases": P. J. Staudenraus, The African Colonisation Movement 1815-1865 (New York, 1961), p. 22; Penelope Campbell, Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonisation Society 1831-1857 (Urbana, 1971), p. 4; Monrovia Weekly Mirror, "They glowed with enthusiasm over the prospect of establishing a missionary nation upon a continent sorely in need of spiritual light and leading", quoted in Elizabeth Dearmin Furbay, Top Hats and Tom-Toms (London, 1946), p. 7; Nnamdi Azikiwe, Liberia in World Politics (Westport, Conn., 1970), pp. 44, 50; Lawrence A. Marinelli, The New Liberia: A Historical and Political Survey (London, 1964), pp. 35, 156-57: Article 5, Section 13 of the Constitution; all the arguments advanced by Mrs. Stowe were traditional and without Jewish parallels. (Foreign missionary teams arrived in Liberia in 1827 [Swiss], 1832 [Methodist Episcopalians], 1834 [American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions], 1836 [Protestant Episcopalian], etc.; it was an easy dream to believe in.)

56 Uncle Tom's Cabin, p. 428. 57 Daniel Deronda, p. 597.

minds also "each nation has its own work".⁵⁸ Eschatology and political nationalism were both side issues, and irrelevant. The republic was to be created so that the Jewish spirit could manifest itself, for consciousness of race was seen as an essential concomitant to spiritual richness. For the same reason George Harris could only apply this text - "Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated ... I will make thee an eternal excellence"⁵⁹ - to his situation as an African in Africa; for Mrs. Stowe there could be no such fulfilment in America: even for the whitest of mulattos.

There is another way in which George Eliot drew upon a framework provided by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Uncle Tom's Cabin is constructed around the repetition of a "crucial human predicament", a mother deprived of her child. This leitmotif came, with all its emotional depth, from a personal loss. Mrs. Stowe's young son Charley died from the cholera; consequently there are patterns "of outrage in which the Negro mother again and again was separated from her child and in which the Negro saint was forced to submit to every indignity."⁶⁰

George Eliot was spared this kind of personal involvement, of course, but all her major characters in Daniel Deronda operate under the burden of such a deprivation or of some parental delinquency. There is a quite remarkable number of displaced persons in the narrative of the novel. Not only are the obviously displaced important (there is Ezra Mordecai Cohen,

58 Daniel Deronda, p. 590. 59 Uncle Tom's Cabin, p. 428 (Is.60.15)

60 Charles H. Forster, The Rungless Ladder: Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England Puritanism (Durham, N.C., 1954), pp. 40, 27; the threat of this deprivation precipitates what is perhaps the most famous piece of melodrama in the novel, Eliza's crossing of the ice-floes on the Ohio: "'Poor boy! poor fellow!' said Eliza; 'they have sold you! but your mother will save you yet!'" (Uncle Tom's Cabin, pp. 43, 66-67).

for example, Mrs. Lydia Glasher), but Gwendolen, Daniel and Mirah themselves all come into this category.

Gwendolen Harleth was the child of Mrs. Davilow's first marriage; and she resents the drunken, violent, and usually absent step-father, Captain Davilow. The weakness and self-indulgence of Mrs. Harleth caused her daughter to mature in spiritual isolation and deprived her of salvation through the lares et penates.

Daniel is not only a similarly deprived person - "Deronda," remarks Bernard J. Paris, "is George Eliot's portrait of the disinherited intellectual"⁶¹ - he also suffers agonies because he is a child of parents whom he does not know. Sir Hugo Mallinger, who brings him up, is noted as being generally insensitive to the needs of the child. By the age of thirteen Deronda is completely insecure in his emotions as well as in his intellect; he drifts from University to the City and then around Europe, all the time "significantly limited as an active moral being".⁶²

Gwendolen and Mirah drift likewise. The one attempts a moral suicide at the gambling tables of Leubronn: the other literally tries to drown herself in the Thames. It is significant that the only purposive action that has been performed by any of the group when they first meet was Mirah's search for her mother; this is an attempt to restore those qualities in family life which can produce the "spiritual force which must have ... a national location as well as international authority" and must have dependable familial roots.⁶³ Gwendolen, widowed, will

61 Bernard J. Paris, Experiments in Life: George Eliot's Quest for Values (Detroit, 1965), p. 205.

62 ibid., p. 205.

63 Knoepfelmacher, Laughter and Despair, p. 132.

seek for "life" in the same field as Hans Meyrick, the caring for one's "little mother" and sisters.

The hero (Daniel Deronda) shares Mrs. Stowe's happy ending. He discovers both his mother and his native traditions. (Of course, the hero matures to respectability, legitimacy and an inheritance in many novels from Tom Jones on). With the example of Uncle Tom's Cabin before her George Eliot was able to manipulate her displaced persons to comment about the vices in society. This is why the novel was said to be about Wiltshire and not the diaspora. U. C. Knoepfelmacher has pointed out⁶⁴ that Daniel's grandfather (the representative of the tradition which Deronda adopts) was both a physician and a religious enthusiast; Daniel Charisi thus tried to do what Lydgate and Dorothea tried in the provincial world of Middlemarch. The Jews were useful to George Eliot as examples of the values she tried to encourage in Middlemarch surviving on an international scale.

It should not come as a surprise, then, that many Jews resented George Eliot's "elaborate misconception" of their race and religion.⁶⁵ She was not, after all, concerned to do them justice; despite what she wrote (16 December 1876) to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps - "The principles that are at the root of my effort to paint Dinah Morris are equally at the root of my effort to paint Mordecai"⁶⁶ - the rehabilitation of the Jew (or the Wesleyan Methodist) was a merely incidental part of her scheme. There is, besides, one important difference between Dinah Morris and Mordecai (and their roles). George Eliot was able to comment about the earlier novel (Adam Bede [1859]),

64 ibid., pp. 124-25.

65 Amy Levy, Reuben Sachs, A Sketch (London, 1888), pp. 115-16.

66 Letters, ed. Haight, vol. 6, p. 318.

"everything grew ... out of the characters and their mutual relations".⁶⁷ Concerning Daniel Deronda, however, she wrote that she "meant everything in the book to be related to everything else".⁶⁸ In the one the unity was organic, in the other it was artificial. When George Eliot tried to work up her art from preconceived ideas (as when she developed The Spanish Gypsy from her reactions to a painting of the Annunciation)⁶⁹ she was completely unsuccessful. In Daniel Deronda she similarly failed to work a synthesis of preconceived cut and dried themes. The novel strains to cope with "the religion of heredity or race":⁷⁰ no other novel of the nineteenth century seems to come so close to describing the essence of the Jewish national experience, and no other novel manipulates its Jews to such an extent to fit the demands of the plot schema.

It remains for us to discuss the way in which the theme is integrated into a world of fox hunting and archery contests. The novel is built around three formal confrontations between the attitudes of Gwendolen and Deronda. There are, of course, many meetings of the two (to the extent that a love affair can be seriously suspected), but these three episodes - at Leubronn, the Abbey for the New Year, and Genoa - are focal points for the organisation of the narrative.

Each scene becomes dramatic because of the stance struck by Deronda or the position that he defends. At Leubronn his disapproval of Gwendolen's gambling supplies her with an image that seems likely to haunt her for the rest of her life. Deronda's

67 ibid., vol. 2, p. 503.

68 ibid., vol. 6, p. 290.

69 Paris, Experiments in Life, pp. 119-20.

70 Leavis, The Great Tradition, p. 95.

reaction to the crisis in his upbringing is an emotional desire to involve others in mutual redemption, but Gwendolen's is driving her into herself. By the time that they view each other across the Casino - and Deronda has involved himself in the redemption of her necklace - he has already rescued Mirah from a watery suicide attempt. Whereas he is continually trying to find a meaningful link between himself and the traditions which surround him (and the entry of the young Jewess into his life gives him food for thought), Gwendolen is neither striving for nor running any danger of finding a heritage of her own. Though she is in flight from Grandcourt and his sterile manipulative abuse of privilege and people, she has alternative goals for herself. With no concept of duty, or sense of obligation to either the past or the future to sustain her, she is terrified at the thought of going into service, and she has nothing to draw on to strengthen her resistance of the hypnotic Henleigh Mallinger Grandcourt. He places her in a vortex of emotions and moral values which is to prove as negative for her as the Hebrew one, discovered by Deronda through his rescue of Mirah, is to prove positive for him.

By the time that the Grandcourts come to spend the New Year at the Abbey, Deronda is instinctively reaching out to his Jewish heritage which is, as yet, undiscovered. Under the moral challenge that he sensed behind Mordecai's question as to whether he could read Hebrew, Daniel is, without further solicitation, teaching himself the language. However, whilst he begins to align himself with his destiny, Deronda can still dally with Gwendolen enough for her husband to suspect infidelity. For him, Deronda is a fat. Gwendolen herself is trying to find stability by overplaying the role of the grand lady: her being accepted condemns both Gwendolen and the society in which she now moves.

The important speech comes when Daniel, having been appointed Sir Hugo's cicerone for the day, sets about explaining the restoration of the Abbey's architecture. His reflections entertain his immediate companion, Miss Juliet Fenn; they provoke Gwendolen to thought; and they bring Deronda into line with what he is to learn of Mordecai's concept of organic nationhood. As he meditates "whether one oftener learns to love real objects through their representations, or the representations through the real objects"⁷¹ ^{Le} ~~his~~ is preparing himself to understand the relationship between the Torah and the life of the Spirit. Gwendolen, meanwhile, has become even more insecure as her tactless remarks have revealed an acquisitive soul. The attitudes that are formed at this time reach forward into the final movement.

This centres on their meeting in Genoa when Deronda gives Gwendolen aphoristic advice on the nature of duty - having just received from his mother a formal justification of his racial longings. It is a most important meeting. Their converging lives diverge from this point on; it is only after the Genoa meeting that one knows for sure that Sir Hugo and Lady Mallinger are wrong in their expectations that Deronda and Gwendolen will marry. It is also a point of transition in their struggles for maturity. Up until then Deronda has followed the advice of Sir Hugo and his own inclinations! Now he has a purpose and a vocation: a justification of his feeling that he was "an organic part of social life".⁷² Her widowhood gives Gwendolen an equally significant change in her circumstances and way of life. As a single girl and as a married woman she was committed to a life-style which nearly suffocated her; but now she is

71 Daniel Deronda, p. 476. 72 ibid., p. 413.

free to follow a more intuitive life-promoting course. Deronda found a freedom for action through discipline: Gwendolen an avenue for self-discipline through independence from worry, stress and conventionality.

All of this, of course, leaves little scope for Zionism or any genuine involvement with the Jewish lot. The Jewish mission is redefined as one of ^{George Eliot's} own ideas, and however much she intended (like Charles Reade) to tell the truth about the Jews,⁷³ this idea, a very important one for all her fiction, by-passes - or short-circuits - Judaism. "Our sentiments," George Eliot believed, "may be called organised traditions; and a large part of our actions gather all their justification ... from the harmony of the life lived, of the actions done [by our ancestors], before we were born."⁷⁴ All her knowledge of Jewish history and culture is brought to the service of this idea, and it is hardly surprising that, having looked at the hero, Carol Robinson has written: "he is not a character, he is the embodiment of a compromise".⁷⁵

As might be expected the characters are shaped by conventions which deprive the Jewish group of any pretensions

73 Determined to tell "a truth instead of a lie" about the Jewish people, Charles Reade set to work to read "eight substantial volumes" to aid his muse; the result was only an "Eastern version of his own wisdom", Mr. Levi. (Wayne Burns, Charles Reade: A Study in Victorian Authorship [New York, 1961], p. 32; for George Eliot's reading list see Haight, George Eliot, pp. 469-72. Reade was inspired to his labour by Uncle Tom's Cabin, "not to have read [which] was like not to have read 'The Times' for a week": Reade, It is Never Too Late to Mend, A Matter of Fact Romance, 3 vols. (London, 1856), vol. 1, p. 339; George Eliot was thinking around the idea of using Mrs. Stowe's themes at least ten years before Daniel Deronda: see her review of Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp in WR, 66 (1856), 572-73.

74 Eliot, Essays and Leaves from a Note-book, ed. C. L. Lewes (Edinburgh, 1884), p. 220.

75 Carol Robinson, "The Severe Angel: A Study of Daniel Deronda", JELH, 31 (1964), 279.

to racial realism. Mirah seems to be based upon Eppie, in Silas Marner (1861); Deronda himself is a revamped version of Will Ladislav (a man of "alien blood, Jew, Corsican or Gypsy"), and his role as the "hero - young, handsome and brilliant - is to give didactic advice in a proverbial form, to the young, beautiful and brilliant heroine."⁷⁶

George Eliot also goes to some length to break down any feeling in the reader that there is anything special or unique about the Jewish people with the aid of statements which minimise their individuality. Thus we should "excuse [Deronda]: his mind was not apt to run spontaneously into insulting ideas, or to practise a form of wit which identifies Moses with the advertisement sheet; but he was just now governed by dread, and if Mirah's parents had been Christian, the chief difference would have been that his forebodings would have been fed with a wider knowledge."⁷⁷ All of which is reasonable, and (in its way) almost philo-semitic. Such statements have an incremental effect, however, and this leads one to suspect that George Eliot

76 Eppie enables Silas to find a community, a heritage and a person to love who would love him in return: she is herself both taught by and representative of the village (Eliot, Silas Marner, The Weaver of Raveloe [1861], ed. Q. D. Leavis [Harmondsworth, 1967], p. 30); Knoepfelmacher, Religious Humanism, p. 79; Jerome Beatty, "The Forgotten Past of Will Ladislav", NCF, 13 (1958), 159-63; Richard Ellman, "Dorothea's Husbands: Some Biographical Speculations", TLS, 16 February 1973, 167; Henry James, "Daniel Deronda: A Conversation", originally in the Atlantic Monthly for December 1876: reprinted in Partial Portraits (London, 1888), p. 80, and in Leavis, The Great Tradition, p. 286. Leavis notes that the pawnbroking Cohens are "from Dickens rather than from life" (p. 99) and that Herr Klesner might be taken from the pages of Punch - "the foreigner at English social and sporting functions, intrinsically ludicrous because of his ignorance" - whilst also representing "the Teutonic Intellectual and licensed and conscious Artist" (pp. 133-34); whilst Deronda can carry many labels: "an agnostic's resuscitation of the benevolent gentleman", for example, (Carol Robinson, "The Severe Angel", 286); or "the English milord once again on the Grand Tour" (A. O. J. Cockshut, The Unbelievers: English Agnostic Thought 1840-1890 [London, 1964], p. 56).

77 Daniel Deronda, p. 247.

not only placed little value upon Judaism; except as they served her purposes she also placed little value upon Jews.

CHAPTER FIVE:
"THE CONVERSION OF THE JEWS"

LEOPOLD BLOOM'S dilemma - "is he a Jew or a gentile or a holy Roman or a swaddler or what the hell is he?"¹ - was one experienced by many. When Hyman Edelstein, a classical scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, wrote to The Jewish World on 15 January, 1909, he pointed out to his readers the difficulties of maintaining that he was "a true Englishman". Despite his Dublin birth, his Christian friends "recognise that I, having a distinct history, literature, language and country, compared to all which those of all other nations, dead or living, are as dross, cannot feel exactly as they do when they proudly talk of Brian Boru and of Nelson, no matter how much I may admire these heroes." This was a recognition of, if not an established fact, an accepted one. However, though people were unwilling to accept the professing Jew as a fellow citizen sharing national traditions ("the very idea is wholly inconceivable to the native mind"), they were usually happy to identify themselves, as Christians, with the history of Israel. "On the other hand," continued Hyman Edelstein, "they gladly confess that they felt as I do when I talk of Moses, our kings, warriors, psalmists, prophets and philosophers."²

Victorian Christians were entirely convinced that the Church had replaced Israel in the Lord's affections; consequently, the Old Testament, if it had any value at all, was "an admirable source of illustrations and happy quotations"³ to support Christian principles and concepts. Anything seen as admirable was

1 James Joyce, Ulysses, p.335.

2 Hyman, The Jews of Ireland, pp. 176 (quoting Edward Raphael Lipsett), 177.

3 Anthony Tyrell Hanson, Jesus Christ in the Old Testament (London, 1965), p.5.

automatically seen to be distinct from Judaism, and to date "from the old times of the national greatness, when the minds of the people were hewn in a larger type than was to be found among the Pharisees of the great synagogue."⁴

In 1795 the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews was formed as part of Evangelical Christianity's outreach to the heathen at home and abroad.⁵ The London Society soon found out two discouraging things. Firstly, that Jews are not easily converted, and that "Missions to the Jews were impracticable, unless supplemented by pecuniary and material assistance". It was estimated that every convert was obtained at a cost to the public of between £500 and £600.⁶ Secondly, these converts were of doubtful integrity. It was reckoned that of 144 converts, at least 140 were impostors.⁷ Of course, most missionary work amongst the poor of every and any faith was similarly unrewarding: the purses of the rich were opened by "whining, canting, deceit and lies." The Christian missions offered education and medical care to the Jewish poor and the Jews themselves were mostly indifferent as to whether they patronised them or the Board of Guardians in Middlesex Street; some, naturally, determined upon self-improvement

4 James Anthony Froude, "The Book of Job", in Short Studies on Great Subjects (Everyman's Library: London, 1906), p. 81.

5 Roth, History, p. 244

6 "Missions to the Jews", WR, NS.69/125 (1886), 148; Roth, History, p. 245; cf. the account given by Beatrice Webb, conveniently reprinted in Charles Booth's London: A Portrait of the Poor at the Turn of the Century..., edd. A. Fried and R. M. Elman (Harmondsworth, 1971).

7 "Missions to the Jews", 171, 175; cf. Disraeli's satire of the congregation of the Bishop of Jerusalem which included the consular families "and five Jews whom they have converted at twenty-five piastres a week; but I know they are going to strike for wages", Tancred, p. 186; on a more exalted level, Melmotte is impartial in his charity: he donates to both Catholic and Protestant funds and is listed as a convert by "The Surplice" (The Way We Live Now, vol. 1, pp. 48-49).

through a nominal conversion.⁸ These discouraging facts were ignored, however. It seemed inconceivable that the Jews should not be converted ultimately and so the London Society's work went on.

The Christians of every class and all walks of life, who supported the London Society in the mission, were more easily impressed than the Jews. "A sermon had been preached for the Jew's Society, and Susan, with awe-struck wonder, heard for the first time of the privileges, the sins, the chastisements, the hopes of Israel." This fiction is credible: Susan was a Christian servant in a middle-class Jewish home; another fictional example suggests that the London Society also had a vogue amongst the Christian aristocracy. Lord Montacute and Lady Katherine, for example, were "puritanical, severe and formal in their manners, their relaxations a Bible Society, or a meeting for the conversion of the Jews".⁹ To gain adherents and funds the Society sent speakers to tour the country, with local clergy whipping up support. Thus Mr. H. S. Jacobs preached at Frome on April 18, 1841 and raised £6 (enough, at least, to cover his expenses). The week before, the vicar, the Rev. W. E. Daniel, had toured the parish to generate enthusiasm, and he noted with satisfaction in his Parish Memorandum Book: "Church to [sic] crowded obliged to bring in forms

⁸ Charles Kingsley, Yeast, p. 174; C. Russell and H. S. Lewis, The Jew in London (London, 1901), p. 19, note that both the Missions and the Board of Guardians were used indifferently; Chaim Lewis, A Soho Address (London, 1965), p. 10, remembers "a 'Christian Mission to the Jews' which by dispensing free medicine and the gospels, traded on Jewish ills to work a spiritual regeneration. The Jewish sick thirstily imbibed the medicine but remained irredeemably allergic to the Christian doctrine." Some, of course, succumbed; the contempt of the Victorian writer was reserved, however, for the Missionary rather than the convert; a useful comparison is Arthur Morrison's bitter treatment of the East End Elevation Mission and Pansophical Institute (A Child of the Jago, pp. 52-53).

⁹ Charlotte Elizabeth [Mrs. Tonna] Judah's Lion, (1843) (London, 1863), p. 6; Disraeli, Tancred, p. 13; for a middle-class enthusiast, see Payne, The Burnt Million, vol. 1, p. 223.

from the school[.] Beautiful sermon opening up many prophecies". Frequently there was less room for encouragement, but year in year out collections were made for the Jews: there were sermons in Church, public meetings in the School (once attended by a Jew), and door to door collections;¹⁰ and this pattern was being followed in parishes throughout the country.

What were the results of it all? If nothing else, as Cecil Roth has pointed out, "in Evangelical circles the movement resulted in the development of a spirit of friendliness, which insisted on the recognition of the Jews as members of English society."¹³ Friendship and sympathy were extended to all. The Jew, however, was defined by the non-Jew; and he was condemned if he did not come up to scratch.

"The Victorian age saw the transformation of the religious novel from a literary outcast into a most respectable and highly fashionable form of fiction";¹⁴ and amongst the assorted tales of conversion there were those which featured the Jews. Though it became a critical touchstone for religious novelists to respect the Jews, and polite statements like "You must be a good Jew, sir, before you can be a good Christian"¹⁵ became a cliché, the fact that most good Jews did not become Christians of any sort posed a problem. It was felt, in answer, that orthodox Jews could not be "good" in any Christian sense of the word simply because they were not converted. In novels that deal with conversion, therefore,

10 Rev. William Eustace Daniel, Parochial Memorandum Book (1841), Bath Public Libraries: ms. 1115, p. 34 (collation 1), pp. 45, 47 (collation 2); the Jew is noted as attending in 1848 (ms. 1122).

11 Roth, History, p. 245

12 Margaret M. Maison, Search Your Soul, Eustace: A Survey of the Religious Novel in the Victorian Age (London, 1961), p. 1.

13 Mrs. Tonna, Judah's Lion (1843) (London, 1868), p. 169.



the unconvinced become, because of their lack of Christian conviction, the villains of the piece: and very traditional villains as well. Because they are stereotypes, however, a simple action will change them from bigots to saints; once they accept Christ they are changed from the conventional Pharisee to the conventional Paterfamilias.

Faced with the unconverted Jewish masses the religious novelist was placed on the defensive. The Church can be congratulated if a Jew is baptized, for it will be infused with "Hebrew life and zeal"; but, if the Jew does not see the light, those same characteristics must be turned to his condemnation: his "wild religion blinds and deceives" him, we are told.¹⁴ Every difference between Judaism and Christianity is seen as preventing a confession of faith in Jesus Christ; is seen solely from the Christian viewpoint, and is therefore condemned. "The Judaism of the present day ... is superstition and infidelity," wrote the journalist; and he is echoed by the novelist, "the modern Jew is carnal and not spiritual";¹⁵ and why? - because of his irreverent worship, and "the rigid fetters of the rabbinical law".¹⁶ Indecorum in the synagogue, however, "is not always to be traced to the neglect of the spirit of true piety or the absence of genuine prayerfulness, or to the lack of sensitivity to the sanctity of the synagogue; it is sometimes engendered by an overt display of just those virtues manifested in exuberance in prayer

14 Mrs. J. B. Webb, Naomi; or, The Last Days of Jerusalem (London, 1863), p. 3. Heighway, Leila; or, The Jewish Convert (London, 1853), p. xix;

15 Louisa Thompson, Ivan Graham, pp. 199-200; "The Modern Jew", QR, 183 (1896), 51

16 Emily Marion Harris, Estelle, 2 vols. (London, 1878), vol. 1, p. 193. "shouts from subterranean depths, oaths from Hell itself, and chanting from Pandemonium or the Synagogue", William Beckford, Life at Fonthill 1807-1822 with interludes in Paris and London, trans. and ed. Boyd Alexander (London 1957), p. 81.

and accompanied by undue expressiveness and irrepressibility."¹⁷ This possibility was ignored by the religious novelist, however, as it would complicate his Christianity-orientated scheme of things too much to have an alternative form of "true worship". Similarly,

a consideration of the Hebrew ritual, as a whole body of laws, would evidently show the mistake of interpreting the holiness of the law of the Mosaic ritual as only ceremonial, consisting in outward washing, purifications, expiations and the like. It would plainly show that the true spirit and meaning of the whole law, and of each particular rite of it, of all ceremonial holiness itself, was to teach and exhort the Hebrews, as the holy nation, to serve God in purity of heart, in real holiness, in a conformity to the whole will, and to the perfection of the holy God himself.¹⁸

This was ignored, lest Judaism be thought to be a religion of sanctification; it was easier to attack the Jewish tradition "as [being] unworthy of God, hurtful of true religion, tending even to establish superstition on the ruins of moral virtue and goodness"¹⁹ than to argue in a novel (or, indeed, anywhere) why the believing Jew has his priorities wrong in being "involved in the salvation of the world rather than his own soul".²⁰ Easiest of all was to presume that the rabbis were the ones to blame for the "foolish fripperies"²¹ which blinded the Jewish people. At times it is hard to tell which is a fictional treatment of this theme and which is supposed to be serious journalism: "Erudite Rabbis could not have repeated the Ten Commandments and the commentary was almost more inspired than the text"; "The Rabbi H---- had studied the Talmud more than

17 Isaac Levy, The Synagogue: Its History and Function (London, 1963), p. 124

18 Moses Lowman, A Rational of the Ritual of Hebrew Worship; in which the Wise Designs and Usefulness of these Rituals are explained and Vindicated from Objection (London, 1816.), p. 65

19 Lowman, op. cit., p. vii

20 W. Gunther Plaut, in "The State of Jewish Belief. A Symposium", introd. Milton Himmelfarb, Commentary, 42.2 (August 1966), 124.

21 O.W.T. Heighway. Adeline. 2 vols. (London. 1854) vol. 1. n. 25

the scriptures. He had read the latter here and there, but as a whole, never."²² In fact, everything was done so that "Judaism, in its highest development [could be shown as] a weak and unsatisfying thing".

This, of course, was not a technique peculiar to anti-semitism. It was by no means unusual for Victorian religious polemic (to deliberately) misinterpret the opposition. Mary Cholmondley describes, in her novel Red Pottage, the reactions of Hester Gresley to her brother's pamphlet on "Modern Dissent": "Dear James, it is thrice killing the slain. No one believes these fallacies which you are exposing; the Nonconformists least of all. Those I have talked with don't hold those absurd opinions that you put down to them. You don't even touch their real position. You are elaborately knocking down nine-pins that have never stood up because they have nothing to stand on."²³ Let one replace "Nonconformists" with "Catholics" or "agnostics", or "Mormons" or "Jews", and one has a standard and well-tried formula for religious fiction. All could be lumped together - "those conceited, narrow-minded Jews, those poor dotting monks and priests of the growsome, dark ages of faith"²⁴ because their principles were judged and found wanting; and this is because they were set up to guy the author's fears, prejudices and even anxieties over current social issues. "Literature thumped and kneaded the Mormons [for example] into a master symbol of all that was wrong with America. Readers in

22 "The Modern Jew", loc. cit., 35; Elizabeth Wheeler, From Petticoat Lane to Rotten Row, p. 70

23 Mary Cholmondeley, Red Pottage (London 1899), pp. 62-63.

24 Du Maurier, Trilby, p. 217; the way in which Scott goes to some trouble to link the superstitious Isaac of York and the superstitious Prior of St. Botolph has already been mentioned (above, pp. 41-42); the Jews were seized upon to illustrate the growsome and dark because they were regarded as "rigidly observant of outward ceremonies, and admitting of no exceptions from the requirements of the law": Whyte-Melville, The Gladiators, p. 287.

Britain as well as America apparently found a scapegoat upon which they might displace their social and moral uneasiness."²⁵

The roles filled by Jewish characters in the nineteenth-century religious novel are only partly explained by their fulfilling the expectations of a Missionary church. Because they are found in novels, they are also made to subscribe to the conventions of prose fiction, and more specifically, those of the religious novel. For all its variety of theological content, there were certain conventions which were relevant to the Jew - or, more usually, the Jewess - who was converted. Firstly, she conforms to the ideals of non-Jewish heroines; secondly, her conversion springs from the same grounds as theirs; and thirdly, they suffer identical temptations. That parallel ideals, conversions and temptations are found in religious novels of all varieties, and that there are equally strong parallels with non-religious fiction, suggests that these experiences are forged by literary convention, rather than being castings straight from a crucible of spiritual agony. This is not to deny the spiritual values and truth that lie behind this fiction: Tancred felt that Manchester needed an angel rather than a Bishop, and Disraeli was no doubt serious about the angel he eventually produced. So, presumably, were most novelists. It is demonstrable, however that the roles and stances assumed for the sake of the testimony are conventional; whether the theology itself is old or new wine is beyond the concern of this thesis.

One of the first authorial descriptions of a heroine in the modern novel is found in Tom Jones, and there was to be little

25 Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "The Missouri and Illinois Mormons in Ante-Bellum Fiction", Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, 5.1 (Spring, 1970), 46; cf. David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature", MVHR, 47 (September, 1960), 205-224.

change in the stereotype in the next one hundred and fifty years. She was, of course, beautiful; other features which should be memorised are her delicacy, her eyes (they "had a lustre in them, which all her softness could not extinguish"), her modesty, her "perfections of the mind", her great musical talent and her good works.²⁶ These characteristics remained constant in the young ladies found in more bourgeois settings; in scenes of domestic piety young girls could still be found unconscious of the descent of their manners and attitudes from the courts of renaissance Italy.

For all their modesty there was something impetuous about these wise virgins. Fielding remarked of his heroine that "Sophia, with the highest degree of innocence and modesty, had a remarkable sprightliness in her temper", and Rousseau noted of her namesake, "On la voyant, on dit, Voilà une fille modeste et sage; mais tant qu'on reste auprès d'elle, les yeux et le coeur errent sur toute sa personne sans qu'on puisse les en détacher, ..." ²⁷ Modest, innocent, these heroines are also very open to suggestions of both sacred and profane love. The young lady who finds God, or a faith, seems to have been taken, time and time again, from the same pattern book as the one who finds a husband, or a lover; a young Jewess needed very little alteration to play the same role. She would be an "elegant timid young creature ... all blushing and reluctant" with a "quiet resigned yet dignified grace" and a susceptible heart.²⁸ Her noble thoughts, domestic accomplishments, musical virtuosity and quiet benevolence are all predictable; her gentle spirit would be bound to find happiness as a result of a

26 Henry Fielding, The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling (1749), ed. R. F. C. Mitter (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 153-56.

27 ibid. p. 163; Mario Praz, The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction, trans. Angus Davidson (London, 1956), p. 21 (from Emile [1761]).

28 Maria Edgeworth, Harrington, pp. 83-84.

chance meeting, or a New Testament chanced upon.

When Vincentio di Vivaldi first saw Ellena Rosalba it was, according to Mrs. Radcliffe, "in the church of San Lorenzo at Naples, in the year 1758": Ellena was beautiful, and Italian. The wind disturbed her veil, and "disclosed to him a countenance more touchingly beautiful than he had dared to imagine. Her features were of the Grecian outline, and, though they expressed the tranquillity of an elegant mind, her dark blue eyes sparkled with intelligence."²⁹ It is important to note that this Neapolitan beauty is described in somewhat more accessible terms than her nationality would lead one to expect. Instead of Mediterranean charms, there are "Grecian", classical features which would more closely approximate to English standards of beauty. Some authors are even cruder in their use of this technique when it is necessary to do a similar favour for a Jewish heroine. Thus Lady Eastlake describes the wife of a Jewish pedlar (who becomes a Christian after her husband's death) in this way: "Her beauty was great, - in truth, too great to be fully appreciated by the company in which she now sat ... her deep blue eye and tender brow might have better found its prototype among the high-born daughters of an island kingdom."³⁰ Similarly, Naomi, daughter of Israel ben Oriel, when first seen is assumed to be "of that type - as I thought - that is loveliest among the creatures of God - the type

29 Ann Radcliffe, The Italian; or, The Confessional of the Black Penitents: A Romance (1797), ed. Frederick Garber (London, 1968), pp. 5, 6 and 12; "The light drapery of her dress, her whole figure, air, and attitude, were such as might have been copies for a Grecian nymph".

30 Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake, "The Jewess, a tale from the shores of the Baltic", in Livonian Tales (London, 1846), p. 143. It is interesting to note that the lady of the house has an almost semitic beauty. The "Christian lady's eye was full, dark, and of an Oriental languor, and her eyebrows slender and arched like Lot's daughter in Guido's picture" etc. (ibid.)

of a beautiful English girl."³¹ There was, in fact, a general tendency for the young and beautiful to look English whilst parents and other impediments to the true-love's-tale have strongly racial characteristics.

The reader of The Italian who shares Vivaldi's curiosity about Ellena soon discovers that she has a great aptitude for the rendition of "meek and holy" strains: "he soon heard the voice of Ellena herself, performing the midnight hymn to the Virgin, and accompanied by a lute, which she touched with a most affecting and delicate expression."³² If Sophia would never play any but Handel's music, it is not surprising that Ellena, who, like Emily St. Aubert or Antonia Dalfa, is of a more romantic nature, should be composer as well as performer. The musician-poet, wrote Shelley, "participates in the eternal, the infinite, the one."³³ It is not, therefore, entirely surprising to find Argemone meditating upon ideal beauty and the harmony of the moonlit world as "she sat in the window, and listlessly read over to herself a fragment of her own poetry: - SAPPHO"; or Marie singing an ecstatic Hebrew hymn in the glow of a very gothic sunset. So it is that Millicent Kendrick, widowed and converted, "began to write again, for now I felt that I must consecrate my talent to God"; Adeline Steinberg composes and sings (at her window, at night) the "Hebrew Maiden's Dying Hymn"; and Emma de Lissau (exceptional in all things) produces a volume of Christian poetry as well as several hymns such as "Lines written during a Painful Imposition"

31 Hall Caine, The Scapegoat, A Romance, 2 vols. (London, 1891). vol. 1, pp. 24, 30-31.

32 The Italian, p. 11.

33 Percy Bysshe Shelley, in his "A Defence of Poetry", in Shelley's Prose; or, The Trumpet of a Prophecy, ed. David Lee Clark (Albuquerque, N.M., 1966), p. 279.

and "The Jewish Convert's View of her Adorable Lord".³⁴ It is rather beside the point,³⁵ that the Jews "seem to keep alive in their souls the memory of the harps of Babylon" in any case, the Jewish lament for Zion had become a model for other poetic griefs long before the Jewish convert made her appearance in religious fiction.³⁶ A general, Jewish aptitude for music is one thing; moonlight religious musings are another, and quite conventional.

So is the heroine's enthusiasm for good works. The idea of what constitutes a good charity varies through the century, but the need for the ladies to be about some benevolent task is never forgotten. Dorothea Brooke, with her village-school housing schemes, is very much a late-century heroine;³⁷ earlier novels

34 Charles Kingsley, Yeast, p. 23; Grace Aguilar, The Vale of Cedars; or, The Martyr (London, 1850), p. 5; Emma J. Worboise, Millicent Kendrick; or, The Search After Happiness (London, 1879), p. 438; Heighway, Adeline, pp. 53-54; cf. similar actions by heroines who are moving away from Judaism: Anna Klosstock sits under the window in the moonlight and counts her blessings (Hatton, By Order of the Czar, vol. 1, p. 45) or Zoraide composes and sings laments for the Temple (Mrs. Webb, Julamerk; or, The Converted Jewess [London, n.d.], p. 10); Mrs. Webb has Naomi switch from composing Nationalist songs to turning out hymns of Christian faith (Noomi, pp. 204, 471); Amelia Bristow, Emma de Lissau; A Narrative of Striking Vicissitudes, and Peculiar Trials; with Notes, Illustrative of Manners and Customs of the Jews (2nd ed.: London, 1829) 2 vols., vol. 2, pp. 237-241.

35 Thus Anna Klosstock "had the natural taste of her race for Music" (Hatton, By Order of the Czar, 1, p. 15); the quotation is taken from Mrs. Trollope, A Romance of Vienna, vol. 2, p. 76.

36 "By the waters of Cheltenham I sat down and drank, when I remembered thee, Oh Georgiana Cottage! As for our harps, we hung them up upon the willows that grew thereby. Then they said, 'Sing us a song of Drury Lane,' etc.; - but I am dumb and dreary as the Israelites." Byron to Lord Holland, 10 Sept. 1812. The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals, ed. Rowland E. Prothero, 6 vols. (London, 1898-1901), vol. 2, p. 143: noted by Thomas L. Ashton, Byron's Hebrew Melodies (London, 1972), p. 167.

37 Dorothea's vision was realised in 1872 (the year of Middlemarch's publication) with the entry into fiction of Octavia Hill's new housing schemes in the plans of Lady Barnard and Marion Clarke in George MacDonald, The Vicar's Daughter (London, 1872): see Patricia Thomson, The Victorian Heroine, p. 36.

had been content(as society had been content) with charitable visits:

It was evident that she was a visitor both habitual and beloved. Each cottage-door was familiar to her entrance. The children smiled at her approach; their mothers rose and curtsied with affectionate respect; how many names and how many wants had she to remember! Yet nothing was forgotten. Some were rewarded for industry, some were admonished not to be idle; but all were treated with an engaging suavity more efficacious than gifts or punishments. The aged were solaced by her visit; the sick forgot their pains; and, as she listened with sympathizing patience to long narratives of rheumatic griefs, it seemed her presence in each old chair, her tender inquiries and sanguine hopes, brought even more comfort than her plentiful promises of succour from the Bower, in the shape of arrowroot and gruel, port wine and flannel petticoats.³⁸

Even in the midst of the city the heroine is expected to show this spirit. "Maria's disposition was peculiarly free from selfishness, [and] it was also remarkable for great sweetness and vivacity"; Rebecca and Almah and Leila Ada are as "good as [they are] beautiful", and Estelle "was not completely a novice at visiting among the poor".³⁹ When a young girl is converted, she moves into the mainstream of Christian morality; Jewesses, amongst the rest, must make benevolent, Christian visits to the poor.

The prototypes used in this argument have been taken from the eighteenth-century novel. When Morris Golden wrote that the focus of Samuel Richardson's fiction was "directly on the problems of people

38 Disraeli, Henrietta Temple, p. 112.

39 Memoirs of Maria - A Converted Jewess (1841) (3rd ed.: London, 1858), p. 2; Amelia Bristow, Emma de Lissau; A narrative of striking Vicissitudes and Peculiar Trials; with Notes illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Jews, 2 vols. (2nd ed.: London 1829), vol. 2, p. 190; vol. 1, p. 260; Heighway, Diary, p. 71; Harris, Estelle, vol. 2, p. 222.

at the age for serious sexual involvement when character can best be seen through moral decisions made under the pressures of strong and fully formed passions, and when fantasies of aggression can most luridly be projected,"⁴⁰ she provided an insight into not only the sentimental heroine of subsequent Gothic fiction, but also the sentimental heroine of many nineteenth-century novels of conversion. The missionary arm of the Church (both Anglican and Nonconformist) was as susceptible to the conventions of the sentimental heroine in the nineteenth century as it had been in the eighteenth when John Wesley abridged the "orgies of emotion" of Henry Brooke's The Fool of Quality.⁴¹ "The delicate morality" of sentimentalism came into vogue at the time of the Evangelical

40 Morris Golden, Richardson's Characters (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963), p. 93.

41 Henry Brooke, The Fool of Quality; or, The History of Henry Earl of Moreland, 5 vols. (London, 1766-1770); John Wesley abridger, History of Henry, Earl of Moreland, 2 vols. (London 1781). The Monthly Review had reviewed the original as "a performance enriched by genius, enlivened by fancy, bewildered with enthusiasm, and overrun with the visionary jargon of fanaticism" which it thought would appeal to both Methodists and Catholics: see L. Tyerman, The Life and Times of the Reverend John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists, 3 vols. (London 1880), vol. 3, pp. 172-173. Wesley's letter to Brooke shows his enthusiasm for "the religion of the heart" (*ibid.* p. 173); cf. p. 343; Agnes de la Gorce, Wesley Maître d'un peuple (1703-1791) (Paris, 1940), p. 273: "Il avait cru que la religion du cœur - la sienne - renfermait toute la religion"; and James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, 2 vols. (London, 1843-1844), vol. 2, p. 83, for the confused reactions of a Methodist to Wesley/Brooke's fiction. The modern reader is amazed by the "orgies of emotion" in Brooke's novel (Edith Birkhead, "Sentiment and Sensibility in the Eighteenth-Century Novel", ES, 11 [1925], 104), but Wesley was attracted by the sentiments, which are generally just" (Letter of July 8, 1774 to the author's nephew, Henry Brooke, in Tyerman, *op. cit.*, vol. 3 p. 173); Trevor Denting, Wesleyan and Tractarian Worship, An Ecumenical Study, (London 1966), has noted common origins for Methodists and Tractarians in the Non-Jurors and the Caroline divines. It is not surprising that they made similar use of inspirational verse (pp. 84, 91) and fictional stereotypes.

religious revival, and in the next century impressionable Jewesses and others en route to baptism were more likely to be involved with this kind of theme than with those reflecting High Church concern over sacramentalism, ritualism and church restoration.

In 1701 Sir Richard Steele published The Christian Hero, in which he discussed, with "pronounced fervour", the meaning of charity. "That noble spark of Celestial Fire, we call Charity or Compassion, which opens our bosoms and extends our arms to Embrace all Mankind, and it is by this that the Amorous Man is is not more suddenly melted with beauty, than the Compassionate with Misery!"⁴² This impulse linked the secular and the sacred through sentimental benevolist fiction. At some critical point in the eighteenth century this benevolism was the common property of both Latitudinarians and Methodists, and the source of Christian virtue for the heroes of the contemporary novel. Clarissa's "fervid, ..., amiable ... devotions" spring from the same roots as Mr. Heartfree's "Enthusiasm, which by degrees soon became invulnerable to every human Attack";⁴³ their happy frame of mind is the natural corollary of the religion of the heart, the combination of piety and devotion with vitality and judicious generosity.

There were, of course, significant differences between Churchman and Evangelical. The contention of Parson Adams "that a virtuous and good heathen, or Turk, are more acceptable in the sight of their Creator than a vicious and wicked Christian, though his faith were as perfectly orthodox as St. Paul's himself"⁴⁴ would

42 Sir Richard Steele, The Christian Hero, ed. R. Blanchard (Oxford, 1932), pp. xvi-xvii, 81.

43 Samuel Richardson, Clarissa; or, The History of a Young Lady (1748), 4 vols. (Everyman's Library: London, 1932), vol. 2 p. 220; Fielding, Jonathan Wild, p. 131.

44 Henry Fielding, Joseph Andrews and Shamela, ed. Martin C. Battestin (London, 1965), p. 68.

be one such point of dispute.

The Evangelicals believed that no man could be acceptable to God before a conversion and profession of grace through Christ. From this point of view benevolism was a perfect adjunct to - indeed a consequence of - salvatory grace; but it was not, in itself, the end of religion. If, therefore, a man abandoned his faith for a social ethic, it was regarded as a sad falling away. If, however, his general religion is merely a halfway stage in a progress from some gross idolatry to Christianity, then it is commendable. (Thus Miss Fennimore comes into the Church because although her Unitarian upbringing had given her a lamentable belief in a modified, progressive Christianity, she was not an irreligious person,⁴⁵ and her mind was open enough to permit an honest re-evaluation.) Even when Jewesses are described according to the pattern of the noble heroine, their formal conversion is still required. In the interests of good theology, if not good sense, their virtue cannot be permitted to remain amongst the adherents of judaism.

Sympathetic Jews who do not undergo conversion are shown to be excessively liberal in their theology and expansive in their benevolence. To all intents and purposes they are not Jews.⁴⁶ The same logic determines the portrayal of Charlotte Bronte's Mr. Paul: his self-honesty could not make him into a Protestant but "all Rome could not put him into bigotry", and he was generous to almost

45 Charlotte M. Yonge, Hopes and Fears; or, Scenes from the Life of a Spinster, 2 vols. (London, 1860-1861), vol. 1, p. 163.

46 For some authors, it would be intolerable for rabbinical jewry to show even a vestige of generosity: thus Leopold de Lissau, after a promising start, is lost: "scepticism reared her dark banner over his corrupted understanding, effaced from his bosom every tender relative tie, and ranked him among the heartless disciples of modern deism", Bristow, Ema de Lissau vol. 1, p. 165.

ridiculous extremes.⁴⁷

Those who are converted find a completion of their natures in Christianity, as well as an explanation of their faith. Byron's "The Wild Gazelle", a convert writes, "gave me right and correct views of the Jewish and Christian religion. I saw that I had never understood Judaism before; nor yet the way in which God always intended to deal with mankind."⁴⁸ Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews could produce the same result. As well as filling the theological gaps, Christianity completed the harmony of the individuals. Novels which dealt with the Conversion of Jews were not tales of harrowed and repentant sinners; it was more a matter of making good men perfect than one of rescuing the lost souls. And, just as the benevolism was already present and just needed to be placed in a Christian context, so the faith of the convert had already been stripped down to a simplicity which was concomitant with salvation through Jesus Christ. In this, too, they were following convention as much as missionary experiences.

Julius K. Brayne moved through scepticism and an enthusiasm for the "progressive" in religion so that he could find solace in the Catholic church; being a "true child of civilisation" and possessing a liberal theology saved Margaret Guildford from the Mormon "delusions" of her husband, and brought many characters in a similar plight to the safety of Episcopalianism; and young Mark found a Dissenting Salvation because prior to a Revival he was "innocent of religion" and was therefore uninfected by a conflicting theology. Conversion from deistic liberalism to almost anything was an established literary pattern for perverted

47 Charlotte Bronte, Villette (1853), introd. Margaret Lane (Everyman's Library; London, 1957), p. 450.

48 O. W. T. Heighway, The Diary of Leila Ada (London, 1854), p. 80.

Christian, Jew or even Hindu.⁴⁹ "Marianne was no bigoted daughter of Judah".⁵⁰ As far as the heroines of these novels are concerned, none of them were. Those who find salvation usually do so from a standpoint of "virtual infidelity" to Judaism as an organised religion ("I do not declare myself a Jew, for many of the Jewish rites and ceremonies seem to be but folly") which is either inherited or induced by some emotional or spiritual crisis. The Mosaic law is pointless for such a person, and rabbinical discourse "uncongenial to [their] expansive mind[s]". They are halfway to being either a Christian or a freethinker. Leila, for example though "a Jewess in name ... was rather a deist in belief".⁵¹

There is a temptation to see some nineteenth-century Jewesses as actually matching this sort of description. To

49 G. K. Chesterton, "The Secret Garden", in The Innocence of Father Brown, p. 64; Arrington and Haupt, "Ante-Bellum Fiction", pp. 40-41, with reference to: Orville S. Bellisle, The Prophets; or, Mormonism Unveiled (Philadelphia, 1855), and Robert Richards [pseud], The California Crusoe; or, The Lost Treasure Found: A Tale of Mormonism (London, 1854); Noted in Search Your Soul, Eustace, p. 195; John Ackworth, The Coming of The Preachers; a Tale of the Rise of Methodism (London, 1901), and p. 153: Cyril [Henry Dennehy] who, in A Flower of Asia (London, 1901), takes his heroine through Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Anglicanism before she becomes a happy Catholic.

50 G. J. Whyte-Melville, The Gladiators, A Tale of Rome and Judea (London, 1863), p. 77: "Her constant intercourse with [Christianity] had taught her nobler truths than she had derived from the traditions of her fathers".

51 Mrs. Tonna, Judah's Lion, p. 3; Mrs. Webb, Naomi, p. 68; Bristow, Emma de Lissau, p. 28, vol. 1; Bulwer Lytton, Leila: p. 93; to relapse into deism was terrible, but when the deist was en route to Christ, his deism was commended. cf. Edward Goldney, Friendly Epistle to Deists and Jews, in Order to Convert them to the Christian Religion (London, 1760), and this testimony: "I was very fond of reading the Psalms, and continued till my thirteenth year to be a Modern Jew or a Pious Deist", Jewish Witnesses that Jesus is the Christ, ed. Ridley A. Herschell (London, 1848), p. 60; the ideal starting point for a prospective convert is to be halfway to being either a Christian or a freethinker (Mrs. Gerrard, Recha [London, 1890], p. 127) and authors took pains to start their heroines from there.

Grace Aguilar it would have seemed "almost blasphemous to regard Hilloh as animated with the same spirit of God that moved Haggai", and she dismissed the oral law with the assertion that "the Bible is the only law which should guide our actions". Instead of reading the Talmud, she took notes from Lady Elizabeth Brooke on the duties of a Christian, and from Lucy, Mrs. Col. Hutchinson, on the definition of true love. This can be learned from her spiritual diary; and other Jewesses in fact as well as in fiction took up this habit of the non-Jewish world's heroes of keeping "diaries full of holy resolution to be read in moments of temptation".⁵²

Again, it might be noted that the Jewish Schools in the East End allowed non-Jewish precepts to be taught in the name of religious education: young Jewesses were told that they should "torture [their] minds with remorse" for their sinful follies - a teaching which smacks more of Victorian piety rather than Jewish tradition.⁵³ (The references to the "browsing lambkins of the

52 Israel Abrahams, By-Paths in Hebraic Bookland (Philadelphia, 1920), p. 251; despite her nationalist attitude to Hebrew (Mrs. Beth-Zion Abrahams, "Grace Aguilar on Hebrew", The Gates of Zion, 14.4 [July, 1960], 11) she was almost ecumenical in her faith: her "longing unconsciously for the pure and free" has been labelled "Jewish Protestantism" (Mrs. Beth-Zion Abrahams, "Grace Aguilar: A Centenary Tribute", JHSE, 16 [1945-1951], 139, 141); Grace Aguilar, Sacred Communings (15 January - 31 December 1836), original ms. Jewish Museum, London, pp. 135, 112-113, 126-129; Margaret Maison, Search your Soul, Eustace, p. 93.

53 Addresses to Young Children, Originally Delivered in the Girls' Free School Bell Lane (London, 1857) - there was a French translation (Paris, 1863) but it, the original and the 2nd Series collection (London, 1867) give no indication of authorship - pp. 10, 67; this attitude is Protestant, however, and not Jewish: Morris Joseph, Judaism as Creed and Life (London, 1910), p. 101; the suffering for the world is God's Role (Leo Roth, Judaism, A Portrait [London, 1960], p. 208), the Jews role is action (Saul S. Spiro, Fundamentals of Judaism [New York, 1969], p. 61); there should be no doubts that the Jewish children in the East End of London received a Jewish education in public as well as Jewish schools: E. C. Carter, "Notes on the Jewish Question in Whitechapel", EcR, 11 (1901), 94-98, Gartner, Jewish Immigrant, p. 221.

earth" show the anonymous lecturer's level of taste). There are two reasons, however, for continuing to assume that the authors of conversion fiction developed their story-lines from traditional and non-Jewish motifs, and not from life.

Firstly, the authors seemed to be unaware of trends in liberal Judaism, and they almost completely ignore the Reform movement. Spiritual anxiety is only present in the hearts of those who apostatise.⁵⁴ Catherine Levy became convinced of sin (and is converted), as did Emma de Lissau: "a deep sense of inward depravity impressed her heart" and she asked herself what was needed for her to be saved.⁵⁵ The conclusions, and indeed the specific phrasing of the questions, are Christian. The account is measured according to the readers' expectations - a sort of missionary wish-fulfilment - and it is not an attempt to describe the religious doubts which caused some Jews to accept Christ. Only those who accept the Christian gospel are shown to be searching for truth. The novels are plotted backwards from the fact of conversion and are consequently logical but not realistic.⁵⁶

Secondly, the events leading up to the conversion follow such a regular pattern that they must be stereotypical; the pattern is followed not only by converting Jews but also by proselytes from every creed. Their access to grace usually came in one of three ways.

54 In these novels the Jews are either grist for the missionary mill, or complacent bigots. The genuine dilemmas of educated Jewry who had religious doubts but were able to reinterpret Judaism to fit their needs is ignored. Grace Aguilar is one example, as has already been suggested (see her "Sacred Communings", pp. 59-61 for a wrestling with the genealogy of Jesus); another diary to reveal doubts is that of Lady de Rothschild, vol. 2, pp. 5-6.

55 Bristow, Emma de Lissau, vol. 1, pp. 222, 29.

56 They are almost spiritual detective stories: the progress to the baptismal service/profession of faith/martyrdom is inexorable. For every species of heresy or idolatry there was a formula of conversion which is followed rigorously: Clara Hopgood, p. 9.

Perhaps the most obvious cause would be inspired preaching; the mere attendance at a Christian service was bound to result, it was thought, in the conversion of a Jew. If some authors had been taken seriously the Jewish community would have been decimated within months: it was not.

A harangue from someone "greatly interested in the Jewish religion"⁵⁷ was usually more effective than the liturgy. These preachments, often tediously long,⁵⁸ usually started on the subject of the expected restoration to Palestine: a discussion of the relevant Biblical prophecies was then directed to those concerning the Second Coming. Often this information was given in one eloquent sermon from a perfect stranger; on other occasions the same information could be trotted out piecemeal from a Christian friend. This was a standard technique of religious fiction.⁵⁹ At the time of crisis a Jewess might be put on the right road by illustrious mentors, such as Mary (the sister of Martha and Lazarus), just as an erring non-Jew could be helped by the ministry of John Wesley; but the "friends" could vary from a religious family servant, to a local curate, a schoolmistress, or even a preposterous figure like Charles Kingsley's Barnakill.⁶⁰

More eloquent than a friend, and more impressive than the forms of Christian worship, was the New Testament. Even those young people whose education lead them to doubt their own heritage

57 Elizabeth Wheeler, The Great Beyond: A Jewish Story (Manchester, [1899]), p. 69.

58 "A Jewish Gypsy is won round, after ten pages of intense debate [in J. H. Ingram, The Gypsy of the Highlands (London, 1847)] to belief in the Nicene Creed", L. James, Fiction for the Working Man (London, 1963), p. 134.

59 Alick Cohen, in Judah's Lion, is helped by a family servant, a sailor, a formal missionary, and the Ryan family (with a very precocious child) who specialise in the ministry to the Jews.

60 Mrs. Webb, Naomi, p. 75.

were swayed by the testimony of this volume. The apikoros and the freethinker were both kept on a tight Evangelical reign. "I read on and trembled as I read," Recha told her lover, "It began to dawn on me that of the many millions of men that lived upon the earth, it is only a handful that believe what we believe. Why should those millions be wrong and we alone be right?"⁶¹ The statistical evidence for the validity of Christianity is not much better than that for Judaism, but Mrs. Gerrard is careful not to bring this to Recha's attention. The prospective convert was brought to denounce, de rigueur, the foolish superstitions of the Talmud, but they are not allowed to apply their enlightened critical techniques to either the Torah or the New Testament; they do not have, as logic would suggest, similar feelings of shame that they "could ever have credited the many profane and ridiculous fables contained in the Bible". Instead, they approach the New Testament with a trusting naivety.⁶²

The initial shock of seeing it in their father's Library⁶³ soon fades, and the initial doubts about examining it are soon

61 Dorothea Gerrard, Recha, p. 125

62 Condemnation of the Talmud is almost inescapable. Even Walter Besant joins in: "When will you step out of it Emmanuel - you - a wise man - you - a scholar - you - a genius - when will you step out of the darkness", The Rebel Queen, p. 7. Besant seems indebted in this novel to Heighway's fiction. Heighway despises the "inanities" of Jews who profess Judaism but ignore the Mishnah (The Morning Land [London, 1854] p. 10; Leila Ada, p. 14): his Jews are, not surprisingly, unconvincing (see the review in The Athenaeum, 27 May, 1854, 652-653); Mrs. Tonna, like Heighway, cannot resist linking the Talmud and child-murder (Judah's Lion, p. 280); all writers about Jewish conversions cannot resist sideswipes at the Law, George Croly, Tarry Thou Till I Come, or Salathiel the Wandering Jew (1828), (New ed.: New York, 1901), damns Judaism with faint praise: "We have prejudices, lofty, the blind - indissoluble, tho fanatic" (p. 123); Margaret Maison, Search your Soul Eustace, p. 271, quoting from Winwood Reade, The Outcast (London, 1875).

63 e.g. Mrs. Bristow, Emma de Lissau, vol. 1, p. 33

rationalized away. There could be it is argued, "nothing very bad, nor blasphemous, in reading about so good a man" as Jesus.⁶⁴ The first reaction to the New Testament indicates the character's moral worth, and provides a sure guide to his fate. If he knows so little about his own religious traditions to wonder about "so deep a wisdom and so lofty and self-denying a morality"⁶⁵ - then there is hope for his conversion; but if, however the character is a committed, practising Jew and the reading has little effect ("I was a Jew when I began; and when I finished, I was, if possible, more a Jew than ever")⁶⁶ - he is dismissed as a bigot. Ideally the reading was accompanied by a conversion experience: "You would have been twice as much a Jew, had you received the testimony which it bears to the King of the Jews."⁶⁷

This is all depressingly trivial. Not because the New Testament has not brought men to a life of renewed spirituality (it has, many times), nor because Jews have not been converted by its ring of truth (they have); but because, like the Low Church tracts they imitate, these novels mechanize the transformation of the soul.

There is a sad uniformity about the faith celebrated. Christ watches over his Church, whilst "Judaism, the shell wherein lies concealed and useless to its possessor, the rich kernel of the Gospel, and Popery, the worthless husk from which that kernel has been privily eaten out, are the object of [Satan's] peculiar vigilance."⁶⁸ One of the surest indications that these tales of

64 Madame Brendlah, Tales of a Jewess, illustrating the Domestic Manners and Customs of the Jews, interspersed with Original Anecdotes of Napoleon (London 1838), p. 81.

65 Reade, It's Never Too Late to Mend, vol. 2, p. 132.

66 Heighway, Adeline, p. 73.

67 Mrs. Tonna, Judah's Lion, p. 169; Margaret Maison, op.cit. p. 94.

68 Mrs. Tonna, Judah's Lion, p. 37.

conversion have left the real world for one of fantasy is the obligatory involvement of these sweet young converts in anti-Catholic propaganda.

Alick Cohen tells Mrs. Ryan: "the more I see of your wide separation from this disgusting idolatry, the more willing I am to listen to your opinions." It was "the fatal leaven", a "gross idolatry" and a regular threat to the new-found Christian faith of the young Jewish convert. It was better to be an agnostic Jew than a practising Catholic, whose "endless round of ceremonies" in any case "equalled those of the Jews".⁶⁹

The convert's relationship with his parent religion is equally predictable. It is handled according to an anti-Catholic convention deriving from the Gothic novel and from the pre-revolutionary French drame monacale. When Clarissa Harlowe refused to obey her parents and marry Mr. Solmes she was locked away until she and Lovelace escaped: the principal difference between her fate and that of many nineteenth-century Jewesses (and others) was that their incarceration and threat of marriage was entirely motivated by religion. When parents locked away their child because he, or she, was a meshanud who obviously only needed time to repent they were re-enacting the pattern of the religieuse malgré elle.

The convention was introduced to English literature in M. G. Lewis's The Monk.⁷⁰ The original crux was usually the right to marry (thereby freeing oneself from ecclesiastical domination), the moral at its mildest that "Dieu ne défend pas sans doute de vivre

69 *ibid.* p. 118, 44-45, Bristow, Emma de Lissau, vol. 2, p. 6

70 Edmond Ésteve, "Le 'Théâtre Monacal' sous la Révolution: ses précédents et ses suites", Étude de Littérature Preromantique (Paris, 1923), p. 88; Louis F. Peck, A Life of Matthew G. Lewis (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 23.

honnêtement et doucement dans un couvent; mais je suis d'avis q'il aime encore mieux q'on se marie." Usually the possibility of a good Christian life within a convent is destroyed by the presence of avaricious, lecherous and libidinous monks. By the time of the restoration of the French monarchy the actual abuses had ceased, but the characters and the plot - the unwilling entrance into a religious life, the visits and letters of a lover (usually disguised as the gardener), the foiled rescue attempts, the incarceration and attempted rape, and the final rescue-had become favourite sources of romantic inspiration. As Édmond Éstève puts it, "anti-cléricalisme? non pas; mais affaire d'esthétique".⁷¹ However, in the Victorian novel the balance between the justification of anti-Catholicism by the evidence of scenes of sadistic sexuality, and the reverse, was very fine indeed.

The roles played by Jewish characters were affected by this pattern in three ways. Firstly, there were tales of religieuses Juives malgré elles who were in the grip of the Inquisition; secondly, away from Spain, the apostasy of youth was combat^{ed} by imprisonment and the threat of an orthodox marriage; and thirdly, the hard-hearted inflexibility of the Catholic parents who condemn their children to suffer "les rigeurs du cloître" is transferred to the Jewish parents unhappy about the prospects of an inter-faith marriage.

Even a Jewess imprisoned in the cells of the Holy Office is bound to frustrate the plans of the proto-Jesuitical Inquisitor and his "hellish colleagues", either with the aid of her lover (this is the traditional method: Gabriel and Isabella actually become engaged during a secret visit he makes to plan her escape),⁷² or a

71 Éstève, "Le 'Théâtre Monacale'", pp. 99, 123, 125.

72 Celia Moss Levetus, The King's Physician, p. 51; Grace Aguilar, Vale of Cedars, p. 172.

family member (an acceptable alternative, and also a tribute to the Jewish nishpocheh or extended family). The fact that parents or guardian figures deliver the innocent to the priests, that torture and destruction ~~are~~ threatened if she does not yield to their lust, and that rescue comes through disguised familiars, mark out even Anglo-Jewish accounts as traditional ones. Non-Jewish authors tended to fight shy of having to present Judaism as heroic.

When Alonzo Moncada took it upon himself, at the age of twelve, to question the methods and mores of the Spanish conventual system, his action was probably patterned on the precedent of the twelve-year-old Christ. The motif of the precocious child confounding the elders is, however, even older: "Intellectually oriented rabbinical Jewry liked to think that Abraham, by purely rational mental process, arrived at a knowledge of the true nature of God in the manner of the medieval schoolmen, and they depict him demonstrating his wit and knowledge in formal disputations in which he confounds Nimrod and his wise men with all the old familiar chestnuts of the schools."⁷³ But the fate of Alonzo differs from that of Abraham, or Christ; he is carried off to a convent and thence to the Inquisition. His fate determines that of characters such as young Emma de Lissau (also twolve) who is imprisoned for her temerity in questioning rabbinical Judaism and professing her faith in Jesus Christ.⁷⁴ Perhaps she was created with the child-saints of medieval Christianity in the author's mind: they too argued their faith before tormentors who were often Jewish.

As I have seyde, thurghout the Juarie,
This litel child, as he cam to and fro,
Ful murily than wolde he synge and crie
O Alma redemptoris everemo.

73 H. W. Nibley, "The Unknown Abraham", The Improvement Era, 72 (1969), 30.

74 Bristow, Emma de Lissau, vol. 1, p. 135; Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer, p. 74.

The swetnesse hath his herte perced so
Of Cristes mooder that, to hire to preye,⁷⁵
He kan nat stynte of syngyng by the weye.

Emma is not murdered, but if she had been a few years older she would have been provided with a husband to force her into religious conformity.

The religious life was not just interpreted to mean the isolation of a convent, or rigorous conformity. It also meant the confirmation and sealing of this faith by marriage. In most accounts of religious persecution "there is a Beautiful Young Girl who has been (or is about to be) forced into marriage with the Evil Old Man". This is a refinement, through the Gothic alembic, of the Merchant's Tale of January and May, and there must be a Damsel. If the designed husband is a priest, he is lay; if a catholic, a protestant; if a Jew, a Christian; if a Mormon, a gentile: "the young heroines in these stories are usually saved from the clutches of the Latter-day Saints by fleeing, aided by the Handsome Young Gentile, who is either pursuing a lost sister or just passing through with his waggonload of freight."⁷⁶ There are many sources of this kind of fiction; one at least links the poor beleaguered Jewesses with the heroines of Gothic fiction. The pride and bigotry of one generation tries to bring the innocence and faith of the next into subjection: "... if you have not strength of mind sufficient to enable you to renounce a sinful world, [you may] return into it [with] a suitable partner to support you through its cares and toils ..."⁷⁷

The parents, by determining who is a suitable partner, become the villains of the piece. "If thou has admitted to thy heart one

75 Chaucer, "The Prioress's Tale", ll. 551-557/1741-1747, Works, ed. F. N. Robinson (London, 1933).

76 Neal E. Lambert and Richard H. Cracroft, "Through Gentile Eyes. A Hundred Years of the Mormon in Fiction", The New Era, 2.3 (March, 1972), 15, 16.

77 Mrs. Radcliffe, The Italian, p. 83.

unworthy thought towards a Moorish infidel, dig deep and root it out, even with the knife, and to the death - so wilt thou save this hand from that degrading task."⁷⁷ When Almanen learns that Leila has become a Christian and entered a convent, he confronts her in the cathedral as she is about to take her vows, and slays her on the altar steps.⁷⁸ Lytton's creation of Almanen has been criticized, notably by Rosenberg,⁷⁹ for being a pastiche of traditional anti-semitic calumny and exaggeration; but though Rosenberg's criticism is well worth reading it is not entirely to the point. The author, wrote Lytton, "will suit the nature of the criminal to the state of the society in which he is cast. Thus he will have occasions for the noblest morality. By concentrating in one focus the vicious influences of any particular error in the social system he will hold up a mirror to nations themselves."⁸⁰ Almanen, then, is entirely amoral because Boabdil and Ferdinand are completely immoral; his metaphysical and nationalist aberrations are supposedly the result of the "persecution and affliction" inflicted on the Jewish people and their being "ground to the dust, condemned and tortured" by almost all classes in Granada.⁸¹ In the fairy-tale story of Leila, however, he is cast as the wicked-uncle. It is hardly surprising that when Leila disobeys him, she dies.

78 Bulwer Lytton, Leila, pp. 34, 154-155, cf. p. 124.

79 Rosenberg, From Shylock to Svengali, pp. 294-297.

80 Bulwer Lytton, Works, vol. 34 (Knebworth edition: London, 1874), p. 328.

81 Bulwer Lytton, Leila, pp. 25, 35, 38, 79-80, 96, etc; the persecutions and general details of the novel's action, were taken from Washington Irving, A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, From the Mss. of Fray Antonio Agapiado, 2 vols. (London, 1829): the (Marranos), the weakness of Boabdil the unfortunate, "the inspired santón", white banner and the people "infatuated by the predictions of the prophet", a beautiful infidel who is taught and accepted into the Church, "a mighty merchant, of uncounted wealth" who tries to buy benefits for his people, and even "el ultimo suspiro del Moro" can all be found in Irving's pages. The actual shaping of the story depends upon the conventions discussed above.

In Evangelical novels, however, the parents (representing Talmudic Judaism) are shaped by an a priori didacticism. Abuse is heaped on their heads for not following their son or daughter into baptism. The intelligent Jew, by the author's lights, is one who doubts the validity, or the applicability, of the Law: observing Jews, therefore, are "destitute of the more brilliant qualities" of their race. Because, from the wisdom of the Christian viewpoint, "some minor commands ... inclined towards bigotry", the orthodox family patriarch must consequently be not only devout, but also bigoted, rigid and fanatical. As Ronald Paulson has pointed out, a Turnus must be provided to match every Aeneas.⁸²

In the religious novel of the nineteenth century the opposition of ecclesia and synogogia was revived. This was not a reversion to the values and antipathies that lay behind medieval iconography. Ecclesia, as has been seen, is arrayed in the comely garments of an eighteenth-century heroine and she is brought forward to face and reject in Synogogia a representative of a Judaism invented to mask and parody Christian feelings of inadequacy and failure on a missionary level. Just as the villainy of the Catholic orders is traditional, but Schedoni is given his peculiarly "gloomy and ferocious disposition" because he is a Gothic villain,⁸³ so a belief in Jewish villainy has been co-extensive with Christianity, but these particular Jewish ogres are peculiarly offensive to nineteenth-century sensibilities. This state of affairs is generated by the context and conventions of literary Evangelism, and not by the myths of anti-semitism or the facts of Judaism.

⁸² Amy Levy, Reuben Sachs, p. 48; Harris, Estelle, vol. 1, p. 194; Mrs. Webb, Julamerck, p. 108; Bristow, Emma de Lissau, vol. 1, p. 9; Harris, Estelle, vol. 1, p. 193; Whyte-Melville, The Gladiators, p. 53; Wheeler, From Petticoat Lane to Rotten Row, p. 56, etc; Ronald Paulson, The Fictions of Satire (Baltimore, 1967), p. 112.

⁸³ Mrs. Radcliffe, The Italian, p. 35.

CONCLUSION

THIS CONSIDERATION of Jewish roles in the nineteenth-century novel has involved us in a study of myths, but the myths which lie behind and give meaning to the roles and attributes portrayed rather than the myths of - and about - Judaism itself. Almost without exception there has been a lack of awareness of the latter by the author, or a deliberate attempt to make the Jewish qualities subservient to the demands of type.

When du Maurier invents a controversy as to whether Aesop was a "lame poet of Lacedaemon ... [or] a little hunchback Armenian Jew", it tells us a little about the intellectual tone of du Maurier's circle and, in a small way, it could give an insight on the slow removal and disappearance of Jewish disabilities; but it is not significant in any literary sense. No nineteenth-century novelist had the desire, capacity or precedent before him for it to make any difference to the fiction whether a character was an Armenian Jew, or not.¹

As George Orwell has pointed out, however, when a Jewish character would seem to be interchangeable with another, it is the Jew who tends to leave a bad taste in the mouth.

It is interesting to compare the "Jew joke" with the other standby of the music-halls, the "Scotch joke", which it superficially resembles. Occasionally a story is told (e.g. the Jew and the Scotsman who went into a pub together and both died of thirst) which puts both races on an equality, but in general the Jew is credited merely with cunning and avarice while the Scotsman is credited with physical hardihood as well. This is seen, for example, in the story of the Jew and the Scotsman who go together to a meeting which has been advertised

¹ Du Maurier, The Martian, p. 45; such things can matter though. I think of such novels as Bernard Malamud, The Tenants (London, 1972), and Giorgio Bassini, The Garden of the Finzi-Continis, trans. Isabel Quigley (London, 1965).

as free. Unexpectedly there is a collection, and to avoid this the Jew faints and the Scotsman carries him out. Here the Scotsman performs the athletic feat of carrying the other. It would seem vaguely wrong if it were the other way about.²

Again, there were many supposed child-murderers in the medieval world; Gilles de Rais was guilty of this crime, and (amongst others) the Templars, the English army and the Jews were suspected. It is not hard to understand how the Jews could be saddled with this charge in an age of prejudice and gross superstition, an age when his villagers believed Gilles de Rais (Bluebeard) to be "writing in a great book in his own hand with the blood of the children he had killed. When the book was complete he would then have the power to take any stronghold he wished and he would be invulnerable."³ It is interesting that only the Jews carry this charge today; and Bluebeard has been downgraded to a vocation of wife-murder and a perennial popularity in French melodrama.

It is interesting: but it is not literature. In the novel it is only true for each specific instance that "to the Jew belongs ... the gold and jewels and stuffs, the gorgeous rooms and piled up coffers;"⁴ and the same applies to the blood-accusation. The roles played by Jew and Scotsman in their respective jokes are the same, and we might compare their coming together in the final joke told by Orwell with the situation in W. H. Ainsworth's Auriol (1865) where the lisp of the Jewish old-clothosman represents the cruelty of the crowd whilst the muscular vitality of a bystander's Irish brogue which

2 George Orwell, "Anti-Semitism in Britain", (1945), in Collected Essays (London, 1941), p. 310 n.

3 Jean Benedetti, Gilles de Rais: The Authentic Bluebeard (London, 1971), p. 163.

4 Lucy Kane Clifford, Mrs. Keith's Crime: A Record, 2 vols. (London, 1885), vol. 1, p. 177.

supports the hero.⁵ Someone has to play the villain and once the role has been passed out the design is executed with very little regard to Jewishness, Irishness or any other -ness. Jewish characters might play the villain; in the nineteenth-century novel they do not "play the Jew".

In theory, of course, it was possible. Firstly, "the very success of the Christians in humiliating the Jew in the world of reality," Hyam Maccoby has written, "has led to a need for a more reverential and ambivalent image in the world of fantasy."⁶

Secondly, Judaism offered, by its very existence, a powerful imaginative alternative to the secular and spiritual heritage of Western Christianity. Either as an allegory or a scapegoat, Judaism provided a tempting opportunity for mental and spiritual flirtation. "When the Emperor turned his horse's head from Waterloo, and Nathan Rothschild hastened from the same spot to conquer the London Stock Exchange by foretelling the news, not a single institution on the Continent which had existed before '89 was left standing, except the Christian Church and the Jewish Nation."⁷ The reverence was not long in coming. "Only two religious disciplines," wrote Matthew Arnold, "seem exempted, or comparatively exempted, from the operation of the law which appears to forbid the rearing, outside the national Churches, of men of the highest spiritual significance. These two are the Roman Catholic and the Jewish."⁸ Neither

5 W. H. Ainsworth, Auriol; or, The Elixir of Life (1865) (Copyright edition: London, n.d.), pp. 112-13.

6 Hyam Maccoby, "The Legend of the 'Wandering Jew': A New Interpretation", TJO, 20.1 (Spring, 1972), 4.

7 "The Modern Jew", QR, 183 (1896), 33.

8 Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy (1869), edd. R. H. Super, Works, vol. 5 (1965), p. 238, J. D. Wilson (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 13-14.

Socialism nor Humanism could, before the twentieth century, offer vitality of tradition: Nonconformity never could; the appeal of the sublime Jew is hardly surprising.

But even the most sublime Jew, Ahasuerus, can be better explained when placed in the company of the non-Jewish Prometheus and Faust, and cannot be interpreted with entire success as a manifestation or demonstration of the semitic soul. Understanding the Jew in literature is, after all, a literary matter not a sociological one, and a source of aesthetic, not political, concern.⁹ In the allocation of roles in the nineteenth-century novel for the characterization of Jews, the medium - with its stereotypes, conventions and genres: indeed, all the rhetoric of the novel - provides a rigid context for the Jewish message.

9 If a novelist consistently chose Jews to play parts of evil moneygrubbers, the choice would be a matter of morality and not of literature (though the characterization would include all the stock gestures and gambits appropriate to any evil moneygrubber); but, as Elie Halévy wrote, "The literary world of London had always prided itself upon its freedom from ... bigotry." (The Victorian Years 1841-1895 [London, 1951], p. 376.) In general, as there is little distinctively Jewish about the roles of Jewish characters, the charges of anti-semitism can be ignored. Rosenberg's eagle eye for details of traditional physiognomy, clothing and speech cannot be faulted; but these factors do not materially affect the dynamics of the parts assumed.

APPENDIX:

"A JEWISH CHRISTIAN AND A CHRISTIAN JEW".

SHYLOCK HAS, perhaps justifiably, cast his shadow over all discussions of the Jew in English literature. He is a marvellously memorable creation but sometimes memories of the stage-business - the gaberdine and the nose, for example, over-emphasize the importance of his Jewish "tribe". If the key to Shylock is genus rather than Jew, then it is an important precedent for the nineteenth-century use of Jewish themes described above.

In Shakespeare's England very few people would have seen a Jew. For nearly a thousand years there had been a separation between the ideas of Israel (the Church), the Hebrews (the conversos) and the Jews (the unregenerate and unconverted): in a universe structured by theology, the Jews, as the crucifiers of the Saviour, inevitably exemplified evil.¹ For the dramatists also the Jew was a figure of evil, but he was not seen as an incarnation of absolute evil, and he could (and usually did) stand as representative of the "bias of the world", Commodity, which was hated and condemned, yet allowed and not entirely avoided. The power of this "vile-drawing bias", "this bawd, this broker, this all-changing word",² is possessed by the Jew Zabulon in Fletcher's (perhaps Fletcher's and Massinger's) The Custom of the Country where he is a purse-bearer to Arnolde: from the start one suspects him of playing the Quomodo to a Master Easy; a chamberlain:

These scents are dull; cast richer on, and fuller;
Scent every place. Where have you placed the music?

1 Roth, History, pp. 139-143; Bernard Blumenkranz, Les Auteurs Chretiens Latins du Moyen Age sur les Juifs et la Judaisme (Paris, 1963), p. 226; Hersch L. Zitt, "The Jew in the Elizabethan World Picture", HJ, 14 (1952), 60.

2 Shakespeare, King John, ed. J. D. Wilson (Cambridge, 1936), 2.1.574, 577, 582.

a pander:

Be sure
The wines be lusty, high and full of spirit,
And amber'd all

and a bawd:

Come be lusty
And awake your spirits . 3

Zabulon works by the philosophy that "we serve them best that are most apt to give": he is prepared to plant false evidence, secure the imprisonment and release of former patrons, and change patrons at the drop of a purse, and he is quite unsqueamish about the use of sorcery.⁴ This Jew is Bastard Paulconbridge's "smooth fac'd gentleman",

that sly devil
That broker, that still breaks the pate of faith,
That daily break-vow, he that wins of all . 5

What Fletcher seems to have needed, or at any rate, created, was a character who could assume a multiplicity of roles (including that of the criminal tool), who had a taste for enchantments, and about whom one constantly had suspicions. Rutilio is, quite justifiably, bemused:

Sure thy good angel is a Jew, and come
In his own shape to help thee. I could wish me
Mine would appear too, like a Turke.⁶

3. John Fletcher, The Custom of the Country, in The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Variorum edition: London, 1904), 3.2.2-6, 3.3.39-40. The play dates from c. 1619. Cf. John Middleton, Michaelmas Term (1607), ed. Richard Levin (London, 1967), 1.1.120-24.

4. The Custom of the Country, 4.2.58; 3.3.194-95, 4.3.118 ff., 4.3.244, 4.4.42.

5. King John, 2.1.573, 567-69. 6. Custom of the Country, 2.3.49-51.

Fletcher thus uses medieval traditions and fears without subscribing to them; indeed, their contexts and interpretations are new.

The Jews were restricted to the profession of usury in their stage appearances - "être juif: être usurier" - but the role of the miser in usury-dramas could be assigned to Jew, non-Jew or an indeterminate character.⁷ The dramatists were far more concerned to score points against the economic system than against any nationality. There was a general conviction that society would destroy itself with commercialism if self-seeking was unchecked, and Dekker, Middleton and Jonson, and the rest, were vocal in expressing their fears. It is against this background that the Jewish stereotypes must be seen.

I am a Puritan, one that will eat no pork,
Doth use to shut his shop on Saturdays,
And open them on Sundays. A familiar
And one of the arch limbs of Belzebub⁸
A Jewish Christian and a Christian Jew.

Shylock, it is suggested, was hated as much for his usury as for his Judaism: in Elizabethan drama the profession generated the role; the race was merely a pretext for additional diatribe.

The dark side of Elizabethan London was a world where both courtier and merchant used the same dirty tactics:

each one seeks with malice and with strife,
To thrust down other into false disgrace,
Himself to raise: and he doth soonest rise

7 For Jewish usurers, see Robert Daborn, A Christian Turn'd Turk (1610); Thomas Goffe, The Raging Turk (1627); for non-Jewish usury see Shakespeare's Timon of Athens, the anonymous Timon (ed. A. Dyce London, 1842), and Jonson's Volpone (1607); and for a usurer who might, or might not, be a Marrano, see [William Haughton], Englishmen for My Money (1616).

8 Paula N. Siegel, "Shylock and the Puritan Usurers", in Studies in Shakespeare, edd. Arthur D. Matthew and Clark M. Emery (Coral Gables, Fla., 1953), p. 131, citing Davenport's New Trick to Cheat the Devil.

That best can handle his deceitfull wit,
In subtil shifts, and finest slights devise.

All were caught up in the pursuit of profit:

And there professors find maintenaunce,
But to be instruments of other gains⁹

or, of course, their own. Shylock and Iachimo are Shakespearian "professours", experts in their field, who delight in the "merry bond". This is Iachimo: "With five times so much conversation, I should get ground of your fair mistress; make her go back, even to the yielding, had I admittance, and opportunity to friend ... I dare thereupon pawn the moiety of my estate, to your ring ... And to bar your offence herein too, I durst attempt it against any lady in the world."¹⁰ Iachimo treats the whole affair as a "merry sport" and compares Imogen to "th'Arabian Bird", taking her bracelet instead of the "treasure of her honour", and speaking poor pseudo-Marlowe ("Swift, swift, ye dragons of the night") instead of stealing a kiss: the "wager itself, however deplorable, is fair enough, and it may be noted that our villain accepts desperately long odds. In this he comes near an earlier comic villain, Shylock, whose merry bond stands only one chance in a million of fulfilling his hopes."¹¹ In fact, of course, both nearly do cause the ruin of the hero (Antonio sorrows for himself - "let me have judgement and the Jew his will" - and Posthumus sorrows for Imogen: "for Imogen's dear life take mine");¹² but both Shylock and Iachimo care less for the prize

9 Edmund Spenser, "Colin Clouts Come Home Again", Poetical Works, edd. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (London, 1912), ll. 690-94.

10 Shakespeare, Cymbeline, ed. J.C. Maxwell (Cambridge, 1960), 1.4.102-05.

11 Cymbeline, ed. J. Nosworthy (Arden Shakespeare: London, 1955), p.lix.

12 Merchant of Venice, 4.1.33; Cymbeline, 5.4.22.

(a gold ring, a pound of flesh) than for the chance to score against the sincere or the seeming so.¹³ This is always a sweet pleasure when justified by national pride and the defence of a wife or mistress. Both these villains have a grim sense of humour in a grim and mercantile world.

It is the world's mercantilism which proves Venetian society and finds it rotten to the core. Antonio - "a kinder gentleman treads not the earth" - ranges, like Timon of Athens, between God and Beast. On the one hand, he is a redeemer to whom Bassanio is infinitely bound; on the other hand, however, he is flawed beyond compensation. He petitions for leave from the prison to beg for mercy from Shylock and follow him with supplications and "bootless prayer". Full of self pity ("I am a tainted wether of the flock") he sets Bassanio to compose his epitaph. To Shylock, who keeps himself posted as to credit worthiness on the Rialto, Antonio is a "bankrupt, a prodigal".¹⁴ His failure, like Timon's, came through a generosity that was criminally irresponsible in a cash-based society; his ruin came through usury. It was a fate which befell many Elizabethan gentlemen. The usurer "by brocadge bringeth him in debt and out of credit, the awayteth covetousnesse and usurie to sease upon his living and the uncivill serjeant upon his libertie."¹⁵ Antonio as victim, however, is a little different from Timon, who earns the unqualified praise of the three choric strangers. He is not up to this standard and looks false as he justifies his profits - but not those of Shylock. He also reveals an amazing subtlety in the moral blackmail of his letter to Bassanio

13 Cymbeline, 5.5.171, 174; Merchant of Venice, 1.1.103, 93.

14 Merchant of Venice, 2.8.35, 5.1.136, 3.3.20 (note the commercial vocabulary), 4.1.114, 4.1.118, 3.1.41 ff..

15 George Whetstone, A Mirrour for Maiestrates ... (London, 1584), [Iiii].

and the simpering speech with which he covers up his responsibility for the affair of the rings. The audience would not be surprised by such qualities in an English gentleman; in The Three English Brothers (1607) John Day seems quite happy to have Sir Anthony describe England as a land obsessed with sex and usury.¹⁶

This is not intended as a whitewashing of Shylock. But it should indicate that these plays are attempting to recreate a corrupt world in which the Jew can sustain a more complex symbolic function than he did in the mystery plays. Though Shylock is still the devil in the likeness of the Jew, and Bassanio has "the grace of God", matters are complicated a little by Shylock's love for his wife and daughter and Bassanio's view of his expedition to Belmont, with Gratiano and train, as being that of a second Jason and the argonauts.¹⁷

It would be a mistake to assume that there was a continuity of thought between the Primitive Church and the English Renaissance. The figure of the Jew, "Aaron, filius diaboli", meant different things over the course of fifteen hundred years. Two main dividing lines can be drawn, however. Both the Crusade era and the Renaissance were periods of social upheaval - which affected the Jews - and of artistic and literary change. The image of the Jew was inherited, and reshaped.

The Bar-Cochba revolt of 126-7 and the subsequent troubles under Anthony led to the loss of the Temple in Jerusalem and

¹⁶ John Day, The Travaillies of The Three English Brothers (1607), in The Works, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1881), p. 56: "the old play that Adam and Eve acted in bare action under the figge tree", "like good fellows, when they have no money, live upon credit"; Merchant of Venice, 1.3.46, 87, 90, 3.2.316-22. Antonio would have received sympathy for being in the hands of the litigious Shylock but countless evidences show that an Elizabethan dramatist would have been aware of the false standards of a merchant such as Antonio.

¹⁷ Merchant of Venice, 3.1.19-21, 2.2.150, 3.1.115-17, 1.1.172 etc.

introduced a new dimension into the relationships between the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds. The ruin of the Temple in 70 had not been the same to the Church. It was barely out of the period of apostolic leadership, and troubles at Jerusalem merely seemed to presage the Second Coming and confirm the faith. The apostles were gone by the time of Hadrian's war and Christianity depended on a justification by gnosticism and polemic rather than the witnesses to the Saviour. The insecurity that resulted made itself felt in anti-Jewish writing. To compensate for the loss of the apostolic and charismatic leadership of the early years, writers attacked the spiritual values of Judaism and the Temple: though Judaism had supplied the Christians with a morality and a liturgy, though the Jews of the Diaspora had prepared the heathen, provided a text and its interpretation, they were upgraded from being apostate-Israel to being anti-Christ. Not until they conquered Jerusalem in the Crusades could the Christians accept the importance of the Temple, and because the Church found itself in a median position between it and the gnostic mysteries it moved onto the offensive against both. The destruction of the Temple for the second time was a momentous event.¹⁸ God's hand, it seemed, justified this new style of writing: until the first Crusade (1096) the Jews were victims of the assumptions made in this period of post-apostolic anxiety and the arguments worked up and elaborated by the Fathers in Rome and Alexandria.

Prior to the Crusades, however, Jews managed to live their

18 Marcel Simon, Verus Israel (Paris, 1964), pp. 14, 5;
Hugh W. Nibley, "The Passing of the Church: Forty Variations
on an Unpopular Theme", CH, 30 (1961), 131-154, and "Christian
Envy of the Temple", JQR, 50 (1959-1960), 97-123 and 229-240.

law and still maintain good relationships with the Christians. Gifts were frequently exchanged, a Jewess could be a close friend of the Lady of the Manor, non-Jews would willingly fight fires in the Jewish quarter and assist in many other ways, Jews could own slaves and employ Christian servants, and "in the early part of the eleventh century the Jews were the borrowers of money, and the non-Jews the lenders at interest." Theologically, of course, the Jew was held in odium; but for centuries personal affairs remained largely unaffected. The insecurity of the Church, however, was to destroy this division between theology and practice. In 1096 Urban II preached the First Crusade. His letter of 7 October stressed the need to liberate enslaved Christianity, but Latin intervention is best understood as taking place for less altruistic reasons. The Papacy felt itself hedged about by Islam, the Empire and the Greek Church, and further temporal suzerainties were necessary to counterbalance the growth of the Empire, and the Palestinian gains of Byzantium. The declaration of mutual anathema defined clearly the relationships between Pope and Patriarch in 1054: and relationships were scarcely improved by 1065 when Rome seized Byzantine Sicily and Southern Italy; obviously, Urban was not going to rush to the aid of Alexius unless there were temporal gains to be made. The Crusading movement was not, however, presented to the public as a piece of politics. Personal salvation was linked with the objectives of reaching Jerusalem and crushing the infidel, and the Franks - many of whom were experienced in this technique from the Barbastro "Crusade" in Spain - pointed out that it would be wisest to make preparation for the venture to Palestine by disposing of the infidel at home.¹⁹

19 Irving A. Agus, Urban Civilisation in Pre-Crusade Europe (New York, 1965), pp. 766, 754, 758, 787 and 348; Claude Canan, "An Introduction to the First Crusade", PP, 6 (1954), 6-30; Norman Golb, "New Light on the Persecution of the French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade", PAAJR, 34 (1966), 1-63.

For the first time the contemporary Jew (as against the theological invention) found himself a symbol of the enemy in the war, both current and eternal, to be fought "contra exercituum diaboli". The carnage was terrible, and Christian-Jewish relationships have never been the same since. The first consequence for this literary-historical account to note is that the Jew was being treated in an entirely new manner: but the raw material for this treatment was a spiritual generation old. "Singula vitia capitula [diabolum] habent exercitum" wrote Gregory in his Moralium Liber, and the Jewish money-lender and viticulturist was given them all.

The second consequence was that this shift of opinion found its way into popular and ecclesiastical art and literature. The church was on the defensive "en montrant tous ce qui s'opposèrent à Jesus - fussent-ils en réalité des Romains - avec toutes les caractéristiques des Juifs, cependant que sont effacés ces mêmes caractéristiques sur les disciples qui furent pourtant des Juifs authentiques," at a time when the possibilities of realism in art were beginning to be recognised.²⁰ The early Middle Ages saw "ymages and payntors" as "lewde menys bookys" and "necessary in holy chirch, whatever thes lollardes saye".²¹ The purpose of art and literature was to reveal and not to deceive by illusion and the Jew was revealed in attitudes derived from patristic polemic. The objectives of art were changing at the same time, however; the dramatists of the Miracle Plays, for example, were trying to do something different from the Church Fathers. By the time of the Wakefield author it is likely that Annas and Caiaphas are described with one eye on the corrupt ecclesiastical lawyers of the day, and the other on effective dramatic techniques. The

20 Bernard Blumenkranz, Le Juif Medieval Au Mirror de l'Art Chretien (Paris, 1966), pp. 37; 20, 24, 36, 88.

21 John Mirke, Festial: A Collection of Homilies, ed. T. Erbe, EETS, e.s. 96 (London, 1905), p. 171.

abuse of the Jews was by then traditional, but the secular demands put upon the artist or writer meant that the abuse had often only secondary significance. The theologians, dramatists, preachers and painters were all adept at adapting pre-Crusade material to the new situations.²² With the Tudor Renaissance the same happened again and old attitudes became tags to illustrate new ideas.

22 See V. A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christie (London, 1960), p. 30; G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (London, 1933), p. 496; the Corpus Christi plays were so profitable that in 1584 the Coventry crafts payed a Mr. Smythe of Oxford £13.6.8d (out of the Smiths' funds) to write a "tragedy of the destruction of Jerusalem (Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages [Oxford, 1960], p. 294): as well as symbolising commerce the Jewish image was shaped by it.

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